AUDIENCES

Mutations and Appropriations in **European Film Studies**

Ian Christie (ed.)

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Defining and Researching Screen Entertainment Reception

Edited by Ian Christie

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Editorial

Thinking and theorizing about film is almost as old as the medium itself. Within a few years of the earliest film shows in the 1890s, manifestos and reflections began to appear which sought to analyze the seemingly vast potential of film. Writers in France, Russia, and Britain were among the first to enter this field, and their texts have become cornerstones of the literature of cinema. Few nations, however, failed to produce their own statements and dialogues about the nature of cinema, often interacting with proponents of Modernism in the traditional arts and crafts. Film thus found itself embedded in the discourses of modernity, especially in Europe and Soviet Russia.

"Film theory," as it became known in the 1970s, has always had a historical dimension, acknowledging its debts to the pioneers of analyzing film texts and the film experience, even while pressing these into service in the present. But as scholarship in the history of film theory expands, there is a growing need to revisit many long-standing assumptions and to clarify lines of transmission and interpretation. *The Key Debates* is a series of books from Amsterdam University Press which focuses on the central issues that continue to animate thinking about film and audiovisual media as the "century of celluloid" gives way to a field of interrelated digital media.

Initiated by Annie van den Oever (the Netherlands), the direction of the series has been elaborated by an international group of film scholars, including Dominique Chateau (France), Ian Christie (UK), Laurent Creton (France), Laura Mulvey (UK), Roger Odin (France), Eric de Kuyper (Belgium), and Emile Poppe (Belgium). The intention is to draw on the widest possible range of expertise to provide authoritative accounts of how debates around film originated, and to trace how concepts that are commonly used today have been modified in the process of appropriation. The series should thus contribute both to a better understanding of concepts in common use and to the elaboration of new concepts where these are needed.

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Ian Christie, Dominique Chateau, Annie van den Oever

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Acknowledgments

This is not a book organized around a single thesis – except the assertion that audiences are an essential yet often neglected part of the audiovisual scene, whether we approach this in terms of aesthetics, semiotics, apparatus, industry or sensory/cognitive experience. It deliberately includes contributions by scholars working in very different ways on a wide range of audience-related issues; but it does so in the spirit of the series, *The Key Debates*, in which it marks the end of a first phase of unique transnational co-operation, centrally between the Netherlands, France and the UK. The series has already supported a number of stimulating symposia and workshops in all three countries, and produced two collections, *Ostrannenie. On "strangeness" and the Moving Image. The History, Reception, and Relevance of a Concept* (2010) and *Subjectivity. Filmic Representation and the Spectator's Experience* (2011). The series, like this book, owes much to Annie van den Oever, who first brought us together and continues to promote co-operation and debate with unflagging energy, and to our loyal third musketeer, Dominique Chateau.

The project has also depended vitally on generous funding from the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO), and on sympathetic support from Birkbeck College, University of London; the University of Groningen; and the Université Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne, and its UMR Institut ACTE (Arts, Création, Théorie, Esthétique). I am grateful to colleagues at Birkbeck who have supported and made possible my involvement in this project, particularly Laura Mulvey and Dorota Ostrowska. I am also particularly grateful to the teams I worked with on two audience-related reports for the UK Film Council: Bertrand Moullier, Silvia Angrisani and Alain Modot; Chris Chandler, Mike Kelly and Sarah Beinart; and to the far-sighted commissioners of these studies, Carol Comley and David Steele, as well as to the participants in a series of presentations of *Stories We Tell Ourselves* around the UK and in Belgium, Ireland and Spain. From all of these I have learned a great deal, some of which has helped shape this book.

I also want to record my debt to fellow members of Domitor, the international association for the study of early cinema, which has fostered contextual and intermedial research on early spectatorship since its establishment, and is represented in this collection by its past president Frank Kessler, and by fellow-members Judith Thissen and Greg Waller. I have been closely involved with thinking practically about audience promotion through Europa Cinemas, for which I have directed an annual workshop in Bologna since 2008, as part of the Cinema Ritrovato

festival, and I have learned much from workshop participants, as well as from colleagues in Europa Cinemas, especially Claude-Eric Poiroux, Fatima Djoumer, Henk Camping and Nico Simon. On a more personal level, I also want to pay tribute to Professor Tom Troscianko, an experimental psychologist at the University of Bristol who was generous in his encouragement of my early interest in cognitive and neuroscientific research, and who would undoubtedly have contributed to this book if he had not met an untimely death in 2011. All who knew Tom, including his student Steve Hinde in Bristol and my Birkbeck colleague Tim Smith, miss his enthusiasm for new forms of experimental engagement with the audience.

In addition to thanking all the authors who responded to a tight deadline, acknowledgment is due to the previous publishers of two contributions which are reprinted here: to John Libbey Publishing for Nicholas Hiley's article "'At the Picture Palace': The British Cinema Audience, 1895-1920," which first appeared in *Celebrating 1895: The Centenary of Cinema* (John Libbey and Co. Ltd, 1998); also to the publishers of the journal *Trafic*, where Raymond Bellour's article "Le spectateur de cinéma: une mémoire unique," first appeared in no. 79, Autumn 2011; and to the Austrian Film Museum/ Synema, who published the English translation by Adrian Martin in *Screen Dynamics. Mapping the Borders of Cinema* (eds. Gertrud Koch, Volker Pantenburg and Simon Rothöhler, 2012). Thanks are also due to the publishers of *Descant*, in which an earlier version of Kay Armatage's article appeared.

Finally, I must pay tribute to Viola ten Hoorn, without whose immense help the book would not have been assembled in such a short time; and to Jeroen Sondervan at Amsterdam University Press, who has been instrumental in supporting the whole series, as well as this volume.

Ian Christie
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Introduction: In Search of Audiences

Ian Christie

That the audience is essential for film seems to have been understood for over a century. One of the earliest and best known accounts of attending a picture show, published by Maxim Gorky in 1896, spoke of visiting "the kingdom of shadows" and described the effect upon him of seeing those silent, gray ghosts.[1] Something more provocative than street scenes and baby's breakfast would be needed, he predicted, if this was going to find "its place in Russia's markets thirsting for the piquant and the extravagant." Using oral history and other sources, Luke McKernan's account of the development of London's cinemas before 1914 turns on the discovery of viewers starting to "seek out films for their own sake" around 1905-06.[2] One hundred and fifteen years later, a report commissioned by the UK government on *A Future for British Film* was subtitled "It begins with the audience," although some critics suggested that this was more paying lip service than taking seriously the interests of consumers.[3]

The problem has always been how to define such an ambiguous concept as "the audience." Is it conceivably the specific audience for one screening – those present at the Nizhny Novgorod fair with Gorky one July day in 1896 – or, more commonly, the aggregated audience over time for a cinema or a film, as in the "the Theater Tuschinski audience,"[4] or "the audience for THE KING'S SPEECH..."? Arguably, two concepts of audience have dominated the history of cinema: one is an *imagined audience* of "they" and "we," often credited with preferences and responses which are mere hypotheses, or projections of the author's assumptions and prejudices; and the other is an *economic or statistical audience*, recorded in terms of admissions or box-office receipts, which has become the dominant concept of "audience" for the film industry.

A third concept, however, emerged with the growth of the new human and social sciences, whose birth ran parallel to cinema's development as a modern medium, with the *individual spectator* understood in terms of psychology, anthropology or sociology. Pioneering examples of this new approach would be Otto Rank's psychoanalytic study, *The Double* (1914), which took a then-recent film THE STUDENT OF PRAGUE (1913) as one of its case studies,[5] and Hugo Münsterberg's *The Photoplay: A Psychological Study* (1916).[6] Although neither of these had any immediate successors, this line of inquiry would be continued in post-revolutionary Russia, by members of the montage school of filmmakers and by the critics and psychologists who shared their interest in how film impacts on our

physiology and consciousness[7] – a tradition that is invoked by present-day researchers, represented in this collection by Tim Smith and Torben Grodal.

Fig. 1: Nizhny Novgorod Fair, where Maxim Gorky first encountered moving pictures in 1896 and speculated on their future.

Before cinema could attract this degree of interest, it had become a massive social fact of the early 20th century, and soon stood accused – as Gorky and another early commentator, Apollinaire, had foreseen[8] – of corrupting its mass audience by pandering to their base instincts. The idea that its narratives "taught" viewers, especially the young and impressionable, undesirable lessons about morality and crime, seems to have emerged very early, and may have been linked to assumptions about cinema's intrinsic "realism" and the inherent passivity of the film audience.[9] One of the earliest of such accounts was by the French writer Jules Romains, whose 1911 essay "The Crowd's Dream Begins" described a cinema audience as if sleeping and dreaming a collective dream, from which they awake as they spill out into the street.[10] D. H. Lawrence despised the "mechanical" images of cinema, and in a misanthropic recipe for mass euthanasia he proposed that "a Cinematograph working brightly" would help lure "the sick, the halt and the maimed" into "a lethal chamber as big as the Crystal Palace."[11]

Much of the impetus behind this negative view of the early audience may well have come from a combination of elitist distaste for the laboring masses of the

turn of the century, and the easily-ignored fact that film shows were the first popular entertainment to take place in darkness, with a proportion of those attending almost certainly not there for the movies, or easily distracted from the screen. Warmth, comfort, somewhere to sleep or pass the time; a chance to meet friends, and to make new ones; and a place for "a date" – all of these were, and have remained, important reasons for cinemagoing, even if they are rarely acknowledged in film scholarship.[12] Police surveillance reports noted that the darkness of the "penny gaffs" and nickelodeons provided a cover for "immoral" activities, whether prostitution or merely clandestine intimacy.[13] We know from trade as well as police sources that the early cinema audience was often unruly – as discussed by Nicholas Hiley in this collection – and the extent to which such large-scale assemblies of working-class and poor people worried respectable opinion should not be underestimated. A study of "places of amusement" in Boston in 1909 revealed that some 480,000 seats were on offer weekly at venues showing moving pictures, compared with 290,000 for all kinds of live theater and opera.[14] One reason for this disparity was abundantly clear: moving picture shows cost 10¢ or 15¢, while regular theater and opera cost $1-2. The link can hardly be denied between audiences who could afford no other "amusement" and the spectacular rise of cinemagoing. Yet contemporary cinema scholars have sought to nuance a simple equation between poverty or immigrants and the movies, as Judith Thissen does here, challenging both the "embourgeoisement scenario" of earlier histories and the belief that cinema simply fostered the "assimilation" of America's newly-arrived citizens.

The Boston report cited above was already describing picture shows as "a less desirable form of recreative amusement." For some, perhaps most, early critics of the cinema as a popular amusement, there was no need to investigate what actually happened. A study in Pittsburgh carried out in 1907-09 reported on "the crowd of pleasure-seekers on Fifth Avenue" waiting patiently outside the 5¢ picture show and "determined to be amused."[15] The researchers, however, were not prepared to wait, and "left them standing in line for their chance to go in," after what the *Survey* unselfconsciously described as "a working week of unmeaning hours." What emerges from these very early studies, undertaken well before the rise of the feature-length "photoplay" of the 1910s is a contradictory attitude that admits "nickelodeons and dance halls and skating rinks are in no sense inherently bad," but also criticizes them for creating "a desire for stimulation," a "craving for excitement," and ultimately for providing what "does not educate but does give pleasure."[16] The idea of leisure as "a thing spent, not used" struck at the very root of America's founding Protestant ethic of self-improvement, and the cinema industry would work hard during later decades to demonstrate, confusingly, both its social value and its credentials as "harmless entertainment."[17]

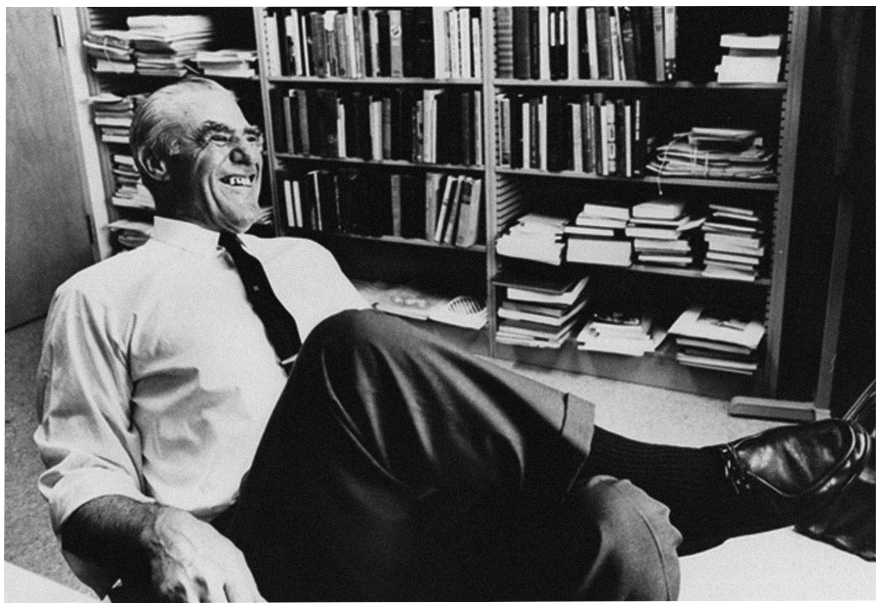

Fig. 2: Herbert Blumer, influential sociologist of the film audience.

It had to do so because much of the sociological research done in the United States during the 1930s was either commissioned or appropriated by moral crusaders who had an agenda against Hollywood. Thus the privately funded Payne Fund studies carried out during 1929-32 provided empirical material on film content and "effects," which provoked widespread debate about the impact of films on young people. One of the Payne studies, *Movies and Conduct*, was by the Chicago sociologist Herbert Blumer, and its conclusion would set the tone for much subsequent discussion of cinema effects:

> It seems clear that the forte of motion pictures is in their emotional effect. This is to be expected since in the last analysis they are a form of art – even though popular art – and their appeal and their success reside ultimately in the emotional agitation which they induce. To fascinate the observer and draw him into the drama so that he loses himself is the goal of a successful production. As we have sought to show, while in this condition the observer becomes malleable to the touch of what is shown. Ordinary self-control is lost. Impulses and feelings are aroused, and the individual develops a readiness to certain forms of action which are foreign in some degree to his ordinary conduct. Precisely because the individual is in this crucible state what is shown to him may become the mold for a new organization of his conduct. This organization, of course, may be quite temporary, as it frequently is. However, as our cases have shown, occasionally it may be quite abiding.[18]

Blumer's work, especially his gathering of autobiographies about film and behavior, has remained central to sociological research on personal responses to film; and there has been considerable revisionist discussion of the Payne studies, seeking to rescue them from the annals of censoriousness.[19] However, the immediate outcome of Blumer's work, and of Henry James Forman's more polemical summary of the Payne findings in *Our Movie-Made Children* (1935), was an increasingly strict enforcement of Hollywood's Production Code, with a corresponding rise in levels of sentiment and euphemism.

The 1940s would see the peak of mass cinemagoing in many countries, and perhaps surprisingly the war period itself saw a number of notable studies of audience attitudes. In 1943, Mass Observation, a pioneer of modern public opinion research created by the poet Charles Madge, anthropologist Tom Harrisson and the filmmaker and Surrealist painter Humphrey Jennings, launched an inquiry into attitudes towards recent films among their correspondents.[20] The 1943 survey provides important and unique insight into how a cross-section of British people viewed what was on offer at their cinemas, with a particular circumstantial emphasis on contrasting attitudes towards US and British films and a strong sense of the context and specificity of wartime cinemagoing:

> Desert Victory – Factual stuff (sometimes with vivid beauty of desert photography) expertly edited – with outstandingly good music – and manages to be soberly inspiring even on a third seeing. (Wireless operator, Royal Corps of Signals, aged 26, Kent).[21]

> Life and Death of Colonel Blimp was both in colour and was "different." I liked it – why I cannot say. (Fitter, aged 23, Glasgow).[22]

> Once per month I go to the films. This is when my car is greased at a neighbouring garage, and I find it convenient to sit in the warmth and comfort of a cinema until the operation is complete. I cannot remember 6 films I have seen. I saw Dear Octopus this week. I liked it. It had not one damned Yankee accent in the whole film. The usual strident idiocies of Hollywood were absent. I did not, as usual, feel like vomiting. And even the news short did not as usual give the impression that Americans only were fighting the Germans. (Commercial traveler, aged 35, Leamington Spa).[23]

> I live in a village 6 miles from Reading and though I like a good film I am not a cinema fan. Each week I read the film reviews in the "Observer" and make a note of any films I'd like to see. Then I look at the local paper to see if any of these come to Reading. Usually there isn't even one a month I want to see. I enjoyed all the war films – Next of Kin, In Which We Serve, Mrs Miniver, etc. and there was a really good thriller Shadow of a Doubt. Mission

TO MOSCOW was terribly disappointing after having read the book. A real Hollywood shameless travesty of history. (Poultry farmer's wife, aged 52, Arborfield, Berks).[24]

SING AS WE GO – an old film re-shown. I never miss Gracie Fields. She lifts me to a high plane as well as entertains me with her thorough affinity with human joys and sorrow. This is so alive. (Housewife and mother, aged 49, Accrington).[25]

The sheer variety of cinemagoing experiences that emerges from these responses should be enough to challenge any sense of an undifferentiated "mass audience"; and indeed Mass Observation's method of drawing on personal testimony was used by J. P. Mayer in his two important mid-1940s studies, *The Sociology of Film* (1946) and *British Cinemas and Their Audiences* (1948).[26] Mayer solicited "motion picture autobiographies" from cinemagoers through the popular magazine *Picturegoer*, and from some 200 of these created a remarkably rich account of what motivated and satisfied audiences, acknowledging his debt to Blumer, while also locating the phenomenon of mass cinemagoing within a framework that invoked the philosophers Karl Jaspers and R. G. Collingwood.[27]

Fig. 3: The era of the mass audience: late-night shoppers queuing for the movies in Baltimore Maryland, 1943.

That films could have a profound effect on attitudes and behavior was also the hypothesis of another wartime study that drew upon social psychology and anthropology. The ethnographer Gregory Bateson undertook an analysis of the key Nazi propaganda film HITLER YOUTH QUEX (1933) during World War Two, as a contribution to understanding Nazi psychology.

> Approaching the film with "the sort of analysis that the anthropologist applies to the mythology of a primitive or modern people," Bateson pointed out how the film, in its systematic structuring of oppositions between the National Socialist Party and the Communist Party, illustrates the projective workings of Nazi subjectivity. Communists appear as unbearable self-images, what Nazis think they "would be like without their discipline or – psychologically speaking – what they are like under the veneer of that discipline."[28]

Anthropology had indeed taken an early interest in the potential of film, when Alfred Haddon took a camera to the Torres Strait Islands in 1898, to film Islander men performing ritual dances, describing it as "an indispensable piece of anthropological apparatus."[29] And this tradition would continue with the field work of the French ethnographer Jean Rouch in Africa, which in turn informed his collaboration with the sociologist Edgar Morin on their reflexive film, CHRONICLE OF A SUMMER (1961),[30] whose subjects become its first audience, preceded by the latter's pioneering book *Le cinéma ou l'homme imaginaire* (1957).[31]

In the 1970s, "film studies" started to become an academic discipline and spawned what has since become known as "film theory." While the most influential – and controversial – axis of such theory was in fact spectatorship,[32] and the idea that film texts in some sense constrained or "produced" their spectators,[33] there were at least three other important components of this revolutionary moment. One was a revival of the project for a "science of signs," or semiotics, as a way of grasping the codes that defined film as visual communication.[34] Another was the "auteur theory": a strategy to refocus attention on the vast, then largely unexplored body of work produced by commercial filmmakers, which required that "the spectator has to work at reading the text ... [so that] in a certain sense, the film changes, it becomes another film [...] It is no longer possible to look at it 'with the same eyes.'"[35] And the third was a "social turn," which directed attention away from the timeless film text towards concrete conditions of cinemagoing itself.[36]

The legacy of this moment of disciplinary formation are still with us today, even though film studies has greatly diversified and to a large extent matured. Many of the contributors to this collection are effectively engaged in extending or questioning the axes of early "theory." Thus Martin Barker challenges the normative assumptions that continue to underpin text-centered criticism which evokes "the spectator," while demonstrating the richness of empirical research on real

audiences and its value in understanding such new phenomena as "alternative content" in cinemas. Roger Odin uses his well-honed "semio-pragmatic" theoretical framework to consider the significance of the cameraphone, arguing that it has launched nothing less than a revolution in film language. In his account of Méliès's use of the viewpoint of "the gentleman in the stalls," Frank Kessler combines a subtly auteurist approach with the methodology of the early cinema movement of the 1980s, emphasizing the importance of close study of technique and context, stripped of teleological assumptions. Nicholas Hiley's pioneering essay on early British picture shows, reprinted here, played an important part in focusing attention on the previously missing audience. And in the tradition of the "social turn," Judith Thissen re-enters the long-running "Manhattan nickelodeon" debate that Robert Allen initiated in his now-classic 1979 revisionist essay,[37] while Gregory Waller broadens the field of "cinemagoing studies" to include the hitherto neglected dimension of non-theatrical exhibition, and Ranita Chatterjee shows how this same historical approach can illuminate the social experience of cinema beyond Europe and North America.

Film theory in its first incarnation had little to say about television, which developed its own sphere of scholarship, largely defined by new conceptions of audience.[38] Annie van den Oever here sketches an account of how television aesthetics became part of the shared experience of later 20th-century filmmakers and audiences alike, while Raymond Bellour invokes the example of Serge Daney, one of the first major critics to engage fully with film on television and video, in his elegiac meditation on the cinema spectator now entering the era of digital storage and presentation. For some this is an occasion for mourning, while for others it offers exciting new opportunities, such as those explored by Laurent Jullier and Jean-Marc Leveratto in their account of cinephilia observed, and indeed refashioned, on the internet, and in my own account of recent empirical studies of film consumption in the digital era.

Three other contributions to the book introduce what are essentially new methodological approaches to understanding audiences. John Sedgwick and Clara Pafort-Overduin analyze box-office statistics from the 1930s to offer a comparative account of the typical mid-20th century distribution pattern for mainstream commercial cinema which provides a statistical architecture for the investigation of regionally specific audience tastes and so offers another type of evidence for film scholars – one based upon the film choices that audiences actually made. For his interpretation of the wide popularity of THE LORD OF THE RINGS trilogy (also studied through audience interviews by Barker), Torben Grodal draws on a growing body of speculation in evolutionary biology that seeks to account for the deep appeal of certain kinds of narrative and imagery. And in a dialogue with the psychologist Tim Smith, I explore what contemporary experimental investigation of the perception of filmed scenes can reveal about "normal" film-viewing habits.

It might be wondered, however, whether there is any "normality" in film viewing today, especially since cinemas around the world have started to devote a proportion of their programming to live relays of opera, theater and other forms of entertainment. Both Kay Armatage and Martin Barker here offer testimony to the success of this "alternative content" trend, a largely unanticipated consequence of the digital re-equipment of cinemas, which certainly offers a challenge to the standard model of cinema exhibition (bitterly resisted in some quarters, and welcomed as a lifeline in others). Historically, it recalls the fact that moving pictures first appeared as a novelty in music halls and vaudeville theaters, before their popularity led to the wholesale conversion of such venues into cinemas.

No-one can fail to recognize that there are more ways of watching film today than there have ever been. These range from the giant screens of open-air presentation, IMAX theaters, museums, concert-halls and opera houses, followed by specialist cinemas showing preserved and restored 35mm acetate prints, to the wide variety of other cinema theaters that are increasingly showing digital copies, sometimes in stereoscopic 3D (and soon at increased frame rates), in buildings ranging from shopping-malls and subterranean multiplexes to bijou historic auditoria; with a further spectrum of domestic and personal options that runs from luxury "home cinema" installations to television receivers of many kinds, computer screens, and mobile devices ranging from book-sized tablets, seat-back screens (in planes, trains and cars) to the ubiquitous smartphone. Many have maintained that the majority of these modes of viewing do not do justice to the aesthetic integrity of "a film," and have lamented "the death of cinema."[39] Others (including a majority of contributors to this book) might argue that "a film" is a historic concept, which has in fact been subject to more or less continuous modification during the history of, let us call it, "screen entertainment" (and indeed the span of "screen entertainment" should be recognized as much longer than that of cinema, starting with the Magic Lantern, and gathering momentum with a cluster of developments at the end of the 18th century, including the Eidophusikon, the Panorama and Diorama, and their many variations).[40]

Such a juncture seems an ideal time to take stock of the varieties of audience experience that are on offer, between which many individuals move with seeming ease, adapting to differences in scale and definition, public and personal sound, even encapsulating one viewing within another, as the "windows" of our computer screens have taught us to do. We cannot pretend to be the virginal spectators of traditional *cinéphilie* or "classical" film theory, any more than we can imagine what it would have been like to witness the films and personalities that, between 1913 and 1915, created cinema's first global audience: Fantômas, Cabiria, Birth of a Nation, Asta Nielsen, Broncho Billy Anderson and Charlie Chaplin. We are often the "pensive spectators" evoked by Raymond Bellour and Laura Mulvey, well able to pause, rewind, fast-forward and channel-hop, and increasingly also distracted and multi-tasking spectators.[41]

Fig. 4: The interactive theater of the future for multitasking spectators, as envisaged by a digital projector manufacturer.

Despite the profusion of new screen (and sonic) experiences, and the new techniques for analyzing these, there is still much to learn from revisiting the rich literature of cinema after taking the "audience turn." Just as Münsterberg has been rescued from near-oblivion by very different contemporary scholars – compare Bellour's and Smith's references to him here – so we can turn back to other early writers with a new perspective. Two great essayists, both strongly influenced by psychoanalysis, wrote about being part of a cinema audience, and about the complexity of that experience, not as one of rapt immersion in the film, but as inescapably "double."[42] Virginia Woolf, in her sole essay on cinema, written after attending a Film Society screening in London in 1926, recalled how "a shadow shaped like a tadpole suddenly appeared at one corner of the screen," then "swelled to an immense size," and "for a moment seemed to embody some monstrous, diseased imagination of the lunatic's brain,"[43] For Woolf, willingly distracted from THE CABINET OF DR CALIGARI by this fleeting accident of projection (caused by dirt caught in the projector gate), the "monstrous, quivering tadpole seemed to be fear itself," more effectively even than the characters and décor of this avant-garde Expressionist classic. The experience captured by Woolf could almost be considered as a recurrence of the pre-cinematic – recalling informal shadowplay and the Phantasmagoria – erupting into the ordered representation of narrative film, for which she felt little enthusiasm:

> [S]ometimes at the cinema, in the midst of its immense dexterity and enormous technical proficiency, the curtain parts and we behold, far off, some unknown and unexpected beauty. But it is for a moment only.[44]

Fifty years later, Roland Barthes, in many ways as ambivalent about cinema as Woolf, wrote in his essay "Leaving the Movie Theater" about:

> [A]nother way of going to the movies [...] by letting oneself be fascinated *twice over*, by the image and by its surroundings – as if I had two bodies at the same time: a narcissistic body which gazes, lost, into the engulfing mirror [or the screen], and a perverse body, ready to fetishise not the image but precisely what exceeds it: the texture of the sound, the space, the darkness, the obscure mass of other bodies, the beam of light, entering the theatre and leaving.[45]

Such phenomenologies of the viewing experience, from opposite ends of the "cinema age," can add to the resources of oral history, and the often amateur "local cinema" histories, that make up the still largely hidden record of film reception. Asking real audience members what they think, as Blumer, Mayer, Barker and many others have done, and as the *Opening Our Eyes* study did more recently, is an indispensible technique; but it is not the only way to study audiences. As the audiences of the digital age become increasingly producers, commentators and even participants,[46] rather than merely the passive spectators of cinema's folklore – with the potential for screen entertainment to become literally interactive, alongside the massive rival sphere of computer gaming – it does not seem any exaggeration to predict that this field of reflection and research is only entering a new era.

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Part I

Reassessing Historic Audiences

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"At the Picture Palace": The British Cinema Audience, 1895-1920

Nicholas Hiley

Despite the assumptions of most film historians, the medium of film does not depend upon a mass audience. Research into the pre-history of moving pictures has clearly demonstrated that much of the technical impetus behind the development of film came not from entertainers, but from scientists eager to record and analyze natural motion. Even without the intervention of showmen or lantern lecturers it is evident that both film cameras and peepshow viewers would have appeared around 1895, as tools by which scientists could record and reconstitute movement in the laboratory. It is also apparent that in time these scientific devices would have been adopted by doctors wishing to demonstrate surgical techniques, by anthropologists trying to record vanishing cultures, and by salesmen needing to demonstrate heavy machinery, all without the intervention of the music hall or shop show. Eventually there would have been both projected moving pictures and even film historians, all without the appearance of either a mass audience or of purpose-built cinemas.

This alternative history of the medium is not entirely fanciful. If celluloid film base had been only a fraction more expensive to produce, or just a little more fragile, it would have rendered it impossible for traveling showmen and entertainers to adopt the new moving pictures. The film camera would have remained a scientific instrument, and there would have been no impulse to develop dramatic narrative or to appeal to a mass audience. There would have been film, but not film history as we understand it, for the study of genres and styles, of actors, directors, and studios, of cinemas and fan magazines, would have had no meaning. The more we contemplate this alternative history of film the more it becomes obvious that what we call film history is nothing of the sort. It is not the history of the medium of film, but rather the story of how that medium was adapted to the needs of a paying audience.

This simple observation creates considerable problems. Following the 1978 FIAF conference in Brighton, the trend of research into early film has been archive-based, and principally concerned with tracing the developing art of film through the surviving prints and negatives.[1] The basis of this history is the individual film, and yet this approach is misleading, for over the first 25 years of projected moving pictures, from 1895 to 1920, the individual film was of little

significance. The basic unit of exhibition was not the individual film but the program, and the commodity that most patrons wished to buy from the exhibitor was not access to an individual film, but time in the auditorium. Paradoxically, film historians now value these early films more highly than the people who originally paid to see them, and certainly more than the companies that originally produced them. Charles Urban, one of the pioneers of British film, frankly admitted that only a small number of negatives from the early period survived for the simple reason that "very few of the old film firms attached sufficient importance to the value of negatives once they were 'published.'"[2]

Early film history thus takes its justification from the mass audience, but has become so fixated upon surviving prints that the characteristics of that audience are generally discovered only by inference. Changes in film style are assumed to be evidence of developing tastes, and a complex film is taken to imply a subtle audience, although it is clear that the link between production and reception was far more complex than this. Film producers do not need to please audiences so much as to satisfy renters and exhibitors, and stylistic changes may reflect the growing ambitions of film purchasers, rather than the changing tastes of film audiences. There is indeed evidence that film audiences were left behind by the development of more complex narrative styles, and were forced to rely upon the running commentary provided by the lecturer standing beside the screen. By 1903 some producers were adding explanatory intertitles to their films, but, as one proprietor of one London shop show recalled, it was still necessary to add a spoken commentary to dramatic films "which, owing to the almost entire absence of explanatory matter, were not at all easy to follow."[3]

The question of comprehension is indeed an important one, for it is clear that during the first fifteen years of exhibition, film drama simply could not stand on its own. "In many a bioscope theatre," noted the *Bioscope* in 1909, "films that are really dramatic and films that are really interesting are watched without a glimmer of intelligence and frequently with complete boredom"; "Anyone with a long experience of picture halls knows that the stories of many dramatic pictures are quite incomprehensible to many of the people who watch the events that transpire on the screen." Soon after these words were written the task of explaining the action began to pass to the intertitles, but it would be wrong to ascribe this solely to the developing art of film. In 1909 it was already acknowledged that in film lecturing "the supply of good men is by no means equal to the demand," and in the subsequent boom of British cinema construction the demand quickly outstripped the supply.[4] By the end of 1910 there were some 2,900 regular film shows, rising to 3,800 by 1912, and to 5,000 by 1914. Most of these took place in purpose-built auditoria, but the traditions of showmanship endured. It was noted as late as 1915 that in one northern town "the people ... favoured lectures, nearly every theatre having its guide to the film story," but there simply were not enough

lecturers for this to be widespread. With 5,400 regular film shows by the end of 1915, the art of explication had to pass to the film itself.[5]

A second mistake arising from the concentration upon film prints comes in the belief that they grew in length to permit detailed characterization and facilitate the development of complex plots. Such developments were certainly possible with longer films, but the impetus came as much from changes in exhibition as it did from the growing ambitions of film producers. Figure 1 shows how in 1909 a radical shift of investment in the entertainment industry led to the rapid construction of purpose-built cinemas, in a process that was hastened after 1910 by tighter controls on exhibition introduced under the Cinematograph Act.[6]

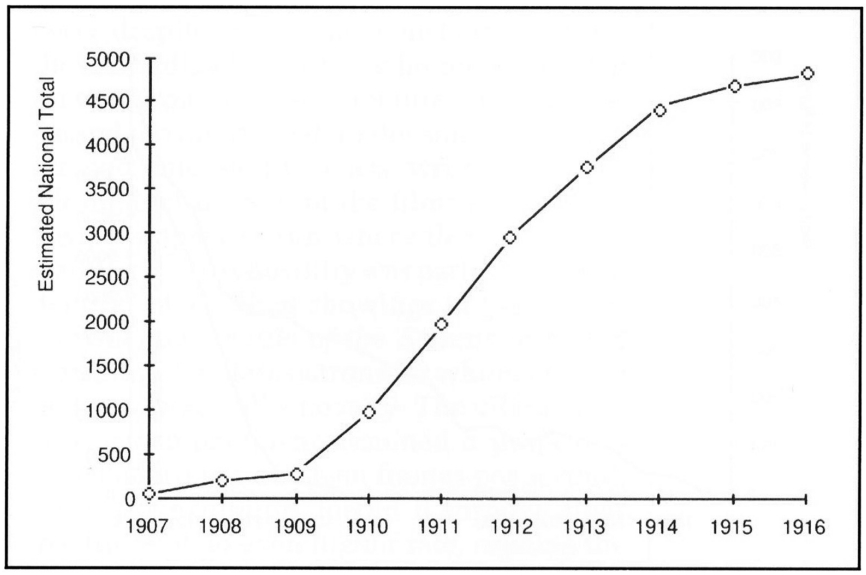

Fig.1: The pattern of construction of purpose-built cinemas in Britain, 1907-1918.

This transformed the context of film exhibition, but the rapid construction of purpose-built cinemas also had an immediate effect on the demand for films – as can be seen from Figure 2, in which the yearly production of British fiction films is plotted against the total number of purpose-built cinemas.[7] The number of fiction films jumped from fewer than 400 releases in 1910 to more than 800 in 1914, as the focus of exhibition shifted from traveling exhibitions to the new purpose-built venues. This occurred because the new cinemas encouraged more regular attendance, and thus obliged exhibitors to change their programs more frequently. As early as 1910 it was claimed that a typical cinema "is often visited by

the same people several times in a week," and by 1911 it was possible to think in terms of "the 'cinema habit,'" forcing exhibitors to change their programs twice a week.[8]

The construction of cinemas also produced an important change in the pattern of attendance, by encouraging patrons to stay in the auditorium for a whole evening. This new pattern took some time to develop, and in 1910 the cinema was still regarded as a refuge from the street, which offered "a pleasant and amusing hour" to the patron "who uses it as an umbrella or a waiting room."[9] In 1912 the majority of exhibitors were still running a "continuous show," attracting casual visitors with a mixed program that ran through the projector eight or nine times every day. Yet a minority of cinema managers had already changed their pattern of exhibition, and were giving just two performances a day, in the afternoon and evening, each lasting for around three hours.[10] By 1914 it was obvious that the new generation of picturegoers was prepared to spend much longer in the auditorium, and would tolerate individual films which lasted for twenty minutes or half an hour, rather than the five or ten minutes of the earlier traveling shows. As Figure 3 demonstrates, the rapid increase in British film production that was apparent by 1914 had been achieved by overlaying a whole new class of long films on top of the established pattern of short subjects, in order to exploit these new patterns of attendance.[11]

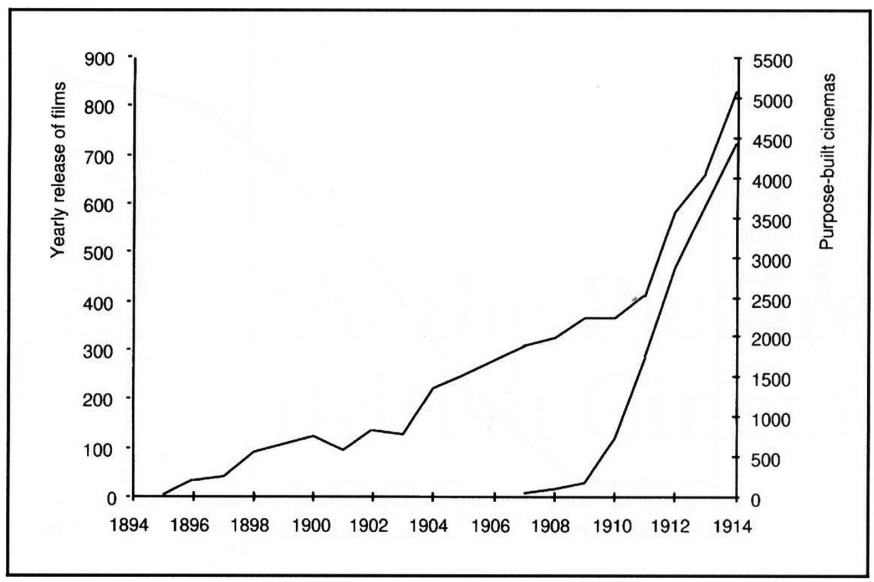

Fig. 2: The impact of cinema construction on the output of British studios.

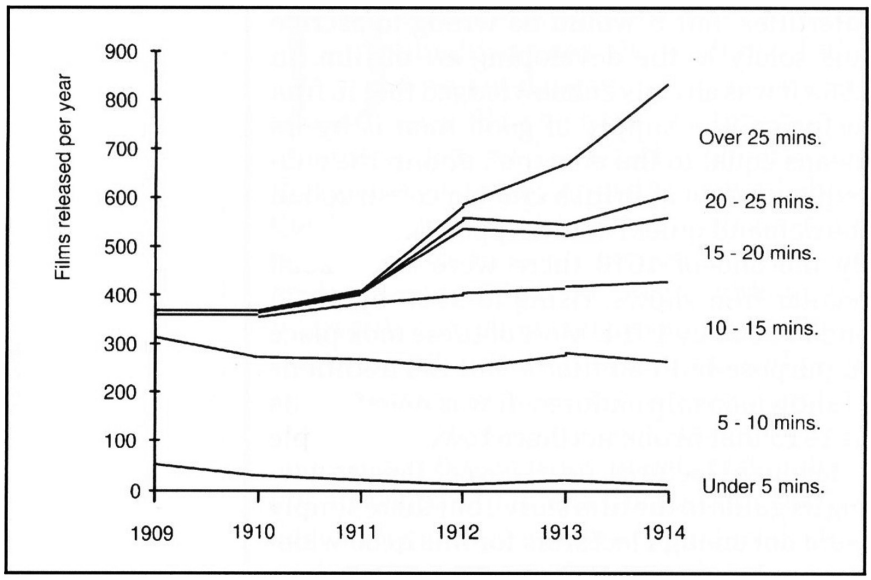

Fig. 3: The impact of purpose-built cinemas on film length, 1909-1914.

These longer films gave producers the chance to develop their art, but they had an even more important role within the economics of exhibition. The older pattern of short subjects satisfied the needs of the fairground bioscopes and shop shows, which could seat only 200 or 300 patrons, and charged just 1d. or 2d. admission, but survived by showing their half-hour program as many as 25 times a day. However, when the first purpose-built cinemas appeared in 1909 they had 700 or 800 seats, and charged 3d. or 4d. admission, which enabled them to run a program of an hour and a half and still make a profit on three or four shows a day. Long films favored larger venues, and were carefully fostered by the major exhibitors as a weapon against their smaller rivals. By 1920 the big cinemas were offering programs of two-and-a-half or even three hours, and it was noted that with such long programs the majority of British cinemas "are not large enough to hold sufficient money to pay the running costs."[12] Long films were certainly attractive to film producers, but more importantly they satisfied the industry's major investors by underwriting the new generation of large cinemas. "The last of the converted shops, misnamed 'palaces,' are fast disappearing," noted one writer with satisfaction in 1921: "Bigger kinemas have been opened. Some, seating 3,000 people, represent the very last word in cinema design, comfort and adornment."[13]

The fact is that the art of film cannot be divorced from its economic context, and, as the case of film length shows, an archival focus will never show the whole picture. A further example comes in the current belief that early films should be

projected at the speed of natural action, for there is a great deal of evidence to suggest that British exhibitors projected their films considerably faster than this. Those who did not regularly attend film shows were indeed surprised by the rapid movement of people and objects, one critic complaining in 1907 that "the exaggerated pace of the cinematograph destroys all sense of proportion as to time."[14] Yet regular picturegoers accepted the acceleration as part of the medium. The nominal speed of filming was sixteen frames per second, but the London music halls habitually projected much faster than this, one writer noting in 1909 that "at the Alhambra I was informed by the operator that he got the best results with a speed of eighteen to twenty pictures per second, but this may be considerably increased."[15]

Accelerated motion has no place in the modern conception of film art, but early audiences seem to have enjoyed it, and, as one historian has suggested, they may even have valued the cinema precisely because it offered "an expanded and concentrated experience of time – more time for their modest outlay."[16] Rapid movement was certainly tolerated by regular cinemagoers, most of whom were working-class, despite remaining a constant puzzle for those middle-class critics who seldom visited a moving-picture show: "Pictures are, as a rule, passed too rapidly before the audience," complained one middle-class writer in 1912, adding that in most of the films he had seen "people appear to run where they should be walking."[17] This hostility was particularly evident in 1916, when showings of the official documentary BATTLE OF THE SOMME attracted many middle-class patrons for whom moving pictures were still a novelty. The official musical accompaniment assumed a projection speed of around nineteen frames per second, but eager exhibitors forced it through their machines at an even higher rate, causing the poet Henry Newbolt to complain "that an ordinary march becomes a double quick, and a running pace becomes a Walpurgisnacht revel," while the novelist Rider Haggard observed that "as usual all the pictures move too fast; even the wounded seem to fly along."[18]

These high-projection speeds were influenced by the economics of exhibition, for the managers of small cinemas were tempted to accelerate the projection of long films to increase audience turnover. As one insider explained in 1914, "if there are a number of people waiting for admission, the operator is often ordered to cut out pictures, and rush the others," in a practice known throughout the trade as "shooting the show."[19] Regular cinemagoers could apparently tolerate the distortions which this produced, and the limit was only reached in 1917, when exhibitors in Birmingham started to project at more than 32 frames per second in an effort to compress their long programs into two full performances. Complaints were heard that this was "such a speed as to make the motions in the picture ridiculous and their patrons' eyes tired," but in 1918 it was admitted that the unscrupulous exhibitor was still "working his film as a fairground manager works his roundabout; slowing down or speeding up, no longer in the cause of

art, but in the unholy pursuit of 'making things fit in.'" A maximum speed of eighteen frames per second was suggested, but there is no evidence that it was ever enforced.[20]

The folly of using modern sensibilities to reconstruct exhibition is further indicated by recent efforts to add musical accompaniment to surviving prints. The belief that appropriate music enhances the art of the silent film obscures the fact that over the first fifteen years of exhibition most films were either accompanied by the sound of the projector, or by mechanical music which bore no relation to the pictures on the screen. The music halls had orchestras, but, as the *Kinematograph Weekly* complained in 1907, when the bioscope was shown most of them played "a meaningless repetition of chords which have apparently been strung together at random."[21] In the smaller venues the situation was even worse, for in 1908 a report on London's shop shows revealed that fourteen of the 36 venues had no music at all. Another twenty venues had some musical accompaniment for the pictures, but there was little attempt at synchronization, for in eleven of them the accompaniment came from a pianola or barrel-organ, while in another three it came from a gramophone or phonograph. Only six venues had truly synchronized music, four of them using a piano or harmonium and only two boasting an orchestra.[22]

There was little improvement in the purpose-built cinema. "A piano is the usual type of music provided," observed one expert in 1911, adding that "an efficient pianist is easy to get for £1 5s. a week."[23] Such low rates of pay guaranteed poor work, and another writer observed that most of the hundreds of cinema pianists he had encountered played music which "had not [...] the faintest connection with the pictures they were supposed to be accompanying."[24] Some full-time accompanists were little better than pianolas, for it was reported that one cinema pianist "knew about six tunes, which he played over and over again in regular sequence."[25] The majority of pianists had a wider range, but in 1914 the *Illustrated Films Monthly* still professed itself "disgusted with the incongruous tinkling of amateurs on cottage pianofortes at the picture shows."[26] The larger cinemas built up small orchestras, augmenting the piano with a violin, a cello, and a drum, and sometimes replacing it with a harmonium to give an even wider range of sounds. By 1917 the accompaniment had become a significant factor in choosing which cinema to visit, and there was said to be an average of three musicians per cinema. Yet in 1918 there were still complaints about "the general absence of any form or system in the fitting of music to pictures."[27]

Fast projection and incongruous music may contradict the usual depiction of the developing art of film, but it has to be accepted that these early film shows were undeniably crude because their patrons were terribly poor. In 1909 the success of the purpose-built cinema was due less to the pictures that were shown, than to the fact that it was cheap to enter and, unlike the theater or the music hall, did not impose a minimum standard of dress. "Best clothes are a *sine qua non* for

the music hall," observed one writer in 1910, "whereas the cinematograph may be visited without this formality": "It is also rather cheaper. Admission is only 2d., whereas the Hippodrome is at least 3d."[28] The low price of tickets, and the fact that patrons could wear their work clothes, were enormously important in the success of the cinema, but they brought their own problems. Working-class audiences had few opportunities to wash themselves or to change their clothes, and they naturally smelt strongly. In 1914 it was admitted that in many cinemas "the 'great unwashed' are a very real problem," and managers were advised to purchase sprays and deodorizers with which to disinfect their halls, not only after each performance but also "during the time the pictures are being shown."[29]

For these patrons the cinema did not only supply entertainment, it also offered a refuge from the cold. As one writer commented in the winter of 1914, "one wonders what we did without them":

> The opportunities to escape from weather like we are now having, and at the same time to be accommodated with comfort and entertainment were far less in the old days than now.[30]

Warmth has no place in the developing art of film, but in 1917 it was acknowledged as a significant factor in attracting the working classes:

> You must bear in mind that some of these people only live in one room, and perhaps they find it cheaper to take a short time at the pictures. You see, it means they have not got to light a fire at home, and that would be cheaper for them.[31]

The unemployed were also attracted to the cinema by the warmth. Soon after the end of the war in 1918 the manager of the Crown Theater in Coventry found that his cinema was being used by men "just above the breadline":

> When the theatre opened in the afternoon, the portion of the seating priced at 4d. always attracted a fair number of patrons. They were the elderly or the rather untidy individuals without jobs. Three quarters of this number put their heads down automatically and went to sleep.[32]

For other patrons the cinema offered privacy, another commodity that was in short supply at home. In 1915 the newly-appointed manager of the Scala Theater in Liverpool discovered that young couples wanted to buy time in the darkness. The 4d. ticket was indeed known locally as "four penn'orth o' dark," and he was amazed to find that when the lights were turned out "hardly any member of the audience seemed to bother to look at the screen."[33] A similar situation was reported from the East End of London in 1917, where young couples visited their

local cinemas to escape the prying eyes of their parents. "It is a dark place," explained one local resident, "and if you have a young lady it is very convenient to go there": "The expression down there is that you take your 'bird' to the pictures."[34] It is important to remember that early audiences did not buy films, but bought time in the cinema, which they used for a variety of purposes. The manager of the King's Hall in Birmingham admitted that by 1918 his daytime audience was "very mixed":

> There were lady shoppers from the Lewis Store who had become tired; overflow from the city picture houses when most of them had filled; dwellers on a rather poor residential estate adjacent to the hall, on the side away from Birmingham; and commercial men waiting for business appointments.[35]

The cinema also appealed to working-class audiences by welcoming the whole family. It was observed at the end of 1909 that in the London suburbs "fathers, mothers, and children regard a weekly visit to the picture palace as indispensable to a happy life," and by 1911 moving pictures were said to have changed the recreational habits of the working man, for "the small charges for admission permit him of taking mamma, the baby and the 'kids.'" The purpose-built cinema attracted "whole families of the industrial classes," and it was said that by breaking the masculine dominance of the public house it "makes for the good of the family." As one exhibitor noted in 1912, "it's the 'pub' we compete with":

> There are two coal-heavers in there now, each with two children. Where did they formerly spend their Saturday nights? In the public house ... Well, that's where they would have been if they hadn't been here.[36]

The question of where the early audiences found the money to attend is enormously important, although it is seldom asked. By 1917 some 21 million tickets were being sold each week at an average price of 4d., amounting to an outlay of around £350,000.[37] This money must have come from somewhere, and the likelihood is that it came from the public house, for beer consumption was declining and, as the *Kinematograph Weekly* acknowledged in 1918, "people are more and more forsaking the public-houses for the kinema."[38]

For those historians committed to the developing art of film these working-class audiences, with their love of comedies and crude melodramas, their indiscriminate passion for movement, their dirty clothes, and their tendency to rowdyism, must seem very unattractive. This is hardly surprising, for contemporary exhibitors also found them unattractive, and struggled both to separate them from the middle-class patrons and to overawe them with uniformed attendants. In order to increase their profits the major investors simply had to move their audience

upmarket. "It is quite true that a very respectable income may be derived from amusing the working classes," admitted the *Bioscope* in 1910:

> [...] but he who would extract all the gold from the rich mine which the bioscope business places within his reach must not lose sight of the very considerable extra profit which may accrue from a judicious admixture of the better class element.[39]

The solution was eventually found in a strategy of building larger cinemas, booking longer features, and sponsoring a style of filmmaking which absorbed the spectator into the illusion and thus broke the power of the working-class audience.

The study of these early audiences reinforces the lesson that the history of film lies in the past, not in cans in the archives, and that it can only be recovered by the careful study of a wide range of sources. The surviving prints have considerable value as evidence of the developing art of film, but historians can learn more about the British film industry between 1895 and 1920 by studying the venues in which these films were exhibited, than by restoring these prints and projecting them according to their own personal tastes. Film history is not the history of a medium, it is the story of how that medium was transformed by the intervention of a mass audience with its own desires and demands. Like the traveling showmen and cinema managers who pioneered film exhibition in Britain between 1895 and 1920, film historians must come to terms with an audience that was awkward, dirty, and unruly, but whose patronage supported the entire industry.

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The Gentleman in the Stalls: Georges Méliès and Spectatorship in Early Cinema

Frank Kessler

Obviously, one should say "the lady and the gentleman in the stalls." As feminist research on spectatorship during the early years of living pictures, by scholars such as Miriam Hansen, Lauren Rabinovitz and Heide Schlüpmann, has demonstrated, women constituted an important, if not the major part of the audience at the turn of the last century.[1] Indeed, to take just one example from the earliest years of the new medium, among the spectators depicted on posters advertising the *Cinématographe Lumière* we see numerous women seated among the spectators. However, when the French film historian Georges Sadoul, in his *Histoire générale du cinéma*, declared that Georges Méliès's films represented "le point de vue du monsieur de l'orchestre," that is the point of view of the gentleman in the stalls, he did not necessarily want to claim that audiences at that time were predominantly male.[2] His purpose, in fact, was to raise quite a different kind of issue, one which is, in the first place, aesthetic.

Discussing the work of Méliès, Sadoul explains that the owner of the Robert-Houdin theater adopted a camera position that created a unity of both space and, literally, point of view:

> The camera-spectator, sitting right in the middle of the *Théâtre Robert-Houdin*, always sees the actors integrally, from head to toe, one sees the totality of the sets, from border to footlights, from prompt side to opposite prompt side, the perspective of which is organised in accordance with the eye of "*the gentleman in the stalls.*"[3]

This unity of point of view, according to Sadoul, was preserved even when Méliès started making longer films – which were in fact among the longest and most elaborate of this period around 1900. The difference being simply that he moved from one frame of reference – the rather small Théâtre Robert-Houdin – to another: the Théâtre du Châtelet. The latter was one of the biggest Parisian stages, specializing in spectacular productions, and in particular *féeries*, that is to say fairy

plays, which did indeed have many formal and aesthetic traits in common with Méliès's films.[4]

Fig. 1: Théâtre Robert-Houdin poster.

Sadoul's point here is, of course, that Méliès's films were inextricably bound to a stage aesthetic and thus did not fully realize the artistic potential of moving pictures. Seen as a "pioneer" by Sadoul and most other traditional film historians, Méliès is considered a forerunner, experimenting with a number of cinematic techniques, and using these to produce all sorts of trick effects, but whose creative work does not belong to the realm of film art proper. Considering him essentially a man of the theater, a characterization that is undoubtedly correct, film historiography before the 1980s tended to see him as a figure who was paradoxically both important and marginal. Important, because he opened up the road for animated photography to become a means for telling fantastic stories, creating exotic worlds, and generally making visible the impossible. Yet marginal, because Méliès did not seem to be attracted, as a filmmaker, by the medium's capacity to reproduce the outside world, a potential that came to be viewed by many as its essential quality.

This tension was raised to a theoretical level by Siegfried Kracauer, who identified a fundamental opposition at the very core of the medium. Distinguishing between a realistic and a formative tendency as the vectors that define what he called the "cinematic," he states:

> Is it by sheer accident that the two tendencies manifested themselves side by side immediately after the rise of the medium? As if to encompass the whole range of cinematic endeavours at the outset, each went the limit in exhausting its own possibility. The prototypes were Lumière, a strict realist, and Méliès, who gave free rein to his artistic imagination. The films they made embody, so to speak, thesis and antithesis in a Hegelian sense.[5]

But while Méliès's work is taken as a defining manifestation of one of these fundamental tendencies governing the aesthetics of cinema, Kracauer also explicitly follows Sadoul and classifies Méliès in the final instance as a man of the theater: "His ideal spectator was the traditional theatregoer, child or adult."[6]

What then characterizes this spectatorial position of the traditional theatergoer – Sadoul's "gentleman in the stalls" – with regard to Méliès's films? To begin with, it should be stressed that Sadoul in fact refers to this position as that of a *camera*-spectator, thus not as an institutional framing of the viewer's attitude. There is therefore no confusion between two forms of spectacle; the difference is, to some extent at least, acknowledged. Sadoul's (and Kracauer's) point here is that the films are not "cinematic" enough. Secondly, the *locus* of the spectator seems to be defined not so much as a *position* in the literal sense of the term, but rather is *inferred* from what appears on the screen. As Sadoul explains, the actors are visible "from head to toe" and the sets appear as a totality, as a spatial entity closed upon itself (and with their edges often visible). Consequently, this is considered to correspond to a fixed viewing position, in contrast to one where the devices of camera movement or editing serve to "mobilize" the spectator's gaze. So it transpires that Sadoul's statement concerns the aesthetic position he attributes to Méliès rather than any historical evidence of an audience's actual experience. And while Sadoul tries to situate Méliès's work within a (teleological) evolutionary history, moving from a technology reproducing movement through a series of intermittently projected still photographs to the emergence of an art form, Kracauer develops a normative aesthetics of cinema, where the formative tendency that Méliès's films are said to have pushed to one extreme needs to be counterbalanced by the realist tendency, a road which Méliès indeed did not pursue.

Framing Attractions

In the years following the famous 1978 FIAF conference in Brighton, where archivists and film historians came together in order to look at hundreds of films made between 1900 and 1906, and which prompted a major reappraisal of early cinema, both Sadoul's teleological conception of film history and normative ideas on film aesthetics such as Kracauer's have been severely critiqued by a younger generation of film historians and theorists.[7] This, however, has been less to disprove observations such as Méliès approaching the cinematograph as a man of the stage, than to frame them differently, not as a deficiency with regard to subsequent forms of the medium, but as a positive force creating a specific aesthetic paradigm (or *dispositif*)[8] that should be distinguished from the norms governing classical narrative cinema.

Claiming that the aesthetics of early cinema differed radically from the later, institutionalized form of the medium, and that this constitutes, as Noel Burch called it, a "primitive mode of representation,"[9] or, in the words of André Gaudreault and Tom Gunning, a "cinema of attractions,"[10] means that its typical characteristics have to be appraised within a different frame of reference. The fixity of viewpoint that for Sadoul belonged to the "gentleman in the stalls" and for Kracauer to the traditional theatergoer, can thus be seen, with regard to Méliès's trick films, as serving a particular purpose, making possible a form of cinematic illusion, which not only requires a number of rather complex operations, but also the mastering of a specifically cinematic device. Many of Méliès's trick effects are indeed produced by cutting and splicing together different takes, making thus use of the so-called substitution splice. And so Gunning argues:

> This concern for a unified viewpoint of the action (an act of enframing which does not vary even as the action within it is synthetically constructed by a series of concealed splices) differs sharply from the classical continuity system based on dramatic and psychological analysis and fragmentation. In the classical system a variety of viewing angles and distances are related to a larger spatial whole and these relations are regulated by the rules of continuity editing. While the continuity system maintains a consistent spatial orientation for the viewer, the variations between shots allow a dramatic and spatial articulation of the action. In contrast, the approach of early film privileges the single viewpoint and its posture of displaying something to the audience. The substitution splice is based on maintaining the apparent continuity of this single viewpoint, rather than a dramatic articulation of a story through varied shots.[11]

So while one can indeed identify the same technical operations of cutting and splicing at work here, these are used by Méliès not to construct spatial and temporal relationships across a series of shots, but rather to create an illusory spatio-

temporal continuity that produces his trick effects and which is effectively camouflaged:[12]

> Unity of point of view gives the illusion of a theatrical unity of time, when, in fact, the substitution splice creates a specifically cinematic synthesis of time. The framing of Méliès's composition, taken by historians as a sign of his 'primitive' theatricality, reveals itself as consciously constructed illusion, designed to attract attention from the actual cinematic process at work.[13]

We might conclude from this that the viewing position created, or constructed, in Méliès's films is in fact much more complicated than Sadoul's description of it as a perspective organized "in accordance with the eye of the gentleman in the stalls" suggests. It is not simply a transposition of a theatergoer's viewing mode to a new medium, whose specificity is not yet clearly understood. Rather, Méliès and his contemporaries were exploring the possibilities offered by the cinematograph in a variety of ways, not all of which can be said to "lead" toward the institution of cinema as an art form, which Sadoul or Kracauer take as their frame of reference. Even when a film actually does imitate a stage situation, complete with a proscenium arch and painted sets, the viewer can never ignore the fact that she or he is looking at a screen. The spectator watching animated pictures is, as it were, invited to imagine looking at a stage, and the experiential difference between the two is part of the attraction the film has to offer. And at the same time, the stage-like setting of the action helps to make the attraction – the trick – work, concealing the actual technical operation through which it is achieved, and which is, in this case, a genuinely cinematic one.

Staging Views

The characterization of Méliès's spectator as a theatergoer or as a "gentleman in the stalls" is in fact inadequate at the most basic level as well. The camera angle in Méliès's films never really mimics the actual viewing position of someone in a theater seat looking slightly upwards at a stage. As Jacques Malthête[14] has deduced from the analysis of Méliès's sets, it is, in accordance with the stage practice of that time, a fictive point of view corresponding to no actual seat in the theater. Also, and more importantly, there is a fundamental difference with regard to the viewer's perspective looking at the space on the stage, and the field of vision in a scene recorded by a camera. Ben Brewster and Lea Jacobs discuss this in detail, explaining that "while for stage actors, the nearer they approach the footlights, the more room for manoeuvre they have, for film actors it is the opposite."[15]

As a matter of fact, Méliès manifestly was well aware of this. In his *causerie* on cinematographic views, published in 1907 in the *Annuaire général et international de*

la photographie, he addressed the point by stating the necessity to instruct the actors about the positions they have to take in order to structure the action clearly for the viewer: "It is also advisable to consider how the camera will render a gesture. In a photograph, the characters overlap each other, and the greatest care must always be taken to make the principal character stand out [...]."[16] In order to stage his views and be able to control the effects he wanted to achieve, Méliès had to think through every aspect of his mise-en-scène in terms of the picture on the screen he wanted to present.[17]

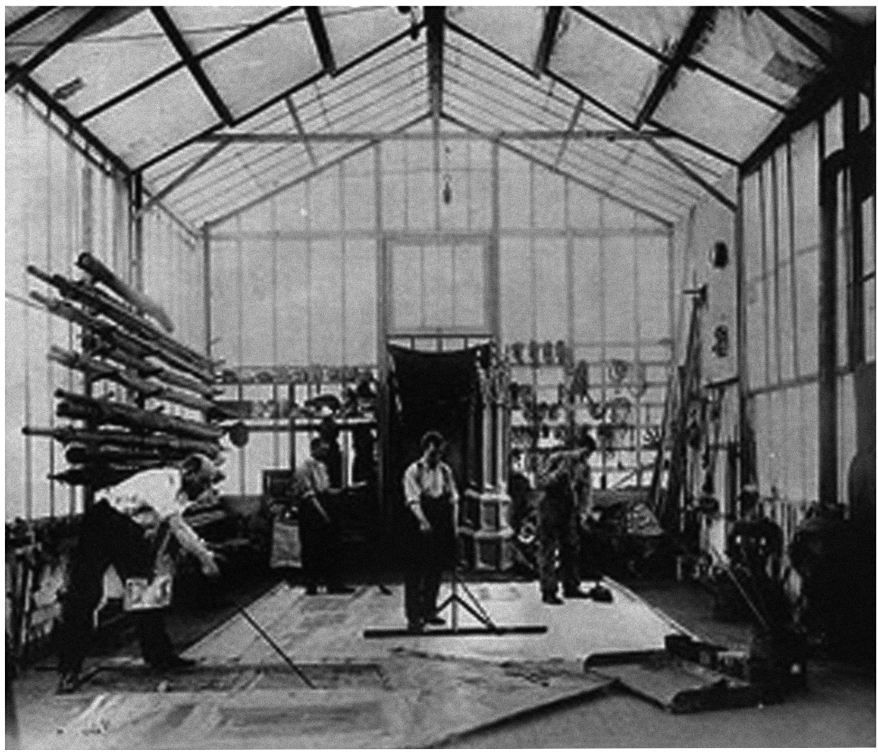

Fig. 2: Méliès's glasshouse studio.

Yet, at the same time Méliès remained a man of the stage, declaring that his cinematographic career was so closely linked to his work at the Robert-Houdin theater that it would be impossible to consider them separately.[18] While conceiving everything he did in the realm of the cinematograph in terms of the effects he wanted to achieve on the screen, the theater clearly was his frame of reference. Also, in the description he gave of his studio, he stressed its hybrid character:

> Briefly, it is a combination, made of iron and glass, of a photographic studio (on a gigantic scale) and a theatrical stage. The camera booth and operator are located at one end, while at the other end is a floor, constructed exactly like a theatrical stage, and fitted with trapdoors, scenery slots, and uprights.[19]

It was the possibilities offered by exactly this combination of the cinematograph with the stage technology developed for the theater of magic, which, above all, seems to have fascinated Méliès as a filmmaker. Describing in his 1907 article the various trick techniques and devices he had invented, developed, or improved upon, he concluded by stating: "I do not hesitate to say that it is possible today to achieve the most impossible and improbable things in cinematography."[20] Although by the end of the nineteenth century, theater technicians were capable of producing quite extraordinary effects on stage,[21] Méliès obviously saw the cinematograph as a means to create even more spectacular illusions. The reference to the stage, however, is important to him, both as a cultural practice in relation to which he situates his work in cinematography, and as a formal device allowing him to foreground these "most impossible and improbable things" he is capable of achieving thanks to the new technology of animated photography. It is this tension, precisely, between stage and screen that has to be borne in mind in order to understand the aesthetic principles involved in Méliès staging his cinematographic views.

Addressing Spectators

Among the formal characteristics of early films, and particularly those of Méliès, the fact that performers directly look at the camera and seem to acknowledge the audience is often seen as a sign of their "theatricality." For Gunning, however, in line with his argument referred to earlier, this is not a sign of primitivism, but rather a defining feature of the so-called cinema of attractions, and part of a strategy to "solicit the attention of the spectator."[22] Such an interpretation is in fact to some extent corroborated by Méliès in his 1907 article, where he deals with the direct address so frequently found in his films. Discussing the kind of challenge that playing in front of a camera proved to be for actors coming from the theater, Méliès declares:

> There is no longer an audience for the actor to address, either verbally or with gestures. The camera is the only viewer, and nothing is worse than looking at it and performing to it. This is what invariably happens at first to actors accustomed to the stage but not to the cinematograph.[23]

This seems quite an extraordinary remark, in view of how often Méliès himself behaves exactly in the way that he claims he does *not* want his actresses or actors

to. His own characters, and most notably when he plays a stage magician, not only look and gesture towards the camera, but also sometimes act as if there was an audience in front of them.[24] The discrepancy between what Méliès requires from the members of his troupe – to avoid looking at or playing towards the lens – and his own performance suggests that he does indeed follow a deliberate strategy here. Creating something like a hierarchy between himself and the others, he can act as the master of ceremonies, orienting the spectator's gaze, announcing the attractions that are going to be shown, and thus orchestrating all the action.

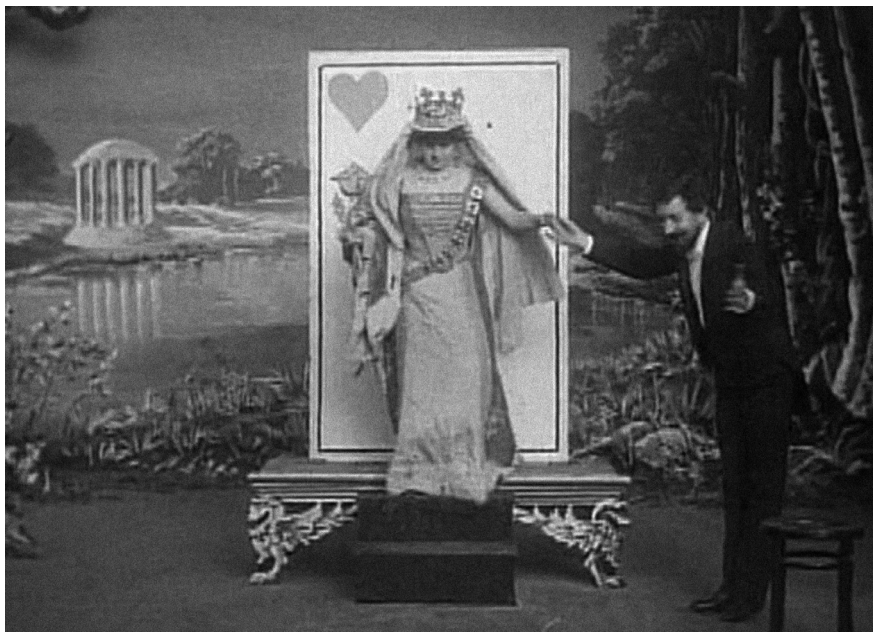

Fig. 3: Méliès performing a card trick in his Les Cartes Vivantes *(1904).*

One of the most striking examples of Méliès's acting directly to the camera appears in his Les Cartes Vivantes (The Living Playing Cards, 1904), which presents him in the role of a stage magician performing a card trick. He stands on a stage, dressed in an evening suit, holding up a playing card. Apparently, there is a complaint that it is hardly visible. The magician puts his hand to his ear, as if he cannot understand what is being said. Then he points to his eyes and advances a few steps. But this does not seem to have the desired effect. He throws up his arms in frustration, and then apparently finds a solution: the card can be enlarged, as he indicates with a gesture. He doubles its size, once and then once more. Now we can clearly see it is as nine of spades. Throughout the film, Méliès gestures towards the camera, announcing what he is about to do or commenting

in some way on what is happening. However, the feigned exchange with an audience in the opening part of the film constitutes a quite unusual case of direct address. If one saw this scene simply as a reproduction of a stage act, one would miss an important aspect of the film, by not taking into account the complexity of the spectatorial position that the film aims to produce.

In order to have a set of conceptual tools to describe this constellation, it is helpful to refer to the terminology created by the French *filmologie* movement, as defined by Etienne Souriau (1951).[25] The various terms try to distinguish the different levels at which phenomena occur in the overall process, from what is happening in front of the camera to the projection of moving images, intended to depict an imaginary world, on a screen in a movie theater. In these terms, what exactly is happening in Les Cartes Vivantes?

On the level of the *profilmic* – the reality recorded by the camera, including everything arranged specifically to be filmed – there is an actor turning to the camera, looking directly at it, or gesturing towards it. On the level of *screenic reality* (Lowry's rendering of Souriau's "*écranique*"), the forms and shapes of light, shadow, and movement that can be observed on the screen, there is a male figure in a frontal view, addressing through his mimicry and gestures an invisible interlocutor opposite him who does not appear on the screen. For *filmologie*, this screenic reality is part of the larger *filmophanic* situation, which includes everything that happens during the projection of a film. On this level, the actor's gaze, which as a profilmic one was oriented towards the lens, seems to meet the spectator's gaze that is directed at the screen. This, in turn, is supposed to produce a *spectatorial* effect, that is to say one that subjectively occurs in the spectator's mind, as Souriau puts it, of these gestures being addressed to me as a member of the film's audience. And finally, with regard to the *diegesis*, the situation depicted shows a magician on a stage, turning towards his audience, which, however, never actually appears on the screen in a reverse shot, as might be the case in, for instance, a classical musical of the sound era, where the performers' addressing the camera is often recuperated by a shot showing the spectators in the theater watching in awe the extraordinary feats of the dancers. In Les Cartes Vivantes, on the contrary, the address pretends to be directed at the filmophanic audience.

This rather unexpected effect of a picture on the screen turning to the people sitting in the theater is based on exactly the kind of formal features described by Sadoul when he explains what constitutes the "point of view of the gentleman in the stalls." What this description fails to grasp, however, is the complex interplay between the viewing position constructed here and the depiction of a stage-like arrangement that appears on the screen. Méliès literally plays with the different elements he mobilizes in order to produce the effects with which he wants to amaze his audience. The recreation, or rather evocation, of a stage in a theater of magic in Les Cartes Vivantes results in a complex aesthetic strategy. Not only does the fixity and the unity of the point of view make possible the numerous

substitutions that occur throughout this film; it also allows Méliès to pretend to be interacting with the audience. The latter know very well that they are looking at a character on a screen. Perhaps Méliès did begin by organizing the perspective in his films according to the perspective of a theatergoer, which would have been his obvious point of departure. But as LES CARTES VIVANTES and other films demonstrate, this was not because he failed to understand – as Sadoul seems to suggest – the many new possibilities that the camera offered him. Rather, it seems that he wanted to invite his audience to imagine they shared the point of view of the gentleman (and, no doubt, the lady) in the stalls, so that he could create new illusions that allowed him to play with the, literally, phenomenal difference between the stage and the screen.

Spectatorship is an issue often discussed within film studies on an exclusively theoretical level, with "audiences" considered a problem of an entirely different order that belongs to empirical and historical research. But as I have tried to show, even when looking at spectatorship as a "viewing position" that is constructed by a film, this construction cannot be understood adequately outside at least some form of historical embedding (in many theoretical debates this may have remained implicit, but that does not mean that there is no frame of reference at all). By coining the phrase "the point of view of the gentleman in the stalls," Sadoul in the first instance describes an abstract viewing position that is inferred from stylistic features he observes in Méliès's films. But he conceives this form of spectatorship in opposition to what he sees as a more properly cinematic one, which is based on the ubiquity of the gaze in later classical cinema. However, when the viewing position of "the gentleman in the stalls" is historicized by taking into account (and taking seriously) the specific filmmaking practice that it involves, it can become a productive starting point to understand the ways in which Méliès addressed his audience (in all the different meanings of this expression). So, in spite of the anachronistic gender-bias of the term, when discussing spectatorship in a historical perspective, we should not forget the "gentleman in the stalls" – and, of course, his companions.

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Beyond the Nickelodeon: Cinemagoing, Everyday Life and Identity Politics

Judith Thissen

> For most people, even those of us who know better, the image of cramped dingy nickelodeons in Manhattan's Lower East Side ghetto stands as a symbol for cinema's emergence in America.
> – Ben Singer[1]

Few topics in American film history have generated more controversy than the question of who went to the movies during the crucial years that the cinema established itself as a national mass medium and the movies became one of the most enduring expressions of American culture. By 1910, millions of Americans were fervent moviegoers. How did these early audiences shape the history of American cinema? And how did the cinema shape their lives? In the opening decade of the 20th century, the United States was still a nation of immigrants. Were the movies a vehicle for diffusing Anglo-Protestant values and sensibilities, or did American film culture evolve as a counterpoint to middle-class leisure patterns and operate as an alternative public sphere? Did the cinema play a significant role in the Americanization of its immigrant patrons? And if so, in what ways? Since the 1970s, the issue of early cinema's social and cultural orientation has frequently appeared at the forefront of film historiography.

Many of the contributions to this ongoing debate have, like my own work, focused on New York City. Here, I will first explain why this has been the case and how previous accounts of the nickelodeon period have shaped our understanding of the relationship between early cinema and its audiences – workers and immigrants in particular. Second, I will discuss the main insights derived from so-called revisionist scholarship, which has challenged the traditional picture of pre-Hollywood cinema as primarily working-class entertainment, and demonstrated that the middle classes sought to appropriate and control cinema well before the American film industry began to accommodate this more affluent audience by changing its signifying practices and opening picture palaces. Recent studies supporting the "embourgeoisement thesis" have revealed in great detail the complex ideological tensions at work in cinema's transition from a cheap amusement associated with workers and immigrants into a respectable entertainment medium suited for all classes. They concentrate primarily on the discourse

and practices of the film industry, its allies (Progressive reformers) and critics (anti-vice crusaders, religious leaders and the like) but have omitted the working-class and immigrant audience itself – those very people who have been identified time and again as the most fervent patrons of early American cinema. As a social historian, I am first and foremost interested in how the cinema fitted into the everyday life of "real people." As Richard Maltby has pointed out, for most audiences of American cinema "the primary relationship with 'the cinema' has not been with individual movies-as-artifacts or as texts, but with the social experience of cinema."[2] To understand this social experience, I argue, we need to broaden our idea of reception to include the world outside the movie theater, ranging from the factory, the church and public meeting halls to other forms of entertainment such as dance halls, saloons and vaudeville shows. In other words, we need to engage with the social world at large. In my case study, which comprises the second part of this article, I apply a multifaceted socio-historical approach to early cinemagoing in the "Great New York Ghetto," which was the central focus of social and cultural life for the city's Yiddish-speaking Jews[3] – a place from where styles and trends emerged that were replicated in other Jewish neighborhoods in Greater New York, and subsequently exported to immigrant Jewish communities across the United States.

A True Theater of the People

American film historiography has long assumed that early movie audiences consisted primarily of working people, many of whom were recent immigrants or first-generation Americans. This characterization of cinemagoing as a working-class and immigrant pastime was shaped to a great extent by the period's own writings about the nickelodeon boom that hit the nation in 1907. Most of these narratives dealt with New York City. This comes as no surprise if we consider that the city had not only the highest number of nickelodeons, but was also the center of the American entertainment industry and the hub of national publishing. Moreover, as Giorgio Bertellini points out, "over the course of the second half of the nineteenth century, New York came to personify both the most dynamic manifestations and the most detrimental excesses of capitalist modernity."[4] As the largest and most ethnically diverse metropolis in the United States, the city developed into an "emblematic ethnographic field" for newspaper men, moral crusaders, settlement workers, and other investigators interested in the social and cultural dynamics of the new urban life style.[5]

Manhattan's Lower East Side captured their imagination in particular. The overcrowded tenement district with its "foreign" population of recently arrived immigrants from Southern Italy and Eastern Europe appeared profoundly different from the rest of the city, fascinating and threatening at the same time. In 1890, Jacob Riis' landmark publication *How the Other Half Lives: Studies Among the*

Tenements of New York revealed the New York slums to America's middle and upper classes. Over the next decades, progressive reformers and city officials published dozens of reports on the district's social problems, ranging from child labor, poor living conditions to the allegedly corrupting influence of cheap amusements like commercial dance halls and variety shows. Building on the success of Riis, "How the Other Half Laughs" (1898) even offered the readers of *Harper's Weekly* a glimpse inside the large Yiddish legitimate playhouses, cheap variety shows, freak museums and saloons on the Bowery, the main axis of entertainment in lower Manhattan. Well into the 20th century, muckraking journalists satisfied the curiosity of their readers with human interest stories about almost every aspect of immigrant culture and social life.

As early as 1907, the moving picture shows of downtown "Little Italy" and the "Hebrew quarter" became an object of ethnographic interest and were integrated into the practice of middle-class slumming – real or virtual. In these "stuffy little box-like theatres," *Harper's Weekly* explained, "the passer-by with an idle quarter of an hour on his hands has an opportunity to kill the time swiftly, if he is not above mingling with the hoi polloi. Likewise the student of sociology may get a few points that he could not obtain in a day's journey through the thronged streets of the East Side."[6] Before long, the nickelodeons in downtown Manhattan became the key representatives of early film exhibition in New York, and even of the nation at large. In the public mind, the typical nickelodeon was a small, dark, smelly, ghetto storefront picture show overcrowded with poor, half-washed Jewish and Italian newcomers – a naive and impressionable audience eager to learn the American way of life from the silver screen.

Right from the first screenings of the cinematograph, the new film medium had been hailed as a universal language that could reach audiences across national, cultural and social boundaries. The metaphor of film as a universal language "emphasized connotations of egalitarianism, internationalism, and the progress of civilization through technology."[7] It was especially powerful in the United States, where a large part of the population was foreign-born and not yet fully integrated into the mainstream of American society. In *The Art of the Moving Picture* (1915), the poet Vachel Lindsay elaborated the notion of the movies as "American hieroglyphics" and stressed cinema's democratic nature and potential:

> The invention of the photoplay is as great a step as was the beginning of picture-writing in the stone age. And cave-men and women of our slums seem to be the people most affected by this novelty. [...] The slums are an astonishing assembly of cavemen crawling out of their shelters to exhibit for the first time in history a common interest on a tremendous scale in an art form.[8]

Most Progressive reformers, including Jane Adams, John Collier and Mary Heaton Vorse, discussed in friendlier terms the popularity of motion picture entertain-

ment with immigrant audiences and cinema's impact upon "the tired workers, overburdened men and women," who filled "the little halls throughout the city and throughout the land." Describing her visit to a nickelodeon on East Houston Street, Vorse wrote in 1911:

> There they were, a strange company of aliens – Jews, almost all; haggard and battered and bearded men, young girls with their beaus, spruce and dapper youngsters beginning to make their way. In that humble playhouse one ran the gamut of the East Side. The American-born sat next to the emigrant who arrived but a week before. A strange and romantic people cast into the welter of the terrible city of New York, each of them with the overwhelming problem of battling with strange conditions and an alien civilization. And for the moment they were permitted to drink deep of oblivion of all the trouble in the world.[9]

Influenced by the ideas of Matthew Arnold, progressive reformers believed that education rather than repression was the answer to the deep social and cultural crisis that the United States faced as a result of the combined effects of mass migration, rapid urbanization and industrialization. As soon as the movies came into their purview, the nickelodeons were inscribed within a rhetoric of uplift. "The nickelodeon is the thing," John Collier of the People's Institute argued in a 1908 article that appeared in *Charities and Commons*, a publication for social workers:

> All the settlements and churches combined do not reach daily a tithe of the simple and impressionable fold that the nickelodeons reach and vitally impress every day. Here is a new social force, perhaps the beginning of a true theater of the people, and an instrument whose power can only be realized when social workers begin to use it.[10]

The film historian Miriam Hansen found that articles in newspapers and popular journals abounded with clichés like "the poor men's elementary course in drama," "the academy of the working man," and "a grand social worker."[11] Handed down by popular memory and traditional film histories, these stereotypical characterizations of early movie audiences and film exhibition in New York City generated the founding myth of Hollywood's democratic nature and the power of the cinema to change American society from the bottom up. For instance, in his influential study *The Rise of the American Film* (1939), Lewis Jacobs argued that from the outset:

> The movies gave the newcomers, particularly, a respect for American law and order, an understanding of civic organization, pride in citizenship and in the

> American commonwealth. Movies acquainted them with current happenings at home and abroad. Because the uncritical movie-goers were deeply impressed by what they saw in the photographs and accepted it as the real thing, the movies were powerful and persuasive. More vividly than any other single agency they revealed the social topography of America to the immigrant, to the poor and to the country folk.[12]

Especially among historians on the left, pre-Hollywood cinema has been posited as a fundamentally progressive institution. For Jacobs and Garth Jowett[13] the nickelodeon stood as a symbol for the close affinity between the "melting pot" ideology of the movies and the upwardly-mobile aspirations of its core audience. Robert Sklar, meanwhile, understood the cinema as a vehicle for working-class cultural and political agency. His *Movie Made America* – an exemplary work of 1970s New Left historiography – opens with the statement that the movies were "the first of the modern mass media, and they rose from the surface of cultural consciousness from the bottom up, receiving their principal support from the lowest and most invisible classes in American society."[14] Some twenty years later, Ben Singer provided new empirical evidence to support Sklar's assessment of the working-class nature of early film culture in urban America (*Cinema Journal*, 1995).[15] His analysis of film exhibition in the nickelodeon era in Manhattan led to an extensive exchange on methodology that complicated the notion of class, but largely ignored questions about the ethnic background of early American movie audiences. Despite the insights gained from the mid-1990s Manhattan nickelodeon debate, *Working-Class Hollywood: Silent Film and the Shaping of Class in America* (1998) by Steven Ross maintained that the American film industry was built with the nickels and dimes of working-class men, women and children, however open to question this now was.[16] Whether inscribing the cinema within a scenario of Americanization (Jacobs, Jowett), or defining it as a site of hegemonic struggle over cultural power (Sklar, Ross), at the heart of this "democratic lineage" is an assumption about class: that cinemagoing in the United States was initially and essentially a working-class pastime.[17]

The Embourgeoisement Thesis

In the context of the breakthrough of the New Film History, revisionist film scholars had begun to challenge the traditional one-dimensional account of cinemagoing during the pre-Hollywood era, drawing attention to the significant contributions that the middle classes made to the transformation of the cinema into a mass medium.[18] Robert C. Allen's much-cited case study of film exhibition in Manhattan during the nickelodeon era, initially published in *Cinema Journal* in 1979, marked a turning point in the academic debate about early American movie audiences.[19] Using previously overlooked sources such as business directories

and fire insurance maps, Allen discovered that film exhibition in New York City was far from uniform. The Lower East Side storefront nickelodeons, "so beloved of film historians," were indeed small and "almost certain proletarian and immigrant oriented."[20] However, Allen found that only a third of the movie theaters in Manhattan were located in working-class and immigrant neighborhoods. The low density of nickelodeons in immigrant neighborhoods other than the Lower East Side suggested considerable differences between ethnic groups and across town. In traditional entertainment districts like Union Square/East Fourteenth Street and the Herald Square area, large-capacity playhouses offered moving pictures and live acts in more or less equal proportions for a price lower than "high class vaudeville" and only slightly higher than the nickelodeons. According to Allen, these so-called "small-time vaudeville" theaters played a key role in upgrading exhibition conditions and building a middle-class audience for the movies. Moviegoing during the nickelodeon era, he concluded, was "by no means an exclusive activity of the poor or the immigrant."[21]

The revisionist interpretation of pre-Hollywood cinema consumption was absorbed without much debate into the mainstream of film historical scholarship.[22] Since then, studies by Richard Abel, Lee Grieveson, Miriam Hansen, Sumiko Higashi, Janet Staiger, William Uricchio and Roberta Pearson (among others) have refined our understanding of the hegemonic strategies that the American film industry employed to create a modern mass entertainment culture and the struggles for cultural power and social control that went with it.[23] Their work has broken away from unilateral top-down and bottom-up models of cultural transmission to offer a more complex picture of cultural change in which hegemonic intentions are negotiated and reshaped in various ways. Historians of American silent cinema usually acknowledge that workers and immigrants might have resisted the industry's efforts to impose middle-class standards of spectatorship. However, for the most part they deal with these "marginalized forces" only theoretically, and primarily from the perspective of the dominant institutions. Much of the research on early film audiences relies heavily on the film trade press and discourses of cultural elites, often combined with textually extrapolated notions of spectatorship that bring to light the bourgeoisification of taste evident through analyses of editing, performance, and narration. The concrete responses of working-class and ethnic communities to the industry's gentrification efforts, on the other hand, have received little attention. Notable exceptions are Bertellini's work on cinema and Italian Americans, and Jacqueline Najuma Stewarts' study of African American film culture.[24] Language barriers partially explain this blind spot, but not completely. As Bertellini remarks, the problem is also that film historians "have tended to subsume immigrants rather quickly into the category of working-class patrons," thereby disregarding the specific culture and historical trajectory of these groups, including their relation to their homeland.[25]

Consider the example of Hansen's *Babel & Babylon: Spectatorship in American Silent Film* (1991) as it centers on cinema's significance for social groups that were excluded from dominant formations of public discourse. Hansen analyzed the process of homogenization that accompanied the rise of corporate Hollywood and the ways in which spectators participated in, or resisted, this process.[26] Drawing on Oskar Negt and Alexander Kluge, she argued that cinema functioned as a nonhegemonic, alternative public sphere for marginalized groups like women, workers and immigrants. However, according to Hansen, this function cannot be measured in any positive empirical sense. It can only be inferred from the force of negation, that is, from the industry's "hegemonic efforts to suppress or assimilate any conditions that might allow for an alternative (self-regulated, locally, and socially specific) organization of experience."[27] Consequently, Hansen's arguments rely almost entirely on analyses of the dominant bourgeois discourse of consumer capitalism as articulated by products of that discourse, namely films and reviews. However relevant this work may be to a general theoretical understanding of working-class and immigrant audiences, it ultimately tells us little about how cinemagoing fitted into their lives as a whole, or the ways in which cinema might have functioned (or not) as an agent of Americanization and upward social mobility. Moreover, Hansen's textually extrapolated thesis, that the nickelodeons constituted an autonomous public sphere in which working-class immigrants exercised collective authority over their moviegoing experience, requires more detailed historical probing. In the words of Gregory Waller, "before we can make any claims about the capacity of local communities to resist or customize mass culture," we first need to find out much more about how "commercial entertainment was packaged, promoted and consumed locally."[28]

Cinema and Everyday Life

In recent years, film historians have given increasing attention to the material conditions of film exhibition and consumption, and the ways in which these conditions structured the experience of actual moviegoers – "real people" – as opposed to hypothetical spectators.[29] To be sure, the conception of a historical audience will "always and inevitably" remain to some extent "a construction and an abstraction," as Frank Kessler points out.[30] Yet, this does not imply that historians should restrict themselves to theorizations of spectatorship. By investigating how film exhibition varied locally and across time, and by examining the practices of cinemagoing within their larger cultural and socio-economic contexts, we can clarify the conditions of reception and make historical claims about how the cinema figured in the lives of specific categories of consumers and what "going to the movies" meant to them.

Roy Rosenzweig's groundbreaking *Eight Hours For What We Will: Workers & Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1920* (1983) and Gregory Waller's *Main Street Amuse-*

ments: Movies and Commercial Entertainment in a Southern City, 1896-1930 (1995) both offer compelling models for such localized, micro-historical reception studies.[31] Focusing on the city of Worcester (Massachusetts) and drawing on a wide range of evidence, Rosenzweig examines how recreational patterns changed as market forces invaded working-class entertainment and the city's middle and upper classes increasingly sought to impose their own standards of propriety and decorum on working-class recreation, which they often saw as challenging the dominant culture. He demonstrates that from the saloon, public park and July Fourth celebration to the movie theater, workers struggled to retain control over their leisure time and space. These struggles, however, did not necessarily unite workers, since they were often internally divided (typically along ethnic or religious lines) and employers manipulated these intraclass divisions to their own advantage. Whereas Rosenzweig covers a wide range of working-class amusements, including non-commercial leisure activities, Waller concentrates on commercial entertainment and puts the cinema at the center of his study. He realigns film exhibition (ownership, management style, theater design, programming practices, and marketing schemes) and reception (the way the community received the cinema, and its response to specific films) to position cinema and cinemagoing in the broader political, socioeconomic, and cultural context, exploring such issues as the fear of imported entertainment, notions of high and low culture, and the public articulation of moral values.

Waller makes full use of local and social historical approaches, as do many studies of cinema culture outside America's largest cities. With the turn towards micro-history, American film historiography has recently shifted to the study of cinemagoing in small towns and rural communities in the United States, which seem more apt subjects for case studies than the great cities. While this reorientation was much needed, it seems to go hand in hand with a certain blindness to the fact that we still know very little about how the cinema fitted into the social and cultural structure of ethnic communities in Manhattan, let alone Brooklyn or the Bronx.[32] As the most popular locus of early American film historiography and American Jewish memory, the Lower East Side ghetto offers a prime site to explore how the social experience of the cinema was positioned between the poles of working-class bonding, ethnic community enhancement and Americanization.

It should be remembered that first-hand evidence documenting the meaning that ordinary people attached to their lives outside the workplace is still rare. However, an in-depth understanding of the recreational demands and preferences of Jewish immigrant workers can be obtained by examining the business strategies of the showmen who sought to amuse them. Their exhibition practices and marketing strategies are well documented by a wide range of evidence, including advertisements and articles in Yiddish-language press, trade reports, and social surveys by settlement workers. In combination with the discourse of Jewish immigrant intellectuals on popular entertainment, and municipal records relating

to the actual buildings that were used as moving picture theaters, these sources reveal much about the kinds of pressures film exhibitors were under to remain in business, and thus shed a light on the pastimes and amusements of immigrant Jews and their changing attitudes and tastes in the realm of leisure.

Like the East Side nickelodeon, the mythology of early American cinema has turned the Jewish nickelodeon manager into a popular stereotype in his own right – chiefly because several Hollywood moguls began their careers in the moving picture industry as nickelodeon owners. Their road to success from humble immigrant origins to becoming captains of industry still stands as a symbol for the Jewish pursuit of the American Dream. Yet, if we want to understand moviegoing on the Lower East Side, the careers of the three New York moguls – Loew, Fox and Zukor – are not the best starting point. From the start, their business strategies aimed at conquering the mainstream middle-class market. Contrary to what is generally believed, it was not the nickels and dimes of the East Side Jews that propelled them to the top of the American film industry. Fox never ventured below East Fourteenth Street. Loew's flagships on the Lower East Side – the Avenue B and Delancey Street theaters – were built with the profits made in the city's traditional entertainment districts. By contrast, the career of Charles Steiner (1883-1946) offers a different model of Jewish showmanship. Steiner fashioned a niche in the nation's largest movie market by catering explicitly to Jewish working-class audiences in immigrant neighborhoods. In the remainder of this article, I will detail the first years of Steiner's career. What he programmed in his theaters and how he marketed his shows reveals much about how movies were consumed on the Lower East Side. To understand the logic of Steiner's early success is to learn how the cinema became the favorite entertainment pastime of immigrant Jews.[33]

The Archetypical Nickelodeon

Steiner's motion picture career began in 1908, when he turned his father's livery stable at 133 Essex Street into a storefront 250-seat nickelodeon. We can only speculate why the Steiners stepped into the film exhibition business. Father and son might have been impressed by the hundreds of people flocking every day to the Golden Rule Theater around the corner. The motion picture shows flourished, but many businesses suffered from the severe financial depression that followed the stock market crash of 1907. On the Lower East Side alone, more than one hundred thousand men and women were out of work (over 25% of the labor force). The recession forced increasing numbers of Jewish immigrants to abandon the Yiddish theaters and Yiddish music halls for cheaper forms of entertainment. The *Jewish Daily Forward*, the leading Yiddish newspaper, explained:

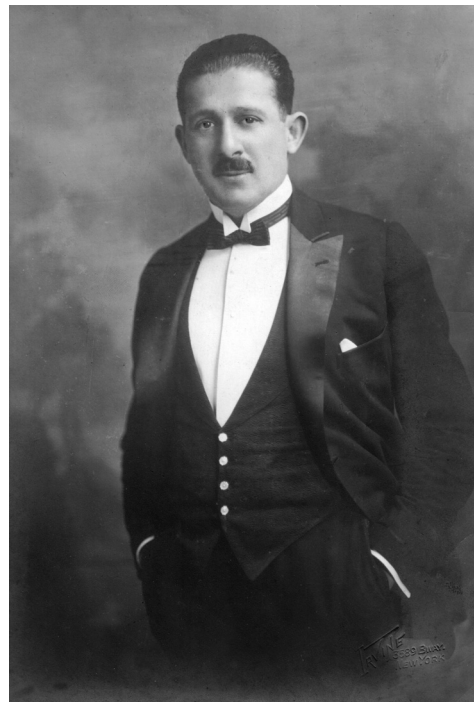


Fig. 1: Charles Steiner, circa 1925. Photo courtesy: Stoney Shukat.

> In order to forget the troubles, misery and sadness, the best thing is to amuse yourself. [...] To go to the Yiddish theater costs at least a quarter, that is, when you take a seat on the gallery. This is a considerable sum of money in a time of economic recession. Especially when you have to treat a girl or a cousin, or your wife – then, it becomes a rather big expense. So people go to the "moving pictures." There you sit for five cents like a lord, and if you are lucky, you get a seat in a box near the stage, in one of those houses which were once music halls. [34]

In other words, the depression fueled the demand for cheap entertainment and the concomitant expansion of storefront picture shows. In April 1908, daily attendance at moving picture shows in New York City was estimated at three to four hundred thousand.[35] By the end of that year, at least thirty motion picture theaters were in operation in the downtown Jewish quarter, not counting those on the nearby Bowery and East Fourteenth Street. In addition to the favorable business circumstances created by the economic recession, the structural conditions for opening a nickelodeon in the heart of the Jewish quarter were excellent. Centrally located, this was one of the most congested parts of New York City. Many blocks in the area, which was known as the Tenth Ward, had over 3,000 inhabitants. In

1902, the Tenement House Department found that almost ten thousand people lived in the four blocks forming the intersection of Rivington Street and Essex Street.[36]

Steiner's Essex Street Theater opened its doors in March 1908. Mollie Hyman, who patronized the picture show as a little girl just after the opening, vividly remembered that "it used to be a stable, and inside the smell [of horses] was still there."[37] This childhood souvenir is one of the rare recollections we have about moviegoing in the Jewish quarter. Whereas the popularity of the Yiddish stage and its stars has been extensively recorded by Jewish-American memoir literature, most autobiographies and oral histories overlook the presence of the nickel-and-dime movie theaters that were spread all over the Lower East Side. In retrospect, the movies seem to have been exclusively associated with American culture and hence ignored, while the Yiddish theater became the quintessence of the Old-World flavored immigrant culture of the turn-of-the-century and the subject of much nostalgic reminiscence. Likewise, cinemagoing was so much part of everyday life that there are very few photographs of moving picture theaters. Hence, we have to dig deep in the records of the Bureau of Buildings and the Office of the City Register (where documents concerning property transfers and ownership are kept) to find information about their architecture, seating arrangements and interior design.

No detailed descriptions or floor plans of the Essex Street Theater have survived, and the building was demolished in 1914 to make way for the 600-seat Palace Theater. However, an inventory, which was listed in a lease of 1912, suggests that Steiner's first venture fitted the expectation of an "archetypal" storefront picture show as we know it from the standard accounts of the nickelodeon era:

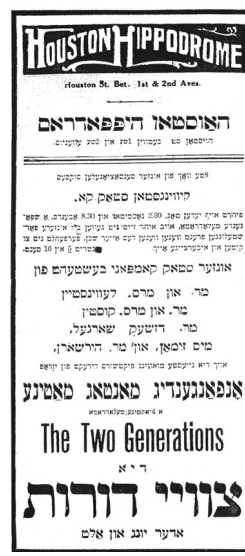
7 18-inch wall fans
2 18-inch exhaust fans
2 ceiling fans
1 complete no. 5 Powers moving picture machine
1 no. 6 Powers moving picture machine head
2 17-hours excello lamps
1 heating furnace
3 fire extinguishers, hooks, and axes
10 signs, banners etc.
about 250 opera chairs
electric globes, glassware and all electrical wiring and lamps[38]

Despite the rather shabby setting, Steiner respected the fire regulations and kept this modest theater clean and ventilated. When an inspector of the National Board of Review visited the picture shows in the area, he found no fault with the

Essex Street theater, whereas the nearby Golden Rule and WACO theaters were criticized for bad ventilation and sanitation.[39]

What did Mollie Hyman and other patrons see at the Essex Street Theater? Until mid-1909, most five-cent theaters in the Jewish quarter offered primarily moving pictures with "a song and a dance, as an extra," perhaps a sketch or two but without much scenery or props.[40] If they offered more elaborate acts, the admission price might go up to ten cents in the evening and at the weekend. Unfortunately, we have very little information about the actual programs that were presented. Film exhibitors did not spend money on newspaper advertising for their shows. Only once did an advertisement for the Essex Street Theater appear in the Yiddish press. This simply pointed out that for five cents prospective patrons could expect the "finest moving pictures" as well as "fine singers and good artists."[41] Steiner and his immediate competitors typically used bill-boards, posters and handouts to reach the public, which according to the ticket seller of the WACO was "entirely local, confined almost within two or three blocks." [42] "We play to our trade," he explained:

> We have here the same people day after day, and we find out what they want and give it to them. The most elaborately produced Shakespearean plays don't appeal much to them; they don't understand them. Neither does the broad comedy that they like over in Fourteenth Street. What our patrons like most is sentiment and emotionalism that appeals to their better nature.


HOUSTON HIPPODROME

Houston St. Bet. 1st & 2nd Aves.

האוסטאן היפפאדראם

The Two Generations

ד ר א

צוויי דורות

Fig. 2: *Advertisement for the Houston Hippodrome,* Jewish Daily Forward, *17 November 1912.*

In any case, patrons were more likely to watch European productions than American movies because until the early 1910s, the American market was dominated by European companies, especially Pathé Frères.[43] Scattered evidence suggests that Jewish immigrant audiences showed a preference for sensational melodrama and tragedies with unhappy "Russian endings." The most successful Yiddish plays of this period, popular melodrama as well as literary plays, contained numerous heartbreaking scenes. The *Forward* cynically remarked that even:

> When a manager of a Yiddish theatre decides to produce a comedy, he adds a couple of pogroms, some suicides, a few poor orphans, and a deserted woman – of course –, to make sure that the people will weep more than they will laugh.[44]

A contemporary observer noted that the programs in the East Side nickelodeons were typically built up as follows: "first a comic scene is shown, then the 'curtain' is raised and the 'artists' come, then again a comic scene, and at last a 'tragedy' with a moralizing ending."[45] From the same source we learn that in early 1908, a show typically lasted half an hour, but if it was not very busy, one could stay for a couple of hours. During weekday afternoons attendance was small, but at night "they keep the theatre well filled in shifting relays," a reporter of the *New York Sun* explained, pointing out that "these are working people."[46] In general, attendance peaked on weekday nights between 8 and 11 p.m., on Friday nights, and throughout Saturday and Sunday.

A Combination Place

As soon as Steiner had gained some initial experience in movie presentation, he expanded his business. In late 1908, he formed a partnership with an exhibitor named Gordon and launched a second nickelodeon at 158 Monroe Street, in a former kosher sausage factory. For reasons unknown, the Monroe Street Theater was short-lived.[47] Steiner's next project was more ambitious. A former church on East Houston was for sale. After its abandonment as a house of worship, Jack Rose, a minor figure in organized crime, had operated the building for some time as the Houston Athletic Club and given prize fights there. Steiner realized that the old but spacious building could easily be redesigned into a theater.

His partner in this venture was Abraham Minsky (1882-1949), the oldest of the legendary Minsky brothers, who were to become leading burlesque producers in the 1920s.[48] With a couple of minor renovations the former church was transformed into a moving picture and vaudeville theater. According to Morton Minsky, no money was invested "into redecorating or refurbishing the old church."[49] The religious scenes had already been painted over by the former leaseholder and there was a small platform that could serve as stage. The pews on the ground

floor and on the balcony could easily accommodate up to five hundred people.[50] Patrons used "the racks that once held hymnals" for storing the "bagels, salamis and other eatables they brought with them for nourishment during the long program," Morton Minsky remembered.[51] Eating and drinking was part of the informal atmosphere that characterized Jewish ethnic entertainment. It was also an additional source of income for the management. In the Yiddish music halls, which had their roots in concert-saloons, patrons could order beer and wines at the bar in the auditorium or in an adjacent saloon. Sometimes hot food was also served on the premises. Steiner and other film exhibitors who had started out during the nickelodeon era maintained no ties with the liquor trade or restaurant business. In their establishments only non-alcoholic beverages and confectionaries were served. At Steiner's Essex Theater, one Abraham Mazel paid a fee that gave him "the privilege of selling candies, soda water, ice cream etc." in the auditorium.[52] Similarly, there was a small kosher dairy restaurant in the basement of the Houston Hippodrome, where patrons who had not brought along their own provisions, could eat a snack before or after the show, if they did not go for a *knish* to Yonah Shimmel's bakery next door. Shimmel, "original since 1910," as the sign informs us today, survived from a time when movie theaters and inexpensive kosher dairy restaurants clustered together on the Lower East Side to serve Jewish working-class audiences.

Steiner and Minsky had chosen the perfect moment to launch a "vaud-pic" theater. The economy was recovering and most Yiddish music halls, which had turned to moving pictures as their staple entertainment during the recession, were switching back to fully-fledged vaudeville shows and higher admission prices. Nickelodeon operators, who until then had offered little more than a few jokes, illustrated songs, or at most a simple sketch to entertain the audience when the reels were changed, also began to add more and longer vaudeville acts to their bills. Steiner seized on the latest trend without delay. Even before the *Forward* acknowledged the "resurrection of the Yiddish music halls" in its theater special of 25 December 1909, he had opened his own "*yidish englishe vodevil hoyz un muving piktshurs.*"[53] The explosive demand for Yiddish vaudeville had created a new entertainment tier between the moving picture show and the conventional Yiddish music hall, which the *Forward* defined as the *kombineyshon plats*:

> [This is] a combination of a moving picture show and a music hall. For one nickel they offer, besides moving pictures, a few "single turns" – songs or dances, sometimes both. Some of these places have begun to present one and three act sketches. The entire company in these combination houses consists of no more than a few actors.[54]

The Houston Hippodrome was one of the first combination houses. We could see the format as a cut-rate small-time vaudeville house: patrons paid a nickel in the

afternoon and a dime at night and on weekends. By contrast, established Yiddish vaudeville theaters such as the People's Music Hall and Agid's Clinton Vaudeville House charged up to thirty-five cents for their best evening seats and a minimum of a dime for matinee and gallery seats. Steiner and Minsky kept production costs down by hiring less famous Yiddish variety actors as well as amateur talent and by offering fewer headline acts and more moving pictures than the music halls. Also, they kept the theater open from 11 a.m. until 12 p.m. The Yiddish music halls offered only two shows per day (matinee and evening).

Steiner's Advertising Scheme

In sharp contrast to Steiner's advertising strategy for the Essex Street Theater, newspaper advertisements played a major role in the marketing of the Houston Hippodrome. In part, this helped to construct the image that the Houston Hippodrome was one of the finest amusement places in the downtown Jewish quarter, despite its popular prices. Newspaper advertising also helped Steiner and Minsky reach a much wider audience including, "business men and workers" who lived in other parts of the city.[55] Its location near the 1st Street station of the Second Avenue elevated train meant that theater was within easy reach of uptown Jewish neighborhoods, especially Jewish Harlem and the Bronx.

The first advertisements for the Houston Hippodrome were placed in the conservative *Yidishes Tageblatt*. However, Steiner and Minsky rapidly switched over to the more cosmopolitan press, especially the *Jewish Daily Forward* (*Forverts*). This socialist newspaper held a key position in the Jewish media landscape. Under the editorship of Abraham Cahan, one of the most prominent intellectuals, novelists and political activists of the immigrant generation, the *Forward* had set itself the task of guiding the Jewish working-class on the road to a cautious Americanization by building bridges between Jewish traditions and modern American culture. On many occasions, Cahan's editorials drew up guidelines for the immigrant Jewish community, telling readers what kind of behavior was appropriate and what was not, thus enhancing the image of the *Forward* as an authority on urban living. To boost circulation, Cahan never hesitated to capitalize on the inherent sensational character of show business news. Notwithstanding his sometimes fierce criticism of their "commercialism" and "corrupted" moral standards, theater managers were well aware that Cahan's marketing strategies matched their business interests, and hence considered the *Forward* to be the most attractive newspaper to promote their activities. The large Yiddish legitimate playhouses bought advertising space every day, whereas the Yiddish music-halls frequently publicized their program in the *Forward*. Until the late 1910s, most film exhibitors considered that hand-outs and posters were sufficient means to attract patrons. But Steiner, who had a talent for marketing, understood that by advertising in the Yiddish press, he could differentiate his theater from the competition and attract

a larger audience than the people who lived in the immediate surroundings of East Houston Street. Moreover, by deciding to promote the Houston Hippodrome in the entertainment section of the *Forward*, Steiner and Minsky positioned their new theater within the confines of the established Yiddish entertainment business.

Whereas the Yiddish music halls and the legitimate theaters presented the readers primarily with down-to-earth, straightforward information about the acts and actors on the bill, the announcements of the Houston Hippodrome were imbued with a quality that Jewish immigrants commonly referred to as "American bluff." To suggest the superiority of his shows, Steiner invariably spoke in superlatives. One week the Houston Hippodrome presented "the best act ever produced in vaudeville," the next week it featured the "biggest sensation of the season," and the week thereafter it had the "latest and newest moving pictures." The informal, conversational tone of the advertisements had to create a context of credibility for these hearty self-endorsements:

> Did you ever pass an afternoon or evening at the
> **Houston Hippodrome**?
> Not yet? Then don't wait,
> come when you want and stay as long as you want!
> We have the best vaudeville program, as well as the finest and newest moving pictures.
> All this for five and ten cents admission
> If you appreciate good actors, read the following names and admire our staff
> Gentlemen: Mr. Kuperschmidt, Gilrod, Tuchband, Wolf, Siegel
> Ladies: Miss Tuchband, Steinberg, Erven, Greenbaum and Cohn
> Tell all your friends to meet you at the Houston Hippodrome,
> 141-143 E. Houston St.[56]

Steiner injected great vitality into the prevailing style of entertainment advertising, combining a tone of neighborly chat and exaggerated self-endorsement. His publicity campaigns were characterized by a lively involvement with the public. Frequently, the advertisements not only drew attention to the program, but also congratulated the audience on its good taste:

> Do you know that this is the greatest amusement place on the whole East Side? Do you know that the Houston Hippodrome company has the best actors of the Yiddish stage? If you don't know this, then come and see our great rich *Pesach* program, you will recognize at once that what we advertise is the whole truth and nothing but the truth.[57]

This congenial style of conversation and frequent use of direct address, a distinctive feature of Steiner's advertisements throughout the 1910s, followed naturally

from the atmosphere of informality and relaxed socializing that characterized the early moving picture shows. As Roy Rosenzweig points out, "the early movie theater placed all customers on an equal plane," whereas legitimate playhouses and many other forms of cheap entertainment, including the Yiddish music halls, stratified patrons according to their ability to pay. "The lack of seating differentiation by price at the early movie houses exemplified its egalitarian social style," Rosenzweig notes.[58] Indeed, what accounted for the difference in admission price at the Houston Hippodrome was not the seating arrangement but the time of arrival: "afternoon 5 cents – evening 10 cents."[59]

Programming Practices

Significantly, the Houston Hippodrome advertisements focused almost exclusively on the program's main vaudeville attractions, providing little to no information about the films, except for such typical slogans as "also the latest and best moving pictures" and "our pictures are changed every day." Just once we learn that it offered "the best Biograph and Pathé moving pictures."[60] Often it was not even mentioned that moving pictures were part of the bill. The programs lasted about an hour and a half, except on Sunday when shows were often shortened to capitalize on the increased demand. Vaudeville routines occupied about half of the program. Audiences were presented with a broad live entertainment program including comic sketches, dramatic scenes, one-act plays, songs and dances, and some kind of "sight act": a juggler, acrobat or an animal act. The vaudeville bill for the week of 19 December 1909, a typical one for that season, featured "Hilda the Swedish handcuff queen," Mr. and Mrs. Schwartz in *Elye-Hano'vi oder fishke*, the "famous Italian opera singer Signor Pannini" with a selection of popular opera tunes and "Mr. Wernik with today's latest sentimental songs."[61] Each item on the bill possessed broad crossover appeal, yet individual acts targeted a specific segment of the audience. For instance, Yiddish-language sketches such as the one about *Elye-hano'vi* (the prophet Elijah) aimed especially at the immigrant generation, while Mr. Wernik's English songs probably attracted the American-born youth. The moving pictures appealed to all ages. In other words, there was something for everybody on the program to ensure attendance across generational boundaries.[62]

During the 1910-11 season, in a context of increased competition between the established Yiddish music halls and newly-opened combination places like the Houston Hippodrome, Steiner and Minsky also began to stage three-act plays. The publicity suggests that the new format aimed explicitly at a working-class audience:

> The management of the Houston Hippodrome spares no trouble or expense to offer the public genuine plays for an admission price of five and ten cents.

> Every patron, who cannot afford to pay 50 or 75 cent to see a good play, will be given the opportunity to amuse himself and his family with *Religion and Love*, one of the best works ever performed.[63]

Each week a new play opened at the Houston Hippodrome. They were written in Yiddish and performed by local Yiddish stock companies consisting of six to eight actors. Most of these works were probably "adaptations" from the established Yiddish vaudeville stage, which in turn often copied material from the legitimate Yiddish theater.[64] In the months of November and December 1912, the following titles appeared on the program: *The Forced Marriage*, *Two Generations*, *Back from Siberia*, *Tears of an Orphan* and *The Trip to America*. These titles suggest that most plays portrayed the challenges of immigration and Jewish life in the New World: poverty, vice, generational conflicts, soured marriages, and broken homes. In the same way, titles like *Kain and Abel*, *The Jewish Queen*, and *The Thora Crown* highlighted the Jewish nature of the subject matter. In sum, most programs at the Houston Hippodrome bore a direct relationship to the social and historical experience of its patrons.

Parallel to offering ever more elaborate stage shows, the Houston Hippodrome advertisements began to promote Jewish themed films. For instance, in the first week of November 1912, audiences could enjoy a ghetto drama about "a rabbi's daughter who marries a Christian lawyer." To increase its box-office appeal, this film had been retitled Di Yidishe Kroyn (The Jewish Crown) after Boris Thomashefsky's smash hit at the nearby National Theater.[65] Three weeks later, the bill featured Der Gengster, portraying "the life of the East Side gangs."[66] In later years, Steiner consistently singled out movies that dealt with Jewish themes, featured Jewish stars, or had strong ties with Eastern Europe. As I have argued elsewhere, a strong appeal to *Yiddishkayt* formed the cornerstone of his marketing strategy well into the 1920s.[67]

At the end of 1912, Steiner and Minsky moved their vaudeville troupe to the National Winter Garden. This lavish 1,000-seat roof-top theater with its gold and rose interior was situated above Thomashefsky's National Theater, where it occupied the upper floors of the building. Electric elevators took patrons up to the sixth floor, which was the orchestra level. Steiner and Minsky marketed their new venue as "a regular Broadway palace with popular admission prices."[68] For ten cents in the afternoon and fifteen cents at night, prospective patrons were promised "high-class vaudeville in Yiddish and English and the best moving pictures," including at least one multi-reel feature. The Winter Garden opened with "Resurrection by L. N. Tolstoy," a four-reel production starring Blanche Walsh (Masko Film Company, 1912).[69] The theater's marketing campaign, programming and price structure strongly suggest that Steiner and Minsky had decided to enter into competition with Loew's for the patronage of the Jewish immigrant middle class. Despite the absence of conclusive empirical evidence, it is obvious that they

miscalculated. The more affluent immigrant audience stayed away, despite the refined settings and feature films. The National Winter Garden's first season ended in failure. Within less than two weeks after the opening, Steiner and Minsky lowered the ticket price for the evening seats from fifteen to ten cents to make their theater more attractive for a working-class clientele. Soon after that, they ceased advertising. The advertisements for the Houston Hippodrome were also discontinued. By January 1913, its operation had been downgraded to that of an ordinary five-cent picture show. With a continuous program of moving pictures and no elaborate vaudeville acts – the archetypical nickelodeon format – there was no need for newspaper advertising.

Film and Vaudeville

Until 1913, when changing legislation and a new rigid licensing process put an end to inexpensive "vaud-pic" combination theaters like the Houston Hippodrome, mixed-bill shows were highly successful on the Lower East Side. Bertellini has noted a similar pattern for the Italian immigrant community. *Cafés-chantants* and music halls were the dominant exhibition context in which films were shown in New York's downtown and uptown Little Italy. As Bertellini points out, "films were not an autonomous form of amusement. Rather, they constituted a new and appealing offering within the well-established variety format of Italian American small-time vaudeville houses."[70] What accounts for this interest that immigrant audiences took in the variety format?

Miriam Hansen has argued eloquently that the variety format offered structural conditions around which "working-class and ethnic cultures could crystallize, and responses to social pressures, individual displacement, and alienation could be articulated in a communal setting."[71] Vaudeville acts and sing-alongs encouraged a participatory mode of reception and active sociability between audience members. In addition, the use of the vernacular reinforced feelings of belonging to an immigrant community with shared values and a communal history. More importantly, perhaps, vaudevillians – very much like today's stand-up comedians – often tapped into the current political affairs for their material, addressing strikes, immigration policies etcetera, as well as the everyday hardships of tenement life and sweatshop work.[72] In combination with the participatory quality of the variety format, these acts permitted working-class audiences to express their commitment to intraclass or ethnic solidarity, and nurture their own interpretation of "America" – one that did not necessarily conform to the dominant ideology of American citizenship and national identity.

It should be emphasized in this context that the heyday of ethnic vaudeville within moving pictures theaters coincided with the efforts of the American film industry to reposition cinema as a respectable American entertainment for all Americans, rather than a cheap amusement which relied heavily on foreign im-

ports and catered primarily to workers and immigrants. According to Hansen, the emergence of "spectatorship" – the spectator as a structural term anticipated by the film – evolved as a crucial part of the industry's strategy to turn the cinema into a national mass entertainment medium: "The concept of spectatorship made it possible to precalculate and standardize individually and locally varying acts of reception, to ensure consumption across class, ethnic and cultural boundaries."[73] Put differently, the film text rather than the theatrical experience had to become the prime site of meaning. Non-filmic activities that aimed at building audiences on the basis of a shared ethnic or working-class identity blocked the absorption of the individual viewer into the fictional world because they drew the viewer's attention to the social, cultural and physical space of the movie theater itself, thus emphasizing the value of the show as a collective experience. As Hansen points out, from 1909 onwards, film exhibitors were urged to reduce live entertainment, especially vaudeville acts. This is precisely the moment when East Side film exhibitors began to include *more* ethnic entertainment into their programs, thus preserving early film-viewer relations, determined less by the film itself than by the context of reception. To be sure, film exhibitors like Charles Steiner did not offer Yiddish vaudeville because they believed in defending Jewish cultural heritage against Americanization, but because they expected to earn more money with mixed-bill shows. Even so, Yiddish vaudeville contained the Americanizing agency of the silver screen by shaping the reception of the films that were shown. It was only through repressive legislation that ethnic vaudeville disappeared from the bills of working-class cinemas in New York City. In 1913, a new code for motion picture exhibition was passed by the Board of Aldermen. This Folk's Ordinance contained provisions that aimed directly at suppressing inexpensive vaudeville shows, while it encouraged film exhibitors in working-class districts to open medium-sized, purpose-built movie theaters where live entertainment was restricted to music.[74]

Conclusion

Revisionist scholarship has convincingly demonstrated that in a brief span of years prior to World War I, middle-class social and cultural anxiety led to a bourgeoisification of the American film product. However, as my case study makes clear, cinema's cultural and social ascendance throughout these years was an uneven development. Jewish nickel-and-dime theaters on the Lower East Side neither played out the embourgeoisement scenario nor fostered the simple assimilation of their working-class patrons into the American mainstream. Bertellini's research on cinemagoing in New York's downtown and uptown Little Italy also challenges the prevailing notion of a fast and consensual process of Americanization and gentrification. Albeit in different ways, both immigrant groups fostered a cinema culture that was closely embedded in older forms of ethnic

amusements. In the absence of comparative data from other urban working-class communities and research on middle-class moviegoing in metropolitan contexts, it is difficult to make any larger generalizations. Moreover, in the early 20th century, the American working-class experience remained an intensely local and predominantly ethnic experience. It may well be that the cinema played a crucial role in breaking up this insularity. To determine that, we would need to know more about working-class and middle-class film culture in the 1920s and 1930s. Only at the intersection of diachronic and synchronic comparisons can we begin to fully understand the complexity of cinema's transformative impact upon American audiences.

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Cinema in the Colonial City: Early Film Audiences in Calcutta

Ranita Chatterjee

> [...] when we bought the Globe theatre, it was a European theatre before, 40 per cent of our audience was purely European, about 50 per cent are Anglo-Indians, Jews and Military population and 10 per cent Indians. We have continued the system. We have to cater to the requirements of our audiences.[1]

Standard histories of "Indian cinema" suggest that the coming of sound in 1931 fragmented a previously homogenized national audience for the cinema in India – a moment that thereby arrested the rise of the large pan-Indian industry and divided the so-called national audience for "Indian cinema" into separate linguistic groups.[2] However, as the quotation above suggests, from the manager of the Globe Theater, one of Calcutta's elite cinemas, this conceptualization of a large, undivided "Indian" audience in 1927 was essentially a myth. This essay explores the emergence of cinema in the city of Calcutta, one of the two key film production centers in colonial India, along with Bombay, and conditions of exhibition in the 1920s to complicate the notion of silent film audiences of "Indian cinema."[3] It reveals a varied exhibition structure, addressing a range of audiences in the city of Calcutta, and explodes the myth of a homogeneous national audience for film in India, tracing this idea back to the history of theater and to global trajectories of entertainment in the second largest city in the British Empire. This reading thus points to the inadequacies of categorizing film audiences along national divisions in an age of persistent global encounters.

Calcutta: Colonial City

The area on the banks of the river Hooghly that grew into Calcutta was already a commercial hub, with a cluster of trading villages and markets, when British, French and Dutch immigrants decided to settle in the area to trade in cotton, saltpeter, opium and indigo in the 17th century. Throughout the next two centuries Calcutta grew rapidly into a global metropolis, the commercial and administrative center of the British East India Company, and later the capital of British India, attracting diverse communities of traders, soldiers, missionaries and servicemen.[4] The concentration of trade and industry in Calcutta saw large numbers of

people migrating to the capital city, especially from the late 18th century, and the city extended steadily into surrounding areas, absorbing villages and wetlands as it expanded.

By the end of the 19th century, when cinema arrived in Calcutta, it was a bustling metropolis at the heart of colonial India, second only in size to the Empire's capital, London.[5] As the capital of British India, and one of the most important trading ports of the Empire, the city boasted a large and multi-ethnic population from across South Asia, and indeed the world. The concentration of trade and industry had brought large numbers of people migrating in from all corners of South Asia through the 18th and 19th centuries. As the administrative center of colonial India, Calcutta was also home to significant numbers of British administrators, soldiers and missionaries, while the port attracted traders and sailors from across the world. The inhabitants of the city thus not only included Bengalis from the surrounding region, but also consisted of the Marwari community from western India, Hindi-speaking communities from the Gangetic heartland, Parsis, Armenians, Jews, British, Anglo-Indians and Chinese in fairly large numbers.[6] The colonial regime ensured that a sizeable number of merchants from Continental Europe also lived in the city, while floating populations of sailors, soldiers and traders of various ethnicities regularly passed through Calcutta, making it one of the most cosmopolitan cities in Asia:

> The administrative and economic pull of Calcutta had attracted migrants from its hinterland as well as other provinces, giving the city a cosmopolitan character. By 1901, the proportion of Calcuttans speaking Bengali had fallen to 51.3 percent, while that of Hindustani speakers rose to 36.3 per cent. At the start of the century, two-thirds of the city's population were Hindus; of the rest, 30 per cent were Muslims.[7]

As Suranjan Das implies, Calcutta's turn-of-the-century populace can be categorized along linguistic and religious lines. Another basis of differentiation, especially when trying to understand the audience for urban entertainment in the city, is not so much caste, or even religion, as class. Class determined access to education, as well as patterns of habitation and cultural consumption.

The British conception of colonial Calcutta was of a central core inhabited by the white populace, with the adjoining areas populated by the "natives," forming the Indian town. This was the archetypal plan of colonial cities.

Thus in 1757, when the British East India Company finally wrested control of Calcutta from the local Nawab of Bengal, several landed Bengali families from the banks of the river were relocated to northern parts of the city to make way for the new British Fort. The area around the Fort became the core of this new city and was reserved as the European Quarter – the *sahib-para*, as it was known in Bengali (literally, white locality). This part included the administrative and judicial hub

around the Great Tank or Dalhousie Square, mercantile offices, markets and the residential quarters of the British, south of this area along Chowringhee Road.

In the British plan of the city, the northern end was the designated native town. Subsequent waves of Indian migrants tended to settle in this area.[8] As a general rule, rural migrants from the hinterland came as casual workers in the urban economy, finding work in trade, manufacturing and transport or as servants in British and Indian households. This form of employment required newcomers to get good references from those already employed. Such references came from kinship, caste, regional, local, religious or linguistic affiliations, and resulted in immigrants from similar regions and backgrounds clustering together in both employment and habitation.[9]

An example of this habitation pattern was the Marwari community. Originally from western India, Marwaris came to Calcutta in large numbers, to trade in jute and cotton, throughout the 19th century, and especially after the introduction of the railways in the early 1860s. As a trading community, they largely settled in the Barabazaar area of the native town in north Calcutta, where the principal trading markets of the city were located. The language spoken by this community is a dialect of Hindi, very different from the local Bengali language. Another example of work steering habitation patterns was the development of the Bhowanipur area in southern Calcutta. The construction of roads opened up this area in the early 1900s and it developed along occupational lines with artisans and workers settling in specific localities, locally termed as *paras*, within Bhowanipur. Indian lawyers, "including the most illustrious ones of old Calcutta," also moved to this area given its proximity to the courts.[10] With improved transportation, Bengali middle-class households started to relocate here from the more congested northern areas of the city in the 1910s and 1920s.

Poorer and mixed communities that served the white town, such as the Anglo-Indians, the Chinese and the poorer Muslims, lived in eastern and south-eastern parts of the city; areas that were initially suburban, though close to the central part of town.[11]

As Calcutta's population swelled, the city expanded south of Chowringhee Road, initially with rich Europeans building garden houses in the late Victorian period, to be followed by educated upper- and middle-class Indians by the 1920s, after the suburban railway connected the area.[12] These divisions, however, could not be strictly drawn in Calcutta, as they were in many other colonial cities.

Limits of the Black and White Towns

According to the original colonial plan of the city, the administrative and residential hub was developed around the Maidan – the large urban park in the center of the city – along Dalhousie Square and Chowringhee Road, through the 18th and

19th centuries. After the new Fort was built in the late 18th century, the land surrounding it was slowly cleared to build houses.

The necessities of colonial urban living, however, demanded that essential amenities be easily available to the residents, hence shops and services prospered around the European town; and needless to say the traders and servants were largely Indians. This was also the commercial center and its proximity to the waterfront was another reason why traders set up shop in this area. Since the riverways were the main mode of transport, merchandise could come into the shops easily and the clientele was readily available. As a result, "natives" were required to come and go into the white town to make it habitable, and keep mercantile offices functioning. Poorer workers from the Indian parts of the city, therefore, came into the white town every day to work:

> The black and white towns were far from being autonomous entities; the economic, political, and social conditions of colonial culture penetrated the insularity of both towns, although at different levels and to varying degrees. As an examination of the residential pattern of the white town will demonstrate, the story is more complicated.[13]

Part of this complication was also due to the residential plots in the European town often being owned by Indians, who built houses specifically to rent out to British families. By the 1900s rich, anglicized Indian families also began living in this area. Furthermore, workers employed in administrative and mercantile establishments in the central business district often lodged in shared boarding houses in the central part of the city, close to their workplaces.[14] As a result, complete segregation of the city was impossible:

> [...] intellectually or commercially no less than physically, Calcutta was never a walled city. Life in Calcutta increasingly induced a modification of old attitudes through free exchange between castes and communities. The physical checks to growth indeed helped in this respect [...]. Expansion was only possible southwards; but even there, the urge to dwell as close as possible to the seat of power ensured concentration towards the centre.
>
> The six square miles within the Maratha Ditch thus came to have the world's highest density of population in that age. It was a heterogeneous population, sinking differences of caste, creed and colour under the sheer compulsion to interact and survive together.[15]

This clustering of different communities in neighborhoods of Calcutta based on work, linguistic, community and class affiliations resulted in the city being roughly divided into three zones along the north-south axis: the "native" or black

town to the north of Barabazaar; the mixed zone in the middle stretching to Dalhousie Square; and the European or white town south of Dalhousie Square.

Entertainment in the European and Indian Towns

Accordingly, two separate entertainment districts emerged in the rapidly urbanizing city of Calcutta. The European center of entertainment developed along Chowringhee Road, south of Dalhousie Square. Chowringhee Road was also the arterial road connecting the core of the city with expanding southern parts of Calcutta, with businesses, government offices, courts, the main European markets and European residential areas all located in close proximity, as were army camps and the port of Calcutta.

By the mid-19th century the white town had spawned a flourishing entertainment business, initially catering to the European audience that lived in the vicinity. Expatriate British residents of Calcutta, in their eagerness to maintain a typical English lifestyle, started to bring British entertainment and culture to Calcutta. Thus traveling theater and vaudeville groups from Europe and America regularly visited the city over the winter months to perform in its theaters.[16]

Several European playhouses were established around Chowringhee Road, including the Calcutta Theater (1775- ?), the Chowringhee Theater (1813-1839), the Sans Souci (1839- ?) and the Opera House (which last was converted into Calcutta's premiere cinema in the 1910s). Local theater companies were also formed:

> These companies enjoyed a steady inflow of experienced, even renowned actors and actresses, sometimes from the London stage: [...] At first the audience was exclusively European – even the ushers and doorkeepers at the Calcutta Theatre were Englishmen – but Indians gained entry from the early 19th century, and the English theatre became a haunt, and sometimes a source of serious interest, of the emerging English-educated Bengalis.[17]

However, this set of "emerging English-educated Bengalis" also started to express a growing desire for a home-grown theater in the vernacular.

By the latter half of the 19th century, concerted efforts by the *bhadralok* (the Bengali intelligentsia) succeeded in establishing a modern, public form of theater in Bengali, modeled on European proscenium theater, but also borrowing from traditional performance forms. Bengali Public Theater, as it was popularly known, flourished over the next three decades, rapidly becoming the main form of organized public entertainment for Bengali middle classes in the city.[18] Several theaters opened on and around Beadon Street, in the heart of the Indian town in north Calcutta, and the area was transformed into the chief entertainment district for Bengalis by the end of the century, frequented by respectable Bengalis in the evenings.

Cinema was introduced to the local Bengali population in theaters around Beadon Street, just as the European population in Calcutta first saw the moving image in theaters around Chowringhee. Elsewhere I have explored the close links between early film, theater and popular culture in Calcutta, drawing out the strong connections with global colonial circuits of entertainment – a history that is crucial to the rapid rise of a vibrant film culture in Calcutta.[19] Through the late 1890s Calcutta attracted a steady stream of itinerant film exhibitors from Europe who followed in the footsteps of variety entertainment troupes that had performed in the various sites of entertainment alluded to above. This history, I have argued, explains the synchronic emergence of cinema in Calcutta and Bombay, although these arrivals in Calcutta traversed distinct entertainment circuits that are not known to have overlapped with those of Bombay.[20]

The First Film Shows

The routes charted by colonial networks brought the latest European technologies to Calcutta with little time lag. Thus, it should not seem surprising that moving pictures arrived in Calcutta as promptly as they did, after being introduced to Europe in 1894.[21]

The first Cinematograph screening in Calcutta that my research has revealed was on 20 January 1897 in the Theater Royal, a newly constructed stage within a plush hotel on Chowringhee Road that boasted an elite European clientele.[22]

> Mr Hudson [...] is now bringing out from Europe the latest scientific illusion, called the cinematograph [...]. This novelty will be exhibited at the Theatre Royal on Wednesday next, the 20th instant [...].[23]

The next was on 26 January, and was an Animatograph screening by a Mr. Arthur Sullivan at the Ninth Annual Exhibition of the Photographic Society of India. From the report it appears that there were a few screenings at the venue:

> [...] several availed themselves of the opportunity of seeing in this novelty the means of throwing animated pictures upon the screen. The general public will have the opportunity of seeing it on this and subsequent evenings.[24]

As in London, the Animatograph, which was another name for Robert Paul's Theatrograph, had quickly followed on the heels of the Cinematograph into Calcutta.[25] After his first presentation, the obvious destination for Sullivan and his Animatograph was in the Bengali theater district. His next appearance, after the Photographic Society exhibition, was at the Minerva Theater on 31 January.[26] There are also references to Cinematograph shows held in the Classic Theater in March and April 1898 by a certain Reiley.[27]

The official history of film in India recounts the story of a Mr. Stephens, alternatively known as Prof. Stevenson, who introduced film to Calcuttans c.1897-98. My research suggests that Stevenson first appeared in October 1898, with Bioscope screenings at the Star Theater,[28] and for long this date and venue was considered to be the point of introduction of film in Calcutta. This originary myth is important to film history in Calcutta as Stephens/Stevenson purportedly initiated the Indian pioneer, Hiralal Sen, into this novel technology. However as the chronology above demonstrates, several screenings had already taken place before Stevenson's arrival in Calcutta with the Bioscope.

Cinema Neighborhoods

A scan of newspapers indicates that during the first decade of moving pictures film shows were held in theaters in both the "native" (Minerva, Classic, Star) and the European towns (Theater Royal, Opera House) as part of a variety entertainment program, along with the main theatrical production. However, film screenings were not limited to theaters frequented by middle-class audiences. Significant developments were taking place across the road from the Theater Royal, at the Maidan, as early as 1902.

The Calcutta Maidan is, even today, the largest urban park in the city. Originally built as a parade ground for the armed forces, the Maidan was at the heart of European social life in Calcutta, with the European residents walking or driving around it in the mornings and evenings. Through the 19th century it had also grown into a major site of public entertainment in the city. Traveling circuses pitched tents every winter, from at least the 1870s.[29] The army continued to be stationed on parts of the Maidan, and regiments paraded in the evenings, watched by admiring onlookers. The Race Course was at the southern end of the Maidan. Clubhouses for several sports were located here and, by the turn of the century, football and cricket matches were regularly played, some between European and Indian teams. This was a bustling open green space in the heart of the city that was open to both Europeans and Indians, unlike the entertainment premises across the road, which were the sole preserve of Europeans.

By the late 19th century the Maidan had become an established venue for public entertainment, and while certain parts of the park were reserved for exclusive use by Europeans between five and eight o'clock in the mornings and evenings from 1821,[30] it remained a liminal space where boundaries between colonizer and colonized, European and Indian, were somewhat relaxed. It was also a space where class divisions were blurred, and spectators from all classes mingled to see the wide range of entertainment on display.

Fig. 1: J. F. Madan began as a tent exhibitor in Calcutta in 1902, before going into production and eventually opening an international network of cinemas.

In the light of this heritage, unsurprisingly, the Maidan also became the site of India's first permanent film exhibition when, in 1902, the pioneer J. F. Madan started a regular tent cinema show at the venue.[31] The actor Ahindra Choudhury recalls that the tent was on the eastern fringes of the Maidan.[32] This means that the Maidan tent was easily accessed from Hogg Market and other shops on Chowringhee Road to the east. It was also within walking distance of the Fort and Calcutta port to the west, and from the business and administrative district of Dalhousie to the north. Thus, the tent cinema was ideally located to attract European, Anglo-Indian and Indian audiences, drawn from officers, clerks and workers in the vicinity, soldiers from the Fort and sailors from the port.

Madan's tent cinema became an instant hit amongst Calcuttans of all classes. Films continued to be regularly shown in the Maidan Tent over the next couple of decades and the first feature length film made in Calcutta, Satyawadi Raja Harischandra (1917), was released by Madan's Elphinstone Bioscope in the Tent on the Maidan on 24 March 1917.[33]

While film shows became a regular feature of the entertainment on offer in the Chowringhee theaters and the Maidan, a parallel film culture was developing in the Bengali entertainment district in the northern parts of the city, in theaters

around Beadon Street. A typical theater program in these theaters started in the evening and continued into the early hours, consisting of a long play, with one or two shorter pieces. These plays covered a variety of genres; however short comedies of one or two acts appear most often on the programs.[34] Long evenings at the theater suggests a continuation of *jatra* culture, which started with a band playing for an hour or two while spectators arrived from the village and neighboring villages.[35] It was only after this long musical prelude that the *jatra* performance started and continued into the early hours. In the theaters of Calcutta's Beadon Street, short plays, dances, musical performances and magic shows were regular features of the program, performed before the main play, or in the intervals. For instance, the program at the Emerald Theater for 1 September 1895 lists "Magic, Skating and Abu Hossain," the last being the main play.[36]

This mix of programming that prevailed in the Bengali Public Theater at the time easily allowed for the inclusion of cinema as a novelty – an "attraction" in the midst of several attractions within a variety format.[37] From 1897 onwards, film started to figure in theater programs, especially in the programs of the Classic Theater, whose dynamic manager, A. N. Dutt, was continually looking for innovative means of attracting audiences.[38] By the end of 1898, all the key stages in Beadon Street had hosted exhibitions of the moving image, including the Minerva, Classic, Emerald, Star and Bengal Theaters. As the chronology above indicates, the range of screen technologies prevalent at this time underscores the near-simultaneous arrival of several traveling exhibitors in Calcutta at the turn of the century, and illustrates the amorphous nature of film circulation in this early period.

Film shows continued with equal vigor in Calcutta's two entertainment districts over the next few years, catering to both European and Indian populations – in the music halls, theaters, tent houses and similar sites of variety entertainment. The strong public entertainment culture that prevailed in Beadon Street and Chowringhee meant that film had been firmly entrenched in both the "native" and European towns by the early 1900s; the difference being that Chowringhee was only open to a select group of Indians, while European visits to the Beadon Street theaters were rare.

The first purpose-built permanent cinema in South Asia was also established by Madan in 1907-8 in the Chowringhee area. This was the Elphinstone Picture Palace, the first venue in Madan's vast exhibition network – an empire that would eventually stretch across South Asia, including colonial India, Burma and Ceylon.

The Elphinstone was the first of several dedicated cinemas that opened in the Chowringhee neighborhood over the next three decades. By the late 1910s, two permanent cinemas had also been constructed in the Bengali theater district in north Calcutta – the Crown and the Cornwallis, both owned by Madan. It is worth noting that intermittent screenings also continued in the existing theaters throughout these early years.

Fig. 2: Madan's Elphinstone Picture Palace (1907) later became the Chaplin and still survives.

By 1927 there were at least twelve permanent cinemas in the city. Three of these were located in the theater district in north Calcutta. But the majority were situated in and around Chowringhee, including the Elphinstone, Empire Cinema, Picture House, Madan Palace of Varieties, the Albion and the Opera House, which was converted into a cinema in the 1910s and renamed Globe after 1922.

The growth in cinemas across Calcutta mirrored a rise in local production. While local filmmaking had started with shorts by Hiralal Sen around 1898, and continued through the 1900s and early 1910s, longer narrative films started to be produced from 1917. Even though the number of local productions rose steadily through the 1920s, they failed to meet the sharply mounting demand for films in the city. The shortfall was made up by showing foreign films, primarily from Hollywood, which continued to be in heavy demand in the Indian market in general, and especially in Calcutta. By 1927, the majority of screen space was occupied by foreign films, mainly from Hollywood.[39]

Cinema Audiences in the City

The concentration of film exhibition in different neighborhoods led to divergent conditions in the cinemas, and the experience of cinemagoing, in the city. One obvious distinction was that the Chowringhee theaters screened exclusively foreign films. Indian films were shown in the north Calcutta theaters, and in all the

other cinemas that lay outside the European quarters, including the central city cinemas, which Indian audiences frequented. As local production did not meet the demand, these other cinemas also screened foreign films, primarily second-run films.

However, we also know that Indian audiences were not entirely shut out of the premier Chowringhee cinemas. From accounts in memoirs and contemporary film journals, it is apparent that educated Calcuttans preferred to visit Chowringhee cinemas, often favoring their Hollywood fare over local productions. As discussed above, elite Indians had been allowed entry into European spaces of entertainment since the early 19th century. By the 1920s, divisions between the black and white towns were much more relaxed, allowing educated Indians to visit the Chowringhee cinemas. Thus, even though these only screened foreign films, they catered to a mixed audience.

A good case in point is the Globe Theater, the former Opera House, which had become a cinema in the 1910s. According to the Globe's manager, N. C. Laharry, the cinema had continued to cater to the mixed and elite clientele that came with the theater at the time of its acquisition in 1922:

> [...] when we bought the Globe theatre, – it was a European theatre before – 40 per cent of our audience was purely European, about 50 per cent are Anglo-Indians, Jews and Military population and 10 per cent Indians. We have continued the system. We have to cater to the requirements of our audiences.[40]

Laharry's testimony forms part of the evidence taken by the Indian Cinematographic Committee (ICC), which was set up by the colonial administration in 1927 to study the workings of the film industry in India, with the primary aim of exploring market quotas for Empire films in India, and a linked concern for the misrepresentation of European culture in Hollywood films seen by native audiences. In the process, the Committee conducted extensive interviews with the industry, government officials involved in policing and legislation, and prominent members of the audience. These interviews are documented in five volumes of evidences that run to well over 3,000 pages and are a treasure trove for the study of the period, even though the testimonies and the *Report* need to be understood as occurring within the specific context of a colonial regime and its inherent power structures.

Given their elite clientele, normal ticket prices in the Chowringhee cinemas were high; however nearly all cinemas also offered the cheapest cinema tickets of 4 *annas*, or a quarter of a rupee. When Globe's Laharry was asked whether these cheap tickets were bought by "menials belonging to western households" he answered, "I don't think we get the menial class very much, nor do we get a large number of the illiterate class."[41]

The Globe was an elite cinema and in the strictly hierarchical society of colonial Calcutta the "menials" and "illiterates" would have had their designated entertainment spaces in other theaters and tent-houses in the vicinity. Students and educated young men, however, were welcome to these cheap seats, as were European soldiers and sailors. The cheap tickets usually sold out quickly. Evidence suggests that educated Indians also regularly visited the other cinemas in the vicinity of Chowringhee, even if they were considered disreputable; and that they would do so on cinemagoing outings when tickets were sold out in the Chowringhee theaters. The future filmmaker Satyajit Ray, who came from a prominent family of Bengali intellectuals, recalled one such incident from his childhood:

> An uncle of mine had taken me to the Globe to see the first Johnny Weissmuller Tarzan film. Going to the bioscope in those days being a rare and breathlessly awaited event, it was heartbreaking to learn that there were no seats to be had. Obviously touched by the sign of dismay on my face, my uncle took me walking four hundred yards to the Albion to see [the Madan-produced] *Kaal Parinaya* instead. I still remember his growing discomfiture as the risqué drama unfolded, and his urgently and periodically whispered 'let's go home' being met with a stony silence.[42]

Naturally, the condition of the cinemas varied between theaters with an elite European and Indian clientele, like the Globe, and those frequented by the Indian masses, as did the print quality and the conditions under which films were screened. Ray recalls that as a child he primarily grew up watching Chaplin, Keaton and Fairbanks in the elite Chowringhee cinemas:

> The cinema that we loved to go to then was the Madan [Palace of Varieties], where the mellifluous tones of the Wurlitzer organ drowned the noise of the projector while heightening the drama on the screen. The Globe was nice too. It didn't have an organ, but it had turns on the stage during intermission. Both the Globe and the Madan showed first-run foreign films, as did the Elphinstone, the Picture Palace [sic] and the Empire. They all stood clustered in the heart of Calcutta's filmland, exuded swank and boasted an elite clientele.
>
> On the other hand, the cinemas showing Indian films, such as the Albion, were dank and seedy. One pinched one's nose as one hurried past the toilet in the lobby into the auditorium, and sat on hard, creaky wooden seats. The films they showed, we were told by our elders, were not suitable for us.[43]

A noted linguist, Sukumar Sen, also recalled going into disreputable cinemas like the Ripon Theater, located in central Calcutta, in his student days. This was another run-down cinema showing older films, often in poor prints, and the audi-

ence is described as working class.[44] Such recollections underline the fact that despite attempts at segregating cinemas based on class differentiation, in actual viewing practice there was a mix of classes in the majority of the cinemas across the city.

This coexistence of a range of audiences has not been acknowledged by received histories, which talk of a homogenized Indian audience for the cinema. A recent study of the ICC by Manishita Dass points out that policymakers had some understanding of a heterogeneous audience.[45] The ICC questionnaire includes references to a generalized "Indian audience" (Question 4 and 6.a.) while also drawing a distinction between "the educated classes" and the "illiterate population" (Question 6.b.).[46] As Dass argues, this "repeated differentiation between the two classes of Indians undercut any notion of a homogeneous national community of filmgoers."[47] Such class differentiation as expressed by the ICC points to an intense anxiety with regard to the illiterate masses, one voiced repeatedly by the educated middle-class Indian elite, as well as by colonial administrators.

However, I would argue that a more nuanced understanding of cinema audiences is available in the ICC proceedings, not from the Committee members, but from within the members and associates of the industry that testified to the Committee. The ICC discussion with the Globe's Laharry indicates that even the top end of the trade had a very clear and grounded understanding of discrete audience classes and the varied conditions of exhibition. For instance, when questioned about the poor quality of prints of second-hand films, Laharry insists that these too have value. Not all of these prints were worn out, he says, there were still some old films circulating in the market that had not been shown very much. These films had diminished in value and while they could not be shown in the Chowringhee cinemas, they were good enough to be shown in second-run theaters like the Ripon or the Albion.

The Chairman quizzed him:

> Q: You mean the Indian public will stand them?
> A: A certain section of the Indian public will stand them.
> Q: But you would not dare to show them in your Chowringhi [sic] theatres?
> A: Because I have already shown them and my rights have expired.[48]

This awareness of the complex, tiered nature of exhibition in Calcutta, seen within the industry and by policymakers, not only affected regulation and censorship, but also translated into practices that reinforced class distinctions. As Dass argues: "Spectatorship emerged in colonial India as a site not just of imagining community but also of asserting class difference and social hierarchies."[49] This is as evident in Laharry's rejection of the menial class as a part of his audience, as in the young Ray being advised against visiting the "dank and seedy" Albion.

However, the detail in the ICC report also helps to bring out the rich texture of everyday commercial practices in the metropolitan centers of cinema in 1920s India.[50]

The ICC evidence also suggests that these were dynamic categories, continually changing, and defying any attempt to define a fixed notion of cinema audiences in 1920s India. For instance, Laharry is quick to point out that conditions in north Calcutta cinemas were improving when the Committee recommended that he could set up a cinema there. The Committee tries to convince him by suggesting that it need not be an expensive proposition since a cinema in north Calcutta would only need "to suit the ordinary Indian public," and not be as upmarket as the Globe. Laharry retorts that such a venture would cost between five and six hundred thousand rupees, since audience tastes were changing. The ICC persists:

> You are thinking of the audience you are catering for, but the poor people will be squatting on the floor and see, they won't require sofa seats, boxes and so on, and if they cannot get a good seat, they would prefer to sit down.[51]

Laharry's response emphasizes the difference between metropolitan and small-town exhibition:

> Yes, in smaller towns; but as competition comes in, my experience is that you must give other creature comforts too to the audience.[52]

Laharry's reference to changing tastes and increased desire for "creature comforts" is corroborated later in the late 1920s and early 1930s, when film journals announced the opening of new cinemas with great fanfare. These announcements almost always focused on the amenities of the cinema, on added comforts, such as better seats and air conditioning,[53] with celebrities and public figures often being called upon to inaugurate these cinemas.

Another now forgotten practice, which evolved during the silent era, was the use of multiple-language intertitles. Each title card could contain titles that were written in as many as five languages, including Bengali, English, Hindi, Urdu and Gujarati, and this gives us a good sense of the linguistic range of audiences for these films in second-run Calcutta cinemas.[54] While the practice allowed linguistically diverse audiences to be present together in the same cinema, it also created problems. One anecdote recalls that in cinemas frequented by illiterate audiences it resulted in one charitable member loudly reading out intertitles on the screen for the benefit of his fellows in the gallery (the cheaper seats), much to the annoyance of educated members of the audience.[55] Multiple language intertitles are a significant indicator of the simultaneous presence of members of different linguistic communities amongst the audience in Calcutta cinemas. Their regular

use also points to alternate language practices in operation even before the talkies were introduced.

However, the talkies brought their own problems. A commonly expressed belief is that the coming of sound fragmented what was otherwise a vast market for "Indian cinema." As Dass has argued, this unified market and homogeneous audience for "Indian cinema" was largely a myth, and the ICC had its own understanding of a polarized film audience divided into the educated elite and the "other" – the unlettered masses. However, as I have argued above, a wide range of spectators was present in the cinemas of 1920s Calcutta, whose audience could be categorized along linguistic, class and ethnic lines. Like the city itself, divisions between cinemas and their audiences were not watertight. A detailed study of the conditions of exhibition thus complicates the received understanding of cinema audiences in a global city like Calcutta and reveals that the "other" is never homogeneous, and in this case a fragmented and shifting terrain. The ICC proceedings are a clear indication that the industry is well aware of the coexistence of several audience categories together in the cinemas of Calcutta and, like Globe's Laharry, members of the industry repeatedly rejected the Committee's inclination to form a neat divide between elite and unlettered, European and Indian. Thus, J. J. Madan, managing director of India's largest vertically integrated studio, commanding an exhibition network that stretched across colonial South Asia, dismissed the Committee's perception of a national audience when asked why Indian producers were unable to increase production to cater to this vast national market. The Committee argued that, given the potential of the domestic market, local producers could easily step up production and counter the dominance of foreign films on Indian screens, citing the success of Japan which had successfully managed to reduce foreign film imports by increasing Japanese film production. Madan's laconic response encapsulated the essential difference of India: "Yes, but you see that Japan is one nation, and that accounts for it."[56]

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Locating Early Non-Theatrical Audiences

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What we mean by the "non-theatrical" is historically specific, since the parameters, visibility, circulation, and significance of this largely overlooked aspect of cinema vary over time and from place to place. This essay examines the practice of American non-theatrical cinema in the mid-1910s, that is, well before the widespread adoption of safety film and portable projectors and any appreciable use of film in the classroom. It predates also the appearance of field-specific publications like *Educational Screen* (1922) and *Business Screen* (1938), and the emergence of a range of distributors focusing on the non-theatrical market. Much more than is the case with theatrical film exhibition, we cannot gauge with any thoroughness the extent and everyday presence of non-theatrical film exhibition in the mid-1910s. But using newspapers, the motion-picture trade press, and a range of other periodicals (all increasingly available in digital form), we can learn something about how non-theatrical audiences in the United States were addressed and constituted at a historical moment when commercial film distribution was becoming more systemized and nationalized, and much of what came to be known as the Hollywood system was being set into place.[1] Most significant for the purposes of this essay, by the mid-1910s the movie theater had unquestionably become the standard exhibition site for commercial cinema. The key to thinking about American non-theatrical audiences at the moment of Hollywood's consolidation – and probably at least up to World War II – is, I propose, the notion of the targeted, sponsored screening.

The Diversified American Public

In its official statement of "Policy and Standards," the National Board of Censorship of Motion Pictures in October 1915 pointed to what it took to be a definitive and all-important characteristic of the "moving picture show" in the United States:

> [T]he fact that the same picture goes to all audiences gives rise to some of the greatest problems of the national board. These audiences are composed of a conglomeration of people, ranging from 3 to 80 years of age, and representing

social traditions and educational influences, some modern and some antiquated, some native and some foreign.

Keeping in mind this "diversified public" for moving pictures in the United States meant that the Board "can not judge films exclusively from the standpoint of children or delicate women or the emotionally morbid or neurasthenic or of any one class of audience."[2] A few months later, the indefatigable advocate for federal censorship and critic of the National Board of Censorship, Wilbur F. Crafts, put the matter even more concisely when testifying before the House of Representatives Committee on Education concerning a proposed Federal Motion Picture Commission: "theatrical conditions are such that at present every film goes to the whole American audience – men, women, and children."[3] "Whole" presumably signifies in this context not only male and female viewers of all ages but also the widespread availability of motion pictures geographically and demographically across the United States. Of course, in practice this "whole" excluded the indigent, those who had no ready access to movie theaters, and in many cases African Americans, and each individual theater might attract a different clientele, but what mattered most for Crafts and the Board of Censorship (and presumably for the industry) was the aggregate plurality of the audience for the movies.

The way these comments frame American diversity is striking, factoring in age, impressionability, and sex, as well as a broad array of "traditions" and "influences" bespeaking educational level, immigrant status, and even the degree of "modernity." (And, notably, leaving race out of the American public equation.)[4] Equally striking is the categorical insistence that motion pictures address "the whole American audience," not understood as an undifferentiated mass or an imagined nation but rather as a "conglomeration of people," a "diversified public." For the National Board of Censorship and its arch-enemy, Crafts, addressing the "diversified public" was a defining condition of the motion picture industry. This diversity was not a temporary, correctible situation that, for better or worse, would give way to a more unified and hence more modern America through the widespread consumption of the movies or of certain motion pictures.

But note the important qualification: this version of the motion-picture audience is also assumed to be a product of current "theatrical conditions," a phrase I take to mean how films were produced for, distributed to, and exhibited in America's ubiquitous, commercially run "moving picture shows." The National Board of Censorship posited that alternate theatrical conditions were conceivable, including venues restricted to only adult spectators or explicitly designated for children.[5] Crafts broached another, more ambitious, option: an explicitly nontheatrical cinema, with exhibition sites and practices clearly distinct from the moving picture show. Regularly screening motion pictures in YMCA-style "evening schools" as well as a "nation-wide series of one-night-a-week recreational films in churches and welfare societies" would, Crafts argued, provide Americans

with an acceptable and necessary alternative to the thousands of commercial venues – whether storefront nickelodeons, repurposed live-entertainment theaters, or purpose-built picture palaces – that regularly featured film as their primary attraction.[6] If, at precisely the historical moment in the mid-1910s when the production and distribution branches of the commercial film industry were being consolidated and movie theaters had become the cornerstone of the American entertainment business, the audience for the moving picture show was pictured as a conglomerate, diversified public addressed as a "whole" by Hollywood, then what was it about non-theatrical audiences that held so much promise for Crafts and other commentators?

Non-theatrical/Theatrical

By the early 1920s, the term, *non-theatrical*, was commonly used in relation to the cinema in periodicals as diverse as the *Transactions of the Society of Motion Picture Engineers*, *Religious Education*, and *American Motorist*.[7] The earliest reference I have found is in an April 1915 report from the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis announcing the coming release of a new four-reel film produced in cooperation with the Universal Film Company, which "will be shown in all of the theatres controlled by the Universal Film Company, which aggregate about half of those in the country. It will also be available for use of State departments of health, anti-tuberculosis associations and other groups, particularly for non-theatrical exhibitions."[8] I would argue, however, that the non-theatrical as a type of exhibition or, more grandly, as a possibility of cinema, is less tied to the appearance of this specific term than to particular assumptions about the uses of cinema beyond commercial entertainment, and to an awareness that certain screening sites (like churches, schools, and YMCAs) are clearly distinct from and provide an alternative to the normative "moving picture show."

Beginning in what Charles Musser calls the "novelty year" of 1896-7, moving pictures in the United States were screened in tent shows and churches, Chautauqua assemblies and vaudeville theaters, amusement parks and arcades, fairs and opera houses, and in all manner of public halls and auditoria.[9] And many if not most of these sites continued to exhibit films at least through the 1920s. While it is absolutely necessary to highlight the historical role of early cinema's manifold and varied screening sites, my assumption is that there was no "non-theatrical" cinema until moving picture shows became an established and familiar feature of everyday life in rural small towns and city centers as well as metropolitan neighborhoods.

In effect, therefore, the nickelodeon boom and the supposedly diversified public frequenting moving picture shows made possible – perhaps even made inevitable – what would come to be called the "non-theatrical."[10]

How the non-theatrical – often in tandem with some iteration of "educational" film – has been promoted and realized was a key aspect of American cinema for most of the 20th century (and, I suspect, for the cinema in other nations as well). Even more than the *moving picture show* and the *commercial cinema*, the *non-theatrical cinema* has no singular or constant meaning. In practice and in its discursive construction, it is historically grounded and shifts in significance over time, while also varying from place to place. From its inception, the non-theatrical existed in co-relation to the theatrical, though this relationship was never simply or solely a matter of what was inside or outside the commercial American film industry, or even a matter of what was inside or outside of the movie theater. Some films produced outside the commercial industry have found their way into movie theaters, just as a sizeable amount of Hollywood product has been made available to the non-theatrical market. Various commercial programming strategies and screening protocols have been replicated in non-theatrical venues; and on certain occasions movie theaters have been utilized for what we would consider non-theatrical programs or events. Surely many, if not most, American moviegoers also at some time or another watched motion pictures in a classroom, church, museum, or club. Qualified, contingent, porous – the theatrical/non-theatrical binary is still essential to any broad and inclusive understanding of cinema history. In fact, one of the most historically significant aspects of this binary is precisely how and when and to what degree it has proven to be permeable, and when it has been contested and redefined.

Constituting Non-Theatrical Audiences

Let me explore the preceding claims by considering the non-theatrical audience circa 1915, meaning not only who might have filled the seats but also how this audience was conceptualized and addressed, particularly in relation to the "diversified public" and the "whole American audience" of the moving picture show in the 1910s (and throughout the reign of the classical Hollywood cinema). Certainly a free non-theatrical screening open to all comers at a community social center or in the auditorium of a metropolitan department store or sponsored by merchants in the square of a small Midwestern town might seek to attract a "conglomerate" array of spectators somewhat comparable to what was claimed for the moving picture show. But in the realm of the non-theatrical the desideratum was often likelier to be a more narrowly defined, more homogeneous, more explicitly *targeted* audience. In effect, as Crafts and others claimed to be the case with the commercial entertainment film industry, the non-theatrical cinema was similarly predicated on the notion that the American public was "diversified," but this cinema was not significantly driven by the need to conceive of this public as a "whole."

Depending on the availability of films and projection equipment, non-theatrical exhibition could reach a virtually unlimited number of distinct audiences, linked by one or more variables, including sex and age, but also occupation, race, religion, educational level, social class, place of birth or current residence, union or club membership, leisure-time interests, consumer habits, political affiliation, and so on. This range of audiences addressed by non-theatrical cinema in the United States during the 1910s and beyond may in some ways call to mind the niche marketing and narrowcasting of post-network television many decades later, but a more contemporary analogy is magazine publishing in the early 20th century. In addition to that period's major news weeklies like *Collier's* and advertising-driven mass circulation magazines like the *Saturday Evening Post*, scores of periodicals were aimed at much more specialized readerships, including the *Moving Picture World*, *American Industries*, and other titles I will have occasion to cite in this essay. As Janice A. Radway and Carl F. Kaestle explain in their invaluable recent edited volume on "the expansion of publishing and reading in the United States, 1880-1940," "what emerged in addition to the mass-market newspapers, magazines, and books [...] was a variety of specialized networks for printing, publishing, and circulating material that often were quite focused and had more narrow audiences."[11] As was the case with what Radway and Kaestle's contributors call "the culture of print," American cinema (encompassing both the theatrical and the non-theatrical) reflected a society "pushed and pulled by contradictory pressures that, on the one hand, led to greater centralization and intensified nationalism and, on the other, produced differentiation, specialization, and alternative forms of identification."[12] However, unlike a periodical published each week or month, non-theatrical exhibition at a given site was likely to be infrequently and irregularly scheduled – making it quite distinct also from the routinized, daily delivery of screen entertainment at almost all moving picture shows.

Of course, the targeting of "specialized" non-theatrical audiences was far from algorithmic profiling. It was more a matter of hailing a particular group, taking the exhibition to the site of the desired audience, or using invitations, closed screenings, and controlled ticket distribution to restrict admissions. As might be expected, there is little evidence to indicate precisely who actually filled the seats at these screenings, much less how these spectators experienced motion pictures outside a theatrical setting. But brief items that made their way into motion-picture trade journals, local newspapers, and other print sources hint at the range of targeted audiences and exhibition opportunities outside the moving picture show.[13] In sheer quantity, these opportunities rival or exceed the commercial venues offering films, though in the mid-1910s the total number of non-theatrical screenings could not come close to matching what was provided by moving picture shows on a daily and weekly basis.

The variation within what constituted non-theatrical cinema at this still early stage of its development is even apparent in public schools, Protestant churches,

and YMCAs, which had from the first been identified as the likeliest sites for film exhibition beyond the moving picture show.[14] For example, the *Moving Picture World* was quick to note when the YMCA in cities like Bristol, Rhode Island or Trenton, New Jersey had permanently installed motion-picture equipment in its auditorium and was screening films on a regular weekly basis, potentially competing with commercial shows, although usually making some effort at providing "educational" fare.[15] But individual YMCAs also deployed a number of other idiosyncratic, less "theatrical" exhibition strategies aimed at more clearly demarcated audiences. These included sending a representative deep into the forests of Maine to conduct religious services and show moving pictures to lumberjacks; screening "thrift films" from the American Institute of Banking to wage-earners at Cincinnati factories; offering "free open-air shows of films with strong lessons" in Rock Island, Illinois; and sponsoring a lecture on the Ohio workers' compensation law at the opera house in Piqua, Ohio, complete with a screening of four films, including THE CRIME OF CARELESSNESS (1912), a one-reel drama that in effect retold the story of the tragic Triangle Shirtwaist Company fire in New York City.[16]

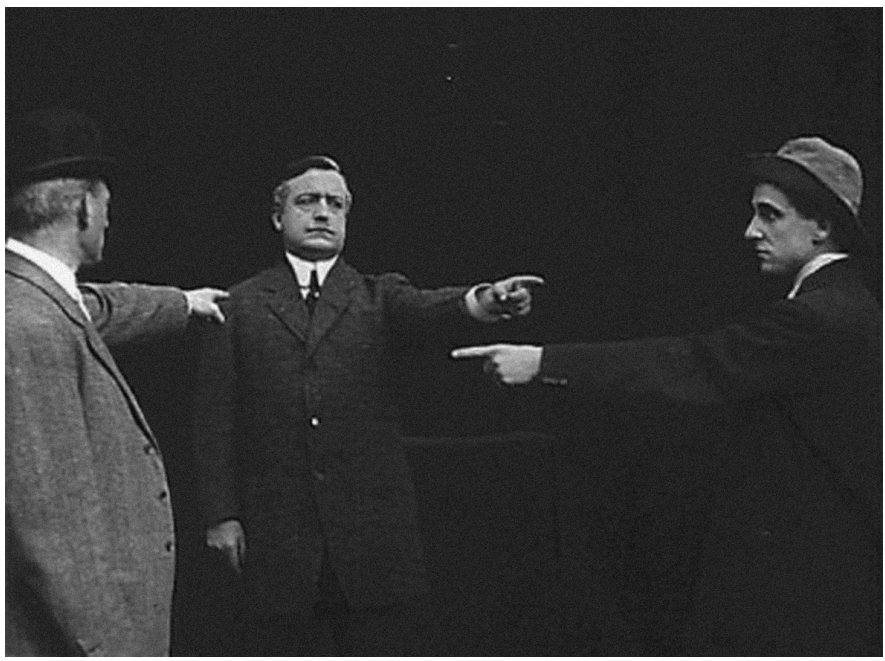

Fig. 1: An "educational picture everyone should see": THE CRIME OF CARELESSNESS (Edison, 1912).

The exhibition of THE CRIME OF CARELESSNESS, produced by the Edison Company "in co-operation" with the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM), offers a particularly striking example, both of targeted screenings and also of the interchange between theatrical and non-theatrical cinema in the 1910s.[17] After its release in December 1912, THE CRIME OF CARELESSNESS was circulated extensively as part of what this association called its "constructive campaign toward conserving the human resources of the nation." A 1913 NAM pamphlet, entitled *Industrial Betterment Activities*, identified speakers from 17 states and listed seven films and 516 lantern slides available "freely and without cost beyond incidental expense [...] to organizations of employers and workmen alike, to boards of trade, chamber of commerce, etc. for the better understanding of industrial conditions, for the saving of life and energy and for the improvement of the welfare of the nation."[18]

In addition, this pamphlet asserted that another of NAM's sponsored films, THE WORKMAN'S LESSON (also produced by Edison and released in 1912) "had been given in fully 7,500 motion picture theaters all over the country."[19] There is no way of verifying this claim, but NAM unquestionably sought theatrical bookings for its safety films, including THE CRIME OF CARELESSNESS, which was promoted as an "educational picture everyone should see." Thus, in the first few months of its distribution, THE CRIME OF CARELESSNESS was co-billed in movie theaters with otherwise unrelated current releases, sometimes a full slate of Edison productions, other times with an assortment of different studio moving pictures and the occasional vaudeville act.[20]

THE CRIME OF CARELESSNESS was also one of the most widely seen motion pictures outside of theaters in the mid-1910s, beginning at least as early as May 1913, when it was screened at the National Association of Manufacturers' convention during a special session for an invited audience of "superintendents and foremen" from Detroit, where the convention was being held.[21] Quite often this film and THE WORKMAN'S LESSON were shown as part of a self-styled "moving picture entertainment" involving an "expert" speaker and two other films: AN AMERICAN IN THE MAKING (produced by Thanhouser for United States Steel) telling the story of an immigrant worker who learns about industrial safety and Americanization in Gary, Indiana; and THE MAN HE MIGHT HAVE BEEN (produced by Edison) about the virtues of industrial education. *Industrial Betterment Activities* quotes testimonials lauding the drawing power and effectiveness of these four films in venues as diverse as the school, church, YMCA, municipal social center, factory, and opera house. This range of non-picture show venues is notable, though for my purposes even more significant is the variety of audiences said to have attended NAM's moving picture entertainment: a factory's workers together with their families in Middleton, Ohio; boys and girls at a social center and – separately – high school students in Des Moines, Iowa; folks living in South Carolina cotton and lumber mill communities; and – in separate screenings –

businessmen, male factory workers, and the wives and children of factory workers in Racine, Wisconsin.[22] Clearly it was in NAM's best interest to promote an efficient, accident-free, profitable workplace, not only to tout the vast number of people who attended, but also the distinct audiences at these many screenings, which might be taken to prove the wide usefulness and nation-wide relevance of NAM's films when shown to targeted groups.

Tracking the exhibition of THE CRIME OF CARELESSNESS through advertisements, reviews, and promotional notices offers a revealing perspective on the non-theatrical terrain during 1913-1915, underscoring how this film's potential audiences were almost always conceived of as discrete and in some way homogenous groups. The National Association of Manufacturers' monthly magazine, *American Industries: The Manufacturers' Magazine*, regularly reported on the successful screenings of NAM's sponsored films, noting, for instance, how often THE CRIME OF CARELESSNESS (usually coupled with the three other films listed above) was screened by management to the employees of particular companies, like the Dupont Powder Company in Hannibal, Missouri; the Inland Steel Company in Crosby, Minnesota; and the United Gas Improvement Company in Philadelphia.[23] *American Industries* was quick to note that the same films also successfully played to a quite different sector of the workforce, such as when "between 600 and 700 foremen, superintendents, and owners of factories" gathered in a multi-purpose venue to watch the films and listen to speakers in an event sponsored by the Bridgeport [Connecticut] Manufacturers' Association.[24] In other parts of the country, THE CRIME OF CARELESSNESS reached small-town schoolchildren when it was distributed by the University of Kansas as well as adult members of "social and civic organizations" when it was included as part of a lecture series organized by the Brooklyn [New York] Rapid Transit Company's "bureau of public safety."[25]

Non-theatrical audiences for the NAM films could potentially be more inclusive when their exhibition formed part of public safety campaigns conducted by organizations like the Nevada Industrial Safety Association, which sponsored a screening at the premier theater in Reno, Nevada.[26] Perhaps the broadest public audience for THE CRIME OF CARELESSNESS in one site occurred at the International Exposition of Safety and Sanitation, organized by the American Museum of Safety and held in New York City's Grand Central Palace, a major site for exhibitions in midtown Manhattan. For ten days in December 1913, daily attendance at this Exposition averaged 11,300 (including 2,800 children); among the visitors, according to *American Industries*, were "a fair proportion of manufacturers, safety engineers, works superintendents and foremen, and public health officials from various states." The National Association of Manufacturers operated a "theatre" at the Exposition, screening its motion pictures four times daily.[27] Open to the public at large, though catering to men whose work required an up-to-date awareness of sanitation and safety concerns, the International Exposition of

Safety and Sanitation offered a potentially more mixed audience for NAM'S films in comparison to other meetings like the 1915 National Exposition of Chemical Industries, where THE CRIME OF CARELESSNESS was one of many motion pictures screened showing "actual industrial operations."[28]

Fig. 2: AN AMERICAN IN THE MAKING (Thanhouser for United States Steel) told the story of an immigrant worker.

Conventions, conferences, and expositions were, as might be expected, prime non-theatrical occasions since this type of gathering could potentially provide organizers and the sponsors of motion pictures with a well-defined audience brought together by a common trade, business, field of research, or product. By 1915, film was being incorporated – sometimes as a quite prominent attraction – into the program at events like the annual meeting of the Southern Medical Association in Richmond, Virginia; the Association of Advertising Clubs of Texas convention in Waco, Texas; the Florida State Livestock Association Convention in Sarasota, Florida; the Midwest Cement Show in Omaha, Nebraska; the annual meeting of the Tourist Association of America (held in San Jose, California); the National Gas Association convention in Cincinnati; and the meeting of the Northeastern Pennsylvania Telephone Society.[29] These uses attest to the spread of non-theatrical cinema across region, profession, and industry and to the viability of

moving pictures as a marketing tool, pedagogical instrument – or, more simply, as an attention-grabber adaptable to almost any high- or low-profile professional gathering.

Examples abound as well of non-theatrical screenings geared toward even more narrowly defined audiences. During January-February 1915 alone, among these varied events were the Wilderness Club's annual banquet, held at the exclusive Racquet Club in Philadelphia, where invited guests viewed film shot in Central Africa by James Barnes; moving pictures of the Bigelow-Hartford Carpet Company shown to 100 "bankers and brokers" from New York and Boston as part of their tour of this company's Thompsonville, Connecticut factory; moving pictures and slides accompanying a lecture on "Countries of the Far East" presented by a representative of the Foreign Christian Missionary Society to members of the congregation of Lexington, Kentucky's Central [Christian] Church; and "high grade" comedy films shown separately to white and "colored" inmates at the Central Kentucky Asylum for the Insane in Lakeland, Kentucky, while at the state hospital for the insane in Kankakee, Illinois, weekly screenings were offered only to the "most untidy and demented patients" as part of their "course of re-education."[30]

It is worth underscoring, of course, that these screenings differed in other ways besides the composition of their audiences, notably in the sort of moving pictures screened and their ostensible goals, which ranged from encouraging investment and raising donations to providing edifying and educational entertainment. Most dramatically, the patients in state-run asylums – like children in orphan homes, youthful offenders in reformatories, or prisoners in Sing Sing and other penitentiaries – not only comprised well-defined and readily identifiable groups, but they were also quite literally *captive* audiences, for whom watching moving pictures was likely to be a compulsory requirement, or a special privilege, bestowed by those in authority.[31] Relatively rare in the mid-1910s, the captive – rather than self-selecting or invited – group of viewers would become an increasingly prominent aspect of non-theatrical cinema from the late 1920s onwards, as 16mm equipment allowed for greater use of instructional and training films in the classroom, the workplace, and the military.[32]

Sponsored Exhibition

Each of the preceding examples of non-theatrical screenings addressed what might be understood as a micro-audience gathered for the occasion and sharing certain characteristics – say, being adult, male, white, certified insane, institutionalized, and residing in Kentucky. All these myriad micro-audiences did not somehow make up a "whole" public such as Crafts and the National Board of Censorship claimed was the case for the patrons watching films in moving picture shows across America. On a much smaller scale, even the various groups of people who

at some point saw THE CRIME OF CARELESSNESS, perhaps in the factory where they worked, in a small-town school with other students, as part of trade convention, or at an event under the auspices of the YMCA, did not constitute a larger conglomerate of moviegoers, since each distinctive group viewing the film came together under different conditions.

Are there any other general claims we can make about non-theatrical audiences in the mid-1910s besides that they were predominately identifiable, targetable groups and thus quite distinct from the moving picture show's diversified public? Jennifer Horne has recently made a convincing case that film screenings at public libraries in the United States during the silent era promoted "a new type of spectatorship" with viewers addressed as "local citizens rather than American moviegoers."[33] Not all non-theatrical sites created or encouraged the "type of civic spectatorship" or the strong connection to locality that Horne associates with the public library's film exhibition practices, although I would argue that the screening *location* was virtually always a central factor in distinguishing non-theatrical from theatrical cinema. Location affected not only who comprised the targeted audience but also the viewing conditions and, I would assume, the experience of these spectators. Simply put, patrons went to a movie theater and bought a ticket to see the movies, while people attended a non-theatrical screening (even of a Hollywood production) in a place that was not primarily or even secondarily a site where audiences viewed moving pictures. Thus when the Selig Polyscope Company had a "private" showing of its new feature film, THE CARPET FROM BAGDAD (1915), at an art gallery located in the Bobbs-Merrill building in Indianapolis, the two hundred invited guests (identified in one account as the city's "literary lights") in attendance participated in a non-theatrical event, defined by its location as well as its exclusivity. (Selig's choice of this particular location made sense as a promotional event since Bobbs-Merrill in 1911 had published the Harold MacGrath novel on which the film was based.)[34]

On occasion, non-theatrical pictures were projected in a multi-use hall or even a vacant lot but most often the actual screening site, as in Selig's Bobbs-Merrill preview, was found within a building primarily used for another readily evident purpose – a factory, school, church, department store, social club, library, asylum, penitentiary, and so on. One notable exception among the examples I have cited was the International Exposition of Safety and Sanitation, a space filled with more than 125 exhibits from major American and international manufacturers, government agencies, insurance companies, social welfare groups, and railroads, which had three moving picture "theaters" on site operated by the National Cash Register Company, the U.S. Public Health Service, and the National Association of Manufacturers.[35] Even more ambitious along these lines was the use of motion pictures at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, the world's fair held in San Francisco from March-December 1915, which contained more than 50 self-styled moving picture theaters operated by different U.S. states and foreign na-

tions, as well as by railroads and other commercial enterprises, all primarily screening promotional films of one sort or another.[36]

The location of screening sites in factories, institutions, and YMCAs as well as the presence of "theaters" at the International Exposition of Safety and Sanitation and the Panama-Pacific International Exposition underscored and, we might say, literalized the sense that non-theatrical screenings were *sponsored* events, conducted under the auspices of, and therefore authorized by and for the benefit of a particular organization, whether it be company, agency, movement, campaign, association, or institution. In contrast, screenings in moving picture shows were not, I surmise, understood by audiences as being presented somehow under the auspices of the theater. For the price of a ticket, the moving picture show delivered and presented its commercial product (which varied from booking to booking and from theater to theater) with the regularity of a public utility, day-in and day-out. The theater operator and even the producer and distributor of any given release might be known to moviegoers, but sponsorship only became part of the experience at the moving picture show on those rare occasions when a benefit or some other special program was scheduled under the auspices of a local group, or when the theater was rented out for a promotional screening to a targeted audience. This latter case occurred, for example, in a host of small towns across the United States in 1915 when the local department or dry goods store sponsored a special matinee screening of the Gossard Corset Company's moving pictures about how corsets are fitted, which incorporated a "beautiful story entitled 'How Marjorie Won a Career.'" Not only was the Gossard moving-picture program sponsored; it was also invariably restricted to "ladies only" (leading the *Moving Picture World* to report that in Sedalia, Missouri, "it was only with great difficulty that the men were prevented from breaking the doors of the theatre and entering").[37] It is tempting to think of this phenomenon as an example of the movie theater becoming for one afternoon an exclusive non-theatrical site!

Sponsorship, then, might be signified by the location or the films screened, or – often – by both, since in the mid-1910s the moving pictures projected in non-theatrical locations were likely to be sponsored films. So, when THE CRIME OF CARELESSNESS (produced, as its title informs us, "in-cooperation with the National Association of Manufacturers") was screened for both "employers and employees" in Springfield, Massachusetts in January 1915, it was shown at one of the city's high schools, "under auspices of the Massachusetts employers' insurance association."[38] The screening site, the group responsible for the program (which in this iteration also included lantern slides and a "musical program"), and the film itself all manifestly marked this as a sponsored event. Furthermore, the president of the sponsoring association was on hand to present what the local newspaper described as an "address" to the audience, perhaps the clearest signal of under whose auspices the event was organized and presented. Whether in the form of an introductory or concluding "address," or as running commentary on

the still and moving projected images, the words delivered by a speaker regularly figured as a key element of non-theatrical screenings in the mid-1910s – well after commercial film exhibition had dropped what had apparently been a very limited use of lecturers.[39]

The non-theatrical moving-picture program (or the program that used moving pictures) was characterized by sponsorship that was manifested through different registers: the explicit identification of the sponsor, the location of the screening site, the picture screened, and the spoken words of the presenter/lecturer/commentator. I assume that this sponsorship affected, perhaps significantly, the audience's experience of these programs, particularly in contrast to attending a regular moving picture show. Sponsorship could, for instance, influence the behavior of spectators during the screening, authorize and legitimate the experience of watching moving pictures, frame this experience as somehow beneficial, and situate it as outside the pay-per-view logic governing the movies as commercial entertainment. Manifest sponsorship might also make evident, implicitly or explicitly, that the many "free" non-theatrical events exacted their own sort of admission charge, bringing spectators with something in common together under certain auspices and for certain purposes that shared little with the commercial theater's ostensibly straightforward goal of turning a profit. Sponsorship meant that the practice of non-theatrical cinema necessarily participated in what Lee Grieveson has called "fundamental debates about the *social functioning* of cinema" during this period – "debates about how cinema should function in society, about the uses to which it might be put, and thus, effectively, about what it could or would be."[40]

Conclusion

As the now quite extensive body of research on the history of film exhibition reminds us, no two moving picture shows were identical, particularly during the silent era – even as the motion picture business (or industry) came to be regularized. Beyond the variation inevitably arising from the condition of prints, the quality of projection equipment, and the performance of individual projectionists, there were a host of variables concerning the décor, design, and size of theaters, not to mention differences related to programming, the combination of film and live performance, and the identity, role, and status of the particular theater as part of a street, neighborhood, community, and set of social relations. But these differences pale, I contend, in comparison with the range of variation evident in exhibiting and watching moving pictures *outside* the movie theater. Information about these non-theatrical screenings (especially unadvertised screenings) is limited and partial, so a comprehensive account of the non-theatrical is impossible. Yet as a sampling of what the print record reveals, the individual examples mentioned in this article attest to the manifold uses of non-theatrical cinema in the

mid-1910s as well as to its dispersion across the United States in rural and urban areas, small towns and city neighborhoods. This information concerning the location, institutional setting, sponsorship, content, programming, and ostensible purpose of specific non-theatrical events allows us to speculate about the experience of spectators who viewed sponsored moving pictures (most often with an accompanying spoken presentation) as part of targeted audiences in sites typically reserved for other purposes and functions.

Finding evidence of widespread non-theatrical exhibition is one thing; explaining why the non-theatrical cinema took the particular shape it did in the United States in the 1910s and how this cinema was practiced in other places and other times is quite a different matter. The non-theatrical, I have argued, required the existence of the theatrical; that is, the non-theatrical could only exist when there was broad and regular availability of commercially produced motion pictures at theaters whose main business was screening these films. The non-theatrical also required access to films, projectors, potential audiences, and exhibition sites (though it did not necessarily require the means, money, or expertise to produce films). In some fashion government helped set the parameters for non-theatrical exhibition, and in so doing likely restricted the range of targetable audiences. Thus municipal and state safety codes and licensing regulations in the United States prevented certain sites from hosting screenings – for instance, saloons in Portland, Oregon and churches without permanently installed motion-picture booths in Louisville, Kentucky.[41] Yet countless other locations in the United States remained available for non-theatrical exhibitors, which included but were not in any way limited to certain government agencies, state-run institutions, and progressive social welfare initiatives. Other countries where access to films and projectors for use outside theaters was more limited or more aggressively controlled by the state (or perhaps by church-affiliated groups) could not offer the range and variety of non-theatrical audiences that I have identified in this essay. In 1910s America, the opportunities for sponsorship at least looked to be wide open, allowing motion pictures to be presented under the auspices of a spectrum of different groups, organizations, businesses, institutions, and religious denominations. Of course, this non-theatrical market was not as free as it might have seemed: access to the possibilities of and resources necessary for using moving pictures outside of theaters was by no means equally available, so the public sphere of non-theatrical cinema was much more likely to include screenings sponsored by management rather than labor, by nationally marketed brands rather than local products, by large religious organizations rather than independent churches, by urban rather than rural schools. Nonetheless, the targeting of discrete, definable non-theatrical audiences in the United States of the mid-1910s required a diverse America, that is to say, a nation with sufficient variety across many different demographic registers, occupations, religions, tastes, pursuits,

and group affiliations – and it required as well sponsors willing and able to tap this diversity.

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Understanding Audience Behavior Through Statistical Evidence: London and Amsterdam in the Mid-1930s

John Sedgwick and Clara Pafort-Overduin

> "Let's go and see a good picture or down to the second house at Finsbury Park or something like that, and sit in the best seats, and you buy yourself a cigar and buy me some chocolates for once, and let's do it properly. Come on, boy. What do you say?"
> – Mrs. Smeeth to Mr. Smeeth in J. B. Priestley's *Angel Pavement*.[1]

The two characters involved in this monologue are fictional, yet they represent to our minds a plausible account of a decision-making process involving a middle-aged couple from a working-class household deciding to go to the cinema, at a particular place, and moment in time. It is interesting to note that the main feature film on the program is not named in the monologue – it is as if the film were a backdrop to the accoutrements of the cinema and its paid attendants. Indeed one could consider that the main attraction for the two was tobacco for Mr. Smeeth and confectionery for Mrs. Smeeth.

In 1930, the year in which the novel *Angel Pavement* was published, the north London suburb of Finsbury Park had two cinemas: the long-established 2,092-seater Finsbury Park, which was part of the Gaumont British chain, and from September the new "atmospheric" style Astoria, seating 3,000, which would soon be taken over from its original developers by Paramount.[2] The Finsbury Park screened films immediately they went on general release, usually some months after their London West End premiere. After their initial London suburban exhibition these films then diffused outwards in time and space to lower-order subsequent-run cinemas that tended to be distinguished by being smaller and cheaper, while screening more films each week than their higher-order counterparts. This cascade-like process continued until the bottommost level had been reached. In Great Britain during the 1930s the passage of time between major film attractions being put out on general release and being withdrawn permanently from circulation could be as long as a year, but this varied considerably, as did the number of cinemas at which any one of these films was screened.[3]

In a manner similar to Priestley's fictional characterization of decision-making, Douglas Gomery maintains that audiences attending the Balaban and Katz theaters in Chicago during the 1920s were not predominantly attracted by the main feature, but more by the splendor of the theaters themselves and the caliber of the live shows that formed part of the programmed entertainment.[4] Yet, if Mr. and Mrs. Smeeth's decision-making was in any way typical of filmgoers, the weekly box-office of the Finsbury Park would not be much affected by the film(s) being screened – it would be more or less constant. As for the Balaban and Katz theaters, presumably differences in the box-office reflected more the attractiveness of the live acts. Yet, from our knowledge of the highly skewed distribution of box-office revenues captured in the United States in the weekly returns of first-run cinemas across the country, published in the *Motion Picture Herald* and *Variety*,[5] the weekly billing sheets of the chain of Stanley Warner Theaters of Philadelphia,[6] and in Great Britain in ledgers pertaining to the Empire, Leicester Square,[7] and to the Regent, Portsmouth,[8] it is necessary to conclude that a significantly large fraction of the audience attending first-run cinemas *was* attracted by the films themselves, although lower down the cinema hierarchy this discriminating fraction appears to have been much smaller. According to Richard Maltby, Hollywood clearly understood this, producing a wide range of films that "[...] addressed a number of quite differentiated groups of viewers."[9]

This type of audience information is important to film scholars. It provides an evidential framework that encapsulates decisions made by the principal agencies – film producers, distributors, exhibitors and audiences. It thus provides a firm basis for understanding and theorizing agency behavior. With respect to audiences that differentiated strongly between films, it allows us to investigate film preferences as revealed by audience numbers – why, for instance, did some films in some cinemas generate extreme levels of interest, while in other cinemas in the same locality differences between film attendances were not very marked at all?

In this study, the authors identify the extent to which "extreme event" films – films that audiences were attracted to in extraordinarily large numbers at their premiere when compared to the median attendance of the cinema concerned – continued to draw audiences as they diffused out to lower-order cinemas. In doing this, attention is drawn to the function of the first-run in exploiting box-office potential. These films were subsequently recycled to lower-order cinemas, taking them to different types of audiences – audiences for whom the visit to the cinema was perhaps more the attraction – as with Mr. and Mrs. Smeeth. However, given the general absence of box-office records, it is not possible to examine actual differences in preferences shown by audiences attending particular cinemas.[10] All that can be done is to chart and measure the diffusion of particular films to cinemas within a particular geographical locality; be it national, regional, or local.

Applying the POPSTAT methodology,[11] the authors first examine the distribution of films that premiered at the Empire, Leicester Square, and diffused to the

cinemas of Bolton (population approximately 180,000), in the north-west of England, and Brighton (population approximately 200,000) on the south-coast of England. A similar exercise is then conducted for the Netherlands, focusing on the exhibition record of the showcase Tuschinski Theater, Amsterdam, and the extent to which films shown there were subsequently screened in the cities of Tilburg (population 84,967 in 1934), in the southern part of the Netherlands, bordering with Belgium, and Utrecht (population 159,895 inhabitants in 1934) in the center of the country. Thus, metropolitan first-run audiences of the two countries are contrasted, as are the subsequent patterns of film diffusion to large provincial towns/cities.

Box-office Data (1932-37)

The Empire, Leicester Square, was MGM's showcase cinema in Great Britain. We are indeed fortunate to have Allen Eyles' publication of the weekly programs at the cinema together with attendance figures, which to our knowledge have not been analyzed systematically hitherto. The Empire was London's largest West End cinema, with 3,226 seats. During the mid-1930s it charged prices in the range from 1/6 (18d.) to 6/- (72d.).[12] For comparison, Browning and Sorrell (1954) estimated average ticket prices of just over 10d in Great Britain during this period. During the years 1932 to 1937, the Empire screened 303 films. Of these, 200 emanated from MGM's Hollywood studio, while seven (six Laurel and Hardy features and the film TOPPER) are credited to the Hal Roach studio. Almost all of MGM's film releases were first exhibited at the Empire.[13] While all of the major productions were screened as part of a single bill program, of which there were 149 over the six years, another 154 films were part of double bill programs, occasioned mainly by the need to fulfill the quota requirements of the 1927 Cinematograph Act, which compelled exhibitors and distributors to supply an increasing proportion of indigenous film productions, rising to 20 percent in 1936.[14] Prior to the introduction of budget-related definitions of the quota in the Cinematograph Act of 1938, MGM's approach to the quota was to screen low-budget films produced by minor British studios.

Figure 1 is produced by treating those films that shared a billing at the Empire between 1932 and 1937 as a unitary entertainment. It comprises 225 separate vertical bars – one for each entertainment package.[15] However, a small number of these films were not actually premiered at the Empire, but at so-called "legitimate" theaters (For theater scholars the term derives from the Licensing Act of 1737, which distinguished between legitimate and illegitimate theaters – the former presenting serious, possibly politically censorable productions, while the latter presented light-hearted entertainment, thought to be innocuous at the time). Today it has no connection with censorship and is often used by show-business insiders, such as *Variety*, simply to distinguish between a movie theater and a

theater that normally presents productions on a stage, in London's West End – the Palace, His Majesty's and the Hippodrome. These were, by order of their premiere, DINNER AT EIGHT (eight weeks at the Palace, followed by two weeks at the Empire); DAVID COPPERFIELD (eight weeks at the Palace, followed by two weeks at the Empire); THE GREAT ZIEGFELD (six weeks at the His Majesty's, followed by seven weeks at the Hippodrome, followed by two weeks at the Empire; ROMEO AND JULIET (eight weeks at His Majesty's, followed by just one week, on a double bill, at the Empire), and finally THE GOOD EARTH (12 weeks at the Palace, followed by two weeks at the Empire). Thus, these films received extended runs before they reached MGM's showcase cinema, the Empire. The logic behind this business practice was principally that the expected level of demand for these films led the distributor to suppose that sections of London's "high society" would be prepared to pay ticket prices at the "legitimate" theaters that were considerably greater than those set by the Empire. Evidence for this can be found in the Appendix, which shows that the prices paid for tickets to watch the five films at the legitimate theaters declined during the course of their run, presumably as audiences frequented cheaper seats when their numbers fell. Nonetheless, these prices, ranging as they did from 58.2d. to 35.25d., but mostly over 40d., were much more than the mean price paid at the Empire. For instance, during the six-week run of MUTINY ON THE BOUNTY, the mean price per attendee ranged between 29.95d. (week 1) and 27.2d. (week 6).[16]

Figure 1 depicts the extent to which the attendances at a small number of event films being screened at the Empire during the period of this investigation towered above the median value of attendance. Twelve films intermittently dispersed through the period garnered audiences of more than 150,000, while film programs at the median value attracted just 34,305. The decline in attendances associated with the rank order of films/programs screened at the Empire is shown in Figure 2, exhibiting a pattern in which in the high-rank part of the distribution falls steeply and considerable differences in rank order can be observed, with the distribution flattening out subsequently, generating what statisticians know as a long right-tail distribution, in which ever smaller differences in revenue exist between ranks.[17]

The top 30 films (all MGM) over the period are found in Table 1. From the list we can see how the earlier run in the legitimate theaters affected the attendances of the five films that transferred to the Empire. From the listing it is apparent how well represented the films starring Greta Garbo, Clark Gable, Norma Shearer, Wallace Beery and William Powell were, and to a lesser extent films starring Joan Crawford, Marie Dressler, Jean Harlow, Myrna Loy and Jeanette MacDonald. The range of screen personalities supplied by these stars and the wide variety of films that they appeared in is testament to the creative powers of the studio workers under contract to MGM.

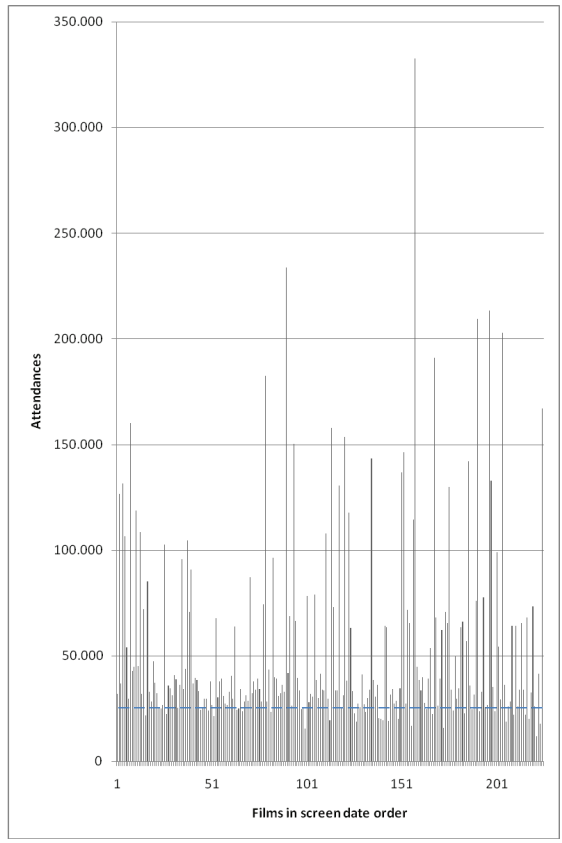


Fig. 1. Film attendances for the Empire, Leicester Square (including the five films that had pre-Empire runs in one of three legitimate theaters) in chronological order, 1932-37. Sources: Eyles, 1989; Eyles Collection.

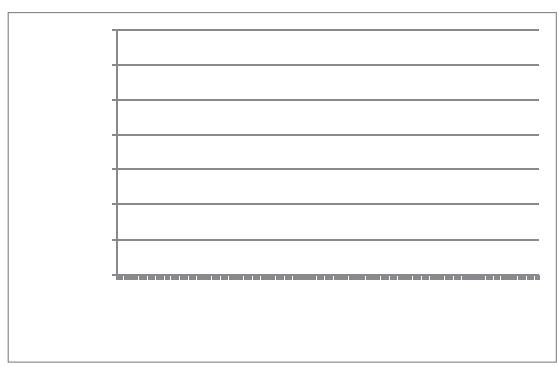


Fig. 2. Attendances at the Empire, Leicester Square in order of rank, 1932-37. Sources: Eyles, 1989; BFI manuscript, undated.

Table 1. Top 30 (MGM) films premiered at the Empire, Leicester Square, or "legitimate" West-End theaters.

Rank	TITLE	Star 1	Star2	Premiere date	Weeks (Empire)	Weeks (legit)	Empire Attendance Week 1	Empire Attendance Week 2	Empire Attendance Week 3	Empire Attendance Week 4	Empire Attendance Week 5	Empire Attendance Week 6	Aggregate Attendance (Empire)	Attendance (legit)	Total
1	*Mutiny On The Bounty*	Gable, Clark	Laughton, Charles	26/12/35	6		84,998	65,584	59,488	40,472	43,492	38,532	332,566		332,566
2	*Queen Christina*	Garbo, Greta		16/2/34	4		77,403	64,362	54,560	37,363			233,688		233,688
3	*Camille*	Garbo, Greta	Taylor, Robert	5/3/37	4		73,244	57,484	37,793	44,852			213,373		213,373
4	*Great Ziegfeld, The*	Powell, William		8/1/37	2	13	41,189	37,279					78,468	130,860	209,328
5	*Good Earth, The*	Muni, Paul	Rainer, Luise	18/6/37	2	12	40,556	33,463					74,019	128,883	202,902
6	*Tale Of Two Cities,A*	Coleman, Ronald		10/4/36	4		63,693	55,366	42,253	29,553			190,865		190,865
7	*Dinner At Eight*	Dressler, Marie	Beery, Wallace	17/11/33	2	8	47,209	33,782					80,991	101,469	182,460
8	*Marie Walewska*	Garbo, Greta	Boyer, Charles	17/12/37	4		48,413	45,510	41,717	31,271			166,911		166,911
9	*Hell Divers*	Beery, Wallace	Gable, Clark	18/3/32	3		62,827	57,683	39,606				160,116		160,116
10	*Barretts Of Wimpole Street,The*	Laughton, Charles		12/10/34	3		68,299	49,741	39,733				157,773		157,773
11	*Painted Veil*	Garbo, Greta		28/12/34	3		71,629	47,473	34,497				153,599		153,599
12	*Riptide*	Shearer, Norma	Montgomery, Robert	13/4/34	3		67,555	47,584	35,022				150,161		150,161
13	*Anna Karenina*	Garbo, Greta		4/10/35	3		67,814	45,334	33,203				146,351		146,351
14	*David Copperfield*	Fields, WC		3/5/35	2	8	32,959	30,044					63,003	80,289	143,292
15	*Libelled Lady*	Harlow, Jean	Powell, William	13/11/36	3		61,786	44,060	36,182				142,028		142,028
16	*China Seas*	Gable, Clark	Harlow, Jean	13/9/35	3		61,869	41,950	32,886				136,705		136,705
17	*After The Thin Man*	Powell, William	Loy, Myrna	2/4/37	3		60,591	41,057	31,108				132,756		132,756
18	*Private Lives*	Shearer, Norma	Montgomery, Robert	5/2/32	2		75,962	55,472					131,434		131,434
19	*Merry Widow,The*	MacDonald, Jeanette	Chevalier, Maurice	23/11/34	3		61,916	43,289	25,196				130,401		130,401
20	*San Francisco*	Gable, Clark	MacDonald, Jeanette	24/7/36	3		53,635	44,150	32,070				129,855		129,855
21	*Rise Of Helga*	Garbo, Greta		15/1/32	2		76,800	49,785					126,585		126,585
22	*Romeo And Juliet*	Shearer, Norma	Howard, Leslie	29/1/37	1	8	32,894						32,894	90,513	123,407
23	*Mata Hari*	Garbo, Greta		22/4/32	2		76,247	42,430					118,677		118,677
24	*Forsaking All Others*	Crawford, Joan	Gable, Clark	25/1/35	2.5		60,245	43,316	14,226				117,787		117,787
25	*Broadway Melody Of 1936*	Powell, Eleanor	Taylor, Robert	4/12/35	3		58,666	37,611	18,235				114,512		114,512
26	*Tarzan The Apeman*	Weissmuller, Johnny		13/5/32	2		68,480	40,122					108,602		108,602
27	*Treasure Island*	Beery, Wallace		14/9/34	2		66,040	41,675					107,715		107,715
28	*Emma*	Dressler, Marie		19/2/32	2		63,845	42,605					106,450		106,450
29	*Grand Hotel*	Garbo, Greta	Crawford, Joan	9/12/32	2		62,192	42,384					104,576		104,576
30	*As You Desire Me*	Garbo, Greta		2/9/32	2		63,339	39,307					102,646		102,646

Note: The original US title of Helga *was* Susan Lenox (Her Fall and Rise).

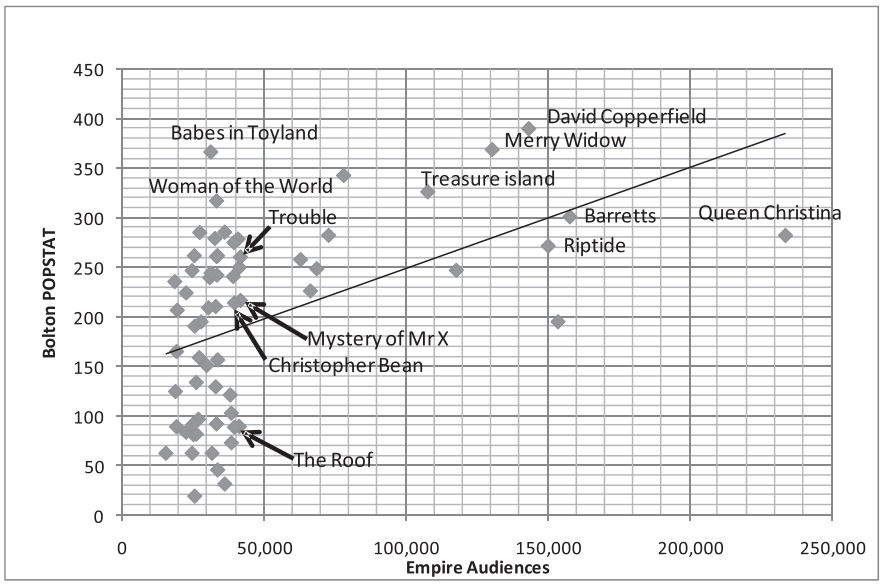
From the West End to Bolton and Brighton (1934-35)

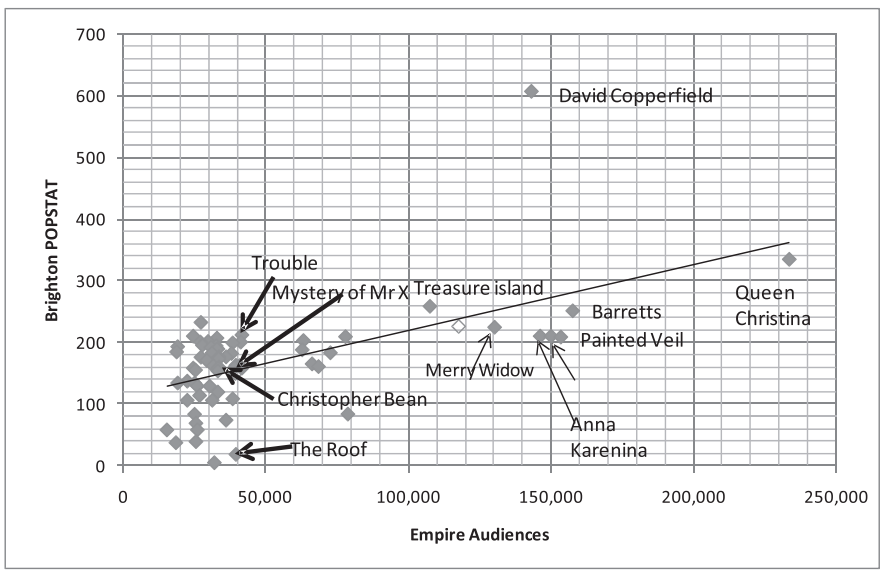
As has been pointed out, the audiences attending the Empire would be paying much more than audiences outside the West End for the privilege of watching films of their choice at the pre-general release stage of their distribution. This price differential was even more marked with respect to the five films that were first screened in legitimate theaters. The films listed in Table 1 all served as single bill attractions and varied considerably in popularity, with the top film generating audiences three times larger than the 30th-ranked film. Although we don't know who the people that made up the audience were, these statistics provide us with the architecture for framing any such inquiry. For instance, actually knowing the extent to which films starring Garbo were popular with London's first-run audiences is a subject that might be of interest to cultural and social historians. They might also be intrigued to know that this interest did not appear to be as strong among the audiences of Bolton, with QUEEN CHRISTINA ranked 20th in the list of the films screened there in 1934.[18] In this section, we show how the statistical architecture can be extended, even when no actual box-office records exist. Based on two previously published case studies of filmgoing in Bolton and Brighton in the UK during 1934 and 1935, an analysis is developed to investigate the diffusion of films screened at the Empire to one or more cinemas of these two English towns during these two years.[19] More specifically, taking those films that were screened at the Empire (and in the case of DAVID COPPERFIELD at a legitimate theater as well) during these two years, it proves possible to investigate their subsequent exhibition history in Bolton and Brighton.

A first observation is that film audiences in the two towns got to see films much later than those attending the Empire. As a general rule Brighton first screened its MGM films between four and six months after their London West-End release – some two months earlier than their Bolton premieres. As a consequence, in this study we are able to match fewer films screened in Bolton (69 films), when compared to Brighton (85 films).

In Figure 3. the films that shared double bill status at the Empire cluster to form a vertical band on the left-hand side of the two charts, implying that while differences in joint Empire performances as unitary entertainments were small, when the films went on general release as separately marketed films, differences between the two films were on occasions quite marked. For instance, during the week starting 5 January 1934, MGM's CHRISTOPHER BEAN, and the British minor studio production of THE ROOF, were double-billed on the program at the Empire, but the respective popularity of the two films indicated by the number of distinct billings they received in the cinemas of Bolton (7 in the case of CHRISTOPHER BEAN, and 3 for THE ROOF) and Brighton (respectively 5 and 1) implies that for Empire audiences this particular program had clear leading and supporting components. In other cases, such as the joint billing of the MYSTERY OF MR X

and the British comedy TROUBLE, there is little difference between the estimated popularity of the two films when judged by the number of distinct billings each received during their Bolton (respectively 6, 7) and Brighton (respectively 3, 5) runs.





Figs. 3a/3b. Scatter of Empire Audiences and Bolton/Brighton POPSTAT Index values for films released in 1934 and the first half of 1935.

The films represented by the scatter points to the right of the vertical clusters were largely single bill attractions, most of which were screened at the Empire for two or more weeks (see Table 1.). In Bolton, these films regularly received a single bill screening at the 1,642-seater Capitol when initially released, while in Brighton they were screened either at the 2,630-seater Savoy, or the 2,020-seater Regent, normally as part of a double bill program – among the 85 films in this sample, only QUEEN CHRISTINA and DAVID COPPERFIELD were screened as single attractions in Brighton.

The major films screened as single bill attractions at the Empire during this time frame are the subject of Table 2, and include POPSTAT values for the films drawn from national, Bolton and Brighton datasets.[20] These three datasets include respectively all films released to the sample set of 92 cinemas in the case of the national dataset, and all films released to all cinemas with respect to Bolton and Brighton. With the mean POPSTAT value for each of the three datasets given the value 100, then not surprisingly the films listed in Table 2 generate significantly higher than average measures of popularity. It also is notable that in both towns these films get multiple bookings – the higher POPSTAT values and the larger number of distinct exhibitions recorded by the cinemas of Bolton can be explained by the practice of billing main attractions as single features, without a makeweight supporting film. Nevertheless, there are some distinct differences between the national and the local reception of films, and between the two localities.

For instance, QUEEN CHRISTINA's exceptional success with the Empire and national first-run audiences is not replicated in either of the two localities, although its Brighton reception is strong – a similar pattern emerges, but to a lesser extent, with respect to Garbo's other film in this list THE PAINTED VEIL. At the other end of the spectrum, THE THIN MAN in Bolton and DAVID COPPERFIELD in Brighton seemed to have been particularly attractive to local audiences.

Beyond this particularized detail it is possible to say that the films screened at the Empire are highly positively correlated to the National POPSTAT Index values calculated for these films (r=0.88), and positively correlated, but to a lesser degree, to Bolton and Brighton POPSTAT values (respectively r=0.46, and r=0.55), implying, as has been noted, that local differences existed. These are brought out in Figures 3a/3b. in which the trend line is established by presuming a model in which Empire audiences were a good predictor of Bolton/Brighton audiences (as measured by POPSTAT).

Table 2. Single bill attractions screened at the Empire, 1934 and 1935, and their subsequent exhibition history in Bolton and Brighton.

Films	Empire attendances	National POPSTAT Index	Bolton POPSTAT Index	Bolton Exhibitions	Brighton POPSTAT Index	Brighton Exhibitions
Queen Christina	233,688	457	282	5	334	5
Barretts of Wimpole Street, The	157,773	373	301	5	251	6
Painted Veil, The	153,599	337	195	5	208	4
Riptide	150,161	350	271	5	209	4
Anna Karenina*	146,351	339			209	4
David Copperfield	143,292	491	390	6	606	6
Merry Widow, The	130,401	413	368	7	224	5
Forsaking All Others	117,787	237	247	6	225	5
Treasure Island	107,715	329	326	7	258	6
Men In White	78,953	179	235	5	83	3
Thin Man, The	78,120	308	342	8	209	6
Chained	72,825	224	282	6	182	3
Cat And The Fiddle, The	68,645	239	248	6	160	4
Viva Villa	66,412	223	226	5	165	4
Vagabond Lady	63,356	141	206	5	202	4
Evelyn Prentice	62,942	230	257	6	187	3
Mean	112,378	302	278	5.80	234	4.53

Sources: Bolton Evening News, Brighton Evening Argus, *Allen Eyles Collection, Eyles (1989), Sedgwick,* Popular Filmgoing in 1930s Britain: A Choice of Pleasures *(2000), chapters 5 and 6.*
Note: The indices are expressed in terms of the mean POPSTAT value of each of the national, Bolton and Brighton datasets. Each mean is given the value 100.
* *Because Anna Karenina was not released in Bolton until early 1936, it does not constitute part of this study, which uses the cut-off date of 31 December 1935 for the investigation of Bolton and Brighton cinemas.*

From the Tuschinski to the Cinemas of Utrecht and Tilburg (1934-36)

The pattern of film distribution in the Netherlands resembled that of Great Britain in terms of a premiere followed by widespread orderly diffusion. In the Dutch case the most popular films were premiered more or less simultaneously in the three big cities of Amsterdam (778,442 inhabitants in 1934), Rotterdam (587,901) and The Hague (469,168), after which they were distributed from large to small

urban markets, and from larger to smaller cinemas. These films were screened almost everywhere.[21] However, in contrast to the UK, there is evidence that some films from minor studios were premiered in smaller provincial towns.[22]

The Tuschinski was one of the principal premiere cinemas in Amsterdam, screening films from a variety of studios and national backgrounds. Opened in 1921, with a seating capacity of 1,620, it was the biggest cinema in the Netherlands between 1934 and 1936.[23] Unlike MGM's Empire in London, it was owned by independent businessmen – Hermann Ehrlich, Hermann Gerschtanowitz, and Abraham Tuschinski – who between them owned another two theaters in Amsterdam, six in Rotterdam, and one in Schiedam.[24]

During the three year period 1934 to 1936, 111 films were screened at the Tuschinski, of which exactly 100 were premieres. Table 3 lists the 18 films that received two or more consecutive weeks' billing.[25] Based on the films' exhibition history, POPSTAT values are reported for each of the films screened at the Tuschinski, for their subsequent diffusion among a large national sample of cinemas found in 22 cities and towns, as well as for all cinemas in the cities of Tilburg and Utrecht. (The occupational profiles of these two communities differed: in 1930, some 45 percent of Utrecht's workforce was employed in the service sector, whereas by contrast, 74 percent of Tilburg's employment was in textiles.)[26] During the research period 1934-1936, the number of cinemas in Utrecht increased from six to seven, with capacities ranging from 350 seats (Olympia) to the 1,350-seater Rembrandt. The number of cinemas in Tilburg was comparable to that of Utrecht: in 1934 it had six cinemas, one of which closed its doors in June 1936. However, the seating capacity of the Tilburg cinemas was lower, ranging from 150 to 880. Further, the number of inhabitants per cinema seat was lower – 28 in Tilburg, compared to 42 in Utrecht in 1934. These numbers contrast strongly with the 18 cinemas found in the two English towns.

The eighteen films listed in Table 3 were all screened in Tilburg and Utrecht. However, there was a significant difference in the number of weeks that elapsed between their screening at the Tuschinski and their subsequent appearance in the two urban centers, with eleven of the eighteen arriving in Utrecht within five weeks of that date, while in Tilburg only five of the eighteen had done so. A further difference in the pattern of distribution was that in Utrecht half of the films listed in Table 3 were screened at the Rembrandt, while in Tilburg they were premiered across the range of cinemas.

As with Bolton and Brighton, we are interested to discover the extent to which the responses of audiences at a premiere cinema were later reflected elsewhere. Using the same method of calibrating POPSTAT Index values as that used in Table 2, it is clear from Table 3. that the interest shown by the Tuschinski audience for Dutch-language films was repeated nationally (including Utrecht and Tilburg), with De Jantjes (The Sailors) Het Meisje met den Blauwen Hoed (The Girl with the Blue Hat), De Big van het Regiment (Baby

of the Regiment) and Malle Gevallen (Silly Affairs), each getting extended runs in the two cities, with the three last-mentioned titles appearing to be particularly popular with Tilburg audiences.

Further research provides additional evidence for the popularity of Dutch-language films in both cities, with seven of the top ten films screened in Tilburg between 1934 and 1936 coming from Dutch producers, compared to five in Utrecht. Also, it is interesting to note that only two Tuschinski premieres were in the local top ten of the most popular films in Utrecht, whereas in Tilburg five titles were in the local top ten.[27]

Table 3. The diffusion of the most popular films screened at the Tuschinski to the cinemas of Utrecht and Tilburg.

Films	Tuschinski POPSTAT Index	Weeks at the Tuschinski	National POPSTAT Index	Utrecht POPSTAT Index	Weeks in Utrecht cinemas	Tilburg POPSTAT Index	Weeks in Tilburg cinemas
Jantjes, De	320	4	564	644	11	572	7
Anna Karenina	240	3	172	134	1	95	1
Littlest Rebel, The	240	3	160	138	3	183	5
Mein Herz Ruft Nach Dir	240	3	228	175	3	207	2
Meisje met den Blauwen Hoed, Het	240	3	319	238	6	488	6
Queen Christina	240	3	199	266	3	201	2
Beloved Vagabond, The	160	2	67	77	1	134	2
Big van het Regiment, De	160	2	246	194	5	624	5
Desire	160	2	146	77	1	155	1
Früchtchen	160	2	138	92	2	196	2
Im Weissen Rössl	160	2	157	199	3	66	2
Malle Gevallen	160	2	268	286	3	473	6
Merry Widow, The	160	2	181	199	2	201	3
One Night of Love	160	2	200	74	2	378	9
Scarlet Empress, The	160	2	140	143	2	124	4
Stern Fällt vom Himmel, Ein	160	2	229	175	3	281	6
Top Hat	160	2	105	134	1	130	1
Under Two Flags	160	2	108	46	1	88	1

Discussion and Conclusion

This is a limited study, which introduces a detailed analysis of the performance of one of London's West End showcase cinemas: MGM's Empire. At this cinema during the 1930s, the productions of Hollywood's most lavish "major" studio were screened – mostly as premieres, but five films, listed in the Appendix, actu-

ally appeared earlier at one, and in the case of THE GREAT ZIEGFELD, two, legitimate theaters. The attendance data demonstrate that some films were extraordinarily popular with the audience, when compared to the median attendance values. Such films were phenomenal – they represent what we might call "extreme events."

It is likely that something very similar took place on a relatively smaller scale with respect to the Tuschinski in Amsterdam. However, here the scope of the analysis is restricted because, in the absence of box-office records, popularity can only be estimated using the POPSTAT methodology. This amounts to supposing that the attendances of any one cinema, for any one week, were identical, which, from the Empire data, we know not to be the case. However, the Tuschinski's film programs do show that the profile of "holdovers" was similar to those at the Empire, from which we may suppose that their box-office during their first week was significantly greater than the median, hence encouraging the cinema to extend the run, and that this would be true of films that were held over for a third week, and so on. Altogether, the Tuschinski is also likely to have generated a set of extreme events – there is no reason to suppose that its revenue profile was different from that of the Empire, the subject of Figures 1 and 2.

Both cinemas were well accoutered, with a plentiful supply of uniformed attendants. They were an integral part of the distribution process, whereby major film productions were diffused outwards in time and space from their metropolitan premieres, to the suburbs and provincial cities and towns – a process designed to maximize revenues by giving films the maximum level of exposure at box-office rich cinemas before earning the bulk of their earnings from repeated screenings in a plethora of provincial cinemas. The disposition of audiences was key to this strategy: in the case of the Empire and Tuschinski they were likely drawn in from a wide catchment area, whereas in the provinces the catchment area would have been narrower, diminishing in the case of lower-run cinemas to their immediate neighborhoods.

From Tables 2 and 3 and Figure 3 it is evident that an extreme event at a showcase theater was not necessarily replicated in the provinces. To test this proposition, the exhibition records of films premiered at the Empire in 1934 and 1935 were tracked to the towns of Bolton and Brighton, and those premiered at the Tuschinski during the years 1934 to 1936, to Utrecht and Tilburg. With regard to the Dutch experience, home-produced films proved to be extremely popular in both sets of cinemas, whereas Hollywood films that were held over at the Tuschinski did not always get very much exposure elsewhere, presumably owing to lower levels of audience interest.

While the Tuschinski screened films from a wide range of producer/distributor combinations, the Empire was run to showcase MGM films. Hence, an asymmetry exists at the heart of the analytical framework. Nevertheless, it is clear that in a number of cases, for instance Garbo's starring vehicles, QUEEN CHRISTINA,

The Painted Veil and Anna Karenina, the extraordinary success achieved by these films at the Empire, was not replicated in Bolton (markedly) or Brighton – although their POPSTAT Index values still suggest that they were at least twice as popular as the average film shown in the towns. David Copperfield, while attracting well over four times the median premiere audience at the Empire, performed well above the trend line in Bolton and Brighton cinemas.

Three MGM films – Anna Karenina, Queen Christina and The Merry Widow – were screened at both the Empire and Tuschinski during the period covered by this analysis, and are common to Tables 1, 2, and 3. It is noticeable that all three were given extended runs at the two showcase cinemas. As we have argued, neither of the two Garbo films was as popular with Bolton and Brighton audiences, but nevertheless both were given wide levels of exposure in various grades of local cinemas. In the Netherlands, if anything, these films were less attractive to provincial audiences, with Anna Karenina in particular getting only one week's screening in Utrecht and Tilburg.

However, perhaps the strongest finding in our analysis pertains to the bands of films found in Figures 3a and 3b, in which films on programs that generate average-or-less box-office at the Empire attract quite different levels of interest on the part of exhibitors, and presumably audiences, in Bolton and Brighton. These films have their own *local* extreme event quality relative to expectations, as suggested by the trend line, and are perhaps as important as the extreme events enjoyed by audiences in cinemas such as the Empire and Tuschinski in identifying and thinking about those filmic characteristics that attract particular audiences to particular films at particular moments in history.

This study provides a statistical architecture for the investigation of regionally specific audience tastes and represents another type of evidence for film scholars – one based upon the film choices that audiences actually made. From this knowledge it may be possible to develop a "film characteristics" approach to film choice, whereby the films that audiences went to see stand as evidence for the preferences that they had. By way of an example, in an earlier study of film popularity in Bolton referred to in the text, it is evident that the films of Gracie Fields were extremely popular with filmgoers in the town where her films Sing As We Go and Love, Life and Laughter were respectively ranked first and second, and more than likely across the industrial north of England. However, this level of popularity was not evident in London's West End, where, for instance, her 1934 vehicle Sing As We Go premiered at the Plaza for two weeks on a single bill program. In the cinemas of Brighton and Portsmouth the film was ranked 15th and 65th respectively. In this musical, its star takes the role of a Northern mill worker made redundant, who goes on to have comic adventures in the seaside resort of Blackpool – a role that would have resonated strongly with local audiences. The extreme level of popularity enjoyed by the film in Bolton is similar to the success of Dutch-language films among Dutch audiences seemingly every-

where in the Netherlands. Hence, one characteristic which appears to rate importantly with audiences is that of its identification with the film subject and the empirical evidence for this can be provided by simple quantitative method, even where no more than program data is available.

Appendix 1. Attendances at five MGM films premiered at "Legitimate" London West End theaters before being released at the Empire.

		Week 1	Week 2	Week 3	Week 4	Week 5	Week 6	Week 7	Week 8	Week 9	Week 10	Week 11	Week 12	Total
Dinner at Eight	Attendance	9,729	15,562	15,839	14,291	12,677	12,289	11,742	9,340					101,469
Palace	Box-office (£s)	2,086	3,043	3,009	2,588	2,236	2,138	2,044	1,570					18,714
Premiere - 6 September 1933	Mean admission price (£s)	0.214438	0.195519	0.189945	0.181078	0.176372	0.174005	0.17409	0.168086					
	Mean admission price (d)	51.46519	46.92446	45.58682	43.45879	42.32932	41.76125	41.7815	40.34056					44
David Copperfield	Attendance	7,323	11,806	10,079	11,354	8,976	9,585	9,410	11,756					80,289
Palace	Box-office (£s)	1,483	2,211	1,683	1,913	1,475	1,486	1,382	1,859					13,493
Premiere - 6 March 1935	Mean admission price (£s)	0.20	0.19	0.17	0.17	0.16	0.16	0.15	0.16					
	Mean admission price (d)	48.62	44.95	40.08	40.43	39.44	37.22	35.25	37.95					40
The Great Ziegfeld	Attendance	9,360	13,441	13,100	12,304	11,027	10,536							69,768
His Majesty's Theatre	Box-office (£s)	2,270	3,047	2,884	2,609	2,278	2,131							15,219
Premiere - 1 September 1936	Mean admission price (£s)	0.24	0.23	0.22	0.21	0.21	0.20							
	Mean admission price (d)	58.20	54.41	52.84	50.89	49.57	48.54							52
The Great Ziegfeld	Attendance	9,777	9,976	9,134	9,279	9,070	6,612	7,244						61,092
Hippodrome	Box-office (£s)	1,960	1,986	1,773	1,735	1,672	1,190	1,307						11,623
Premiere - 12 October 1936	Mean admission price (£s)	0.20	0.20	0.19	0.19	0.18	0.18	0.18						
	Mean admission price (d)	48.12	47.79	46.59	44.87	44.24	43.19	43.31						46
Romeo and Juliet	Attendance	10,895	15,391	12,736	12,421	11,659	8,661	8,885	9,865					90,513
His Majesty's Theatre	Box-office (£s)	2,489	3,128	2,732	2,407	1,925	1,535	1,491	1,688					17,395
Premiere - 13 October 1936	Mean admission price (£s)	0.23	0.20	0.21	0.19	0.17	0.18	0.17	0.17					
	Mean admission price (d)	54.82	48.78	51.48	46.51	39.63	42.53	40.26	41.07					46
Good Earth, The	Attendance	10,308	18,351	15,200	13,888	11,871	10,401	8,495	10,681	9,741	5,544	6,384	8,019	128,883
Palace	Box-office (£s)	2,142	3,698	2,950	2,586	2,105	1,816	1,457	1,723	1,564	901	1,015	1,270	23,226
Premiere - 24 March 1937	Mean admission price (£s)	0.21	0.20	0.19	0.19	0.18	0.17	0.17	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.16	
	Mean admission price (d)	49.86	48.36	46.58	44.69	42.56	41.90	41.16	38.71	38.53	39.01	38.15	38.00	43

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PART II

New Frontiers in Audience Research

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The Aesthetics and Viewing Regimes of Cinema and Television, and Their Dialectics[1]

Annie van den Oever

Introduction

I want to propose that the twin mechanisms of automatization and de-automatization offer a useful way of grasping what John Ellis described as television's and cinema's "radically different" aesthetics and viewing practices.[2] "Automatization" proves to be a helpful concept to lay bare how television's standardized aesthetic creates a viewing regime in which the technology of the medium is largely overlooked by viewers.[3] To understand the relevance of this, it should be noted that traditional aesthetics and art theory have mostly been interested in the *extraordinary* viewing experience, and rarely in what we might call the automatized viewing experience. This disregard of the mundane has had important ramifications for the understanding of the aesthetics and viewing regimes of cinema and television. In an attempt to rectify this ignoring by traditional aesthetics of the complexities of the viewing practice required by mainstream television, I approach the differences between cinema's and television's aesthetics and impact in terms of the presumed effects of the different shot/scale regimes created by large and small screens. I will particularly focus on the ways in which enlargements and close-ups on small and large screens affect cinema and television viewers. The closing paragraphs of this present study are devoted to exploring the dialectical exchange of the two "radically different" aesthetic regimes of television and cinema. Contrary to traditional practice, however, I will focus on the aesthetic impact of the younger medium on the older one. As a case study, I take the spaghetti westerns of Sergio Leone, who made the typical television format of the early 1960s – with its dominant use of talking heads, close-ups, sound and music – "work" aesthetically on the widescreen, with many extreme facial close-ups and Ennio Morricone's prominent music scores.

Television's "Radically Different Identity"

From its first critical examination, television's special aesthetic has been dealt with almost exclusively from the perspective of traditional aesthetics. This has resulted in a rather incomplete idea of what sort of phenomenon television really is in terms of its aesthetics and viewing regime. As the television scholar John Ellis put it: "Our critical terms force us to conceive television in the terms that are appropriate for cinema. Television inevitably comes off worse from such an encounter."[4] The question then becomes: what terms can give us a better conceptual grasp of *television*, its aesthetics and viewing regimes, and the specific viewing experiences it offers? It is indeed quite obvious that traditional aesthetic terms are hardly suitable for the exploration of what Ellis describes as television's "radically different identity."[5]

> Our culture is used to finding aesthetic *value* in *discrete and separate items*: in texts, in objects, in events. Cinema films can, with only a little difficulty, be fitted into this [approach of] aesthetic. But there is nothing of this in television.[6]

Clearly, Ellis was referring here to the mainstream television of the "pre-multi-channel" era, which fitted poorly into the models of traditional aesthetics, with their focus on stylistic merit and exclusivity.[7] Mainstream television's aesthetic clearly does not aim at being exceptional or stylistically impressive, but rather at making the viewing experience part of everyday life. "Its aesthetic is the aesthetic of ordinary, mundane human existence, rather than of special moments, of epiphanies, of a separate realm of the senses," as Ellis observed.[8] Even its "rhythms are those of everyday life. [...] Television is permanently available to us, constantly with us. It is familiar and domestic. *Its aesthetic is a new one, and we do not have the critical language to encompass it.*"[9] This last remark strikingly touches upon one of the continuing problems of contemporary television studies. On the one hand, television scholars largely ignored television's (special) aesthetic as they were content-oriented, fitting their theories into the practices of cultural studies.[10] On the other hand, television scholars were often part of film studies departments, and as such tended to treat television as cinema's younger sister who, as a result, has suffered from a lack of understanding in her own right up to the present.[11]

To address this problem, television studies could start by accepting that the medium was radically different, at least until the late 1980s or early 1990s, when multi-channel television, quality television and post-digital television were introduced. Before these, television was primarily a medium that offered highly standardized and quite rigidly formatted programs and *routine* viewing experiences in a casual environment on an everyday basis. Admittedly, this places *mainstream* television in an awkward position in relation to traditional aesthetics, where stan-

dardized formats and mundane viewing experiences are hardly valued. But this should be all the more reason for television studies to free itself from a traditional notion of extraordinary aesthetic quality or merit.

What is needed, I contend, is a non-evaluative "perceptual" approach that helps to better understand the "new" viewing experience mainstream television had to offer ("new" in comparison to the fine arts, photography and cinema). This need, I want to argue, is too urgent to overlook, and it should not be overshadowed by discussion of post-multichannel phenomena such as so-called art television or quality television or post-digital television.[12] However interesting these are in themselves, the special viewing experiences they create are exceptions to the rule within the world of television. In the present study I will therefore start with a short reflection on what Viktor Shklovsky called "the general laws of perception" in an attempt to conceptualize the mundane viewing experience of television.[13] Central to my argument is the assumption that there is a clear distinction, already made by Shklovsky, between ordinary or automatized ("real life") perceptual experience and the de-automatized "art" experience.[14] However, I do *not* assume that the much debated aesthetic dichotomy between cinema and television can simply be described as extraordinary and ordinary respectively. I consider instead the twin concepts of automatization and de-automatization as useful heuristic tools to clarify the differences in viewing experiences and viewing practices developed by cinema and television over time.

The Mechanisms of Automatization and De-automatization

De-automatization / Sensitization

"De-automatization" means first of all the new techniques that disrupt the automatic routines of perception by "making [the seen] strange" through slowing down, complicating and deepening the perceptual process. Secondly, it means that new techniques typically trigger a sensitivity to the techniques involved in the process, as well as to a so-called "art" experience, which is a prolonged experience of things "as they are perceived and not as they are known."[15] In this way, Shklovsky conceptualized the perceptual impact of "technique" in art in what was a remarkably "medium-sensitive"[16] period in history, at least partially created by the emergence of cinema.[17] In retrospect, it seems quite clear that he became interested in the problem of perception because he himself was *sensitized* by the "strangeness"[18] of the "ghostly"[19] world created by the new "cinema machine,"[20] as was his whole generation.[21] Shklovsky also felt the sudden impact of the similarly "strange" new poetic techniques invented by the Russian Futurists, who mimicked early cinema's technical deficiencies to affect the audiences in a similar way.[22] Within this context, Shklovsky was prompted to theorize the problem of techniques that "de-automatize" the perceptual process, most famously in his

manifesto "Art as Technique" (1917).[23] (Note that Shklovsky used the word *priom* and that "technique" is but one of its translations; "device" is another one.) Taking this "medium-specific"[24] period into consideration led me to see that Shklovsky did not merely write a modernist manifesto (as is often thought), but essentially created the conceptual space to analyze the perceptual impact of new technologies and (artistic) techniques on individuals and on culture. This is not only relevant for art studies, but also for contemporary cinema, television, and media studies.[25] Even if Shklovsky, as part of the historical avant-garde movement, was clearly more interested in the techniques and mechanisms of de-automatization, we may be more interested in the techniques of automatization in light of our present study of mundane, mainstream television.

Automatization / Desensitization

"Automatization" implies that perceptual sensitivity to new techniques vanishes as the "strangeness effects" wear off, leading to a state that may be described as "automatization," "habituation" or "algebraization." As Shklovsky indicated,

> If we start to examine the general laws of perception, we see that as perception becomes habitual, it becomes automatic. Thus, for example, all of our habits retreat into the area of the unconsciously automatic [...]. The process of "algebraization," the over-automatization of [the routines of perception of] an object, permits the greatest economy of perceptive effort. Either objects are assigned only one proper feature – a number, for example – or else they function as though by formula and do not even appear in cognition.[26]

Automatization implies a decrease of sensitivity to the distorting powers of techniques, to the extent of perceivers becoming almost fully insensitive to them: the presence of techniques in the perceptual process is not noted anymore. The automatized, swift shift from perceptual input to cognition will become not only habitual, but even natural or "second nature." Becoming "second nature" is usually described as a "mindset, skill, or type of behavior so ingrained through habit or practice that it seems natural, automatic, or without a basis in conscious thought."[27] When the perceptual experience is considered "natural," this implies that the perceivers are unaware of any "gap" between input and cognition; hence they may be less aware of the ontological difference between things in nature and as represented on a canvas, photo, TV, laptop, phone or cinema screen. This "over-automatization" of the routines of perception forms the framework in which the special ontological status of the image as "mediated" may come to be habitually overlooked and ultimately become unquestioned. This may be considered a symptom of *medium unawareness*, of having come to the end of the cycle of desensitization, with an (almost complete) identification of real and mediated. Once technologies and techniques become second nature, we lose sight of

them.[28] The perceptual cycle starts with a notable, even uncanny experience of what is presented by a new technology seeming "strange" or "unnatural," which experience sensitizes the viewer, and it ends with an experience of what is mediated by that same technology appearing "real" or even mundane.

However, this cycle *can* also start all over again, so that an automatized "old" technique *can* once again trigger the typical effects of de-automatization when it is re-introduced into a new or unfamiliar environment. As Tom Gunning has observed, "the cycle from wonder to habit need not run only one way. The reception of technology allows re-enchantment through *aesthetic* de-familiarization [...]."[29] Artists may well seek ways to re-enchant their viewers by the de-familiarizing re-use of a familiar technology for aesthetic purposes.[30] As I will argue, this is what some (so-called New Hollywood and postmodern) cinema directors did with the highly familiar technologies and techniques presented to them in the heyday of mainstream television.

Television's Anaesthetics

It is evident that television is an audiovisual medium more firmly in the grip of automatization than most, since watching television routinely, often for many hours a day, has been basic to the viewing experience from the 1960s onwards. As a result, we may assume that sensitivity to the medium itself has long been almost fully dulled: viewers are generally encouraged to overlook the technical structure of the medium and of the programs they watch. One may argue that this brings television viewing very close to ordinary unmediated looking; in other words, viewers are encouraged to use the same basic cognitive frames and schemes as in *real-life perception*.[31] Typically, the viewing practice surrounding television since the 1960s is characterized by the habitual and the repetitive, taking place in the home in a casual relaxed manner.[32] In contrast, cinema audiences mostly seek a special form of perceptual engagement, outside the home; one speaks of "going out to the cinema." Television viewers have a very different mind-set: they expect to see the mundane, and it seems that the main objective of television's aesthetic has been to further enhance this type of automatized, *real-life* viewing. A strong indication of this is the way in which European publicly-funded television, no less than US commercial television, formatted its programs quite rigidly from an early stage through use of the same logos, set-ups, prop formats for regular programs, with minor variations to refresh the format.[33] Standardization anticipates repetitive viewing and helps turn an otherwise alien object into a familiar, household item. Most striking, perhaps, is the way in which television succeeded quite early in framing itself as a window to the world, both *pragmatically*, by creating a viewing practice in which automatized, real-life perception would make viewers regard the screen as a "window" to the outside world; and

visually, by creating many kinds of visual frames or "windows," framing all sorts of "talking heads" and "views" on the world, as Francesco Casetti has observed.[34]

Equally interesting is the way in which television developed a distinctive relationship to time: "Television exists in the same time continuum as its audience: its time is co-present with that of the audience."[35] Obviously, the sensation of being in the same time frame is further reinforced by television's familiar "talking heads" talking to and looking at the viewer. Whereas a film's diegetic story time and space are separate from the viewers' time and space, the television viewer, constantly being addressed directly, may easily feel that he/she is watching things as they are "really" happening, in the real world, from which the home viewer momentarily retreats in comfortable pajamas for a few hours.[36] In this way, television can "take the continuous present, the present in which we perceive ourselves as existing, and give it back to us in a formalized set of routines of meaning."[37] Television's highly standardized aesthetic make-up and automatized viewing practice helps to facilitate what might be described as an action-driven or content-driven viewing attitude, similar to that of natural, real-life perception.[38] Once viewers are in this frame of mind – focused on action or content – they tend to ignore many formal details within the bigger picture. Television's aesthetic may therefore perhaps best be described as an *anaesthetics*, desensitizing its viewers to the formal properties of the medium and its programs in order to enhance a focus similar to our action-focused perception in real life. In this pseudo-everyday way, television succeeds in giving back to us our own realities in a mediated form every day we watch television, without drawing attention to the fact that the world comes to us in a mediated form. In this way, as Vito Zagarrio suggested, it has become "the centre of virtually every family on the globe."[39] Television is indeed "secular rather than sacred," as Ellis argued: it "accompanies you through life, it does not take you to another dimension."[40] Uninterested in creating an experience of epiphany for its viewers, television is concerned with:

> [W]orking out, in the specific sense of repeating and working over, gradually giving more and more form, to a fear, to a puzzle, to a problem, until it becomes acceptable: understood in part, rejected in part, repressed in part, misperceived in part, but acknowledged in whole. [...] Through television, then, the tensions of the outside world can become domesticated.[41]

Three concluding observations on television. First, Ellis's valuable essay on the ordinary workings of the medium for its viewers referred to mainstream television in the decades between 1960 and 1990.[42] Like this discussion, it does not deal with "art television" or the post-digital landscape, which would obviously introduce other considerations related to the multi-channel experience. Secondly, to the idea of television as a tool for an *emotional* workout, I would like to add the idea of television as a tool for a *cognitive* workout (to use Steven Johnson's

phrase).[43] As several specialists in narrative, including Kristin Thompson[44] and Jason Mittell,[45] have already pointed out, television, as a popular medium, seems to succeed in training its viewers to handle all sorts of complex, cyclic, multilayered narrative structures that were once the exclusive domain of the avant-gardes but have now gone mainstream. The question is whether television has become a "home trainer" that now *also* provides "cognitive workouts" which increase "problem-solving and observational skills" (as Johnson claims) in quite mundane yet surprisingly effective ways.[46] And thirdly, concerning de-automatization: as history has shown, once viewers were in the frame of mind we labeled as "natural" or "real-life" viewing, they indeed automatically stayed focused on the content and largely ignored the considerable technical deficiencies of the medium (which scholars could not help noticing): the tiny screen, the low quality of the broadcast image.[47] De-automatization of television's highly automated perceptual routines would require shock tactics.

The Dialectics of Cinema's Aesthetics and Television's Anaesthetics

Television's "Natural" Format

The creation of a window-on-the world mode of viewing demanded, as we have seen, a specific set of aesthetic features in mainstream television's format. With regard to this format, Ellis discerned two very interesting features that were typical by the early 1980s (and there is consensus on these in the field). First, television was known for its emphasis on *sound*, to convey meaning and emotion certainly, and not only to compensate for the restricted visual information, but also to compensate for the lack of focused visual attention that results from the living-room domestic viewing. Second, Ellis observed that the lack of detail on the small screen led to the use of more rapid editing, and, most notably, an emphasis on the facial close-up. Unlike in the cinema, where the relatively sparsely used close-up had always been an exceptional device to create a sense of the extraordinary, in television the close-up is part of its natural routine vocabulary. Indeed, as Marshall McLuhan already noted in the early 1960s, "technically, TV tends to be a close-up medium. The close-up that in the movie is used for shock is, on TV, a quite casual thing."[48] This may be explained by the simple fact that on the relatively small traditional television screen (that is, small in relation to the human body) a close-up of a face appears to be more or less the "right" size, roughly corresponding to the real-life size of a human head.[49]

It seems to be an under-discussed aspect of television's history that the first screens were very small, and remained so for decades. For example, RCA's 1946 630-TS television set, which was by far the most popular model during the post-war years, had a screen size of only 10 inches. As the illustration shows, this is not much bigger than a hand (see fig. 1).

Fig 1: RCA's 1946 630-TS television set with a screen size of only 10 inches diagonally.

Moreover, many of the other post-war televisions, such as RCA's 621-TS, were even smaller, at a mere 7 inches diagonally (about the size of a face from chin to forehead). These factors underline television's initial status as a remediation of radio broadcasting. Yet we should also note that, between 1967 and 1983, Philips produced its popular color television sets with larger screen sizes ranging from 20 to a maximum of 26 inches. In light of the recent trend towards rapidly increasing screen sizes, it is important to realize that for a long time, the dimensions of television sets were considered relatively unimportant. Large television sets, as pieces of furniture, were considered inconvenient, until the recent emergence of flat screens, which greatly economize room space and increase viewer engagement.[50] In "classic" mainstream television, however, the small screen was decisive, both for the (aesthetic) format television created for itself as for the *natural* viewing experiences it offered. The talking heads of mainstream television were approximately life size, and as such well-adjusted to our embodied notions of natural human proportions, which simple fact may have helped to stabilize and naturalize the (otherwise extraordinary) perceptual experience into a viewing experience that could become part of second nature.[51] Thanks to the screen size, we tended to accept television celebrities as if they were family members; and it

seems that we even came to accept the "head" as a *pars pro toto* for the whole body or being because of the television close-up format.[52]

Cinema's "Unnatural" Close-Ups

The cinema's facial close-up is a very different story. Whereas the relatively small television screen naturalizes and familiarizes the face in close-up, the enormous cinema close-up radically denaturalizes and defamiliarizes the human face. The cycle from wonder to habit need not indeed run only one way, since the cinema close-up de-automatized the cinema viewer to the face *and* to the medium all over again. These effects have been consciously reinforced and aesthetically exploited in the cinema by creating ever bigger screens and such enlargements can easily turn cinema audiences back into medium-aware spectators. Already in the early 1950s, film studios adopted widescreen aspect ratios such as CinemaScope to distance and differentiate their product from television. Widescreen cinema aimed at making "the living room TV monitor look miniscule," reminding its audiences that "[w]ider movies needed mammoth screens," and that a "panoramic screen" made "ships appear to sail into the first rows."[53] IMAX cinemas would later install screens of up to 200 square meters, and such dimensions clearly have a tremendous impact on viewers. Close-ups on this scale, which not only enlarge, but deform and distort the human proportions, inescapably create an experience of strangeness for viewers – even when this type of effect is not consciously intended or exploited.[54]

From early on, enlargements in the cinema such as close-ups tended to be experienced as not only "unnatural," but even as "grotesque," "absurd," or "monstrous."[55] One reason for this is that viewers instantly take note of the distorted proportions thanks to their embodied cognition of the "natural" size and proportions of beings and things.[56] Another is that such an enormous figure simply falls outside our biological and ontological categories, turning an otherwise normal creature into something miraculous or monstrous. As a result, the technique destabilizes the ontological status of the seen and an audience will easily find it uncanny, if not horrifying or repulsive, unless it looks quite harmless, in which case viewers will most likely find it fantastic (which may be awesome or wonderful) or merely comic.[57] Pierre Sorlin argues that:

> [T]he close-up is very unpleasant, as it portrays things we normally rather not see that big. Imagine an insect on the silver screen, it is a monster, a different animal, not the one we are used to seeing in our kitchen or our garden. The close-up of a face is repulsive and, to a certain extent, absurd. The skin seems to be made of big craters edged by huge fleshy ears, and thus presenting a fairly disgusting image.[58]

Over time, viewers have labeled these close-ups "grotesque," in particular when they were not yet used to the phenomenon of the close-up and found themselves suddenly confronted with an enlargement that broke their viewing routines.[59] Sorlin argues that because of their extraordinary strong effect, "close-ups are only used for a precise reason [...]."[60] In this connection, it is worth noting that when something is represented *smaller* than in real life – as on television's earliest small screens, which in effect showed a miniature world when not using close-ups – this does *not* induce a confusion of biological and ontological categories. As with maps, we simply understand – that is to say ignore – the altered scale. We cannot, however, adapt that easily to enlargements. It has been argued that large creatures and things, since they are potentially harmful to us, trigger an acute sense of alertness: hence we cannot just ignore a thing or being of that size and scale.[61] Most of these effects film directors know from experience, and the same goes for photographers.[62]

During the 1920s, extreme close-ups in the cinema were seen as a key feature of the "photogenic" (by Louis Delluc and Jean Epstein in France, and by Boris Eikhenbaum in Russia), and were used by Carl Dreyer and Sergei Eisenstein).[63] Pioneer filmmakers, such as G. A. Smith, discovered their "amusing" powers as early as 1900,[64] and the paradoxical effects of enlarging the normally small was celebrated in Eisenstein's joke that "[o]n the screen and only on the screen, a cockroach is worth one hundred elephants."[65] Enlargements certainly "work" on audiences, and it seems that automatization can diminish but cannot fully neutralize the disturbing effects of enlargement, perhaps because images of gigantic creatures so clearly go against our embodied notions of proportion and scale.[66] Filmmakers who did not want to create such effects, Sorlin argues, "mainly [tried] to *neutralise* the close-up."[67]

Indeed, it may be argued that two completely different (aesthetic or poetic) attitudes towards enlargements and close-ups (and towards new technologies, by and large) have always existed in the history of the cinema: a typical extra-institutional or avant-garde curiosity to experiment with perceptual and aesthetic transformations, celebrating "*de*-automatizing" effects which could re-sensitize the viewer; and on the other hand an eagerness to introduce new technology into an already existing practice without disrupting the viewing routines of the audiences of "natural" viewers.[68] According to David Bordwell: "When a tool is introduced into U.S. studio filmmaking, it is usually shaped to fit existing routines."[69] It may indeed also be argued that the "institution cinema"[70] which helped to develop narrative cinema and initially rejected the close-up's destabilizing effects,[71] ultimately found ways to incorporate the technique, while continuing to refuse its routine deployment. Such "neutralization," as Sorlin labels it, occurred mainly through classic editing practices such as shot-reverse-shot, which succeeded in attributing a clear narrative function to close-ups, and curbing their menacing autonomous powers. Close-ups came to be used sparingly in narrative cinema's

mainstream cinematic practices,[72] and mostly to provide emotional emphasis, brief moments of shocking impact or, quoting Laura Mulvey, exquisite moments of "erotic contemplation."[73] As Sorlin puts it: "However strange it may sound, close-ups are still rarely used in films."[74]

In light of this history, it should come as no surprise that the introduction of television's small screen provided a new basis for a more successful naturalization of the facial close-up. For once television's typically close-up and sound-driven aesthetics, were transferred onto the enormous screens of the cinema, this suddenly and radically *denaturalized* the familiar television format. As a result, a number of filmmakers, who over time incorporated the typical features of the television format into their films, are highly interesting for the study of television, cinema and their dialectics. In fact, the crossover from television to cinema is not at all symmetrical with the crossover from cinema to television, due to their radically different screen sizes. This is mostly because the large screen *denaturalizes* whereas the small screen *naturalizes* representations of human beings; in other words: images or representations of (human) beings are moved into and out of the realm of our embodied cognitions of the natural (or real-life) size and proportions of beings.[75] During the 1960s and 1970s, the natural format of television seems to have provided the basis for some surprising viewing experiences created by film directors such as Sergio Leone and Martin Scorsese and later by David Lynch, Pedro Almodóvar, Quentin Tarantino, and Tim Burton. In films by these directors, one can find a regular recurrence of typical elements from the familiar television format such as (extreme) close-ups and heavily emphasized soundtracks. Such formats were quite familiar to television audiences, but not yet part of normal cinema practices and viewing routines when Leone and Scorsese introduced them to the big screen. With its widescreens and surround sound systems, the cinema would inevitably denaturalize television's natural format, as I argued, to turn it into something, spectacular and initially unsettling. A good example of this can be found in the "dollars" trilogy of westerns by Leone, which will be examined in more detail below.

Denaturalizing the Familiar Television Format: Sergio Leone and the Spaghetti Western

Historically, television had helped to sustain the western genre's popularity through the 1950s as well as shaping a generation of future filmmakers, and it was against this background, that Sergio Leone created A Fistful of Dollars (1964), The Good, The Bad & The Ugly (1966) and Once Upon A Time In The West (1968). Leone's star, Clint Eastwood, had even started his career in television, playing a cowboy in the series Rawhide. Leone, who was intrigued by television like so many Italian directors of his generation,[76] made Eastwood's face one of the most famous in cinema history through his use of extreme close-

ups in a widescreen aspect ratio. Typically, his extreme close-ups of grotesque faces are contrasted with sublime landscapes that function as background, against which the faces stand out like gargoyles on a cathedral. Richard Roud characterized Leone's filmic style as a regular juxtaposition of "microscopic close-ups" versus "macrocosmic vistas."[77] Equally striking are the remarkably prominent musical scores by Ennio Morricone. Within the context of this argument, these stylistic elements are of special interest, since both refer to features of television. But whereas they initially functioned as part of a natural, televisual window-on-the-world aesthetic, their effect in Leone's films is far from natural.

By all normal cinematic standards, the number of close-ups and extreme close-ups of faces and objects in Leone's westerns is excessive. For example, fourteen minutes into Once Upon A Time in the West, no less than 54 out of a total of 112 shots are close-ups or extreme close-ups.[78] Moreover, they are presented on a widescreen, which then was still a technical novelty. From the moment of its introduction, the widescreen had a strenuous relation with the close-up. David Cook points out that "close-ups were suddenly problematic, given the vast size of widescreen images and the tendency of early anamorphic lenses to distort them. Even undistorted, on a sixty-foot screen close-ups frequently appeared ludicrous, menacing, or both."[79] Leone's films are indeed shot in such anamorphic formats, but he used Techniscope, developed in Italy during the early 1960s, which not only made possible the cheap production of relatively high-quality widescreen films, but it also allowed Leone to maintain a 2.35 widescreen ratio, while shooting with spherical lenses that did not create such a distorting effect when filming in close-up.[80] Leone's biographer Christopher Frayling crucially points out that Leone's director of photography, Massimo Dallamano was,

> [T]he first person to understand that the new widescreen format for Techniscope – the '2P' or two perforations format – would mean that you'd need a new kind of close-up, a sort of very close-up [extreme close-up], which would frame the face from the chin to the bottom part of the forehead, in order not to lose too many small details of the features.[81]

Frayling and Dallamano claim that Leone was the first to shoot such extreme close-ups on a huge widescreen.[82]

One of Leone's assistants recalled that the crew tried to find a solution for the problem that, in a widescreen close-up of a face, half the background would be shown as well, pulling attention away from the star: "When you wanted a close-up to bring the audience's attention to a face, an entire landscape opened up behind you: an entire town could fit in, so you could forget putting the attention on your character."[83] Out of this dilemma, Leone's extreme close-ups of eyes were born: to avoid too much background in the widescreen close-up. As Bordwell notes: "Leone and his cinematographer decided to shoot his gunslingers in

extreme close-ups from chin to hat brim, and this framing became his signature."[84] Given Leone's audaciously excessive use of this new technique, audiences were thrilled and startled by such menacing close-ups of gigantic and disproportionate faces, which, as Frayling aptly notes, "belonged more to the world of Sergei Eisenstein [...] than to Hollywood."[85] Leone deliberately used the extreme close-up on the widescreen for its unsettling effects, although probably not under the influence of "late silent cinema."[86] Both Frayling and Bordwell overlook the "big faces" of the familiar television "close-up" format of the 1960s, even though the formal similarities between the two are quite striking, and just as striking as the dissimilarities between the aesthetic used by Leone and by the mainstream television programs of his day. In contrast to the "automatized" viewing experiences of human faces those (background-less) close-ups on the small screen offered, Leone's radical transpositions onto the widescreen indeed offer distinctly de-automatizing "shock" effects, to use Eisenstein's famous words;[87] and one may well assume that the viewers of the 1960s, who essentially were becoming television viewers by this time, were suitably "shocked" out of their small screen viewing routines.

Fig. 2: The "chin to hat brim framing" that became Leone's signature. Close up from Il buono, il brutto, il cattivo *(*The Good, The Bad, The Ugly, *1966).*

A second and strikingly novel element in Leone's westerns that instantly recalls the television format is his extraordinary music scores: scores that at times favor music and sound *over* visuals. Leone allowed his composer Ennio Morricone to create soundtracks which, in the cinematic terms of that day, are unusually prominent and extremely evocative in their own right. As Frayling notes, "Morricone and Leone hoped to achieve 'much more interaction between music, sounds and visual images' than was the Hollywood standard."[88] Indeed, Morricone's highly

evocative music score and sound effects – of gunshots, footsteps, screeching windmills, or buzzing insects – inescapably draw the viewer's attention and regularly serve to raise expectations or to propel the (otherwise minimal) story flow. In Leone's own words, "[Morricone] substituted for the usual monotonous accompaniments the audacious invention and use of natural sounds, the cries of birds and animals, extraordinary sound effects."[89] The result was soundtracks that hardly belong to the same genre as normal movie soundtracks which "accompany" more or less unnoticed. Instead, the novelty and prominence of Morricone's scores has contributed significantly to the lasting fame of Leone's films.

Leone was one amongst many movie directors who absorbed television framing aesthetics into their filmic language in the 1960s and 1970s. An obvious example from the 1970s would be Martin Scorsese's TAXI DRIVER (1976), which famously opens with an extreme close-up of the protagonist's eyes (Robert De Niro), followed by wider shots of his yellow cab against a background of New York's streets. Like Leone, and possibly influenced by him, Scorsese succeeded in creating a shot/scale regime that recalls the familiar television format, yet was radically new in the cinema. Scorsese's cinematographer, Michael Chapman, not only shot extraordinary, Leone-like extreme close-ups but also added other photographic features from the television format of those days: the hard colors and high contrasts typical of a low-quality television color in the 1970s. In the living rooms of the period, viewers essentially learned to ignore the low quality of the color, but transposed to the cinema, they triggered the incredibly strong aesthetic shock effects that helped to create the urban nightmare-feel to TAXI DRIVER.[90]

An evocative and provocative use of dominant features of the television format can also be found in films by Quentin Tarantino, who has often expressed his admiration for Leone.[91] Already in his early work, Tarantino's extreme close-ups and distorted two shots of television-like talking heads – used like no cinema director before him in RESERVOIR DOGS (1992) and PULP FICTION (1994) – clearly recall the extreme widescreen close-ups in Leone's films. It must be added, however, that Tarantino's music scores and his slightly distorted extreme widescreen close-ups of talking faces convey comic undertones that Leone's characters might seem to lack, such as "K. Billy's Super Sounds of the Seventies," underscoring the credit scene in RESERVOIR DOGS; or the two-shots of the talking heads of Vincent (John Travolta) and Jules (Samuel L. Jackson) in the credits sequence of PULP FICTION. Most of Tarantino's music scores are as prominent as Leone's and Morricone's, and most of his fans were not surprised that half of the music score in INGLOURIOUS BASTARDS (2009) was written and performed by Ennio Morricone. The regular Tarantino viewer, predictably, responded with amusement rather than shock to most of these features. After all, both he and many of his viewers are already television and video "experts" – who will see Quentin Tarantino's films on small and large screens – and Tarantino himself is clearly drawing from big-screen Leone and martial-arts aesthetics, as much as

from small screen cartoons and comics, with equal ease. These later developments already seem to point towards a "cinematization" of post-1990s television, which would continue the dialectic already proposed here. But further reflection on them would open a new chapter.

These examples may serve to demonstrate that television's close-up system – though initially a natural part of the familiar domestic viewing experience – provided a basis for a new and disturbing viewing experience in the cinema. The destabilizing effects of such a transition from small to widescreen of course point to the gigantic differences in apparatus and viewing practices of cinema and television. These transitions are often made quite explicitly in films by David Lynch, who of course has also worked for television; and the same would go for the Spanish filmmaker Pedro Almodóvar, who was fascinated by television when he started making his films for the cinema.[92] As can be seen in his extravagant (over) emphasis on the facial close-up, Almodóvar was well versed in television and its prime-time soap operas, and he understood the evocative powers of enlargement on the cinema's widescreen to destabilize and move his audiences emotionally.[93] Historically, the format of standardized mainstream television handed cinema new perceptual habits to be once again de-automatized. The dialectics between television and cinema since the early 1960s have proven highly beneficial for the cinema in a television age. And later developments, especially in Scorsese's and Tarantino's work, already seem to point towards a "cinematization" of post-1990s television, which continues the dialectic.

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Tapping into Our Tribal Heritage: The Lord of the Rings and Brain Evolution

Torben Grodal

A longstanding discussion within the humanities has been whether culture is shaped by universal laws and perennial ideas, or whether it is in fact strongly historical. A central issue for both views has been language. In the heyday of Structuralism in the 1960s scholars such as Claude Levi-Strauss, Algirdas Greimas, Tzvetan Todorov and Gérard Genette tried to find universal grammars and universal discursive features in storytelling and mythmaking. The structuralist endeavor was in several respects fruitful, providing some basic tools to describe narratives. However, its language-based idea of grammar-like linguistic structures at the basis of storytelling was – in hindsight – problematic because it prevented structuralists from trying to look for those brain structures, those basic mental mechanisms, that support and mould the narrative "grammars." Structuralism was inspired by the cognitive revolution that began in the 1950s (with Chomsky and others) but missed the later cognitive and neurological breakthroughs since the 1970s.

In the 1970s the language metaphor was used for a radically different purpose. Language was not seen as a vehicle for expressing meanings existing elsewhere – in the world and in the human life experience – but something created by the signifying systems of language. This fitted well with a 1970s-90s view within the humanities of culture as being a radical flux so that different cultures, genders and ethnicities fully lived in their own cultures or were indoctrinated with prevailing dominant discourses.

I have advocated a radically different approach to film studies that shuns language metaphors and analyzes films based on an embodied bio-cultural approach to film analysis,[1] which aims at steering a middle course between strong culturalism and strong universalism. The main idea is that humans are not born with a clean slate that can be programmed at will by different language-like cultural systems but are born with an embodied brain that has a series of innate capabilities. Many of those capabilities are located in specific parts of the brain and become activated by the interaction with the environment. The last thirty years have produced incredible advances in our knowledge of the human brain and its evolution-

ary history. Thanks to fMRI scanning and numerous other techniques the understanding of the functioning of the human brain has increased rapidly. Furthermore, advances in the study of the evolution of the human brain, and its links to and differences from those of other animals, have revolutionized our understanding of the evolutionary basis of our behavior. In this article I cannot deal in depth with these numerous issues but refer the reader to Grodal 1997 and 2009, and also to the increasing amount of research within the study of literature on an evolutionary basis (see for example William Flesch 2007 and Brian Boyd 2009).[2]

The upshot of this new knowledge has been a realization that the human brain is not infinitely malleable; that there are a series of innate capabilities that put constraints on this malleability. However, the brain is not a closed, totally preprogrammed system, but a set of dispositions that may be selected differently with different inputs from the environment, the physical as well as the cultural. To provide an example: humans have sexual urges that may seek an outlet in promiscuity, but they also have innate dispositions for pair-bonding, supported by neurotransmitters like oxytocin and vasopressin. Their behavior will then be the result of the interaction of biology, culture and situational context.[3] So, cultures do not create the capabilities for romantic love or for pornography, rather they elicit and fine-tune innate capabilities. Bio-culturalism therefore provides a strong emphasis on culture and individual life story but within the affordances and constraints of our innate human embodied brain.

In the following I offer a schematic analysis of Peter Jackson's THE LORD OF THE RINGS trilogy (hereafter LOTR), in order to reveal the psychological sources of the enormous fascination that the books and the films have exerted on viewers.[4] The films of the trilogy are all near the top of the list of all-time audience successes and compete for high box-office ranking with what are in many ways similar products: the film versions of the *Harry Potter* book series. My contention is that there must be some core meanings or experiential clusters in such narratives that exist independently of media and fascinate readers and viewers all over the world. I will show how these successes are based on the way in which those film series tap into fundamental pleasure and interest spots in the human mind, especially the minds of adolescents, and also how this activation of innate interests and emotions takes place.

The Emotional Motors of Narrative Interest

According to the neurologist Jaak Panksepp,[5] humans and other mammals have seven major emotional systems: the anger-aggression system, the fear system, the sexual lust system, the care-and-bonding system, the panic system that is activated when bonding is in jeopardy (as when a young one loses contact with the parents), the play system (play is important for all mammals), and the seeking-

wanting system that controls exploration and searching for important resources such as food and mates.

According to Panksepp, these seven systems motivate all mammals, and I argue that they are also the motors in all human storytelling, because storytelling in films, literature, video games or theater is primarily about acting on goals defined by emotions. Horror stories focus on fear, action and war films focus on aggression (and fear) and on seeking, love stories focus on sexual desire and bonding, many stories focus on bonding in jeopardy (all stories for children, and many stories for adults, like sad melodramas), crime-and-detection fiction focuses on seeking, and comedy uses the play system to playfully portray those emotions that in other genres are told in a serious fashion (cf. Grodal *forthcoming*). If we look at the LOTR trilogy from this standpoint, we will notice how the drive of the story is linked to a continuous flow of events in which the seven motivational systems power the situations and also set the overarching goals of the story. The situations that elicit the emotions are often very unusual and hardly as functional in a present day environment – for instance, avoiding predator-like beings – as they would have been in the ancestral environment.

The over-arching emotion that controls the story in LOTR is that of fear: An evil force, Sauron, threatens to destroy the world and make all living creatures into slaves. The fear is often transformed into aggression in all those situations in which the good guys confront Sauron and his allies. The central action to destroy Sauron and his power is that of an "inverse seeking": The good guys have to search for a volcano in order to destroy the ring, and their search is split up into numerous sub-sequences of seeking. These quests take place in a landscape that is more related to that natural world in which our ancestors lived for millions of years as hunter-gatherers, on an eternal quest through nature for resources, than to the industrial and post-industrial cityscape that is the lived environment of the readership and viewership of the trilogy.

Furthermore, the most important emotion to support acquiring resources for the aggression is that of bonding, mostly male bonding, and I will return to this specific variation of the innate dispositions later. Sexual desire does not play a major role in the trilogy. The role of sexuality is mostly to underpin pair-bonding, for instance to create a "feudal alliance" between two tribes, the fairies and the kingdom of Gondor (by the marriage of Aragorn and Arwen). Pair-bonding has evolved in evolution to provide resources for human children that are born "too early" due to their big heads, similar to the evolutionary processes that have made pair-bonding nearly universal among birds.[6] Feudal pair-bonding (including the extreme forms found in hyper-romantic love) then combines basic pair-bonding with those social concerns that relate to feudal distribution of power through inheritance. The importance of bonding in LOTR is also emphasized in the negative: the numerous situations in which strong panic is evoked by bonding in jeopardy, either by losing physical contact with other members of a group, or strong

panic due to a possible betrayal by one of the persons in a bond. Extreme panic is linked to those moral actions that are related to the central symbol of the trilogy: using the ring for egoistic purposes to gain power, instead of renouncing possession of the ring. Renouncing the ring constitutes signaling strong group bonding, strong solidarity with the in-group.

Of Panksepp's seven fundamental emotional systems, the play system is almost absent in the trilogy in a basic mammalian sense of playing rough and tumble, or playing pursuit – except for some hobbit clowning in the beginning of the trilogy. Actions in the trilogy are for the most part deadly serious. Playing is – by contrast – prominent in the precursor of the trilogy, Tolkien's *The Hobbit* (soon to appear as a film adaptation). It would seem that the prominence of all-pervasive fear that is the strongest driver of the film has ruled out a prominent role for the play system except on a meta-level: The predominantly young viewers consume the ring world as a space of playing out fundamental emotions protected by their background feeling that this world is fictitious. Furthermore, the extensive use of a large variety of supernatural fantasy-elements may be considered strongly playful, because humans have extended physical playfulness into mental playfulness, fantasy, even if the basic mood in the trilogy is one of fear.

The bottom line is that a central motor of the fascination of the trilogy is that it evokes basic mammalian emotional systems which produce strong interest in salient scenes. Just as the trilogy is driven by basic emotions, these emotions are also elicited and enacted predominantly in a series of basic situation nuclei and action nuclei. I have previously listed at least six clusters of situations and action patterns that are repeated over and over again in those fictions and that are related to aggression and fear.[7] These are *hiding*, *tracking/ pursuing/ being pursued*, *trapping/being trapped*, *observing/being observed*, *fleeing* and *fighting*, abbreviated as HTTOFF scenarios. Each night these basic situations and actions are played out thousands of times on global TV networks despite their mostly limited relevance for the daily life of the viewers. Thus, HTTOFF scenarios would seem to tap into the brain's interest functions and emotional functions, not due to their daily life relevance, but to remnants of our evolutionary heritage. HTTOFF scenarios often go hand in hand with mating scenarios that have more present-day relevance.

HTTOFF situations and scenes may be implemented on a surface level in numerous different circumstances. The hero might be trapped in a spaceship or in a natural cave or – as in the trilogy – be trapped by a gigantic spider or in subterranean caverns. Observation may take place by hiding behind bushes and looking out on an enemy or by sophisticated surveillance cameras as in spy films or police films. The system of hiding is of course simple, but you may hide in many different ways. Fighting, again, may take place in many different fashions. However, fighting that involves basic human capabilities such as sword-fighting seems to have prominence – and we can note how George Lucas's STAR WARS invented light sabers that work essentially in the same way as normal swords, so that the

fighting may resonate in the viewers in a few simple action simulations: avoid the sword coming towards the body, or simulate the hand movements of the hero's sword action towards the body of the other. Such basic actions seem to be extremely intriguing for viewers.

Despite many surface variations, the HTTOFF scenarios thus have core elements that we may share with most other mammals which are able to live through such basic scenarios. They also hide, observe, track, fight or flee. The LOTR trilogy continuously uses combinations of HTTOFF scenarios to fuel emotional interest.

Tribalism and Its Actions, Emotions and Moral Ethos

Although the central emotions and action patterns in LOTR have a broad mammalian background, other emotional variations and action patterns have a more specific nature. Some of these behaviors are shared with those other mammals that emphasize group living. Others are specific adaptations for humans and presuppose levels of cognitive and emotional control absent in other mammals.

The question of group living, tribalism, is essential for understanding the fascination of fictions like LOTR, because very many of the central issues are related to emotions and actions pertaining to group living. There are – as mentioned – the continuous issue of bonding, of articulating obligations vis-à-vis other members of a given tribe, and continuous discussions of the possibilities of creating "mega-tribes," coalitions between different tribes like hobbit-farmers, Rohan and Gondor warriors, Elves, and even coalitions between humans and (animated) trees (!). The question of tribal values and coherence is further deeply entwined with the question of morality, because the moral questions in LORD OF THE RINGS are those that articulate the relation between the individual and the group. In this respect the trilogy is very much in parallel to another enormously successful fiction series for adolescents – the *Harry Potter* novels and their screen adaptations – that centrally focus on group formation and socialization to group morality (the norms of Harry Potter and his two friends, integrated in his house – Gryffindor – and in the group ethos of the Hogwarts school of wizardry vs. the evils emanating from Lord Voldemort). For those young people who constitute the primary reader-and-viewer-ship of the *Ring* trilogy and *Harry Potter*, group affiliations seem to be one of the most mentally activating problem fields.

A central issue in evolutionary research has been whether the evolutionary selection only takes place on the level of the individual or whether you might also have group selection. In the first case, any individual is on its own and the fittest survive and reproduce. Against this, it has been argued that true group altruism would be impossible, because those individuals that showed true altruism – except for their own offspring that carried their DNA and thus their ticket for fitness

in an evolutionary sense (many offspring) – would be outsmarted by cheaters who do not return favors and do not, for instance, risk their lives for their comrades.[8]

However, other researchers of evolution, such as Richerson and Boyd,[9] have argued that at a certain point in human evolution, as the globe became more densely populated, the struggle for resources would favor those groups that were able to develop mental structures that would support group altruism. They thus argue that we have certain mental and moral capacities that are centrally adapted to tribal life. Male-centered war films or action films are mostly strong exponents of tribal values. The central ethos of war films, including LOTR and HARRY POTTER, is based on the willingness of warriors to help their comrades even when risking their own lives. Such militant male bonding may not be fitness enhancing for the individual: a warrior who dies to help a comrade does not get any more offspring. However, the group as such survives and may become fitter than another group that does not practice militant bonding. A similar argument may be made as to helping others with care. So, there might be evolutionary selection pressures that may enhance altruism in the wider sense of the concept (care, risking your life for others, etc.) and also – as I will discuss later – provide norms that adapt the individual to a social hierarchy that is also a key issue in LOTR. Even if – as I personally think – tribal mental forms are in many ways detrimental for the industrialized and globalized world that has developed in the last centuries, our DNA does not change quickly.

The problems of cheating do not of course go away in those tribal groups that promote group altruism; and therefore biological and cultural adaptations to punish cheaters and reward those who demonstrate altruistic behavior will be central if a tribe-group is to survive. Moral norms are the bio-based cultural element in such mechanisms to reduce cheating and enhance altruism. Cheaters should be punished severely and those who punish cheaters at their own risk should be rewarded. A central element is also to propagate the belief that there exist supernatural systems to carry out surveillance of cheating, and also to be involved in punishment; and this may be one way of reducing cheating. Cultures may choose either supposedly good-natured guardians of moral behavior – a god or metaphysical power that punishes cheaters – or they may choose bad-natured guardians – devils, who tempt people – but the sinners in either case will suffer dire consequences. Such stories of supernatural moral surveillance, temptation and punishment seem to have developed in tribal societies to enhance morality. The moral systems in LOTR (and also in HARRY POTTER) are very much of the negative kind. There are evil forces personified in the devil Sauron that may lure people into damnation just as Voldemort is the devil in HARRY POTTER.

In LOTR the central symbol for cheating, to advocate selfishness instead of altruism, is the use of the ring to gain power over other people, while destroying the ring symbolizes altruism. The many scenes in the trilogy that show different people who think of taking and using the ring portray those characters as being

in a state of passionate desire and agitation that makes the ring into a broad symbol of un-reined desires and passions. Use of the ring activates remote surveillance: as soon as anyone thinks of using the ring, evil forces are activated. As the anthropologist Pascal Boyer[10] has observed, remote control and surveillance by supernatural beings are only activated in relation to moral transgressions, God may not know the content of your fridge, but certainly knows all about you stealing or cheating on your partner. So all-knowing forces, whether good or bad, have the moral function of deterring people from transgression, especially when they are unobserved by other people, because even thoughts will always be under surveillance by good or evil forces.

If the origin of tribal morality stems from a tribe's fierce competition with other tribes it may be expected that the moral norms of altruism only pertain to in-group members whereas out-group members are not covered by these moral norms. Religious groups often institute a series of symbols and actions to enforce inner cohesion and to block empathy with out-groups that are unclean. These actions may be related to food taboos, doing certain daily rituals, praying and the like, and the symbols may be dress codes, including hair-style codes, to create a basis for the contrast between in-group familiarity and altruism and out-group strangeness that makes violent acts towards out-groups easier to accept. In the case of LOTR the author has made the job easy by depriving the majority of out-group members – the adherents of Sauron – of most human features. They are typically provided with animal features or features related to sickness and bodily abnormalities. Thus the fear of out-group members may be supported by body disgust.[11] The worldview in LOTR is thus firmly based in an Old Testament-like fight to the death between tribes.

Social Hierarchy and Moral Norms

A consequence of aggressive tribalism has been the evolution of biological dispositions that may enable social hierarchies and also a series of elements pertaining to submission. As pointed out by Lorenz, Averill, Eibl-Eibesfeld, and Grodal,[12] most animals do not systematically attack and kill other members of their own species unless when competing for mating opportunities. However, those animals that have strong group ties, like humans, wolves and rats, make brutal warfare with other groups. Such warfare presupposes a high level of aggression that can be activated in confrontation with organisms of the same species (conspecifics). Of course, such aggression directed towards in-group members may cause severe problems.

The (imperfect and in some way problematic) solution to this problem is also to make biological adaptations to group living, in the form of hierarchical and related mechanisms that adapt in-group members to submission to the stronger ones. This is the case for instance when the weaker wolf submits by showing its

belly to the stronger one. The romantic portrayal of the medieval world that is the background model for LOTR saliently expresses such a strong acceptance of hierarchy. At the top is the god, the king shows submission to the god, the knights show submission to the king, and the peasants show submission to those above them. In the medieval world, as well as in LOTR, this hierarchy is postulated as being natural and biological (Aragorn is the inheritor of Gondor by his "blood"). A side aspect of this system of submission is the gendered submission of women to men. The idealized image of this "natural" hierarchical society is most prominently shown close to the end of the third part of LOTR, in the coronation ceremony. The coronation takes place in the "sublime" city of Minas Tirith, capital of Gondor. The camera starts deep down on the flatland and flies up to the sublime city before finally reaching the social apex, Aragorn, who is crowned and admired by his loyal subjects. Then the camera accompanies Aragorn as he descends to his future wife, Arwen, who is located among the commoners. The whole ceremony is spatially organized to infuse feelings of sublime submission to a social hierarchy.

Fig. 1: Peter Jackson's Lord of the Rings: The Return of the King *(2003): In the crowning of Aragorn Gandalf represents the divine principles that flow down to Aragorn, who shows humility and submission and therefore may demand submission from those below him in the social hierarchy.*

It was the 18th-century philosopher Edmund Burke who maintained that sublime experiences have their roots in fear: fear of something overwhelming that dwarfs our own agency. The neuropsychologist Panksepp and the musicologist Bernatzky[13] have argued that such sublime situations activate very primitive freeze reactions (to freeze is one of the oldest mammalian reaction patterns when confronted with danger). We get an activation of our spinal cord and goose pimples on our skin. The biological correlates of sublime experiences enhance the dispositions toward social submission within the social hierarchy. It is not a coincidence that, for instance, the word Islam means "submission" or that the typical

function of rituals, temples, churches and the like is to create situations and spaces for social submission. And clearly both Tolkien and Peter Jackson wanted to create such experiences of submission, combined with the feelings that the submission provides strong feelings of tribal belongings (compare also the many ritualistic scenes in *Harry Potter* where their tribal belonging to Hogwarts is emphasized).

Moral Systems

The psychologists Jonathan Haidt and Selin Kesebir have proposed that there are five moral systems.[14]

- 1. Harm/care: concerns for the suffering of others, including virtues of caring and compassion.
- 2. Fairness/reciprocity: concerns about unfair treatment, cheating, and more abstract notions of justice and rights.
- 3. In-group/loyalty: concerns related to obligations of group membership, such as loyalty, self-sacrifice, and vigilance against betrayal.
- 4. Authority/respect: concerns related to social order and the obligations of hierarchical relationships, such as obedience, respect, and the fulfillment of role-based duties.
- 5. Purity/sanctity: concerns about physical and spiritual contagion, including virtues of chastity, wholesomeness, and control of desires.

Haidt and Kesebir argue that the first two are typical of those liberal principles that have been characteristic of modern secular liberals, whereas conservatives – while accepting the first two also provide emphasis on moral principles 3-5. It is easy to see that the moral value systems 3-5 are closely related to the values of a traditional hierarchical tribal society and provide an accurate picture of the values in LOTR. The strong emphasis on loyalty, self-sacrifice and vigilance are core values in LOTR, its social idea is a "natural" hierarchy controlled by obedience and role-based duties, and its focus on the control of desires as expressed in its central symbol, the ring, and its emphasis on sanctity and its reverse, the sacrilegious relations to "ring" and "nature" and its presentation of the pure life of elves, shows the strong adherence to traditional moral systems.

The interesting thing is that *Lord of the Rings* in the 1960s was very popular also in leftish circles that saw Tolkien's world as a natural alternative to the unclean industrial world. The popularity of medieval worlds in films, literature and even in video games (*World of Warcraft*, for instance, one of whose precursors, *Dungeons and Dragons*, apparently drew on Tolkien's fantasy medievalism) seems to point to such a world's appeal to innate dispositions even if they are in opposition to the dominant life world of the viewers. Clearly the trilogy is centered on a fierce critique of secular industrialized society: the devil is an industrialist who rapes

Mother Nature, similar to Miyazaki's film PRINCESS MONONOKE (1997), which also deals in fantasy form with the advent of modern profane society through industrialization. Even if the left has not insisted on sexual purity, it has advocated several of the other conservative values (socialism as a control of individualist greed, the importance of society as opposed to libertarian conceptions of the rights of the individual). The relation between nature and conservation is often a field that unites the left and extreme conservatism.

It has been argued (for instance by Marayanski and Turner[15]) that modern post-industrial society in some respects supports values that were dominant in early hunter-gatherer-societies, which were reasonably egalitarian, before agriculture-based societies made a more hierarchical life possible and linked pair-bonding with economic consideration, so that arranged marriages became the norm and love-based pair-bonding the exception. So we might conjecture that our brain has several – but not infinitely many – dispositions for acquiring moral systems in the same way that we have a series of opposed dispositions: care vs. aggression, or pair-bonding vs. promiscuity, for example, that may be selected by the given situation and a given culture. If, therefore, many young viewers are fascinated by the world of THE LORD OF THE RINGS, this does not necessarily mean that they have been indoctrinated previously, nor that they have these moral systems and the medieval world as their main preference.

My argument would be that these conservative values have been imprinted as a possibility for evolutionary reasons, and therefore viewers, when exposed to them, become fascinated with the product in the same way that many millions of youngsters spend much of their time "killing" different beings on their computers, even if most of them will never be in a situation in which they want to shoot somebody. Aggressive impulses are innate dispositions that compete with other innate dispositions. However, because something is an innate disposition does not mean that it is desirable in present-day society, and my description of the possible evolutionary reasons for the appeal of strong tribalism and hierarchy does not mean that I condone such values.

Morality, Costly Signaling, and Social Exchange

In a society that has altruism and group loyalty as central parameters it is important that individuals flag their commitment to pro-group moral values. To infuse trust becomes extremely important. A central way of signaling one's moral qualities is by what Alcorta and Sosis have called "costly signals."[16] Such signals could take the form of self-imposed painful acts, like praying five times a day, abstaining from sexual contact like Catholic priests, monks and nuns, performing flagellation on oneself, and such like. One may of course also sacrifice oneself in actions that are of actual altruistic value. The ways in which the different good persons in LOTR abstain from using the ring are a mixture of those two forms of

signaling commitment. On the non-supernatural level, the ring is merely a symbol. On this level to abstain from touching it functions as a display of commitment (equivalent to, if you do not pray every day or if you play with your genitals, bad things will happen). Central to many religions are distinctions between the sacred, the profane and the cursed (as described by Emile Durkheim) which may serve to teach absolute acceptance of social rules: if you touch this stone (this ring) or whatever, bad things will happen. However, if we accept the work's supernatural level, the many sufferings that the hobbits and others accept in order not to use the ring are costly signals of moral commitment, just as their efforts to destroy the ring forever will be direct signals of moral commitment. Such morally committed heroes provide wellbeing and fascination for viewers, just as they have done for readers of the novels, especially because the moral commitment and costly signals are painted on the background of total horror, which includes slavery and ultimately world destruction. Tribal belonging and bonding seems to be a very strong emotionally appealing configuration of the bonding system.

The pleasures of the costly signals are also due to activation of a fundamental human mental model: the model of social exchange. Humans are – as pointed out by Boyd and Richerson – ultra-social animals.[17] The evolutionary process was accompanied by a steady increase in the control of nature, including controlling and diminishing dangers from predators, and other lethal threats, such as snakes. However, at the same time social relations with other people became increasingly important, not only in mortal confrontations, but also in the need for social cooperation. The basic principle of cooperation is social exchange: I do something for you, you do something for me, or we exchange gifts. According to Pascal Boyer and others,[18] this principle of social exchange became generalized so that it became a model for interaction with the physical and moral world. If it does not rain, the rain gods are angry, so we give them a gift and they will give us rain in return. The tribe sacrifices a child and something good may come in return; a grumpy god needs a Jesus child that is human, and also a god, who will be sacrificed in exchange for a dismissal of charges of aboriginal sin. Morally imposed self-mutilations or sacrifices of food (fasting) or sex (abstinence) are not only costly signals, but also part of a social exchange where something good is expected to be the reward for the sacrifice.

The highly symbolic nature of the Ring-destruction and the way in which Frodo, after having sacrificed his ring, also has to sacrifice his mundane life in the Shire, mark the trilogy as being conceived as a social exchange world. It is not about how the quality of life in Middle Earth can be improved, because the focus of moral rearmament in the trilogy has been made on the level of metaphysical social exchange with those forces that guarantee that in the moment that the two hobbits destroy the ring, the power of Mordor disappears. Another example of extreme costly signaling is the way in which Arwen marks her commitment to

the traditional role of mother. She sacrifices the eternal life that she as an elf is endowed with in order to provide Aragorn with the son that can guarantee the hierarchal continuity (symbolized by her ability to let the symbol of royal power, a powerful sword, be restored).

Clearly the forces that have led humans into tribalism, ritualism and into the substitution of actual actions in a physical world with symbolic actions in a metaphysical world have many pitfalls. However, communities that based their moral norms and social behavior on ritual and metaphysical thinking may have had some fitness advantages. David Sloan Wilson has argued that early Christian communities had more surviving children due to communal care and thus had additional fitness in a Darwinian sense, enabling them to spread their DNA.[19] My aim here is not to judge whether such metaphysical mechanisms that project models of human interaction onto the physical world are good or bad, only to point out some reasons for the enormous fascination exerted by strongly counter-intuitive acts such as thinking that something good will come out of – for instance – inflicting pain on oneself due to "spiritual mechanisms" controlling the physical world.

The Fascination Exerted by Supernaturalism

Since humans developed their extremely large brains, a consequence has been that the inner world of the brain has gained an increasing relative autonomy vis-à-vis the exterior world. The extreme form of this "brain autonomy" in relation to the physical world is the widely shared idea among humans that consciousness or the soul exist in relative independence of their material support in the body, as when, in LOTR, Gandalf dies but reappears in a slightly different body. Language and the ability to make paintings, sculptures (and eventually films) even produced media that allowed humans to portray types of reality that have no foundation in the physical world. Language, together with the ability to paint and sculpt, afforded an exodus from the physical world into an ultra-social anthropomorphic world. A practical command of the world based on physical actions might be substituted by a mental command based on conscious processes such as wishing and cursing, or rituals and procedures that presuppose that the physical world is fundamentally governed by mental and social processes. Examples of this anthropomorphism are the aforementioned forms of social exchange-based interaction with the physical world in the form of, for instance, sacrifices. Clearly a strong fascination in experiencing the LOTR world is the presupposition that the universe is governed by anthropomorphic rules, which are also linked to moral values. An additional angle on this is the neurological link between rituals and the mechanisms that trigger obsessive-compulsive behavior.[20] An overload of those mechanisms in the brain that normally control goal-directed actions may lead to a spill-over into basic actions, such as washing, checking, or repeating

meaningless formulas to diminish the overload. Avoiding touching the ring serves as such a continuous ritualistic act of supporting moral purity.

The Lord of the Rings does not have as many supernatural acts that are similar to those basic actions of fulfilling wishes, for instance by magic wands, as we find in fairy tales or *Harry Potter*. These make extensive use of magical formulas for changing the world that Todorov has named "marvelous features."[21] LOTR sometimes uses the power of the ring to produce invisibility, and Gandalf certainly possesses some magical power. But the magic is – as argued above – centrally based on the link between moral behavior and the physical world, and this supernaturalism is mainly related to a defense against bad magic. Magical and marvelous empowerment may create pleasures by positing a direct thought control of the world, but also through the uncanny experiences of the power of evil. One magical sequence of actions is, however, fully marvelous: when the trees in a wood not only show consciousness, but also decide to uproot themselves to fight Saruman and his mining project. The motivation for this is of course to strengthen the case for a moral, anthropomorphic world, in which even the trees participate in upholding the moral order. At the same time, such violations of ontological categories like the distinction between humans and trees tickle the brain in a classical fairy-tale manner.[22]

The trilogy excels in the use of supernaturalism to create salience by hyperbole. The key dimensions in the universe are strongly exaggerated, especially those dimensions that represent dangerous and unclean human-like monsters. If we followed Todorov's terminology, we might say that the predominant mode in *The Lord of the Rings* is that of the uncanny, especially the diabolically unclean, as in the close links to sickness and death of those monsters that Saruman digs out of the earth. The supernatural forms of evil and the uncanny fully align with Haidt and Kesebir's description of the fifth, very conservative moral system, purity/sanctity, with its concerns about physical and spiritual contagion, and stress on the virtues of chastity, wholesomeness, and the control of desires. Also the positive characters conform to the purity-sanctity formula. Main characters such as Aragorn and Arwen are pure and draw their fascination from the intertextual links to a medieval and renaissance iconology of Jesus and the Virgin Mary.

A borderline case between supernaturalism and plain unfamiliarity is the world of names in the trilogy. Viewers and readers are overwhelmed by strange names for persons, creatures and places. This overload in terms of unfamiliarity is important for the way in which Tolkien's world is supposed to indicate something "larger than life," not only by the possible over-load of memory functions but also by its quasi-ritualistic function. Boyer and Liénard have argued that rituals typically try to create "deep meaning" by doing meaningless things, such as washing something that is clean, using incomprehensible languages, or a meaningless abracadabra.[23] The overload of strange words and names in LOTR produces such

an effect of increasing "meaningfulness" by reducing familiarity and comprehensibility, and replacing it with exotic suggestiveness.

The emphasis on exaggeration goes hand in hand with the overall aim of the trilogy: to create a feeling of the sublime, linked to the portrayal of a hierarchical feudal-tribal world that is "larger than life." The strong background of fear – including the fear of contagion – creates the emotional background for those feelings of sublime submission to a world that is supernatural but that at the end provides the happy feeling that the world has a moral design that is benign for those who submit.

Conclusion

Films are cultural products and as such they reflect the cultures that produce and consume them. However, at a more fundamental level, films also have to cater for the innate dispositions of their audiences' brains to attract viewer attention. In this article I have argued that a central motor for the film experience is the use of the seven basic mammalian emotion systems (anger, fear, sex, bonding, panic, seeking and playing) which are, in different combinations, present in all films (and storytelling) in all cultures. I have argued further that action-oriented films use a small set of situations and actions which I have called HTTOFF scenarios to structure especially anger, fear and seeking, eventually in a play form. Our large brains have further enabled us to hold supernatural beliefs about how mind can exist independently of matter, and that consciousness may have direct causal powers over matter (as in wishes, curses etc.) and that also the world as such is anthropomorphic and mind-like, so that we may make exchanges with the physical world by means of such rituals as sacrifices.

Several of the actions and values that mark films like LOTR are more specific and reflect an early human adaptation to tribal life. Central to tribal life are moral norms that promote cooperation, punish cheaters and signal moral commitment. Further, emotions that support the social structure of tribes – hostility towards strangers and a strong hierarchical structure – are based on emotions of dominance and submission. Emotions linked to submission become a key way of experiencing social belonging and signaling social commitment, and the aesthetic form of eliciting submission is the experience of sublime feelings of being overwhelmed, and of transforming the feeling of fear into a one of submissive pleasure. I have argued that such "feudal" values are not the only innate options, and that more egalitarian moral norms also exist, with different films catering to different innate options. The overall argument is thus that to explain the attraction of films we need a biological and evolutionary explanation as well as a cultural one. In my analysis I have avoided referring to such background influences on the LOTR trilogy as the world wars, Tolkien's Catholicism and the like. Because even if these factors are important for understanding the creation of the novels, they

have to be supplemented with other explanations of the fact that Tolkien's feudal-tribal world appeals to very many people who do not share his historical experiences of Europe at war or his Catholicism.

Bio-culturalism is not an effort to banish history and culture from film studies. On the contrary, a bio-cultural analysis of film provides a double historicity: the long evolutionary history that has shaped our embodied brains and a much shorter recent history in which the interaction of embodied mind, film industry, filmmakers and audiences mold what specific film forms and film contents exist at a given moment in time.

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Cinephilia in the Digital Age

Laurent Jullier and Jean-Marc Leveratto

This chapter aims to identify and make explicit the characteristics of contemporary cinephilia in Western societies. In a context of increasing globalization – culturally conveyed by cinema, among other media – cinephilia is not an exclusive characteristic of Western societies. It is a behavior that has been facilitated by growing urbanization (Morin, 1953; Bourdieu, 1979), by a higher standard of living (Bakker, 2006), and by the normalization of leisure. It thus develops, in parallel with a national film production, as cities grow and huge megalopolises flourish in what were, until recently, non-industrialized countries. A cogent illustration is the way cinephiles now associate Hong Kong with a world-famous film genre (martial arts), and with whole communities of amateurs eagerly collecting its products.

Exploring the contemporary evolution of cinephilia, however, requires taking its technical and social foundations into account, as well as the different types of resistance expressed by some religious traditions – hence the need to relativize our approach.

Looking for Quality

In the second half of the 20th century, three factors contributed to an evolution in the means of cultivating cinematographic pleasure, by providing easier access both to past films and to information on their authors and actors.

1. The improvement of our cinema skills brought about by virtual film discussions; the sharing of our tastes with both initiated and uninitiated strangers; and the opportunities we now have to publicize our individual opinions on the web, either on a specific movie or on cinema as a whole;
2. The creation and development of information tools on films and artists, as well as of various frameworks to assess the quality of films, helping us to select which films to watch, but also to develop our cinematographic taste.
3. The widening of our cinema experience, through increased peer-to-peer access to the mass of films inherited from the various national film and television industries, and of our ability to express and share our tastes, brought about by the democratization of the professional tools of filmmaking.

The systematic use of the Internet, both as communication tool and public space, thus allows cinema lovers to:

1. develop their critical skills, as posting their opinions in forums encourages them to develop their argumentation;
2. widen and diversify the range of films they watch, by mixing the (re)discovery of classics and new commercial releases, and by specializing in a specific genre or collecting curiosa (kung-fu movies, weird psychotronic films);
3. deepen their mastery of film technique and even produce themselves, thanks to easily accessible software and other web users' advice, and the use of new audio-visual story forms (*fanfictions*, *mashups*, *machinimas*...)

All in all, we would contend, with increasingly accessible films on a range of new supports, and increased opportunities to discuss them, both face-to-face and virtually, contemporary forms of cinephilia are quite different from the "historical" or classical cinephilia associated with the theater, as well as from the modern cinephilia born with the emergence of television.

Along with the general increase in the duration of studies and the democratization of artistic culture this entails, the current situation leads us to a better understanding of film enthusiasts' expertise and of their contribution to the evolution of cinema as an art. This rehabilitation of the audience's judgment, long rejected by professional artists and critics, stressing the superiority of their own judgment in the artistic field, can be observed in all artistic fields (Leveratto, 2006). In France, the consecration of amateur culture has been obvious for years, although this does not imply that the technical superiority of professionals is rejected. Rather, it challenges any deterministic or elitist vision of cinephilia, as something reserved for the new middle classes and the intellectual fringes of the upper classes, as opposed to "popular" consumption, namely the allegedly blind consumption, by popular spectators, of the latest commercial releases exploiting celebrity worship. The Internet, as a public space, made the "actions" of anonymous consumers visible, thus allowing for a break with the elitist definition of cinephilia, which was – perhaps unexpectedly – legitimized by Pierre Bourdieu in *La Distinction*, when he stated that cinephilia is "linked to one's cultural capital rather than to simple cinema attendance," and then also situated it "beyond direct film experience."[1] Bourdieu thus contributed to misconceptions about the common expertise (Leveratto, 2006) that regular cinema attendance and discussions with other "cinema enthusiasts" bring about.

When cinephiles are asked today to give a list of their favorite films, they are very likely to produce quite a heterogeneous list, often based on "an eclectic mix of art, popular and experimental films, including one or two titles you have never heard of."[2] The time of "guilty pleasures," linked with the risk of automatically compromising yourself should you personally enjoy films – whether "commer-

cial" or "intellectual" – that do not fit with current consumption norms in your social group, is now over. The normalization of this kind of "omnivorism" has also been made possible by the commercial success of directors who dared to promote in their films the eclectic dimension of their own cinematographic tastes. D. Cozzalio cites, for instance, the example of young Paul Schrader, who hid from his friends that he loved watching Bresson, or of John Waters, who confessed that he delighted in watching Marguerite Duras's films. The fact that world-famous New Hollywood directors should be able to admire both French art cinema and Hollywood blockbusters thus contributed to a new assessment of the *expertise* of the average film enthusiast concerned about quality.

As with any aesthetic behavior, cinephilia obviously implies a concern for cinematographic quality. This concern, which is at the root of the expertise of the cinephile, an experienced individual both involved in film consumption and keen on cinema, should not be mistaken for the longing for social distinction that Bourdieu rightly denounced, since it implies a refusal to acknowledge the aesthetic expertise, and thus to deny the humanity, of others. Concern about cinematographic quality justifies a certain type of normativity and leads to defining ethical limits for the individual and for the collective admiration of cinematographic objects.[3] For instance, François Truffaut satirized the morbid dimension of the addictive behavior of some spectators by ironically transforming the slogan of the French Centre National du Cinéma, "Quand on aime la vie, on va au cinéma" ("Life lovers are also cinema lovers") into "Quand on n'aime pas la vie, on va au cinema" ("Cinema lovers are also life haters").

Respecting the practical meaning (Bourdieu, 1980) of cinema culture also implies not forgetting the reality which, according to John Lyden, makes cinema offer us "like religion, ways of negotiating suffering and injustice" through the behaviors it stages, which explains why it may sometimes "affect the way we act once back in real life."[4] The equivalence between the capacity of both artistic representation and religious ceremony to acknowledge the collective importance of some values – which has been systematically established since Durkheim (1917) and Mauss (1902-1903) – justifies the comparison between cinema and religion. Stressing cinema's "life lessons," interestingly, does not address the efficiency of cinematographic technique as a way of distinguishing between the initiated behavior of the cinephile – mastering the intricacies of artistic technique – and the uninitiated behavior of the average film consumer who falls victim to appearances. Insofar as the word "religion" is often used today to underline the social dignity of the cinematographic art and to perpetuate an elitist vision of it, it seems that Marcel Mauss's definition of magic as an individual practice based on an incorporated knowledge – as opposed to religion as an institution sustained by professionals – is the one which currently best fits a true understanding of cinephilia (Leveratto, 2006).

The individualization that we have witnessed of cinematographic taste, namely the process of constructing one's own personal preferences and systematically asserting them, perfectly illustrates the way all consumers strive to master the technique (the first meaning, according to Mauss, of the word "magic") of cinema for their own purposes and according to their needs and those of their close circle of friends and relatives. Facilitated by the development of new technologies, magic retrospectively appears as an inherent trend in cinema consumption as soon as cinema becomes a "universal" type of leisure, potentially encompassing all types of societies and social classes. It further participates in the diversification of film genres, and then of distribution channels, due to the sharpening of the spectator's judgment – through criticism, censorship, film-clubs, school, and the like – which has been operating since the birth of feature films.

Of course, if considered in its sociological dimension as the impossibility of inferring an individual's tastes *a priori* from his/her belonging to a given social group, this individualization of cinematographic taste does not erase the impact of social differences on cinema consumption. Yet, when dealing with actual people, we have to acknowledge the many instances when this consumption goes beyond social differences, since taste, as Antoine Hennion states, is a "way of acting" that we do not entirely control and that transports us from one to another aesthetic object, regardless of tradition or reason.[5] The public space of the Internet allows us to observe this "way of acting," together with the spectator and film networks it may lead us to join if we devote some of our time to it.

"Reception as Activity"

The type of cinephilia described and idealized by Antoine De Baecque (2003) is often the basis of both French and Anglo-Saxon researchers' definition of cinephilia. We would argue that this encourages a misunderstanding. The type of cinephilia it defines is localized (essentially Parisian), emerged during a specific period of cinema consumption (the 1950s and 1960s), was translated into a critical discourse (by cinema critics, later by directors), and has since become the vulgate of the official institutions of French cinema. The act of consumption was then based on the act of *movie going*. In this type of discourse, the screen is localized – in the theater. This discourse is based on systematic consumption of the latest film releases and on their careful analysis, but it also values the sacrifice, both in terms of time and money, needed to track down rare films and be ready to travel long distances to see them, in either geographically or culturally remote theaters. For someone who is not a specialist in cinema, or does not own a private projection room, this is the only way to be able to watch such films. It is difficult to find information about them (the first problem being to find the programs of all cinemas); there are physical limitations (sometimes, even when you get the information, the theater is so remote that you cannot go there), which favor peo-

ple living in the wealthiest countries and, within these countries, in big metropolises – above all Paris, famous as the capital city offering the widest range of different films to watch in the world.[6] This is what creates the value of such actions. Beyond the pleasure of being part of the lucky few who could watch this rare film, you enjoy being able to discuss it in small groups, either in a film club or in the pages of specialized reviews; and the lists, classifications and filmographies you produce are passed around and slowly corrected. Watching a film on TV or on any other small screen is systematically considered *less rewarding*.

This form of sociability based on watching films in theaters – and the cinema culture it entails – has not completely disappeared in France. On the contrary, it has been normalized through support for a network of art houses offering, alongside the latest releases accessible throughout the country, recent films that are shown in only a limited range of specialized theaters, as well as old films regarded as masterpieces. Yet today, this represents only one way of loving cinema, as it did at the time it first emerged. Since the 1920s, in parallel with these regular consumers and their culture of cinematographic quality, generated by the regular watching of new releases, there has been an ordinary type of cinephilia that the cinephiles of the Nouvelle Vague enjoyed mocking (Jullier and Leveratto, 2010). This anonymous form of cinephilia could not be expressed publically at the time, as distinct from the cinephilia of cinema critics – except, marginally, in some magazines and reviews, as well as in readers' letters.

The normalization of the Internet has changed this, by giving anonymous cinephiles the opportunity to express themselves and convey another vision of the cinephile, more contemporary and more complex than the one promoted by the cinephiles of the Nouvelle Vague. This is what Jonathan Buchsbaum and Elena Gorfinkel point to, in a recent article, when they use the expression "cinephilia (s)."[7] The Internet has prolonged and emphasized the diversification of different forms of film consumption. There are now many ways of regularly watching films outside theaters. Cinephilia may depend exclusively on the act of *home-viewing*. It flourishes in the opportunity to watch more films, and to be able to have easy access to rare films in their computerized version, on cable TV, DVDs or the Internet (*p2p*, *streaming*, *pay-per-view*). Screens of various sizes can be found everywhere: the film is re-localized. Information is easy to get: the problem is no longer to be unable to access it, but to have enough time to watch / read everything.

This diversification of the modes of film consumption has been accompanied by an unprecedented evolution of film discussion as a means of comparing opinions, exchanging information, and sharing knowledge. The Internet gives anonymous cinephiles the opportunity to post their opinion and to have virtual exchanges with others, thus making visible the cinephilia of "simple" film enthusiasts.

Exploring what is somewhat ineptly called "cinephilia 2.0" (the expression wrongly superimposes the filmic sociability made possible by the Internet and

the skills this sociability allows spectators to gain) has for us a double interest. First, it allows us to understand better ordinary cinephiles, as well as the efforts of informed consumers to develop the quality of their cinematographic leisure time – what may be termed film enthusiasts' *agency*. The Internet gives them a visibility by keeping track of what cinema addiction leads them to do (such as look for information, discuss or argue with other film enthusiasts, write testimonies, and such like). Second, this exploration informs us about how the Internet strengthens the spectator's *agency* and may thus contribute to the cinema consumer's *empowerment*, four dimensions of which may be defined in terms of: information, access to films, publishing of one's own judgment and archiving:

(1) Increasing information quantity and ways to manage this.

With the increasing number of films available on small screens (web and cable television), both for browsing and viewing purposes, selection tools have multiplied on the Internet. The main three examples are the databases organized according to the classical pattern of the "film information sheet"; the websites hosting user comments; and those hosting movie trailers and film excerpts, such as YouTube and DailyMotion. These three types of sites often include hyperlinks to each other. When reading about a film on IMDb, for instance, you may either choose to return to "user comments" or "external reviews," even if the film is very marginal. Should you wonder whether it is really advisable to buy a copy of BATWOMAN, a 1978 Mexican exploitation flick, the seller's website, *Video Search Of Miami*, will link you directly to a four-minute excerpt on YouTube.

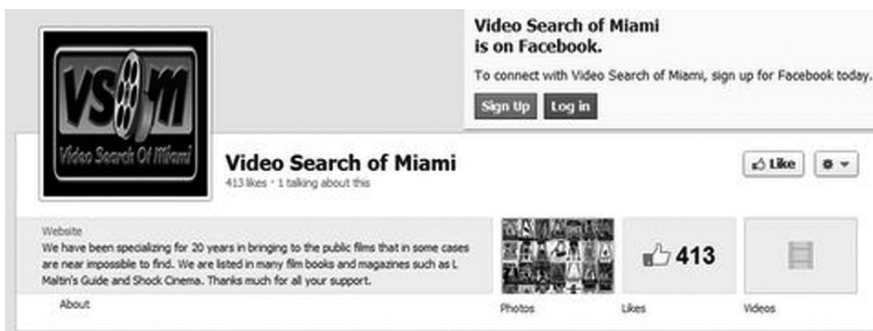

Fig. 1: Example of a specialist on-line supplier catering for contemporary cinephiles.

All this information is more reliable than film information in the past, because of its *visibility*. Any information, description, or classification sheet on the web is likely to be read by a specialist, who is likely to find any mistake in it and to report this to the site's web master.

The question at stake is how to find what we are really looking for, and suspect may be hiding somewhere. On IMDb, the number of possible keywords associated with scripts has become gigantic, as has the number of marginal sub-genres – for instance, *Video Search Of Miami* offers the following sub-categories: *Ameritrash*, *Blaxploitation*, *Female/Vixens!*, *Giallo*, *Mondo*, *Weird/Bizarre*, *Deranged Porn*, etc. Using search engines with a selection of keywords is the main activity of "cinephiles 2.0."

Sometimes this browsing turns into a game, as databases may be used more as a form of play than to find a film. Many daily games based on identifying film pictures or quotes, each more obscure than the others, are offered to web users keen on cinema.[8]

The activity of checking information *after* viewing a film is also worth mentioning. Any quotation, allusion or double-entendre in the film can be checked later on the web, which entails a democratization of decoding – accordingly the concept of the "happy few" has largely disappeared. When you enter a film's title in a search engine, you know that at least one fan has already listed all the references it includes. IMDb, the largest Internet database, has even permanently added an intertextual section to each of its film information sheets, "*quoted in/quoted by*." This expertise also works in a developmental way, as a kind of collective intelligence. On the web, the significance of a film is more than the *sum total* of its different interpretations: what matters most is the *link between them*, which creates a *cluster* of interwoven significances made up of "all that the film *may* mean." This blurred *cluster* is completely opposed to the clear and definite significance favored by academic cinephilia, whose aim is to point to "all that the film *does* mean."[9] There is no such thing as a unity of meaning on the web, only a cloud of more or less reliable opinions and pieces of information, whose coexistence creates something new... It is up to anyone to build his/her own interpretation, like the model cinephile represented by the one-time critic of *Cahiers du Cinéma*, Serge Daney, who declared late in his life: "This is all I can do now, find common points between the few films I watch" – drawing on the stimulation and the interpretative tools offered by the *comments on the film* posted by other users.[10]

(2) Access to films and "transmediality."

The digital age allows us to choose the *technical support* on which we want to watch a film. Among the many possibilities, you may decide on watching it in a theater, buying it on DVD or Blu-ray, renting a video, or downloading an illegal copy. All these options are different, and you have to make your choice according to various criteria (time, money, technical requirements...). Speaking of "the" film is also simplistic in the case of "transmedial stories," which come in a variety of forms, which may include being transformed into television series, video games, books, or comics. And even if the film is not part of a transmedial universe, it will

still be available in several versions, whether the latter impact on its very substance ("uncut versions") or its official paratext (bonuses including exclusive interviews, deleted scenes and bloopers).

(3) Posting and comparing opinions.

If the two above-mentioned forms of activity can be somewhat minimal (sometimes just a few mouse clicks), posting and comparing opinions require more energy. Following the logic of the DIY spirit,[11] the web-surfing film enthusiast can compare, in written form, his/her judgment with that of a professional critic. He can post what formerly was only an oral opinion expressed in discussions with friends or relatives (apart from those fans who previously published their opinions in fanzines or film-club bulletins). The exercise attracts a vast number of people, who are thus able to browse a huge amount of criticism very easily.[12]

Online publishing is not fixed or definitive, due to the interactivity allowed by many websites. Any web surfer giving his/her opinion is likely to be proved false by the next user and will thus be led, if s/he wants to discuss the issue, to specify his/her argument. Reading this verbal ping-pong game, we can have a better idea of the film, than when we read a single professional review, which leaves us no choice but to accept its literary interpretation. And even if we may "read between the lines" of a review written by a journalist of a magazine that we are familiar with, the same does not hold for a professional review randomly found on the Internet, and published in a magazine we have never encountered before.

Posting opinions on the Internet also entails a change related to the decreasing importance of geographical localization. Place no longer matters as long as you are connected to the "network." Whether you live in the Latin Quarter in Paris or the suburbs of Vladivostok does not really change anything: you will still be able to watch the same quantity of films on the Internet. Whatever your tastes, you will be a few mouse clicks away from "a soul mate in a remote place," which means that fandom develops more easily.

(4) Production and online availability of User-Generated Content about the film (audio-visual DIY).

For the contemporary cinephile, a potential form of activity consists of producing and publishing on-line User-Generated Content (UGC) "about" a film, whether to prolong its existence, mock / pay homage to / or criticize it. Re-appropriation and poaching have long been processes for many spectators, as Richard Hoggart had already noted in the 1950s in his observation of the British working-class audience.[13] The subsequent decades have simply accelerated this tendency, aided by technical progress and the decreasing price of digital audio-visual equipment. This technological boom has entailed an increase in *meta-spectators* sensitive to the "*mak-*

ing of" mode (to quote Roger Odin), that is to say, less interested in the storyline than in the details typically given in the "*making of*" section of the DVD edition of a film (both as a source of information on how the film was made, and on the film as a model to imitate).[14] There has thus been an increase in the number of spectators involved in what is now commonly referred to as *self-medias*. *Home-movies*, *fan-films*, *mashups*, *machinimas*, parodies, false trailers, etc.[15] These are very common today on the Internet and on "*collaborative remix zones*."[16] These products may also be seen as reified ways of looking at works of art, views of an original work of art that are reified in a satellite work of art. This is how we can consider "consumption as another form of production."[17] You may express your "way of taking a look at a film" without having to produce one. Any researcher aiming to prove that this situation is more crucial than the film as text, may turn to public expressions of creative involvement and re-appropriation through a simple look at a film.

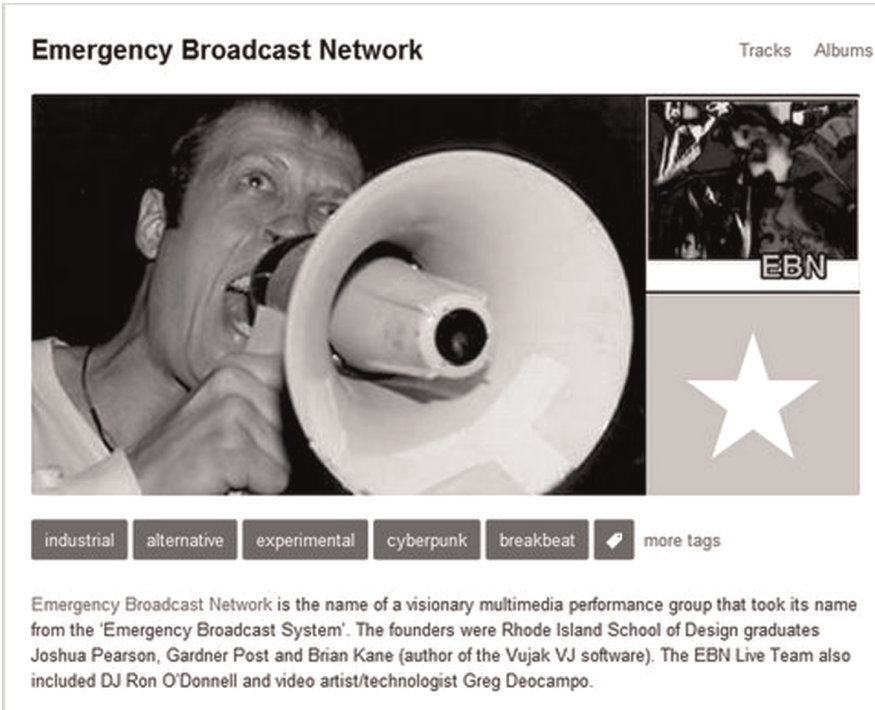

Fig. 2: Emergency Broadcast Zone: a "collaborative remix zone" where consumption is another form of production.

(5) Archiving and online availability.

Last but not least, the institutionalization of cinema (with museums, universities, schools, state funding...) has been paralleled by a privatization of the history of

cinema. Agency also means *conservation*: archiving and personal collections, personal subtitles, circulating a copy as a proselytizing mode of celebrating a film you love. Allard identifies some sites, based on user comments, as offering "a cinematographic goldmine of rare, exotic, forgotten or little known films, which may be referred to as a *kinoscape*," to quote anthropologist Arjun Appaduraï. According to her, this network of "film-men," far from having a negative impact on the cinema industry it pirates, "has a patrimonial function" through "the sharing of a mass of memories."[18]

Conclusion: Transmitting Cinema Culture

The usual confusion between cinephilia and the transmission of cinema heritage, originated by the directors of the Nouvelle Vague posing as model cinephiles, has been cogently epitomized by Christian Keathley in his celebration of cinephilia. This advocates the necessity to reactivate "the spirit and the theory of the beginnings," to bring back the spirit of the *Cahiers du Cinéma*, which he regards as "pure cinephilia," so as to "reconstruct or reinvent the sense of the sacred, of the immortal" that spectators of the past had.[19] This type of discourse stressing the spirit – namely the reverence and loyalty to cinema as an art – and the science of the cinephiles of the Nouvelle Vague, contributes to making the cinephile a quite distinct character (the cinema connoisseur) from the simple regular spectator. Cinephilia thus refers here to the cultural heritage kept by a few independent directors and a community of demanding spectators, who feel threatened by the "violence of the cultural industry" and the cynicism of a system in which the "visibility of a film" is inversely proportional to its "actual importance," were it not for the resistance organized by critics, festival and film library programmers and directors, and cinema web sites.

This vision of the cinephile's behavior raises a problem, since it claims a monopoly of the transmission of cinema culture. It is especially contradicted by the behavior of the very cinephiles it takes as its models, who admired not only the rare films they rediscovered with such emotion, but also highly commercial films which had seduced them, like all the spectators of the time, except that *they* were able to discern their artistic dimension. Unless you deny the inherent uncertainty in cinema and decide on the quality of a film even before watching it, the idea according to which "all films are born free and equal in rights" is, as André Bazin liked to emphasize, the very principle, both ethical and aesthetic, of this type of cinema expertise.

Identifying cinema culture with academic cinephilia, namely the type of expertise conveyed by the educational system, from school to university, should not lead us to forget that the life, reproduction and the evolution of cinema as an art depends, as Erwin Panofsky noted, on the film market, namely on the regular and renewed consumption of film releases by successive generations (Panofsky,

1934). Taking into account the effect of schooling on consumer behavior, and parents' recognition of the necessity to give their children an artistic educational background requires one to recognize the effect of consumption on users, and the way it allows to train and develop their judgment, outside of school.

Diagnosing the decline or disappearance of cinephilia amounts to forgetting the way each generation has learned to love cinema, and to mistaking cinephilia for some historical form of cinema consumption. Cinema culture thus refers successively to the culture of consumers dependent on theaters and only able to watch the year's releases, and to that of consumers who enjoy the diversification of modes of screening and the opportunity to watch the masterpieces of the past very regularly, as well as of consumers who can, with new domestic digital equipment, organize their own screenings themselves, and are thus free from the temporal and spatial frameworks of traditional commercial distribution and programming. This process, which ended with the domestication of film, implies taking into account not only the uses of films, but also the uses of oneself as a spectator, which may vary for the same individual according to the leisure moment concerned, as well as to his/her age. Reducing the behavior of the cinephile to regular contact with a collection of specific objects, or to participation in a single community of interpretation is thus extremely problematic in this context. It would be equivalent to underestimating the diversity of the forms of cinematographic sociability – on one's own, with one's spouse, family, or friends – through which cinema pleasure is cultivated and transmitted. It would also be equivalent to underestimating the dimension of personal culture, which forbids one to reduce film culture to a mere technical culture since it entails the idea that filmic pleasure is rooted in a specific temporal and spatial framework. At the most, we may recognize the sophistication of the legitimate cinematographic pleasure resulting from the multiplication of exchange spaces and of the proto-professionalization of judgment that allows some cinephiles today to literally make their own cinema for themselves, by relying on the most singular filmic objects. The different ages of cinephilia (Jullier and Leveratto, 2010) may thus be identified through the diversification of the ways to legitimately express one's love for cinema:

The three ages of cinema consumption: diversification of film consumption practices and film culture evolution

	1910-1950	*1950-1980*	*1980-2010*
Stages	*Generalization of cinema experience*	*Privatization of experience*	*Re-localization of experience*
Consumption means accessible to all	*Commercial theaters*	*Theaters/film clubs/ home-viewing (TV, video recorder)*	*Theaters/ Art houses/ individual screens*
Cinephile's discourse	***Classical*** *Knowledge of quality and experienced consumer's expertise*	***Modern*** *Knowledge of quality, love of art and film culture*	***Post-modern*** *Knowledge of quality, film culture and screen culture (singular experience)*

It is this very evolution which explains the contemporary phenomenon of the "consecration of amateur culture," of the recognition of the fan's empowerment, and of the possibility of basing a historical study of cinephilia on one's teenage memories; this discourse expressing both a love for the cinema of the past and a quest for new filmic ventures – a characteristic feature of any type of cinephilia.

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Spectator, Film and the Mobile Phone[1]

Roger Odin

Digital is now at the center of all discussions within the film industry. How does digital change the means of producing and directing films? What new opportunities does it offer to filmmakers? What business models does it imply? And will digital 3D become the norm? It also focuses the essential issues in theoretical discussions. Does digital radically change the identity of cinema, or does it merely push to the limit the combinatory logic that was present from the outset?[2] Does it modify the ontological relationship of film to the world and to humanity?[3] Does it lead to a loss of the indexical relationship?[4] What does it change at the level of directing and viewing films? Does film theory as it was constructed account for what is happening, or do we need a new approach, which would merge film theory into media theory? We are even witnessing the reappearance of that old theme of the death of cinema.[5]

What is striking in all these debates is that they take very little account (if they take any at all[6]) of a phenomenon that seems to me of very great importance for the consequences it entails: this is the potential that now exists on the vast majority of mobile phones to view and make films (77% of mobiles today are equipped with a mobile video application).The purpose of this chapter is to try to identify what changes mobile telephones have brought for the film viewer.

Following my usual semio-pragmatic approach, I propose to address this issue in terms of *communication space*.[7] By communication space, I mean a construction made by the theorist, a *heuristic* tool to reveal *differences* between the lived experiences of various communicative situations.

> Definition: a communication space is a space within which the combination of constraints leads *actants*[8] (transmitter and receiver) to share the same experience. This array of constraints governs the construction of the actors and the relationship between them, the choice of mode of production of meaning and affect, and the construction of the communication *operator* (from which the meaning will be produced).[9]

Identifying a communication space as a theoretical construct allows me to avoid entering the intractable debates raised by the famous question, "what is cinema?,"[10] while allowing the reader to know what I mean when I talk about film's communication space.

> By film's communication space, I mean a space where communication actors share the experience of constructing a film: building a world which the viewer is invited to enter, a world within which various events occur (usually structured by narrative), and whose rhythm the spectator is encouraged to share (I call this the "phasing" process).[11]

We know that the cinema[12] was designed to promote this positioning (an enclosed darkened space with a big screen, projector in a separate cabin, immobile spectator, etc), and that it induced a regressive voyeuristic position (a relationship with the Freudian primal scene and the mirror stage). My focus here is on three situations: watching films on a mobile, watching films *made* on a mobile, and communicating through audiovisual language. In each case, I ask what is the space of communication (or rather the spaces of communication, since we are mostly at the intersection of several spaces) that needs to be constructed to reflect adequately what is happening in terms of our experience?

Watching Films on a Mobile

At first sight, everything seems to be the opposite of watching a film in a cinema when we watch on a mobile: small screen, poor sound and picture quality, unenclosed environment, mobility, and the subordination of the viewing subject to external circumstances. On a mobile phone, the communication operator is not really a film, as David Lynch insists, in a tone that expresses real anger:

> Now if you're playing a movie on a telephone, you'll never in a trillion years experience the film. You'll think you've experienced it, but you're cheated. It's such a sadness that you think you've seen the movie on your fucking telephone. Get real![13]

Lynch is not alone in this feeling: just look at any internet site where people report their experiences: "Watching a film on your mobile seems quite depressing," "Watching a film while walking along on a postage stamp size screen with rotten sound doesn't interest me," "Bursting your retina guaranteed after five minutes," "it's only to show off at the office," "give the impression of being ahead of your time." Theorists are for the most part equally skeptical. Jan Simons called the first part of his article "YouTube but iPhone: what are the films shot with a mobile phone?," "The end of cinema as we have known it?" And when he concludes with the question: "are we still talking about film?," it is clear that for him the answer is negative: this does not belong to the communication space of film.[14]

Fig. 1: "The end of cinema as we have known it," or a new communication space?

Yet, without any contradiction of our first impression, the mobile *is* often part of the filmic communication space. Mobile phone operators have understood it is in their interest (especially since some are also involved in film production[15]) to build on the desire of mobile users for cinema, and to provide a range of promotional elements for films being shown, or about to be shown, in cinemas (jingles, stills, trailers, teasers, brief excerpts and such like.). One example among many: to launch the Luc Besson film, ARTHUR AND THE INVISIBLES (December 2006), Orange and EuropaCorp (Besson's production company) established a cross-media operation that included decorating Orange shops in the colors of the film, creating a special Christmas pack based on its themes, sending the film trailer to all customers and streaming every day at noon – in what was a world first – twenty-one mini-sequences [*mobiséances*] consisting of two minutes of the film. On Sunday at 15.00, a compilation of all the episodes aired during the week was offered.[16] The mobile phone also offers, through its web connection, opportunities to learn about filmmakers and films, to read reviews, find out where a movie is playing, and to book a seat in advance. The relationship between film and movie phone works well in both directions: first, the film is a kind of bonus for the promotion of the mobile; and on the other hand, the mobile is a compound of the "filmgoer" that is in us and of the "cinema machine" (Metz) to which it contributes (both these elements, as Valentina Re observes, serve "to

ensure the presence of the film in the world, to guarantee, incentivise and guide its consumption").[17]

We might note here, however, that if there is any inscription of the mobile in cinema space, what is seen on the mobile is not a film but what Gérard Genette calls a "paratext," and elements of the paratext have been designed (or at least formatted) for the mobile. Even the fragments of films streamed are chosen to meet the particular conditions of viewing on mobiles: avoiding wide shots, sequences with high emotional intensity and rapid editing.

Apart from these promotional items, there are a large number of productions specifically designed for the mobile phone. Thus we see Orange encouraging customers to subscribe to the film option by offering access to 3,500 videos "specially adapted to the mobile." Nor are other operators standing still, and the audience is growing rapidly – even if this trend is slower in the West than in the Far East, particularly India, Japan and China – to the point that one could describe the mobile as "the fourth screen" (after the cinema, television and the computer screens).[18]

Three broad categories of production can be distinguished. The first takes the form of a series of mini-episodes [*mobisodes*] lasting between one and three minutes. Many of these productions are spin-offs from existing television series, such as, for example, 24 Conspiracy, with a different cast and production company from the original series 24, and coordinated with the creation of a video game and a comic-book in a dynamic process of *transmedia storytelling*.[19] Others are original series like The Sunset Hotel, a mixture of thriller and soap opera, or Love and Hate, a quasi "reality" series (following the daily lives of a dysfunctional family).[20] Green Porno (USA, 2008) by Isabella Rossellini (daughter of Ingrid Bergman and Roberto Rossellini)[21] has acquired a real cult following.[22] Each episode begins with a statement about how "if I were a spider, a bee, a dragonfly, a fly, a praying mantis..." Then Isabella appears disguised as an insect (the set and costumes are made of paper), usually as the male of the species in question, and mimes sexual intercourse to completion. All these productions are closer to the communication space of television than that of film. The viewer seems to expect that they will give the same pleasure s/he has in front of the television, with the mobile serving merely as an external extension of the domestic receiver, in the "non-places" (Marc Augé) and dead times of life.[23] We are in the realm of "interstitial consumption."[24]

The second category of productions exists outside both television and film space, within the space of Internet communication.[25] In terms of form and content, this is an extremely heterogeneous category, according to Paola Vocci, who has studied such productions in China and concludes that they "defeat any reasonably manageable categorization."[26] Shot with the most diverse devices (cameras, camcorders, mobile phones) by professionals, and also very often by amateurs, or artists who did not originally work in film (often sculptors), these

productions use every kind of short form, and are characterized by a strong hybrid tendency – a mixture of documentary and fiction, documentary and video art, animation and digital art, diary and experimental cinema, of sex, gore, trash and politics, professionalism and parodies, and the like – and by a tendency to work with "hyperstimuli."[27] The viewer is encouraged to exercise the "energetic" rather than the "fictionalizing" mode of consumption.[28] By making them available at any time or place, the mobile offers these productions a space of circulation and consumption that they would never have had otherwise.

The third category is that of feature films, for despite the comments of internet users mentioned above, and despite the skepticism of theoreticians, the practice of watching features on mobiles does exist. While I know of no statistics on this, the fact that telecoms companies offer thousands of feature films to watch on mobiles, and that there are advertising campaigns on the theme – "watch movies when you want to or on the go" (Sony Entertainment Network) – suggests that there is sufficient take-up to warrant their interest. Chantal Duchet has noted that Nokia promoted its new mobile model *93* by offering previews of MISSION IMPOSSIBLE 3 (2006) starring Tom Cruise.[29] In Italy, there is even a channel completely dedicated to features for mobiles: Sky Cinema Mobile.[30]

In fact, it seems that we are now witnessing the emergence of a spectator less bothered by the small screen, a viewer born in front of the television, used to playing on his mobile, and therefore ready to watch anything on the mini-screen. This does not prevent him from enjoying the big screen (and even the very large screen) and the apparatus of cinema (including 3D projection), but why not take advantage of the mobile screen that is always available in his pocket? The major problem of viewing feature films on mobiles that remains is managing duration. A film of one and a half hours (or more) cannot be seen in one go in most mobile situations. And even if the viewer plans ahead to adapt their viewing to a journey, (for instance by choosing a bus or subway route according to what one wants to watch), s/he must accept a fragmented mobile viewing.[31] We might describe this new positioning as a move from the position of a spectator to that of a reader: unlike what happens for the performance (of a play, or a film in the cinema), we rarely read a novel from beginning to end in one sitting, and even if we might think that the quality of the reading experience would be better in a continuous session, nobody would dream of criticizing a reading because it was often interrupted. Why then should this not apply to film? Why not accept different degrees of spectatorial investment?

But here another problem arises in comparison to the book, which is related to the rate [*defilement*] of consumption. With a film, the speed of viewing does not depend on the viewer. Today, however, this problem has been partially solved by the invention of the pause[32] and reverse buttons.[33] I can now, as when reading a book, re-view a passage, or suspend the flow of the film, if I want to doze, waiting to resume its course in better conditions, or simply because external constraints

force me to stop. One thing is certain, however: any film when viewed on a mobile becomes a film formatted for mobile (= fragmented), whether this formatting is carried out in advance or during the individual spectator's viewing.

We have three categories, then, each inhabiting a different communication space (the spaces of television, the Internet and film), all spaces that intersect with the new communication space which is that of film seen on mobile. In this space, the viewer oscillates between three kinds of positioning. On the one hand, moments of strong investment, where the surrounding emptiness isolates the viewer mentally (we see spectators forget to get off at their planned subway station or bus stop because they are caught up in what they are watching). The mobile, as Nanna Verhoeff has written, is like "a remote control for the subject itself. Like a pocket teleporter, it transports us while being on the move."[34] These are different kinds of immersion from those experienced in front of the *silver screen* of cinema: here, entering the space of the film is the result of personal effort. Rather than the apparatus effacing the screen, it is the desire for fiction that is in us, together with our previous experience of cinema. Moreover, the relationship to the film is more personal (I hold the screen in *my* hand), also more intimate (the mobile is the most personal of objects). But such moments of investment can only last for a limited time.

At other times, the viewer, while continuing to look at what is happening on the mobile, starts looking at the mobile itself, suddenly paying attention to the outside world (the mobile is an object that belongs to the outside world). The viewer is then *in between*. This divided positioning, ambivalent, absent-present, is characteristic of the mobile: with a mobile I am here, but at the same time also there, with my family, friends, colleagues, anyone who can call me at any time.[35] Watching a film can only overcome this dividedness[36] momentarily, by bridging between the film world and the outside world.

Finally, and occasionally (when engaged in downloading, saving, stopping or rewinding), a tactile relationship is established with the screen. While I would never touch the cinema screen, my thumb starts to navigate the mobile screen, a screen that is not a window but an opaque surface, "a dirty window." Nanna Verhoeff, following Bill Brown (referring to the promotional video for the Nintendo DS), offers a little story to help us understand the nature of this experience, both mundane and magical: "A boy approaches the dirty rear windows of a van and writes 'GO' with his fingers, upon which the van drives away."[37] Some productions inscribe this interactivity in their apparatus (*sharing the uncertainty* allows us to move our finger on the screen to advance the story).[38] It's also such a movement of the thumb that will allow me to share with one click a film (or any other production) with others: the mobile encourages sharing; with mobiles, viewing becomes part of the movement of participatory cultures analyzed by Jenkins: fans, bloggers, gamers, but also groups of friends, diverse acquaintances, family members and the like.[39]

The characteristic feature of all these various experiences is that they presuppose, to varying degrees and according to various modalities, a recognition by the viewer of the specific object of the mobile phone. The communication operator is not only constituted by the productions available for viewing, but by the mobile itself.

I propose to call this new communication space, *film space p* (the space of mobile phone film).[40] The negative effects produced by this new communication space have often been noted: a trivialization of viewing due to the fact that the mobile is a multi-purpose device[41] (the issue of convergence);[42] the porosity created between culture and entertainment; the tyranny of the fragment and of easily digestible short form; participation in a "snack culture,"[43] in which "we devour pop culture like candy or potato chips, in convenient packages containing prepacked morsels that are easy to chew with increasing frequency and maximum speed."[44] This analysis seems to me to require nuancing. On the one hand, convergence is not a new phenomenon in cinema: the film show was traditionally a mix of various things (advertising, sung interludes, dances, magic tricks, selling candy and other products); only the degree of convergence has changed. Nor is the mixture of culture and entertainment new: a "film" seen in the cinema is most often nothing more than entertainment. Even fragmentary viewing is hardly new: do we really watch a film from start to finish in the cinema? Who has not yielded to the temptation to look sideways at a neighbor, or to lose concentration to think about something else, or even just to doze? As for cultural value: the range of films available on mobiles bears comparison with those available to cinemas (and vice versa). So there is little reason to despise what is happening with the mobile.

To characterize what is happening throughout the communication space of *film p*, I will make use of the notion of *lightness* proposed by Paola Vocci:

> I borrow and adapt the notion of *lightness* from Milan Kundera's association between the multiplicity of insignificant events and their deep (and in Kundera's terms, "unbearable") meaning in defining human existence. By describing smaller-screen movies, movie-making, and viewing as *light* realities, I want to point to their "insignificant" weight in terms of production costs, distribution size, profit gains, intellectual or artistic ambitions, but also their deep meaning in defining an alternative way of seeing and understanding the world. Paraphrasing Kundera, in our contemporary social and cultural space, we relentlessly see smaller-screen realities, we cross paths with them, we might even notice some extraordinary coincidences between them and other realities, but we do not really pay attention to them as we do not recognize their meaningful attractiveness. "But is not an event in fact more significant and noteworthy the greater the number of fortuities necessary to bring it about? Chance and chance alone has a message for us."[45]

The Viewer of Films Shot on a Mobile

The productions that are seen on mobiles, as discussed above, have rarely been shot on phones (although some may be). Yet today, more and more films are being made with a mobile, and these are not only very short films or even more conventional "shorts,"[46] but also feature-length films.

In terms of spectator experience, we must recognize that a film made on a mobile is not necessarily seen as a film made on a mobile. A number of films shot on mobiles are seen simply as "films" (within the meaning of that term defined at the beginning of this article), that is to say, as inhabiting "film space." This phenomenon has assumed remarkable proportions in Africa, where we see films shot on mobiles becoming a substitute for 35mm film. The process had already started with video and camcorders, but found its ideal tool in the ubiquitous mobile. The most striking example is undoubtedly that of Nigeria's Nollywood: in Lagos, one of the three leading film production centers in the world (along with Hollywood and Bollywood), a significant amount of production is now carried out on mobiles. The films are B-movies, often fantasy or detective films, dramas with local color; "poor" films certainly, but nonetheless "films." Obviously, the main reason for this use of mobiles is economy, but it is important not to overlook the exceptional shooting convenience offered by this new "camera." "This camera has liberated moviemakers from the tyrannies of the 35mm set. Finally I can truly say that I film what I like," says the South African filmmaker Aryan Kaganof, director of the feature film SMS Sugar Blue (2005) which tells the story of a pimp strolling through the city of Johannesburg on Christmas Eve with four of its high-class luxury whores ("a feel-good story on a dark evening, for the modern urban viewer," according to the producer). "We shot with up to eight Sony Ericsson W900i mobile phones, and the results are beyond our expectations. The results of the blow-up tests were amazing."[47] The fact that in Africa such material does not generally reach cinemas, but circulates on DVD (and hence is most often seen on television screens) does not change the fact that the spectatorial position is that of a film viewer. For the vast majority of Africans, the cinema is no longer the privileged place of film, even for films shot in 35mm, because the theaters have almost disappeared from African cities, after viewers deserted them for safety reasons.

While this kind of production is undoubtedly most developed in Africa (although India should also be mentioned), we find the same trend around the world. A recent example is the movie Olive, released in Los Angeles in 2012. This tells the story of an encounter between a ten-year-old girl, an old woman, an obese man and a foreigner to the United States. Its director, Hooman Khalili, is not only determined that his film be read as "cinema," but he even admits his ambition to be an Oscars contender. The way that this film was made shows that the economic issue (it cost less than $500,000) and a well thought-out advertising

strategy (there was much talk on the Internet of OLIVE being "the first film shot entirely with a cell phone," which is incorrect, but created, as we say today, "a buzz"...), justify the choice of mobile shooting. As far as the film itself is concerned, everything has been done to ensure that the viewer is not aware that it was filmed on mobile. On the technical level, for example, a 35mm lens was placed in front of the smartphone lens to improve quality. Moreover, the film features famous actors, such as Gena Rowlands as the heroine.[48] In this case, the mobile is effaced by the overall effect of the fiction, and the viewer becomes simply a filmgoer.

In other situations, however, the fact that the film is shot on a mobile phone becomes the major focus of attention. I will take here the example of the Pocket Film Festival (held annually at the Forum des Images in Paris). Summing up the festival's first edition in 2005, its founder, Benoît Labourdette, admitted his astonishment: "The incredible conclusion is that films shot with mobile phones are, paradoxically, for the most part cinema films, conceived for the big screen. One would have imagined the opposite, before artists took up this new tool, this new form of camera."[49] We are therefore in the communication space of film. However, even if these products are "films," either short films or features (the Pocket Film Festival imposes no time-limit), things are not so simple. It would very probably be disappointing for the spectators of the festival to discover that the filmmakers were not concerned about the differences between shooting with a camera and with a phone (that they just wanted to make "a film," as they could have done with a camera). If we go to the Pocket Film Festival, it is above all to see films shot on a mobile. The festivalgoer is already wondering: what did the filmmaker find to do differently with a mobile phone, compared to a normal camera? And it is this issue that will dominate how s/he views the films on offer.

Certainly, not all the films screened at the Pocket Film Festival meet this expectation. Many of them are just "films," sometimes also good films, but films that do not take into account the specificity of the mobile phone compared to a camera.

I propose to call that space in which consideration of the specificity of the mobile phone governs both the production and playback/consumption [*lecture*] of films, the communication space *p film*. As with the communication space of *film p* (the film made to be seen on a mobile) emphasis is placed here on the medium,[50] where it is up to the viewer to adapt to the portable object, and learn to use it, with *p film*, we are in a meta-reading in which the mobile creates a reservoir of questions that the viewer has to ask if s/he wants to take these films made on mobiles seriously.

Let us try to list some of these issues. What connection does film have with the phone function of the mobile (which is still its primary function)? There are many films on this theme, but often they simply illustrate more or less cleverly small events related to the mobile in everyday life: no answer, connection problems (I

hear nothing), misunderstanding (this is not the right number), loss of the mobile (in Raymond Daniel's THE LOST PHONE, this leads to a mini-crime fiction). More subtly, Alain Fleischer stresses the connection to the ear and speech: in A FILM WITHOUT FILM, he shoots, with the phone to his ear, while a voice guides him from street to street in search of a mythical place of cinema. In CHINESE TRACKS, he shoots while talking on the phone and walking through an incredible maze of streets, searching for the home of the most beautiful woman in Beijing. The originality of this way of filming is that the viewer does not see what Fleischer sees, but it is as if the ear sees... thereby creating a gap between three representations: the representation given by the speech that describes the direction to be followed, the representation of what is offered to the lens of the phone and then to Fleischer's ear, and finally the representation corresponding to what he sees and what the film's viewer later discovers, when Fleischer turns his head.

What connection does film have with all the features that have been added to mobile phones (and they are constantly increasing)? In TOTEM (Delphine Marceau), we witness the accumulation of all the objects that the phone replaces: computer, television, radio, still camera, video camera, flashlight, notebook. Conversely, MULTIPURPOSE OBJECTS (also by Delphine Marceau) shows us that phoning with a mobile is like phoning with a television, a radio, a computer, a pencil, a flashlight (we see people holding these objects to their ears and mouths to call). In GPS YOURSELF (Remi Boulnois), a man throws his phone in the air so that it shows a satellite view of where he is. Some films push an idea to the point of absurdity: if a mobile can do anything, why not use it as a razor (EXTENSION OF THE MOBILE DOMAIN, by J. B. Pouy), or as soap (in SOAP by Sylvie Moisan, we see from the point of view of the mobile a woman using it as soap in the shower)? Note that in both these cases the substitution gag rests on an analogy of form.

How does film deal with the fact that the mobile is a social object that is involved in certain types of relationship? Relationships with others: the mobile is often used to locate its owner; "where are you?," as we know, is the question most often asked in a mobile communication.[51] Relationship to the self: films on mobiles are often ego-centered in the form of a diary (see for example the feature by Joseph Morder, I WOULD LIKE TO SHARE THE SPRING WITH SOMEONE (2007),[52] or the short by Rachid Djaïdani, THE BROWN LINE (2010), in which the author shares his feelings during the nine months of his girlfriend's pregnancy.

How does the filmmaker handle the poor quality of the mobile phone image (due to pixilation[53]) to benefit from it, as a positive effect for his film? In NOCTURNE FOR THE KING OF ROME (John Charles Fitoussi, 2006),[54] this pixilation is made diegetic and subjectified: the film tells the story of an old musician who returns to Rome, years after the violent death of someone he loved (it was war-

time and Italy was under fascist rule). He is old and has partially lost both his eyesight and his lucidity (he mixes up different eras), and the film shows us the world as he sees it, through a permanent fog. In SOTCHI 255 (Jean-Claude Taki, 2010),[55] pixilation becomes a part of the film's aesthetic: shot with different mobile phones, in the way that a painter works with several brushes, Taki plays on the differences in quality of images taken by these various phones (in terms of definition, grain, field of vision, density) to give a specific tone to different parts of the film. Other films engage in forms of pictorialism: thus, in THE PEARL (2006), Margaret Lantz depicts a young girl who uses the phone as a mirror to turn herself into Vermeer's *The Girl with the Pearl Earring* (also known as *The Girl with the Turban*); and the resemblance between the painting and the film image is staggering, but this effect only works because the pixilation gives the image a texture that evokes the brush-strokes of the painting. However, as the image definition of phones has significantly improved in recent years, so the deliberate use of pixilation is becoming less interesting from a creative and aesthetic standpoint.

Fig. 2: Jean-Claude Taki's SOTCHI 255 (2010): filmed on a mobile phone and distributed on-line.

How does using a mobile affect filming? Mostly this is a matter of the relationship between the phone and the hand. The mobile functions like a prosthesis, an "extension of the hand."[56] The viewer sees what the hand sees, rather than the eye. Films made on mobile phones abound with images reflecting the immediacy and

the impulsiveness of the act of filming (filming with a phone is like pointing): seeing and shooting, there is no time to think or even to frame; what matters is that people understand the things and events that are around you. Such an approach is particularly suited to filming in the street (as the Italian activist Delbono has done, recording the plight of those who sleep in the street in PAURA, 2008). Another influence of the mobile is to encourage filming vertically, that is to say, when the height of the image is greater than the width. Alessandro Amaducci has rightly noted that the mobile gives the filmmaker the double possibility of framing that he already knows from still photography, namely the choice between vertical and horizontal format.[57] We know that in still photography, vertical framing is usually called "portrait," and it is often used in mobile films (such as THE PEARL).

Many other questions could no doubt be explored, but these examples will suffice to show that the spectator at the Pocket Film Festival is very different from the normal cinema spectator, who never considers what camera was used to make a film, much less how this might have influenced the film. Even when it is a 3D movie or an IMAX presentation, these are not questions that the audience asks. They go to see a 3D film for its special effects, and not to wonder about the technical resources that make these possible. However, at an event such as the Pocket Film Festival, the interest in the films is closely linked to the fact that these films are shot on mobiles.

I propose to call this kind of viewing which speculates about the nature of the production apparatus the "*making of*" *mode*. Any reading which turns upon issues of making belongs to this *making of* mode. The consequence of using this mode is often to reduce interest in the content: "how is it done?" outweighs "what does the film mean?" In 1999, writing about the space of amateur film for the journal *Communications*, I noted that these filmmakers tend to be more interested in the technical know-how involved in making a film (what kind of film stock? what focal length of lens? what lighting source?) than in its content.[58] The fact is that today, especially with mobile phones, we are all amateurs; hence the increasingly frequent use of this mode and the temptation to reduce "communication" to matters of technique.[59]

From the Viewer to the User of Film Language

So far, I have dealt with changes in the positioning of the spectator brought about by mobile phones. But the influence of the mobile extends much further. Just as every individual has an implicit competence in the language into which s/he is born, so today, we all have some competence in the language of cinema, a language into which it could be said we have also been born. The range of shot scales, various types of camera movements, patterns of editing – in short, what is

sometimes called (incorrectly) the "grammar" of film – is no longer a secret for anyone. The process was initiated by television, which has become an excellent teacher of the language of film. However, until recently this competence was only exercised in terms of reception. Even in relation to family films, the *making* of amateur film has never involved more than a tiny fraction of the population. Now the mobile has created a radically new situation: this competence can be mobilized in production by everyone. In my opinion, this is the single most remarkable and socially significant aspect of the cameraphone. Our position as filmgoer is paralleled by a positioning as producer of audiovisual sequences. Cinema is no longer only a matter of films but has become a language of communication.

If the reality of the phenomenon is new, the idea itself is not new. Between 1948 and 1949, Alexandre Astruc declared: "The future of film lies entirely in its possibilities for development as a language." He was thinking then about the prospects opened up by 16mm.[60] However, two points should be made. On the one hand, when Astruc spoke of filmic language to compare it to the use of verbal language, he was thinking of the literary use of language: "The cinema has had its chroniclers and photographers, now it awaits its Stendhal, its Shakespeare, its Pascal, Valery and Proust."[61] For Astruc, the development of film language was viewed not only as part of what I have called the "space of film communication" (he was certainly thinking of "films"), but within a framework that is the counterpart of literature, where one can speak of the communication space "film as art." On the other hand, Astruc suggested that the language of images will change; and commenting on his metaphor of "camera-pen," he wrote: "This image has a specific meaning. It means that film will gradually tear itself away from the tyranny of the visual image for its own sake, from the anecdotal story, and the here and now, to become a means of writing as flexible and as subtle as written language." He also added: this means that "no area should be forbidden."[62] In particular, the language of film must be able, like natural language, to express abstract reasoning: "Today a Descartes would retreat to his room with a 16mm camera and film and write the discourse on method in film, because a *Discourse on Method* today could only be adequately expressed in film."[63] Later he quotes Feyder: "I can make a film of *The Spirit of Laws*." I am not sure that the language of film will make possible something like the *Discourse on Method* or *The Spirit of Laws*; indeed I think that this amounts to a semiologically erroneous conception of film language, which can certainly communicate and generate thought, but not in the same way as languages. And the expression of abstract reasoning is certainly not its forte, since there is no abstract vocabulary, a lack of logical connectors, and the difficulty of producing an argumentative discursive construction without the use of language, to name but a few considerations.

However, what is undoubtedly true is that the mobile has changed the status of film language (and I stress *status*, rather than nature). Specifically, what has changed is that film language is circulated [*vehiculé*] by the cameraphone. For ex-

ample, the mobile leads to the passage from an impersonal utterance, as Christian Metz described it (a description that I think is still valid),[64] to a personal utterance: it is the mobile and not film language that says "*I*." Note also that this change in status is not an obligation: the mobile can also be used to make a fiction film in which the enunciative structure is not personal. It is the use of mobile as an everyday tool, the fact that it belongs to an individual (as opposed to the traditional phone that belongs to a place or family), which enables it to give this personal value to the images it produces. The process is the reverse of "cinema," where impersonal utterance comes first, although it is also possible to use a camera to say I (as in any number of diary films); with the mobile, which is a private object, even an intimate one (psychoanalysts see it as a "surrogate me"),[65] what is produced is first and foremost personal.

More generally, the mobile gives its images their *deictic* value, conveying, for example, the sense of "here" and "now." It is no accident, as I have already noted, that the question most frequently asked in conversations on mobiles is "where are you?" And remarkably, thanks to the video function, it is now possible to answer this question by showing the caller directly where we are: a shot of the Grand Canal from the *vaporetto* which is taking me to Saint Marks, a shot of the facade of Notre Dame, a shot of the country road where I'm taking a walk.

The mobile has achieved the dream of immediate communication with the moving image, a dream that was portrayed historically before the existence of cinema and television. Thus Robida, in *The Twentieth Century* (1882), envisaged the "telephonoscope," a technology that could bring distant scenes into the home and fulfill the mission of "suppressing absence" by facilitating face to face communication in real time over long distances.[66] This dream was also shared by some filmmakers, notably Dziga Vertov, who envisioned a "method of radio transmission of images."[67] We might note that the mobile actually goes beyond these dreams (which television already realized), since they only envisaged communication between fixed points, whereas now, with one click and wherever I happen to be, I can send my films to any individual, group or even to an entire community (via a mailing list).

But there is even more. The mobile has given film language real interactivity, an interactivity based on the possibility of immediate transmission of images and words. Even if a conversation by mobile is not quite like a conversation by means of natural language [ordinary speech], it is now much closer. The mobile makes possible, for example, an exchange of videos in "copresence": two or more people can communicate with Bluetooth and images that are exchanged face to face. It would be interesting to see if these exchanges of videos are based on "rules" similar to those that govern conversation by language. All the questions that Catherine Kerbrat-Orecchioni asks about verbal interactions deserve to be considered:[68] is there any word-play? how is the interaction structured? what kind of interaction is taking place (a dialogue, a conversation, debate...)?, what are the

objectives of this interaction? One thing is certain, we are now witnessing interactions in a hitherto undefined filmic language.

The theoretical consequence of this analysis is that it must now be worth considering whether the theory of cinema needs to be distinguished from that of film language. Indeed film language has now become independent of films. This process had already made a serious start through television, but with the mobile, a tool that is always in the pocket, film language can be mobilized when and where we want, not to make "films" or "cinema," but simply to communicate. According to Carole Rivière,

> The cameraphone brings photography into the 21st century as an agreeable form of communication or *language*, one that can be used by anyone, anytime, anyhow. In this sense, it makes photography "commonplace," stripping it of every intention other than for one's own pleasure and the pleasure of expressing something in the immediate present.[69]

Rivière is talking about photography, but the same applies to film language. Using film language no more implies any intention to make "a film" or "cinema" than using language implies making literature. In fact, if one starts to think about it, this distinction between "films" and "film language" has existed from the outset. In previous articles, I have shown that within the space of the family, the family film is not (and should not be considered as) "cinema;"[70] and other than in a few cases, such as that of Painlevé, the scientific film also does not belong in "cinema space," any more than does the industrial film (except when it is by Resnais). The key difference today is that "film language," when it is not used to make "cinema," is no longer confined to certain areas of specialized communication, but is mobilized by the space of everyday communication. The era of film language has truly arrived.

Translated by Ian Christie

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Exploring Inner Worlds: Where Cognitive Psychology May Take Us

A dialogue between Tim J. Smith and Ian Christie

Tim Smith researches visual cognition through a variety of techniques that capture what subjects do when they watch naturalistic visual scenes. Although much research into scene perception uses static visual scenes, he is interested in how we process dynamic visual scenes, including feature films. Using techniques such as tracking the eye movements of viewers watching film sequences in combination with behavioral probes during and after viewing, he investigates the cognitive processes occurring during film viewing. His research has contributed to a computational model of fixation durations in scene viewing (Nuthmann, Smith, Engbert, & Henderson, 2010),[1] and he has proposed an Attentional Theory of Cinematic Continuity (Smith, 2012),[2] which has attracted the interest of "cognitivist" film scholars, leading to his involvement in a number of presentations and projects that use empirical testing and modeling to explain what happens when we watch film sequences.

I too am interested in the long history of attempts to understand the perceptual and cognitive processes involved in film viewing, which stretch from pioneering work by Münsterberg and Rank in the 1910s, through the renewed interest of Russian psychologists in the 1920s, following Pavlov's classic studies in conditioning, and later of the Gestalt school, up to present-day work such as that of James Cutting (starting from the "psychophysics" tradition) and Uri Hasson ("neurocinematics"). In this exchange, written as a dialogue over several months, I invited Tim Smith to summarize some of his own work and to speculate on what value it may have for non-scientists interested in understanding how and why we perceive film as we do – and how this may be changing. – *Ian Christie*

IC: You've said that the Hollywood style of filmmaking, which permeates a wide range of visual media, has evolved formal conventions that are "compatible with the natural dynamics of attention and humans' assumptions about continuity of space, time, and action." It's the word "natural" that interests me in relation to where we are now in the history of moving-image entertainment – especially since we know that "Hollywood style" has changed considerably, and continues to change. Are you starting from the assumption that "Hollywood" represents a form of spectacle optimized to match a mass audience's interests and abilities?

TJS: Yes, my empirical and theoretical investigations into the editing conventions that are a part of the Hollywood style seem to suggest that they create an audio-visual spectacle that is in tune with the existing constraints and expectations of viewer cognition. For example, the convention of using consistent screen direction of a character's movement across a series of shots to create an impression of continuity of their motion matches the way we would follow the same action if we viewed it in the real-world from a static viewpoint. Imagine how your eyes and head would move if you were watching a person walk in front of you in the real-world. We first follow their movement by making a series of pursuit movements with our eyes then make a head rotation along the direction of their motion as the character moves out of our comfortable field of view. Our eyes then have to compensate for the head movement by making quick saccadic eye movements in the opposite direction. This pattern of eye movements is very similar to how we would watch the same action depicted across a series of shots. The only difference is that the cut replaces the head movement.

I argue that these conventions are "natural" as they accommodate the way we would normally attend to such scenes in the real-world. Clearly there are differences between a scene presented in the real-world and the same scene presented as an edited sequence but these differences are minimized so that viewers can perceive the depicted actions with minimal learning. This idea isn't new. In fact, one of the first film theorists, Hugo Münsterberg (1916)[3] believed that the "photoplay" had developed techniques such as the close-up, shot/reverse-shot sequence and the analytical breakdown of the scene so rapidly because it externalized the audience's inner world. Close-ups were the cinematic equivalent of focused attention. Flash-backs, flash-forwards and elastic representations of duration replicate the way our memory influences our perception of time. This cognitive compatibility of the Hollywood style has since been acknowledged by other theorists such as J. J. Gibson, Julian Hochberg and Virginia Brooks and the Cognitive Film Theorists including Joseph Anderson. Anderson laid out the framework for an ecological view of film perception in his book *The Reality of Illusion* (1996).[4]

As for the ever changing form of the Hollywood Style, some people have seen this as evidence against the ecological view of film perception. How can a style that is meant to represent the cognitively "optimal" way of representing a scene change so radically from the long-take aesthetic of a director such as Billy Wilder in the 1950s and 1960s to today's rapidly edited and highly mobile blockbusters such as those directed by Michael Bay and Roland Emmerich? Even respected directors who have been in the business since the 1960s, such as Ridley Scott have adapted their style over time and now incorporate greater pace and mobility than they would in their earlier films. Such development of the Hollywood style can be explained cognitively in two ways. The Hollywood Style may have always been evolving towards the cognitive optimum even during periods of apparent stability. Or audiences are changing and film adapts to the new demands of audiences.

Fig. 1: Hugo Münsterberg, experimental psychologist and author of The Photoplay: A Psychological Study *(1916).*

Before we get to changing style, you mention Münsterberg believing that the films of the 1910s, when he was writing, "externalized the audience's inner world." The way he put it was that films "adjusted events to the forms of the inner world, namely, attention, memory, imagination, and emotion."[5] What's interesting about this, both then and now, is the idea that something like what we see constructed on screen is *already present* as a kind of "inner movie." That film replicates in some way how we already imagine space, time and events – like a visual form of what another pioneer psychologist, Lev Vygotsky, called "inner speech." When we begin referencing "inner" worlds, whether they be speech or space-based we enter into unstable territory. There is no way of knowing what form these mental representations of external stimuli take and they are malleable over time and experience. If we expose a person to a candidate representation such as a film and ask them whether the candidate matches how they perceived a space,

the candidate infects their internal representation, creating a hybrid of both. A film can never be an ideal representation of one person's experience of a space as the internal representation is never stable. For example, in the opening "Choose Life" sequence of TRAINSPOTTING (Danny Boyle, 1996), Renton and Spud run east down Princes Street in Edinburgh, chased by security guards from a shop they have just robbed. In one shot they are in the middle of Princes Street and in the next shot they turn down a flight of stairs on to Calton Road just as Renton is run over by a car. The match-on-action between the shots implies that the two shots are spatially contiguous but having lived in Edinburgh for thirteen years, I know that it would have taken Renton several minutes to run between the two locations. My mental representation of the space negates the fantastical space created by Boyle, potentially bringing me out of the narrative momentarily as I notice the discrepancy. However, I first viewed TRAINSPOTTING before I moved to Edinburgh and I remember watching the opening sequence and perceiving the two locations as contiguous. Danny Boyle has created a representation of space that is valid for his narrative purpose and as an audience of this filmic representation I can perceive it both as a valid narrative space and an invalid representation of the actual geography of Edinburgh. Sometimes it can feel as if I hold these mutually exclusive representations of the same space active in my mind at the same time. In reality I am probably rapidly switching between the two percepts as in the bistable figure of the vase/faces below. The image can be perceived either as two black faces looking at each other or as a white vase but never both at the same time. This is an example of how perception is not just about seeing what is there in front of us. It is as much about formulating hypotheses about what we expect to be there based on prior experience. In the TRAINSPOTTING scene, if I attend to the space depicted in the scene I will perceive a spatial discontinuity. But if I attend to Renton's movement and the narrative the discontinuity will be less salient. Now the outstanding question is whether attending to the narrative means that I fail to represent the space or whether I construct a mental representation of the space but do not notice the discontinuity because its importance has been downgraded by lack of attention.

One question I wish to raise in response to the Münsterberg quote is the issue of whose internal representation a film is meant to be? If a film is a medium of communication between the director and the viewer then the film has to be both a representation of how the director perceives the scene and how they want the viewer to perceive the scene. As most fiction film places the emphasis on creating a narrative rather than documenting a space or event, the director must prioritize the viewer's percept. The director's experience of a film will be confounded by their knowledge of all aspects of the film's production, e.g. how the script was adapted, how the scene was staged, how many takes were shot, what the weather was like on the day of the shoot and the taste of the stale bagel he ate whilst waiting for the lights to be hung. These memories are part of the director's inter-

nal representation of a film scene and must be ignored if the narratively significant elements of the scene are to be conveyed to a viewer. Münsterberg was right to observe that film "adjusted events to the forms of the inner world" as a director has to ignore their own percepts and focus instead on simplifying and anticipating how a viewer will construct their own inner world of a film. The ability to invoke intended internal states in a viewer through minimal external cues is one of the magical qualities of film, just as in literature, music, and art.

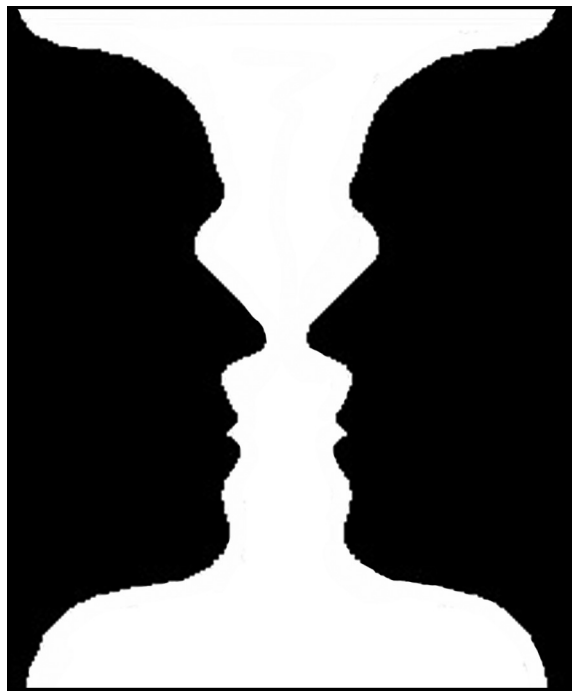

Fig. 2: A bistable figure. We can either perceive two black faces looking at each other or a white vase but we cannot perceive both at the same time.

IC: Magical, yes certainly, sometimes. But I think I'd also want to describe it as "transformative." Film transforms its material, whether this is "raw," like the streets of Edinburgh, or a studio set contrived to look like Edinburgh, or indeed like Neverland – a place we've never seen, but which the film's makers want us to believe is "real," at least while watching the film. But you're right to question Münsterberg's remark about internal or at least personal representations and the objective public film. The director, we might say, works to optimize what has been created for what s/he assumes will be the largest number of intended spectators. And I know some editors who refuse to attend the shooting so that they won't be influenced by what they see there, but want to consider the footage "as it

is." But is there scope in your methodology of recording viewer response to challenge the traditional idea in film studies that "we" all see the "same" film? Or does individual viewer response vary enough to support the idea of a spectrum of perception, and hence response. Do perception and cognition studies create potentially a new paradigm for spectatorship – or just finesse what we already think we do know?

TJS: I didn't know that editors often refuse to witness the shoot. That makes perfect sense as our memories are constantly being updated by new perceptual experiences and our perceptual experiences are always cast in the shadow of our memories. The editor has to have fresh eyes on the screen content if they are to understand how the audience will see the finished sequence. The degree of insight good film editors seem to have into viewer cognition is astounding. Often this insight is tacit and the editor does not or cannot express it. Instead, like a lot of craftspeople they "feel" when a cut is right by reflecting on their own perception of a scene. Occasionally, there are editors who can express their insights and describe their techniques. Walter Murch, Karel Reisz, and Edward Dmytryk are the finest examples of this rare breed. In several books on the topic of film editing and direction they describe techniques they have used to create fantastical spaces out of minimal film material. As you say, editing is often "transformative," creating the impression of a coherent and plausible space from minimal viewpoints probably shot in different locations, at different times and using only minimal sets and props. Walter Murch has described the discovery that scenes could be created out of an edited sequence of discontinuous viewpoints "the cinematic equivalent of the discovery of flight."[6]

This constructive nature of film perception was first noted and studied by Lev Kuleshov and Vsevolod Pudovkin in 1920's Russia. Across a series of "pseudo-experiments" – I say pseudo as they were filmmakers, not psychologists and their experiments didn't contain the necessary controls for us to draw strong conclusions – Kuleshov and Pudovkin created film sequences in which they manipulated the way in which scenes were presented across edits.[7] The most famous example is known as the "Kuleshov" or "Mosjoukine Experiment" after the actor depicted in the footage. In this experiment, a close-up shot of the actor Mosjoukine's face was juxtaposed with a close-up of either a bowl of soup, a young girl or a dead woman. Even though the actor's face displayed no recognizable emotion when viewed in isolation viewers described the face as displaying hunger and longing when followed by the soup. When followed by the young girl they saw a happy, light smile on Mosjoukine's face but saw sorrow and loss on the same face when followed by the dead woman. Kuleshov and Pudovkin had demonstrated the constructive power of film: the juxtaposition of shots can create a meaning not present in either. This idea was taken to its logical extreme by their peer Sergei Eisenstein who used the collision of two seemingly unrelated shots to encourage

the viewer to interpret one in relation to the other. For example, in Eisenstein's OCTOBER (1928) a shot of a mechanical golden peacock, not belonging to the storyworld, placed next to a shot of a man leads the viewer to conclude that the man is vain. Eisenstein's technique of *dialectical montage* was very different to Kuleshov and Pudovkin's *constructive montage*, in which the juxtaposition of shots containing minimal cues to their continuity, such as Mosjoukine looking out of frame or an actor walking from one shot to another gives the impression of a continuous scene even if, in reality the shots were not filmed in the same location. Surprisingly, even though this phenomenon was first investigated over 80 years ago psychologists have only recently begun examining this phenomenon and using it to reflect on theories about how we perceive real-world spaces. Along with Dan Levin and James Cutting I have recently reviewed this literature in an article for *Current Directions in Psychological Science* (2012).[8]

I also want to pick up on your question about "new tools for studying spectatorship." I absolutely agree that the experimental techniques and measurement devices from the cognitive sciences can advance our understanding of how we watch movies. There has been a lot of recent evidence for a consistency in how multiple viewers watch movies and even how our brains process movies.[9] I have shown across a few studies that if we use an eye tracker to monitor the gaze location of multiple viewers when watching most film sequences, the location of our gaze will demonstrate a remarkable degree of consistency. I refer to this spontaneous clustering of gaze as *attentional synchrony* (Mital et al., 2011).[10] This is a characteristic of film spectatorship we never would have known about if it weren't for eye tracking. Filmmakers and theorists may have hypothesized such consistency but this would have remained a hypothesis without a method for testing it.

By describing the average behavior of a viewer during a film sequence we also have a way of identifying idiosyncratic viewing behaviors. Continuing with eye tracking as our example (but this idea equally applies to brain imaging or recording biophysiological responses such as heart rate), recording the gaze behavior of multiple viewers gives us a distribution of gaze points for each frame of a movie. The mean gaze point of this distribution will be the position that best represents the majority of viewers. For example, when looking at any medium close-up of an actor the mean gaze point will generally be centered on their face. The further a screen location is away from the face the likelihood of a viewer looking in that position gets less and less. But, imagine that the medium close-up came from a horror movie and a subset of viewers were seasoned horror fans. The mean gaze point of the whole set of viewers might still be located over the protagonist's face but the distribution of gaze points may also show that our horror buffs are statistical outliers in that their gaze is often focused over the protagonist's shoulder as they await the sudden appearance of the psycho killer in the background. By examining the distribution of gaze we can identify this cluster of viewers who share

a different mode of viewing. The same technique could be used to identify expertise in viewing, expectation of narrative content, gender differences, or the impact of prior experience with the movie or source novel on how we watch movies. In combination with behavioral measures such as memory tests for content, measurements of emotional responses or brain activity, we can triangulate the cinematic experience and directly test hypotheses about spectatorship.

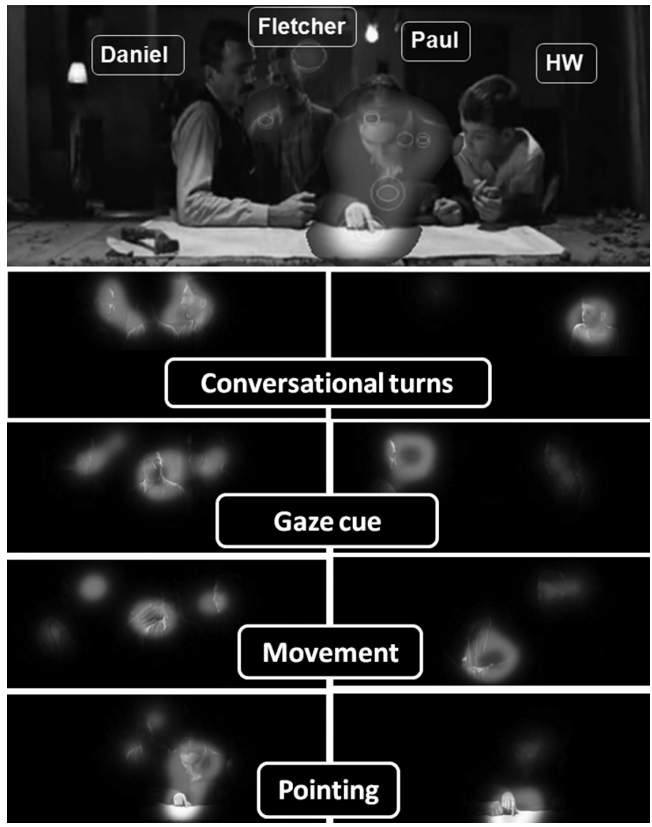

Fig. 3: An example frame from a long-take in There Will Be Blood *(2007). The gaze locations of eleven viewers (circles) are superimposed on to the frame and their coordination is displayed as a greyscale heatmap. The whiter the heatmap the more coordinated the gaze. Other rows: The gaze points of multiple viewers is used to create a "peekthrough" heatmap in which each gaze location shines a virtual spotlight on the film frame. Any part of the frame not attended to is black and the more viewers look in the same location, the whiter the color. The eight frames show examples of viewer gaze in response to a variety of audiovisual events. Original figure published in Smith, T. J. "The Attentional Theory of Cinematic Continuity."* Projections 6, no. 1 *(2012): 1-27. Reproduced with permission.*

IC: I wonder if this kind of investigation of "deviations" from normal "attentional synchrony" could ultimately shed some light on what happens when we view older films today? At the time that the early Soviet pioneers were doing their practical experiments and speculating about how perception could be stimulated, or even retrained in terms of Pavlovian conditioning, they were working essentially in the present. (Although it's interesting that the famous "Mosjoukine effect" was tested with footage of a pre-revolutionary star, who had gone into exile after the revolution: I suspect they might have used him because his face was still very familiar to Russian viewers). But today we watch films from the whole history of cinema, including a lot from the "silent" period, which arguably means that some of us at least have had to become "expert" in older modes of perception. Visually, this is rather like the art historian Michael Baxendall's idea of a "period eye" being required to grasp the art of the past; or indeed what happens when we listen to early pre-classical music and accept its harmonic structures as very different – more limited, if you like – than what came later, and has shaped our contemporary musical expectations.

But I'd like to move this on to the issue of contemporary viewing, and the claim that's often made that our perceptual norms for "screen entertainment" or content are, for instance, being accelerated (faster cutting) and perhaps more fundamentally reorganized in spatial terms by new fashions in "ungrammatical" shot-linkage. Do you see any empirical evidence for new regimes of spectatorship being produced by new media styles?

TJS: Film form is definitely changing and viewer expectations of how films should "stimulate" them also seem to be changing. Film statistician Barry Salt has made a career of quantifying the change of film form over time. His statistical analysis of such features as shot length, shot size, and transition type (e.g. fades, dissolves, etc) has spawned an entire approach to film analysis known as *cinemetrics*. Several film theorists have followed in Salt's footsteps, most influential of whom is James Cutting, a perceptual psychologist. Cutting and his team have analyzed the formal features of 160 Hollywood films from 1935 to 2010 and identified a significant decrease in average shot length from 15 seconds to 3.5 seconds (Cutting et al., 2011).[11] They have also noted a significant increase in the amount of motion from frame to frame and a significant decrease in the average brightness of movies. Being a psychologist, Cutting explains these changes in relation to an attempt by filmmakers to increase control over how viewers watch films. If we assume that cuts and motion force the reorientation of the viewer's attention, and that darker images give viewers fewer options of where to look then all of these changes should lead to greater control over viewer attention.

However, such control over viewer attention is not new. In fact, I argue in my *Attentional Theory of Cinematic Continuity*[12] that coordinating viewer attention is a critical component of the classical Hollywood style of editing. As I have already

mentioned, continuity edits resemble the way we would attend to a similar scene in the real-world, with cuts replacing the natural shifts of attention from one part of the scene to another. Classic continuity editing has always used visual cues such as onsets of motion to capture and hold attention (e.g. in a Match Action cut) and shot composition and mise-en-scène guide attention to the narratively relevant parts of a scene. The recent changes in film form documented by the likes of Cutting are, as David Bordwell[13] has described them, an *intensification* of the classic continuity style. Bordwell argues that the current mainstream Hollywood style of filmmaking is characterized by four main stylistic changes: rapid editing, bipolar extremes of lenses (i.e. rapid changes in depth of field), reliance on close-shots, and wide-ranging camera movements. Any long-term film viewer can confirm these changes. For example, if we compare the fight sequences from a 1960s or 1970s Bond film such as MOONRAKER (1979) to fight scenes in CASINO ROYALE (2006) or QUANTUM OF SOLACE (2008), the earlier sequences seem slow and hesitant. Mostly shot in long or medium shots with shots lasting several seconds, they allow us to see all of the action from a distance. Whilst providing a clear sense of space and the relationship between characters these earlier scenes lack the intensity and brutality seen in the more recent Bond movies. Inspired by the Bourne series, most recent fight sequences are shot very close with rapidly edited shots taken by a mobile camera. This style is favored by modern directors as it seems to drive viewer attention, create a heightened state of arousal and disorientation suitable for the on-screen action.

In my analysis of viewer gaze behavior during modern film sequences, such as these from the Bond movies I have shown that intensified continuity leads to a greater degree of coordination between where viewers look on the screen and a tendency to fixate the screen center without much exploration of the rest of the screen (Smith, in press). This center bias is necessary as the editing rate and camera movement is so extreme that viewers do not have time to recover from a cut and move their eyes to a new part of the screen before the next cut happens. This results in a strange mismatch between a heightened sense of activity created by the intense editing but an actual passivity in how viewers attend to the film. All viewers look in the same place but they do so because the director is forcing them to, not because they choose to. Over prolonged periods such overt manipulation of viewer gaze can lead to fatigue and habituation to the normal peak in arousal that would be experienced by harsh cuts. This is why we can eventually grow bored and indifferent to an overly long action sequence (Michael Bay, I'm looking at you!).

Now consider the opposite approach to guiding viewer attention: the slow film. Instead of cutting to reframe the scene, moving the camera to point at an object of interest or racking focus to pull the eyes about in the frame, what about if we just let the shot linger? You may think that the absence of any of these cinematic techniques would lead to less control over where viewers look. But considering

that our visual system evolved to deal with a continuous viewpoint on a real-world scene we must have ways to distinguish what is relevant from irrelevant in any scene. The information we use to make this decision is typically characterized as either *exogenous* (in the outside world) or *endogenous* (within us). Exogenous cues are features of the real-world that involuntarily capture our attention such as the sudden onset of motion or the turning on of a light. Attentional capture by such features is relatively automatic and similar across all viewers. Hence why Michael Bay's big explosions will reliably lead to attentional synchrony (at least until we habituate to them). By comparison, endogenous factors refer to how we perceive a scene, how it relates to our memories and what we expect to see. Endogenous factors can vary massively across viewers leading to a lack of attentional synchrony. Films that rely on endogenous control of attention can also be perceived as more effortful. For example, slow films such as ONCE UPON A TIME IN ANATOLIA (Ceylan, 2011), or the films of Béla Tarr, often contain long takes in which not much seems to happen. The viewer is free to explore the frame (using endogenous control), interrogating the scene and the actors to find something of interest to look at. Such "slow films" have recently been the topic of a large debate on-line and in print about whether the critical acclaim often attributed to such films is an example of film critics mistaking boredom for High Art. In his article for the *New York Times* (29 April 2011), film critic Dan Kois compared watching slow films to eating his "cultural vegetables": he didn't enjoy it, but because somebody told him it was good for him he felt he should do it.

Kois's article led to several film critics defending slow film and the enjoyment and sense of reward that can be gained from the effortful viewing of a non-traditional film such as Paul Thomas Anderson's THERE WILL BE BLOOD (2007). The sense of accomplishment the critics are experiencing is due to their ability to endogenously control how they attend to the film and what they perceive in it. In part this is due to the fact that they have learnt to watch such films and see more in each shot than is immediately apparent to a naïve viewer. But the sense of satisfaction can also come from the simple pleasure of reveling in the human form in motion and interacting with other bodies. Intensified films, such as the TRANSFORMER series, bombard us with an indecipherable series of close-up shots designed to drive the viewer exogenously without engaging higher cognition. Often the human (or robot in this case) form and its relationship to other bodies is lost. In my analysis of how we watch THERE WILL BE BLOOD I have observed spontaneous moments of attentional synchrony in the absence of any editing or cinematography techniques.[14] The simple turn of a head, movement of a hand, or onset of speech is enough to reconcile where all viewers look. Through exquisite direction and acting a scene shot in a single long take with minimal action can deeply engage its viewers and make them active participants in the scene.

So yes, slow films can require a level of endogenous control beyond what a lot of film viewers are willing to give but the rewards can outweigh the costs. Today's slow films have to work harder to engross audiences than the same pace of film would in the past, since they are being seen against the background of blockbusters operating purely exogenously. As you said, experienced film viewers can watch a silent movie, a Russian formalist film, or a Hollywood musical and adopt a "period eye" that allows them to appreciate the film within the context in which it originally appeared. Our knowledge of film style, film history and the technical limitations of the era allow us to adopt a viewing style that sees through the film to its narrative core and limits our awareness of the formal features that may deter a less experienced viewer. Whether such contemplative films will survive the continued onslaught of information in society and the multiplicity of screens fighting for our limited attention we will have to wait and see. I hope so, for the sake of good cinema and society.

IC: And can the same be said – or expected – for the onslaught of 3D and proposed "sensory feedback" set-ups like the one proposed by Filmtrip?[15] My sense is that these are not a problem for the continued health of cinema (or society), in the sense that they extend and multiply the range of perceptual options available to us. But I suppose you could argue that in doing so they distract from the training needed for such specialized perceptual tasks as, say, watching films by Murnau, Eisenstein, Ozu or Béla Tarr. Can you see any evidence of perceptual – or should this be considered attentional – confusion or overload from your experiments, or indeed from your own experience as a spectator?

TJS: Cinema is in a time of flux and uncertainty. The proliferation of presentation formats (high-def, IMAX, 3D, higher frame rates) seems to be evidence of a medium losing its way and desperately trying to find its feet against the background of the new media cultures of videogames, the Internet and mobile technologies. However, I agree with you that this technological panic does not indicate the decline of cinema. Instead I think it will lead to a refinement of the key joys of the cinematic experience, and force the film industry and cinema audiences to focus on these elements instead of trying to compete with other more interactive media. For me, the essence of the cinematic experience is the audience's relinquishing of control to the director under the expectation that the director will craft an audiovisual experience that will entertain, intrigue, challenge or move the audience. A film cannot compete with videogames because we enter into the experience with completely different expectations about what we want to get out of it. I play a first-person shooter because I want to have the thrill of control, of mental and physical challenge, and the visceral response to an environment and situation that would be too dangerous for me to experience in real-life. When I go to the cinema to watch a film depicting a similar war scenario, such as Spielberg's

Saving Private Ryan (1998) I expect to gain an insight into how it felt to be a soldier landing on Omaha beach, but I do so through empathy, immersion and engagement with the narrative not through physical agency. If cinema attempts to steal videogame audiences by adding agency into the film experience, I think it will be making a crucial mistake and risking the loss of the richer, unique ability of film to involve us emotionally and cognitively in a storyworld without agency.
However, the two technologies you mention, stereoscopic 3D and physiologically responsive film do not attribute conscious agency to the audience and I believe they both, therefore have a potential to advance cinema. Turning first to stereoscopic 3D, the recent mass adoption of 3D by film companies and the push by technology companies for 3D capabilities to be added to all digital screens has meant that there is great potential for cinema to reflect on the assumed limitations of 2D filmmaking and add 3D as a new creative tool. However, it also creates the risk that film companies will go for the quick buck and use cheap thrills that audiences will grow tired of very quickly. As I write this, there is already evidence that the audience for 3D movies is decreasing and there is no longer a guaranteed boost to ticket sales with the addition of 3D. Part of this backlash is probably due to audiences feeling manipulated by higher priced 3D tickets that don't add anything to the film and may even make it more uncomfortable to watch. However, this doesn't have to be the case. Used with a creative purpose and with insight into what 3D is good and bad for, I think some films can benefit from 3D.

There have already been a few examples of wonderful uses of 3D. Avatar (James Cameron, 2009), Hugo (Martin Scorsese, 2011), The Cave of Forgotten Dreams (Werner Herzog, 2011), Pina (Wim Wenders, 2011), Coraline (Henry Sellick, 2009) were designed from conception as 3D movies, and as such they make exquisite use of the potential for 3D to render spaces and actions in a way that 2D can only imply. Unfortunately, these fine examples of 3D are cast against a mass of poor 3D films or films converted into 3D after filming that simply use 3D as a cheap trick, poking things at the audience instead of creating enacted volumes. I believe that 3D will survive in cinema, but it may stop being the norm for blockbusters and instead be reserved for a small number of films that wish to tackle its complexities and use it in a creative way. Filmmakers who take on this task must be willing to engage with the psychology of their viewers and understand how our eyes deal with the stereoscopic images in order to perceive depth. For example, some modern conventions of film composition such as rapid camera movement and fast cutting don't work in 3D, because our eyes take longer to adjust to new scenes and motion presented at 24 frames per second creates uncomfortable disparities between our two eyes. The limited empirical research that has been conducted on 3D film viewing has clearly shown that these difficulties are evident in viewer eye movements (Häkkinen et al., 2010).[16] But if 3D scenes are composed with due regard for these problems, viewers are much

more active in 3D than 2D scenes, exploring more of the frame and not just attending to such focal features as faces. Slowing down cutting and keeping the camera more stable allows viewers to overcome these issues and view 3D more comfortably. In fact, adopting some of the visual narrative techniques of the *slow* filmmakers previously mentioned may serve 3D filmmakers very well. Stereoscopic 3D filmmaking is in a rapid state of evolution, but once such considerations become widely known I believe filmmakers will use it to create cinematic experiences never previously thought possible.

As for pseudo-interactive cinema experiences like Filmtrip, I also believe we will see more of these techniques in the future. Cinema has a long history of trying new techniques to enrich the experience and attract more paying customers. Participatory experiments such as Smell-a-Vision, William Castle's vibrating THE TINGLER (1959) and motion simulation have attempted to increase the audience's feeling of being part of the action. Such techniques attempt to maximize immersion in the storyworld. They seem to be motivated by making film more like Virtual Reality, and I disagree with this approach. The intention of film is not to transport you to another world. If it were, multiplexes would be full of wildlife documentaries instead of narrative fictions.

Instead of VR, I think oral storytelling is a better analogy for the kind of cinematic experience proposed by Filmtrip. In oral storytelling, a skilled storyteller weaves a story together from a series of critical elements that can be presented in innumerable ways depending on the particular audience. The skill of the storyteller is to adapt the story to the audience in a way that optimizes the experience for them. For instance, when telling the tale of Little Red Riding hood to a group of children the storyteller might moderate the more horrific elements of the story in favor for the life lesson of not trusting strangers. The same storyteller, telling the same story to a group of adults may rack up the gore and dwell more on the sexual undertones of a young girl venturing forth alone into the world and being enticed into a wolf's bed. The telling of the story depends on the feedback the storyteller gets from the audience. Such feedback is rarely in the form of instructions about what should happen next – as it would be in an experience with more agency such as a videogame – instead there are the gasps, the giggles, the screams and the confused faces of the audience which the storyteller registers and folds into how they tell the story. To date, cinema has been blind to the moment-by-moment comprehension and emotion of the audience. The only chance filmmakers have had to get feedback from audiences has been through test screenings in which an audience is invited to see early versions of film in production and fill in a questionnaire after the screening.

However, such information is useless for identifying exactly how and when a film lost the audience. *Reactive Cinema*, as I would call it, uses real-time observational data from the audience to decide whether their collective emotional and cognitive state is as desired, and if not to try and modify the audio and visuals in

a way that can get the audience back on track. There are many techniques for measuring implicit audience feedback, including heart rate, galvanic skin response, eye tracking, facial expression monitoring, agitation ("edge of seatness") or electroencephalography (EEG). The questions we face right now is knowing how to infer the relevant states from these measurements (or a combination of them), and knowing how best to modify films. I highly commend research groups working in this field, such as Filmtrip, and look forward to seeing where this research takes us.

IC: We may be among the relatively few who do! But I suspect that the current plenitude of viewing experiences that's available to cinephiles may actually be creating multi-skilled viewers, who can adjust to extreme differences of screen size, not to mention the absence of synch sound (in the burgeoning of "silent" film screenings at specialized festivals like Pordenone and Bologna), and extremes of shot scale and editing rhythm. Much is said about modern spectators having short attention spans, but if we look back at the range of what cine-literate audiences had to deal with between the 1950s and the 1980s, I would argue that present-day audiences are actually being "stretched" more, and numbers of them seem to be developing highly adaptive skills, including those of multi-tasking *while* "watching a film" (as discussed by Roger Odin elsewhere in this collection). What we have long called "cinema" is changing faster than at almost any time in nearly a hundred and twenty years of moving pictures and an even longer period of recorded sound. As you have often said, it's amazing that these phenomena, which occupy the largest part of our imaginative and cultural worlds, have attracted such a small amount of fundamental research. Fortunately, this seems to be changing, and I look forward to your future work, and that of all the other scientists who are now taking movies seriously.

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PART III

Once and Future Audiences

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Crossing Out the Audience

Martin Barker

What does audience research have to teach us about the relations between cinema and other cultural traditions (theater, literature, etc)? How do its findings query the claims made by other less empirical approaches to the issues raised by adaptations and cross-overs? In this essay I draw on three projects that, among those I have been involved with across more than twenty years, have produced especially relevant evidence. But I begin and end with some critical reflections on the dominant ways in which this issue has been framed within film studies.

The question of the relations between watching films, and watching them *as* films – that is, with their *distinctively filmic* characteristics as a main ground for audience engagement with them – has a long and complicated history. There is nothing special about that fact in itself. Very many fields of cultural and artistic endeavor have undergone equivalent debates – with both persistent tensions and episodic crises. Theater, literature, poetry, music, painting, and many more at various points in their history have been riven by challenges centered around the question of their specificity as "media." Theater, for instance, experienced a rolling crisis in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, with critical battles and audience riots, over the "proper" nature of plays and dramatic experience.[1] Classical music underwent its crisis just a few years later, but in a rather different form, with the simultaneous rise of atonal music and of popular forms such as jazz.[2] Poetry underwent a sharp confrontation in the early 1960s between those associated with the rise of the Mersey Poets – who stressed the accessibility of poetry, and were willing to that end to associate it with jazz, painting, dance, and comedy – and an older group who saw this as cheapening distinctively "poetic language."[3] In a number of media (patchwork and pottery are two examples), attempts to promote an art version (art quilts[4], and studio pottery[5]) of what had predominantly been understood as crafts have engendered debates over what should count as the proper criteria for quality. Each of these histories is distinctive, but collectively they appear often to cover much of the same ground – to which Pierre Bourdieu's account of the clashes between "high" and "low" orientations to art continue to seem very pertinent.

But the powerful insistence within a long tradition of film theory, that a distinctive "film language" must underpin our understanding of film "spectatorship," does seem to me to have some distinctive characteristics. In particular this tradition has long worked against submitting its assumptions to empirical inves-

tigation, by asking for instance empirical questions, namely: when and for whom do the distinctive formal properties of film constitute a significant ground for engaging with and evaluating film encounters? And what differences does this make to how people watch? I reserve consideration of the trend encapsulated under the term "cinephilia" until the end of the essay, for reasons that I will hope will be by then obvious. That tendency aside, we need to see how widely film has been treated as a secondary or derivative medium. The long tradition of cinema adapting forms and narratives developed in other media (most notably, literature and theater) has led to frequent critical claims that film by its very nature inevitably diminishes those source materials.

A nice illustration of this can be found in one of the most prestigious areas of literary theorizing, Shakespeare studies. The sub-field which studies filmed or televised Shakespeare is itself large, often attracting stellar contributions. One such, which reveals the way such normative judgments operate, comes from the respected critic Catherine Belsey.[6] Belsey critiques a loss of interpretive "openness" in film, compared to theater. This arises, she argues, immediately from cinema's fixed viewing positions when compared to Shakespearian theater's original almost-four sided audience attention (which meant that actors' "hidden" actions and facial responses would always be visible to some). Belsey goes so far as to suggest that cinema is thus part of a historical drift towards ideological control of audiences' perspectives, moving from (good, free, democratic) four-sided theaters through contained stages, to proscenium arches, contested stages, and to cinema's (bad, controlled, ideological) "front-view" presentations.

Her argument goes beyond simply *preferring* stage presentations. She holds the inherent formal properties of film against the medium. It is worth identifying two strange moves upon which Belsey's argument depends. First, she simply assumes that *seeing from* a singular point of view (although of course cameras are capable of examining action from all and multiple angles) equates with *passively taking that as a given whole* (as opposed, say, to moving one's attention within and across elements, to build an account of and response to what is happening) and thus *prone to receive an already structured understanding*. This peculiarly mechanistic view of the relations between vision and cognition combines with another, less obvious assumption. Historical audiences of Shakespeare in their near theater-in-the-round are seen as collectives – otherwise she would need to say that each person will have his or her "fixed perspective" on the stage from where they are sitting or standing. Contemporary film audiences by contrast are treated as isolated, unable to see – and therefore unlikely to think – beyond the "forced perspective" which the camerawork constructs.

Take away her particular normative judgment, and what Belsey has done is of course regularly reproduced by film scholars, who presume that "the spectator's" response can be derived from close formal analysis of films and cinema. The assumption that film/cinema have some ontological characteristics which will in-

scribe themselves onto their "spectators" has taken on a seemingly unquestionable position. Perhaps understandable in early periods, when critics were struggling to establish a right to take the medium seriously, and perhaps just about forgivable when in the 1970s film studies was rocking to the explosive developments of "theory," the persistence of this assumption now seems simply unsustainable and bizarre. To take one recent example: in 2005 Jan Campbell published her *Film and Cinema Spectatorship*, a book which proposed a new "reading" of how psychoanalytic understandings might throw light on films' operations – and one whose very title presupposes a form of watching special to, and identical between, film and cinema.[7] Mostly written from a psychoanalytic perspective, the book nonetheless has to note the existence of other positions. So, we are reminded that following the "exhaustion of *Screen* theory in the 1980s" there was an "oppositional move to empirical film studies in the 1990s."[8] The promise evoked by this early mention proves spurious. Actual empirical audience studies thereafter get only one further mention. Following a perfunctory half-page overview of the rise of audience research, which routinely name-checks Stuart Hall, David Morley, Janice Radway and Ien Ang, the only actual studies acknowledged are those by Jackie Stacey and Annette Kuhn. And these are only considered admissible because, quite unusually, they have clung on – even arguably in the face of their own evidence – to specific psychoanalytic concepts. Entirely missing is any sense of the *historically and culturally situated* audience, endemic to most audience researches (whether of film or any other medium), whose responses are functions of their life situations and engagements.

Meanwhile, in the only other brief mention of another major alternative tradition – cognitive film theory – Campbell adopts as a criticism of convenience the very thing that she does not herself pursue. Discussing David Bordwell's critique of psychoanalysis, and his substitution of the idea of films "cueing" audience responses, she writes: "As several film critics have noted, this theory of spectatorship remains as ahistorical as the more psychoanalytical film theories, because the cognitive perception of the viewer is deemed to remain unchanged by other historical or cultural factors."[9] This validation of "historical or cultural factors" never enters her own account, which continues to talk, without reserve, about "the audience" as some singular entity, even if somewhat more embodied than some other versions. So, for instance, she writes of MILDRED PIERCE that "[w]e are moved emotionally to identify and weep with Mildred's melodramatic and sacrificial performance, but we are equally horrified by Veda's monstrous narcissism [...]."[10] Such frequent summonings of "we," "our," and "us" slip her back into the very modes of universal attribution that she has just criticized in relation to cognitive studies.

Perhaps most unsatisfactorily of all, Campbell's account entirely ignores the work of one of Bordwell's collaborators, Janet Staiger. Staiger has taken up the challenge of remedying that weakness in Bordwell's account, by exploring the

ways in which aspects of films' form engage not just with viewers' cognitive capacities, but with their historical contexts.[11] Using film critics as a (perhaps too readily) accessible resource, Staiger shows how evaluations of films can be seen as an outcome of encounters between aspects of their form, and the "local" discursive frameworks in which their critics are enmeshed. Ignoring all this and more, Campbell exemplifies film studies' unwillingness to engage with, and be tested by, these now considerable bodies of research into film reception.

The Relevance of Audience Research

For my present argument I draw on the results of different pieces of film audience research that I have conducted over the last thirty years. It is an error to think that audience research in the cultural-studies mode consists simply of "listening to people" talking about their film experiences and involvements. Not only does this overlook a battery of research methods commonly used by researchers. More importantly, it skips some key questions which this research tradition also addresses. What spaces and traditions are available to people, and how do these shape and enable participation? How do cultural producers construct and work with models of their audience, as they create and then promote their outputs? What information, comparisons, judgments, expectations, hopes and fears precede and then accompany encounters? How are "audiences" defined and understood, both broadly in a period, and locally around a particular moment? What claims are made and circulating about who "they"/ "we" are, and how and why audiences are taking part? What models of influence are at work, both overtly and implicitly? And how do all these permeate actual audiences' engagements ("I am [not] that person")? What real, imagined, and hoped-for communities result from the interpenetration of all these, and in what are these embodied? Only with this broad agenda in mind do we even know *how* to "listen to people."

The work I have conducted has very much arisen under the general influence of Cultural Studies. Ranjana Das has recently very helpfully identified four core working assumptions of contemporary cultural studies-inflected audience research:[12]

a. simple variety: put bluntly, there is not and cannot ever be a single film – or any other piece of culture, for that matter – for which radically antagonistic responses cannot be found, therefore all talk of a singular "audience," or "spectator" is forever doomed;
b. contextual formation: that the time, place, cultural and other circumstances of viewing play key formative roles in helping to shape even the most personal of responses;
c. active engagement: an important point, but one to be careful of, since "activity" can often be as banal as refusing to become involved in a film, or falling asleep, or not attending in other ways; and

d. meaning-production: that any cultural engagement is a component in larger processes of making sense of and finding one's place in one's world, whether that be intensely local, national or international.

This is a valuable summary, but I would argue that, after three decades of widespread audience research, we can go considerably further. And in particular, I want to press the case here for one variable which research has consistently shown to be crucial within audiences' responses: investment. By "investment" I refer to the multifaceted ways in which, and degrees to which, audiences *become involved* in cultural forms and activities. A mass of research, including a good deal of my own, but also pre-eminently within the large corpus of fan studies (even if they have not mainly used this particular term), has demonstrated that "investment" is key to understanding audiences. Put simply, the different ways that audiences *care about* their media and cultural engagements, and how they *matter* to them, play radical roles in what they notice and attend to in them, their strategies for making sense of, assessing, critiquing, storing and cataloguing them as "memories" (additions to self). All these interact with the complex kinds of preparation, expectations, hopes, and fears with which people approach such experiences, and the pleasures, surprises, frustrations, and disappointments they can experience. But most importantly, I aim to show that high levels of many kinds of investment can lead people to see past and to transcend the medium in which a cultural experience is presented.

Judge Dredd and the Discovery of "Strategies of Viewing"

In 1994-5 I researched, with Kate Brooks, audiences' responses to the film Judge Dredd. Based on a long-standing character from the British dystopian science fiction comic 2000AD, and starring (to many people's irritation) Sylvester Stallone as Dredd, the film provided a splendid opportunity to explore how audiences of many kinds brought prior knowledge and expectations, in the form of hopes and fears, to bear on the film.[13] We interviewed a number of groups both before and after seeing the film, to capture the evolution of responses. What became clear was that the intensity of people's investment could condition all aspects of their ways of watching, as here:

> Well I think, when you go to the cinema with a big group it's more of a sort of um, a laugh sort of thing. But I go by myself because I, if it's a film I'm really interested in like Judge Dredd, I want to sit there by myself, concentrate, not, not have to explain to other people.

This Dredd fan went expecting kinds of "complexity" which he could only respond to if on his own. Other fans felt they could manage that challenge in com-

pany. What is important here is not the specific outcome, it is the fact that this is among the things to be managed appropriately. Other variables included reading or not reading reviews in advance, choosing the right cinema, and how soon after its release a person sees the film.

Within very ordinary bits of conversation the degrees and kinds of investment showed, based on common knowledge of what the film was going to be like:

Kate *So what do you think about the taking off of the helmet business, and Stallone?*

Len It had to be done in a commercial film, I mean diehard fans would say "oh keep the helmet on" and that sort of thing but you can't, I mean the people who made the film, Warner Brothers or whatever, you couldn't make um, couldn't make a film with that budget for a cult audience it'd never work, you'd have to do it, I mean you gotta be realistic, haven't you, you gotta let them do that.

Kate *What about you, what are your thoughts on it?*

John Well like I said I was worried about it a bit, straying off the tracks a bit, and when I heard about it a bit, I mean, it didn't put me off, I still want to see it for definite, but...

Kate *What about Stallone as Dredd?*

John Well, I mean, I heard they were going to get Arnold Schwarzenegger and that's another good choice.

Len I just hope he comes across as being stony, 'cos he, when you read about him he comes across as a cold, dry humor type person and I wonder how Stallone's going to carry it off, I mean looking at him there, he reminds me so much of DEMOLITION MAN, I look at him and I think, oh DEMOLITION MAN.

A number of features emerge here. First, the awareness that there is a "hard fans response" – a known public position – that Len qualifies. But awareness of others' "rights" – Warner Bros, and a more mainstream audience – makes him draw back. John meanwhile uses a very unspecific phrase ("straying off tracks a bit") to signal his sense that there are better or worse ways to do the film. There is also a game-playing element in John's response, toying with other names for the part. But in the final part of this extract Len reminds us that *all* film-watching bears the marks of previous experience, the build-up of impressions. However Len's main concern about the film turned out to be a fear based on a strong

genre-sense that far outruns individual films – a sense of a dangerous predictable *kind* of film: "most action films have a star, a bad guy, a woman, who the star falls in love with. Judge Dredd doesn't go with women, I'm not saying he's gay or anything, but it, it wouldn't be Judge Dredd for him to snog with someone! [John: No!] It just wouldn't, it just wouldn't be right." The investment here was a particular kind of male insistence on films without romantic or sexual complications. But that leads to Len's strong insistence that DREDD would be, needed to be, a "film without a message." As he says: "I think it's purely entertainment." And in making this an apparently descriptive statement ("it is" – he had yet to see the film) he was combining prediction with hope with requirement. What he was investing heavily in, then, were the conditions for a "mindless evening" at the cinema, where he could be without embarrassment the kind of man he enjoys being.

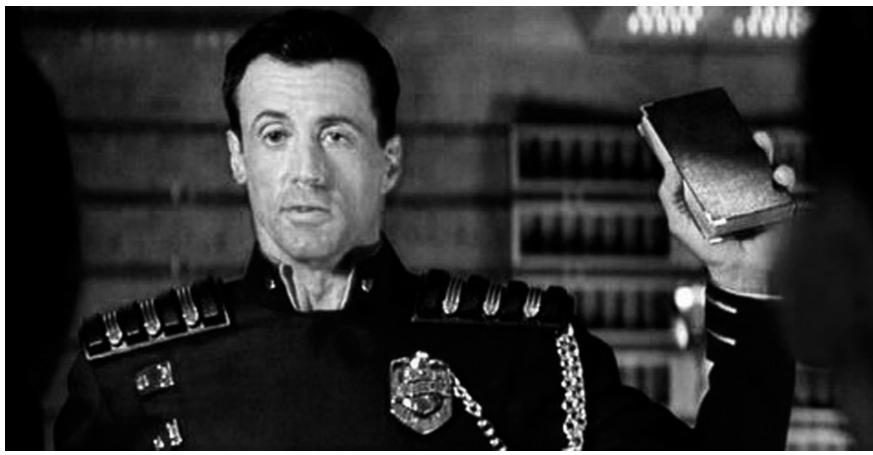


Fig. 1: Sylvester Stallone as Dredd with helmet off: "it had to be done in a commercial film," JUDGE DREDD (1995).

By contrast, our interview with fans at a comic convention brought out some more specific and comic-related investments, brought into view by one question we specifically asked these fans – having seen (and for the most part been thoroughly disappointed by) JUDGE DREDD, what and who would they ideally like to see in a JUDGE DREDD II? A favorite among many fans was for a storyline including the female, psi-powered Judge Anderson:

MB So who could play Judge Anderson? ... Come on, Clint Eastwood's everybody's favorite for Dredd, though he can't do it 'cos he's probably too old now. ...

Mike Oh. She'd have to be blonde...

Don ... Why?

Mike Well, she is, I think, in the comic.

Don Well, like, they can't change the color of an actress's hair?

Mike Well, no, but then you'd complain oh heck that woman hasn't got blonde hair ...

MB You'd prefer a blonde, OK ...

Mike Well, I mean, if, if you're going to, you check all the uniforms and everything on Dredd, you know, so you want characters that people do come I think from the comic background will recognize. Erm. Erm. I don't know, erm, she might be a bit old but Sharon Stone, erm ..

Don FOR GOD'S SAKE!! Why can't you (a) choose some woman who can act, (b) someone who can enunciate, and (c) someone who actually captures something of Anderson, which is a street-smart person who has actually got some personality? Not a cardboard fucking cut-out!

The striking point in this exchange is the way in which, following some jostling for position, Don explodes with annoyance and asserts a position that is strictly paradoxical. "Anderson" – a drawn image in a comic book – becomes a three-dimensional figure with a personality – and rights. Sharon Stone – a real-life actress – becomes a "cardboard cut-out." What shone through here for us was Don's sense of what was "proper" to Dredd (a discursive marker indicative of high investment), what amounted to fair and ethical treatment of him, and his world. This was a special sort of investment, one which associated with seeing yourself as a "real fan." It transcended particularities such as Stallone taking his helmet off in the film (something he never did in the comic). It revolved around a sense of what is *owed* to the significance of this story-world.

This awareness of propriety, and of what "real fans" do, showed repeatedly in our focus groups, as here:

Jeff It's just not a good storyline, they'd've been better off taking just one really good Dredd story and doing the film from that, a proper story, as opposed to piecing together this, little bits of things, which didn't really have a link between them, a lot of them, I mean I read it a long

> time ago and I don't know about the chronology of it all but I bet there were some bits that were completely out of order in there and a real fan of Judge Dredd would have picked them out. I mean I went to see it to see if they did a good job of turning a comic into a film, and I thought they did a good job of turning the feel of a comic into a film but it just wasn't a good film, at the end of the day. I would probably watch it again, but it wasn't, it was nowhere near *the Crow*, or even the *Batman* films, well the first *Batman* film anyway, all much better films.

Jeff is constructing a canon of "good films." And among his criteria are not the "rights" of Dredd or "exact truthfulness" to the original stories – these are things he leaves to the "real fans" (a community he acknowledges, but doesn't want particularly to associate with) – rather, it is the lower requirement of "turning the feel of a comic into a film." On that basis, he was prepared to say that he quite enjoyed it.[14]

What we tried to do with our research into DREDD was to model a number of main and recurring ways in which our audiences build "strategies of viewing" – that is, ways of preparing for the film, leading to modes of participation in it, resulting in attention to key aspects and kinds of evaluation of it. Consistently across such models, those with the highest investment produced the most complex, articulated and demanding accounts of the film. They noticed more, cared more about what they noticed, and modulated their accounts of their emotional responses in the most complicated ways.[15] That was as far as we could go with this particular study. But it already suggests the dangers of too easily announcing "positions" on what audiences do with cross-media materials. Henry Jenkins has recently offered an account of this which seems to me importantly wrong. He proposes the concept of "transmedia storytelling," which he defines as the "flow of content across multiple media channels."[16] It is not the naming that concerns me, but his claim that there is a typified mode of response to such crossing, which he summarizes as follows: "[...] each medium does what it does best – so that a story might be introduced in a film, expanded through television, novels, and comics, and its world might be explored and experienced through game play."[17] The implication that it does not or should not matter what medium a story-world is taken to, since each has "what it does best," does not comport with many responses that we obtained, and suggests a lingering belief in media specificity even in Jenkins.

THE LORD OF THE RINGS Project

I was able to take the implications of this discovery further with the 2003-4 project to research the responses to the film of THE LORD OF THE RINGS. Using different methods (this time, a core questionnaire combining and linking quanti-

tative and qualitative questions), and with a vastly expanded number of respondents (just under 25,000), we were able to look for many kinds of patterns – and were then able to explore the meanings of these, in detail – especially as we had, in the UK, followed the questionnaire with more than a hundred detailed telephone interviews with people who appeared to exemplify patterns which emerged from the dataset.

One of the virtues of the design of the LORD OF THE RINGS research was that it permitted, not just a general investigation of the relationship between different kinds of responses, but also the isolation and comparison of specialist groups. For the purposes of this essay, I separated and reconsidered two contrasting groups: those awarding the highest importance to seeing the film alongside being repeated readers of the books; and those awarding much lower importance alongside being either non-readers or once-only readers of the books. It was then possible to determine the levels of disappointment each cohort declared. My aim in doing this was to consider together the *evaluations* given to the film, the *categorizations* of its story-world, and the nature and frequency of any *disappointments*.

The totals in Table 1 are greatly discrepant, simply because overall the films of THE LORD OF THE RINGS were very widely accepted – and of course it may well be that our questionnaire particularly attracted enthusiasts. Even so, the groups are large enough to permit comparison. And the differences in evaluation are fierce. The repeat-readers/high-importance group are vastly more appreciative of the films than the low importance non-readers:

Table 1: Comparison of ratings between repeat-readers and non-readers

	Excellent	Good	Reasonable	Poor	Awful	Totals
Repeat-readers	85.7	12.3	2.5	0.3	0.2	8,231
Non-readers	13.4	26.1	37.7	10.1	12.7	464

However, relating these results to levels of disappointment reveals that enthusiasm does not preclude criticism. In fact, the contrary: enthusiastic repeat-readers are many times more likely to critique the film than a matching set of enthusiastic non-readers. Random-sampling fifty responses from those in each group who judged the film Excellent, I looked at responses to our question about disappointments. Again the contrast is sharp. Compared with just over half of the non-readers expressing no disappointments at all, just two of the repeat-readers do this. Instead, they appear to award their "Excellent" evaluations *in the teeth of* their disappointments.

Many disappointments related to scenes from the novels missing from the films (the Scouring of the Shire, the Houses of Healing, Saruman's death). Only a very few of these relate to what we might call the cinematicity of the films – that

is, their deployment of filmic techniques. Just one could be read directly as a critique of "visualization" in a strict sense: "the eye of Sauron as a spotlight because it looked like a lighthouse and wasn't very menacing." And one person complains of "cheesy effects" in battle scenes. But generally the tone of criticisms concerns the ways the story may have been left in some important sense *incomplete*. So, there are criticisms of characters inadequately "fleshed out," for instance, a complaint that Eowyn "was not quite grim and fatalist enough for me," or that there was "something just not right" with Elijah Wood as Frodo even though his acting was considered to be very good. A complaint about the absence of Tom Bombadil from the film was because "Tom is really important to the story, besides he gives Merry a sword which can kill the Witch king." It is characters' story-arcs which concern critics, as with this person's concern about the underplaying of Sam's choices after Shelob apparently killed Frodo: "How he goes to take the Ring then the Orcs come and he realizes that he has to stay with Frodo whatever the cost." What these complaints reveal is that for the most invested LORD OF THE RINGS followers, their commitment is less to its *bookishness* than to its *integrity as a story-world*. It is how the story matters to them that simultaneously generates enthusiasm and critique.

This is shown further by comparing the modality choices of the two groups, that is to say, their up-to-three choices among twelve possible ways of classifying the *kind of story* they saw THE LORD OF THE RINGS to be. Again, random-sampling fifty for each group, we find a contrast. Aside from sharing acceptance of the broad category "Good vs Evil," their top choices shift sharply apart. For repeat-readers, top choices are Epic, and Quest (suggesting both scale and purposiveness), while non-readers favor Fantasy, and War Story (suggesting either unreality, or more generalized criteria). Strikingly, two categories not chosen at all by readers are strongly represented among the non-readers: Fairytale, and SFX film.

We can summarize these results as suggesting the following: dedicated readers of THE LORD OF THE RINGS are more likely than their opposites to be committed to the moral imperatives of the story, and to evaluate its adaptation by how far it creates the conditions for participating in and appreciating the story-world at that level. Being dedicated followers, they have developed strong working criteria which they apply to the film adaptation. But it is not its filmicness *per se* which matters, so much as the extent to which the cinematic apparatus has been put at the service of the valued things about this story-world. Is it coherent, is it complete, does it offer any new insights into characters and situations? "Faithfulness to the books" does not capture most people's ways of measuring the films, rather, "faithfulness to the beloved story-world." And one Table which emerged from the study of the 3,115 UK responses perhaps best embodied this. Table 2 shows the cross-relations between levels of Importance, Enjoyment, and Modality choice:

Table 2: Relations between film evaluations and choices of Kind of Story

	Extremely enjoyable	Extremely important		Extremely enjoyable	Extremely important
Allegory	71.0	59.2	Myth/ legend	74.7	64.5
Epic	73.8	65.9	Quest	72.0	63.4
Fairytale	64.3	42.9	SFX film	45.3	36.4
Fantasy	66.6	57.6	**Spiritual journey**	**80.3**	**71.2**
Game-World	61.8	41.2	Threatened homeland	71.6	62.5
Good vs evil	71.2	61.2	War story	65.9	56.1

This graphically displays the strength of the relationship between maximum Enjoyment and Importance, and the nomination of "Spiritual Journey" as a choice for kind of story (with "SFX Film" as the extreme lower end). At minimum what these show is that, for its strongest adherents, THE LORD OF THE RINGS matters as much more than simply a literary phenomenon; at its strongest, it can function for some as a way of imagining struggles for right against wrong with all the *seriousness* of religion, but without the metaphysical commitments.[18]

This became abundantly clear in a further investigation I undertook into the meanings within our audiences' responses of a particularly contentious term: "visualization." I was prompted to do this by some apparently paradoxical responses, as here: "I think it's quite important to be able to see it, and visualize, and especially the *sound*, the sound's the most important thing, 'cos that completes the whole experience" (James, post-film interview). Conventional approaches to visualization treat it literally, as a species of seeing. But James' response makes clear that *hearing* can be just as vital – and that the operative criterion (something in which his choice was repeated by very many others) is "completeness." My exploration of the operation of ideas of "visualization" within our audiences' responses revealed that these terms are part of a *will to expand* the meaning of Tolkien's story. By "completing" the story, it becomes able to bear more, and broader, moral, cultural, and political implications for these people. In other words, the story, its characters, its tasks and challenges come to transcend their source-media, and become major cultural forms. Books, radio, film versions are thus component resources but their media specificities begin to matter less and less, the more the story ascends. It leads, among other things, to an expected relationship between audiences and "authors," typified by *gratitude*. Two examples, to illustrate this at work:

> I'm not sure you will understand because I myself don't truly understand it. I am a grandmother of 52 years and I never reacted to any movie like I have to

these films. I think it's because of my love of the books since I was a teenager, but it's also because Mr Jackson's vision is so close to how I visualized the characters, place and story that I felt he saw into my heart and created the movies just for me.

I have been a fan of Tolkien since I was very young and being finally able to visualize this amazing story has been such a joy for me and to be able to turn my son on to this as well has been equally great. I am so thankful to Peter Jackson for taking on this great undertaking.

It is not that the "visual" is irrelevant in these responses, it is that it is so evidently only a small part of the larger and wider "whole." These are closer to structures of beliefs, personal convictions made flesh.[19]

The "Scandal" of Alternative Content

If previous projects had revealed the importance of investments, disappointments, viewing strategies and cultural memberships as supervening guides to audiences' sense-making, a more recent project has revealed, by chance, a different feature altogether: the processes whereby audiences learn new cultural "manners." In 2008 I first came across a development which had in fact first emerged two years previously: the beaming of live performances of opera, theater and ballet into cinemas. Known in the industry by the rather dull name of "Alternative Content," but having an unsettled range of other names in publicity materials (simulcasts, live-casts, digital broadcast cinema), it originated in 2006 when the New York Metropolitan Opera transmitted a number of its performances to audiences in the local region. Although it is possible to point to historical precursors, this was nonetheless a significant new development.[20] For the Met, this was a response to deep-going cultural and demographic changes which threatened its very traditionalist business model (heavily dependent on rich individual sponsors). But the early success of these broadcasts led others around the world to follow suit. The results were sufficiently encouraging that, by 2009, *Screen Digest* predicted, in the first overall study of its rise, that by 2014 income from such events could be as much as 5% of global box office.[21]

My interest began from personal experience. In 2008 I attended a transmitted performance of *Phèdre* from the UK's National Theatre. I was struck by both my own (very positive) response but also by a number of aspects of the behavior of other people there. Many people dressed up, as for a special occasion. People were clearly amused by watching audiences assembling at the source-event. There was an interval, to match that event, which they used in ways like being at the theater – although several were heard complaining about the lack of a program (which they would expect to buy at the theater). At the end, some people evidently

wanted to clap – but who would hear them? Working in a university department which embraces theater, film and television studies, I was aware of the long but very separate traditions in thinking about the significance of "liveness" and "mediation" in the different fields. So I conceived a way of investigating audience responses to Alternative Content. I was fortunate to win the cooperation of Picturehouse Cinemas, who both own a number of UK cinemas and manage the streaming to many others. With their help with publicity, I recruited 639 responses to an online questionnaire.

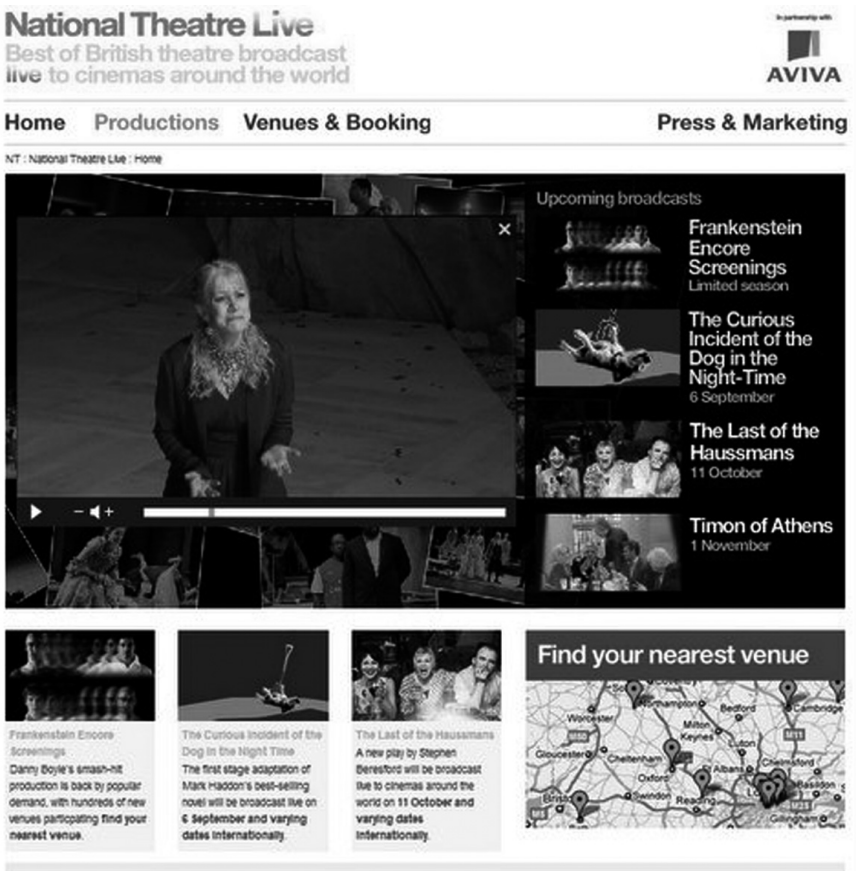


Fig. 2: UK National Theatre Live on-line program information, Autumn 2012.

Alternative Content is particularly interesting because it is, in several senses, a "scandal to theory." Much theater scholarship turns on the assertion of the absolute centrality of liveness and co-presence: the audience interacting closely and with as little mediation as possible with actors' bodies – sensing and responding close up in unmediated, unmitigated immersion. But with its intervening camera-

work and microphones, its close-ups and other editorial decisions, its back-stage interviews, and other spoken introductions, Alternative Content breaks all the rules. Film and cinema theory, as we have seen, also asserts the distinctiveness of its domain, for good or ill. Centered on ideas of representation, the selection and construction of images through the array of cinematic techniques, which create enclosed worlds and auras of "presence," film/cinema has been seen as the site of concentrated, powerful, managed participation. But with its acknowledgment of the stage as a space in its own right, its minimized editing, imperfect sound, and its awareness of a present audience, again, Alternative Content has mounted a substantial challenge.[22]

Alternative Content is not live by many definitions. But it has pretensions to liveness. And there is clear evidence that this *matters* to audiences. In their own research, to which Picturehouse Cinemas gave me access, members of their cinemas were asked about their levels of interest in attending various possible kinds of such transmitted events – either at the time of the event, or 24 hours later. The results were consistent. For every kind of event, interest in attending fell by 50% for the delayed transmission. Simultaneity evidently matters greatly even if co-presence does not, to the same extent.

So, how did audiences manage the "liveness" that was not live, the mediation of traditionally unmediated performances? Differently, of course. A minority of my respondents rejected the experiences wholesale, for not being authentic (others just because this particular performance disappointed them). The rejecters clearly spoke on behalf of the traditional theatrical experience:

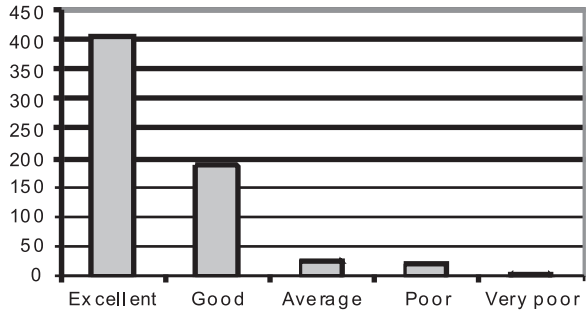
> It is incomparably worse than attending a live performance where audience and actors have an understanding of what is being invented before their eyes. In the streamed performance we witness a creaky fustian compromise.

> Not really at all like being at the live event – none of the atmosphere. You could only see what the camera showed (and some of the camera angles were a bit odd) little directionality in the sound (apart from audience noise that came from behind and just distracted).

> Sometimes the camera focuses too much and too closely on one singer or pair of performers when I would like to see the whole stage. It is unlikely that I could afford to see the quality performers and productions live but the intimacy of a live performance by a small touring company can be very moving.

But these were definitely a minority, as Table 3 clearly shows:

Table 3: Overall evaluations of Alternative Content screenings



At the time that I conducted this research (2009), streamed performances were in their infancy. People were *learning* how to watch, and how to discriminate and evaluate. Novelty was evidently a factor for a number of people (made evident by comments such as "This was my first occasion," and "Although I have no basis for comparison ..."). But even when not their actual first experience, one of the striking features was the number of people who qualified their comments with expressions such as "surprisingly," "strangely" or "unexpectedly," as with these:

> Larger than life [...] surprisingly intimate, great visibility, and interesting introductions.

> Strangely more absorbing, because camera operator expertise presents a huge variety of shots and engages the concentration more deeply in the performance.

> It's better than any seat in the house. The only slightly weird thing is that everyone feels they want to applaud the best things but it is silly to applaud a cinema screen.

There was an on-going clash between expectations and experiences. Some took this one stage further by setting up an "obviously / but" opposition with what was expected:

> Obviously you lose some of the immediacy of live theater/opera. But at its best you forget the distance & the fact of cinema and are caught up in the music & drama – and incredible voices.

> Obviously lacks the "every night an event" feel – but the directed camera actually adds to emotional impact. I think this is a really valuable addition to the availability of arts.

Well over half of those who used these discursive markers were attending either their first, or at most their second streamed performance. Consider the mix of positions and judgments in this response, to my question about the ways in which a streamed performance is "like or unlike" the source-event:

> Like: it was live and there was a buzz about it. Unlike: we had fill-in info (the interviews at the beginning) which you don't get at the event. The quirky camera angles were off-putting and the continuity bits were very obviously unlike the theatrical version.

> Like: The audience was very attentive and we became completely absorbed in the performance. Unlike: there was a greater intimacy and informality and people could bring their own food and wine to their seats. There was a sense of being part of something new and exciting. We were there to see and to listen, not to be seen. We lacked the atmosphere of a live performance. Perhaps we felt closer to the audience because of this shared experience rather than to the performers who were on the screen and across the ocean.

> Like in that it was obviously not a film; unlike in that the camera did my thinking for me as to whom or what I wanted to watch; worse – see below; better – I don't really think so. One point – the excitement of being present at a live performance. A film with its option of retakes cannot achieve this. It has to be close to perfect the first time – and every time.

What is striking here is the multiplicity of ways that combinations of experiences and expectations generate preliminary, tentative criteria. Many people were still working out what to make of their own experience.

The "scandal" of Alternative Content of course part-permeates audiences' responses as they register their own surprise that the non-live can turn out to be as fleshy, real and involving as the live, if not more so. For those who chose and were able to engage in this fashion, the standard oppositions of filming-for-cinema, and presence-in-theater, became irrelevant. They were, for all practical purposes, "there" in the theater or the opera.

Revisiting Cinephilia

I believe that these various researches delineate something very challenging. High levels of investment and commitment can lead audiences to *supersede* the medium in which a story-world, or a cultural experience, is embodied. The more it matters, the more likely it is that ways of engaging and associated criteria will emerge which, we might say, turn "representation" into "ostension," and conventions into agreements. The issue that remains is that of those whose very investment

and commitment are to the medium itself. In the film sphere, this has acquired the name of "cinephilia." How should we understand this powerful and apparently unstoppable insistence on the distinctiveness and incommensurability of different forms? What we have, in part at least, is the academic defensiveness which has to insist on the specificity and specialness of its own "object," be that theater, film, opera, poetry, painting, or whatever. But it is the way that these assumptions have grown and sedimented into theories, into ontological claims, that we need to be concerned with. And I close this essay by returning to the way such ontological thinking operates within film studies: through the concept of cinephilia. Of course there is nothing wrong at all with the notion that some people might find special pleasures, and a depth of involvement, in everything to do with film and cinema. But the problem arises when an account of a particular mode of interest claims special status, claims to be the measure of a right and proper interest in film and cinema.

Since around 1995, there has been a resurgence of interest in the idea of "cinephilia." This was partly prompted by essays by Susan Sontag and others, which declared the decline and death of cinema as a special object. The problems for Sontag were the rise of video (taking people away from cinemas) and the end of scarcity (as back-catalogues became available). The emergence of DVD (for instance, providing privileged accounts of films' meanings, and offering deleted scenes) and the rise of the Internet only multiplied the problems. Since then, a series of books and essays has sought to recover the idea, to write its history, and to paint a portrait of its main characteristics. With precursors as far back as the 1920s, modern cinephilia is usually dated to France in the 1960s. Then and there, in the thinking and writings of Jean-Luc Godard, François Truffaut and others associated with *Cahiers du Cinéma*, and already present in their mentor André Bazin, was a conviction that cinema had a series of distinctive qualities. Done properly, with conviction and under the right conditions, films by their very nature could allow "us" to penetrate the nature of the world, its materiality, its people, its "reality." The task was to identify those conditions, and the "authors" who had taken up the challenge of using the medium to its fullest. Critics might differ about the best films, but they could share this critical orientation.

The best book I know for capturing this moment is Christian Keathley's *Cinephilia and History* (2006), which brilliantly recalls the circumstances in France which stimulated its emergence, and the concatenation of interests and attitudes which produced the "cinephiliac moment."[23] Keathley comes closer than any of the other recent writers to offering a reflective account that someone not on the inside of this attitude can grasp.[24] He captures a crucial facet of this reproduction in this cinephiliac moment, in which the genuine cinephile finds him/herself utterly caught by some seemingly random moment in a film, and responding with a special intensity. The color of a pair of socks [...] wind blowing through trees [...] the way, at the margin of the photographic frame, a minor character carries a

"curiously severe expression": each can, for the right-minded individual, generate a rich depth of participation. In Keathley's account, it becomes evident that, to its adherents, the benefits of cinephilia are almost self-evident – and they go much wider than film and cinema. Cinephiliac engagement is not the same as connoisseurship – that is, gaining encyclopedic knowledge and constructing grounded quality judgments. It is not even about pleasure, but about a whole-person entanglement in a film. It makes philosophical questions about people, life, politics (oddly, presumed to be radical-critical-internationalist[25]) sensuously concrete. It generates personal, and then shared histories based around communicable intense experiences. It sculpts a capacity to notice detail, raising it to high significance. All this, while *still* of course grasping films as complex wholes. And cinephiliacs always tend to use their own experience as a benchmark for what others ought to be getting out of films.

What is striking in Keathley's book is the tension between an acute *description* of this mode of relating to films, and a *claim to its special significance*. This comes to a head near the end of the book, where he reviews the current state of film studies. To Keathley, film studies has to be about history, but in a particular way. So, dismissing the dry distrust of film embodied in 1970s *Screen* theory, he notes the re-emergence of film history under the aegis of cultural studies. He writes:

> [F]ocus has often fallen on members of different identity groups and the ways in which they read and make sense of the films they encounter. But too often in these studies, cinema is just one more cultural product in a sociological analysis, its unique and specific characteristics ignored.[26]

But that is of course because those "unique" characteristics simply don't bulk large in the responses of very many people.

Much contemporary cinephilic theory is odd. From the 1970s onward, when *Screen* theory pretended to dislike films yet was fetishistically fascinated by them, while Paul Willemen declared his preference for the term "cinephiliac" because of its resonance with "necrophiliac,"[27] those who obsess about the "specialness" of films appear to be irrepressibly miserable about the thing which they claim to love, and to which they also claim superior responses.[28] By contrast, most other audiences have no problem enjoying films and taking rich meanings from them. But their criteria for a "good" or even a "great" film have to do with an enrichment of their lives, and their grasp of the world's meanings and potentials. The medium really doesn't have to be the message.

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The Cinema Spectator: A Special Memory

Raymond Bellour

I begin from a simple hypothesis, but one involving infinite detours: the lived, more or less collective experience of a film projected in a cinema, in the dark, according to an unalterably precise screening procedure, remains the condition for a special memory experience, one from which every other viewing situation more or less departs. This supposes a certain rule of faith of which the spectator would be the incarnation, in the unfolding of a liturgy associated with film, with cinema, and with film in the cinema situation.

I wrote "remains the condition," because the distinctive reality of this experience – more or less felt over the entire history of cinema's development from its very beginning, through the so-called silent era and the first years of the talkies – comes essentially to be formulated in the postwar period, alongside what we usually call modern cinema, including all the thinking (critical and theoretical) that accompanies it. And that experience has stayed in place until today, when we are aware of an ever-greater loss, since cinema's centenary and the century's end, to the extent that a conviction concerning the possible death of cinema (or at least its irremediable decline) has been formed and formulated – a situation extending far beyond the already ancient war openly won by television, into the more pressing, fundamental mutation belonging to the digital image, with everything it brings along concerning both the very nature of images and their modes of distribution and consumption.

There are at least two ways of approaching such a topic. The first would be historical, reviewing the specific norms defining the spectator, norms corresponding to this or that moment in the already long history of cinema – without forgetting all the variations according to the times, as well as places, social formations, countries and audiences. But I am not a historian and, anyhow, it would be crazy to open up such a vast framework here. The second way, which I have chosen, is to retain those elements from the past that may illuminate our present-day condition.

In order to encapsulate what is essential in reflection on cinema from its beginnings up to the mid-1950s, I have read or re-read three anthologies (in French, for convenience): Marcel Lapierre's *Anthologie du cinéma*, Pierre Lherminier's *L'Art du cinema*, and Daniel Banda and José Moure's *Le Cinéma: naissance d'un art 1895-1920*.[1]

One striking trait in the writings on silent cinema: how little they rely on the notion of the *shot*, preferring instead, most often, to speak of images, scraps, pieces, fragments, framings. A sole exception stands out: Carl Dreyer who, in extremely modern language, situates the relationships between the different shot-scales. Apart from that, it is usually the close-up that catalyzes specific attention (in Béla Balázs, for instance), as if every other type of shot against which the close-up defines itself did not really exist, or only exists for the sake of imparting value to the close-up. Soviet filmmakers – particularly Eisenstein and Vertov – are obviously a special case, with their notions of *fragment* and *interval*, implying the intensive multiplication of minimal space-time unities geared to producing an effect on the spectator.

At the same time, another striking notion appears – clearly in some (like Eisenstein or Abel Gance), more vaguely in others: *shock*. A general shock, first of all, before the projection *dispositif*; then, above all, in a later phase, a shock when confronted with particular arrangements of images and the shots required to provoke that emotion – an experience handled in the light of whichever belief or ideology. This term, shock, is (as we know) the word used by Walter Benjamin when he describes cinema as the main site of the *destruction of the aura* that had for so long been associated with the work of art. It is also the word used to describe an art that affects the masses. We need to re-read the texts from this period to recollect to what extent cinema was felt to be the *art of the crowd and the mass*, at this very point when its social reality, as well as the obsession it elicited, exploded. Re-read Louis Delluc, for instance, in 1920: "Cinema is the only spectacle where all crowds meet and unite. [...] It draws not the people, but the crowd."[2]

I can now propose a tripartite division that will eventually lead us to the uncertain spectator of our time.

In a *first phase*, thus, the spectator is the *mass subject*, belonging to the era of the development of the big studios, the art of revolutionary propaganda, and the rise of various forms of Fascism.

In a *second phase*, post-World War II and prepared by sound cinema before the war, the *subject of the people* – let us call this the *citizen* – appears. It is with this subject that – at least virtually – a more open, constructive, critical relation to cinema is instituted. This phase significantly corresponds to the theoretical extension of the notion of the shot. Its charter would be the famous 1939 text by André Malraux, "Sketch for a Psychology of the Moving Pictures," which posited the division into and succession of shots as the fundamental condition for cinema art.[3] This regard for the shot would be taken up by Roger Leenhardt and, above all, André Bazin – to the point of excess in the latter's considerations of the long take and sequence-shot – and then embraced by French criticism and cinephilia, before the coming of theory. (This is equally true of Italy, where the cinema was reinventing itself via neo-realism, so powerfully received by Bazin – so thoroughly connected are these two countries in relation to both cinematic modernity and the

thought linked to it.) The spectator who finds himself imagined and solicited in this way is henceforth the type of viewer that Serge Daney, in 1989, will retrospectively label "a high-level popular spectator."[4] Such a spectator is linked with the existence of a cinema of art and culture, propped up by institutional forces, and recognized in each country according to its own national situation.

This spectator was even able to imagine, at one point, that television, as it had just started to develop, would be the natural extension of cinema, its ally – rather than the shadowy partner which would end up relegating cinema to a lower level in the social system of images, contrary to at least some of the motives that led to television's creation; and even leading, as in Italy, to cinema's near-dissolution.

The *third phase* is the one we are in now. It is the exponential reality prompted, from the end of the 20th century, by the information revolution and the logics of the digital image. So much so that, right inside the cinema situation, there are now, more than ever, at two stark extremes, two kinds of cinema (and not just, as always, better, not-so-good and bad films). On one side, a globally dominant, commercial cinema that is ruled by its own by-products, a falsely spectacular art still supposed to attract a large audience – above all, those young spectators enamored of technological mutations, especially the video games with which film must compete: a cinema based on a degraded aesthetic of stereotypical shock and the unspecific violence of images. On the other side, a cinema that one can describe as *subtly shocking* still develops: a cinema that is increasingly local, diversified, at the same time as it becomes ever more international, seeking everywhere to gain spectators' attention – avowedly or not, an *art of resistance*. This type of cinema spectator is no longer either the mass subject or the subject of a people (if the latter, it would have to be of those "missing people" invoked by Gilles Deleuze).[5] He has now become the *member of a limited community, but a community henceforth extended to the dimensions of the entire world* (recall the famous *limited action* dear to Stéphane Mallarmé in his 1897 essay of that title). It was on the basis of belief in such a community that Serge Daney felt the desire to create his film magazine *Trafic*, which we have continued since his death in 1992.

(Obviously, at one edge or other of this double cinema, ambiguous and complex bridges come into being. I am thinking, for example, not so much of THE MATRIX – which is above all a symptomatic film for voracious theorists – but rather James Cameron's AVATAR, in which we find, through the very excess of its spectacle, a new perceptual sensibility emerging.)

Whoever would presume to include such a genesis of the cinema spectator within a logic and a history would have to follow these twin terms of *shock* and *distraction* down all their paths. Shock is rightly that which can grab the attention or, equally, distract it – an attention which, born of shock, also, at the outset, both goes beyond and falls short of it. Attention is the term chosen by Jonathan Crary in his most recent great book *Suspensions of Perception* to define the ever-livelier concentration on the image during the 19th century, a phenomenon which

finds one of its fulfillments in the invention of cinema.[6] Attention is also a key word in the first genuine book of cinema theory, which has long seemed a kind of aerolite, Hugo Münsterberg's *The Photoplay: A Psychological Study* (1916) – the chapter titles of which invoke, for the inner world of the spectator aroused by the forms of the exterior world on film, the four major processes of *attention*, *memory* and *imagination*, and *emotion*.[7] And these are the four processes that belong to any deep experience of cinema. Attention, moreover, is the word used by Benjamin in his "The Work of Art in the Age of Its Mechanical Reproducibility" essay. We know how risky it is to try to pinpoint Benjamin's use of the term, particularly in relation to this essay, with its multiple versions and their changing inflections.[8] By sticking with the final 1939 version, however, we can grasp exactly how attention – which we will henceforth render as *attentiveness* – is articulated between distraction and shock. On one side, adopting – according to the ambiguous goal of politically redeeming the aura – the viewpoint of an art connected to the masses (with cinema as his example), Benjamin associates distraction with tactility, "being based on changes of scene and focus which have a percussive effect on the spectator."[9] He adds, a few lines on, that "the shock effect of the film, [...] like all shocks, seeks to induce heightened attention."[10] But this same effect also denies the spectator – this hero of "tactile reception" – such a mode of attention. Transforming him into an "examiner" or expert through his connection to technology, Benjamin can conclude (this is the end of the text before its epilogue) that "at the movies, the evaluating attitude requires no attention."[11]

Later, it would take – in the context of a cinema in the process of postwar renewal – the new type of consideration brought to film by a spectator and film critic like Bazin to turn attentiveness (regardless of whether Bazin used this word) into the process which at once grasps, bends to one's own purpose and renders in all their subtlety all those shocks (ever more diversified as mini-shocks mixed with consciousness effects) which accompany what can be called, from this point on, the reading of film. (Later, we will find in Deleuze this image of an image made readable.) It is moving to follow this work of reading in Bazin, which often tries to be terribly precise at a time when there existed no other means of study than to see the film again in a theater – so much so that the numerous (sometimes excessive) factual errors that dot his texts must be credited to the passion associated with this new type of attentiveness.

But it would also happen that, much later still, this adult, critical citizen-spectator finds himself, on the one hand, equipped with new means to support his reading and, on the other hand, threatened in this same historical reality by social and technological mutations that evoke the intuition of a possible death of cinema as art – in order that he may fully recognize his true condition, in a way that is at once retrospective and prospective, within the perspective of art as resistant thought (in the sense that Deleuze gives to these words, for example in his conference "What is the Creative Act?").[12]

This work of recognition was undertaken especially by Serge Daney across the totality of his collected critical work, from *Ciné journal* (prefaced by Deleuze in 1986) to the collection *Devant la recrudescence des vols de sacs à main* (1991) which is devoted to the conflicted relations between cinema and television. But it is above all in the posthumously published diary, *L'Exercice a été profitable, Monsieur* (1993), that Daney offered his most striking formulations on the difficult transition from the second to the third phase of spectatorship, and its consequently altered nature (in an eloquent parallel with the *Histoire(s) de cinéma* project [1988-1998] by Jean-Luc Godard – who dubbed Daney the *ciné-fils* or cine-son).

So here, briefly, are some formulations that can be wielded to illuminate the renewed conception of the spectator, from the opening pages of this book by Daney that counts as one of the most precious works in all reflection on cinema. Straight off we have the question: what is in crisis in cinema? And the dual response: on the one hand it is the dark theater and, on the other, cinema's means of recording. What they have in common is "a certain 'passivity' of the celluloid and/or the spectator. Things are imprinted twice over: first upon the film strip, then upon the spectator. [...] This *dispositif* is all of a piece."[13] In relation to the temporality which is determined in this fashion, Daney is clear: it is a "time of the 'maturing' of a film within the body and nervous system of a spectator in the darkness."[14] He adds that this relation to time allows us to "pass from the passivity of he who looks to the activity of he who writes. [...] To write is to recognise what is already written. Written in the film (the film as an organised depository of signs) and in me (the self organised as a depository of mnemic traces that, over time, comprise my history)."[15] Later, he elaborates: "Filling up time presumes a spectator who is capable of *memorising the film as a sum of information*, thus a high-level popular spectator. As distinct from the spectator today who no longer waits around for this experience."[16] From which derives, ultimately, the optimistic reversal of obligatory pessimism, the temptation that led Daney to conceive a chronicle he never started, which would have had the title *The Cinema, Alone* – devoted to "what cinema alone has the mission to pursue."[17] Clearly, it would have tackled – according to the ever-renewed inventiveness of films themselves – the responsibility, as much psychic as ethical and political, of an attentiveness to and memory of shots, their unfolding and phrasing, their rhythm, about which none spoke better than Daney, across his texts and particularly his diary entries. "The shot is an indivisible block of image and time. [...] The shot is musical. [...] Breath, rhythm. There is 'cinema' whenever, inexplicably, something breathes between the images. [...] In cinema, the only thing I care about is the shots."[18]

We must thus inquire into the possible conditions of this spectator as he is today – twenty years after Daney's lines – definitively in the minority, but still and always waiting for the experience, even if it has necessarily become rather dissimilar.

The only truly inviolate element is the *dispositif*. The theater. Darkness. The fixed time of the screening, whatever form it takes (even those private sessions that bored Roland Barthes so much), as long as it preserves the experience of a projection in time and its inscription on the memory-screen, so that a special kind of work can occur. This is what was expressed very well, in 1912, by an author whose identity remains unknown, hidden under the pseudonym of Yhcam:

> The darkness of the theatre constitutes an important factor contributing, via the contemplation [*recueillement*] it produces, far more than one might imagine, to the impression created: the spectator's attention is solicited and concentrated on the luminous projection without any possible distraction emanating from the theatre space.[19]

Let us note that contemplation (*recueillement* in French, *Sammlung* in German) is the word that described for Benjamin the necessary relation to the artwork, menaced – for better and worse – by the "distraction" which was, in his eyes, inherent to cinema. Take note, as well, of Alfonso Reyes, three years after Yhcam: "The perfect film spectator demands silence, isolation and darkness: he is working, collaborating in the spectacle."[20] To which we can add, four years on again, some words from the Danish filmmaker Urban Gad, describing the screen by invoking the superior reality of "a mirror [...] suspended above us, obliging us to lift our eyes."[21] Here we recall Godard's famous words cited by Chris Marker, who extended them in his CD-ROM *Immemory* (1997): "Cinema is what's bigger than us, to which we have to lift our eyes. [...] What we see on TV is the shadow of a film, regret for a film, its nostalgia, its echo – never a real film."[22] That means neither television nor computers, not the Internet, mobile phones or a giant personal screen can take the place of cinema – whatever their respective advantages (which can sometimes be enormous). For what is essential is always missing, everything that makes the *dispositif* "all of a piece": silence, darkness, distance, projection before an audience, in the obligatory time of a session that nothing can suspend or interrupt. Daney wrote: "A film on TV belongs neither to cinema nor TV – it is a 'reproduction' or, better yet, a piece of 'information' on a prior state of coexistence between men and their images, those they feed on and those that help them live."[23]

By a fascinating reversal, we can thus attribute to the cinema screen, at the center of its true *dispositif*, the "distant" quality that Benjamin thought of as the guarantee of the aura traditionally associated with the artwork. We can re-read, in this paradoxical sense, the passage in which he described the relation between distance and nearness, while thinking of the effect that passes from one to the other – that instant when, rather than lifting our eyes toward the image, we can even touch it.

> The definition of the aura as the "unique apparition of a distance, however near it may be," represents nothing more than a formulation of the cult value of the work of art in categories of spatiotemporal perception. Distance is the opposite of nearness. The *essentially* distant is the unapproachable. Unapproachability is, indeed, a primary quality of the cult image; true to its nature, the cult image remains "distant, however near it may be". The nearness one may gain from its substance [*Materie*] does not impair the distance it retains in its apparition.[24]

All of which amounts to: one can rewatch a film in various situations, but only if, first time around, it has been seen and received according to its own aura. All that is left now is to swiftly indicate why this privilege of the *dispositif* is so absolute.

I have also read, for this contribution, five recent books, all fine and important, and (for a French reader) all foreign, whose combined titles are eloquent. Paolo Cherchi Usai's *The Death of Cinema: History, Cultural Memory and the Digital Dark Age*, Victor Burgin's *The Remembered Film*, Francesco Casetti's *Eye of the Century: Film, Experience, Modernity*, Laura Mulvey's *Death 24x a Second: Stillness and the Moving Image*, and David N. Rodowick's *The Virtual Life of Film*.[25]

These five books – all very personal, and thereby as different as their authors – have in common their reckoning with the digital revolution and its symbolic dating made to more or less coincide with, on the one hand, the end of the century and, on the other, the centenary of cinema and the feeling it produced that something was ending.[26] Casetti, for example, in order to constitute cinema categorically as the "eye of the 20th century," proposes a "Cinema 2.0" which, succeeding the first, would be something completely different, even including the very retrospection it allows on what has now become "Cinema 1.0." Mulvey, for her part, revisits the idea of the *pensive spectator* with which I once described the psychic suspension introduced into the unfolding of a film by the immobility of still photography – making it, in fact, the hero of what she calls "delayed cinema," in which the film experience is transformed by every operation (freezing, suspending, metamorphosing) that the digital image – more broadly than even the electronic image – now provides.

So it seems to me that that these books, to which I feel so close, nonetheless misunderstand the way in which Cinema 2.0 (to adopt Casetti's term) simultaneously remains, in its very principle, identical to Cinema 1.0: in both cases, the spectator – no matter how transformed by the prostheses that offer him access to film in new ways – finds himself in a cinema-*dispositif* and projection situation that has remained, in a sense, unchanged since the 1916 that Münsterberg described. For, apart from and beyond those new memory-prostheses, and in this sense independent of them – and even if a film takes these developments as its subject, as Chris Marker did in Level Five (1997) – something unique is testified to by a projected film: it is *the lived experience in real time of a cumulative process of*

remembering and forgetting, each which nourishes the other, an experience according to which our attentiveness (more or less drifting or concentrated) – naturally varying according to the specific subject and the particular projection – becomes the testing ground for all the subtle shocks of which any film worthy of the name offers a more or less differentiated variety, according to its own style. It seems especially the case that this relation between drifting attentiveness and concentrated or exacerbated attentiveness, and thus between passivity and activity – so essential to the free, cumulative working of oblivion and memory – can have no real equivalent in any of the concurrent *dispositifs*, which always lean too far, alternatively, and each according to its own format, in one direction or another. It is this *in vivo* work of active memory, becoming more or less self-conscious within the terms that each person chooses to cultivate (so as to better understand) its effects, that is specific to the projection experience, and it alone. There must be silence, darkness, a uniform time that allows us to gauge a temporality – to what extent, and how, it develops in continuity – a temporality that is at the same time striated with events, between the shots and within the shots of which every film is composed.

In *The Remembered Film*, Burgin borrows from Michel Foucault the concept of *heterotopia* (that is to say, the reality of incompatible spaces) in order to describe cinema. He thus invokes all the "variously virtual spaces in which we encounter displaced places of films: the Internet, the media and so on, but also the psychic spaces of a spectating subject that Baudelaire first identified as a "kaleidoscope equipped with consciousness."[27] However, it seems that we can invoke – along these lines but also in a contrary direction – via the mental heterotopia specific to each spectator, and across a cinema shattered into different phases of technological and social reality, a return to a true *utopia*, a utopia at once real and current: the very experience of film, as such, the totality of suspended time that lasts for a projection and effects in the film an assembling of memory in a sole place, no matter how dispersive it may be or how diverse all the places it convokes.

The pensive spectator (an idea I have reformulated in my recent book *Le Corps du cinéma. Hypnoses, émotions, animalités*)[28] thus has no meaning outside its coincidence with the strict temporality of film projection – regardless of his prior anticipation and the returns to it he can later stage by other means, depending on his curiosity and his eventual desire to work on the film.

I do not have the space here to give the slightest example of the way in which films invite us to reflect, always more or less consciously or unconsciously, but always according to this unshakeable principle: what can only have been more or less forgotten has been also necessarily inscribed, so that it can enter into a resonance with what has been recalled and – by that very process – refound.

This is what François Truffaut was talking about when he wrote in 1954, in relation to Hitchcock: "The homage that one can pay to an author or film-maker is to attempt to know and understand his book or his film as well as he does himself."[29] And, by laying out the systematic organization of the "number two"

and the rhymed construction of multiple figures in SHADOW OF A DOUBT (1943), Truffaut himself thus gave us the example of what might be the first film analysis.

Such a vision presumes an attentiveness, a kind of seizure before the shocks and mini-shocks more or less immediately memorized, and amplified as the film unfolds, in order to comprise an uncertain block of memory – the guarantee of an experience that one can say must have been like that on a first viewing, in order to trigger the desire, afterwards, to go deeper. This always somewhat hallucinated "first time" seizure seems the essential condition of what constitutes – despite all the other means of access to images which gather everywhere – the true nature of the film spectator, transformed, threatened and ironed out by history but also, in a sense, transhistorical.

I guess, retrospectively, that it was the series of extremely subtle shocks provoked at the outset by the second shot of Kenji Mizoguchi's MISS OYU (1951) – when the hero strolls into the depth of frame followed by the camera which floats up and along while passing a cannily graduated succession of dark, knotted tree trunks and clear, straight bamboos – that aroused my attentiveness and the memory attached to these figures of trees and pillars that are deployed throughout the film, imprinting their mark upon the characters' bodies in so many frames. I also know that it was by making the mistake of wanting one night to watch an older Mizoguchi film, THE STORY OF THE LAST CHRYSANTHEMUMS (1939), on a bad TV set that I progressively lost my memory of it – to the point of experiencing, through this sensory loss of images, trouble in following the very plot and even in telling the characters apart.

I have deliberately left to one side, until now, a problem without any clear answer: the modification occurring in the spectator, not strictly speaking due to any global change in the *dispositif*, but one of its essential elements – the material base (for recording and/or distribution) which has today moved, to an extent that has become unstoppable, from analogue to digital. Rodowick's *The Virtual Life of Film* is essentially devoted to an evaluation of this shift: he does so with exemplary care in handling some difficult equilibriums and their related uncertainties – in a way that contrasts sharply (and all for the better) with the theoretical monologism of Lev Manovich's *The Language of New Media*, a trait which Rodowick is compelled to limit.[30] His clearest impression relates, ultimately, to time – the absence of a feeling of time transmitted by the digital image, for which it substitutes a material succession of frames regulated by the light generated from an informatic table formed by mathematical algorithms. Rodowick takes as an example Alexander Sokurov's RUSSIAN ARK (2002), with its sole ninety-minute shot, filmed in digital and largely recomposed in postproduction – a film which "does not involve me in time."[31] One cannot really object to this impression, which is at any rate unassailable insofar as such statements are always difficult to ground theoretically. On this level, it will always be a war of impression vs. impression, sensation vs. sensation, memory vs. memory, perhaps (or above all) work against work, and the

adopting of formal positions. It is enough for me to have seen, several years ago, Ingmar Bergman's SARABAND (2003), shot and (unusually) projected digitally in a Paris cinema, to grasp – in the face of this accomplished example of what Barthes called a "festival of affects"[32] based on the insistent relation between strata, returns of time and the intensive effects of shot changes – that the potential gap attached to the experience is not primarily due to its material base (i.e. digital) but, as ever, in the theater and the screening situation.

But how can I suggest, in just a few words, the effect that grips a spectator in the singular situation of attentiveness which I believe is specific, above all, to theatrical projection, before a film that demands it? This effect is comprised, at the least obvious but most decisive level, of subtle commotions, suspensions, interruptions, associations, recalls and returns – all of which trace always infinitely variable circles of extension, as the film progresses and builds itself, and which the modes of attentiveness particular to each spectator elaborate in it. Virtualities are constantly propagated, faced with this trait, that element, this shot-event – between shots, and radiating out to the entire film, in its infinite unfolding in all possible directions. It is thereby clear that a mental virtuality forever accompanies the film, in the form of a return of associations as recurrences. It seems that intermittent fixities never stop being projected, reprojecting themselves, between the film and its spectator. In the same sense that the photographer Gisèle Freund stated her extremely strong intuition or assumption that it is through still images that one retains the most striking memory of things. This accounts for the outstanding feature we find in so many modern and experimental films, more and more resulting from technological mutation: the presence of the still photo in films, frozen images, every kind of interruption. As if the work of memory in action mimicked, in this fashion, the very same energy that carries the thread of movement and time. But it is perhaps too simple to think of these interruptions, these permanent memory-in-action recalls – that also extend the film into the individual life of every spectator – as instants of actual fixity. No more than they exist in the film itself which, despite its fixed frames, moves ahead in time. Maybe it is a question, rather, of accumulated fixities, thus producing from among themselves something like a particular, aberrant movement, corresponding better to the psychic interruption whereby the spectator never ceases inscribing this dual movement that he both perceives and interiorizes. This could be just what Godard sought to specify, this singular animation, via the decompositions that have entered his films since FRANCE/TOUR/DÉTOUR/DEUX/ENFANTS (1977) and SAUVE QUI PEUT (LA VIE) (1980). This movement that is frozen, or stirred up in its movement. And that thereby ceaselessly returns time upon itself. The strongest point is surely that Godard has been driven to finally imagine himself as a meta-spectator, seated behind his typewriter, facing the entirety of cinema which then parades itself – fragmented, frozen, fixed, carried off, set in movement, mentally mixed – all throughout his HISTOIRE(S) DU CINÉMA. These *Histoire(s)* shot on

video and produced for television, but that only (I believe) acquire their greatest effect in relation to the very thing they are aiming to invoke – a gigantic memory – when they receive a theatrical projection, the type of projection of which, all throughout his interminable monologue, Godard never ceases recalling the singular, unique power.

In order to know, somewhat more precisely, what this work of memory is all about – and how it can be just as easily brought about (or not), and above all with what meaning and in which proportion, by the mutation of the analogue into the digital image – it is solely neurobiology, I believe, to which we may perhaps one day turn to illuminate some aspect of how it all functions, at the basic level of likely variations in intensity between neuronal connections, and be able (by analogy if need be) to give names to such innumerable and obscure processes.

There remains one other, final hypothesis – or rather, the phantom hypothesis to my hypothesis, an idea to which I cannot really respond, since it is a delusion to think you can truly get outside of yourself enough to be constituted as a historical object. It is possible that such a view of cinema as I have presented here belongs to a generation for which "cinema, alone" actually existed, and for whom, as such, it is forever inscribed. Jean Louis Schefer called this, in a formula very swiftly appropriated by Daney, "the films that have looked at our childhood."[33] Perhaps, lacking a comparable predestination which will soon be without any witness, such a utopia of film as the special memory place will lose all reality.

But this would be to erase the *memory of memory* of which art and culture are made, to the extent that they manage to reinvent themselves. For such a loss would also assume a real death of cinema, and that still seems unlikely, seeing that today's world still produces true cinema films, and that the limited but immense community of their spectators reactivates this ritual, in ways both real and virtual, each time that the experience of a film is lived out according to its own specific reality, within that unchanging *dispositif*.

At the end of one of the most beautiful books ever written on the reality of literature, *The Book to Come* (originally published in 1959), Maurice Blanchot arrived at a hypothesis concerning the "death of the last writer." What would happen if, suddenly, "the little mystery of writing [...] would disappear, without anyone noticing it?"[34] Not, contrary to what one might imagine, a great silence. But rather a murmuring, a new sound:

> It speaks, it doesn't stop speaking, it is like the void that speaks, a light murmuring, insistent, indifferent, that is probably the same for everyone, that is without secret and yet isolates each person, separates him from the others, from the world and from himself. [...] A writer is one who imposes silence on this speech, and a literary work is, for one who knows how to penetrate it, a rich resting place of silence, a firm defense and a high wall against this eloquent immensity that addresses us by turning us away from ourselves. If, in

> this imaginary Tibet, where the sacred signs could no longer be discovered in anyone, all literature stopped speaking, what would be lacking is silence, and it is this lack of silence that would perhaps reveal the disappearance of literary language.[35]

Blanchot adds to his hypothesis that, on the day that this murmuring imposes itself, on the death of the last writer, "the treasure of old works, the refuge of Museums and Libraries" would be, again contrary to what one would imagine, of little help, because "we have to imagine that, on the day this wandering language imposes itself, we will witness a distinctive disturbance of all the books."[36]

You will have guessed, I think, that the murmur accompanying the death of the last film and of the utopia it once incarnated will be the sound of the universal reign of media, of which cinema will merely be just another element, just an image-skeleton floating among all the other images; and that the day on which no film is any longer made to be seen in a cinema theater, we cannot expect much help from the refuge of Museums and Cinémathèques.

Translated by Adrian Martin. Original French text by Raymond Bellour, 2011.[37]

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Operatic Cinematics: A New View from the Stalls

Kay Armatage

Full disclosure: I am an opera novice. I was lured in by Canadian Opera Company productions directed by cinema luminati – Atom Egoyan, Francois Gerard, Robert LePage – and then I bought season tickets, as it seemed to me the best entertainment value going. But with a few exceptions such as *La Bohème* and *Salome*, I'm seeing every opera for the first time; and I have learned that there are lots of them.

When "Metropolitan Opera: Live in HD" performances began transmitting via satellite into movie theaters in 2006, I was in the front seats for the whole season. I have to confess I became an opera buff at this point, meaning that term precisely in the pejorative. In cinema, there are many levels of cinephilia, most of which were, at least until recently, despised by film academics. Yet even at the lowest echelons, fan-boys – who keep deeply nuanced lists – are held in higher esteem than movie buffs, who are strictly amateurs but imagine themselves to be in the know. I confess to being an opera buff.

At the end of its third season, the Metropolitan Opera HD satellite transmissions were described as "the most significant development in opera since the supertitle."[1] With multiple cameras in play, experienced filmmakers and television directors at the helm, live interviews and behind the scenes glimpses, the transmissions offer much more than simple documentation of performances. *The Los Angeles Times* went so far as to call the experiment of merging film with live performances "a new art form."[2]

Modes of Spectatorship

Rather than agreeing on a new art form, I will argue in the first instance that these live HD transmissions are creating a new breed of opera spectators. This in itself has elicited outrage from opera purists who, in addition to repudiating the sonaural amplification and cinematization of opera, often object vigorously to the attempts at democratization of an art form that – at least in the 20th century – has been associated with the cultured and moneyed classes. Opera is the last art form that is considered an elite taste, as both the learning curve and the sticker price are precipitous.

Fig. 1: Metropolitan Opera Live.

My contention that the spectators at the live HD transmissions are a new breed rests on a number of factors. First, a brief anecdote. This may be apocryphal, but even so it's a great illustration. At one of the first live transmissions, at 1.00 pm on a Saturday afternoon, an elegant silver-haired couple dressed to the nines showed up at the Scotiabank theatre in downtown Toronto, inquiring politely for the location of the champagne bar. It should be noted that the experience of this multiplex is like being inside a pinball machine in full tilt – definitely not the sort of place one would expect to find a champagne bar. Two seasons later, the couple were spotted again, this time in sweats and sporting voluminous knapsacks suspected of containing snacks and their own champagne. They were now obviously veterans who had abandoned their old-school opera mode and entered the new world of the Met HD transmissions.

While the champagne may be apocryphal, it is certainly the case that, to avoid the horrific concessions selling burgers and nachos, some folks started bringing their own picnics. In the first few seasons, the combination of New York fries and Anna Netrebko appealed to me tremendously, second-guessing Pierre Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital in the concatenation of high art and low food forms. Eventually I had to give in to health considerations (small popcorn, no butter).

Another significant shift in modes of spectatorship has been brought about by the transnational reach of the Met project. That the first transmission insists on being "live" means that HD audiences are traipsing out at all hours of the day and night in the 1,600 venues in 54 countries that receive them now. During the inter-

mission of *La Sonnambula* in 2009, Nathalie Dessay and Juan Diego Florez said hello to their parents in France and Peru, at respectively 7.00 pm and 12.00 noon. On the west coast of North America, transmissions start at 10.00 am.

The range of global time zones have brought about their own transnational differences. Any time may be the right time for evening dress in Paris, but in Vancouver the concession line-ups are in their athletic gear after their early morning 10k jog, and they're screaming for lattes. Nor is this a trivial matter: concessions are vital to all sectors of the cinema business (and to theaters and opera houses), and theaters taking the Met all over North America have had to stock new products and learn new skills. Certainly the coffee bar at the Scotiabank theatre in Toronto is now attempting decent lattes and will give you a double shot at no extra charge. Catering to the new classy crowd, they will even give you free tap water in a *real* glass. And in the fifth season of the Saturday afternoon transmissions, on Met days the Scotiabank environment was soothed by mellow light-classical music played at temperate volume (rather than the usual raucous actioner soundtracks), all the better to charm the new audience.

While the multiplexes are managing to cater to old-style opera devotees, they are also attracting millions of new viewers, who neither attended opera houses before, nor usually frequent the blockbuster-oriented multiplex. So maybe there are two kinds of new spectators: those that are new to opera and others – already opera aficionados – who are strangers to the multiplex. Maybe three, for without the Met, I wouldn't darken the multiplex door except during the Toronto International Film Festival, which holds many press and industry screenings at the Scotiabank Cinema in downtown Toronto.

Hurly-Burly

At the multiplexes, there have been widespread reports of significant shifts in spectator behavior and decorum as well. Although the audience at the Met may boo, as they did on the opening night of *La Somnambula*, riots or near-riots have not been reported. That sort of demeanor is usually associated with La Scala or soccer games in Britain; and even the testosterone-driven audiences of blockbuster action movies don't usually riot. For the Met HD transmissions, however, audiences have been known to show up two hours in advance with ugly scenes ensuing as spectators fight over the best seats. Although the sophisticated silver-haired couple may not have participated, there are many stories of such unruliness. To circumvent such behavior, the cinema seats are now numbered, so the riots are at least confined to the line-ups on the first day the season tickets go on sale.

These new audiences also tend to be attentive to the point of militancy about the technology, which contrasts markedly with the usual docility of the demographic that these cinemas normally entertain. Even film festival audiences tend

to be more patient with technical glitches. But on Met days at the multiplex, shouts of "volume!" "lights!" "focus!" ring out at the slightest lapse – and, to be honest, while the technology was ramping up, there were many such lapses.

I must confess to my own experience of opera audience intransigence, when I had a bitter encounter with an elderly couple who had brought their own decibel meter to the auditorium and complained to the managers when the volume was barely above hearing level. Since the image was huge and the singing amplified anyway, I wanted to hear a commensurate volume level, at least enough to drown out the popcorn muncher beside me throughout the whole second act of *Madama Butterfly* (2009).[3] No matter how much older the meter-wielders were, I was ready to take them on.

This is not the sort of spectatorial decorum typical of the Met's in-house audiences, at least those who are available for observation in the HD transmission. As far as we can see from the outlands, the response at the Met tends to range from occasional boos to tepid applause, and cheerful bravos to standing ovations. Not much angry shouting on display.

Spatial Conventions

There is one aspect of spectator behavior that signals a substantive disjuncture between the audience at the Met and those at the multiplexes, and that is the rupture between cinematic and operatic spatial conventions. At the opera, the house-lights go down as the orchestra begins to play. But conventionally at the cinema, the lights go down after the commercials, when the trailers leading to the feature go up on screen. In the HD transmissions, on the other hand, everything is a bit out of kilter for a while. Simulating the "presence experience" (W. Anthony Shepherd's term[4]), the cinema house-lights go down with the Met lights, as the curtain opens (as if simulating "liveness" at a distance).

But in the Met transmissions, there's a lot on screen before the curtain goes up. Since the live HD presentations often include not only previews but pre-show bonuses, the likes of Renee Fleming, Susan Graham or even Placido Domingo are expected to carry on laying out the plot and flacking the sponsors while the house-lights at the cinema stay on until the Met curtain goes up. This attempt to align the cinematic with the operatic – effectively creating a new set of intermedial conventions – has resulted in even more unseemly behavior: people are yelling! And as one of the youngsters in the cinema, I find myself striding out briskly to alert the house managers that the lights are still up and Renee is looking a bit washed out. It's a totally confusing and impossible disjuncture between the two conventions, and I don't blame anybody.

Liveness

Many see the element of "liveness" as crucial to the experience, and the Met has taken some pains to emphasize the "live" aspect of the event.[5] The convention of Met transmissions is that they begin with a view of the in-house audience taking their seats. This is thought to achieve the sense of occasion and to establish a feeling of community with the actual Met audience. Metropolitan Opera Managing Director Peter Gelb said in a press release: "What we didn't anticipate fully is that we were creating satellite opera houses. For the audiences who are in these theaters, they are attending opera. They're not going to the movies."[6] For Barbara Willis Sweete, one of the principal directors of the transmissions, the convention that situates the event as "live" also bespeaks a cosmic connection to all those on earth who are watching in the same moment.[7] Paul Heyer, who has studied the phenomenon, largely agrees: "With comic operas we can observe the Met audience laughing and laugh with them as well as collectively with those around us. The audience, either in-house or in movie theatres – is a participant."[8]

In the first seasons, the public seemed to be divided on the matter of the live status of the event – to clap or not to clap, for example. But in the last couple of seasons, audiences have settled firmly into cinema spectatorship. Of course we laugh, as we always have done in the movies, but otherwise, the classical blogger in Charlottesville, West Virginia seems to have it right: "Even at a lovely venue like the restored Paramount Theater here in Charlottesville, the sense of occasion that attends a live performance in the house is largely lacking. The big screen presentation has much more the feel of a film screening than a live performance in the opera house."[9]

The credit sequence, which is constructed from the scratch footage shot at the final dress rehearsal, also recuperates any sense of cosmic community or liveness, albeit in a rather strange way. The Met head credits are not at all like the title sequences of most narrative films, which often entertain with a parallel iconic montage – as in Saul Bass's wonderful Hitchcock sequences, the artful graphics of the Bond head credits, the sumptuous postcards of recent Woody Allen movies. Other common credit conventions in movies situate the context in which the narrative will unfold or even start the narrative action – think of the Coen brothers. Instead, the Met sequences are more like old-style movie trailers, using the best shots available and cutting them together in a montage that offers privileged glimpses of the performers and anticipates the narrative moments to come. Whatever form it takes, the title sequence resituates the audience as cinema spectators rather than participants in a live event.

For the first few minutes of the broadcast, then, the sense of attendance at a live opera event versus cinema spectatorship oscillates variously through the shots of the Met audience settling down, the host's introduction, backstage glimpses of the technicians, credit sequence, maestro's entrance and so on, right to the point

of the curtain opening. For a delightfully detailed blow-by-blow account (participation, separation, communality, identification, voyeurism, and further redefinitions of his relationship to the operatic experience), see Anthony Sheppard's experiences of a Met performance, a simultaneous HD broadcast, and an "encore" presentation.[10]

Class, Culture, Taste

One of the vexing questions that persists in the critical discourse and public responses (blogs) is whether watching a live opera transmission is like – shudder – watching a live sports event on television. Yet this is what the Met emphasized in early press releases that worked to position the transmissions in a wider cultural sphere. Met MD Peter Gelb was bent on making opera appeal to the masses while branding the Met globally (making a profit from the transmissions is still in the future, with the program to date seen as an investment).[11] He is quoted as saying that it is imperative that the transmissions are live and that audiences have an in-the-moment view of what's happening both in front of and behind the curtain. "We're not saying this is an opera film," Gelb said. "We're saying that this is live coverage of an opera event. Between the moving camera action and the behind-the-scenes coverage, it really is a special experience. It's more like Monday- night football than an opera movie."[12] And in another press release, Julie Borchard-Young, the Met's director of worldwide HD distribution, repeated the analogy: "If you see live football on television it doesn't take your appetite away from wanting to go sit in the stadium [...] It's the same kind of model, with a similar kind of benefit of being able to go into the locker room and hear from the players."[13]

I assert here due diligence, for I have undertaken first-hand research on this aspect of the publicity discourse. One night, I watched an entire period of a hockey game. On the basis of that viewing experiment, I can confirm Paul Heyer's claim, that the HD transmissions resemble live sports events only in extremely limited ways. The technology, how it is deployed and the "grammar" of the coverage are very specific to the various sports covered and in no way resemble the cinematics of the HD transmissions. For example, in hockey television broadcasts there is one camera in wide shot that follows the puck up and down the rink, while others follow specific players or positions in close-ups (CU), to be ready for the instant replay if something exciting happens. Cutting to the CU cameras responds to the voice-over radio-style commentary, producing a flurry of editing. Subsequently the coverage resumes with the wide-shot that follows the puck. (I have to confess I have not checked out other sports, since I find basketball simultaneously dizzying and boring and football ugly; baseball I'm sure has its own quasi-scripts). As far as I can see, the resemblance of the Met transmissions to sports coverage ends with the backstage "locker-room" style interviews; it is the

narrative element that distinguishes transmissions of opera and cognate performative works from sports and concert coverage.[14]

Rather than a new art form, I suggest that we are experiencing now a historical moment similar to the transitional era in cinema, when the "primitive tableau" (equivalent to full proscenium) began to give way to standard framing of actors just below the knee and a shot scale that occasionally approximated the medium shot. With the emergence of the great era of silent cinema, the close-up was abundantly deployed in the construction of narratological realism, verisimilitudinous rather than histrionic performance techniques, temporality as a regulating mechanism, modes of spectatorial identification and the rise of the star system. Changes in costume, make-up, wigs, performance style (more naturalistic) and celebrity production are quickly developing also in the Met productions as they become available to an extraordinarily wide public through the live HD transmissions, suggesting parallels to the developments in cinema in its now-distant transitional era.

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What Do We *Really* Know About Film Audiences?

Ian Christie

In 2009, the UK Film Council commissioned the first of two studies intended to go beyond conventional film industry research, to explore more fundamentally what film "means" to the population at large. The first of these called for an attempt to define and measure the "cultural impact" of film;[1] and this was followed two years later by an inquiry into the "contribution" that film makes to the culture of the United Kingdom.[2] An important feature of both studies was that they began from a recognition of film's ubiquity in the 21st century, with viewings now taking place on many platforms, and with these same electronic media also supporting a major new sphere of discourse about film.

The history of trying to assess the impact of film on whole populations is, as earlier contributions to this book have shown, almost as old as the medium itself. In Britain, as early as 1917, the (self-appointed) National Council of Public Morals undertook a study of *The Cinema; Its Present Position and Future Potential*,[3] while another report in 1936 dealt with the significance of national production in a Hollywood-dominated world.[4] Even earlier, widespread concern that films were having a negative effect on the young and on public "morals" led to the creation of the industry-organized British Board of Film Censors 1912, and to similar initiatives in many European countries. In 1922, after more than a decade of chaotic local censorship, the Hollywood studios established the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, which advocated industry self-censorship to forestall state intervention. Concern with "negative effects" has continued to drive both academic research in the 1930s and 1940s, and state intervention prompted by development of new media (as with the 1984 Video Recordings Act in Britain, responding to a moral panic over "video nasties"). However, this has also been balanced by the growing involvement of market researchers in advising on film promotion and reaching target audiences for cinema advertising and confectionary sales.[5]

What was significantly different about the UKFC studies was that both took a broad, non-instrumental view of the place of film: the first by tracing "cultural impact" beyond the initial cinema release of films, and the second by comparing responses to film with a wide range of other cultural and leisure activities, and sampling responses to self-selected films. Both studies took the UK as their fo-

cus, while recognizing that film has always been a transnational medium; and while *Stories We Tell Ourselves* dealt only with British-made films, addressing regional and ethnic variations in perception, and with limited coverage of the impact of British films abroad, *Opening Our Eyes* addressed the totality of film accessible to a UK audience, while also exploring a subset identified as "British films."[6]

Although both studies were limited by the funding available and by time pressure, I want to suggest that, considered together, these provide valuable new evidence of two axes that have been neglected in past audience studies. One is duration – the period over which film may be "effective," which has certainly been growing, and may now be considered equivalent to that of music and literature. The other is what might be termed "individuation of response." *Opening Our Eyes*, in particular, provides evidence that people do not respond identically or in predictable ways to the same film, even if a film is one that might seem to be intended for the mass market, and therefore aiming at a uniform response (and in this respect, it provides a distant link with the 1943 Mass Observation report on "favorite films"[7]).

In Search of Cultural Impact

The initial tasks undertaken in *Stories We Tell Ourselves* were to propose a workable definition of "culture" that would include the full spectrum of film; to define "impact" and find plausible measures and indicators of it; and to scope "UK film" in such a way that its cumulative or aggregate characteristics could be identified. Both of these involved considerable innovation and improvisation. The definition of culture that was adopted came, not from the complex and often fraught tradition of cultural studies, but from anthropology. Clifford Geertz, author of the influential *The Interpretation of Cultures* (1973), wrote of it as "a system of meanings embodied in symbols which provides peoples with a frame of reference to understand reality and animate their behavior"; and also, more succinctly, as "stories we tell ourselves about ourselves." These seemed to explain very precisely how film's storytelling contributes to culture, both on a national and a transnational level. In the absence of any developed methodology for measuring "cultural impact," the report looked to work that broadcasters have done in trying to measure their impact, which has generally focused on looking for evidence outside broadcasting itself, in other media or in society. Thus, while peer recognition (industry awards) and market success (box office and attendances) are significant, reference to a film *outside* the context of film could be taken as an indicator of impact. So too could the part that certain films have played in sparking controversy, and in some cases attracting censorship (BRIGHTON ROCK and A CLOCKWORK ORANGE are discussed in the report, as examples of films that became notorious for the violence portrayed, with the latter cited in trials of offenders[8]); while others have come to sum up a historical moment or national

state of mind. These latter are termed "zeitgeist moments" in *Stories We Tell Ourselves*, and examples given include Derek Jarman's JUBILEE (1977), CHARIOTS OF FIRE (Hugh Hudson, 1982), FOUR WEDDINGS AND A FUNERAL (Mike Newell, 1994) and BEND IT LIKE BECKHAM (Gurinder Chadha, 2002). They could also all be described, in an earlier terminology, as "state of the nation" films, which serve as long-term reference points.

The most ambitious aspect of *Stories We Tell Ourselves* was the creation of an outline database of all British feature-length films released between 1946-2006, which was used to generate samples (random and intuitive) for statistical analysis of the representation of various "British values."[9] Other samples drawn from this database were analyzed to provide case studies of impact, with a methodology that proposed different categories of impact, ranging from "original" (performance at first release) to "extended" (including awards, re-issue, publication in different formats and restoration), and "wider" (which includes citation in other media, evidence of esteem by cultural arbiters, and evidence of impact on behavior or society). What this matrix aimed to illustrate was the multiplicity of ways in which films could continue to resonate after their initial release, in some cases becoming symbols or shorthand for social attitudes and behavior. Other analyses of subsets from the database showed how the nations and regions of the UK were represented, both to themselves and to the outside world, and traced how ethnic minorities had gained representation, both on-screen and as filmmakers.

In these parts of *Stories We Tell Ourselves*, the conventional distinction between producers and receivers becomes more complex, as members of regional and ethnic minorities can be seen shifting from spectators dissatisfied with their non- or mis-representation, towards some at least becoming producers of the self-representations they want to see. A later part of the study examined the issue of national representation, in terms of how UK films are, or are not, perceived as "British." Thus small-scale ironic comedies about coping with hardship (THE FULL MONTY, BRASSED OFF) are seen as "typically British" by audiences throughout Europe and further afield, while larger-scale films with "British content," such as the HARRY POTTER adaptations, are often not perceived as "British" by international audiences, due to their US studio trappings. All audiences, we are reminded, bring preconceptions and expectations to their viewing, many of which involve stereotypes that have developed over long periods. What makes a film "British," or "American" or "French" in the eyes of a specific audience is the result of both a prior history of representation, necessarily selective, and a set of cues that determine the reading by members of this audience.

What is new in this process is the longevity of films that were once ephemeral, but are now made available through video publishing, retrospective screening, specialist television film channels, downloading and on-line viewing or sampling (as on YouTube). While this may foster a "new cinephilia" or connoisseurship, as Jullier and Leveratto argue elsewhere in this book,[10] it also creates wide opportu-

nities for the population at large to pursue and share their own enthusiasms, with important implications for state policy towards the film industry, archiving and education.

Film in All Its Forms Within a National Culture

The second UKFC-initiated study set out to supplement *Stories We tell Each Other* by asking a balanced sample of the whole UK population a series of questions designed to discover empirically what part film plays in their lives. The methodology used by the market research organization Ipsos MediaCT involved a preliminary stage of recruiting individuals by telephone and in the street, to take part in "paired depth" interviews held in four UK cities. These had all watched films on television, DVD, online or in the cinema during the previous twelve months, as well as participating in a minimum of other cultural and media activities; and their discussions, in pairs, were used to establish the language that would be used (and *not* used) in the larger quantitative survey, as well as the themes likely to recur, and the most frequently referenced kinds of engagement with film – ranging from entertainment to raising awareness of difficult and emotional issues.[11]

Informed by the qualitative interviews, a self-completion questionnaire was sent to a selection of members of the Ipsos online panel, balanced in terms of age, gender and region, and this achieved a response rate of 11.8%, or 2036 respondents, who can be considered representative of the full UK population aged 15-74. An important feature of this survey was that respondents did not know it was intended to elucidate attitudes to film, and any bias towards those especially interested in film was eliminated. In contrast, another survey, carried out by the advertising agency-backed *Film3Sixty* magazine in 2012, exploring the preferences and viewing habits of 18,000 respondents, was based on self-selecting film consumers and lacked the rigorous balance achieved by the Ipsos survey.[12] *Film3Sixty* respondents were invited to assign themselves to four crude categories of film consumer (Blockbuster only, Blockbuster mainly, Indie mainly and Indie only), which would be unlikely to deliver any objective assessment of the place of film in a national culture, let alone the changing parameters of cross-genre and multiplatform viewing. The Ipsos-Northern Alliance study also made use of case studies, based on films which were mentioned frequently by respondents as being "significant" for them, and on follow-up telephone interviews, and would seem to offer the best available account of film consumption and its meaning for a nation, at a time of rapid change in film viewing habits.

One of its most important "framing" conclusions was that of the estimated 5 billion annual film viewings in the UK, 57% were on television, 23% from DVD and Blu-ray (and therefore mainly on television and computer screens), 8% were via downloaded and streamed films (presumably on computer screens), 6% at

cinemas, 4% on a mobile device, and 2% on planes. Further analysis of the data on where films are watched reveals that 86% of the population watches a film on television at least once a month, and 63% watch a DVD or Blu-ray; although 29% also watch a film in the cinema at least once a month.[13] Film viewing, irrespective of platform, has therefore increased significantly since the cinema attendance record of 1946 (1.6 billion) and has become largely domesticated through television and forms of home-video. However, non-cinema/non-home viewing is also becoming increasingly "mobile," with airplane viewing – largely neglected in histories of spectatorship – a significant and growing element, along with viewing in trains, cars, and even while undergoing medical procedures.[14]

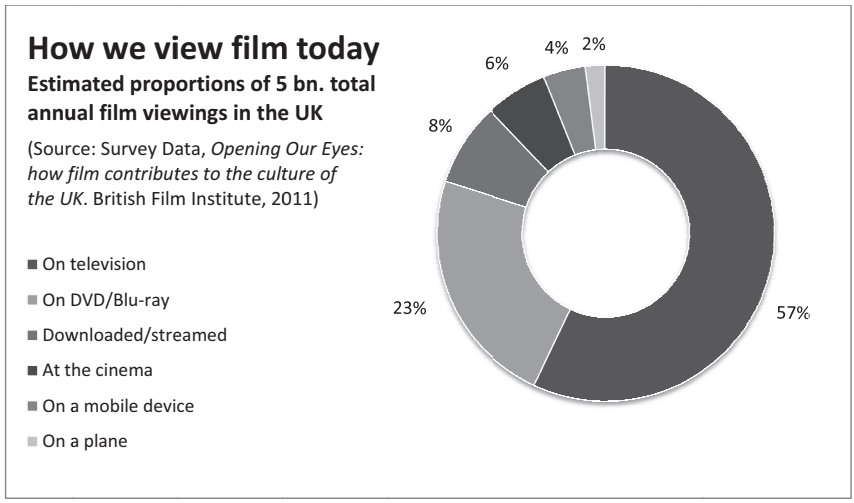

Fig. 1: Where and how films are viewed today. Source: Opening Our Eyes *(British Film Institute, 2011).*

One of the main aims of *Opening Our Eyes* was to estimate the contribution of film to the national culture as a whole, and the survey results established that film viewing rated high among other leisure and cultural activities, only slightly lower (84%) than the most popular activities of watching television and accessing UK news (both 88%). Detailed comparisons between those professing a strong interest in film and other activities (ranging from enjoying the countryside and eating out to engagement with other art forms and participating in a religion) suggest that "a strong interest in film correlates with a stronger than average interest" in many of these other activities.[15] Despite the domestication of film, those most interested also appear to be above-average attenders of theater, concerts, pubs and clubs, challenging the stereotype of film enthusiasts as antisocial or lacking wider interests.

There are few surprises in the general findings about what kinds of films the UK population prefers. What the survey perhaps unhelpfully termed "blockbusters" are the most often watched, while comedy, drama and action/adventure emerge as the most popular genres. There are, however, some qualifications that should be made before accepting these at face value. One has to do with early access to film – the phase which is most dependent on being near a cinema. Having established that "cinema preference is conditioned by the choice available,"[16] in an unevenly screened country such as the UK, with a severe deficit in independent and "art" cinemas, it is clear that for the most part only city-dwellers have access to independent cinemas which show a wider range of films than multiplexes, and that multiplexes are programmed to maximize the impact and appeal of "blockbusters" and generally mainstream films.[17] What are recorded as preferences may therefore be, to some extent, the product of access conditions as much as "choice."

Another qualification concerns the classification of films for the survey. Blockbusters are defined as "the type of film watched most often by the largest group of people," which is a different kind of definition (and a circular one) from those of genres, such as comedy, drama, horror, etc, and the categories of "comic book movie," "art house film" and "foreign language film" also used in the survey. The problem with these is that audiences usually do not seem to perceive films in this way. Thus, for instance, "sci-fi" and "fantasy" come sixth and tenth in the order of preferred genres, yet AVATAR – surely belonging to one or both of these categories – was by far the most commercially successful film of the year before the survey took place, and was the third most cited film by respondents. Likewise, "animation" is rated eleventh among preferred genres, despite the ICE AGE, MONSTERS, INC., SHREK and MADAGASCAR franchises being among the most popular of all recent films; while "comic book movie" comes fifteenth on the genres list, in spite of the manifest success of the SUPERMAN, BATMAN and SPIDERMAN series. Clearly, these extremely popular films are not perceived in the genre terms used in the survey, any more than an admirer of films by Almodóvar, Von Trier or Haneke would identify these primarily as "foreign language films."

But if the survey's findings on preferences need to be read with caution, its account of "what effects films have on us" is considerably more revealing, and ground-breaking. The main conclusions are worth quoting verbatim:

> People most commonly associate film with entertainment and emotional reactions – but half of the respondents think it has artistic value and over a third think film is educational.
>
> 85% of people had seen a film recently that had provoked them to do something – even if only to talk about it to friends and family.

> Two-thirds of people had seen a film they found educational or which gave them an insight into other cultures.
>
> Substantial minorities have followed up a film by taking action such as joining a club, writing a letter or otherwise becoming involved [in some activity].[18]

What emerges from the lengthy list of films chosen by respondents as "significant for them" – ranging from The King's Speech, Schindler's List and Avatar to The Godfather, The Blind Side and Ghost – is, above all, that *films mean different things to different people*; or more precisely, can have different meanings according to context and subject-position.[19] Even "blockbusters" such as Avatar produced very different reactions, ranging from the aesthetic and near-religious, to viewers being stimulated to think about ecology, about native peoples facing imperialism, and about the challenge of architecture in different environments. Before a film, we are indeed all individuals, responding according to our own backgrounds, interests, affiliations; and this is no less – indeed, one is tempted to speculate, may be more so – when the film has been deliberately designed for the mass market.

Fig. 2: UK viewers of Avatar recorded reactions ranging from the aesthetic and near-religious, to being stimulated to think about ecology, about native peoples facing imperialism, and about architecture in different environments. Opening Our Eyes *(2011).*

Three other important aspects of audience response are illuminated by *Opening Our Eyes*. One is the role that film plays in shaping a sense of personal, and per-

haps social, identity. Many respondents recorded that films had made an early impression on them, and had become touchstones or reference points as they moved through life. A Scottish man had first seen GALLIPOLI (Peter Weir, 1981) at school, subsequently bought a video and regularly re-viewed it. Another reported, "I always see A TASTE OF HONEY (Tony Richardson, 1961) as part of my historical social background, it was filmed at locations near to where I lived at the time [...] being also from a working-class family."[20] A Londoner wrote that "EAST IS EAST (Damien O'Donnell, 1999) made me aware of different cultures – I lived in a multicultural area but never really thought about different lives."[21]

Part of the *Opening Our Eyes* questionnaire dealt specifically with attitudes to UK films, and how these are perceived as reflecting the reality of British life, and potentially defining British identity. 70% of respondents were able to identify the last British film they had seen, although less than half thought that the film was "true to life."[22] However, 65% thought it important that UK films should give a truthful picture of life in Britain; and this conviction carried through into support for state (or National Lottery) funding to ensure the continuation of indigenous British filmmaking. It also produced a "canon" of British films that were deemed to portray the UK in some pertinent or provocative way – a list headed by TRAINSPOTTING (Danny Boyle, 1996: cited by 189 respondents), followed by THE FULL MONTY (Peter Cattaneo, 1997: 102 mentions), EAST IS EAST (82 mentions) and BILLY ELLIOT (Stephen Daldry, 2000: 52 mentions). While there were some regional emphases and differences – including confirmation of the impact of BRAVEHEART (Mel Gibson, 1995) on Scottish audiences, and identification with Shane Meadows' view of working-class Midlands life in THIS IS ENGLAND (2006) – there was also evidence of a shared view of the essential character of UK films as depicting people coming together to face adversity, with resilience and humor. These same qualities appeared to be precisely what non-UK audiences appreciated in the British films that they saw.

The third new aspect of audience response that was illuminated by *Opening Our Eyes* links it with the earlier study of cultural impact in the era of films' "extended" life. One survey question asked respondents to name a film they had watched "three or more times," with a view to exploring how consumers use the many opportunities they now have to re-view films. Interestingly, the titles most often cited were largely different from those mentioned elsewhere, and point towards a canon of films that:

> [E]xemplify important emotional and psychological effects produced by film. Owing to ever-increasing opportunities for re-viewing, they have become perennial favourites, outside the canons of industry and criticism.[23]

Although this list is headed by STAR WARS and LORD OF THE RINGS (which no doubt owed their prominence in some degree to being multi-part series), the most

significant titles in the "top ten" may be DIRTY DANCING (Emile Ardolino, 1987: 88 mentions), THE SOUND OF MUSIC (Robert Wise, 1965: 87 mentions), GREASE (Randal Kleiser, 1978: 47 mentions) and THE SHAWSHANK REDEMPTION (Frank Darabont, 1994: 49 mentions), all of which seem to have very distinct emotional resonance for viewers, the first three for women especially, and the last for men. While critically-endorsed "classics" are benefitting from the current opportunities to form DVD collections and to re-view, there are clearly other films which satisfy emotional or nostalgic needs that are becoming "perennial" in a new way.

Stories We Tell Ourselves marshalled evidence for the growing importance of British films enjoying a "long tail" of influence and impact, identifying the crucial role of the Internet:

> The internet has proved to be a fertile public space for information and conversation about films: in place of a top-down hierarchy of critical judgment, there are now highly democratic virtual communities of interlocutors, sharing information, recommendations and debate. Websites such as IMDb and Rotten Tomatoes [carry] users' comments as well as published criticism [...] and can mitigate the lack of critical exposure for less commercially high profile films.[24]

Fig. 3: Open-air screenings and "event cinema" have contributed to the "growing variety of film viewing outside the movie theater." Opening Our Eyes *(2011).*

Three years on, the spread of digital connectivity has made this claim self-evidently true. But between the two studies, cinema exhibition made a determined effort to revive its mass audience by launching a new era of stereoscopic spectacle, and the worldwide commercial success of AVATAR and its 3D successors spearheaded the re-equipment of cinemas with digital projectors.[25] How did audiences feel about 3D? In contrast to much critical disdain, the respondents in *Opening Our Eyes* evinced considerable enthusiasm, at least for AVATAR. This ranked third overall among films that affected respondents, and while many said that its message was significant for them, 40% also described being affected by the technical aspects of the film (compared with only 8% of all respondents when describing their significant film). This admiration for the film's visual spectacle was expressed in aesthetic terms, such as "beautiful" and "a visual feast," with others recalling "not being able to take my eyes off the screen" and "not being able to stop talking about it."[26] Despite the variable quality and appeal of subsequent 3D releases, this has remained an important new element within cinema exhibition,[27] offering a new form of large-scale visual spectacle – at the same time as small-scale mobile devices have also been gaining market share.

Opening Our Eyes concluded that "film is central to the cultural life of the UK," and "that it has a far-reaching range of impacts on the individual," adding that "future research [...] could learn from and contribute to the growing literature on well-being."[28] It also took the optimistic view that, thanks to the "growing variety of viewing outside the movie theatre, we may now be at the beginning of a golden age for film." A golden age, however, where "film" in its traditional forms may have to compete with opera and other kinds of "live" presentation made possible by digital projection – in an ironic new twist on how "animated photography" first forced its way into the programs of music halls.

Notes

Introduction: In Search of Audiences

1. Maxim Gorky, "The Lumière Cinematograph,"*Nizhegorodskii listok*, 4 July 1896, trans. in *The Film Factory: Russian and Soviet Cinema in Documents 1896-1936*, eds. Richard Taylor and Ian Christie (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1988), 25-26.
2. Luke McKernan, "Diverting Time: London's Cinemas and Their Audiences, 1906-1914," *The London Journal*, vol. 32, no. 2 (July 2007): 125-144, available at https://docs.google.com/viewer?url=http://www.lukemckernan.com/LDN2202.pdf. This study formed part of The London Project, an AHRB-funded research program at Birkbeck College, University of London.
3. *A Future for British Film – it begins with the audience*, a report chaired by Chris Smith. UK Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2012, available at https://docs.google.com/viewer?url=http://www.culture.gov.uk/images/publications/DCMS_film_policy_review_report-2012_update.pdf.
4. A landmark cinema in Amsterdam, opened in 1921 and still operating as a cinema.
5. Otto Rank, *The Double: A Psychoanalytic Study* [*Der Doppelgänger*,1914, revised 1925] (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1971). See also Emilie Altenloh's "A Sociology of the Cinema and the Audience," *Screen* 42, no. 3 (autumn 2001).
6. Hugo Münsterberg, *The Photoplay: A Psychological Study* (New York & London: Appleton, 1916).
7. On the Russian "formalists," see *The Poetics of Cinema* [*Poetika kino*, 1927], ed. Richard Taylor (Oxford: Holdan Books, 1982); Ian Christie, "Formalism and Neo-formalism," *Oxford Guide to Film Studies*, ed. John Hill, Pamela Church Gibson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); Oksana Bulgakowa, *Sergei Eisenstein: A Biography*, trans. Anne Dwyer (Berlin & San Francisco: Potemkin Press, 1998), 60, 88-89.
8. In Apollinaire's story "Un beau film," an unscrupulous production company, La *Cinematographic International Company*, secures a series of indiscreet scenes, which culminate in filming a real crime. Guillaume Apollinaire, *L'Hérésiarque et Cie* (Paris: Editions Stock, 1967), 240-246.
9. According to Rachael Low, "the Influence of Film was already a popular phrase [c.1910], and under its cloak were discovered a most varied collection of effects real and supposed." Rachael Low, *The History of the British Film, vol 2, 1906-1914* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1948), 31ff.
10. Jules Romains, "The Crowd at the Cinematograph," [1911] in *French Film Theory and Criticism: A History/Anthology*, vol. 1, ed. Richard Abel (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 53.
11. Letter of 1908 to Blanche Jennings, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence, vol 1, 1901-13*, eds. James T. Boulton and Andrew Robertson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

1979), 81. Quoted in John Carey, *The Intellectuals and the Masses* (London: Faber, 1991), 12.

12. *Seeing in the Dark: A Compendium of Cinemagoing* (London: Serpent's Tail, 1990), edited by the artist Ian Breakwell and Surrealist scholar Paul Hammond, entertainingly broke this silence. *Opening Our Eyes*, the 2011 BFI-UKFC report discussed here in "What Do We *Really* Know About the Film Audience Today?," 225-234, included survey responses about cinemagoing as a social activity (p. 28).
13. See press report of the discovery of documents relating to complaints about "disgraceful conduct" at a North London cinema in 1916, "Archives shed light on back row goings-on at London cinema," *The Guardian*, April 28, 2011, accessed at http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2011/apr/28/archives-scandalous-goings-on-london-cinemas; also Jonathan Burrows, "Penny Pleasures II: Indecency, Anarchy and Junk Film in London's 'Nickelodeons,' 1906-1914," *Film History* 16:2 (summer 2004): 172-197.
14. *The Amusement Situation in the City of Boston*, a report by Twentieth Century Club, Boston 1910, quoted in Garth S. Jowett, "The First Motion Picture Audiences," in *Film Before Griffith*, ed. John L. Fell (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 202.
15. *Pittsburgh Survey*, quoted in Jowett, 204.
16. Quotations from Elizabeth Beardsley Butler, *Women and the Trades: Pittsburgh, 1907-08* (New York: Charities Publication Committee, 1909), and from Margaret F. Byington, *Homestead: The Households of a Milltown* (Pittsburgh: Russell Sage Foundation, 1910), both quoted by Jowett, 204-5.
17. Motion pictures were defined before the US Supreme Court in 1915 as "harmless entertainment," see Richard Maltby, *Harmless Entertainment: Hollywood and the Ideology of Consensus* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1983), 13.
18. Herbert Blumer, *Movies and Conduct* [1933] (New York: Arno Press, 1970), 198.
19. See for instance Ian Jarvie's pioneering *Towards a Sociology of the Cinema* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970), and more recently Garth S. Jowett and Victoria O'Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion* (Thousand Oaks, Ca., & London: Sage Publications, 2006).
20. Jeffrey Richards and Dorothy Sheridan, *Mass Observation at the Movies* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), 220-221.
21. *Mass Observation at the Movies*, 225.
22. *Ibid.*, 228.
23. *Ibid.*, 262.
24. *Ibid.*, 262
25. *Ibid.*, 261.
26. J. P. Mayer, *The Sociology of Film: Studies and Documents* (London: Faber, 1946), and *British Cinemas and their Audiences* (London: Ayer Publishing, 1948).
27. Mayer, *British Cinemas*, 13-14.
28. Gregory Bateson, "An Analysis of the Nazi Film *Hitlerjunge Quex*," in *The Study of Culture at a Distance*, eds. Margaret Mead and Rhoda Métraux (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), 302; quoted in Eric Rentschler, "Emotional Engineering: Hitler Youth Quex," *Modernism/Modernity* 2.3 (1995): 23-44, available at http://http-server.carleton.ca/~jevans/2509/RentschlerHJ.pdf.

29. Liz McNiven, "Torres Strait Islanders," Curator's Notes, *Australian Screen*, National Film and Sound Archive, available at http://aso.gov.au/titles/historical/torres-strait-islanders/notes/.
30. See Joram ten Brink, ed., *Building Bridges: The Cinema of Jean Rouch* (London: Wallflower Press, 2007).
31. Edgar Morin, *Le cinéma ou l'homme imaginaire*, subtitled "essai d'anthropologie" (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1958). Translated by Lorraine Mortimer as *The Cinema, or The Imaginary Man* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005).
32. The most influential text in this field was Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," first published in *Screen* 16.3 (autumn 1975), which assumed "pre-existing patterns of fascination already at work within the individual subject and the social formations that have molded him" (p. 6).
33. On texts "constructing," or implying viewers see, for example, Nick Browne, "The Spectator-in-the-Text: The Rhetoric of *Stagecoach*," *Film Quarterly* 29.2 (winter 1975-76): 26-38.
34. The concept of a general science or doctrine of signs can be traced back to late 17th-century philosophers, such as John Locke, but took clearer shape in the work of the logician C. S. Peirce and the linguistician Ferdinand de Saussure and others. Its application to modern communications and especially to film was popularized in the 1960s by Roland Barthes (*Elements of Semiology*, 1964/67), Peter Wollen, "Cinema and Semiology: Some Points of Contact," in *Working Papers on the Cinema: Sociology and Semiology* (London: British Film Institute, n.d. [c.1967]; and by Christian Metz, *Film Language: A Semiotics of the Cinema* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974).
35. Peter Wollen, *Signs and Meaning in the Cinema* (London: Secker and Warburg/British Film Institute, 1969), 169.
36. Proportionately more attention has been paid to American cinemagoing than to other countries; see, for instance, Richard Maltby, Melvyn Stokes and Robert C. Allen, eds., *Going to the Movies: Hollywood and the Social Experience of Cinema* (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2007).
37. Robert C. Allen, "Motion Picture Exhibition in Manhattan, 1906-1912: Beyond the Nickelodeon," *Cinema Journal* 18, no. 2 (spring 1979).
38. In the UK, the sociologist David Morley was instrumental in moving study of the television audience from textual analysis to considering how "individual interpretation of programmes could be shown to vary systematically in relation to... sociocultural background." See Morley and Charlotte Brunsdon, *Everyday Television: "Nationwide"* (London: British Film Institute, 1978), and Morley, "Interpreting Television," in *Popular Culture and Everyday Life* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1981), 40-68. For an overview of the complexity generated by "cultural studies" approaches to television audiences, see Virginia Nightingale, *Studying Audiences: The Shock of the Real* (London: Routledge, 1996).
39. See, for instance, Raymond Bellour's survey of recent "end of cinema" literature in "The Cinema Spectator: A Special Memory," 206-217.
40. On the "long history" of screen entertainment, see Christie, "Screening the City: A Sketch for the Long History of London Screen Entertainment," in *Extended Cinema: le cinema gagne de terrain*, eds. Philippe Dubois, Frederic Monvoisin, Elena Biserma (Pa-

sian di Prato, It.: Campanotto Editore, 2010), also available at http://www.ianchristie.org/screeningthecity.html.

41. See Laura Mulvey, *Death 24x a Second: Stillness and the Moving Image* (London: Reaktion Books, 2006). Mulvey borrowed the concept from Bellour, "The Pensive Spectator," *Wide Angle* vol ix/1.
42. Edgar Morin wrote of the "double consciousness" of cinema, due to the fact that "the illusion of reality is inseparable from the awareness that it is an illusion," in *Le cinema ou l'homme imaginaire* [cited in Dominique Chateau, ed. *Subjectivity* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011), 184].
43. Virginia Woolf, "The Cinema," [1926] in *The Crowded Dance of Modern Life: Selected Essays* vol. 2, ed. Rachel Bowlby (London: Penguin Books, 1993), 56.
44. Woolf, "The Cinema," 58.
45. Roland Barthes "Leaving the Movie Theatre," [1975] in *The Rustle of Language* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), 349.
46. See, for instance, such participatory forms of exhibition as Secret Cinema, http://www.secretcinema.org/; also http://www.guardian.co.uk/film/2012/jul/05/secret-cinema-new-way-pull-audiences?intcmp=239.

"At the Picture Palace": The British Cinema Audience, 1895-1920

1. The proceedings of the Brighton conference were published in two volumes as R. Holman, ed, *Cinema 1900-1906: An Analytical Study* (Brussels: FIAF, 1982).
2. South African National Film Archives, Gutsche Papers, C. Urban to T. Gutsche (7 January 1939).
3. L. Wood, *The Romance of the Movies* (London: William Heinemann, 1937), 73-76; B. Salt, *Film Style and Technology: History and Analysis*, 2nd ed. (London: Starwood, 1992), 59.
4. "Explaining the Pictures," *Bioscope*, 25 February, 1909, 3.
5. "Northern Notes," *Kinematograph Weekly*, 3 June, 1915, 6, 107. Cinema numbers are derived from returns in the *Bioscope Annual* for 1910-11 and 1913, and the *Kinematograph Year Book* for 1916. The 1915 yearbooks are unreliable, as this was the first year when cinema managers were urged to send returns to both publications, and the result was under-registration. The 1914 figure is thus that accepted by the exhibitors: "The Cinematograph and Education," *Times*, 4 March, 1914, 8.
6. Data concerning the construction of purpose-built cinemas, 1907-18, were determined by taking the known dates of the opening of purpose-built cinemas in Birmingham, Leeds, Bristol, Bradford, Hull, Newcastle and Oxford, and enlarging this sample to national scale. Details of cinema construction in Leeds were kindly supplied by Robert Preedy. Other figures were derived from P. J. Marriott, *Early Oxford Picture Palaces* (Oxford: Paul J. Marriott, 1978); C. Anderson, *A City and Its Cinemas* (Bristol: Redcliffe, 1983); G. J. Mellor, *The Cinemas of Bradford* (Leeds: Robert E. Preedy, 1983); V. J. Price, *Birmingham Cinemas: Their Films and Stars 1900 – 1960* (Studley: Brewin Books, 1986); R. E. Preedy, *Remembering the Old Cinemas of Humberside* (Leeds: Amadeus Press, 1988); F. Manders, *Cinemas of Newcastle: A Comprehensive History of the Cinemas of Newcastle upon Tyne* (Newcastle: Newcastle City Libraries, 1991). These fig-

ures were enlarged to national scale on the basis of the 4700 cinemas which the producer Cecil Hepworth had on his mailing list in 1915: H. Bolce, "Crowding Cinemas in War Time," *System*, April 1915, 260.

7. These statistics of "entertainment films" released in Britain are taken from Dennis Gifford's *The British Film Catalogue 1895 – 1985: A Reference Guide*, 2nd ed. (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1986). Gifford's definition of an entertainment film excludes "all newsreels, documentaries, and films of pure actuality, advertisement, education, information, propaganda, and travel."
8. Public Record Office, London, BT 31/19440/109321, Associated Electric Theatres, Limited file, prospectus dated 29 April 1910: C. Calvert, *Historical Review of the Cinematograph* (London: Gilbert Brothers, 1911), 3.
9. "The Picture Palace Menace," *Answers*, 15 October, 1910, 576.
10. F. A. Talbot, *Moving Pictures: How They Are Made and Worked* (London: William Heinemann, 1912), 325.
11. Calculated from Denis Gifford's *The British Film Catalogue 1895 – 1985: A Reference Guide*.
12. *Hansard*, House of Commons, 18 July, 1921, col. 1964 [A.E. Newbould].
13. "The Kinema in 1921," in *Daily Mail Year Book 1922* (London: Daily Mail, 1921), 42.
14. "Time and Tide," *London Argus*, 26 January, 1907, 334.
15. G. L. Johnson, *Photographic Optics and Colour Photography* (London: Ward, 1909), 31.
16. I. Christie, *The Last Machine: Early Cinema and the Birth of the Modern World* (London: British Film Institute, 1994), 12.
17. "Pictures in Education," *Times Educational Supplement*, 6 August, 1912, 90.
18. J. M. Hutcheson, "Music in the Cinema," *Bioscope*, 17 August, 1916, 627; M. Newbolt, ed., *The Later Life and Letters of Sir Henry Newbolt* (London: Faber and Faber, 1942), 230; D. S. Higgins, ed., *The Private Diaries of Sir H. Rider Haggard 1914-1925* (London: Cassell, 1980), 84.
19. W. T. George, *Playing to Pictures: A guide for Pianists and Conductors of Motion Picture Theatres*, 2nd ed. (London: Kinematograph Weekly, 1914), 9.
20. "Birmingham Branch," *Cinema*, 6 December, 1917, 9; "Cinema Notes from Brum and the Midlands," *Cinema*, 13 December, 1917, 88; "The Right Spirit," *Kinematograph Weekly*, 13 December, 1917, 76; "Technical Section," *Kinematograph Weekly*, 15 August, 1918, 74.
21. *Kinematograph Weekly*, 12 September, 1907, 274.
22. Public Record Office, London, HO 45/10376/161425, file 6, Document no.3, "Cinematograph Displays (Unlicensed Premises)," February 1908.
23. G. Edgar, ed., "How to Become a Bioscope Theatre Proprietor," in *Careers for Men Women and Children*, vol. I (London: George Newnes, 1911), 108.
24. L. Trevelyan, "The Picture Pianist," *Bioscope*, 15 June, 1911, 565.
25. "Non-Flam Films and Music," in *'The Stage' Year Book 1915* (London: The Stage, 1915), 172.
26. E. Strong, "On the Screen," *Illustrated Films Monthly* (January 1914): 251.
27. W. R. Titterton, *From Theatre to Music Hall* (London: Stephen Swift & Co., 1912), 68: "National Service and the Entertainment Tax" *Cinema* (1 March 1917): 28; W. Beeson, "The Modern Picture House and Its Music," *Music Student* (June 1918): 392; A.

E. Davison, "Picture Music," *Musical News* (7 December 1918): 163; A. L. Salmon, "Music at the Cinema," *Musical Times* (1 December 1920): 804.

28. C. B. Hawkins, *Norwich: A Social Study* (London: Philip Lee Warner, 1910), 310-311.
29. *How to Run a Picture Theatre: A Handbook for Proprietors, Managers, and Exhibitors*, 2nd ed. (London: E. T. Heron, 1914), 24.
30. *Leicester Daily Post*, 22 December, 1914, quoted in D. R. Williams, *Cinema in Leicester 1896-1931* (Loughborough: Heart of Albion Press, 1993), 105.
31. National Council of Public Morals, *The Cinema: Its Present Position and Future Possibilities* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1917), 17-18.
32. R. H. Dewes, "Cinemagoing in Silent Days: A Midland Tale," *Picture House*, no. 3 (spring 1983): 18.
33. V. van Damm, *Tonight and Every Night* (London: Stanley Paul, 1952), 30.
34. National Council of Public Morals, *The Cinema: Its Present Position and Future Possibilities* (London, 1917), 239-240.
35. R.H. Dewes, "Cinemagoing in Silent Days: A Midland Tale," *Picture House*, no.3 (spring 1983): 19.
36. [London], "London's Picture Palaces," *Evening News*, 16 November, 1909, 1; Calvert, *Historical Review of the Cinematograph*, 4, 6; D. Crane, "The Picture Palace: How are We to Regard It?" *Quiver*, March 1912, 455.
37. National Council of Public Morals, *The Cinema: Its Present Position and Future Possibilities*, 3.
38. "Southport Notes," *Kinematograph Weekly*, 2 May, 1918, 77.
39. E. F. Spence, *Our Stage and Its Critics* (London: n.p., 1910), 242-243; "Best Seats at the Back," *Bioscope*, 5 May, 1910, 3.

The Gentleman in the Stalls: Georges Méliès and Spectatorship in Early Cinema

1. See for instance, Miriam Hansen, *Babel and Babylon. Spectatorship in American Silent Film* (Cambridge, Mass. & London: Harvard University Press, 1991); Lauren Rabinovitz, *For the Love of Pleasure. Women, Movies, and Culture in Turn-of-the-Century Chicago* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1998); and Heide Schlüpmann, *Unheimlichkeit des Blicks. Das Drama des frühen deutschen Kinos* (Basel & Frankfurt am Main: Stroemfeld/Roter Stern, 1990).
2. Georges Sadoul, *Histoire générale du cinéma 2. Les pionniers du cinéma (de Méliès à Pathé) 1897-1909* (Paris: Denoël, 1978), 141-142.
3. *Ibid.*, 142 [my translation, emphasis by Sadoul].
4. For the formal features of *féerie* see Frank Kessler, "A Trip to the Moon as Féerie," in *Fantastic Voyages of the Cinematic Imagination. George Méliès's Trip to the Moon*, ed. Matthew Solomon (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2011), 115-128.
5. Siegfried Kracaucer, *Theory of Film. The Redemption of Physical Reality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960), 30.
6. *Ibid.*, 33.
7. See for instance, Tom Gunning, "A Quarter of a Century Later. Is Early Cinema Still Early?" *KINtop. Jahrbuch zur Erforschung des frühen Films* 12 (2003): 17-31.

8. Frank Kessler, "The Cinema of Attractions as Dispositif," in *The Cinema of Attractions Reloaded*, ed. Wanda Strauven (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 57-69.
9. Noël Burch, *Life to Those Shadows* (London: British Film Institute, 1990).
10. André Gaudreault, and Tom Gunning, "Early Cinema as a Challenge to Film History," in *The Cinema of Attractions Reloaded*, ed. Wanda Strauven (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 365-380, and Tom Gunning, "The Cinema of Attractions. Early Film, Its Spectator and the Avant-Garde," in *Early Cinema. Space, Frame, Narrative*, ed. Thomas Elsaesser (London: British Film Institute, 1990), 56-62.
11. Tom Gunning, "'Primitive' Cinema. A Frame-up? Or The Trick's on Us," in *Early Cinema. Space, Frame, Narrative*, ed. Thomas Elsaesser (London: British Film Institute, 1990), 99.
12. This is why Jacques Malthête (1984) chooses the term "collage" rather than "montage."
13. Gunning, "'Primitive' Cinema. A Frame-up? Or The Trick's on Us," 100.
14. Jacques Malthête, "L'organisation de l'espace méliésien," in *Les premiers ans du cinéma français*, ed. Pierre Guibbert, 182-189 (Perpignan: Institut Jean Vigo, 1985), 163.
15. Ben Brewster, and Lea Jacobs, *Theatre to Cinema* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 171.
16. Georges Méliès, "Kinematographic Views," [1907] in *Film and Attraction. From Kinematography to Cinema*, ed. André Gaudreault, 136-152 (Urbana etc.: University of Illinois Press, 2011), 145.
17. This concerns also the fact that the sets, the costumes or the make-up of the actors have to be black, white, or various shades of gray in order to not only photograph well, but also to allow subsequent coloring; see Méliès, "Kinematographic Views," 143-144.
18. Quoted in Malthête-Méliès, *Madeleine. Méliès l'enchanteur* (Paris: Hachette, 1973), 193.
19. Méliès, "Kinematographic Views," 141.
20. *Ibid.*, 148.
21. See for instance J. Moynet, *L'envers du théâtre. Machines et decorations* (Paris: Hachette, 1873) and subsequent editions of this book.
22. Gunning, "The Cinema of Attractions. Early Film, Its Spectator and the Avant-Garde," 57.
23. Méliès, "Kinematographic Views," 145.
24. On Méliès and his acting towards the camera see Frank Kessler, and Sabine Lenk, "L'adresse-Méliès," in *Georges Méliès l'illusionniste fin de siècle*, eds. Jacques Malthête and Michel Marie (Paris: Presses de l'Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, 1997), 183-199, and Jean Châteauvert, "Regards à la caméra. Les comédiens en point de mire," in *La firme Pathé Frères*, eds. Michel Marie and Laurent le Forestier (Paris: AFHRC, 2004), 219-236.
25. On the Filmology movement and its terminology see also Edward Lowry, *The Filmology Movement and Film Studies in France* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985), 84-86. I have followed Lowry's translation in my use of the terms.

Beyond the Nickelodeon: Cinemagoing, Everyday Life and Identity Politics

1. Ben Singer, "Manhattan Nickelodeons: New Data on Audiences and Exhibitors," *Cinema Journal* 34, no. 3 (spring 1995): 5.
2. Richard Maltby, "On the Prospect of Writing Cinema History from Below," *Tijdschrift voor Mediageschiedenis* 9. 2 (2006): 85. For a slightly revised version, see Maltby, "How Can Cinema History Matter More?" Screening the Past 22 (2007). Available from http://www.latrobe.edu.au/screeningthepast/22/board-richard-maltby.html.
3. All translations from the Yiddish are my own.
4. Giorgio Bertellini, *Italy in Early American Cinema: Race, Landscape, and the Picturesque* (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2010), 135.
5. *Ibid.*, 171.
6. Barton W. Currie, "The Nickel Madness," *Harper's Weekly*, 24 August, 1907. Available from http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/historyonline/nickel_madness.cfm.
7. Miriam Hansen, *Babel & Babylon: Spectatorship in American Silent Film* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991), 77.
8. Vachel Lindsay, *The Art of the Moving Picture* [1915] (New York: The Modern Library, 2000), 116, 139.
9. Mary Heaton Vorse, "Some Picture Show Audiences," *The Outlook* (24 June 1911): 445.
10. John Collier, "Cheap Amusements," *Charities and Commons*, April 11, 1908, 76.
11. Hansen, *Babel & Babylon*, 66.
12. Lewis Jacobs, *The Rise of the American Film: A Critical History* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1939), 12.
13. Garth Jowett, *Film: A Democratic Art* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1976).
14. Robert Sklar, *Movie-Made America: A Cultural History of American Movies* (New York: Random House, 1975), 3.
15. Singer, "Manhattan Nickelodeons," 5-35.
16. Steven J. Ross, *Working Class Hollywood: Silent Film and the Shaping of Class in America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 3.
17. Bertellini, *Italy in Early American Cinema*, 240.
18. Robert C. Allen, "Motion Picture Exhibition in Manhattan, 1906-1912: Beyond the Nickelodeon," *Cinema Journal* 18, no. 2 (spring 1979): 2-15; Robert C. Allen, *Vaudeville and Film, 1895-1915: A Study in Media Interaction* (New York: Arno Press, 1980), Robert C. Allen and Douglas Gomery, *Film History: Theory and Practice* (New York etc: McGraw-Hill, 1985), 202-212, and Russell Merritt, "Nickelodeon Theaters, 1905-1914: Building an Audience for the Movies," in *The American Film Industry*, ed. Tino Balio (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1976), 59-79.
19. Allen, "Motion Picture Exhibition in Manhattan, 2-15.
20. *Ibid.*, 4.
21. *Ibid.*, 13.
22. Fierce criticism came eventually from Robert Sklar. In an essay on methodology in film studies, he dismissed the revisionist contribution to early American film history as unsound scholarship and a representative of bourgeois ideology rather than an

analysis of it. Robert Sklar, "Oh! Althusser!: Historiography and the Rise of Cinema Studies," *Radical History Review* 41 (spring 1988), reprinted in *Resisting Images: Essays in Cinema and History*, ed. Robert Sklar and Charles Musser (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990), 12-35.

23. Richard Abel, *The Red Rooster Scare: Making Cinema American, 1900-1910* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Lee Grieveson, *Policing Cinema: Movies and Censorship in Early-Twentieth-Century America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); Sumiko Higashi, *Cecil B. DeMille and American Culture: The Silent Era* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Janet Staiger, *Bad Women: Regulating Sexuality in Early Cinema* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995); William Uricchio and Roberta E. Pearson, *Reframing Culture: The Case of the Vitagraph Quality Films* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).
24. Bertellini, *Italy in Early American Cinema*; Jacqueline Najuma Stewart, *Migrating to the Movies: Cinema and Black Urban Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).
25. *Ibid.*, 241.
26. Miriam Hansen, *Babel & Babylon*, 1991.
27. *Ibid.*, 91.
28. Gregory A. Waller, *Main Street Amusements: Movies and Commercial Entertainment in a Southern City, 1896-1930* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), xvii and xiii.
29. For a recent overview of this trend, see Richard Maltby, Daniel Biltereyst and Philippe Meers, eds., *Explorations in New Cinema History; Approaches and Case Studies* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011).
30. Frank Kessler, "Viewing Pleasures, Pleasuring Views: Forms of Spectatorship in Early Cinema," in *Film – Kino – Zuschauer: Filmrezeption*, eds. Irmbert Schenk, Margrit Tröhler and Yvonne Zimmermann (Marburg: Schueren, 2010), 64.
31. Roy Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 201, and Waller, *Main Street Amusements*.
32. For instance, despite its promising title, the recent anthology *Hollywood in the Neighborhood: Historical Case Studies of Local Moviegoing*, edited by Kathryn H. Fuller-Seeley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008) does not contain a single study of metropolitan moviegoing or film exhibition in America's Little Italies, Klein Deutschlands, Little Polands, and Hebrew quarters. I do not suggest that we have to put New York City once again at the center of the historiographic universe. The pitfalls of "Gothamcentrism" have been more than once convincingly explained, notably by Robert Allen. However, as Allen himself points out, "Manhattan has long been at the epicenter of the imagined map of American movie audiences and moviegoing." That alone calls for a better understanding of its cinema history. Robert C. Allen, "Decentering Historical Audience Studies: A Modest Proposal," in *Hollywood in the Neighborhood*, 20. See also Allen, "Manhattan Myopia; or Oh! Iowa!" *Cinema Journal* 35, no. 3 (spring 1996): 75-103.
33. The following sections revise some of my earlier research on Steiner. See in particular "Charlie Steiner's Houston Hippodrome: Moviegoing on New York's Lower

East Side, 1909-1913," in *American Silent Film: Discovering Marginalized Voices*, eds. Gregg Bachman and Tom Slater (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press), 27-47, and "Jewish Immigrant Audiences in New York City (1905-1914)," in *American Movie Audiences: From the Turn of the Century to the Early Sound Era*, eds. Melvyn Stokes and Richard Maltby (London: BFI Publishing, 1999), 15-28.

34. "Vu zaynen ahingekumen di yidishe muyzik hols?" *Forward*, May 24, 1908.
35. John Collier, "Cheap Amusements," 74.
36. *Fifteenth Annual Report of the College Settlement* (New York, 1903-1904), Plate no. 1, copied from maps in the *First Report of the Tenement House Department of New York* (1902-1903).
37. Jeff Kisseloff, *You Must Remember This: An Oral History of Manhattan from the 1890s to World War II* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 47.
38. Office of the City Register, Pre-1917 Conveyances, Section II, liber 226 cp 183, Henry and Charles Steiner to Harry Marks (lease), December 16, 1912.
39. National Board of Review of Motion Pictures Records, Subject papers box 170 (Papers relating to the formation and the subsequent history of the NBRMP, 1908-1915), folder 1: "Report to Health Committee" (February 1910), New York Public Library Rare Books & Manuscripts Division.
40. "Vo zaynen ahingekumen di yidishe myuzik hols?" *Forward*, May 24, 1908.
41. Advertisement Houston Hippodrome, *Forward*, February 7, 1913.
42. *Views and Films Index*, December 25, 1909.
43. For a detailed analysis of Pathé on the American market, see Richard Abel, *The Red Rooster Scare: Making Cinema American, 1900-1910* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).
44. "Farvos hoben di amerikaner lieb komedyes un yiden nit?" *Forward*, May 13, 1908.
45. "Vu zaynen ahingekumen di yidishe muyzik hols?" *Forward*, May 24, 1908.
46. *Views and Films Index*, December 25, 1909.
47. The failure was not due to poor location or cutthroat competition. Apart from the Rutgers Street Vaudeville House, it was the only picture show in the area south of East Broadway and it remained in business for several years under different managements. See *Trow's Business Directory of Greater New York* for the years 1908-1911.
48. For details, see Thissen, "Charlie Steiner's Houston Hippodrome," 30-31. The records detailing the purchase of the old church reveal that the building was bought by their father Louis Minsky with the help of several associates, including Martin Engel, the notorious kosher poultry butcher, brothel owner and Tammany district leader. Office of the City Register, Pre-1917 Conveyances Section II, liber 193 cp 213, German Evangelical Mission Church to Louis Minsky sale of premises known as 139-13 East Houston Street for the sum of $96.000; Pre-1917 Mortgages Section II, liber 278 cp 97, indenture between Louis Minsky and the Title Insurance Company of New York City, mortgage of $ 75.000 at a rate of 5.5% per annum. Office of the City Register, Pre-1917 Conveyances, Section II, liber 225 cp 29, Louis Minsky and Martin Engel to William Minsky.
49. Morton Minsky and Milt Machlin, *Minsky's Burlesque* (New York: Arbor House, 1986), 17-18.

50. Under the prevailing building and fire regulations, the house was not allowed to accommodate more than 299, but who kept to the letter of the law? Municipal authorities openly admitted that there was "a gross and almost universal violation of the anti-crowding ordinance in the moving picture shows on the east side." *New York Times*, February 3, 1913, 2. The Fire Department placed violations for overcrowding upon the Houston Hippodrome on April 6, 10 and 26 and May 1, and 12, 1911 and in each case the Corporation Counsel had a fine imposed of $ 57.50. Fire Commissioner Johnson, letter to Mayor William J. Gainer, 3 February 1913, Mayors' Papers GJW-80, New York City, Municipal Archives and Records Center.
51. Minsky and Machlin, *Minsky's Burlesque*, 17-18.
52. Office of the City Register, Pre-1917 Conveyances, Section II, liber 226 cp 183, December 16, 1912, clause regarding the contract between Charles Steiner and Abraham Mazel.
53. Advertisement Houston Hippodrome, *Tageblatt*, 3 December, 1909; "Tkhies-hame'y-sim fun di myuzik hols," *Forward*, December 25, 1909.
54. "Vos hert zikh in di myuzik hols?" *Forward*, August 26, 1910.
55. Advertisement Houston Hippodrome, *Forward*, June 28, 1910.
56. Advertisement Houston Hippodrome, *Forward*, April 28, 1912.
57. Advertisement Houston Hippodrome, *Forward*, April 1, 1912.
58. Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours for What We Will*, 201.
59. Advertisement Houston Hippodrome, *Yidishes Tageblatt*, December 3, 1909.
60. Advertisement Houston Hippodrome, *Forward*, May 5, 1911.
61. Advertisement Houston Hippodrome, *Forward*, December 19, 1909.
62. See David Nasaw, *Going out: The Rise and Fall of Public Amusements* (New York: BasicBooks, 1993), 23-24.
63. Advertisment Houston Hippodrome, *Forward*, October 6, 1912.
64. Nina Warnke, "Immigrant Culture as Contested Public Sphere: Yiddish Music Halls, the Yiddish Press, and the Processes of Americanization," *Theatre Journal* 48 (1996): 333-334.
65. Advertisement Houston Hippodrome, *Forward*, November 1, 1912.
66. *Ibid.*
67. See Judith Thissen, "National and Local Movie Moguls: Two Patterns of Jewish Showmanship in Film Exhibition," in *Jews and American Popular Culture, vol. 1*, ed. Paul Buhle (Westport: Praeger, 2006), 13-23; Thissen, "Jewish Immigrant Audiences in New York City."
68. Advertisement National Winter Garden, *Forward*, December 12, 1912.
69. Advertisement National Winter Garden, *Warheit*, December 15, 1912.
70. Bertellini, *Italy in Early American Cinema*, 249.
71. Hansen, *Babel & Babylon*, 94.
72. Mark Slobin, *Tenement Songs: The Popular Music of the Jewish Immigrants* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982), chapters 5-6. During prolonged strikes in the garment industry or other Jewish trades, Yiddish music halls and legitimate theaters typically organized well-publicized benefit performances for the support of the strikers and their families.
73. Hansen, *Babel & Babylon*, 84.

74. A code regulating motion picture exhibition in New York City had lingered on the city council's agenda since 1911. The new code was finally passed in July 1913. Under this Folk's Ordinance, theaters that offered a combination of motion pictures and live entertainment had to apply for an expensive theatrical license. In addition to the high fee ($500), the theatrical license also stipulated far more stringent and expensive safety regulations than those forced upon motion picture theaters operating under a common motion picture show license ($100). Only mixed-bill houses that operated in purpose-built theaters survived this rigid licensing process. According to opponents of the ordinance, "it was intended to drive the small-theater owner out of business." *New York Times*, February 3, 1913.

Cinema in the Colonial City: Early Film Audiences in Calcutta

1. *Evidences of the Indian Cinematograph Committee* 1927-28, vol. 2, 780 (Calcutta: n.p., 1928). Hereafter *ICCE*.
2. See for instance Erik Barnouw and S. Krishnaswamy, *Indian Film*, 2nd ed. (New York & London: Oxford University Press, 1980), 59-60. The authors of this seminal volume point out that, at the beginning of the 1930s, when sound production started in India, the putative pan-Indian audience of 319 million was broken up into a Hindi speaking audience of 140 million, by far the largest linguistic group, followed by 53 million Bengali-speaking people, 21 million strong Marathi population and so on.
3. Throughout this essay I use the old names for these cities in the interest of historical consistency: thus Calcutta and Bombay, instead of Kolkata and Mumbai.
4. The British Crown took over administrative control of India from the East India Company in 1858 after military and popular uprisings across eastern and northern India in 1857.
5. Calcutta's population increased from 612,000 in 1881 to 848,000 in 1901, making it the second largest city in the British Empire, after London. By 1931 this figure had grown to over 1.2 million. Monidip Chatterjee, "Town Planning in Calcutta: Past, Present and Future," in *Calcutta: The Living City*, vol. 2, ed. Sukanta Chaudhuri (Calcutta: Oxford University Press, 1990), 135.
6. For a discussion of linguistic groups in Calcutta from different regions of South Asia see Pradip Sinha, *Calcutta in Urban History* (Calcutta: Firma KLM, 1978), 249-64.
7. Suranjan Das, "The Politics of Agitation: Calcutta 1912-1947," in *Calcutta: The Living City*, vol. 2, 16.
8. P. Thankappan Nair, "The Growth and Development of Old Calcutta," in *Calcutta: The Living City*, vol. 1, 11.
9. *Ibid.*, 20; Satyesh C. Chakraborty, "The Growth of Calcutta in the Twentieth Century," in *Calcutta: The Living City*, vol. 2, 4.
10. Nair, "The Growth and Development of Old Calcutta," 19.
11. These areas came into the city limits in 1901.
12. Sinha, *Calcutta in Urban History*, 7-13.

13. Swati Chattopadhyay, *Representing Calcutta: Modernity, Nationalism, and the Colonial Uncanny* (London & New York: Routledge, 2006), 76. Chattopadhyay offers a complex account of the development of colonial Calcutta.
14. *Ibid.* Similar boarding houses thrived in the native town as well.
15. Nair, "The Growth and Development of Old Calcutta," 20-23.
16. Wilson's Circus and the Bandmann Theater Company were two such groups visiting Calcutta in the late 19th century. Bandmann's son, Maurice E. Bandman, initially followed in his father's footsteps with the touring theater group and is an important figure in the story of cinema in South Asia, especially Calcutta. See Ranita Chatterjee, "Journeys in and Beyond the City: Cinema in Calcutta, 1897-1939," (PhD thesis, University of Westminster, 2011).
17. Kironmoy Raha, "Calcutta Theatre 1835-1944," in *Calcutta: The Living City*, vol. 1, 186.
18. Sumanta Banerjee, *The Parlour and the Streets: Elite and Popular Culture in Nineteenth Century Calcutta* (Calcutta: Seagull Books, 1989), 187.
19. See Chatterjee, "Journeys in and Beyond the City: Cinema in Calcutta, 1897-1939."
20. *Ibid.*
21. Edison's Kinetoscope was introduced to Europe in the summer of 1894 with a showing in Paris. The first Kinetoscope parlor opened in London on 17 October 1894. This inspired the Lumière brothers who publicly unveiled the Cinematograph in Paris in December 1895. The first Cinematograph screening in London was in February 1896.
22. This screening complicates received histories of cinema in Calcutta that have attributed the first film screening to a Mr. Stephens a.k.a. "Prof. Stevenson" on a well-known Bengali stage in c. 1898. See Chatterjee, "Journeys..." for a nuanced history of cinema in Calcutta and other genealogies of the Stephens/Stevenson figure. Also see Stephen P. Hughes, "When Film Came to Madras," *BioScope: South Asian Screen Studies* 1, no. 2 (2010): 147-168.
23. *The Statesman*, January 15, 1897, quoted in Sajal Chatterjee, *Aar Rekho Na Aadhare* (Calcutta: Jogomaya Prokashoni, 1998), 22-23. Stephen Bottomore predates this date to an Edison Kinetoscope screening in Calcutta in winter 1895-96, referred to in an editorial in the *Journal of the Photographic Society of India*, July 1896. Bottomore suggests that this is the first known screening in India, as well as Asia. Stephen Bottomore, "A New Claim," *The Bioscope Blog*, August 15, 2007, http://bioscopic.wordpress.com.
24. "*The Photographic Society's Exhibition* Report," *Statesman & Friend of India*, January 27, 1897.
25. The Theatrograph was first shown publicly in London in February 1896, around the same time the Cinematograph had been unveiled in London in the Royal Polytechnic on Regent Street.
26. Sankar Bhattacharya, *Bangla Rangalayer Itihaser Upadan* (Calcutta: West Bengal State Book Board, 1982), 467.
27. *Ibid.*, 500-502.
28. Chatterjee, *Aar Rekhona Aadhare*, 31.
29. Ranabir Ray Choudhury, ed., *Early Calcutta Advertisements* (Calcutta: Nachiketa Publications, 1992).

30. Hans Mattson, *Reminiscences: The Story of an Emigrant* (Saint Paul, Minnesota: D. D. Merrill Company, 1891), 83-85.
31. J. J. Madan, *ICCE*, vol. 2, 835.
32. Ahindra Choudhury, *Nijere Haraye Khunji*, vol. I (Calcutta: Indian Associated Publishing, 1962), 49-50.
33. Ansu Sur, ed., *Bengali Film Directory* (Calcutta: Nandan, West Bengal Film Centre, 1999).
34. For a listing of programs in several Bengali stages see Bhattacharya, *Bangla Rangalayer Itihaser Upadan*.
35. A folk theater form from the 19th century popular in urban and rural Bengal.
36. Advertisement in *The Statesman*, cited in Bhattacharya, *Bangla Rangalayer Itihaser Upadan*, 284.
37. Here I am extending Gunning and Gaudreault's use of the term to apply it not just to film, but to the entire program that included other forms of entertainment.
38. Dutt is a key theater personality in the history of Calcutta theater and also important to the history of film in the city. Hiralal Sen filmed several of Dutt's plays at the Classic.
39. *ICCE*, vol. 2.
40. *ICCE*, vol. 2, 780.
41. *Ibid.*
42. Satyajit Ray, *Cinema Vision* 1, no. 1 (1980): 6.
43. *Ibid.*
44. Sukumar Sen, "Diner Pore Din Je Gelo," reprinted in *Jugopat* 2, no. 2, ed. Sugata Sinha (2004): 41.
45. Manishita Dass, "The Crowd Outside the Lettered City: Imagining the Mass Audience in 1920s India," *Cinema Journal* 48, no. 4 (2009): 77-98.
46. ICC Questionnaire.
47. Dass, "The Crowd Outside the Lettered City," 84.
48. *ICCE* ,vol. 2, 782.
49. Dass, "The Crowd Outside the Lettered City," 79.
50. I characterize this practice as metropolitan because the respondents were the elite and urbanized, even if they were not quite based in the urban centers of Bombay, Calcutta, Karachi, Lahore, Madras and Rangoon.
51. *ICCE*, vol. 2, 782-3.
52. *Ibid.*
53. *Nachghar* IV, no. 33, January-February, 1928.
54. For a detailed discussion of these see Chatterjee, "Journeys in and Beyond the City: Cinema in Calcutta, 1897-1939."
55. Choudhury, *Nijere Haraye Khunji*, vol. 1.
56. Madan, *ICCE*, vol. 2, 844.

Locating Early Non-Theatrical Audiences

1. On the emergence and consolidation of Hollywood, the studio system, and national film distribution in the 1910s, see, for example: David Bordwell, Janet Staiger, and

Kristin Thompson, *The Classical Hollywood Cinema: Film Style & Mode of Production to 1960* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985); Richard Koszarski, *An Evening's Entertainment: The Age of the Silent Feature Picture, 1915-1928* (New York: Scribner's, 1990); Charlie Keil and Shelley Stamp, eds., *American Cinema's Transitional Era: Audiences, Institutions, Practices* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); Richard Abel, *Americanizing the Movies and 'Movie-Mad' Audiences, 1910-1914* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); Charlie Keil and Ben Singer, eds., *American Cinema of the 1910s: Themes and Variations* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2009); Mark Garrett Cooper, *Universal's Women: Filmmaking and Institutional Change in Early Hollywood* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010).

2. Federal Motion Picture Commission Hearings before the Committee on Education, House of Representatives, Sixty-Fourth Congress, First Session on H.R. 456, A Bill to Create a New Division of the Bureau of Education, To Be Known as the Federal Motion Picture Commission, and Defining Its Powers and Duties, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, and 19 January 1916. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1916, 282.
3. *Ibid.*, 76.
4. Other sections of the document reference differing sectional and class "prejudices" as another sign of the difficulty of censorship and the diversity of the movie audience (*Federal Motion Picture Commission Hearings*, 285).
5. Thus the National Board of Censorship saw the "classification" of theaters for child or adult audiences as one way to lessen the need for censorship (*Federal Motion Picture Commission Hearings*, 292).
6. *Ibid.*, 65.
7. See, for example, L. E. Davidson, "Building a Non-Theatrical Film Library," *Transactions of the Society of Motion Picture Engineers* 12 (1921): 139-43; Harold A. Larrabee, "The Formation of Public Opinion Through Motion Pictures," *Religious Education* 15.3 (June 1920): 144-54; Walter F. Eberhardt, "What Happened to the Lions?" *American Motorist* 12.9 (September 1920): 7-9, 50.
8. National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, *Report of the Executive Office for the Year Ending April 30, 1915* (Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins Company, 1915), 31.
9. Charles Musser, *The Emergence of Cinema: The American Screen to 1907* (New York: Scribner's, 1990), 109-32. I consider the range of exhibition sites in one small city in *Main Street Amusements: Movies and Commercial Entertainment in a Southern City, 1896-1930* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995) and provide annotated bibliographic information in *Moviegoing in America: A Sourcebook in the History of Film Exhibition* (London and Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002) and in "Exhibition and Distribution," in *Oxford Bibliographies Online: Cinema and Media Studies*, ed. Krin Gabbard (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011). Available at http://www.oxfordbibliographiesonline.com/view/document/obo-9780199791286/obo-9780199791286-0026.xml?rskey=4VF720&result=31&q.
10. On the first page of his never-completed chronicle of the production and distribution (rather than the exhibition) of non-theatrical motion pictures that ran for 58 installments in *Educational Screen* (September 1938-June 1944), Arthur Edwin Krows acknowledges the "subordination of non-theatrical films to the theatrical sort,"

though, as he puts it: "in the beginning [...] there were just motion pictures. There weren't church, school or industrial pictures." "Motion Pictures – Not for Theaters," *Educational Screen* 17.7 (September 1938): 211.

11. Carl F. Kaestle and Janice A. Radway, eds. *A History of the Book in America, Volume 4: Print in Motion: The Expansion of Publishing and Reading in the United States, 1880-1940* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 16. Among the essays focusing on magazines in this collection, see especially, Richard Ohmann, "Diverging Paths: Books and Magazines in the Transition to Corporate Capitalism," 102-15; Marcel Chotkowski LaFollette, "Crafting a Communications Infrastructure: Scientific and Technical Publishing in the United States," 234-59; Charles A. Seavey with Caroline F. Sloat, "The Government as Publisher," 260-75; Sally M. Miller, "Distinctive Media: The European Ethnic Press in the United States," 299-311; and William Vance Trollinger, Jr., "An Outpouring of 'Faithful' Words: Protestant Publishing in the united States," 359-75. For a more conventional history that also suggests the diversity of magazine publishing in the United States, see Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines, Vol. 4 1885-1905* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1957) and *A History of American Magazines, Vol 5: Sketches of 21 Magazines, 1905-1930* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1968).
12. *Print in Motion*, 17.
13. In addition to the major American film and commercial entertainment trade journals and to the various specialized periodicals available from books.google.com, I have relied for this project largely on various online resources, most notably, the Library of Congress collection of "historic American newspapers" (http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/) and two commercially run sites, GenealogyBank.com and newspaperarchive.com. Using these sites to access period documents provides a sample that reaches well beyond major American metropolitan areas and yet is also unquestionably incomplete and random in its coverage.
14. See, for example, Devin Orgeron, Marsha Orgeron, and Dan Streible, eds., *Learning with the Lights Off: Educational Film in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); and Terry Lindvall, *Sanctuary Cinema: Origins of the Christian Film Industry* (New York: New York University Press, 2008).
15. Examples of YMCA film exhibition noted by the *Moving Picture World* in 1915 include: the YMCA in Bristol, Rhode Island booking through United Film Service "all the educational and children's features released through the United program" (*Moving Picture World* 23.11 (March 13, 1915): 1642); the Trenton, New Jersey YMCA establishing Friday-Saturday evening screenings "throughout the winter season" (*Moving Picture World* 24.2 (10 April 1915): 254); the Central YMCA in Cleveland, Ohio announcing that in its auditorium on Saturday afternoon and evening, "Pathe weekly and Pathe animated cartoons, together with high class films of both an entertaining and educational nature, will be shown" *Moving Picture World* 24 (27 November 1915): 1690.
16. On the Maine screenings, see *Moving Picture World* 23.3 (16 January 1915): 397; on Cincinnati screening, see *Moving Picture World* 26.12 (11 December 1915): 2042; on

the screening in Rock Island, Illinois, see *Moving Picture World* 24.13 (26 June 1915): 2123; "Striking Evidence," *Piqua [OH] Leader-Dispatch*, May 27, 1914, 8.

17. A restored print of THE CRIME OF CARELESSNESS is available on the DVD collection, *Treasures III: Social Issues in American Film* (1912; Chatsworth, CA: National Film Preservation Foundation, 2007). Richard Abel's commentary on this DVD release includes information about the film's distribution.
18. *Industrial Betterment Activities of the National Association of Manufacturers of the United States of America* (New York: National Association of Manufacturers, 1913), 6.
19. *Ibid*. This claim was also repeated in "The Moving Picture as an Industrial Educator," *Current Opinion* 55.3 (September 1913): 206, 208.
20. See, for instance, notices and theater advertisements for screenings at the Bijou theater in Springfield, Massachusetts (*Springfield Union*, January 9, 1913, 16); the Shell Theater in Tacoma, Washington (*Tacoma Times*, February 4, 1913, 8); the Grand Theatre in Bemidji, Minnesota (*Bemidji Daily Pioneer*, February 24, 1913, 3); the Royal Theatre in Bisbee, Arizona as part of a "Benefit Week for Children's Play Ground Fund" (*Bisbee Daily Review*, February 1913, 5); and the Electric Theater in Emporia, Kansas (*Emporia Gazette*, February 1, 1913, 4).
21. TNAM had introduced "accident prevention" films at its national conference a year earlier, see "Motion Pictures in Business Education," *New York Times*, May 20, 1912, 5.
22. *Industrial Betterment Activities*, 7.
23. "Industrial Betterment Meetings," *American Industries* 14.8 (March 1914): 40; on the Inland Steel Company screening, see *Duluth News-Tribune*, July 7, 1915, 11. *American Industries* subsequently charted the further circulation of NAM's films and stereopticon slides to "all of the large high schools of Connecticut" as well the plants of the B. F. Goodrich Rubber Company in Akron, Ohio; the Burroughs Adding Machine Company in Detroit; and the Ethical Culture Society and the Child Welfare League in New York City ("Industrial Betterment Activities," *American Industries* 14.10 (May 1914): 39).
24. "Industrial Betterment at Bridgeport, Conn." *American Industries* 14.6 (January 1914): 40.
25. THE CRIME OF CARELESSNESS was listed as one of the first nine films included in the University of Kansas "motion picture exchange, which will be operated free of charge for the benefit of school children" in small Kansas towns (*Kansas City Star*, November 27, 1914, 5a); "Public School Safety Work in Brooklyn," *Electric Railway Journal* 46.12 (2 October 1915): 691.
26. *Nevada State Journal*, June 14, 1914, 4.
27. "International Exposition of Safety and Sanitation," *American Industries* 14.6 (January 1914): 24.
28. "The Chemical Industries Exposition," *Journal of Industrial and Engineering Chemistry* 7.9 (September 1915): 736.
29. The program of the Southern Medical Association, Eighth Annual Meeting, Richmond Virginia, 9-12 November 1914, included "Moving Picture Illustrations of Nervous and Mental Diseases" and "Pyloric Obstruction: Stenosis and Spasm. Moving Pictures Showing Peristaltic Waves of Stomach," *Southern Medical Journal* 7, no. 11

(November 1911): 904-5. The Association of Advertising Clubs of Texas at its convention in Waco hosted a screening of "a moving picture film that has created a sensation in New York. It is known as "Mr. Noad's Adless Day" (*Dallas Morning News*, January 11, 1915, 8). Motion pictures on tick eradication were scheduled at one of the sessions of the Florida State Livestock Association convention in Sanford, 3-5 February 1915 (*Tampa Tribune*, January 31, 1915, 42). A CONCRETE ROMANCE screened at the Mid-West Cement Show in Omaha, Nebraska (*Moving Picture World* 23.13 (27 March 1915): 1958). An advertisement for the Semi-Annual Meeting of the Tourists Association of America in San Jose, California promised a free Moving Picture Show, showing tourist attractions in "moving pictures and colored slide" (*San Jose Mercury News*, January 15, 1915, 7). Cincinnati-based Union Gas & Electric Company screened films at the National Gas Association convention (*Moving Picture World* 24.10 (5 June 1915): 1638). The Northeastern Pennsylvania Telephone Society meeting in the Chamber of Commerce rooms in Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania, included a screening of the Pathé film, THE TELEPHONE GIRL and THE SPINNERS OF SPEECH (*Wilkes-Barre Times*, January 16, 1915, 2).

30. Barnes lecture with film, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, January 31, 1915, 10; Bigelow-Hartford Company screening, *Springfield [Massachusetts] Daily News*, January 30, 1915, 3; missionary program, *Lexington [Kentucky] Herald*, January 17, 1915, 6: films at Central State Hospital, *Moving Picture World* 23.9 (27 February 1915): 1320; "Pictures a Godsend," *Moving Picture World* 23.6 (6 February 1915): 857.
31. References to screenings at state-run institutions include: Sing Sing prison in New York (*Moving Picture World* 23.11 (13 March 1915): 1585); *Moving Picture World* 23.13 (27 March 1915): 1944); Folsom prison in California (*Moving Picture World* 23.4 (16 January 1915): 406); and the State Reformatory at St Cloud, Minnesota (*Moving Picture World* 25. 9 (28 August 1915): 1523).
32. On captive audiences, see, for example, Eric Smoodin, *Regarding Frank Capra: Audience, Celebrity, and American Film Studies, 1930-1960* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004); and Stephen Groening, "'We Can See Ourselves as Others See Us,': Women Workers and Western Union's Training Films in the 1920s," in *Useful Cinema*, eds. Charles R. Acland and Haidee Wasson (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 34-58.
33. Jennifer Horne, "A History Long Overdue: The Public Library and Motion Pictures," *Useful Cinema*, 174.
34. "Show Selig Feature," *New York Dramatic Mirror* 73 (3 February 1915): 29.
35. See *Safety: Bulletin of the Museum of Safety* 2 (January 1914): 3-21. Both National Cash Register and the National Association of Manufacturers were awarded Grand Prizes at this exposition, as did the Nicolas Power Company for its motion picture projectors (p. 15). The following year the motion picture presentations at this Exposition included the New Telephone Company's THE TELEPHONE WAY and THE TELEPHONE GIRL (*Safety* 3 (January 1915): 12).
36. See, for example, "Exposition Pays Tribute to Motion Picture Art," *New York Dramatic Mirror* 73 (7 July 1915): 22; W. Carson Ryan, Jr. *Education Exhibits at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition. Department of the Interior Bureau of Education, Bulletin 1916*, no. 1

(Washington: Government Printing Office, 1916); Frank Morton Todd, *The Story of the Exposition* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1921), 385-91.

37. *Moving Picture World* 23.2 (9 January 1915): 234. Other screening sites of the Gossett film mentioned in this trade magazine included the Grand Theater at Lawrence, Kansas (*Moving Picture World* 23.2 (9 January 1915): 404); the opera house in Clearfield Pennsylvania (*Moving Picture World* 23.7 (13 February 1915): 1016); the Lyric Theater in Birmingham, Alabama (*Moving Picture World* 23.11 (20 March 1915): 1797); and the New Yale theater in Muskogee, Oklahoma (*Moving Picture World* 25.13 (25 September 1915): 2224).
38. *Springfield [Massachusetts] Republican*, January 2, 1915, 4.
39. See Rick Altman, *Silent Film Sound* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 133-55.
40. Lee Grieveson, *Policing Cinema: Movies and Censorship in Early Twentieth-Century America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 4.
41. *Moving Picture World* 25 (20 November 1915): 1529; *Moving Picture World* 25.9 (28 August 1915): 1522.

Understanding Audience Behavior Through Statistical Evidence

1. J. B. Priestley, *Angel Pavement* (London: Heinneman, 1930), 306.
2. Allen Eyles, *Gaumont British Cinemas* (London: British Film Institute, 1996), 206. The Astoria would later become the Rainbow Room, and survives today as a Pentecostal church, while the Finsbury Park is incorporated into a bowling alley.
3. J. Sedgwick, *Popular Filmgoing in 1930s Britain: A Choice of Pleasures* (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2000), tables 5.4, 6.1, 6.6 and 6.7.
4. D. Gomery, *Shared Pleasures: A History of Movie Presentation in the United States* (London: British Film Institute, 1992), 55.
5. H. M. Glancy, and J. Sedgwick, "Cinema Going in the United States in the Mid-1930s: A Study Based on the *Variety* Dataset," in *Going to the Movies: Hollywood and the Social Experience of Cinema*, eds. R. Maltby, M. Stokes, and R. Allen (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2007), and J. Sedgwick and M. Pokorny, "The Film Business in the U.S. and Britain During the 1930s," *Economic History Review* 58 (2005): 79-112.
6. J. Sedgwick and M. Pokorny, "Film Consumer Decision-Making: The Philadelphia Story, 1935-36," *Journal of Consumer Culture* X (2012).
7. Allen Eyles, "The Empire That Was, 1928 61," *Picture House* 13 (1989).
8. J. Sedgwick, "Cinemagoing in Portsmouth During the 1930s," *Cinema Journal* 46 (2006): 52-85.
9. R. Maltby, "Sticks, Hicks and Flaps: Classical Hollywood's Generic Conception of Its Audiences," in *Identifying Hollywood's Audiences: Cultural Identity and the Movies*, eds. M. Stokes, and R. Maltby (London: British Film Institute, 1999), 25.
10. As with so many historical business records, it would seem that in all but a number of rare exceptions box-office ledgers have been destroyed. A number of these are referenced later in this study.
11. On the POPSTAT relative measure of popularity, see Sedgwick, *Popular Filmgoing in 1930s Britain*, 70-73.

12. One (shilling) and six (pence) (18d-pence) to six shillings (72d-pence). There were 240 pence to £1.
13. For some reason MGM's MAYTIME (1937) was premiered at the Carlton – odd because the Carlton was owned by Paramount and normally screened in-house "hit" productions.
14. See Sedgwick, *Popular Filmgoing in 1930s Britain*, 51-54.
15. The entries of two films are missing. For TUGBOAT ANNIE (premiered on 8 September 1933) we do not have the box-office for the first week of its run. However, the record for its second week of 37,020 suggests a first week's record of approximately 50,000, which I have assumed. The record for the film ANOTHER LANGUAGE is missing altogether. Eyles, "The Empire That Was, 1928 61," 27.
16. Information on the box-office of MUTINY ON THE BOUNTY, is from the Allen Eyles collection.
17. See J. Sedgwick, "Patterns in First-run and Suburban Filmgoing in Sydney in the Mid-1930s," in *The New Cinema History: Approaches and Case Studies*, eds. Richard Maltby, Daniel Biltereyst, and Philippe Meers (Malden, Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), table 7.4(a) for a similar distribution of film popularity in 1934 derived from first-run cinemas in Sydney, Australia.
18. Sedgwick, *Popular Filmgoing in 1930s Britain*, Appendix to Chapter 5.
19. *Ibid.*, chapters 5 and 6.
20. Details of the national dataset can be found in Sedgwick, *Popular Filmgoing in 1930s Britain*, chapter 4.
21. See J. Sedgwick, C. Pafort-Overduin, and J. Boter, "Explanations for the Restrained Development of the Dutch Cinema Market in the 1930s," *Enterprise and Society* X (2012), table 3, figure 2; C. Pafort-Overduin, "Distribution and Exhibition in the Netherlands, 1934-1936," in *Explorations in New Cinema History. Approaches and Case Studies*, eds. Richard Maltby, Daniel Biltereyst, and Philippe Meers (Malden, Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011); and C. Pafort-Overduin, "Watching Popular Films in the Netherlands 1934-1936," in *Watching Films: New Perspectives on Movie-Going, Exhibition and Reception*, eds. Albert Moran and Karina Aveyard (Bristol: Intellect Books, forthcoming).
22. This happened for example with the German film SPIONE AM WERK starring Willy Fritsch (Gerhardt Lamprecht, Cine Allianz Tonfilmproduktions, 1933), which premiered on 5 January 1934 in the Royal Theater in Maastricht (64,895 inhabitants in 1934). It played for one week and appeared again one month later on 2 February 1934 in Heerlen. Only on 9 February 1934 did the film arrive in Amsterdam where it was programmed for two weeks at the Alhambra. Another example was the RKO production SYMPHONIE OF SIX MILLION (Gregory La Cava, 1932), which premiered in the Mabi Theater in Maastricht on 5 January 1934 for one week, before being screened from 26 January 1934 in The Hague.
23. Only the 2,200-seater *Gebouw voor kunst en Wetenschap* (Building for Arts and Science) in The Hague, which occasionally screened films, had more seats than the Tuschinski. See www.cinemacontext.nl.
24. To prevent bankruptcy all these cinemas were handed over to Tubem (Tuschinski Bioscoop Exploitatie NV, Tuschinski Cinema Exploitation Inc.) in 1936, after which

time the three directors had no further involvement with the financial aspect of cinema management. See www.cinemacontext.nl and Henk van Gelder, *Abraham Tuschinski* (Amsterdam: Nijgh & Van Ditmar, 1996), 140-142.

25. It is probable that the POPSTAT Index values given to the films that were held over at the Tuschinski for a second, third, or fourth week seriously underestimate the extent of their popularity at that cinema. The reason for this is that the POPSTAT methodology gives all films appearing, say, as single attractions at a cinema in a population of cinemas the same Index score for each week that they are screened – that is why in Table 3. the Tuschinski POPSTAT Index increases by multiples for each week that a film is screened. As can be judged by the earnings of films of similar booking status at the Empire, this procedure smoothes out differences in attendances and is hence a weakness of the method.
26. Hans Knippenberg, "Twee eeuwen werk. De beroepsbevolking in kaart gebracht," in *Nederland in Verandering. Maatschappelijke Ontwikkelingen in Kaart Gebracht 1800-2000*, eds. Erik Beekink, Onno Boonstra, Theo Engelen, and Hans Knippenberg (Amsterdam: Aksant, 2003), 17, 20.
27. In Tilburg all of these except one were shown in the two theaters owned by Herman C. van der Waarden – the Chicago Theater (seating capacity 700) and the Stadsschouwburg (seating capacity 880). It would seem that the audiences of these two theaters enjoyed the same kind of films as those enjoyed by Tuschinski audiences. Van der Waarden exchanged the films he hired between his two theaters, programming a film at night at the Stadsschouwburg and for a matinee in the Chicago, as happened for example with ONE NIGHT OF LOVE. But the two Dutch titles, GIRL WITH THE BLUE HAT and SILLY AFFAIRS, played with two copies and were programmed in both these theaters at the same time, indicating that he had high hopes for these films.

The Aesthetics and Viewing Regimes of Cinema and Television

1. Steven Willemsen, who worked on Sergio Leone as a Research Master student of the University of Groningen, provided the case study on Sergio Leone, and the information on television's screen sizes for this paper.
2. John Ellis, "Cinema and Television: Laios and Oedipus," in *Cinema Futures: Cain, Abel or Cable? The Screen Arts in the Digital Age*, eds. Thomas Elsaesser and Kay Hoffmann (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998), 133.
3. These terms arise from the study of "ostrannenie" or "making strange" undertaken in an earlier book in this series: *Ostrannenie. On "Strangeness" and the Moving Image. The History, Reception, and Relevance of a Concept*, ed. Annie van den Oever (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010).
4. Ellis, "Cinema and Television," 133.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. Unlike the programming of separate films in the cinema, mainstream television's programming, as Raymond Williams already described in his seminal study of 1974, is meant to create that specific sense of "flow" that keeps the viewers watch-

ing throughout an evening, only half aware of the end of a program or its status as a discrete item in its own right. See Raymond Williams, *Television. Technology and Cultural Form* (London & New York: Routledge, 2003), 77-120 [first published in 1974].

8. Ellis, "Cinema and Television," 133.
9. *Ibid.*
10. In fact, the content-oriented branch of television studies was quite successful and dominant within the context of cultural studies, in part because television itself was so dominant in mainstream culture from the 1960s onwards.
11. Ellis, "Cinema and Television," 134.
12. Helen Wheatley, "Beautiful Images in Spectacular Clarity: Spectacular Television, Landscape Programming and the Question of (Tele)visual Pleasure," *Screen* 52, no. 2 (2011): 233-248.
13. Viktor Shklovsky, "Art as Technique," in *Russian Formalist Criticism. Four Essays*, trans. Lee T. Lemon, and Marion J. Reis (Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 1965), 11.
14. Van den Oever, *Ostrannenie*, 34.
15. Shklovsky, "Art as Technique," 11-12.
16. *Ibid.*, 35-38.
17. The "birth" of the cinema may be argued to have de-automatized audiences' perception, thus creating a disruptive moment in history, as well as a medium-sensitive interval, with a heightened awareness of the new apparatus. This would point to an *abrupt* shift in history, rather than a gradual one. As Laura Mulvey has argued: "Film historians have pointed out, quite correctly, that the cinema and its prehistory are too deeply imbricated, ideologically and technologically, for an abrupt 'birth of the cinema' to be conceptually valid. But from the perspective of the uncanny, the arrival of celluloid moving pictures constitutes a decisive moment." Laura Mulvey, *Death 24x a Second. Stillness and the Moving Image* (London: Reaktion Books, 2006), 52. See also "Conversation with Laura Mulvey" in Van den Oever, ed., *Ostrannenie*, 185-204.
18. Van den Oever, *Ostrannenie*, 35. "If you only knew how strange it was..." These are the famous words of the Russian author Maxim Gorky, expressing his feelings on early cinema viewing in a paradigmatic way (in 1896) and often cited for this very reason.
19. *Ibid.* Maxim Gorky famously used these two words to describe his extraordinary viewing experience: "strange" and "ghostly."
20. Mulvey, *Death 24x a Second*, 47.
21. Yuri Tsivian, *Early Cinema in Russia and Its Cultural Reception* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 2, 12.
22. Van den Oever, *Ostrannenie*, 40-42.
23. Shklovsky, "Art as Technique," 11-12.
24. Tsivian, *Early Cinema in Russia*, 233.
25. Van den Oever, *Ostrannenie*, 11-12, 56.
26. Shklovsky, "Art as Technique," 11-12. Note that Shklovsky indeed speaks of the "general laws of perception" and not of film, and that he took most of his examples from literature in these early years, since it was the field he knew best. He

theorized on perception and technique from 1913 onward, the very year "the general craze for cinema reached its peak in Russia," to use Yuri Tsivian words; see his *Early Cinema in Russia*, 12. From the late 1910s onwards, Shklovsky would, however, explicitly reflect on film (techniques) too. See Van den Oever, ed., *Ostrannenie*, 35-38, 44-45, 56.

27. As described here: http://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/second_nature, accessed 7 June 2011.
28. A perfect (though ironic) illustration offers the post-war reception of Russian Formalism as scholars largely overlooked the epochal relation with early cinema. Interestingly, however, the relation with medium sensitivity was not overlooked within the context of *Screen* in the UK in the 1970s since Brecht was a go-between, as Ian Christie argued in "Knight's Moves: Brecht and Russian Formalism in Britain in the 1970s," in Van den Oever, ed., *Ostrannenie*, 81-98.
29. For an interesting elaboration on the issue of cyclical renewal of technologies see: Tom Gunning, "Re-Newing Old Technologies: Astonishment, Second Nature, and the Uncanny in Technology from the Previous Turn-of-the-Century," in *Rethinking Media Change: The Aesthetics of Transition*, eds. David Thourburn and Henry Jenkins (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2003), 39-60; quote from p. 47 [my italics].
30. Note that the initial de-automatizing impact of the once new technology was *accidental* and not consciously or purposefully "aesthetic," to use Gunning's word.
31. On "real life" perception in relation to classical narrative cinema and the techniques of the continuity editing system, see Todd Berliner and Dale J. Cohen, "The Illusion of Continuity: Active Perception and the Classical Editing System," *Journal of Film and Video* 63, no. 1 (2011): 44-63.
32. See standard works on this era in television's history by Ellis, Williams, and others, already quoted here. Note also that most works on television's history do not pay a lot of attention to the first moments of enchantment created by the new medium and that the cycle from de-automatization to automatization still needs attention in order to write a proper history of the medium.
33. Note that it is not argued here that Great Britain's and European's continental publicly-funded TV and imported US series, all of which were of course quite rigidly formatted, cherished exactly the same aesthetic.
34. See Francesco Casetti, "Communicative Situations: The Cinema and the Television Situation, *Semiotica* 1, no. 2 (1996). See also Francesco Casetti, *Communicative Negotiations in Cinema and Television* (Milan: VeP, 2002). See also Lev Manovich on computer "windows" and the archaeology of the computer screen in "Towards an Archaeology of the Computer Screen," in *Cinema Futures* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998), 27-44.
35. Ellis, "Cinema and Television," 133.
36. In light of Christian Metz's analysis of the nature of cinematic spectatorship and the cinematic "apparatus," it is obvious that cinema and television viewers are part of two very different *apparatuses*. A pivotal reason given for the cinema apparatus is the way in which the dark cinema with its soft chairs and sole light beam brings the cinema viewer in a dream-like, regressive mood which classical narrative cinema was quick to exploit to the fullest, Metz has argued. See Christian Metz, *The Imagi-*

nary Signifier. Psychoanalysis and the Cinema, trans. Celia Britton, Annwyl Williams, Ben Brewster, and Alfred Guzzetti (Bloomington: Indiana University Press), 1982. In contrast, watching television – in a brightly lit living room amidst others, often talking and moving about – seems to be a far more conscious and sociable activity. The fact, however, that so many television viewers watch television in their pajamas, lying on the couch while watching (and sleeping a bit), may point at a regressive state of mind which may come with a distinct vulnerability to regressive emotions triggered by the programs one watches.

37. Ellis, "Cinema and Television," 135.
38. Real life perception comes close to what Berliner and Cohen label "[a]ctive perception," meaning "the cognitive and perceptual processes for selecting and encoding stimuli in the physical world." Berliner and Cohen, "The Illusion of Continuity," 47.
39. Vito Zagarrio, "Theseus and Ariadne: For a Counter-History of the Cinema-Television Relationship?" in *Cinema Futures*, 99.
40. Ellis, "Cinema and Television," 135.
41. *Ibid.*
42. *Ibid.*, 135. Ellis mentions soaps, prime-time news talk shows, studio-based personal problems television, and so on.
43. Steven Johnson, *Everything Bad Is Good for You: How Today's Popular Culture Is Actually Making Us Smarter* (New York: Riverhead Books, 2005), 12.
44. Kristin Thompson, *Storytelling in Film and Television* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP), 2003.
45. Jason Mittell, "Narrative Complexity in Contemporary American Television," *The Velvet Light Trap* 58 (2006).
46. *Ibid.*, 32.
47. See Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (London and New York: McGraw-Hill), 1964. See John Ellis, *Visible Fictions* (London: Routledge), 1988. See Pierre Sorlin, "Television and the Close-Up," in *Cinema Futures*, 119-126. See Ed Tan, "The Television Screen: From Spoil-sport to Game-maker," in *Cinema Futures*, 223-228.
48. McLuhan, *Understanding Media*, 350.
49. For reasons of conciseness, we must leave the aspect ratios and the changing distances between viewers and screens outside the discussion.
50. T. Troscianko, T. S. Meese, S. Hinde, "Perception While Watching Movies: Effects of Physical Screen Size and Scene Type," *i-Perception* 3, no.7 (2012): 414-425.
51. On embodied cognitions of size and scale, see Francesca Garbarini and Mauro Adenzato, "At the Root of Embodied Cognition: Cognitive Science Meets Neurophysiology," *Brain and Cognition* 56 (2004): 100-106; see in particular pp. 102-103.
52. Sorlin has interestingly argued that "television has introduced a tremendous change in our conception, both of the film and the human body, by increasingly using the close-up." Sorlin, "Television and the Close-Up," 120.
53. On a history of CinemaScope, see CinemaScope historian John Belton, "CinemaScope and the Widescreen Revolution," *Cinegrafie* 16 (2003): 244-253. See also John Belton, *Widescreen Cinema* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press), 1992. For an elaborate historical overview of the aesthetics and poetics of widescreen cinema and

CinemaScope as a compositional format, see also: David Bordwell, *Poetics of Cinema* (New York & London: Routledge, 2008), 281-326 [chapter 10]; the quoted words are from p. 286. For some quick online information, see: https://trac.handbrake.fr/wiki/AnamorphicGuide, accessed 7 June 2011.

54. Over time, a lot has been written on the impact of enlargements and close-ups, and other disrupting and destabilizing effects *sought* by the avant-gardes, already in the 1920s. I paraphrased part of it in: Annie van den Oever, *Sensitizing the Viewer. The Impact of New Techniques on the Art Experience* (Groningen & Amsterdam: University of Groningen, Amsterdam University Press, and Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam, 2011), 16-18. On the (impact of the) close-up used by post-war avant-garde filmmakers, see Stan Brakhage, *Film at Wit's End. Eight Avant-Garde Filmmakers* (New York: McPherson & Company), 1989.
55. Typically, David Bordwell shortly and without a lot of explanation marks the enormous close-ups of "today" as "monstrous." See David Bordwell, *Poetics of Cinema*, 302. On the close-up regularly marked as "grotesque," see: Annie van den Oever, "Monstration and the Monstrous. The Grotesque in the Very Beginning and at the Very End," in *Proceedings of the XVI International Film Studies Conference-Permanent Seminar on History of Film Theories. In the Very Beginning, at the Very End, 2009. Film Theories in Perspective*, eds. F. Casetti, J. Gaines, V. Re. (Udine: Forum, 2010), 29-242. On the discourses of viewers over time, see: Annie van den Oever, "From Technique to Medium," (conference paper given at The Archive. Memory, Cinema, Video and the Image of the Present, University of Udine, April 6, 2011). On the close-up and scale, see Mary Ann Doane, "The Close-Up: Scale and Detail in the Cinema," *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* 14, no. 3 (2003): 89-111.
56. See Garbarini and Adenzato, "At the Root of Embodied Cognition," 102-103.
57. Noël Carroll, "The Grotesque Today. Preliminary Notes Toward a Taxonomy," in *Modern Art and the Grotesque*, ed. Frances S. Connelly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 293-294.
58. Sorlin, "Television and the Close-Up," 120.
59. Van den Oever, "Monstration and the Monstrous," 234-236.
60. Sorlin, "Television and the Close-Up," 120.
61. Noël Carroll, "The Grotesque Today," 297, 306-307.
62. Dawn Ades and Simon Baker, *Close-Up. Proximity and Defamiliarisation in Art, Film, and Photography* (Edinburgh: The Fruitmarket Gallery), 2008. This book presents a wealth of material, yet no new insights in Russian Formalist art theory, as the title seems to suggest.
63. Van den Oever, "Monstration and the Monstrous," 234-236.
64. For an interesting discussion of very early close-ups in GRANDMA'S READING GLASS (1900) see: William D. Routt, "Demolishing a Wall," *Senses of Cinema*, no. 14, accessed 7 June 2011, http://www.sensesofcinema.com/2001/feature-articles/demolishing_a_wall/.
65. The exclamation is from Sergei Eisenstein, who dedicated many pages to the close-up in his *Memoirs*. For a comment, see: Mary Ann Doane, "The Close-Up," 89-111.
66. More (empirical) research is needed to establish a clear insight into the close-up's and screen size's perceptual effects.

67. Sorlin, "Television and the Close-Up," 120 [my italics].
68. The notion of "natural audiences" was developed by David Bordwell in his chapter on the "Viewer" in *Narration in the Fiction Film* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press), 1985. For viewers who are familiar with a certain historical viewing practice and use their viewing (automatized) routines when watching a movie; it may be argued that as part of their routines they use fully automatized (cognitive) "templates" and "schemes" which have become second nature. Bordwell conceptualized the historical viewers and viewing routines as part of a method he labeled "historical poetics," which he developed (following Eisenstein) to reconstruct the historical formats, systems, and effects in close relation to the historical audiences and viewing practices. See David Bordwell, *Historical Poetics of Cinema. Methods and Approaches.* To be found online: http://davidbordwell.net/articles/Bordwell_Cinematic%20Text_-no3_1989_369.pdf.
69. See on the topic: David Bordwell, *Poetics of Cinema*, 283.
70. André Gaudreault coined the term and he refers to the early days of the institutialization of the cinema before it became an industry and to the early days of narrative cinema at about 1915; see André Gaudreault, "From 'Primitive Cinema' to 'Kine-Attractography,'" in *The Cinema of Attractions Reloaded*, ed. Wanda Strauven, 85-104. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 99.
71. Van den Oever, "Monstration and the Monstrous," 234-236.
72. Sorlin, "Television and the Close-Up," 120 and further.
73. Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," *Screen* 16, no.3 (1975): 6-18.
74. Sorlin, "Television and the Close-Up," 119. On shot-scale frequency, see also Barry Salt's statistical analysis in his *Film Style and Technology: History and Analysis* (London: Starword, 2003). Equally interesting is Yuri Tsivian's work in this field; see his Cinemetrics website: http://www.cinemetrics.lv/index.php.
75. For a very precise approach to the problem, see: Garbarini and Adenzato, "At the Root of Embodied Cognition," 100-106.
76. Zagarrio, "Theseus and Ariadne," 100-101.
77. See Richard Roud, *Cinema: A Critical Dictionary* (London: Martin Secker & Warburg Limited, 1980), 618.
78. For a further analysis of shot-scale frequency, see Barry Salt, *Film Style and Technology*; see also the Cinemetrics website: http://www.cinemetrics.lv/index.php.
79. David Cook, *A History of Narrative Film* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1996), 475.
80. For an elaborate analysis of the cinematic use of widescreen ratios and Techniscope, see David Bordwell, *Poetics of Cinema*, chapter 10; for special references to Leone's use of the technique, see pp. 322-323.
81. Christopher Frayling, *Sergio Leone: Something to Do with Death* (London: Faber and Faber, 2000), 132.
82. *Ibid.*, 132. Dallamano is quoted by Frayling. See also Tonino Valerii, "Italy on Widescreen," in *Cinegrafie*, no.16 (2003): 299, and Bordwell, *Poetics of Cinema*, 322.
83. Valerii, "Italy on Widescreen," 299. Quoted by Bordwell, *Poetics of Cinema*, 322.
84. Bordwell, *Poetics of Cinema*, 322.
85. Frayling, *Sergio Leone*, 144.

86. Bordwell, like Frayling, refers to the style of "late silent films" (Lubitsch, Harold Lloyd, and to Eisenstein respectively) in the context of Leone's use of the extreme close-up. See Bordwell, *Poetics of Cinema*, 322, and Frayling, *Sergio Leone*, 144.
87. See Sergei Eisenstein's early reflections on the construction or "montage" of "attractions" in his "Montage of Attractions," originally written for *Lef* in 1923 and reprinted in excerpt in: Sergei Eisenstein, *The Film Sense*, trans. and ed. Jay Leyda (San Diego, New York, London: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1975), 230-233; cited from p. 231.
88. *Ibid.*, 155.
89. *Ibid.*, 157.
90. For an in-depth interview with the director, see *Scorsese on Scorsese*, edited by Ian Christie and David Thompson (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan, 2003).
91. Tarantino has frequently expressed his admiration for Leone. Reportedly, in production and on set, he refers to extreme close-ups as "Sergio Leone's." See the documentary ONCE UPON A TIME: SERGIO LEONE, Warner Home Video, 2003, DVD.
92. Thomas Elsaesser, "Cinema Futures: Convergence, Divergence, Difference," in *Cinema Futures*, 19.
93. Sorlin, "Television and the Close-Up," 126.

Tapping into Our Tribal Heritage

1. Torben Grodal, *Embodied Visions. Evolution, Emotion, Culture, and Film* (New York: Oxford University Press. 2009).
2. Torben Grodal, *Moving Pictures: A New Theory of Film Genres, Feelings and Cognition* (Oxford: Clarendon/Oxford University Press, 1997); Grodal, *Embodied Visions*; William Flesch, *Comeuppance. Costly Signaling, Altruistic Punishment and other Biological Components of Fiction* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007); Brian Boyd, *On the Origin of Stories. Evolution, Cognition, and Fiction* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Bellknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009).
3. See Helen Fisher, *Why We Love: The Nature and Chemistry of Romantic Love* (New York: Henry Holt, 2004); Grodal, *Embodied Visions*; and Mette Kramer, *Romancing the Mind: Women, Emotion, Cognition and Film* (forthcoming).
4. For a study of international audience responses to these, see Martin Barker, "Report for the British Board of Film Classification on Viewers of the Lord of the Rings, Aged Under 16," 2008, http://cadair.aber.ac.uk/dspace/handle/2160/591.
5. Jaak Panksepp, *Affective Neuroscience: The Foundations of Human and Animal Emotions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).
6. See Fisher, *Why We Love*, and Grodal, *Embodied Visions*.
7. Torben Grodal, "High on Crime and Detection," *Projections* 4, no. 2. (2010): 64-85.
8. For an overview see Jonathan Haidt, and Selin Kasebir, "Morality," in *Handbook of Social Psychology*, eds. S. Fiske, D. Gilbert, and G. Lindzey (Hoboken, N.J.: Wiley, 2010), 797-832, and Flesch, *Comeuppance.*
9. Peter Richerson, and Robert Boyd, *Not by Genes Alone: How Culture Transformed Human Evolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

10. Pascal Boyer, *Religion Explained: The Human Instincts That Fashion Gods, Spirits and Ancestors* (London: William Heinemann, 2001).
11. For the relation between body disgust and delimitation from out-groups like casteless and other ethnicities see Valerie Curtis, and Adam Biran, "Dirt, Disgust, and Disease: Is Hygiene in Our Genes?" *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine* 44, no. 1. (2001): 17-31.
12. Konrad Lorenz, *On Aggression* (Orlando, FL.: Harcourt Brace, 1966); James B. Averill, "Grief: Its Nature and Significance," *Psychological Bulletin* 70, no. 6 (1968): 721-748; Irenäus Eibl-Eibesfeldt, *The Biology of Peace and War* (Great Britain: Thames and Hudson, 1979); Eibl-Eibesfeldt, *Human Ethology* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1989); and Grodal, *Embodied Visions.*
13. Jaak Panksepp, and Günther Bernatzky, "Emotional Sounds and the Brain: The Neuro-affective Foundations of Musical Appreciation," *Behavioural Processes* 60 (2002): 133-155.
14. Jonathan Haidt, and Selin Kasebir, "Morality," in *Handbook of Social Psychology*, eds. S. Fiske, D. Gilbert, and G. Lindzey (Hoboken, N.J.: Wiley, 2010), 797-832.
15. Alexandra Marayanski, and Jonathan Turner, *The Social Cage: Human Nature and the Evolution of Society* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1992).
16. Candace S. Alcorta, and Richard Sosis, "Ritual, Emotion, and Sacred Symbols: The Evolution of Religion as an Adaptive Complex," *Human Nature* 16, no. 4 (2005): 323-359.
17. Robert Boyd, and Peter Richerson, "The Evolution of Human Ultrasociality," in *Indoctrinability, Ideology and Warfare*, eds. Irenäus Eibl-Eibesfeldt and Frank Kemp Salter (New York: Berghahn Books, 1998), 71-93.
18. Pascal Boyer, *Religion Explained: The Human Instincts That Fashion Gods, Spirits and Ancestors* (London: William Heinemann, 2001).
19. David Sloan Wilson, *Darwin's Cathedral: Evolution, Religion, and the Nature of Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).
20. Pascal Boyer, and Pierre Liénard, "Why Ritualized Behavior? Precaution Systems and Action Parsing in Developmental, Pathological and Cultural Rituals," *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 29, no. 6 (2006): 1-56.
21. Tzvetan Todorov, *The Fantastic: A Structural Approach to Literary Genre* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1975).
22. For an analysis of the salience of paradoxes and counterintuitive elements see Boyer, *Religion Explained*, and Ara Norenzayan et al., "Memory and Mystery: The Cultural Selection of Minimally Counterintuitive Narratives," *Cognitive Science* 30 (2006): 531-553.
23. See Boyer, and Pierre Liénard, "Why Ritualized Behavior?"

Cinephilia in the Digital Age

1. David Bordwell, "Games Cinephiles Play," 3 August 2008, last modified 23 July 2010, http://www.davidbordwell.net/blog/2008/08/03/games-cinephiles-play.
2. Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* [1979], trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 26-27.

3. See Laurent Jullier, and Jean-Marc Leveratto, "The Consumer as an Expert. French Cinephilia Now," in *The French Cinema Book*, 2nd ed., eds. M. Temple and M. Witt (London: BFI Publishing, in press).
4. John Lyden, Film as Religion: *Myths, Morals, and Rituals* (New York: NYU Press, 2003), 4.
5. See Antoine Hennion, "Réflexivités. L'activité de l'amateur," *Réseaux* 1, no. 153 (2009).
6. Theo Panayides, who "lives and works in Cyprus and cyberspace" tells in his autobiographical article for *Senses of Cinema* that he is a "film-buff shaped almost entirely by the VCR. The reasons are geographical rather than aesthetic, yet I suspect my experience would be broadly similar even if I lived in the US or a big European city." For him, nostalgia for the movie theaters, to his eyes, typically reflects the taste of those who used to live (and still live) in these big cities ("Permanent Ghosts: Cinephilia in the Age of the Internet and Video, Essay 2," *Senses of Cinema* 4 (March 2000); available at http://archive.sensesofcinema.com).
7. Jonathan Buchsbaum, and Elena Gorfinkel, eds., "Cinephilia Dossier: What Is Being Fought for by Today's Cinephilia(s)?" *Framework* 50 (fall 2009): 176-270.
8. Among the numerous websites are "Name That Film" (on http://www.flickr.com), and this one specialized in memorable quotes, http://twitter.com/dvdquotes. The most well known in France is (note the very "distinguished" allusion in the title) "Le Rosebud de Xanadu 2 – RDX" (on Facebook). Its official tagline: "'Tell whose movie these stills belong to! so you can both play and learn': this is the concept of our modest but, shall we say, marvellous group." One can even find a dedicated iPhone app: "What Movie Is This From?" (http://wmitf.com).
9. "Is able to express/must express...": Ludwig Wittgenstein's dichotomy brought into the framework of cultural appreciation by Michel de Certeau (Michel De Certeau, *The Practice of* Everyday Life, trans. Steven F. Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 212, when he quotes Wittgenstein's slogan: "Don't ask for the meaning, ask for the use").
10. According to Girish Shambu, this is the bedrock of cinephilia on the internet: to be able to find links and bridges between movies that would have been considered totally unmatchable years ago ("What Is Being Fought for by Today's Cinephilia (s)," *Framework* 50:1-2 (spring-summer 2009): 219.
11. *Do It Yourself*. The term appears in the mid-1950s in the semantic field of home improvement projects, which could be seen as originating from the anti-industrial Arts and Crafts movement. It then moved into the punk rock scene and the indy-media networks, and today defines an ethic of self-sufficiency in any field.
12. Old-fashioned cinephilia remains reluctant to acknowledge this rush of personal reviews and appreciations: "Not surprisingly, contemporary cinephilia finds its strongest expression in the blogs and online magazines written by undiscriminating fans, would-be critics, serious scholars and the usual malcontents, along with review sites like DVDBeaver, run by geeks whose fetishistic attention to technical detail mirrors that of hard-core audiophiles. [...] Much of what is online originates with entertainment companies, and many independent sites do rely on commercial links for support." This apocalyptic portrayal was offered by Manohla Dargis, chief

film critic of the *New York Times*. Her article ("The Way We Live Now: The 21st-Century Cinephile," November 14, 2004) was intended to prove the continuing usefulness and validity of Susan Sontag's notoriously bitter essay "The Decay of Cinema" ("You hardly find anymore, at least among the young, the distinctive cinephilic love of movies that is not simply love of but a certain taste in films...," *New York Times*, February 25, 1996. The same melancholia is evident in Camille Paglia's "Art Movies: R.I.P.," *Salon*, 8 August, 2007). The counter-argument can be found within Dargis's article: the ordinary web surfer is like her, that is to say, she knows how to distinguish between the variety of addresses, rhetorical devices and forms of enunciation found on websites, and is able to classify the kind of information she finds in them. And for the "certain taste," this is still present, although one needs to be skilful to discover it on the web, due to the quantity of available information.

13. Richard Hoggart, *The Uses of Literacy* [1957] (London: Penguin, 2007).
14. Roger Odin, "The Distrustful Citizen and the Crisis of Communication" (paper presented at the XXIV Congreso Internacional de Comunicación "IMAGEing Reality," Navarra, Spain, in press).
15. Here are a few examples, drawn only from American sci-fi works: numerous *fan films*, building the "Extended Universe" of Lucas' STAR WARS saga, can be found at http://www.theforce.net (for an insight and a taxonomy, see L. Jullier, "Le cinéma comme matière première. L'exemple des fan-films *Star Wars*," in *Proceedings of the XVI International Film Studies Conference-Permanent Seminar on History of Film Theories. In the Very Beginning, at the Very End, 2009. Film Theories in Perspective*, eds. F. Casetti, J. Gaines, V. Re. (Udine: Forum, 2010), 381-387; *machinimas* are short home-made videos derived from videogames cinematics. Sophisticated examples can be found at http://www.labo-nt2.uqam.ca (Laboratoire de Recherche sur les Techniques Hypermédiatiques de l'UQAM, Montréal, Canada); *mashups* are made after re-cutting already existing feature films. A good example is the crossover trailer TERMINATOR VS. ROBOCOP, by AMDS (http://spiritsnodeal.canalblog.com); parodies are countless. Among hundreds of thousands, see this astonishing fake trailer of THE MATRIX RELOADED (http://www.cigogne.net/Intro-Maytrix.html), mixing the original trailer with a fake soundtrack displaying gimmicks of a very peculiar subculture (car-tuning fans living in Elsass, East of France); on the contrary, home-made fake trailers can be very respectful of the original work. See another French example at http://dsarrio.free.fr: DAREDEVIL, the teaser, shot in professional super-35mm by David Sarrio before the original Hollywood blockbuster of the same name was released. "I didn't own any copyright, but I tried. I kept thinking they wouldn't send the lawyers to fight a pure fanship attitude," remembers the young director (http://ombhailum.canalblog.com).
16. "Collaborative remix zones move away from immobilized and apolitical fetishistic image worship into the construction of collaborative communities where new knowledges and new connections can be actualized within a radical historiographic practice." (Patricia Zimmerman and Dale Hudson, "Cinephilia, Technophilia and Collaborative Remix Zones," *Screen* 50:1 (spring 2009): 145). In these real or virtual places whose names speak for themselves (*Emergency Broadcast Network*, *Trafficking in the Archives*, *Cinema Salvaje*...), veejays mix audiovisual objects from a huge range of

cultures. For example, *Cinema Salvaje* uses "fragments of the telenovelas that circulate as part of transnational bootlegged 'clip culture' on YouTube before they are removed at the request of copyright owners" (*ibid.*). This is no longer a cinephilia which mourns for a fetishized past of lost *unique* objects, but a practical cinephilia ignoring or contesting the institutionalized artistic tastes.

17. De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 31.
18. Laurence Allard, "Y a-t-il encore un spectateur dans le salon? Plaidoyer pour le spectacle télévisuel à l'heure des médias numériques," *Quaderni*, no. 31 (1997): 7-18. Available at http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/revue/quad.
19. Christian Keathley, *Cinephilia and History, or the Wind in the Trees* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 28.

Spectator, Film and the Mobile Phone

1. Mobile phones are known by different terms in almost every language: *portable* (French), *Handy* (German), *telefonino* (Italian), and within the Anglo-American world, as either cell-phones (US) or mobiles (UK). *Portable* has been translated throughout this chapter as "mobile," to preserve the sense of the cameraphone's mobility.
2. This thesis is defended by Sean Cubitt in "The Cut," in *The Cinema Effect* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2004).
3. See for example, Dudley Andrew, "A Film Aesthetic to Discover," *CiNeMAS* 17, no. 2-3 (autumn 2007): 47 -72.
4. The answers to this question vary: in face of those who think that the digital blocks indexicality [Lev Manovitch, "Cinema and Digital Media," in *Perspektiven der Medienkunst / Perspectives of Media Art*, ed. Jeffrey Shaw and Hans Peter Schwarz (Osfildern: Cantz Verlag, 1996)], there are more nuanced positions [D. N. Rodowick, *The Virtual Life of Film* (Cambridge & London Harvard University Press, 2007)], while others emphasize the significance of context [Lawrence Jullier, "Theories of Cinema and Common Sense: The Mimetic Question," in *The Theory of Cinema Finally in Crisis*, ed. R. Odin, *CiNeMAS* 17, no. 2-3 (autumn 2007): 109-116].
5. Siegfried Zielinski, *Audiovisions: Cinema and Television as Entr'actes in History* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1999). Paolo Cherchi Usai, *The Death of Cinema: History, Cultural Memory, and the Digital Dark Age* (London: BFI Publishing, 2001).
6. For example, Maxime Scheinfeigel, ed., *Le Cinéma et apres?* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2010) not only has no article on the mobile phone, but makes scarcely any reference to it. "This deals with a completely unexplored territory," writes Elena Marcheschi, introducing one of the few books on this subject: *I film in tasca. Videofonino, e televisione cinema*, eds. Maurizio Ambrosini, Giovanna Maina, Elena Marcheschi (Pisa: Felici Editore, 2009), 29.
7. Roger Odin, "Pour une sémio-pragmatique du cinéma," *Iris* 1, no. 1 (1983): 67-82. English translation in *The Film Spectator, From Sign to Mind*, ed. Warren Buckland (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1995), 213-227, reprinted in R. Stam and T. Miller, eds., *Film and Theory. An Anthology* (Malden & Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 54 -67.

8. The term 'actant' was proposed by the semiotician A. J. Greimas to describe the functions of an action, independently of the actors who undertake it. Transmitter and Receiver are two of these functions.
9. Roger Odin, *Les Espaces de communication* (Grenoble: PUG, 2011).
10. On this point, see chapter 1 in Roger Odin, *Cinéma et production de sens* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1990).
11. Roger Odin, *De la fiction* (Brussels: De Boeck, 2000), chapter 3.
12. Cinema [*salle*] in the sense of a building devoted to film, or "movie theater."
13. David Lynch on the iPhone, You Tube, accessed January 4, 2008, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wKiIroiCvZo&feature=PlayList&p=C17992A6D6FCAE3E&index=14, quoted by Jan Simons, "YouTube but iPhone: quanto sono cinematografici i film girati con il telefonino," in *Il cinema nell'epoca del vidofonino, Bianco e Nero*, ed. R. Odin (Rome: Carocci, Fascicolo 568, Centro Sperimentale di Cinematografia, 2010), 28.
14. Simons, "YouTube but iPhone," 28-45.
15. Bouygues Telecom, for example, plans cinematic campaigns for the release of films in which TF1 and / or TF1 International participated in the financing package either as producer or as a distributor or both, thereby creating a synergy between various subsidiaries of the holding company Bouygues (see Chantal Duchet, "Quels contenus cinématographiques et audiovisuels pour les téléphones mobiles," in *Nouveaux médias, nouveaux contenus*, ed. Gilles Delavaud (Rennes: Apogee editions, 2009), 137-152).
16. Example given by Chantal Duchet, "Quels contenus cinématographiques...."
17. Valentina Re, "*Mobile Entertainment*. Alcune Considerazioni sulla Presenza nel mondo del film," in *I film in tasca*, 102.
18. Juliana Pierce, "The Fourth Screen," *Off The Air: Screenright's Newsletter*, August, 2005, 4.
19. Series written and directed by Marc Ostrick and Eric Neal Young. See Federico Zecca, "It quarto schermo. *TV goes mobile*," in *I film in tasca*, 45-72.
20. The Sunset Hotel was written by Jana Veverka and directed by Joseph Rassulo; Love and Hate was written and directed by Guy Shalem. See Federico Zecca, "It quarto schermo. *TV goes mobile*," 56.
21. Isabella Rossellini's book and film about her father, *In the Name of the Father, the Daughter and the Holy Spirits. Remembering Roberto Rossellini* (Munich Schrimer / Mosel, 2006).
22. Produced by The Sundance Channel (http://www.sundancechannel.com/greenporno/).
23. G. Marone, "C'era volta il telefonino. Un'indagine sociosemiotica," (Rome: Meltemi, 1999), 13.
24. N. Vittadini, "The digital esperienza spettatoriale nell'era," *Comunicazioni Sociali* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 2001), 209.
25. These products can be seen on any 3G mobile phone.
26. Paola Voci, *China on Video, Smaller-Screen Realities* (London & New York: Routledge, 2010), 84.
27. Livia Giunti, "Dalla colazione al tetto e viceversa: gli iperstimoli di *L'ospite perfetto Romm-4U*," in *I film in tasca*, 83-94.

28. To distinguish between these two modes, see Odin, *De la fiction*, 160-162, and *Les Espaces de communication*, 49, 53, 59-60.
29. Duchet, "Quels contenus cinématographiques et audiovisuels pour les téléphones mobiles."
30. Luca Barra, and Massimo Scaglioni, "Flusso di movie 'mobility. Un'analisi palinsesto del Mobile di Sky Cinema," in *I film in tasca*, 73-82.
31. Julien Figeac, "Vers une pragmatique de la pratique télévisuelle. L'appropriation de la télévision mobile en situation de mobilité," in *Permanence de la télévision*, ed. Gilles Delavaud (Rennes: Apogee editions, 2011), 57-71.
32. Jacques Aumont, "Que reste-t-il du cinéma ?" *Traffic* 79 (fall 2011): 99; "The most important invention, at least in terms of aesthetics, it is the 'pause' button, because it produces a new kind of picture."
33. Even viewing upside down, which only the cinema offers, on this point, cf. Paul Emmanuel Odin, *L'inversion temporelle du cinema* (PhD diss. in Film Studies and Audiovisual, dir. Philippe Dubois, University of Paris III, December 7, 2011). Jean Epstein already placed time reversal at the heart of the filmic revolution.
34. Nanna Verhoeff, "Grasping the Screen, Toward a Conceptualization of Touch, Mobility and Multiplicity," in *Digital Material. Tracing New Media in Everyday Life and Technology*, eds. Marianne van den Boomen, Sybille Parabolic, Ann-Sophie Lehmann, Joost Raessens, and Mirko Tobias Schäfer (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), 217.
35. Imar de Vries, "The Vanishing Point of Mobile Communication," in *Digital Material*, 87.
36. *Clivé*, in the original, is a reference to the "cleavage" between the ego of consciousness and the subject, as described by Jacques Lacan. See, for instance, the synopsis "Responses to Students of Philosophy Concerning the Object of Psychoanalysis," *Concept and Form: The* Cahiers pour l'Analyse *and Contemporary French Thought*, http://cahiers.kingston.ac.uk/synopses/syn3.1.html (accessed 5.7.12).
37. Verhoeff, "Grasping the Screen...," 213.
38. For an analysis of this production, see Marida di Crosta, "L'interface-film. Le contenu comme espace de production d'actes narratifs informatisés," in *Nouveaux médias, Nouveaux contenus*, 85.
39. Henry Jenkins, *Fans, Bloggers, and Gamers: Exploring Participatory Culture* (New York: New York University Press, 2006).
40. Trans. Note: l'*espace du film p* [*portable*], translated here as "the space of mobile phone film" to preserve the same letter p.
41. Maurizio Ambrosini, "Visioni digitabili. Il videofonino schermo come," in *I film in tasca*, 24.
42. Henry Jenkins, *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide* (New York: New York University Press, 2006).
43. D. Terdiman, "A Celebration of Cell-Phone Film," *Wired*, August 30, 2004 (http://www.wired.com), quoted by Jan Simons, "YouTube but iPhone," note 10.
44. "*si devora la cultura pop come si fa con le caramelle o le patatine: in comodi pacchetti contenenti bocconi preconfezionati facili da masticare con frequenza sempre crescente e alla massima velocita*."

45. Paola Voci, *China on Video, Smaller-Screen Realities*, 13. The book which is the source of the quotation is Milan Kundera, *The Unbearable Lightness of Being* (New York: Harper and Row, 1984), 48.
46. Many festivals now require productions of this type (a minute or two maximum).
47. Statements published on *Good News*, January 21, 2006. See also the film's official website: smssugarman.com / movie.htm.
48. The trailer of this film can be seen at www.olivethemovie.com.
49. Statement on the Festival site: www.festivalpocketfilms.fr.
50. In her PhD dissertation, Paola Voci noted that it revives to some extent one of the positions of early cinema, when cinema was in itself (as medium) an attraction: Paola Voci, *Visual Dissent in Twentieth-Century China: A Study of the Exhibitionist Mode of Representation* (PhD diss., Indiana University Bloomington, 2002).
51. This question provides the title for the philosopher Maurizio Ferraris' *Dove sei? Ontologia del telefonino* (Milan: Bompiani, 2005), with a foreword by Umberto Eco.
52. Released in May 2008, and published on DVD.
53. The number of pixels used to form the image was relatively low on older mobiles; and when the pixels are seen on the screen, they produce a greater or lesser "pointillism" depending on the phone model.
54. This film was presented at the Critics' Week at Cannes, at the Cinematheque Française and in a number of cinemas.
55. Produced by APATOM. Winner of the Prix Georges de Beauregard, FID Marseille, 2010, and First Prize of the jury, Documenta Madrid, 2011.
56. The device is called *Handy* in Germany, *kanny* in Finland and *mue tue* in Thailand which means "extended hand."
57. Alessandro Amaducci, "L'occhio nella mano," in *I film in tasca*, 146-147.
58. Roger Odin, "La question de l'amateur," in *Le cinéma en amateur. Communications* no. 68, ed. Roger Odin (Paris: Seuil, 1999), 47-90.
59. In the field of painting, an almost caricatural example of the implementation of this mode is provided by the work of David Hockney. In *Secret Knowledge. The Lost Techniques of the Old Masters*, Hockney suggests that there was a point in the history of painting (in the early 15th century) which marked a radical change. Hockney claims that this date is when painters began to use optical devices (such as the camera obscura, camera lucida), which enabled them to create a much stronger record of reality. What is remarkable about this book is that the author engages in extremely detailed analyses of paintings entirely in terms of "how was it done?," without ever saying a word about their content.
60. Alexandre Astruc, *La Nef*, 1949, quoted in Peter Lherminier, *L'art du cinema* (Paris: Seghers, 1961), 592-3. This famous "camera stylo" for Astruc is somehow an obligatory reference when working on this subject: see, for example, Elena Marcheschi, "Videophone: A New Camera Pen?," in *Dall'inizio, alla fine / in the very Beginning, at the very end*, eds. Francesco Casetti, Jane Gaines, Valentina Re (Udine: Forum, 2010), 389-394.
61. Astruc quoted in Lherminier, *L'art du cinema*, 592-3.
62. Astruc, *L'écran français* (March 30, 1948), quoted in Lherminier, *L'art du cinéma*, 588.
63. *Ibid.*, 589.

64. Christian Metz, *L'énonciation impersonnelle ou le site du film* (Paris: Méridians Klincksiek, 1991).
65. We must qualify this statement: in Africa a mobile phone may be used by a whole village, and Laurence Allard notes that in 2006 there were more than 255,000 village phones in Bangladesh (*Mythologie du portable* (Paris: La Cavalier Bleu, 2009), 56).
66. Albert Robida, *La vingtième siècle* (Paris: Georges Decaux, 1882), repr. Taillandier, 1991. On this point, see Gilles Delavaud, ed., "Un siècle de télévision. Anticipation, utopie, prospective Audiovisual Records," *Dossiers de l'audiovisuel*, no. 112 (2003), and in particular the section "Anticipation d'un media" with articles by Gilles Delavaud and William Uricchio.
67. *Dossiers de l'audiovisuel*, 24.
68. Catherine Kerbrat-Orecchioni, *Les interactions verbales* (Paris: A. Colin, 1990).
69. C. Rivière, "Mobile Camera Phones: A New Form of 'Being Together' in Daily Interpersonal Communication," in *Mobile Communications: Re-negotiations of the Social Sphere*, eds. R. Ling and P. E. Pederson (London: Springer, 2005), 172 [my emphasis].
70. Roger Odin, "Rhétorique du film de famille," *Rhétoriques, sémiotiques, Revue d'Esthétique* no. 1-2, U. G. E., 10/18, (1979): 340-373; and "Le film de famille dans l'institution familial," in *Le film de famille, usage privé, usage public* (Paris: Méridiens-Klincksieck, 1995), 27-42; see also *Les espaces de communications*, chapter 4.

Exploring Inner Worlds: Where Cognitive Psychology May Take Us

1. A. Nuthmann, T. J. Smith, R. Engbert, and J. M. Henderson, "CRISP: A Computational Model of Fixation Durations in Scene Viewing," *Psychological Review* 117, no. 2 (2010): 382-405.
2. T. J. Smith, "The Attentional Theory of Cinematic Continuity," *Projections: The Journal for Movies and the Mind* 6, no. 1 (2012): 1-27.
3. H. Münsterberg, *The Film: A Psychological Study; The Silent Photoplay in 1916* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1970).
4. J. Anderson, *The Reality of Illusion: An Ecological Approach to Cognitive Film Theory* (Southern: Illinois University Press, 1996).
5. Münsterberg, *The Film: A Psychological Study*.
6. W. Murch, *In The Blink Of An Eye: A Perspective on Film Editing* (Los Angeles, USA: Silman-James Press, 2001).
7. V. Pudovkin, *On Film Technique* (London: Gollancz, 1929).
8. T. J. Smith, D. T. Levin, and J. Cutting, "A Window on Reality: Perceiving Edited Moving Images," *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 21 (2012): 101-106.
9. See for instance T. J. Smith, "Watching You Watch Movies: Using Eye Tracking to Inform Cognitive Film Theory," in *Psychocinematics: Exploring Cognition at the Movies*, ed. A. P. Shimamura (New York: Oxford University Press, in press), and Hasson et al., "Intersubject Synchronization of Cortical Activity During Natural Vision," *Science* 303 (2004): 1634-1640.

10. P. K. Mital, T. J. Smith, R. Hill, and J. M. Henderson, "Clustering of Gaze During Dynamic Scene Viewing is Predicted by Motion," *Cognitive Computation* 3, no. 1 (2011): 5-24.
11. J. E. Cutting, K. L. Brunick, J. E. DeLong, C. Iricinschi, and A. Candan, "Quicker, Faster, Darker: Changes in Hollywood Film over 75 Years," *i-Perception* 2 (2011): 569-576.
12. Smith, "The Attentional Theory of Cinematic Continuity."
13. David Bordwell, *The Way Hollywood Tells It: Story and Style in Modern Movies* (Los Angeles, USA: University of California Press, 2006).
14. Smith, "The Attentional Theory of Cinematic Continuity."
15. Filmtrip, a Belfast based cross-platform production company, has developed Sensum, described as "an emotional response entertainment platform," which can gather physiological data from viewers to feed back into and modify audiovisual presentations. http://www.filmtrip.tv/.
16. J. Häkkinen, T. Kawaid, J. Takataloc, R. Mitsuyad, and G. Nymanc, "What Do People Look at When They Watch Stereoscopic Movies? in *Proceedings of SPIE. Vol. 7524. IS&T/SPIE's International Symposium on Electronic Imaging: Science and Technology. Stereoscopic Displays and Applications XXI.* San Jose, California, USA, 2010.

Crossing Out the Audience

1. See for instance Neil Blackadder, *Performing Opposition: Modern Theater and the Scandalized Audience* (Westport, Con.: Praeger, 2003).
2. A sense of some of the distinctive features in these controversies can be gained from these essays: Erik Levi, "Atonality, 12-Tone Music and the Third Reich," *Tempo* 178 (September 1971): 17-21; and James A. Davis, "Philosophical Positivism and American Atonal Music Theory," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 56:3 (1995): 501-22.
3. On this see Phil Bowen, *A Gallery to Play To: The Story of the Mersey Poets* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008).
4. See Karin Elizabeth Peterson, "Discourse and Display: The Modern Eye, Entrepreneurship, and the Cultural Transformation of the Patchwork Quilt," *Sociological Perspectives* 46:4 (2003): 461-90.
5. Interestingly, the emergence of studio pottery through in particular the work of Bernard Leach does not seem to have produced at the time the kinds of debates found in other fields. However, this may precisely have to do with the fact, later attended to, that pottery painters had to this point very often been women. See for instance Sheryl Buckley, "Made in Patriarchy: Towards a Feminist Analysis of Women and Design," *Design Issues* 3:2 (1986): 3-14.
6. Catherine Belsey, "Shakespeare and Film: A Question of Perspective," in *Shakespeare on Film*, ed. Robert Shaughnessy (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), 61-70. [first published 1983].
7. Jan Campbell, *Film and Cinema Spectatorship* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005).
8. *Ibid.*, 3.
9. *Ibid.*, 32.
10. *Ibid.*, 43.

11. See in particular Janet Staiger, *Interpreting Films: Studies in the Historical Reception of American Cinema* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992); and *Perverse Spectators: The Practices of Film Reception* (New York: New York University Press, 2000).
12. Ranjana Das, *Interpretation*. Unpublished PhD, LSE, 2011.
13. The main findings of the project were published in Martin Barker, and Kate Brooks, *Knowing Audiences: Judge Dredd – His Friends, Fans and Foes* (Luton: University of Luton Press, 1997).
14. Some of the ideas developed in this section were developed in a previous essay "On Looking into Bourdieu's Black Box" (in Dickinson et al., eds. *Approaches to Audiences* (London: Arnold, 1998), 218-32.
15. This does not mean that audiences are always capable to expressing – even to their own satisfaction – the nature of their pleasures in things they love. A case in point is Richard, whom we interviewed as a "Stallone fan." Richard was entirely clear about the origins and focus of his fandom: the ROCKY films, which at the time we interviewed him he had seen, he estimated, "30-40 times." And every time he watched it he regained a sense of sheer "excitement" that he had on his first encounter. But Richard struggled to articulate what in the film so moved him: "It's difficult to put into words what that, I mean, to some people, it just doesn't do anything at all, um, I just think, I think it's actually, the realism, I mean the vast majority of his films have been, obviously they've been made on a much bigger budget and you've lost that realism, I mean you're caught up in the entertainment of it, but I mean it was about a character that was a believable character and all the way through the film, all the action sequences generally were believable even I thought when he obviously leapt off the cliff face into the tree, there was a sense of, 'he could have done that and got away with it,' but um, it was all I think kept in context, and obviously there was supporting characters in the film that were believable as well, not one-dimensional as you find in most action films, and I think the reality is if you asked him today it would probably, aside from ROCKY, probably be his most pop ... his favorite film, and I think something that he should try to get back to, that I don't think in many ways you can go back now because audiences' expectations are bigger and better and they're generally getting bigger but they're not, I don't think on the whole, getting sort of, better, um, but uh, it just, to me, is one of those films. I mean everybody sort of got a personal favorite and like I say, I could watch that at any time and still feel as excited as the first time that I saw it." What shows in here more than anything is a special case of "recognition" of a character and a person = Stallone *is* Rocky, is believable as Rocky, and Rocky's challenges transcend cinema. Richard went on to tell us in great detail about how he had subsequently researched Stallone's life, and built his relationship with the films through this.
16. Henry Jenkins, "Transmedia Storytelling: Moving Characters from Books to Films to Video Games Can Make Them Stronger and More Compelling," *Technology Review* (2003): 1, available at http://www.technologyreview.com/biomedicine/13052/page1/.
17. *Ibid.*, 3.
18. The implications for "reading practices" became abundantly clear in a further investigation I undertook into the meanings of a particularly contentious term: "visuali-

zation." See Martin Barker, "Envisaging 'Visualisation': Some Lessons from the *Lord of the Rings* Project," *Film-Philosophy* 10:3 (December 2006): 1-25.

19. I want to report and honor one story which emerged from our interviews. We had chosen an older woman as one example of the "Spiritual Journey" audience. When our Research Assistant rang her to conduct the interview, an extraordinary story emerged. The woman was dying of a degenerative disease. But she refused to allow this to come between herself and THE LORD OF THE RINGS. She had at this point seen the film 36 times – even though this required her to lie down at various points to ease her pain. Her motive for going was *both* to watch and rewatch a story which gave meaning to her life and indeed death, *and* to watch younger people taking (what she hoped very much was) an equivalent depth of meaning from their experience. I tell this story because she wanted us to – being able to be part of the research was to her another element in her privileged relation with this story.
20. New in terms of beaming to cinemas, although the Metropolitan Opera had pioneered, first radio transmission (as early as 1910, before becoming a regular network feature in the United States from 1930), and later live television relays, know as "simulcasts", from 1977.
21. C. Jones, and D. Hancock, "Alternative Content in Cinemas: Market Assessment and Forecasts to 2014," *Screen Digest Report* (2009).
22. One essay to date has tried, weakly, to face this challenge. In an otherwise interesting introductory discussion of the rise of the phenomenon, Paul Heyer, "Live from the Met: Digital Broadcast Cinema, Medium Theory, and Opera for the Masses," *Canadian Journal of Communication* 33 (2008): 591-604 has suggested that classic "gaze theory" might apply, simply because this is cinema: "Close-ups can render the performers larger than life, as if on a movie screen. The gaze is crucial, since attention is usually riveted on the performers, especially in productions such as Gounod's *Roméo et Juliette* (December 15, 2007) where the two leads were riveted on each other. The tenets of voyeurism and its associated pleasures as elaborated in film theory inspired by psychoanalysis (Mulvey, 1985) likewise have applicability." (this quote, p. 599). This is sadly to offer answers before the requisite questions have even been posed.
23. Christian Keathley, *Cinephilia and History: Or, The Wind in the Trees* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006). The other two major books (Marijke De Valck, and Malte Hagener, eds., *Cinephilia: Movies, Love and Memory* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2005), and Scott Balcerzak, and Jason Sperb, eds., *Cinephilia in the Age of Digital Reproduction: Film, Pleasure and Digital Culture* (London: Wallflower Press, 2009) of this period disappoint in as much as so many of their contributions follow the classic film studies approach of doing things by proxy. Instead of researching cinephiles, they exegesise films which show cinephiles.
24. The earliest substantial challenge to Sontag's pessimism came from Jonathan Rosenbaum and Adrian Martin, who gathered a series of communiqués between two generations of film/cinema devotees, and compiled them in a book – the result being the *reproduction* of the idea of cinephilia in and through their mutual declarations of respect. See Jonathan Rosenbaum, and Adrian Martin, eds., *Movie Mutations: The Changing Face of World Cinephilia* (London: British Film Institute, 2003).

25. There is a curiously revealing sentence in Rosenbaum and Martin's edited collection. Quintin [Eduardo Antin] writes (p. 169): "So, if the official interpretation of September 11 admits no reply, what's the use of *Movie Mutations*?" The many steps needed to make the two halves of this sentence meaningfully connect reveal, symptomatically, the wide taken-for-granted field that the book inhabits.
26. Keathley, *Cinephilia and History*, 132.
27. Paul Willemen, "Through a Glass Darkly: Cinephilia Reconsidered," in *Looks and Frictions*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 237.
28. "Kracauer's assertion that film makes 'an increased demand on the spectator's physiological make-up' resonates with my own argument that the cinephile, as the most highly skilled, efficient spectator, can experience these 'discoveries' more regularly and with less effort than can the ordinary viewer" (Keathley, *Cinephilia and History*, 117).

The Cinema Spectator: A Special Memory

1. Marcel Lapierre, *Anthologie du cinéma* (Paris: La Nouvelle Edition, 1946); Pierre Lherminier, *L'Art du cinéma* (Paris: Editions Seghers, 1960); and Daniel Banda & José Moure, *Le Cinéma: naissance d'un art 1895-1920* (Paris: Flammarion, 2008).
2. Daniel Banda and José Moure, eds., *Le Cinéma: naissance d'un art 1895-1920* (Paris: Flammarion, 2008), 507.
3. André Malraux, "Sketch for a Psychology of the Moving Pictures," in *Reflections on Art: A Source Book of Writings by Artists, Critics, and Philosophers*, ed. Susanne K. Langer (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958).
4. Serge Daney, *L'Exercise a été profitable, Monsieur* (Paris: P.O.L., 1993), 234.
5. See Gilles Deleuze, "What is the Creative Act?" in *Two Regimes of Madness: Texts and Interviews 1975-1995* (New York: Semiotext(e), 2006), 317-329.
6. Jonathan Crary, *Suspensions of Perception: Attention, Spectacle, and Modern Culture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000).
7. Hugo Münsterberg, *The Film: A Psychological Study – The Silent Photoplay in 1916* (New York: Dover, 1970) [American edition].
8. I merely point any reader curious to explore this infinite mobility of terms in the direction of two crucial essays by Miriam Hansen: "Benjamin, Cinema and Experience," *New German Critique*, no. 40 (winter 1987): 179-224; and "Room-for-Play: Benjamin's Gamble with Cinema," *October*, no. 109 (summer 2004): 3-46 (particularly Benjamin's second, French version in which the positions are less clear-cut). See also, on distraction, the eloquent fragment published as "Theory of Distraction" in Walter Benjamin, *Selected Writings Vol. 3 1935-1938* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 141-2.
9. Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility," in *Selected Writings Vol. 4 1938-1940* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 267.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*, 269.
12. Deleuze, "What is the Creative Act?"

13. Daney, *L'Exercice a été profitable, Monsieur*, 19-20.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*, 235.
17. *Ibid.*, 157.
18. *Ibid.*, 22.
19. Banda & Moure, *Le Cinéma: naissance d'un art*, 238.
20. *Ibid.*, 342.
21. *Ibid.*, 418.
22. No one, I believe, has evoked this feeling better than Federico Fellini in the course of his interviews with Giovanni Grazzini. I could quote two whole pages, but here are at least a few key lines: "The cinema has lost its authority, mystery, prestige, magic; this gigantic screen which dominates an audience lovingly gathered in front of it, filled with very small people who look, enchanted, at huge faces, huge lips, huge eyes, living and breathing in another unattainable dimension, at once fantastic and real, like that of a dream, this large magic screen no longer fascinates us. We have now learnt to dominate it. We are larger than it. Look what we have done with it: a tiny screen, no larger than a cushion, between the bookshelves and a vase of flowers, sometimes put in the kitchen, near the refrigerator. It has become a household appliance, and we, in an armchair, clutching our remote, wield over these little images a total power, fighting against what is alien to us, and what bores us." Fellini in Grazzini, *Comments on Film*, trans. Joseph Henry (Fresno: California State University, 1988), 207.
23. Serge Daney, *Devant la recrudescence des vols de sacs à main* (Lyon: Aléas, 1991), 12.
24. Benjamin, "The Work of Art," 272.
25. Paolo Cherchi Usai, *The Death of Cinema: History, Cultural Memory and the Digital Dark Age* (London: BFI, 2001); Victor Burgin, *The Remembered Film* (London: Reaktion, 2004); Francesco Casetti, *Eye of the Century: Film, Experience, Modernity* (first Italian edition 2005); Laura Mulvey, *Death 24x a Second: Stillness and the Moving Image* (London: Reaktion, 2006); and David N. Rodowick, *The Virtual Life of Film* (Cambridge, MA. & London: Harvard University Press, 2007).
26. *Ed. note:* The "centenary of cinema" was widely and officially celebrated in France in 1995 and in the UK in 1996.
27. Burgin, *The Remembered Film*, 10.
28. Raymond Bellour, *Le Corps du cinéma. Hypnoses, émotions, animalités* (Paris: P.O.L., 2009).
29. François Truffaut, "Skeleton Keys," *Film Culture*, no. 32 (spring 1964): 66.
30. Lev Manovich, *The Language of New Media* (Cambridge, MA. & London: MIT Press, 2001).
31. Rodowick, *The Virtual Life of Film*, 164, and the entire analysis which follows.
32. Roland Barthes, "Upon Leaving the Movie Theatre," in *Apparatus*, Theresa Hak Kyung Cha, ed. (New York: Tanam Press, 1980), 1.
33. Jean Louis Schefer, *L'homme ordinaire du cinéma* (Paris: Cahiers du cinéma/Gallimard, 1980).

34. Maurice Blanchot, *The Book to Come*, trans. Charlotte Mandell (Stanford CA.: Stanford University Press, 2003), 218-220.
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Translator's Note*: I have benefitted, at several points, from seeing a previous draft translation by David Rodowick of this text.

Operatic Cinematics: A New View from the Stalls

1. Douglas McLennan, "Singing to the Cheaper Seats," *Los Angeles Times*, February 4, 2007, accessed 7 July 2011, http://articles.latimes.com/2007/feb/04/entertainment/ca-met4.
2. "Are hi-def broadcasts changing opera?," accessed 25 April 2010, http://www.guardian.co.uk/stage/theatreblog/2008/nov/24/hd-broadcast-opera-faust-lepage.
3. I want it to be known that I munch only in the pre-curtain period.
4. Anthony Sheppard, "Metropolitan Opera's New HD Movie Theater Transmissions," *American Music* (fall 2007): 383-87.
5. I agree. I want to be there for the first performance, and don't care for the "encore" presentation.
6. Peter Gelb quoted in: Kyle MacMillan, "HD broadcasts of Met Reeling in Opera Lovers," accessed 25 April 2010, http://www.denverpost.com/entertainment/ci_13464998#ixzz1zmC05MMY.
7. Unpublished personal conversation, sometime in 2009.
8. Paul Heyer, "Live From the Met: Digital Broadcast Cinema, Medium Theory, and Opera for the Masses," *Canadian Journal of Communication*, vol 33 (2008): 591-604.
9. "The Metropolitan Opera in HD," accessed 25 April 2010, http://wtjuclassical.blogspot.com/2009/11/metropolitan-opera-in-hd.html.
10. Sheppard, "Metropolitan Opera's Theater Transmissions."
11. The cost of the satellite transmissions in addition to the lavish production costs and increasing demands of the stars has meant that, despite the millions of HD tickets sold, profits are yet to come. For now, branding.
12. Kyle MacMillan, "HD Broadcasts of Met Reeling in Opera Lovers," *Denver Post*, April 10, 2009, accessed 20 July 2011, http://www.denverpost.com/entertainment/ci_13464998.
13. Peter Gelb, http://www.musolife.com/the-met-live-in-hd.html?page=full, accessed 25 April 2010.
14. Heyer, "Live From the Met..."

What Do We *Really* Know About Film Audiences?

1. UK Film Council, *Stories We Tell Ourselves: The Cultural Impact of UK Film 1946-2006* (Great Britain: Narval Media/Birkbeck College/Media Consulting Group, 2009). Available at http://industry.bfi.org.uk/culturalimpact.
2. UK Film Council/British Film Institute, *Opening Our Eyes: How Film Contributes to the Culture of the UK* (Great Britain: Northern Alliance with Ipsos MediaCT, 2011). The

UK Film Council was wound up in 2011, and this report was published by its successor body, the British Film Institute, which had been involved in commissioning both studies. The present author was part of the teams responsible for both reports.

3. National Council of Public Morals, *The Cinema; Its Present Position and Future Potential* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1917); available to download from the Internet Archive, at http://archive.org/details/cinemaitspresentoonatirich (accessed 3.7.12).
4. The Moyne Committee's brief was, "To consider the position of British films, having in mind the approaching expiry of the Cinematograph Films Act, 1927, and to advise whether, and if so what, measures are still required in the public interest to promote the production, renting and exhibition of such films."
5. See, for instance, *Cinema and Video Industry Audience Research Study Five* (CAVIAR 5), produced by Carrick James Market Research, 1987, with the aim of providing "a unified body of data about the whole cinema and video film audience from children aged seven to fourteen and from adults from fifteen to sixty-four [also covering] video tape purchase and tape rental markets." The CAVIAR report covered: "Frequency and viewing of cinema and video film watching. Specific information about the films seen and details of pre-recorded video cassettes purchased. The survey also covers television and radio and newspaper readership." See the ESRC/JISC Economic and Social Data Service website, at http://www.esds.ac.uk/findingData/snDescription.asp?sn=2688 (accessed 5.7.12).
6. Survey respondents were invited to name "a film" that was significant for them, and later asked to identify "how British" a list of films seemed, as well as naming a film that "had an effect on UK society." See below on the study methodology.
7. In November 1943, the pioneer public opinion research organization Mass Observation asked its correspondents "What films have you liked best during the last year?," asking also for the reasons. 104 women and 116 men replied, with approximately half saying that they did not go often or at all to the cinema. Powell and Pressburger's THE LIFE AND DEATH OF COLONEL BLIMP (1943) was the top women's choice, and second among male respondents. See Jeffrey Richards and Dorothy Sheridan, eds., *Mass Observation at the Movies* (London & New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1987), 220-291.
8. *Stories We Tell Each Other*, 26.
9. The attempt to classify films according to their endorsement of, or challenge to, "British values" referred to a government-led campaign of 2008 to define and assert such "values." See *Stories*, 22, fn 20.
10. Jullier and Leveratto, **"**Cinephilia in the Digital Age."
11. The matched pair interviews established that the terms "culture" and "impact" should not be used, since these either had little meaning for interviewees or were interpreted inconsistently. *Opening Our Eyes*, 13.
12. The Film3Sixty survey was reported as "the largest single piece of film consumer research ever undertaken in the UK, taking six months to compile and resulting in a project with over 18,000 respondents." Film3Sixty, http://www.film3sixtymagazine.com/index.php/2012/01/31/film3sixty-film-survey-results/ (accessed 4 July 2012).
13. UK cinema attendances for 2011 were 171.6 million, the third highest year result of the past decade. This would translate into approximately 3.75 attendances for the

15-74 age range surveyed by Ipsos, but there are obviously also both younger and older viewers contributing to the gross attendance total.

14. Subjects undergoing fMRI scans and dental patients can often opt to view films.
15. *Opening Our Eyes*, 19.
16. *Ibid.*, 17.
17. Compare the relative distribution of independent cinemas between different European countries, as revealed by the map of Europa Cinemas network members, at http://www.europa-cinemas.org/en/Network/Europa-Cinemas-Map (accessed 5 July 2012).
18. *Opening Our Eyes*, 34.
19. The first three of these were mentioned 100, 75 and 42 times respectively, while the latter three were mentioned 11, 10 and 10 times in a listing of the top 23. The prominence of THE KING'S SPEECH is almost certainly due to the survey being conducted at the height of the film's popularity and speculation about its Academy Award chances in February 2011. Fuller details of films mentioned are available in the report and on-line at BFI, http://www.bfi.org.uk/downloads/opening-our-eyes-how-film-contributes-culture-uk.
20. *Opening Our Eyes*, 50.
21. *Ibid.*, 53.
22. *Ibid.*, 44.
23. *Ibid.*, 59.
24. *Stories*, 7.
25. Modern 3D requires expensive digital projectors, which can also be used for 2D presentation. The strong performance and premium prices charged for first-wave 3D films persuaded many exhibitors to bear the cost of re-equipping, which is likely to lead to digital projection becoming universal within the near future.
26. *Opening Our Eyes*, 61.
27. See Table 3, in the BFI Research and Statistics Unit's report, *The UK Box Office in 2011*, at https://docs.google.com/viewer?url=http://industry.bfi.org.uk/media/pdf/b/q/UK_box_office_2011.pdf
28. *Opening Our Eyes*, 69.

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