Sonja Kmec and
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Tourists & Nomads

Amateur Images of Migration

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Introduction

De- and Reterritorialisation. Processes of 'Amateur' Images

Globalisation is not a new phenomenon; intercontinental connections of business, finance, trade and informational flow have been put in place even before the European expansion in the sixteenth century, the overseas colonisation and the Atlantic slave trade took off. They have increased at a vertiginous rate in the wake of industrialisation and the related transformations in the domains of telecommunications and teletransportations.[1] Imperialism did not only spun a worldwide net of profit and exploitation, but also encouraged missionaries, ethnographers, filmmakers and adventurers to explore conquered lands and document the exotic and unknown. While some spent most of their life overseas and acquired a 'global biography',[2] others only did short trips abroad, 'on business' or in their leisure time.

During the process of decolonisation and the numerous wars of the twentieth century, other types of mobility took precedence: forced migration and refugee movements. Today's post-colonial migration is driven by insecurities due to military or paramilitary violence, economic or environmental crises. Migrants in search for a better, more peaceful and ordinary life (as opposed to business and leisure travellers in search for a more ex-

citing life and extra-ordinary opportunities) rarely leave traces of their journeys in the form of images. The archives of the CNA, Luxembourg's Centre national de l'audiovisuel (www.cna.lu), for instance hold no images that can be directly linked to it. However, at the first colloquium on amateur images organised in Luxembourg in 2008, Saskia Klaassen-Nägeli presented a case-study on images taken "in the context of migration".[3]

We decided to focus more specifically on the issue of migration in the second colloquium entitled *Tourists and Nomads. Amateur Images of Migration*, held in April 2010. The papers presented at this occasion have been gathered and rewritten for the present, eponymous volume.

This book may be situated in the context of transnational studies, shuning the frame of the nation-state without romanticising 'nomadism'. Migration scholars have shown that transmigration has never been limited to unilinear movements from one defined territory, crossing several borders, into another contained space, where settlement was followed by assimilation or ghettoisation. On the contrary, migrants are active in "social fields" that are woven into one another; they construct their own space of

1   *Déjà vu* (Lisl Ponger, 1999).

"in-betweenness" and develop forms of multiple belonging and positioning.[4] Even though migration is a universal phenomenon, it would be – as Zygmunt Bauman insists – "grossly misleading [to apply] the fashionable term 'nomads' (...) indiscriminately to all contemporaries of the postmodern era (...), as it glosses over the profound differences which separate the two types of experience and render all similarities between them formal and superficial".[5] The increasingly global and extraterritorial elites (the "tourists") provide a stark contrast to the locally bound, disempowered people, who have to move out of necessity and whom Bauman calls "vagabonds".[6] We prefer the term "nomad" to Bauman's "vagabond", as our focus is on those who have the means to migrate over longer distances and not only – as "vagabond" suggests – from one village to the next, scrambling to survive. The poorest do not have the means to migrate at all, nor do they have the means to take pictures or even to have their voices heard. "Nomads" are slightly better off, but they have difficulties to rid themselves of the image of outsiders, outcasts or simply 'others'. "Tourists" also have problems to be accepted, but they rarely see that or seem to care. Their papers are always in order, they are onlookers rather than being looked at.

The two types of experience, tourists and nomads, constitute the focus of this book.

Amateur images do not bridge this distance. On the contrary, they may help to point at the (social) fracture, when re-used by artists and filmmakers. Thus, Lisl Ponger's films *Passagen* (1996) and *Déjà vu* (1999)[7] – screened at the 2010 colloquium in the presence of the filmmaker – combine found footage of tourists filming African safaris with voices from the off. The seemingly familiar, cosy pictures are disturbed and disrupted by stories of sorrows and survival. A uneasy slippage is thus created by Ponger, whose body of work is mainly dealing with the construction of otherness, often in relation to tourism.

This book opens with **Gian Maria Tore**'s examination of how people look at "amateur images". He distinguishes between two attitudes, which may also be seen to structure this book: academic classification (parts I to IV) and artistic/personal experience (part V). The first approach is seeking to identify the images, to historicise and contextualise them. The second way of dealing with amateur images is to explain them with regards to the effects they have on us. The first, scholarly approach, Tore argues, is paradoxical: it places "amateur images" in a category opposed to that of "professional images" and thus liberates them from being catalogued or sorted, the way professional images are, when discussed in terms of school, current, period, technique, style etc. But the first three parts of this book show that academics do not give up that easily. Amateur images are being tackled under the angle of colonialism, tourism and transnational family life, before being "liberated", or rather being interpreted in a new – maybe softer, maybe harsher – light, by a selection of artists.

In **Part I** the very concept of "amateur images" is questioned, as the travelogues are a mixture of highly personal images of family life and an ethnographic agenda, aimed at a larger, anonymous audience.

As **Guy Edmonds** shows, the filmmaker Paul Julien may be viewed both as amateur and professional. Julien used his films in order to raise money for his expeditions, but the films he produced may also be viewed as "ego-documents".[8] Edmonds classifies the very eclectic material Julien's family left to the archive of the Nederlands Fotomuseum, now held by the Eye Film Institute Netherlands, by the degree of editing or "level of intentionality" – in Tore's perspective, a clear case of treating Julien as if he were a professional.

Similarly, Father Félix Dufays's film *Sahara, terre féconde* (1933) was received *as if* it were a professional product. **Paul Lesch** explains that it was co-produced by a professional, presented at the Colonial Exhibition in Vincennes, shown in cinemas and got reviews. Dufays, however, always stressed the fact that the film was made by a missionary and was thus steeped in reality. In a sense, the film sold itself as combining the best of both worlds (amateur and professional). Implicitly the film supported European colonialism in the same way as Paul Julien's and Albert Mahuzier's travelogues did. The latter is examined in that light by **Lise Gantheret**. She defines Mahuzier as a "semi-amateur" who promoted his family film *À la poursuite des gorilles* (1952) as a kind of zoological show and ethnographic comment on the life of the Pygmies, his family lived with for several months. The absence of commentary regarding certain rituals and daily life of his hosts gives the films an aura of mystery and adventure, which did not go against

2   *Passagen* (Lisl Ponger, 1996).

the grain of more open colonial propaganda. Both Dufays and Mahuzier use maps as elements of the storyline, an element that is also popular in the amateur film footage of the CNA examined in this volume (see below). The influence travelogues had on amateur images – and the degree to which they were influenced themselves by commercial films – is highlighted by **Ciara Chambers**. Although she does not make the analogy herself, one could compare the way the Irish filmmaker J. J. Tonhill portrayed the rural dwellers of his home country to Mahuzier's treatment of indigenous people in Central Africa: an idealised, romantic vision of 'primitive' life-style, implicity contrasted

with 'civilised' but 'decadent' life in the metropolis.

The authors of **Part II**, though dealing with images that are clearly not "professional", do not abdicate the right to "classify". **Christina Natlacen** introduces the concept of "vernacular" photography,[9] based on the function of the images rather than the authorship of the photographer. She examines pictures taken and/or reappropriated in a private context and finds that tourist shots have elements of five other genres of photography whose functions they share: self-assurance, memory, evidence, appropriation (declaration of ownership) and consumption. Natlacen concurs with Tore that Roland Barthes's concept

3   *Déjà vu* (Lisl Ponger, 1999).

of "that-has-been"[10] can be applied independently of the genre of the photograph, but only to photographs one can take possession of both affectively and cognitively. It applies in particular to holiday shots that claim "I was here".[11] Tuning in on this element of self-assurance, **Peter Burleigh** and **Sophie Jung** examine the transition of focus from the place that is being photographed to the person who is picturing himself, linking it to the boom of the digital image. They detect a movement from an iconography of sense to an iconography of presence, where the tourist him- or herself has become the main attraction. Formerly, that is, before the advent of digital images (and the dissemination via internet), the photographs func-

tioned as a "signature", a witness to a place experienced as exotic and distant. As such pictures become ubiquitous, they become a slice of the real. What is real and what is hyperreal (Baudrillard) are no longer distinguishable. This loss of indexicality reflects a shift in paradigm: the images no longer serve as witness of have being been "there", but of "having been" and "being".

Part III is composed of four case-studies written by masterstudents of the University of Luxembourg. In 2010 a class entitled "Doheem an Ennerwee – Amateur Film Constructions of 'At home' and 'On the road'" was offered in the Masterprogramme "Langue, Culture et Médias – Lëtzebuerger

Studien". The course was looking at how travellers crossing a national border became increasingly – due to nation-building processes – identified as 'migrants' or as 'tourists'. The emergence of mass tourism went hand in hand with the increasing popularity of taking (still and moving) pictures of oneself and one's surroundings. In Luxembourg, as paid holidays became the legal norm, leisure time increased and average salaries continued to rise, holidays became a favourite motive for the amateur's camera. As part of their training, masterstudents chose an amateur film about people on the move from the CNA archives[12] and examined it in terms of its choice of perspective, motive, technical equipment, focus and (hidden) message. The films selected by **Sabrina Roob, Christophe Kneip, Sabrina Espinosa** and **Fränk Muno** vary in terms of destination/film location (Canada, USA, France/Spain and Nepal/India), family depiction and, mostly, editing. The highest "level of intentionality", as Edmonds calls it, is reached by Espinosa's film footage, divided in several chapters with the means of painted intertitles.

Part IV is focusing on migrants and transnational family life. **Heather Norris Nicholson** shows how and why the film *Moving Memories Memories: Tales from Moss Side and Hulme* (Karen Gabay, 2009) attempts to involve all the residents of a Manchester neighbourhood, recording and including people's reactions to old amateur images, making it an interactive experience. Their voices are used to make up for the absence of images or to add a different layer to their narration. They question the veracity of the images and their value as witness of an age, a neighbourhood or a family. This example of audiovisual community history-making

is said to illustrate Robert Rosen's notion of "intentioned memory workers" as a film director, archive staff and historian collaborated to bring fresh meaning to archive film.[13]

As most migrants do not document their journey spontaneously, **Vera Weisgerber's** project was to offer them the means to do so by handing cameras to children of Montenegrin refugees who sought asylum in Luxembourg but were sent back to their country of origin. The artist as "tourist" and the people she worked with as "nomads" collide in the *Tumbling Dice* project. As the images taken by the children were different from what she had expected, the project raises fundamental questions about the capacity of representation of images.

These issues are also at the center of the film *I for India* (Sandhya Suri, 2005) analysed by **Dagmar Brunow**. The incongruency of image and sound is used to expose underlying fissures in the British master narrative and (post)colonial lines of conflict. Although the film challenges, by way of family films and autobiographical narration, the national British historiography, Brunow insists that it cannot be reduced to a mere counter-narrative, as this would perpetuate the binarism of hegemony and resistance. The film does not pretend to be more 'authentic' then other representations of the same time and place. On the contrary, the film draws attention to the construction of memory via the (filmed) repetition of family rituals. These recorded rituals are being examined by **Susan Aasman** in a historical perspective, linking up with Burleigh and Jung's article on holiday pictures. She analyses how home movies have changed due to new global communication technologies and comes to the conclusion that home movie can no longer be defined – at least not

4 *Passagen* (Lisl Ponger, 1996).

primarily – as a memory practice. The phase of producing, however, has gained in importance, as family life and media experience (video calls, webcams …) have fused, allowing for a new kind of transnational, deterritoralised family life to emerge.

Part V deals with orphan footage and its re-appropriation by people whom it 'speaks to'. By trying to express the effect the images have on them, they illustrate Tore's second approach of artistic and/or personal experience. **Philip Widmann's** *Destination Finale* has been made out of found footage of a man presumably from Vietnam, travelling through Europe, a short time before the Amercian involvement in the Second Indo-

china War. The tragic dimension and the dramatic tension reside in the fact that Widmann and the viewers know what the protagonists seemingly ignores, as well as in the unknown fate of the film-maker. The "open text"[14] character of found footage also provides the background of **Kathrin Franke**'s fictionalisation of a set of slides nothing is known about except for their time (the 1960s), location (Lake Balaton, Hungary) and maybe the city of residence of the photographer (Weimar, GDR). The stories that those slides inspire in Franke and in Tobias Klich, who put his interpretation into paint, as well as Franke's reading of Klich's paintings are so outrageously freestyle that they may also help to question the authority we

assume when approaching amateur images, dissecting and categorising them …

The exhibition *I was here,* on display at the CNA in parallel to the conference in 2010 deals with the same preoccupations. Co-curator **Michèle Walerich** presents the productive confrontation of sumptuous photo albums held by public archives and found footage creatively adapted by Joachim Schmid, Robert Schlotter and Erik Kessels. Between both poles, the collections of CNA of tourist images, shot by known or unknown individuals, deemed worth of conservation *because* of their ubiquitousness.

Notes

1 Feldbauer, Hausberger and Lehners, eds., *Globalgeschichte.*

2 Hausberger, ed., *Globale Lebensläufe.*

3 Klaassen-Nägeli, "Valorisation of Amateur Images in the Context of Migration".

4 See Mitchell, "Cultural Geographies of Transnationality," 80–1.

5 Bauman, *Globalization*, 87.

6 Bauman, *Globalization*, 77–102.

7 Cf. Ponger, Lisl and Tim Sharp, ImagiNative. http://lislponger.com. Accessed September 17, 2011. *Passagen* and *Déjà vu* are available on DVD (*Lisl Ponger: Travelling Light*, INDEX Edition)

8 Angeliki Koukoula gave a paper with the title "The Visual Egodocuments of Paul Julien" at the colloquium, which asserted that the films could be viewed as documents, in which an ego intentionally or unintentionally discloses or hides itself.

9 Cf. Batchen, "Vernacular Photographies".

10 Barthes, *Camera lucida*, 77.

11 This was also the title of the exhibition running parallel to the conference at the CNA, Luxembourg. Cf. Michèle Walerich's article in this book, p. 195.

12 The masterclass would like to thank Céline Fersing of the CNA for her precious help.

13 Rosen, "Something strong within," 108.

14 Eco, *Opera aperta*.

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Gian Maria Tore

Concise Semiotics of 'Amateur' Images. (On Genres and Experiences of Images)

Introduction: Identifying Versus Experiencing Images

"Amateur images of migration" – as the subtitle of the present volume reads – are not 'professional images of migration', nor do they have a duty to document migration. The goal of this article is to discuss this difference, and thus to attempt firstly to define 'amateur' images, i.e. images free of 'institutional' constraints, and subsequently to examine "amateur images of migration".

More generally, above and beyond a debate on the subject of this book, my analysis seeks to support the need to use such distinctions when studying images. Although it is very difficult to represent this in a satisfactory way, it is essential to understand and attempt to explain that the meaning of an image changes according to the manner in which we approach it. More precisely, whether an image is an 'amateur' image, a 'press' image, an 'archived' image, an 'art' image – or even a 'religious', 'political', or 'educational' image, etc. – what matters is that these categories are all different semiotic appraisals, attached to different cultural practices and mediations, which permeate the image and which finally give it a different meaning. This distinction, albeit crucial, still lacks a thourough discussion in the

scientific literature, despite a recent display of interest in the question.[1]

From this general perspective, and in a bid to render an account of the semiotic functioning of amateur images and images of migration, I will develop the following epistemological distinction: on the one hand, images can be classified; on the other hand, they can be experienced. On the one hand, it is a matter of finding the correct label, the right box, the final say, which would allow us to take *over the images*. On the other hand, it is a matter of spending time with them and becoming familiar with them, of being affected *by the images*, of experiencing them as a learning ground or a reservoir of emotions to go through. Even the different scientific lines of discourse on images seem to adhere to either one of these two poles: some endeavour to pinpoint the genre or style that encases them, or even to identify the situation that created them (their historical and 'cultural' origin or their psychological roots) or the purpose that inspired them (their social or psychological destination), whereas others try to explain them by means of their structure and/or their effect.

I am of course in the process of uniting, in a dual opposition, a largely disparate group of different approaches. Nevertheless, in order to comprehend the degree to which, fun-

damentally, we are dealing with two major groups of opposing attitudes, we can contemplate two ways of playing with images, each with its own different aim. The first, the game of classification, ultimately consists in applying knowledge to the images, in precisely a scholarly approach. The aim of the game is to endeavour to identify the images. But identifying means identifying the image *with* something, or *based on* something, something that is thus set beyond the image. This can be a familiar style, the idea one has of a certain culture, a technique considered essential, etc. – and therefore the images 'are' the expression of a style, the symptom of a certain culture, the product of a technique, etc. On the opposite side of the spectrum, there is the game of experiencing images. This consists less of applying external knowledge *to the images* than in ensuring that the images themselves mean something *to us*, that they have an effect *on us*. The aim of this game is for the images to affect us and educate us (in the etymological sense of 'e-ducation', i.e. 'leading out', leading someone towards change …). The images are not identified, but explained (again in the literal sense of 'ex-plain', i.e. 'un-fold', expose, develop …). This approach is no longer scholarly, but experimental: the competency that follows the encounter with the images counts for more than that which precedes it.[2]

An apparent and symbolic example of the first game, the game of the scholarly approach that aims to identify, is the archiving of images. An example of the second game, the game of the experimental approach, where we allow ourselves to be guided by the images, is the identification with the characters or the situations that these images depict. A good archiving is a classification system perfected to accommodate all images: its aim is not to change; whereas a good experience of an image affects us: it changes us.

These two approaches are conceptually opposed, but of course they do not reciprocally exclude one another: they can be brought together – and this is what happens most often as a matter of fact. A certain experience of the image can be obtained by means of its previous classification. Contextual information on its production, information on the genre it adheres to, etc. all lead to an image being experienced differently. A good example of this is the 'aesthetic' experience, since there strictly speaking is no 'art' if the image has not had a range of pertinent categories applied to it. But it must be added that it is the encounter with the image itself that tells us if our categorisations are pertinent or need to be reformulated – and 'art' consists precisely in systematically changing our predefined categories.[3] This suggests that the bringing together of the two types of approaches of the image can also follow the reverse order: an image can be attributed to a category in an attempt to capture the experience that it has managed to produce. For instance, one can regroup and identify 'the canvasses that created Cubism', or 'the images that triggered important responses in the history of western culture',[4] or simply 'the films that made me love the American deserts' …

Furthermore, the two approaches, the scholarly and the experimental, the identifying and the explanatory, can not only be brought together in one sense or another; they can also, and above all, enter into dialogue with one another. They can make up the two poles of a practice, which takes place in the middle and is thus complicated and tense. An example of this is when we are faced with an image in a museum, which causes us literally to oscillate between, on the

one hand, the information provided by its caption and the interpretative framework imposed by the exhibition in general and, on the other hand, the fact of coming face-to-face with the image itself, the patient exploration thereof, the immersion or, even, the reverie.

The aim of this discussion is precisely to argue that it is interesting to pinpoint – if possible – when one process finishes and cedes its place to the other, or when one takes over from the other; in particular, how *the meaning of the image changes*. Our more specific challenge, following this epistemological introduction, is the following: is the "amateur image of migration" defined as such only as a result of the attribution of a label, for the external knowledge that is applied to it, or also for a particular experience that it triggers, for the knowledge and effects, in a way, evoked by the image itself? For if an image were "amateur" and "of migration" simply as a result of external labelling, *independently of the image itself and with no effect whatsoever on its meaning*, the act of questioning this type of image would lose a lot of its appeal, and all that would be left would be to draw up an empirical inventory, citing existing "amateur images of migration".

Definition of the "Amateur" Image

The question thus arises whether an image is said to be "amateur" and "of migration" because an external source, accompanying the image, informs us that this image was produced in a non-professional context and in (or for) a situation of migration; or whether such an image also possesses a particular effectiveness, if the "amateurism" and "migration" elements are also, to a certain degree, *within* the image and, if so, in what manner. I

will focus on the question of "amateur" images and will come back to the "migration" issue only in the final part, since by then it will be obvious that this second question is entirely determined by the first.

After Jean-Marie Schaeffer's fundamental essay on photography, it appears difficult to negate the importance of the "knowledge of the *arché*", i.e. of the information one has when faced with the photographic object that concerns its production and, at the same time, radically changes its meaning.[5] Thus, it can easily be agreed that an image is 'amateur' and not 'professional', not because of what it shows or the manner in which it shows it, but because of what we know about its production. It would be rather naïve to think that an image is 'amateur' because its subjects are depicted in a certain manner, or because it employs (or does not employ) certain technical procedures. On the one hand, these same 'amateur' procedures are widely reproduced by 'professionals', for various reasons; on the other hand, in particular, a 'dilettante' can also produce a photo in a 'professional' manner. In summary, it is clear that an 'amateur' image is not by visual definition of a lower quality than a 'professional' image; the real difference lies elsewhere. It lies in the fact that what a 'professional' does by definition is to produce *ensembles of images*, while 'dilettantes' can limit themselves to a single image. It follows that an image produced in a 'professional' way is an image that has been reframed in relation to the ensemble of the project, in relation to the other creations of this project and in relation to the technique that has been developed in the meantime or as a result of previous projects, etc. In other words, questions of technique, project, alternatives, etc. become just many new pertinent categories for the 'professional' image.[6] The 'amateur' image, on the

other hand, is an image that is free of any institutional framework; which means that it is not part of a series of images and therefore exempt from more general classification, discussion and assessment practices.

In summary, an image considered an 'amateur' image passes through the only categorisation that pits it against the 'professional', and as a result frees itself from all other ensuing additional categorisations. Questions of technique, project, alternatives, etc. are not pertinent in this case. With the 'amateur' image, first the game of scholarly identification is played, in order subsequently to play directly, and *more freely*, the game of affective or cognitive effectiveness.

Institutionalisation versus Personalisation of the Image

What happens, more precisely, once the image is classified as 'amateur'? The image, as we have just seen, is available for a direct encounter, for a personal experience, or even a personalising one. If the 'professional' image functions through institutionalisation, the 'amateur' image functions *ad personam*, through personalisation.[7]

To explain this dynamic, it no doubt helps to recall the fact that the genre *par excellence* of the amateur image, the most prevalent and banal, is the souvenir photograph. A brief discussion on the souvenir photograph will allow us to understand more clearly the personalisation that characterises amateur images in general.

Firstly, it is important to keep in mind that, while they may produce the same experience of personalisation, the 'amateur image' and the 'souvenir photograph' are not necessarily one and the same. An amateur image re-

quires prior categorisation (that states that the image does not belong to an institution, and thus is not part of a project, etc.), whereas a souvenir photograph could be almost any image, amateur or professional, involving a process of personalisation. I can therefore take on, as my own souvenir photograph, a professional photo taken by an artist who used my sweetheart as a model, or a photo from a journalist's article (and therefore professional), which happens to feature my cat. In summary, any image can *become* a souvenir photograph, whereas an image *is*, *straightaway*, either professional or amateur.

A souvenir photograph can talk of any subject (including 'migration'); and, just like an 'amateur' image, it can be produced in any manner. Certainly, it has recurring themes, like important people and/or moments of our lives. It also bears witness to recurring formal procedures, true stereotypes of composition, like a certain frontal positioning, even the use of the camera look, or, in the case of tourist trips, the framing of subjects by a monument[8]. Nevertheless, nothing stops a photograph with an overstated subject or an unexpected technique from becoming a souvenir photograph.

In fact, what counts in a souvenir photograph is not the content of the image or its means of expression, but a personal and personalising experience with regard to the image: *an engaging of the photographic representation with our memory, our ideas, our affections*. More specifically, playing the souvenir game with the image is akin to trying to go through a re-cognition of what the image is meant to represent. The game of the souvenir photograph consists in trying to re-find, re-cognise something or someone personal *in the image*. So much that, in this game, two types of behaviour appear typical. On the

one hand, there is the behaviour of the souvenir protagonists, the "people"; on the other hand, there is the behaviour of those who are strangers to the souvenir, the "non-people".[9] Typically, the first, the "people", those who were captured in the photograph or those close to them, have trouble finding themselves in the photo: they have to make significant concessions ("*shame I am pulling such a face*", "*you are much prettier in real life*", etc.), or even refuse to play the game ("*I hate having my picture taken*", "*I have no photo of my friend*", etc.); more rarely, they might express wonder ("*yes, that's definitely it!*"). The second group, the "non-people", display a totally different behaviour in this game: they find the photo insignificant, because they have literally nothing to do with it.[10] In one case as in the other, one can clearly see that the pertinent question appears to be a process, possible or not, of personalisation.

This issue is understood even better when contemplating what is possibly the furthest removed from the personalisation of the souvenir photograph: the institutionalisation of the (scientific) documentation photograph. The latter consists precisely in submitting the photograph to a series of depersonalisations and classifications. In effect, one can say that there is scientific documentation of the image whenever the latter is:

I) associated with a precise time space,

II) an aid for a collective and anonymous audience,

III) available for verifications or processes of reasoning by II.

The souvenir photograph, for instance of our lover, contrasts with this in each point. It functions:

i) without us necessarily knowing at what exact time our lover was photographed,

ii) by virtue of the fact that the person featured, the lover, is important to us, thus triggering personal reactions,

iii) without any discussion having to take place, beyond the experience (ii) itself.

That being said, nothing could stop the police from seizing the photo of our lover, if for instance the latter is a criminal on the run; and the police then endeavouring to make the photo function in precisely the institutionalist manner of scientific documentation (points I–III). Meaning that, subsequently, *other things are going to be seen in this same image*. For instance, every element able to identify the situation in which the photograph was taken (cf. I) will be scrutinised, but not whether this photograph agrees with the personal state of mind of the viewer (cf. ii) …

In general, the personal photograph can be institutionalised, but it has to be taken into account that its meaning then changes. The 'amateur' photograph can be archived by an institution, and then it can be used, for instance, to study how 'amateur' photos are taken, and in doing so it becomes the object of a further and more precise sub-classification (cf. III). Meaning that the amateur photograph, once it becomes an archived photograph, would take on a *reflective* expression that was previously absent: the photograph serves to *exemplify* a type of photo. This reflexivity, which makes us see new things in the photograph, can also increase if the photo is featured in an exhibition or a newspaper article: in these cases, it becomes even more exemplary, for the institution exhibiting it, or for the social issue of the newspaper supported by it. In summary, in this case, the photo, whether originally amateur or professional, is ultimately viewed according to a collective and shareable issue.[11]

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Conclusion: What the Image Speaks of

The conclusions of the preceding discussions seem fairly clear: what the image speaks of, what it makes us experience, changes according to the games it yields to. These 'games' are the genres and practices, institutional or not.

Thus, the theme of "migration" – to finally come back to the key subject of this book – will be experienced and identified differently, according to whether it makes up the content of a 'professional' or an 'amateur' image. In the first case, migration must be able to be *documented*. This with the specific methods of the institution in question (documentation as analysis, exposure, suggestion … i. e.: documentation involving more science, more coverage, more propaganda, etc.). On the other hand, if migration

were to be the theme of an 'amateur' image, namely an image free from subsequent frameworks, migration need only be *experienced*. Which means that, quite simply, the "amateur image of migration" is an image that functions *for someone* as being linked to migration. It is not obliged to document migration, or even show it, but just to have it experienced. It functions, for instance, much like a souvenir photograph that would have us relive the experience of our trip to Italy even if no monument or landscape of Italy were visible on it – 'visible' to the view of the collective and anonymous audience of the documentation …

In these few pages, I have suggested that how an image functions may be likened to a game. The image testifies to a reality or an experience exactly like pawns and a chessboard testify to a game of chess.

Notes

1   See: Tore, "Médiations".

2   On this discussion and opposition, see also: Didi-Huberman, *Devant l'image*.

3   Here reference needs to be made to all so-called 'analytical aesthetics'. For the question on categorisation, see: Walton, "Categories of Art" and Goodman, *Ways of Worldmaking*.

4   See: Freedberg, *The Power of Images*.

5   Schaeffer, *L'image précaire*.

6   It should be noted that 'artists' are also professionals and that the entire framework mentioned also applies to them: technique, practice, series (which also means 'style' or 'genre', or even the creation of an 'author's work') … Hence the semiotic interest and paradox of the 'naïve' artists, a sort of contradiction in terms, which consists in creating an art that would be free of the framework of 'art', i. e.: an amateur art.

7   The art image, insofar as it is 'professional', is also submitted to the various games of institutionalisation. Hence, any potential 'personal' experience

must take into account these games, thus adopting tactics such as an assumed ignorance and the concessions (*"I know that …, but for me …"*) or rethinking the institutional classifications (*"oh yes, that image employs a revolutionary technique"*, "*this artist is the most representative of his generation*", etc.).

8   It would be worth carrying out a large-scale structural analysis of a vast body of souvenir photographs, even just of amateur photographs of migration, in order to mark their visual *topoi*. See, in this volume, the contributions by Christina Natlacen, Peter Burleigh/ Sophie Jung and Susan Aasman.

9   Here I refer to the classical theory by Emile Benveniste on subjectivity *within* the language, i. e. the manner in which language differentiates and reproduces the "person versus non-person" difference (*I/you* versus *he*) and then the "subject versus non-subject" difference (*I* versus *you*). The souvenir photograph is personalising, even subjectifying, in the game of dialogue it elicits (an *I-you* game). On the other

hand, scientific photography, for instance, functions in the third person (a game of *he*, or of *one*), which in reality is a non-person and which, in fact, is objectifying. See: Benviste, "Structure des relations de personne dans le verbe" and Benviste "De la subjectivité dans le langage". With this semiolinguistic approach, some formal *topoi* and some rules governing various types of photographs can be explained. For instance, personalising photographs, such as the souvenir photograph and even more the identity photograph, require a frontal pose. By contrast, non-personalising, but possibly more "realistic" photographs, such as "portraits", do not require this. Schapiro has discussed these issues in paintwork, see: Schapiro, *Words and Pictures*, 37 s.

10 This brings to mind the most renowned account of the souvenir photograph: that of Roland Barthes on the photograph of his mother. Indeed, while common opinion has taken this account as a general theory of the photograph, Barthes' text is in fact about finding just the "good" image of his own mother (which incidentally Barthes is careful not to show the reader – a stranger to whom the photograph would no doubt have appeared insignificant). See: Barthes, *La chambre claire*. Contrary to what one often thinks, Barthes does not say "that-has-been" for every photograph, but only for photographs he can take pos-

session of both affectively and cognitively – an approach that Barthes applies independently of the genre of the photograph. Barthes incidentally provides a good illustration that every photograph, given successful personalisation, can become a souvenir photograph. For a more elaborate study on the souvenir photograph, see Tore, "La pratica semiotica della foto ricordo".

11 Cf. Beyaert-Geslin, *L'image préoccupée*. The 'press' photograph can thus be defined as a more focused 'documentation' photograph: featuring a precision and intensification of the institutional mediation on the one hand, and of the social exemplary aspect on the other hand. The 'art' photograph, for its part, seems to make sense at the intersection of an institutional view, anonymous and collective, and an individual and personal one. 'Art' images work as a curious combination of 'science' images, which typically are subjected to rationalisations and discussions, reviewed and re-evaluated several times, and souvenir photographs, which typically are matters of affection and of acceptance/rejection in relation to their being experienced. For discussions and analyses of different semiotic statuses of the photograph, see: Edwards and Hart, eds., *Photographs, Objects, Histories*; Basso and Dondero, *Sémiotique de la photographie*.

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Part I:
TRAVELOGUES

Guy Edmonds

Conserving the Unwieldy Body

A Material Approach to the Cinematographic Remains of Paul Julien

- *Paul Julien: Chemist, anthropologist, anthropometrist, haematologist, teacher, lecturer, writer, broadcaster, Catholic, amateur, professional, photographer, filmmaker*
- *The Cinematographic Remains: 243 individual 16mm rolls varying in length from 0,5 m to 157,7 m. In total over 10.000 m or 20 hours from 1932 to the 1970s in black and white reversal, Agfacolor and Kodachrome.*

Dr. Paul Julien (1901–2001) was a doctor of chemistry who conducted, amongst many other skills and interests, an enthusiastic amateur role in anthropology.[1] The variety of activities that he was involved with and the degree to which he practised them as an amateur or a professional complicates his persona and makes it resistant to easy classification. If, in terms of the distinction operated in the introduction of this volume, he was a "tourist" rather than a "nomad", he was a highly educated one with expert, specialised knowledge. However, aside from Julien's expert tourism, of which the films are one manifestation, I wish to explore the problems presented by the body of work and show how these complicate its archival life, and what's more, the work of the archive. I will engage with the subject of migration from the standpoint of the material itself rather than an investigation of its content, for which I see my preservation work as a preliminary.[2]

In the archive of the Eye Film Institute Netherlands lie the physical remains of Julien's cinematographic work. Their slow

decay by natural processes is only somewhat arrested by temperature and humidity controlled storage. Their long-term preservation can only be ensured by copying onto modern polyester-based film stock. It is my role as film restorer to undertake this work, to decide on the best approach and to oversee the laboratory-based technical work. I therefore work first and foremost with the material of film, its celluloid base and delicate image-bearing emulsion. However, especially in the case of amateur films these physical materials are incomplete documents. They were never meant to be autonomous carriers of meaning in the manner of commercially produced films and their completion in archival terms depends on knowing as much as possible about their production and presentation contexts.

The Julien films are a case in point. The collection is abundant but there is a lack of conventional filmographic data and contextual information. The reels themselves being often of a fragmentary nature match the incomplete context and surveying the

1   A new can containing original unedited camera rolls, each 30m. in length. © EYE Film Institute Netherlands.

collection generates many questions. From questions of content: What is the time and place in which the action is situated? What activities are taking place? To questions of intention: What was the function of the films? How do the films relate to each other? How did Julien's image making relate to his other activities? What was its audience?

These questions are present because modern film archiving does not just involve keeping the materials safe for as long as possible. We are engaged with issues of presentation as well as preservation. The contextual lacunae of amateur material therefore provoke another question: How can we best present a chaotic and dislocated film oeuvre to a new audience?

Collection Traumas and Material Migrations

The films came into the archive in 2003 having first been deposited at the Nederlands Fotomuseum by the second wife of Paul Julien after his death. The Fotomuseum kept the 55.000 negatives and slides, 9.000 prints and 40 boxes of documentation, but passed the 16mm films to the Filmmuseum, where my colleague Nico de Klerk set about viewing the reels and carefully cataloguing each separate roll of film, creating 243 separate records in the process. De Klerk also summarised the value of the collection putting particular emphasis on the aesthetic quality of the work. At this time the conser-

vation budget was insufficient to allow further work, so the collection simply bided time, waiting for its archival moment.

Finding an archival home can be a long and traumatic experience for an artifact or collection of artifacts.[3] They may have to move on several times, passing through both private and public collections that run according to very different procedures and motivations. While objects are not always safe when doing nothing, these transitions are likely to be more stressful periods. An entire collection moving from one ownership to another will rarely arrive in exactly the same state, especially if the original creator of the collection is not able to supervise the process. Even if the material survives the transition unaffected, contextual information is even more vulnerable and will almost unavoidably be affected.

Julien's films, passing from family ownership and through two public institutions, avoided any extreme trauma such as break up or, as in the case of his diaries, transferral to an inaccessible private collection. However, one change that was wrought by their admission into the Filmmuseum collection was their rehousing in brand new metal cans complete with a new label carrying details of the newly made catalogue entry. This was done in order to keep the material as safe as possible as aged containers can affect the state of the film; metal corrodes and cardboard cartons attract moisture.

This action follows a policy designed for theatrical film but is less suited to amateur film given the wealth of information that can sometimes be gleaned from the experience of the original container. It is not known if useful information was lost at this stage but many of the questions I had while working out a preservation strategy which arose from

inadequate contextual information may have been simplified had I been present at an earlier stage in the films' collection life. Sometimes, if the film itself cannot provide answers to my questions, then information such as the exact nature of the film stock, its date of manufacture and date of processing, or the return address of the filmmaker can be provided by the original packaging. Of course the feel of the new can was simply inert (as it is designed to be). In the case of Julien's films, at least if a title was present this was transcribed and recorded as coming from the original can in the catalogue entry.

So, just as in medicine, some traumas may have to be inflicted in order to save the patient. As part of the preservation process original material is copied either by photochemical or digital means. Either way this process, in which the copy comes to represent the original, involves a migration on a material level. The image data is migrated onto a new support. In the case of analogue photochemical preservation, as used on the Julien project, the data is still held on film material but it is not an exact copy, differing to a greater or lesser extent in terms of the image sharpness, contrast, density and colour. Digital technology can allow for a closer replica of the look of the film but at the expense of any real link with the material. With digital preservation the data is held on any one of a myriad of different storage systems from where it will sooner rather than later require further migration to head off the threat of total loss posed by system failure or system obsolescence.

I make these comments as a cinephile and film restorer with a perhaps excessive sympathy for the material. I remember Heather Norris Nicholson's aside to her quotation of Carolyn Steedman's idea of the archive as a resting place whilst speaking at

the *Images Amateurs* conference in 2008. Norris Nicholson commented that a film moving from the home to the archive might in fact feel far from 'at rest', based on the amount of work it may be called upon to do in its new home – work such as being copied to DVD and used in an academic presentation could potentially lead to a very active retirement.[4] It may be overstating the case to call all such actions 'traumas', but retaining a sensitivity to the material state is I think essential for all those who work with audiovisual sources.

Putting the Films to Work

In 2007 The Nederlands Filmmuseum embarked as one of five partnered institutions on the mass preservation and digitisation project, *Beelden voor de Toekomst* or *Images for the Future*. The funding provided for the project made every film in the archive a possible candidate for preservation. There was consequently a renewed interest to engage the Julien collection in 'work', which was further motivated by a discussion involving forthcoming exhibition opportunities.

The willingness to proceed with the preservation of the Julien films nevertheless did nothing to solve the practical problems of their presentation. This is where my work on the collection began though as a film restorer I would usually receive a project in a filmographically complete state. This information and the desired outcomes inform the decisions I make about presentational matters such as addition of titles and running order of different acts. With the Julien collection I had to back track and try to fill the gaps in our knowledge. The starting point for me remained an examination of the material.

Only in this case, in addition to assessing the technical condition prior to duplication, I was also looking for clues that would enable a recovery of Julien's own use of the films.

Having assembled all the films in one place it was possible to obtain a better idea of the scale of the collection than that provided by the catalogue entries. Although the cans in their entirety fitted on one of our trolleys, some cans contained many different individual rolls. The recanning action had roughly taken the form of putting the larger reels in 300 m cans and the smaller reels in multiples in 600 m cans so a first preliminary sorting of the films could be swiftly achieved. I then carried out the same action but at one remove and in more detail by extracting the data from the catalogue entries and sorting it in Excel. Sorting by different categories enabled a partial reconstruction of data that would have been more apparent had the collection still been in its donor-fresh state. It was possible, for example, to see that 123 of the 243 rolls were 30 m long. As this corresponds to the length of one camera roll it suggested that these films had not received any further attention from Julien, after having been exposed and processed: They had not been edited or compiled into a larger reel (fig. 1).

Having checked such assumptions against a sample of the 30m films it became apparent that some basic groupings could be made using the evidence of the material. I chose to call these 'levels of intentionality'[5] as I felt they served to show Julien's degree of commitment to each film and therefore arguably its importance within his oeuvre.

I gave the first level of intentionality to films which have a length greater than 30m. This implies at least one edit but could simply indicate two or more camera spools

joined together. A second level is reached with more active editing and the third by the addition of titles and/or intertitles.

Applying this structure enabled me to secure a place in *Beelden voor de Toekomst* for the 50 reels longer than 30 m, which in total account for about half the content of the entire collection. It also gave sufficient status to the project to provide a position for an internship exclusively concerned with the preservation of the Julien films. I was thus joined by Danuta Zoledziewska who resolutely applied herself to filling in the missing information from auxiliary sources, especially the website of the Fotomuseum, the timeline of Julien's whereabouts constructed by Sonja Wijs and the four books which Julien wrote about his travels and illustrated with his photographs.[6]

The use of the internal evidence that points to Julien's intentions also revealed structures within the 50 reels that pointed to how they should be compiled. During cataloguing each reel had been given a separate filmographic identity, despite the fact that some reels made up part of a larger work. Sometimes the remaining titles pointed out kinship in the manner of "KIRDI I" and "KIRDI II", but the titles, which were a mixture of the transcribed original can title, the title as written by hand on the leader or simply a given title, did not always indicate a relationship with another reel. In a few cases one could discern notches cut into the side of the film which were part of a now obsolete process to facilitate the grading of the film when copying (fig. 2). This interestingly proved that some of the films had been copied a long time ago although there was now no sign of these copies. It also helped to provide further evidence to link reels that seemed like they

2 A grading notch cut into the edge of the film, indicating a prior history as source material for duplication. Filmstrip enlargement from Dansd uivels. © EYE Film Institute Netherlands.

could belong together on the basis of the content as researched by Zoledziewska.

Eventually it was possible to come to a list of 29 separate films made up of the 50 longer reels, with three of them (*Bibayak, In Fransch West Afrika* and *Tusschen Nijl en Congo*) having the highest level of intentionality, being complete with titles and intertitles. The photochemical preservation of these 29 films is now complete and the first film preserved was given its modern day premiere at the *Amateur Images of Migration* conference. *Marokko Huwelijksreis (Honey-*

3   Frame enlargement from *Marokko huwelijksreis*.
© EYE Film Institute Netherlands.

moon in Morocco) is a very typical Julien film though a rather unusual honeymoon film. The film depicts a great number of Moroccan people often in beautifully composed portrait shots that bear a striking resemblance to his photographs. His new wife Elly, however, is seldom depicted, appearing for just a few shots, sometimes inelegantly perched on a donkey (fig. 3).

Although examining the films for preservation involves a very different sort of viewing, sometimes one does gain certain insights on a content level. Julien's films are full of human subjects and show a wide variety of mostly contented interactions. Indeed one feels he must have had a very friendly approach to his subjects. Sometimes though one senses reluctant engagement by the subject and one feels uneasy about the power relations displayed. What came as a sudden realisation one day was that a particular style of recurring coupled shots, a head on portrait and a profile portrait was a kind of cinematographic equivalent of the now outdated methods of physical anthropology that he had employed and which were also depicted in the filmed records of his expeditions before the war. The shots were effectively measuring the skulls of the subjects. After discussing this with Nico de Klerk, he introduced me to a term used by visual anthropologists, the anthro-

4   Frame enlargement from *Alledaagse leven*. © EYE Film Institute Netherlands.

5   Frame enlargement from *Pygmeeën*. © EYE Film Institute Netherlands.

pometric gaze, of which this seemed to be an excellent example (fig. 4 and 5).

I would hope that the newly accessible preservations will make such insights easier to come by and will themselves encourage further research into Julien's life and fill in gaps in our understanding of his motivations. So far we have partially reconstructed the films' context using clues provided by the film material itself and information contributed by other 'memory workers' to help to position the cinematographic remains in relation to the wider body of work: his photographs, papers and books. This process has only just begun – we have taken it as far as necessary only to complete the task at hand. It is now for the 'cultural workers' of today – anthropologists, academics, artists – in short a latter day grouping that can mirror Julien's own diverse range of interests, to continue the investigation.

Notes

1   I would like to thank my colleagues Nico de Klerk and Danuta Zoledziewska and Sonja Wijs of the Royal Institute for the Tropics for their invaluable support.

2   In January 2010 the Nederlands Filmmuseum merged with other institutions to become Eye Film Institute Netherlands. In this article I use both appellations depending upon the time in which events occurred.

3   It is possible my use of the word 'trauma' here is inspired by the work of Patricia Zimmermann and other memory workers. In the book *Mining the Home Movie* she describes "home movies as a collaborative history of trauma", Zimmermann, "Introduction," 21. However, in this article I exclusively discuss trauma in relation to physical objects rather than people or peoples.

4   Norris Nicholson, "Moving Pictures, Moving Memories".

5   My choice of term proves to be unwittingly shared with the study of the theory of mind. My thanks to my colleague, Anne Gant, for pointing this out.

6   Julien, *Kampvuuren langs de evenaar*; Julien, *De eeuwige wildernis*; Julien, *Pygmeeën*; Julien, *Zonen van Cham*.

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Paul Lesch

Sahara, terre féconde (1933)

A Missionary Film Directed by White Father Félix Dufays

Having by chance stumbled across some press articles testifying to the existence of two colonial films directed by a Luxembourgian White Father during the early 1930s, I undertook some additional research regarding this director and his films entitled *De Dakar à Gao* and *Sahara, terre féconde*.

These two productions directed by a non-professional filmmaker struck me as particularly interesting for a couple of reasons. The first being the Luxembourgian background of the 'missionary film director' Félix Dufays, whose life and work remain relatively unknown in the Grand Duchy. Secondly, these are films of a colonial and missionary character dating from a period in time – namely the beginning of the 1930s – when the *idée coloniale* was at its very peak, certainly in France, the country in which both films were produced. The third and main reason is that these films are in line with the more general context of an increased awareness emerging towards the end of the 1920s, in certain Catholic circles, of the social, cultural and in particular religious significance of cinema. In 1928, the OCIC (Office Catholique international du cinéma) was founded and it was during that same period that an increasing number of members of the Catholic Church, not only missionaries, became aware of the inspiring

effect cinema could have. They expressed their thoughts on the subject both in conferences and in written articles.[1] It was within this context of 'positive' action by the Catholic Church in matters of cinema, during the early 1930s, that missionary cinema also began to become a subject of study.

Among the missionaries to express themselves publicly on the subject was the White Father Félix Dufays, the director of the two mentioned colonial documentaries. This article examines the theoretical studies made by the missionaries in general and Dufays in particular and compares them with their actual implementation. This is only possible due to the fact that, through a lucky combination of circumstances, at least one of the two films directed by Félix Dufays still exists. The film's negative is archived at the Centre national du cinéma (CNC) at the Bois d'Arcy film archive near Paris and the Cinémathèque de la Ville de Luxembourg was recently able to make a positive copy of it.

The Height of the idée coloniale in France

As already mentioned, the beginning of the 1930s is considered by specialist historians as an "archetypal colonial period".[2] The im-

perial idea was disseminated by the large-scale Colonial Exhibition of Vincennes of 1931, which attracted no fewer than 8 million visitors, as well as by other media, such as the press, school books, games, radio and cinema. The 1930s remain the decade "of a promotion without equal of all matters colonial and the richest in matters of propagandist innovation".[3] In France, the Empire was omnipresent and part of everyday life, and the *idée coloniale* was firmly established within French society. Few Frenchmen, incidentally, were critical of the *idée coloniale*. There was almost political unanimity regarding the Empire.

The wide spreading of the *idée coloniale* was possible thanks to the advent of mass culture, capable of creating an in-depth impact and of having a long-lasting impression on the population. At this time, cinema was one of the principal means for broadcasting colonial ideology and imagery.[4] In terms of propaganda, the empire was presented as "an essential source of national power"[5] and the *idée coloniale* was orchestrated by politicians as a vehicle of national unity. One of the recurrent themes of colonial propaganda was the so-called 'civilising' mission of France. Judging from the numerous channels of colonial propaganda at the time, France, as a "guardian nation, promised social, economic and technical progress in all of its empire's territories, while still respecting the traditions of its *protégés*".[6] Films were intended to provide proof of the positive action of the metropolis by illustrating social progress (as in hospitals and schools) and economic improvements (roads, agricultural modernisation, irrigation systems) in the colonies.

It was precisely in this historical context of a strong era of the *idée coloniale* in France that Félix Dufays conceived his two documentaries, which tackle two important regions of French colonisation in Africa, namely French West Africa in *De Dakar à Gao* and southern Algeria in *Sahara, terre féconde*. It was therefore no coincidence that the first film was presented at the Colonial Exhibition in Vincennes.

Missionaries and Cinema

The beginning of the 1930s was also a time when – as already mentioned – the Catholic Church started to show a more serious and consistent interest in cinema. During the course of meditation weeks, conference series and by means of articles, Catholic missionaries of various congregations reflected on the relationship between missions and cinema, for instance the issue surrounding the screening of films *in* missions, but also the making of films *on* missions.[7]

Criticisms

Missionaries were interested in cinema as an efficient means for broadcasting their ideas and their activities, but in their writings they did not hesitate to express a number of objections and criticisms with regard to a certain type of cinema. One criticism that crops up regularly concerns American fiction films set in Africa, which were supposedly neither realistic nor credible and held no educative or documentary value whatsoever. During the OCIC *Journées d'études internationales* in 1933, Félix Dufays, who talked about the contribution "the missionary can make to the Catholic cinema movement",[8] violently attacked Hollywood films and their cardboard studio settings, bemoaning "Hollywood landscapes, that have been designed as jungles in which the tiger is king, as virgin

forests in which the gorilla is master and as lagoons populated with alligators from Californian farms".[9] He thought that these films were "works of destruction".[10] Dufays deplored that many false ideas concerning the colonies and the missions "would be presented to the public, with viewers of exotic films – their attention on hold – passively drinking in the unrealities of rigged studio tricks".[11] He felt that those who knew the realities in the field had to "shine the true light on colonial, and therefore missionary, issues".[12] It is interesting to note that in Dufays' eyes, the colonial and missionary issues were quite simply inseparable.

Another phenomenon that upset the missionaries concerned those films characterised as "immoral", inundating not only the metropolis, but also the colonies where this problem took on a specific dimension. In the eyes of the missionaries, many films screened in the colonies contributed to a loss of morals in these regions, whether they were "new countries or old oriental civilisations", and "undermined the best traditions and customs of indigenous societies".[13] The on-screen illustration of adultery, divorce, the loosening of morals, kissing scenes, "obscene" dances and the exhibition of nudity were all said to lower the morals of the less cultivated classes in the colonies and to trigger the "passions [of] young people and defenceless young girls".[14] Dufays' position demonstrates the profoundly paternalistic attitude of the European missionaries in a particularly blatant manner. He felt that greater monitoring was required in matters of film choices in the colonies than in the metropolis "due precisely to the impressionability of souls not yet mature".[15] The Luxembourgian missionary was convinced that the coloniser – "in his role of civiliser" – must always remain "very highly esteemed by his *protégés*", noting that "without this moral authority, based on the respect and esteem of his person and his entourage, he may well carry out good commercial business, but he will not be able to fulfil his mission of elevating the spirits and civilising morals".[16]

Opening up to Modernity

While the missionaries criticised the "galloping immorality" of many films, they did not, however, oppose cinema as such. On the contrary, they underlined the importance for the Church to resort to modern means of communication of the time, such as radio and cinema. It was felt that "among all the influences that address the crowds, [cinema is] the most listened to and followed"[17] (this was in 1931) and that it "determines not only what millions of workers, employees, featherbrained young girls (and even more upper-crust people) think, but also what these millions of people feel, desire and do".[18] Cinema was considered a key player, on the one hand in the fight against the "forces hostile" to Catholicism and, on the other hand, in missionary apostolate activities involving "the ignorant or distant masses".[19]

Dufays wrote in 1933 that "the missionary propaganda in our European milieus can only gain from being in the possession of films which retrace the activity of our missionaries. These days, we watch more than we read, and the screen may bring us the sympathy and assistance of the people that might otherwise have ignored us. Those who do not take part in conferences or in projections of photographies are attracted by the moving image. And this propaganda is all the more solid in that an authentic documentary – technically assembled by those who themselves feature in the films they show –

is recognised as practically the only colonial documentary that is educative".[20]

According to the missionaries, cinema could be used for noble purposes and in particular constructive purposes, as for instance in the search for new recruits. In the eyes of missionaries, cinema had to "search to awaken the latent vocations in the souls destined for God" and even "guide them towards this or that religious missionary family, or towards this or that specific 'mission'".[21] This recruitment via the screen nevertheless had to adhere to certain rules, if it was to be efficient. Romanesque intrigues, "emphatic subtitles" or "overly 'tacked on' apologetic episodes" were to be opposed, but it was also felt that excessive emphasis on specifically religious detail had to be avoided. The missionaries insisted that there should not be too much insistence on the exterior signs of religion. According to Dufays, "it is not necessary in a colonial film to show rows and rows of people entering a chapel and as many leaving it again, for it to merit the title of missionary film".[22] The missionaries felt that it was better to try and reach out to the viewers "through the channel of the picturesque, the channel of emotion and family and social benefits".[23]

The missionaries were of the opinion that films should be adapted to different audiences. On the one hand, there was the audience won over in advance – (the connoisseur audience) – those who "supported [their] works with heroic generosity"[24] and who had the right to see the result of their financial commitment on the screen. To religious viewers, one could show scenes such as "children's christenings, first communions, last sacrament rites, ordinations or else the frequent manifestation of cassocks throughout the entire film",[25] events which had the

potential of "sooner or later annoying the average spectator".[26] In films aimed at the wider audience, however, "indiscriminate emphasis on such specifically religious detail"[27] had to be avoided.

"Breaking down doors that were already open" was something of little interest to a missionary such as Félix Dufays who preferred to use cinema to address a less "easy" public, meaning "the wider audience, the ones who ignore us and do not see our productions, those who know nothing or next to nothing about our activities; it is up to us to use this modern tool to conquer these people. These are the closed doors that must be forced open".[28] He felt that "the colonial film was a truly missionary film only when it succeeded in being appreciated by the very people who had never been interested in missionary work, in making these people – through the screen – want to get to know us better".[29] The hope was also, of course, to "trigger the generosity"[30] of the spectators, thus ensuring the "charity"[31] necessary for the financing of their works.

The missionaries were also convinced that their role went beyond the apostolate and evangelisation. In their eyes, the missionary was "through force of circumstance, the scholar's collaborator and often the scholar himself, even a great scholar".[32] They therefore also saw themselves as geographers and ethnologists. They believed themselves to be in possession of assets that were lacking in others, since they knew the region well from having worked there often for several years. In their eyes, the missionary had the possibility of penetrating "where even soldiers and businessmen do not go" and he was therefore often "the only one who could bring living geographical and topographical documentation to the screen".[33]

In addition, he possessed "access to the life of the indigenous people, which the other whites would not have, or certainly never [...] to the same degree".[34] They were convinced that due to their privileged standing, the missionaries could "enrich the science of ethnographic, artistic, familial, social and religious documentation, always of great interest and often even unique".[35]

The missionaries underlined that – in order to be truly efficient – their cinema had to fulfil several conditions:

a) In terms of format, the ideal was 35 mm. Other formats could be used only in working or club rooms and could not reach the wider public, which was nevertheless targeted by the missionaries. Due to the high cost of 35 mm film, 16 mm film does, however, appear to have been used as an acceptable alternative.

b) Films had to be talking pictures or, at the least, have sound. Even if this was technically more difficult and resulted in significant expense, it was felt that there simply was no choice in the matter. The only people who still accepted silent films in 1933 were thought to be spectators already won over in the parish hall.

c) In order for the missionary films to reach the greater public, they had to display "a true mastery of the technique and art of cinematography." It was felt that "it was not sufficient to capture just any kind of view of any kind of scene on any kind of subject and to present it in any kind of way".[36] The 'missionary filmmakers' thus had to undergo training of at least several months in a studio with professionals. This training was intended to show them how to "become experts with their cameras, in order to economise on film" but also taught them the elementary foun-

dations of cinematographic language, thus enabling them to "film a decent reel, without waste, without excessively long bits, without being ridiculous".[37] Several times, the various authors underlined that missionary films had to be of a superior technical and artistic quality: "How do you hope to prove the excellence of your faith, if you first of all reveal your artistic and professional inferiority ...!".[38] In their eyes, "form prevailed over content".[39] However, they were well aware that technical mastery alone was no guarantee of success. One also had to have artistic talent and be versed in "the art of cinema".[40] For those who "lacked these natural dispositions", the recommendation was made to associate with "men of profession and of talent",[41] in other words to collaborate with talented people.

Felix Dufays

Born on March 7 1877 in Luxembourg, Félix Dufays was ordained priest in 1903. He immediately left for Rwanda, at the time part of colonial German East Africa, before it was given to Belgium and administratively attached to the Belgian Congo after the First World War. For more than 20 years, he travelled through Rwanda and Burundi, setting up several missionary stations. In the late 1920s, when he was approximately 50 years old, he returned to Europe and specialised in promoting the missionary cause. He organised conferences, presenting the numerous photos he had taken of native populations during his frequent trips and directed at least two films dedicated to Africa, thereby hoping to rouse missionary vocation and to "initiate a return to religious

1 *Sahara, terre féconde* (1933) glorifies the missionary work of the White Fathers. Archive: Cinémathèque de la Ville de Luxembourg.

practice" in people who had turned away from the Church.

Little is known of the history of the production of the two films that Dufays made. What is known, however, is that he had attended a training course of several months at the Epinay studios close to Paris[42], before dedicating himself to the realisation of his two films, which were financed by the Congregation of the White Fathers.

The first film shot by Félix Dufays, *De Dakar à Gao*, remains – for the time being at least – untraceable. Enquiries with several film archives bore no fruition. The informa-

tion we have on this production was gleaned from sources such as the specialist French press at the time (*Pour Vous*[43] and *Ciné-Miroir*, for instance), several articles published in Luxembourgish journals concerning the screening of the film in the Grand Duchy, the obituary of Dufays published in the *Petit Echo*, the internal journal of the White Fathers as well as several books dedicated to colonial cinema and dating from the 1940s and 1950s.[44]

If these various sources are anything to go by, *De Dakar à Gao* was a travel story shot on the occasion of inspections carried out by

the Superior-General of the White Fathers throughout the latter's posts in French Equatorial Africa and French West Africa.[45] A voyage covering a distance of two thousand kilometres, along the Senegal and Niger rivers and the regions around the three Volta rivers all the way to Mali. In France, interest in the film seems to have been relatively important. Presented in the context of the Colonial Exhibition in Vincennes, it was commented upon in several of the major cinema reviews at the time. In Luxembourg, Dufays' birth country, the attention generated by *De Dakar à Gao* was no less significant. Personally introduced by its director, the film was screened on March 5 1931 in the presence of Grand Duchess Charlotte and Prince Félix at the prestigious cinema L'Ecran, specialising in French films.

Sahara, terre féconde

For *Sahara, terre féconde*, the second film directed by Félix Dufays and produced by the White Fathers, the Luxembourgian missionary, who was probably aware of his relative inexperience in these matters, called upon the assistance of an experienced director of fiction films, French filmmaker Jacques de Baroncelli, author among others of *Pêcheur d'Islande* (1924), *Veille d'armes* (1925), *Nitchevo* (1926) and *L'Ami Fritz* (1933). Bernard Bastide, the editor of Jacques de Baroncelli's *Mémoires*, did not come across any document in the archives of this director that testified to a consistent or significant participation in Dufays' film. He concluded that his intervention in the film "was relatively brief" and that his name was in all likelihood used particularly "to ensure a bit of publicity for the film."[46] If Félix Dufays' obituary, which was published

by the Congregation of the White Fathers, is to be believed, de Baroncelli was the editor of the film. A demanding man, he apparently retained only a tenth of the images shot by Dufays, eliminating "any mediocre ones".[47]

Contrary to *De Dakar à Gao*, *Sahara, terre féconde* was a sound film. The commentary was spoken by André Nox, a relatively famous actor at the time who, in the same year, starred in two well-known films, *Le Tunnel* by Curtis Bernhardt and *Extase* by Gustav Machaty. Dufays, who operated the camera, enlisted the help and collaboration of a second White Father, named Huntziger as well as a certain number of indigenous people.[48]

A "Sincere" Documentary

The stated intention of Dufays, who characterised himself as a "Saharan out of love"[49] was to "shoot a documentary film in all sincerity, presenting the country and its inhabitants as they are, without triggering any artificial emotions in the spectator by the use of easy success tricks".[50]

Sahara, terre féconde, set in the Aurès, the M'Zab valley and the Hoggar mountains in the middle of the Sahara, played on several levels. First of all it was a eulogy of the work of the White Fathers. Dufays in particular insisted on the martyrdom of the missionaries, who were prepared not only to lead a hard and solitary existence in remote regions, but also to risk their lives for their cause. In the first part of the film, in a slightly heavy-handed manner, Dufays reconstituted some key episodes of the life and work of Father Richard, one of the first White Fathers in Africa and the victim of an assassination in 1876 following many years spent among local populations. Throughout the film several other martyr missionaries are mentioned, such as the famous hermit Charles de Foucauld, who

2 In *Sahara, terre féconde* (1933), the French military presence in the Sahara region is shown from a positive angle. Archive: Cinémathèque de la Ville de Luxembourg.

was assassinated in 1916 and whose memorial close to Tamanrasset is shown at the end of the film. The film does not hesitate to denounce the "despicable trade" of slave traffickers in the region and to brand the latter as being behind the various assassinations of White Fathers in the region.

Rather than on the evangelising of the White Fathers, the film focuses on the educative and academic as well as medical work carried out by the Fathers (and Sisters). The film makes the point that, following difficult beginnings which were marked by distrust and even open hostility on the part of the local populations, the Fathers (and Sisters) succeeded not only in making themselves accepted, but also in being appreciated by

these populations, thanks to their works of "charity" and "aid". The film emphasises the fact that the White Fathers adapted to the lifestyle of nomads (adopting their way of clothing, travelling, food, language) to better integrate themselves.

If the film is anything to go by, the "passing years, among the nomads, had not wiped out the "revered" name of Father Richard or that of other missionary martyrs. It aims at showing that the White Fathers had, over the decades and years, succeeded in gaining the confidence of the "fierce tribes" of Kabylia, as well as of the "proud Tuareg horsemen" who during the early 1930s – again according to the film's commentary – "preferred parading to plundering."

While glorifying the missionary work of the White Fathers, *Sahara, terre féconde* nevertheless is also a work of propaganda in favour of French colonisation which, in the Sahara, allegedly "made dry lands flower" and "embittered hearts blossom." On numerous occasions the film highlights the "positive work" of the French colonisers and their "peaceful penetration" of the Algerian desert. Father Richard, according to his travel book quoted in a key moment of the film, worked in the Sahara not only "for God" but also "for France." The alliance of the missionaries with the French military is a central theme in Dufays' film. Several times, *Sahara, terre féconde* underlines the amicable relations existing between the missionaries and the French military, depicted as the missionaries' natural ally.

The French military presence in the region is thus shown from a positive and peaceful angle (a military medic is for instance seen administering care to indigenous people). The film incidentally finishes with images of non-armed and non-uniformed soldiers having a good time and dancing. A scene intent on symbolising the definitive pacification of the region.

Sahara, terre féconde also clearly has scientific ambitions, both from a geographic and ethnologic point of view. As a result, it contains not only several geographical maps illustrating the significant travels undertaken by Father Richard through southern Algeria, but also a large number of shots showing the natural diversity of the Sahara, such as its mountains, the rocky desert (referred to as "Hamada"), the sandy desert, the dunes, the wadis and the glorious vegetation that can be found in the oases, incidentally filmed in beautiful bucolic scenery. The film also shows and explains various old irrigation systems of the region, such as the foggaras or Artesian wells, constantly under threat from sandstorms. In an obvious effort at objectivity, but nevertheless in a colourful fashion, Dufays also comments on the daily life of the nomad (such as the Tuareg) and sedentary populations, including dancing and market scenes, arts and crafts work, the preparation of particular hairdos, wedding preparations, and so forth. Furthermore, the film contains a detailed description on how to prepare a type of couscous (including a list of ingredients, cooking time instructions, etc.).

From an aesthetic point of view, the film does not offer much in terms of originality and the input of de Baroncelli is not really apparent. *Sahara, terre féconde* is an often heavy-handed production. With the exception of its rather unusual length of 50 minutes, one or the other nicely framed shot and the fact that the film is of a missionary origin (actually quite a rarity in France at the time), it does not differ in any great way from most colonial documentaries of this period.

Dufays' desire not to drown the images of his film in a sea of commentaries is obvious. While this certainly constitutes an interesting course of action, occasionally it does interfere with the comprehension of the film. The sense and content of some scenes or sequences are difficult to decipher. In general, *Sahara, terre féconde* can be said to lack coherence and cohesion.

Struggling to Reach the Ideal of Missionary Cinema

The question that interests us here is to what extent does the film correspond to the theories and recipes developed and defended during this same period by Dufays and his colleagues in their writings?

The following points do correspond to their declared principles:

- The film is a documentary.
- It is a talking film (dialogues, voice off)
- It was shot in 35 mm format and could therefore be screened in commercial theaters.
- Dufays collaborated with a professional filmmaker (Jean de Barconcelli)
- In an effort to appeal to a wide audience, the film focuses on the 'picturesque' (marriage scenes), on 'emotion' (assassination of three White Fathers) and the 'social and family advantages' of colonisation.
- Certainly, some crucifixes and brief scenes of prayer can be seen, as well as some shots of a mass, but in general the film does not place excessive emphasis on purely religious symbols and elements.
- Above all it glorifies French colonisation and the 'civilising' action of the missionaries.
- And it contains much so-called 'scientific' information of a geographic or ethnological nature.

If *Sahara, terre féconde* nevertheless does not really reach the height of its ambitions, it is because – despite the collaboration of an experienced filmmaker – neither the technique nor the aesthetics go beyond the average of these types of productions.

Admittedly this is a film which has not aged very well, but which, despite all its shortcomings and weaknesses, appears to have had a certain impact during the time of its release. It is true that we do not really know much about the reception of *Sahara, terre féconde*. What we do know, however, is that the film was commercially released in cinemas in France and that in the historical context which was very favourable to all things colonial, the French press gave this non-professional film released through professional distribution channels particular attention at the time. *Cinémonde*, a popular cinema magazine, dedicated two entire pages to this small-scale missionary production and presented its readers with a long interview with Dufays accompanied by half a dozen photos.[51] The release of the film was also commented upon in the popular review *Ciné-Miroir*,[52] the show magazine *Comoedia*,[53] and the corporate review *Le Cinéopse*.[54]

One can easily imagine that *Sahara, terre féconde*, when compared to films of the same genre, and accompanied by a panoply of support material as varied as toys, postcards, photos, schoolbooks, publicities, theatre shows and exhibitions – at the time of its release and despite its shortcomings – at the end of the day functioned as a relatively efficient way of disseminating colonial ideology and imagery. It is very likely that it touched upon French sensitivities of the time and, together with other colonial propaganda vehicles, contributed to the profound anchorage of the Empire in the French public opinion of the 1930s.

Notes

1 Among others, Abel Brohée, Johannes Bemelmans, Jean Bernard or Friedrich Muckermann. See Bonneville, *Soixante-dix ans au service du cinéma et de l'audiovisuel*, 12–21.

2 See Blanchard and Lemaire, *Culture coloniale* and Blanchard and Lemaire, *Culture impériale*.

3 Lemaire, "Promouvoir: Fabriquer du colonial".

4 See Bancel, "Le bain colonial".

5 Blanchard, "L'union nationale".

6 Bancel, "Le bain colonial,"187.

7 The 1931 *L'année missionnaire* directory, as well as the *Onzième Semaine de Missiologie* held in Louvain in 1933 and the *Journées d'études internationales* organised the same year in Brussels by the OCIC all reflected on the role that cinema could play in the missions.

8 See also Catrice, "L'éducation chrétienne aux Missions," 121–122.

9 Roger Mourlan quoted in Dufays, "L'aide que le Missionaire peut apporter," 94.

10 Dufays, "L'aide que le Missionaire peut apporter," 96.

11 Dufays, "L'aide que le Missionaire peut apporter," 98.

12 Dufays, "L'aide que le Missionaire peut apporte," 98.

13 Dufays quoted in Catrice, "L'éducation chrétienne aux Missions," 130–131.

14 Dufays quoted in Catrice, "L'éducation chrétienne aux Missions," 131.

15 Dufays quoted in Catrice, "L'éducation chrétienne aux Missions," 131.

16 Dufays quoted in Catrice, "L'éducation chrétienne aux Missions," 131.

17 Pichon, "Cinéma et missions," 526.

18 Pichon, "Cinéma et missions," 527.

19 Catrice, "L'éducation chrétienne aux Missions," 117.

20 Dufays, "L'aide que le Missionaire peut apporter," 97–98.

21 Pichon, "Cinéma et missions," 529–530.

22 Dufays, "L'aide que le Missionaire peut apporter," 99.

23 Pichon, "Cinéma et missions," 529.

24 Dufays, "L'aide que le Missionaire peut apporter," 99.

25 Pichon, "Cinéma et missions," 529.

26 Pichon, "Cinéma et missions," 529.

27 Pichon, "Cinéma et missions," 529.

28 Dufays, "L'aide que le Missionaire peut apporter," 99.

29 Dufays, "L'aide que le Missionaire peut apporter," 99–100.

30 Vints, "Le film missionnaire," 95.

31 Vints, "Le film missionnaire," 95.

32 Pichon, "Cinéma et missions," 531.

33 Pichon, "Cinéma et missions," 531.

34 Pichon, "Cinéma et missions," 531.

35 Pichon, "Cinéma et missions," 531.

36 Catrice, "L'éducation chrétienne aux Missions," 124.

37 Pichon, "Cinéma et missions," 539.

38 Catrice, "L'éducation chrétienne aux Missions," 125.

39 Catrice, "L'éducation chrétienne aux Missions," 125.

40 Catrice, "L'éducation chrétienne aux Missions," 125.

41 Catrice, "L'éducation chrétienne aux Missions," 125.

42 Catrice, "L'éducation chrétienne aux Missions," 125.

43 A.B., "De Dakar à Gao".

44 Leprohon, *L'exotisme et le cinéma*, 225; Liotard, Samivel and Thévenot, *Cinéma d'exploration*, 52–53; Bataille and Veillot, *Caméras sous le soleil*, 181.

45 Pichon, "Cinéma et missions," 536.

46 E-mail from Bernard Bastide to the author (17 August 2005).

47 Photocopy of Felix Dufays' obituary published by the Congregation of the White Fathers. Contains no biographical reference.

48 Dufays quoted in Leprehon, *L'exotisme et le cinéma*, 226.

49 Neuville, "Un film plein de vie, de sang et d'héroïsme".

50 *Ciné Miroir* 418 (7 April 1933).

51 Neuville, "Un film plein de vie, de sang et d'héroïsme".

52 Bernier, "Sahara, terre féconde".

53 Pecker, "Un message de la charité chrétienne" and Pecker, "Avant Sahara terre féconde".

54 Souillac, "Sahara, terre féconde".

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Lise Gantheret

The Amateur Image Conquering the World

The Case of Travel Lecturer Albert Mahuzier

In 1952, *À la poursuite des gorilles* saw the filmmaker and lecturer Albert Mahuzier unveil a previously unknown formula: the family travelogue. In a France still scarred by the Second World War, the cinematographic saga featuring Mahuzier on a trip to Africa in the company of his wife and nine children attracted large audiences. The film is a voyage in itself, while also integrating didactic approaches on geography, history, society and nature. Albert Mahuzier was to repeat these family expeditions in numerous subsequent travel documentaries: *Au pays des kangourous* (1956), *Les Mahuzier au Canada et aux Etats-Unis* (1958), *Les Mahuzier dans le delta de l'Orénoque* (1960), *Les Mahuzier en URSS* (1963). His films are associated with the cinema of exploration and were distributed throughout the "Connaissance du monde" network, whose team he joined in 1947.[1] A press release issued by the association reveals its mission statement: "To share the discoveries that they [the filmmakers] have made, to surpass themselves, to develop our vision of the world and thus facilitate the understanding between human beings, while respecting their differences."[2]

At the same time, Albert Mahuzier wrote books at Éditions Amiot Dumont and Presses de la Cité, putting on paper what his travelogues portrayed in images. The films sought to convey a change of scenery and a sense of exoticism while providing images out of reach for their audiences.[3] Four of Mahuzier's children, Alain, François, Philippe and Louis, went on to pursue careers as travel lecturers. Today Louis Mahuzier has taken on his father's commentary role in *À la poursuite des gorilles*, ensuring the transgenerational continuity of the images. The version of the film analysed in this article has a commentary by Alain Mahuzier who also drew his inspiration from his father's previous text. The film, shot during the "colonial Republic"[4] era, raises questions about the type of migration apparent in these semi-amateur images. To what degree can this film be seen to support or disassociate itself from the colonialist and civilizing spirit of the times?

Albert Mahuzier, the Life of an Explorer

Albert Mahuzier started his long-standing career as a filmmaker during the 1930s by shooting family films as well as amateur films on the subjects of camping and canoeing.[5] He gradually turned professional as a result of the series *À la découverte de la Fran-*

ce[6] and other films focusing on the outdoors.[7] Right from the early days, itinerant travel thus became the creed of his productions. In addition to this, Albert Mahuzier had an uncommon experience during the German occupation, working as a cameraman for the Comité de Libération du Cinéma français (CLCF) from 1943 onwards and during the liberation of Paris.[8]

At the end of the war, he continued his peregrinations beyond France by heading to the African continent. Here he shot *Grandes chasses en Afrique centrale* (1947), while publishing an eponymous book[9] and organising a corollary conference entitled *Aventures au pays des Grands fauves.* By revamping the myth of a wild and primitive Africa, Albert Mahuzier responded to the public's curiosity and its demand for exoticism. An extract from the brochure *L'Afrique noire*, published in 1949, is revelatory of the trend of the time: "He [the coloniser] must continue his path through this crushed country, blazing and glowing with savage femininity. Black Africa is a great hunting ground".[10]

Game hunting appears to have been the focus of the earliest travel films, such as those produced by Félix Mesguich and Alfred Machin during the 1910s, or those shot by the American explorer couple Osa and Martin Johnson during the 1920s.[11] Their ambition is twofold: to make a film and at the same time put the wild animal 'into a box'. These works undeniably left their mark on how Africa was perceived by several generations of filmmakers. To film a hunt is to reveal the duel between man and animal. The "sacrilege of the sacrifice"[12] takes on a sacred dimension, teetering between fascination and profanation.

In his film *À la poursuite des gorilles*, Albert Mahuzier, much like the Johnsons in *Congorilla* (1932), showed the hunt as well as the pygmies. But whereas the Johnsons highlighted the danger incurred by the filmmaker when capturing images showing the world's savagery being tamed, Mahuzier's commentary emphasised more as a joke the risk of being in close contact with certain animals: hyenas and elephants brushing past tents and snakes creeping under mattresses. Furthermore the hunt for gorillas nevertheless made up only a small sequence of Albert Mahuzier's film – incidentally an unsuccessful hunt, in contrast with that of the Johnsons, who posed alongside the slaughtered animals.

"They [the pygmies] have just destroyed the mother, a young female adult, nothing human about her: a shallow nose, a huge mouth and a flat forehead, shoulders like a wrestling champion. We leave this Bashu country, and embark on our last attempt with the Vandela hunters. After 50 days we return, still empty-handed."[13]

With the Mahuziers, the sacredness of the kill was reduced to nothingness. Killing was not the purpose. The hunt served as a pretext for travel and led Albert Mahuzier to create a true film bestiary,[14] no doubt influenced by his previous work carried out for the Zoological Society of France.

Despite the animal being their focus of filming, the uniqueness of the Johnson couple's approach borders on self-representation. They filmed "not just the wild and primitive world, the gorillas, the pygmies, but also the adventure of their connection with them, the adventure as seen through their eyes, as well as through our own eyes by the same token".[15] The originality of their filming approach lay in them taking part in the action and thus being on screen. Erik Barnouw labelled the autobiographical account of this

couple a "self-eulogy".[16] Albert Mahuzier's film, by representing his discovery of Africa *via* featuring members of his family, adopts an approach similar to that of the Johnsons. Yet, upon comparison, he reveals a new vision of Africa, evoking a greater familiarity through the acquaintanceship with the natives and complementing his account with his views on travel. According to testimonies from several people of that generation, his adventure film left an impression particularly with the children of the time, who easily identified with the Mahuzier children.

Albert Mahuzier's manner of approaching Africa seems also to have been founded in the zoological shows of the beginning of the century where "the closeness of the animal and the native was a permanent feature".[17] Indeed, colonial imagination was forever being revived in shows in which Africans were put on display in traditional settings. The Vincennes colonial exhibition, which drew more than seven million visitors in 1930, confirmed this interest,[18] which was also strongly fed by photography and film works publicised in the 1930s by the agencies of the Ministry of Colonial Affairs. Incidentally, several State propaganda themes featured in Albert Mahuzier's films: the rural world and agriculture, geographical and biological elements, the civilising mission (medical aid, education and food supplies) and finally the population. Back then, the impregnation of the necessity and the legitimacy of the colonial Empire was shared by a large number of people in France. In 1950, the propaganda was such that an INSEE survey revealed that "the sentiment of the usefulness of the Empire is solidly rooted".[19] Admittedly, some misgivings came to light following the Second World War, but it did not stop the movement from continuing.

"This discourse, under the pretext of talking of Africa and its populations, supports myths justifying its [the Empire's] expansion while at the same time outlining the cultural and economic future it has mapped out and wishes to extend to mankind."[20]

A strong causal continuity can also be observed in behaviours, as seen in Albert Mahuzier's film. Colonial power assumes a logic of domination. Thus, in tradition with the colonialist period, the relationship with the native is marked by reward. Two of the film's scenes show the reward system implemented by certain filmmaking travellers and the subordinate position imposed upon the natives. "To encourage them, Papa promised them a cattle beast in return for them helping him to film the gorillas [...]". In another sequence, having inspected the animals of the camp, Alain Mahuzier comments: "Getting back to our pygmies, they regularly stand on the roadside to exchange their hunting meat for bananas from the tall Blacks. We strike a deal with them, in exchange for 500 kg of green bananas, we will be allowed to accompany a clan of pygmies into the forest to witness their daily life [...] Our exchange and reward currency was often, sadly, the cigarette."

Nevertheless, in this film, the relationship rests more on sincere commitments rather than it being a relationship marked by domination. Despite the vestiges of paternalism, the enrichment that comes from the contact with the local population prevails, in particular in gestures of hospitality. The Tuareg[21] are mentioned for their kindness. "Our best memory: the Tuareg". The Mahuziers are seen sharing a sheep brought by the family and cooked by the nomads. However, the encounter remains allusive, the screen showing only the face of a nomad filmed in close up.

The colonial imagery, previously featuring heroes conquering allegedly backward worlds, depicts new types of relations in the 1950–60s: "What needs to be obvious right from the start is the collaboration between races [...]. The colonisers, who tend to smooth over the differences that separate them from the 'indigenous', adapt to the environment to spread their education efforts in the most remote regions of Africa."[22]

A sequence on a road is thus dedicated to an encounter with an African woman carrying a baby. The scene, filmed in side view, was captured from outside the car with Mrs Mahuzier in the truck and an African woman on the roadside. It shows two hands extended in the centre exchanging a biscuit. "An encounter on a roadside, a mother and a baby. We also have a mother and baby. We sympathise and we offer them some of our Gondolo biscuits." This sequence is manifold in significance. Implicitly, the act of sharing is reminiscent of the iconography of colonisation with its images of remuneration of food between colonisers and natives or even of the numerous images of black women with bare breasts carrying their child in their arms, images celebrating the natural and fantasised beauty of the African woman. Nevertheless, the real motive does not appear to be as ideological and could just as well be considered a throwback of old stereotypes. The objective lies much more in sealing the acts of friendship on camera and in drawing attention to the sponsor Gondolo. But "colonial propaganda is not unaware of the impact of a portrayal that softens colonisation, transforming it into a family story",[23] and in a certain manner Albert Mahuzier involuntarily takes part in this by advocating the sharing of personal experiences, in particular when it comes to the way of life of the

Ritouri pygmies. His travel was thus interrupted by a significant stopover in the jungle to observe the life of the pygmies for a few months. The escapade was an opportunity to show two families side by side, one pygmy, the other French. Effectively, the establishment of a white family among pygmy tribes triggered reciprocal curiosity and perplexity. "For the populations in Africa, we were a circus. They came to look at us. We would stop in a place and 300 people would stare at us". Upon arrival at camp, travellers and hosts would help each other to unload the material: "Moké, the head of the tribe, built himself a seat with four pieces of wood, a ring of lianas and a nail". The retained scenes underline the ingenuity of the pygmies compared to the scouting knowledge of the Mahuziers. The family tent was erected a few metres away from the last pygmy hut: "Our scouting sons make a point of building a magnificent table of branches and lianas". While the pygmies carry out their activities, family life continues: "Mrs Mahuzier darns socks. Philippe writes his memoirs, *La vie des Pygmées*, and later goes on to write children's books". The tribe's main activities are described, such as their crafts (creating hunting accessories: an old woman making string for a net, sharpening their weapons, gathering lianas), their construction pursuits (shot of women gathering bundles of woodpile), their hunting (demonstration of how to use the net for capturing hyrax). Mahuzier insists on the equivalence of cooking traditions despite the apparent cultural difference:

"The practice, on the other hand, lessens the otherness because we understand perfectly what the Africans are doing. Their activities are familiar to us: hunting, netting, weaving, harvesting, carving, selling, sing-

ing, playing music. They use elementary gestures that belong to our history also. They cease to be strange because they do things that we recognise and that we can comment on without having to refer to a difference in mentalities. All of a sudden, it is easier to seek their smiles and to see the signs of complicity in them."[24]

Nevertheless, the communication system established between the traveller and the stranger is unequal because the film is silent, thereby not granting the pygmy the right to speak. To the pygmy, this could seem as a form of self-depossession via the image. The natives are, however, named before being shown on screen. Contacts are established in front of the lens: "And little chaps that Yves, at the age of 13, tops by a head [...] Let us go and visit our neighbours under the paternal eye of grandfather Moké". In a medium shot, three of the Mahuzier boys come and hold the hand of a baby cradled in the arms of its mother sitting outside the huts.

The characteristics of the individuals described in the commentary reveal matters of taste. Albert Mahuzier captures a medium shot of Moké, the chief of the clan: "He may not smell too good but he is very nice, is Moké. [...] These men, who rarely grow beyond 1.40m, sporting flat noses and a lack of hair, might not appear very handsome to us but they have shown themselves to be marvellously welcoming". This insistence on the corporal particularities that signal physical disparities fed many travel accounts. In this type of cinema, the contact with the 'Other' borders on fascination with possibly the secret hope that one day the people of those remote areas might acquire a clothing or nutritional system. Nevertheless, the wish to impose modernity is not explicit in the film. Albert Mahuzier is content to juxtapose the cultures and to experience cohabitation, no doubt because every traveller harbours the fear that the object of his curiosity might disappear as the result of a cultural and civilised conversion. This highlights the dilemma felt by western societies of wanting to preserve and civilise at the same time. Paradoxically, one of the issues of the colonial time was to conserve cultural objects as well as land and life forms revealing the "collective personality of the colonised country".[25] For instance, Mahuzier was able to capture the ritual of a marriage ceremony – a rare scene for the time and a technical feat as a result of difficult climatic conditions: "Well, go on, get married, it interests us". While Albert Mahuzier does not portray a negative image of the 'Other', the marriage is reduced to a simple object of curiosity and no participation or association is mentioned in conjunction with the event. The theme of religious otherness, with its rituals, dances and paintings, takes on all the more of a spectacular aspect since these sequences are shown without commentary. Similarly to many photographies and films of the time, it appears as though the authors preferred to cultivate the enigmatic and the unusual, masking a lack of knowledge about the event taking place.

Territorial Exploration in the Vein of Conquering Expansionism

In contrast to numerous films made by travel lecturers, Albert Mahuzier succeeded in conveying the coherence of his travels through clearly articulating the different segments between departure, exploration and return. The links between the scenes

are rarely a matter of coincidence and are rather governed by an exact notion of the journey to be achieved, made easier by studies undertaken during previous trips. The impact of Albert Mahuzier's affiliation to the Touring Club[26] on his inclination to map out each and every route is not to be underestimated. The itinerary is included in the diegesis itself: a map of southern Europe and Africa is drawn on one of the vehicles. At the start of the film, a close-up of one of the Mahuzier girls' finger points out the signposted line tracing the route. The commentary lists the names of the countries and regions to be crossed: "France, Spain, North Africa, across the Sahara desert, Chad, Oubangui-Chari, Belgian Congo, Uganda, Kenya, returning by sea in 16 days across the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, a total of eight months". As the trip progressed, Louis Mahuzier added each place they passed through. A shot capturing the final point of arrival completes the film: "4 September 1952, Paris, Place de la Concorde, final point. Louis records the destination of Paris on the vehicle". Another type of map appears on the screen: "As shown in this illustrated map, we tackled Congo via the northwest and initially zigzagged through the Parc Albert in search of buffalo, elephant and hippopotamus". Close-ups feature drawings of Mount Kilimanjaro and animals (a lion, rhinoceros, a zebra). At the centre of the map a train appears to be the metaphor of their voyage. The representations (characters, fauna and flora, vehicles, boats[27]) are also clues, descriptors that mark the events truly experienced by the family. These maps manifest the need for the tangible and the visible. Michel De Certeau sees them not as elements of illustration but as fragments of a storyline.[28] Confined to its

metonymical function, however, the map remains on the surface of the world. "It cannot assimilate the surge of the moment, of a gesture, of a body. It struggles in vain to list names and places which are endless by definition".[29] To understand the suggested geography and to get to know its inhabitants, one must go and meet them. In response to the map, the images of the film fill the gaps left by the lines tracing the routes and reveal the reality of travel and migration to foreign places.

Again, treks like the Citroën automobile expeditions seen in *La croisière noire* (1929) and *La croisière jaune* (1933) left their mark on the making of the film. The shot of a vehicle penetrating a vast wild landscape has undeniably influenced the colonial imagery of the first part of the twentieth century. It is not surprising then that in his film *À la poursuite des gorilles*, Albert Mahuzier chose to make the vehicles the principal and essential objects of his voyage. Three white Renault vans and a Solex moped are the first to appear on screen. Their introduction, prior even to that of the members of the crew, and their increased presence in most of the film reveal the key role that they played in the journey, as a harbinger of modernity, a link between the country being explored and that of the travelling filmmaker, but also as a result of becoming living quarters and road companions. The vehicles are mostly seen in exterior static shots that emphasise their movement. The cameraman situated outside the van in effect adopts the neutral position of a simple observer and no longer that of a traveller. Despite this, a certain number of shots taken inside the vehicles reinforce the idea of its protector role: an insert shot of hands on a steering wheel or a close-up of the nape of the driver's neck. Throughout the journey, the vans are

compared with other vehicles in a bid to point out their feats in the face of nature's hostility and to arouse patriotic sentiment. For instance, along the Hoggar's route, a white van is buried in sand. "We were lucky, look at how this 'Belgium-South Africa' van won't ever be going much further". Because the vans concentrate a viewpoint on the world, they act as carriers of identity and culture. In addition, the necessity of society's modernisation, significant at the time, appears more clearly in the sequences focusing on the vehicles, heralding future developments and constructions.

The stops are accentuated by the capturing of signs and confirmed as such by the commentary. For instance, a close-up of the Belgian flag is immediately intensified by a voice-over: "We shall remain in the Belgian Congo for three months". Similarly, the sign of the *Gîte Makengere* with the vehicles parked next to it appears on the screen, along with the commentary stating "a lovely *gîte d'étape* welcomes us". The commentary fulfils a strong explanatory function in this film; it specifies the actualisation resulting from the encounter with descriptive signs or other signposts along the route. Each stage is not only a geographical clue but also a temporal marker indicating a long journey. Every time a vehicle is shown, the same sequence is repeated: the vehicles face the road and pass the cameraman. A tracking shot follows, then a track in and finally the vehicles are seen from the roadside. The filmmaker shows people getting off the vehicles, marking a halt in the action, without freezing the time of travel but rather conferring a dimension of pause upon it. The dynamic of certain travel documentaries is provided by the repair scenes in a garage, an essential element of vehicle travel. Their

presence or absence in the film indicates the nature of the ties existing between the travelling filmmaker and his means of transport and reflects his desire to render an account of a practical reality of travel or even certain manners of the world. In this film, the vehicle is the focus of the travellers' preoccupations and undergoes numerous repairs: one sequence features the "Renault Garage in the middle of Africa", others show sinking in the sands of the desert (115 deboggings), repair scenes of the vehicle in the middle of the jungle or the desert (broken leaf spring, accelerator breakdown), improvement of a dip on a tortuous road in Kenya. The adventures of the terrain liven up the journey. The boat is used several times. The crossing over to the African continent is shown in an embarkation scene in which a vehicle is hoisted on board the ship. People looking out of a porthole signal the departure. Added to this is a shot of the crossing taken from the bridge featuring the shore in the background and the profile of two Mahuzier children leaning over the railings, looking into the far off-screen distance. A shot of the waves generated by the vessel cutting across the water underlines the progression of the voyage. A sequence dedicated to the north-to-south crossing of Lake Kivu in a boat converted from kayaks, carrying some of the family members with the others following in a van along the shores, is reminiscent of the tourist aspect of this trip. These images blend holiday souvenirs with travel and sporting adventure. All the spatial and geographical dimensions are explored. On two occasions, a plane is deployed. The first flight is a pleasure trip and consists of a simple flying over Tunis. "The entire family experienced its first flight". Aerial footage shows the city's layout with its white build-

ings, its districts, its proximity to the sea. There was a strong urbanisation trend in Maghreb and sub-Saharan Africa in the decade between 1946 and 1956. Maybe with this sequence Albert Mahuzier intended to highlight this architectural explosion, which was supported by the West. The second time, only Albert Mahuzier got aboard the plane: "In Boucavou, papa swaps a conference in return for a reconnaissance plane trip". He flies over volcanoes and scouts out the area for a camp for gorilla hunting. The originality of the sequence comes from the plane flying above the remaining family members seen on the shores of the lake. This image of the family, encountered in multiple facets (on the ground, in the air, on the water), provides a clue to the personality of Albert Mahuzier, between adventure tourist and civilising conqueror, whose aim it was to leave his mark on the surface of the world and to safeguard family memories.

Conclusion

Watching the films of travel lecturers such as Mahuzier is similar to leafing through family or travel photography albums. Their success depends on the intercorporeality between the filmmaker and the audience during and after the screening, based on the presence of the makers. Group cohesion "takes place thanks to the collective verbalisation triggered by the photo and the common memory linked to it".[30] This shared experience thus feeds the interest of the community with a taste for travel films. Nevertheless, *À la poursuite des gorilles* is no longer shown in a conference format but rather sold on VHS with the recorded commentary of Alain Mahuzier and is part of the family's cinematography collection that makes up the Mahuzier internet site.[31] Furthermore, despite its connection to amateur film, this film was shot by a professional at a time when a passion for exoticism, adventure and travel narratives as well as new ways of apprehending the earth's surface, were being recognised. The narrative and the choice of representation underline the difference in relations with the natives, which adopts a stance of paternalistic comradeship. Nevertheless, the Mahuziers were tourists and not colonisers. The territorial exploration in this film is thus akin to the appropriation of space and the nomadic lifestyle which goes with it targets, – in an amateur vein, via images strongly emphasising travel and locomotion – a type of conquering expansionism, the time of a voyage.

N.B.: Unfortunately, we were not authorised by the family to publish any photos concerning the Mahuziers.

Notes

1   The members of the association included great travellers, explorers, ethnologists, writers and film-making lecturers, among them Paul Emile Victor, Commandant Cousteau, Haroun Tazieff and Georges Samivel.

2   Press files of the association "Connaissance du monde," January 2003.

3   "A travel film offers a non-fiction drama of people and places, true but dramatized, extending the opportunity to visit vicariously someplace you can't afford to visit yourself," quoted from Ruoff, "Around the World in 80 Minutes."

4   Bancel, Blanchard and Vergès, eds., La République coloniale.

5   Cf. *Les Iles Chausey* (1932), *En kayak sur l'Adriatique* (1936), *La Creuse* (1939).

6   *La Creuse ignorée. Les Hautes Vallées de l'Ariège. Le tortillard* (1941).

7   *La Croisière sauvage* (1939), *Harmonies tunisiennes* (1942), *C'est du vrai sport* (1943).

8   "Originally, the film on the liberation of Paris was conceived as a testimony to the Parisian uprising but also as the trial issue of the future *Actualités libres* that the CLCF aimed to distribute in all the cinemas of the liberated areas. The CLCF refused to abandon the monopoly to the American newsreel *Le Monde libre,* the only news bulletin screened in liberated France since 6 June. The work had been mapped out. The French capital was divided into ten sectors. Nicolas Hayer was placed in charge of a troop of cameramen distributed into teams of two or three: they included former journalists from Gaumont, Pathé or Éclair, employed by France-Actualités since 1942, as well as freelancers, among them Robert Petiot, Robert Batton, Georges Méjat, Pierre Léandri, Georges Barrois, Joseph Krzypow, Yves Naintré, François Delalande, Georges Madru, Albert Mahuzier, Philippe Agostini (director of photography), René Dora, Marcel Grignon, Gilbert Larriaga ... Contacts were established with the studios and warehouses to recover film and material,"quoted from Debono, Lindeperg and Bertin-Maghit, "Le film: La Libération de Paris." 7.

9   Mahuzier, *Grandes Chasses en Afrique Centrale*.

10   Quoted by Blanchard and Bancel, "L'Afrique découverte," 45.

11   *Chez les cannibales et chez les anthropophages* (1921), *Les chasseurs de tête des mers du sud* (1923), *Face aux fauves* (1924), *Simba and Congorilla* (1928).

12   Uzal, "La mise à mort," 64.

13   Commentary extracted from *À la poursuite des gorilles,* published in 2002 in VHS format by Expéditions Cinématographiques Mahuzier Autour du Monde.

14   He filmed numerous animals encountered in various parks and reserves (Albert Congo National Park – Narok Reserve).

15   Viotte, *Martin et Osa Johnson*, 28.

16   "Unabashed condescension and amusement marked their [the Johnsons] attitude toward natives. [In 1929] the transition to sound was under way, so they include brief sound sequences [...]. Johnson's narration speaks of 'funny little savages', 'happiest little savages on earth'", quoted from Barnouw, *Documentary*, 50.

17   Blanchard and Bancel, "L'Afrique découverte," 38.

18   It should be noted, however, that after this date these exhibitions dropped in popularity, the charm of discovery having been broken. Exoticism had to reinvent itself.

19   Blanchard and Bancel, "Au temps des images d'Empire," 26.

20   Blanchard and Bancel, "Au temps des images d'Empire," 33.

21   Albert Mahuzier had previously shot the travel film *La vie des Touaregs* (1948), followed by *Caravanes dans le Hoggar* (1948), a 'making of' of the former.

22   Blanchard, "La société coloniale," 142.

23   Bancel, Blanchard and Vergès, *La République coloniale*, 71.

24   Boëtsch and Ferré, "L'ethnologie du quotidien," 66.

25   Chebel, "Portrait de l'autre," 130.

26   The Touring Club took part in numerous initiatives promoting the development of tourist and cycling routes. It initiated the implementation of road signs and markings on French roads. It also played a major role in the rise in the popularity of camping.

27 "No doubt the proliferation of the 'narrative' figures that have long been its stock-in-trade (ships, animals, and characters of all kinds) still had the function of indicating the operations – travelling, military, architectural, political or commercial – that make possible the fabrication of a geographical plan," quoted from De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 121; De Certeau, *L'invention du quotidien*, 215.
28 Far from being 'illustrations', iconic glosses on the text, these figurations, like fragments of stories, mark on the map the historical operations from which they resulted. Thus the sailing ship painted

on the sea indicates the maritime expedition that made it possible to represent the coastlines. It is equivalent to a describer of the 'tour' type. But the map gradually wins over these figures; it colonises the space; it eliminates little by little the pictural figurations of the practices it produces", quoted from De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 121; De Certeau, *L'invention du quotidien*, 215.
29 Affergan, *Exotisme et altérité*, 36.
30 Joly, *L'image et les signes*, 19.
31 http://www.mahuzier.com/spip/. Accessed November 4, 2010.

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Ciara Chambers

Capturing Ireland:
The Travelogues of JJ Tohill

Twentieth-century Ireland has been the site of ongoing political conflict, with the Home Rule debates in the 1910s, the War of Independence and Civil War in the early 1920s, the gradual construction of partitionist identites north and south over the ensuing years, Ireland's complex relationship with World Wars I and II and the more recent 'Troubles'.

Much of the global public's understanding of Ireland has been constructed through a range of contemporary dominant media. The portrayal of Ireland onscreen has been problematic due to the lack of a sustained indigenous film industry until the 1970s. Prior to this, in narrative filmmaking, Ireland was depicted from the outside by Britain and America. Even the majority of newsreels produced for cinema audiences were, with a few exceptions, produced by British and American newsreel companies. This meant that, particularly when visiting the cinema, Ireland watched a portrayal of itself which was tinged with post-colonial connotations and often at odds with day-to-day reality.

However, during this time amateur filmmakers were capturing events which hold valuable clues to an internal social and historical perspective on twentieth-century Ireland. An exploration of how the Irish amateur gaze depicted modern Ireland offers the possibility of constructing an alternative narrative to that of mainstream cinema. Sunniva O'Flynn, curator at the Irish Film Archive (IFA), has suggested that amateur productions filled some of the gaps in professional production and provided documentation of places and communities that "may never have been deemed worthy of a professional camera's gaze" offering "a unique ground-level view of Irish life".[1] This is tempered to some extent by the fact that much of the material that exists has been taken by clergy and middle classes (due to the expensive nature of film stock and equipment, at least up until the 1960s). While accepting the 'exclusive' nature of this gaze, it is interesting to trace the presence of religious activity even in non-clerical collections. The Catholic Church and the Irish state were very closely linked for the majority of the twentieth century and the Church played a large part in the censorship of mainstream films for Irish audiences. Furthermore, the Church saw the potential of the production of clerical films, both at home and also abroad, where the work of the missions could be depicted.

Beyond the clerical films which exist, a range of proficient non-professional Irish filmmakers have documented the country, its politics, habits, religious beliefs and fam-

ily practices throughout the twentieth century. These filmmakers are often acutely aware of the importance of preserving Ireland's audiovisual past. One such filmic historian is J.J. Tohill, avid filmmaker and enthusiastic archivist. Tohill, a former accountant and wine and spirit merchant, coupled a strong interest in filming with an equally forceful impetus to preserve material from his own collections and from off air recordings of programmes made for local broadcasters BBCNI, UTV (Northern Ireland) and RTE (Republic of Ireland).[2] While each of these broadcasters currently maintains an archive, it is well documented that not all broadcast material survives. While the Irish Film Archive addresses the filmic preservation agenda in the south, given the lack of a central film and television archive in Northern Ireland, a careful audit of Tohill's holdings will likely yield copies of material which may have been thought lost.

Beyond the professional material stored in Tohill's archive exists a range of his own footage, filmed from the 1960s to the present. A prolific amateur filmmaker, Tohill was awarded a Silver Knight at the Golden Knight Festival of Malta[3] in 1982 for his film *Belleek – An Enduring Heritage*, which explored the creation and appeal of the Co. Fermanagh Belleek Pottery company. Included in his repertoire are films on local artist Willie Conor, and a combination of raw footage and edited material covering railways, transport, politics, agriculture, industry, royal visits, fishing and coverage of a vast range of locations throughout Ireland.

This paper will concentrate on ten of Tohill's travelogue films shot in the 1960s and early 1970s, which were donated to the Irish Film Archive (IFA).[4] The films donated to the IFA were included in the colla-borative project between University College Cork (UCC) and the IFA, *Capturing the Nation: Irish Home Movies, 1930–1970.* The project, made possible by a grant of 100.000 euro from the Irish Research Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences, sought to research and digitise small-gauge amateur film from the collections of the Irish Film Archive. It was facilitated by members of its senior staff and a team of Film Studies researchers from UCC.[5] Tohill also donated a five part, five reel travelogue, made in 1966 covering various Scottish locations and traditions, to the Scottish Screen Archive.

Tohill's travelogues are carefully edited with accompanying voice-overs and music. He often writes and narrates his scripts; on other occasions he enlists the help of friends, colleagues or associates from the field of local journalism. For the traveller who has not ventured to the locations depicted, contextual and historical detail is provided. Tohill's interest in the tourist gaze is clear, not only through his films, but also as author of two travel books, *Donegal: an Exploration by JJ Tohill,* which was originally published in 1976 and reprinted several times, and *Pubs of the North* (1990). He is currently working on *In Search of the Extraordinary*, a collection of Irish anecdotes, myths and folklore. Tohill also maintains an active presence in community and voluntary circles and was one of the founding members of the Voluntary Service Bureau in Belfast. He combined his interest in film and volunteering when he founded the Belfast Entertainment Network to provide screenings for people in hospitals or prisons who could not attend the cinema. During the 1960s and 1970s the network produced mostly travelogue material (for exhibition for those who could not travel) and also

1 Taoiseach Seán Lemass inspects a mility parade in Killybegs in *Sea Harvest* (1964).

films on local events and personalities. The film *Sea Harvest* (1964) for example, features an Italian ambassadorial visit to an angling festival in Killybegs, and includes footage of the Taoiseach (Prime Minister) Seán Lemass inspecting a military parade, and his son-in-law and future Taoiseach, Charles Haughey, participating in the fishing event. Irish collections have a wealth of material related to travel, both abroad and within Ireland. Much of this, of course, was filmed to be screened only at home for family audiences. What differentiates Tohill's films is the fact that they were produced with a particular exhibition agenda in mind. Tohill also produced many films without this agenda, but he still strives to screen his material for community audiences.

In mainstream filmmaking the pattern throughout the twentieth century was to depict Ireland in two ways – as an idealised rural idyll or as the site of dangerous conflict. Ian Craven's discussion of the concept of "modern amateurism"[6] is useful to consider when exploring Tohill's work and potential professional influences. Modern amateurism, Craven suggests, attempts to style itself as a version of the professional. In many ways Tohill's filmic representations of Ireland are reminiscent of the familiar stereotypes offered to audiences by the purveyors of commercial cinema. Tohill's travelogues, just like the commercial films in this genre and in narrative filmmaking more generally, naturally followed the pattern of depicting the landscapes and seascapes of Ireland in a

very attractive way. (Often, but not always, travelogues ignored some of the hardships associated with working the land or the lack of technology available to rural Ireland in comparison with the cities of Dublin or Belfast.) On the other hand, Tohill's filmmaking also mirrors some of the amateur productions which originated within Ireland, many of which were home movies, in particular in relation to his representation of religion.

Significantly (beyond the Church's contribution to amateur filmmaking), even in home movie collections, the presence of religion is often manifest through coverage of the sacraments of First Communion, Confirmation and Marriage. Equally frequent are instances of religious processions or the presence of clergy at communal gatherings. Tohill mirrors this religious preoccupation in several ways in his collection, in particular in the proliferation of ancient and modern religious sites. A few examples include: the Celtic monastery in *The Road to the Kingdome* (sic) (1965); the ancient crosses of Fassaroe in *Among the Wicklow Hills* (1968); Christchurch and Glasnevin cemetery in *In Dublin's Fair City* (1966). *The Yeats' Country* (1966) opens with images of stained glass windows and shows Sligo priory and cathedral; *Gateway to the West* (1966) contains shots of a plaque commemorating the birthplace of Papal Count John McCormack, Clonfert cathedral and St. Nicholas's church, Galway. *The Magic of Donegal* (1970) includes in its locations further scenes of Celtic crosses and the graveyard and 'house of skulls' which was the last resting place of St. Finian as well as Clonca church and graveyard, ancient crosses near Carndonagh and St. Aengus's church.

When depicting pilgrims at Doon Well, a celebrated holy well and site of pilgrimage,

the commentary states "one cannot help but be moved by the faith of these simple but sincere people"[7] The type of language used here appears frequently in Tohill's commentaries. The pattern of depicting the Irish people in simplistic, sometimes backward terms is a trend often found in both British and American representations. Alongside references to the "backward land"[8] of Ireland there is a suggestion that despite Ireland's lack of progress, if you offered to "remove these people to a better land, they would chase you with pitchforks"[9]. The prevailing tone, in particular when covering rural locations, is that while these places might be enjoyable to visit, it would not be desirable to live in rural Ireland. Perhaps there is a question here in relation to urban/rural living: Tohill was based in the city of Belfast but frequently spent time visiting rural locations. There may also be a divide between 'north' and 'south'. All of the ten travelogues donated to the Irish Film Archive depicted locations in the Republic of Ireland, while Tohill lived in Northern Ireland, part of the United Kingdom. In cinema newsreels there was a pattern of depicting an industrial north as closer to the 'English' ideals of industry and progress in contrast with a more rural and insular south associated with nature and agriculture.[10] There is a hint of this type of representation in Tohill's depiction of the south and its 'simple people'. However, while many of the British newsreels and cinemagazines, for instance, were patronising in their coverage of the south of Ireland, Tohill's tone is slightly less harsh, suggesting instead an admiration for the religious veneration demonstrated by these "simple but sincere" people. In fact there is often an inherent link suggested between the Irish and a strong

2 A constructed Irish folk village in *Dear Old Donegal* (1960s).

and unquestioning faith, despite the lack of technological progress associated with rural Ireland. The local workers in *The Magic of Connemara* "appear quite happy with such frugal possessions (...) they believe simply and humbly and follow the practices of their faith". The narrator continues to emphasise that despite residing in one of the "loneliest outposts of Christian culture" the "natives" possess a "belief that is deep and strong". Here the film appears to celebrate the religious faith of the southern Irish but perhaps also sets up, in the choice of language used, a distance from the pilgrims, fuelling a sense of 'otherness'. When depicting the ancient site of Glencolumbcille in *Dear Old Donegal* (1960s) the narrator describes how the once pagan site became associated with

Christianity: "If you look closely you will notice distinct changes on these pillars raised by pagan men. By the addition of transverse lines, circles become Christian crosses, consecrated, instead of originally to the sun god, to the true light of the world, namely our blessed Saviour".

Here the narrator associates himself with Christianity through the objects depicted, but there remains throughout a distance between narrator, filmmaker and the "natives", a gap highlighted in the next scene which depicts an elderly bearded man, with flat cap and stick, described as "an old man of the roads" who is shown confusedly accepting money from the narrator while the voice-over states "when we gave him two shillings he couldn't believe his luck".

The rural location is further illustrated when the film crew's motorcar must traverse water in order to continue on its journey, while the narrator states "Donegal is full of surprises". The lack of constructed roads is juxtaposed with an allusion to the 'constructed' nature of Irishness with the subsequent discussion of a village of thatched houses designed for the tourist market. The narrator reminds us: "St. Columbcille wrestled with any demons that were left in Ireland and today Father McDyer, the energetic parish priest wrestles with a new kind of demon, the demon of inactivity. In order to stem the flow of emigration, which was rampant in this area, Fr. McDyer, not so long ago, started a co-operative movement and to the astonishment of his parishioners, it was an immediate success. The most exciting project to date is the building of a typical Irish folk village for holidaymakers. The little white cottages with their golden mop of thatch are the real McCoy".

Far from the (authentic) 'real McCoy' thatched houses of the past, the modern constructions are shown to have the veneer of the traditional dwellings, but with 'all mod cons' inside.

The priest here becomes the protector of religious, moral and financial wellbeing in the community. This point is further emphasised when employees of the co-operative are shown at work in a knitting factory while the narrator comments "the friendly people of this haven of rest in a crazy world have good reason to be thankful for this priest philosopher". In tone and in the rural images which accompany the voice-over there is the suggestion that rural Ireland's relationship with technology has a long way to progress, but that its simple lifestyle and unquestioning faith offer a soothing antidote to the fast pace of modern living.

Religion is the main subject of *Irish Pilgrimage* which depicts various religious sites in Ireland showing the harsh conditions faced by pilgrims who make their journeys barefoot across rocky mountains and streams. The close-ups of bloodstained and muddied feet testify to the determination of the Irish pilgrims to pursue their journey of faith. The narration of this film takes on a lyrical tone in both the poetic language used and the ethereal music which accompanies the voice-over. Tohill's inclusion of religion in his films is not unusual. In the non-clerical amateur collections of the Irish Film Archive, some of the interest in the Catholic rituals clearly relates to the development or participation of family members in the sacraments. But with Tohill's films another potential agenda exists given the exhibition venues for his films - perhaps performing a didactic function for those in prison or to provide comfort and solace for those in hospital. What cannot be ignored is the clear manifestation of religion in Irish amateur filmmaking, testifying to the strength and power of the Church in Ireland. Just as Patricia Zimmermann raises debates about how the movie camera was "drafted into the idealisation of the family rather than developed as a means to critique social and political structures"[11] a similar practice happened in relation to idealising religion in twentieth-century Ireland as a crucial part of national identity. Perhaps also, in the case of Tohill, a process of internalising and replicating some of the dominant Irish stereotypes in commercial filmmaking occurs rather than an attempt to challenge and critique these portrayals of 'Irishness'. The proliferation of religious material in Irish amateur collec-

3 Son-in-law of Seán Lemass and future Taoiseach attends an angling festival in *Sea Harvest* (1964).

tions bears the psychic traces of the nation's public relationship with religion: an outward demonstration to the community of dedication to Irish Catholicism is clear in these filmic documents. There is no evidence of conscious or unconscious questioning of Ireland's relationship with the Church, despite its subsequent criticism in the face of allegations of abuse and misconduct. Interestingly, some of this religious material has been used by filmmakers in a twenty-first century context to critique the Church, both as archive material in documentaries and as research material for films like Peter Mullan's *The Magdalene Sisters* (Ireland / UK, 2002).

Amateur film material offered Ireland a chance to represent itself in the face of a lack of indigenous professional production. That representation of Ireland from within is clearly influenced at least in some way by how Ireland is represented from without. In Tohill's films there are traces of the pervasive Irish stereotypes of a simple people, close to nature and the landscape, fond of alcohol and religion and sometimes violent towards outsiders. In *Sea Harvest* (1964) we are reminded that Killybegs has the longest drinking hours in the British Isles. In *The Magic of Donegal*, the Inishowen peninsula is celebrated throughout "the length and breadth of the kingdom" as the location to obtain the "very best" Poitín (an illicit locally produced alcoholic drink). The narrator goes on to explain that the region was "even more celebrated as the home of the fierce and warlike chieftains who so long main-

tained a vigorous resistance to the English and Scottish settlers of the north". The scenes accompanying these statements are of vivid landscapes every bit as spectacular as the idealised, romanticised version of Ireland (described by the narrator as a "scenery of unspeakable loveliness") which appeared in films like John Ford's *The Quiet Man* (USA, 1952). In this short section of the film, there are allusions to several prevalent Irish stereotypical representations in popular culture: these are patterns which are repeated in Tohill's work: and perhaps future research in the vaults of the IFA may note similar or alternative patterns in the landscape of Irish amateur film.

Tohill's book on Donegal, no doubt inspired by several films he chose to shoot there, concludes with the lines: "Thus the end of the journey is reached. If I have led you to places of interest and beauty of which you were unaware, or if I have given you a glimpse into Ireland's treasured past or reminded you of long forgotten historical epochs, or even if I have just whetted your appetite to see more of our beloved land, then my humble efforts have not been in vain".[12]

The sentiments evoked here could similarly apply to the long overdue journey that more scholars are now beginning to take into the field of amateur film studies in Ireland. In the discourse associated with amateur film, it has been recognised that "home movies too often have been perceived as simply an irrelevant pastime or nostalgic mementos of the past, or dismissed as insignificant byproducts of consumer technology".[13] In the case of Ireland and its lack of a sustained indigenous film industry before the 1970s, amateur film becomes crucially important in constructing an alternative narrative of Irish identity, one which may mirror or reject traditional contructions of Irishness. Clearly that narrative, consciously and unconsciously influenced by the narrative of commercial representation, is one which is contradictory, complex and in need of sustained further research.

Notes

1 Flynn, "Black and White and Collar Films," 39.

2 Tohill's archive is known as the Eclipse Film and Video Archive and some of Tohill's own material has been made under the auspices of his non-profit company Eclipse Pictures.

3 The Golden Knight Film Festival is organised by the Malta Cine Circle (MCC), a society founded in 1952 with the aim of fostering the hobby of amateur film making, http://www.goldenknightmalta.org/history1.html. Accessed December 2010.

4 Information on the Irish Film Archive's Collections can be viewed at http://www.irishfilm.ie/archive. Accessed December 2010.

5 From UCC: Dr. Laura Rascaroli of the Department of Italian, Dr. Gwenda Young and Dr. Barry Monahan of the Department of English. From the IFA: Ms. Kasandra O'Connell, Head of the IFA and Ms. Sunniva O'Flynn, Curator, Irish Film Institute.

6 Craven, "A Very Fishy Tale: The Curious Case of Amateur Subjectivity," 12.

7 *The Magic of Donegal* (1970).

8 *The Magic of Connemara* (1966).

9 *The Magic of Connemara* (1966).

10 For further discussion of Ireland's relationship with the newsreels see Chambers, "Time Marches On" and Chambers, "Partitionist Viewing".

11 Zimmermann, *Reel Families*, xii.

12 Tohill, *Donegal*, 86.

13 Zimmermann, "The Home Movie Movement," 1.

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Part II:
HOLIDAY SOUVENIRS

Christina Natlacen

Picturing Tourists in Front of Sights

Amateur Photography and the Question of Identity

Hardly any genre of photography embodies stereotypical image forms as patently as tourist photography.[1] Perspectives that John Urry describes as the "tourist gaze"[2] are reproduced endlessly, be it in the mountains, on the beach or during city sightseeing tours. Paradoxically, the insistence on collective visual patterns can be explained directly by the quest for identity: by resorting to familiar poses, the individual reassures himself of his own self and establishes his individuality. It is consequently inaccurate to describe private holiday photos as "snapshots", since in reality these are carefully performed and staged pictures. The determination of the location, from which to capture the photograph, the framing of the picture and the instructions given to the posing subject all are constitutive elements of these images.

In holiday photography, the representation of tourists in front of sights[3] is strongly characterised by established parameters (fig. 1). The subject positions himself in front of the sight, which is – generally – easily recognisable and not truncated by the camera's lens. Any other elements referring to the surroundings and activities of daily life are, whenever possible, faded out. Balustrades or green spaces often serve to inject some structure into the image and to isolate the portrayed subject against a neutral back-

ground. The area around the sight acts as a catchy background for the personal travel story and as the set for the photographic self-staging act. Similarly, the adopted pose could hardly be any less exciting: the subject simply stands up straight and looks directly at the camera. This leads to an idealisation of the person, who is, as it were, elevated to the rank of second landmark in the image. Regardless of how banal this image application might appear, it nevertheless establishes a relationship between the individual and the sight that warrants further study. What are the origins of this pictorial genre? What variations are possible? What meaning can be read into the various occurrences of the "tourists-in-front-of-sights" arrangement? And finally: how can one explain the significance of these private images for the amateur photographer?

Picturing Space and Identity

The two parameters that play an essential role in capturing tourists in front of sights pertain to (urban) space and the issue of identity. These two parameters are essential features not only for the act of photographing but also for tourism itself. Tourism could be seen as the sum of the individ-

1   Anonymous, slide featuring a tourist in front of the Houses of Parliament, London, undated, orthochrome – Archive for Analogue Photography of Everyday Life, Vienna.

uality of a place and the identity of a person.[4] In order for tourism and consequently tourist photography to be able to develop, two fundamental premises are required: firstly, a tourist space and, secondly, individualisation processes, defining a personal identity as something of life-historical significance.

Tourist space is never a given, but always needs to be created first. For the production of space, two aspects are important: firstly, social practices and, secondly, representation. According to Henri Lefèbvre, space is neither a mathematical nor a philosophical or aesthetic product, but rather a constant process, which continually generates space anew.[5] It is being produced by society itself. The social experience of space, as it is "perceived", "conceived" and "lived", is crucial for his theorisation of space. Martina Löw argues from a sociological point of view that it is primarily the actions of regular social practices or daily routines that result in "spacing", i.e. the constitution of space.[6] In the case of tourism, this means that only through the accumulation of tourist practices (such as sightseeing or photography) does a particular location become defined as a tourist space.

In addition to spatial practices, Lefèbvre also examines the representation of space. This is characterised by well-established images, which represent space, measure it or create a perception of it in a different manner. In the case of tourist space, it is the sights and their surroundings that are established as images and integrated into the world of representation, in order to produce a collective picture thereof. In photography

this happens through representative views, which give priority focus to the monument. This significance of sights as images known worldwide has been described by Dean Mac-Cannell in his markers' theory. He adds to the tourist and the sight other variables such as reproduced and recognisable images of the monument (postcards, guidebooks, brochures, etc.), which he calls "markers".[7] The distribution of these images helps to establish certain locations as tourist destinations.

With regard to the development of modern identity, it was the city that proved at the end of the nineteenth century to be a catalyst for individualisation processes. In an urban environment, subjectivity emerged from the interaction between self and society. City dwellers gradually sought to free themselves from the tight confines of class, status, gender roles and family structures. At a time when industrialisation was already in full progress, individual identity was increasingly defining itself in terms of personal achievements and social relationships. More and more freedom was gained in terms of lifestyle and with it came a new autonomy of action.

The cultural-historical development of modern identity was also reflected in new technical ways of representing the individual. Initially, single subjects appeared in front of city views or sights of interest only to act as a reference for determining the scale and thus the elevation of the monument. It was not until the end of the nineteenth century, with the advent of the modern metropolis and when urban street life became increasingly fast-paced, that the topos of 'people in motion' gains in popularity. The viewer already familiar with snapshot photography wanted to experience a city essentially via its rhythms and not just its inani-

mate architecture. Postcards show elegant city dwellers, confidently moving around representative locations. These often retouched and staged figures acted as representatives for the viewer's own visit to the city and therefore as identification figures. In contrast to unobtrusive snapshots, which conveyed absolutely no composition or staging aspects to the subjects depicted, the preference was for poses that were appropriate for the public when distributing images of individuals in the urban space. The key moment was when subjects decided to feature in private photographs taken in a public urban space (fig. 2). Only gradually did the city develop as an attractive setting for private shots. In the first decades of private photography, images were instead captured

2 Anonymous, portrait of a woman from an amateur album, Vienna, 1908, Friedrich Tietjen collection, Leipzig.

in a garden setting, on excursions or in direct family contexts, rather than depicting subjects in the public space of the city. It appears as though public urban space was not yet suited as a backdrop for private self-representation. A private appropriation of public urban space took place only via the photographic actions of amateurs.

Functions of Photographs Showing Tourists in Front of Sights

There are various historical precursors to the amateur "tourists-in-front-of-sights" arrangement. I will be proceeding from the assumption that this set-up has not developed *ex nihilo*, but rather testifies to a continuity of photographic image forms.

The notion of the social function of amateur photography is to be validated by way of historical examples. Underpinning this will be a photography concept, which derives from the function of the images rather than the authorship of the photographer. The key being that the photographs were taken and/or reappropriated in a private context. Rather than talking of amateur photography, it thus makes sense to me to use the term "vernacular photography".[8]

The aim of the following is to discuss – by way of five comparisons – prototypes of tourist portraits featuring sights in the background. The comparisons do not take into account the subject of the photographs, but rather consider the function of the images as a starting point. Admittedly all bar one of the photographs were captured not by amateurs as such, yet they were used in a private context. It is therefore primarily the meaning of these images for the individual that is relevant for the comparisons. The first compari-

son relates to the classic studio shot, in which the subject seeks a photographer to create a representative image of himself, which is then employed in a private context. The best example of this is the *carte de visite* (fig. 3), widely used from the 1860s onwards, since it was with this format that the democratisation of photography as a visual medium for all and sundry began, a process that eventually led to amateur photography.[9] The primary function of the portrait photo is thus *self-assurance*. The second comparison relates to travel photography, and in particular private travel photography. With the advent of the dry plate during the second half of the 1870s, mobile photography became

3 Jacob Blatt (Vienna), *Carte de visite*, around 1870, private collection Vienna.

4 Anonymous, *"Apollo" candle factory branch*, Vienna, around 1900 (from: Helfried Seemann and Christian Lunzer, *Wiener Läden. Album*, Vienna 1996).

possible with the carrying of smaller equipment. Wealthy amateurs, able to afford both travel and photography, were now able to discover photography for themselves. This practice is connected to the *memory* function of private photography. Where previously sketchbooks were used to record impressions of what was seen abroad, now it was photography that acted as a memory aid for later years. Thirdly, portraits taken in front of a tourist sight can be compared to identity photos. In 1880, Alphonse Bertillon, who worked in the Parisian police archives, developed the first system of people identification, which consisted of an identity photo and the description of various physical details.[10] The function of these index cards was

to provide proof of identification and serve as *evidence* of an outward appearance at a given time. These images were used by the subjects themselves as passport photographs, as well as by others, such as the justice system, in the case of judicial prosecutions. The next comparison links the tourist shot to a rather unknown genre of vernacular photography. These images show persons in front of stores (fig. 4) and were taken by itinerant photographers who offered their services in the streets. The entire shop front is shown from the outside with people posing in front of it, either the owners or their employees. These images were generally processed on postcard paper and were often used for advertising purposes. Their func-

tion was one of *appropriation*. The owners showed their possession in a direct connection with themselves and so made their ownership status clear on an visual level. In the last comparison, the subject is once again not in the foreground, the topography being the main focus. We are talking of views, which either highlight the representative side of a city or else focus on a single place of interest. These are the photographs that have been captured by professional photographers for travellers and that can be purchased either individually or in albums. Here the function of *consumption* or that of the symbolic image consumption is central. The appropriation of the place of interest occurs via an economic exchange, through which possession of the image is acquired.

If my analysis of the functions of various historical genres of vernacular photography, which predate the "tourists-in-front-of sights" arrangement, is now transferred onto the latter, the result is a broad spectrum of functions, extending clearly beyond that of *self-assurance*, which can be derived from studio photography. In the same vein as the identity photograph, they also serve as *evidence* of the subject having been in a particular location. And much like the images of shop owners in front of their stores, a relationship between the person and the building/monument is established, which is an obvious example of *appropriation*. Finally, the example of the city views points to the aspect of the *consuming* tourist gaze within private holiday photography. The genre of travel photography is the only one in which the amateur is the actual photographer. Its link with tourist photography is the strongest of all five types of photography examined above.

Taking a picture, the active use of a camera, is possibly precisely the most import-

ant characteristic of tourist photography. Baerenholdt et al. introduced the concept of the "productive camera", which refers to the performative act of doing tourist photography.[11] The act of taking photographs is of great significance for grappling with one's own identity and the photographic "tourists-in-front-of-sights" arrangement may be analysed as an example of the effect photography has on identity constructions.

Doing Tourist Photography

What generally applies to amateur photography is also the overriding essential feature of tourist photography: the images need not fulfil any aspiration towards perfection. Blurring, image defects, imbalanced composition – all these aesthetic mishaps do not change the fact that these images will nevertheless be kept and stuck into a photo album. Not even the featured subjects need necessarily be recognisable; even if their faces are too small or the subject looks rather unfortunate or someone has been obscured, these 'relics' nevertheless seem to be of value to their owner. This suggests that private photographs are first and foremost to be understood in their function of *bearing witness*. As testimonies they have life-historical value and are constituent of identity formation, but they achieve their significance only in connection with the *memory* of those directly involved. It is through these people that the images become "markers" for a presence at a particular place at a particular moment in time. The kind of photo that is being taken on holiday does not matter, but the fact that photographs *are being* taken and that past moments can be remembered by means of images is of importance.

5   Anonymous, photograph of a woman in front of the leaning tower of Pisa from a photo album, undated, Orthochrome – Archive for Analogue Photography of Everyday Life, Vienna.

In addition to Barthes' concept of the "that-has-been"[12], which one can turn into an "I was here"[13] with regard to holiday photography, amateur photography is characterised by its eventfulness. Almost every photo album features a series of photographs that bears witness to the performative content of holiday photography. Thus, there is not a single photograph taken at a particular location, but the background featuring a place of interest provides several options for self-staging. The fun of the photographic experience is clearly visible in these images. In addition to the photographer's ambition to go beyond the previous image experience, these photos are also a testimony to the pronounced will in amateur photography to portray oneself. The so-called "double takes"[14] by Adib Fricke also bear witness to the dialogue capabilities of private photography. Double takes are characterised by the fact that several shots – mostly featuring chang-

ing people constellations or else with and without people – are taken in front of an unchanged background and from the same position. During city trips, couples often like to take turns in photographing one another in front of places of interest. To prove their presence at a particular place, one photo would be enough – it being of course obvious that the person not visible was the one taking the photograph. Examples of photographic acts that are highly performative – such as for instance the staging of people who appear to be holding up the leaning tower of Pisa through their own sheer strength (fig. 5) – demonstrate that the place of interest and the 'having-been-there' are of a lesser significance than the actual act of self-representa-

6 Anonymous, postcard featuring day trippers to Pöstlingberg, Linz, around 1910, Snapshot Collection Christian Skrein, St. Gilgen.

tion. Jonas Larsen even goes as far as to argue that "tourist places are 'dead' until actors take the stage and enact them".[15] In this case, private photography becomes an experience to hold on to and is defined less by the image result than the image act itself.

What is indeed more important on a photograph: the sight or the person featured? The next example shows how sights featured on amateur portraits can function as an image that is symbolic of the real place. Much like tourist photography itself is a quotation,[16] so is the featured sight. Which is why it is sufficient when even just a small fragment of the sight appears in the picture. A truncated Eiffel Tower in Paris, the arcades of the Doge's Palace in Venice or the entrance to St Peter's in Rome: the more famous a sight, the less it needs to be visible without losing any of its recognisability. A particularly impressive example of the 'marker' function of sights can be seen in early photographs in which people posed in front of a painted canvas (fig. 6). In these cases the sight was not real but painted. Local photographers invited pilgrims, day trippers and tourists into their studio in order to pose in front of the painted background or else they assembled their screen in the immediate vicinity of the depicted sight itself. The customers were obviously less concerned with rendering the real sight on the photograph than they were of having a genuine portrait of themselves created.

All three examples can be interpreted in the sense that, in photographs featuring tourists in front of sights, the portrait function is more important than the topographical view. The focus is on the eventful self-staging rather than the authentic and stationary location as such. It is undeniably the individual involved in the photography pro-

cess who stands in the foreground, and that on two accounts: once as an actor and poser, the other time as an active photographer. Other elements in the image, such as tourist sights, are of secondary importance and can be substituted with placeholders. While the monuments are sights that are familiar to everyone and can therefore also be conveyed conceptually or in professional contexts, the individuality of the tourist must constantly be reinvented and emphasised. The exchange with a familiar person leads to a game, which defines identity as something performative and mobile and which is fundamentally connected to one's own memory practice. In a space removed from one's everyday context, in which the photographed subject is present as a pure self, important identity work is taking place. Thus, amateur photography, more than any other genre, shows the importance of the social (as opposed to merely aesthetic) functions photography has as an image medium for the individual.

Notes

1 Much of my research into private photography was undertaken in conjunction with the exhibition *Travelling Eye. Fotografie im Urlaub* (Freiraum Museumsquartier in Vienna from 8 to 24 April 2005) which I curated alongside Gudrun Ratzinger and Ursula Gass. This exhibition as well as the current research for this article focused on private photography and slide material from portfolios from *Orthochrome – Archive for Analog Photography of Everyday Life*, which is located in Vienna and currently owns more than 200.000 pictures.

2 Cf. Urry, *Tourist Gaze*.

3 These photographs represent only a relatively small part of the private photography realm. A statistic, which exclusively refers to holiday photography, states that images of family members in front of cultural sights make up 11%, Baerenholdt et al., *Performing Tourist Places*, 108.

4 Cf. Pott, *Orte des Tourismus*.

5 Cf. Lefèbvre, *Production of Space*.

6 Cf. Löw, *Raumsoziologie*, 163.

7 Cf. MacCannell, *The Tourist*.

8 Cf. Batchen, "Vernacular Photographies."

9 Cf. Tagg, "Democracy of the Image."

10 Cf. Regener, *Fotografische Erfassung*.

11 Baerenholdt et al., *Performing Tourist Places*, 69ff.

12 Cf. Barthes, *Camera lucida*.

13 This was also the title of the exhibition running parallel to the conference at the CNA, Luxembourg.

14 Fricke, "Ein Knipser," 144.

15 Larsen, "Families Seen Sightseeing," 422.

16 Osborne, *Travelling Light*, 79.

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Peter Burleigh and Sophie Jung

Touristic Signatures

A stack of old second-hand travel shots – image after image the figures captured in the photographs are swamped by the space that surrounds them. Whether mountain backdrop, open water, grand cathedral or a vast expanse of space unfolding before him, the human subject is diminutive in comparison with the rest of the scene – quaint and strikingly cute, compared to ego-laden travel shots by, but moreover *of*, the modern tourist. A tiny little inscription of a figure compared to a largely grinning face backdropped by a blurry Eiffel Tower.

We wondered how this difference between the older and the modern travel shots could be accounted for. Going through family albums in our quest to turn anecdote to analysis, we tried to account for this transition or slippage of focus from space to human actor, from the place someone is in to a picturing of themselves. We started thinking about the change in the iconography of self-picturing paralleled to the boom of the digital image. In juxtaposing the earlier found images and family photographs with their residual discourse of pictorial rhetoric against facebook-albumed holiday snaps, there seems to have been a break with the dominance of the pictorial alongside the widespread ubiquity of the digital image; a homogenization of place has given rise to a new way of picturing one-self and others. There is a movement from an iconography of sense to one of presence. The tourist is now the main attraction.

Two women sit on a grassy bank in an open landscape – trees to the left break the skyline in the middle ground, while a rolling hill surmounted by a human-built prominence fills the image left to right and neatly divides the picture into two halves; landscape and empty sky: whether a spring morning or a summer's afternoon, the photograph implies that the two women are on a journey, travelling, albeit perhaps only for the day, to this man-made structure. They are pictured at a moment in their journey, at rest, cheery in and off the scene. But, however we view the image in narrative terms, in formal terms we cannot but notice that the two women, the point of entry into the image, occupy much less visual space than the expansive landscape.

In another photograph, perhaps on the same day; perhaps the very same structure that some hours earlier was viewed from afar, a tower of hewn stones is the motif, centrally framed by the photographer. But wait – is that the very same two women, the tiny figures sitting cosily at the menhir's feet? Too distant from the camera to clearly read the faces, they remain tauntingly anonymous. It would be a nice narrative ges-

1   *Stone Menhir*, private collection Peter Burleigh and Sophie Jung.

ture if the two images could be re-tied together that way. But the point here – aside from that nicety – is that as in many of other images from the same period as these walkers, the 1940s and 50s, the subjects are dwarfed by a larger context in which they are placed. We can see this again in the picture on a mountain path, a walker perhaps, centred in the middle ground of a trekking landscape, or the young couple squeezed together by the weight of Milan's Cathedral.

In all of these images, rather than exert their presence on the scene pictured they are placed there as a kind of signature. Crucially, a signature that works as a witness placed within the frame of that photographic space, confirming that this specific place against which they are pictured exists and was there.

A tourist at the Leaning Tower of Pisa. The figure who was the target of the photo-


2   *Milan Cathedral*, private family collection Germaine Hoffmann.

grapher is Sophie's grandmother, standing right of the tower. This extra-textual information we know; we sat with her as she recounted her journey, as she turned the pages of that album. But if we were not privy to this fact, a fact which relies on us knowing the individual pictured there, having been shown the album in a retelling of an Italian tour, in other words, knowing that this was a family photograph including her, we might think either of two other figures was the person pictured next to the great monument. In that sense, this image more than any other suggests that the individual pictured here is an adjunct, a witness to the scene, yet not the main part of the scene. Although she might personalise the photograph, the image is not about her being there as much as her being able to confirm that this exotic space is there and that she was there herself to see it.

We should not overlook the other human 'subjects' which litter the image, perhaps, too, posing for another photograph, another family memory. Their coincidental presence reinforces the realism myth of the photograph, the 'facts' that go right to the edge of the image. They are relevant as other witnessing functions in other re-telling spaces, while Granny serves as an arbitrary placeholder to realism.

In these post WWII tourist images the person pictured functions as a stamp of verity, a signature, a witness to the place, which, relative to today's world of its commodified consumption, was exotic and distant. The photographs are a form of indexical key, a register of "that-has-been",[1] which can be reviewed and performatively reactivated in the now. They have a history inscribed in them, a frozen moment from the past, waiting to be manually, verbally decoded by the subject in the know, in the now.
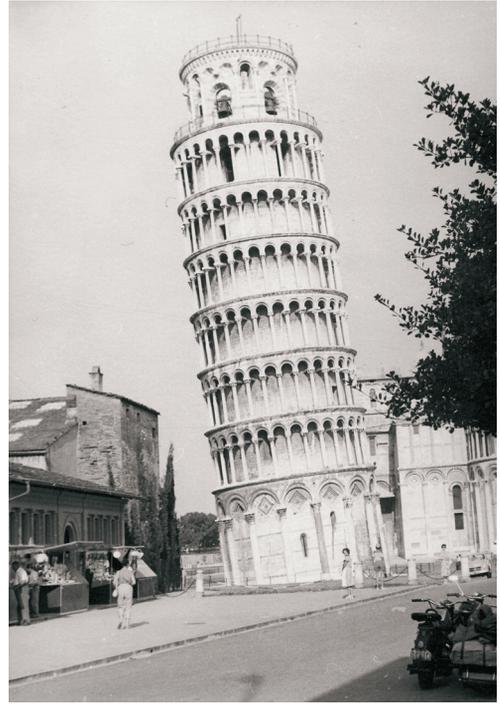
3 *Leaning Tower of Pisa*, private family collection Germaine Hoffmann.

Any private, amateur photograph is a prop, used in the telling or re-telling of an experience. Such photographs underwrite the validity of a story about being somewhere, somewhen; they add an iconic, indexical referentiality to the holiday narrative. While commercial, public images tell stories about larger events, contribute to public discourse, are strategic even, private photographs both delineate and inscribe a different kind of space. As vernacular images they are an approach to a personal inscription. The individuals pictured in the landscape do not dominate, are not over-bearing, they simply confirm that particular place at a particular time.

Roland Barthes was correct in claiming "the thing has been there"[2] a "noeme for photography that cannot be repressed".[3] Barthes uses the term 'noeme' where today we

might use 'visuality', meaning the total sense and expression of the character or essence of photography as a visual medium and practice. Yet it is incorrect to claim photography "is a message without a code".[4] On the contrary, the black and white images reproduced from a roll of negatives are loaded little codes that, for the full reading, will have to be actively decoded in front of our eyes: they are to serve as props in the re-telling of the experience to an audience at a later date in a different place. The image as a way to get to the story, still verbal, still analogue. The photographed subject in the *here* can report on the *there*. The album can thus serve as an archive of events outside the domain of the re-telling space. What photography transparently does, then, is generate new signs which themselves require further reading and interpretation. Now, in the earlier photographs, the signature figure is a testimony to having been there, and in the reactivation of that presence somewhere else away from the scene where the photograph was made, in the possibility of visual comparison (is that her? Glance at the photo; glance at the hostess: Yes, it is!), allows the dusty tales of a place far away to turn into reality. The Leaning Tower of Pisa really *is*! The pyramids in Egypt, the enormously beautiful Alpine landscape really have a place on earth.

Furthermore, since the simulation of the effects of perspectival vision have become naturalised even to the extent that we rarely admit to photography's encoding, it seems that rather than being accepted as a cognitive encoding and thus subject to a culture of sense, the photograph is experiential and subject to a culture of presence.[5] The more we are confronted by the realism of images, the more they are widely carelessly distributed, the more it seems they start to

4 *Graham at Machu Picchu*, Internet link no longer valid: collection Peter Burleigh and Sophie Jung.

become a slice of the real. A cognitive, semantic, interpretative visuality has given way to a culture of pre-thought, of experience, a culture of the affective; we are shifting or slipping from a culture of sense to a culture of presence. A slippage which has a crucial effect on the way photography operates.

Today's tourists picture themselves as the centre of the image with key-feature places of the globalised West as their backdrop, familiar signatures to assert their egos. Graham fills the screen with his proximity to the camera, yet proportionately still leaves enough visual space for the photograph to iconically index the misty spectacular mountain top, the hillside ruins, and rich green grass (all familiar tokens) of the ancient city of Machu Picchu. Now in these contemporary images, different from our earlier found images, the human subject is no longer a minor supplement in terms of dimension, proximity to the camera or the foreground plane of the image, or in the tone of their address to the observer. Rather they themselves become the central term. The place wherein the tourist is pictured comes to be the witness of the tourist rather

5   *The Leaning Tower of Pisa (today)*, private collection Peter Burleigh and Sophie Jung.

6 *The Pyramids*, Internet link no longer valid; collection Peter Burleigh and Sophie Jung.

than *vice versa*. In a world where the sheer volume of images has dramatically increased, where images of places and tourist sites have become embedded in our visual repertoires, it is no longer the tourist who confirms the place, but the place the tourist. Take the images made at the Leaning Tower of Pisa. It seems obligatory to picture oneself in relation to the tower; not as a person visiting the place, but as a person who interacts with the visual effects there in order to be pictured doing so. This is no longer the residue of a visual culture – the re-experiencing of a pictorial scene and the confirmation of that re-experience through evidential photography. No, this is now the capturing of the act of performing in that space with that space as a form of embodied presence.

There has been a shift in the cultural announcement of what to picture. On the one hand, the views and places to be in are no longer signalled by the images of a historical trail of iconographic references, the distillation of the Grand Tour, a relic which perhaps up until the 1970s still held sway over how to make your own amateur images, a trail which might have had currency in the living rooms of the tourist. Nowadays, this iconography no longer having affect, allows the tourist to give evidence of their experience in tourist places and not merely to witness a lived version of a spectral heritage. The slogan "Kodak as You Go" refers self-reflexively to that film manufacturer's own iconography, in a premonition of the loss of indexicality for gain of presence we experience in the electronic version of the

7   *The Eiffel Tower*, Internet link no longer valid: collection Peter Burleigh and Sophie Jung.

8   *David at the Taj Mahal*, Internet link no longer valid: collection Peter Burleigh and Sophie Jung.

photo album, an exchange which develops the subject and its experience as essential to the photographic enterprise.

Henceforth, the presence of the voice of the photographer and subject which used to accompany the photographic retelling of the experience is now absent. Images are uploaded onto widely shared spaces which may be viewed by a diverse audience, reactivated uncontrollably in their temporal arbitrariness. The reporting voice is now located within the image itself: the proximity of the body, the close-up gesture, the fronted position all add up to a 'voice' directed at the observer. Instead of the external narrator outside the image saying: "... Grindelwald ... wonderful architecture ... the car had gone haywire ...," the image itself shouts: "Check me out! I am actually here! I actually *am*!"

As Marc Augé argues, the appearance of non-places – symbolic spaces governed by text and symbols often experienced as transit – at one remove from lived experience is accelerating.[6] In terms of visuality then, we are moving further away from the 'real' recorded places which had anthropological character. In the light of this dislocating aspect of

supermodernity, tourists themselves become the centre of attention, as destinations and the return from them are more homogenised, uniform and undifferentiated. The tourist experience starts to become less a textual inscription of presence, and more an embodiment of being there; it is now located in the individual experience and less on the place wherein that experience occurred.

Tourism now is modelled around the physical self and with that self always playing the main role, as Nigel Thrift has suggested, "since the 1960s a new kind of tourism has emerged [in which] the kinaesthetic has been amplified: houseboating, mountain-biking, cattle-driving, tall-ship sailing, tornado-chasing, historic battle re-enactments".[7] There is an increased embodiment of the experience of being at a touristic venue. Photography then becomes a recording and physical announcement of that experience, and not a construction of the touristic view of place. Image moulds itself around the key figure rather than, as in our old black and white images, the figure shyly positioning itself into a pre-modelled image plane. Bærenholdt et al., following Timothy Ingold, further argue that,

"place is always an environment for somebody that is experienced from within and not something humans are outside".[8] Thus all of the operations which circulate around the notion of touristic place are actuated through the body of the tourist. Actual location at which the tourist experience occurs becomes secondary and thus takes a subsidiary role in images that represent that experience.

In a world where dimensions collapse, where place becomes reduced to acts, the recorder and the recorded also collapse onto each other. Thus, the touristic image becomes an apparent slice of self and an assumed slice of the real. It seems the only way to get more of oneself into the image is to, literally, make oneself bigger. Before, the decoding of the photographic message was supported partly through a thoroughly rehearsed and culturally embedded repertoire of pictorial rhetoric, and partly through witnessed encoding, which supported the scene there as a place in the world that the tourist saw. Nowadays, photographs are no longer read as encodings but as bits and pieces of experience of lived life, strictly not as portrayals. The micro-structuring of physical rooting, of certain identity confirmed by the routines of community-life (that is, knowing one's place, one's own backyard and local territory) is being replaced by a macro-performance of shifting place, virtual dealings and globalised identity. The analogue turning of the album pages, the archive of indexical objects containing 'self', held tight by grander truths, cathedrals and sunsets, has merged into a never complete, always adjustable *flickr* or *facebook* album of digital images. These bits of data, floating as a constant potential of an image in the ether of the net, these evanescent clumps of temporality are only realised by the click of a trackpad.

So sitting there, in front of our screens and surrounded by a sea of black and white images, we conclude: in our found material we recognise pictorial techniques of codification and are struck by the now fading of the old regime of visual representation of self. There has been a shift in paradigm: in the past it seemed that tourists as individuals created a sense of place, indexing and witnessing a thereness. Now the representations of touchstone-places have become so uniformly ubiquitous that the modern tourist finds himself defined in relation to them.

Where the performance of the 'holiday-slideshow' traditionally relied on the narrator, the human cog in the machine, the facebook-album functions – reduced in workforce – by showing images, performative within themselves: in Erika Fischer-Lichte's words, "they do not express a pre-existing identity but engender identity through these very acts".[9] The narrator within the image 'reports' both on the image as well as on the experience. With this level of self-referentiality, through this experiential proximity to the viewer, the symbolic nature of photography is displaced. The image is no longer an enfolding of a sum of experiences to be opened out manually in a triangulation of place, specular and witness in the "continuation of older 'naturalistic' pictorial codes".[10] Instead it stratifies all three components into a layering of image, experience and report. Where the human subject served as a witness to the existence of faraway places, we now rely on representations of well-known representations (the visual repetition of the Taj Mahal) as guarantors of our own existence. The repetition is more convincing than the physical self.

The age of linear, or even symbolic representation, of analogue physicality of la-

bour is shifting towards a cultural phase of physical anxiety, of virtually mediated reality. It is ironic that in the search for authenticity, we try to assert ourselves by moving into our images. Baudelaire's apprehension of photography being allowed to impinge upon the sphere of the intangible and the imaginary[11] is now, perhaps, starting to move closer to its realisation than ever. The urge to manifest presence in a destabilised world converts us into virtual images with no codes, no symbols, but substitutes, parallel lives, slices of real. Yet since a slice is always just a slice, and as an image without a code it cannot unfold into more, we get drawn into cutting more and more and more slices, documenting and mediating ourselves every step of the way, establishing a parallel, virtual self.

Notes

1   Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 77.
2   Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 76.
3   Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 77.
4   Barthes, "The Photographic Message," 196.
5   Gumbrecht, *Production of Presence*, 17–20.
6   Augé, *Non-places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*.

7   Thrift, *Non-Representational Theory: Space|Politics|Affect*, 71.
8   Bærenholdt, *Performing Tourist Places*, 32.
9   Fischer-Lichte, *The Transformative Power of Performance*, 27.
10   Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*, 134.
11   Baudelaire, "The Modern Public and Photography," 89.

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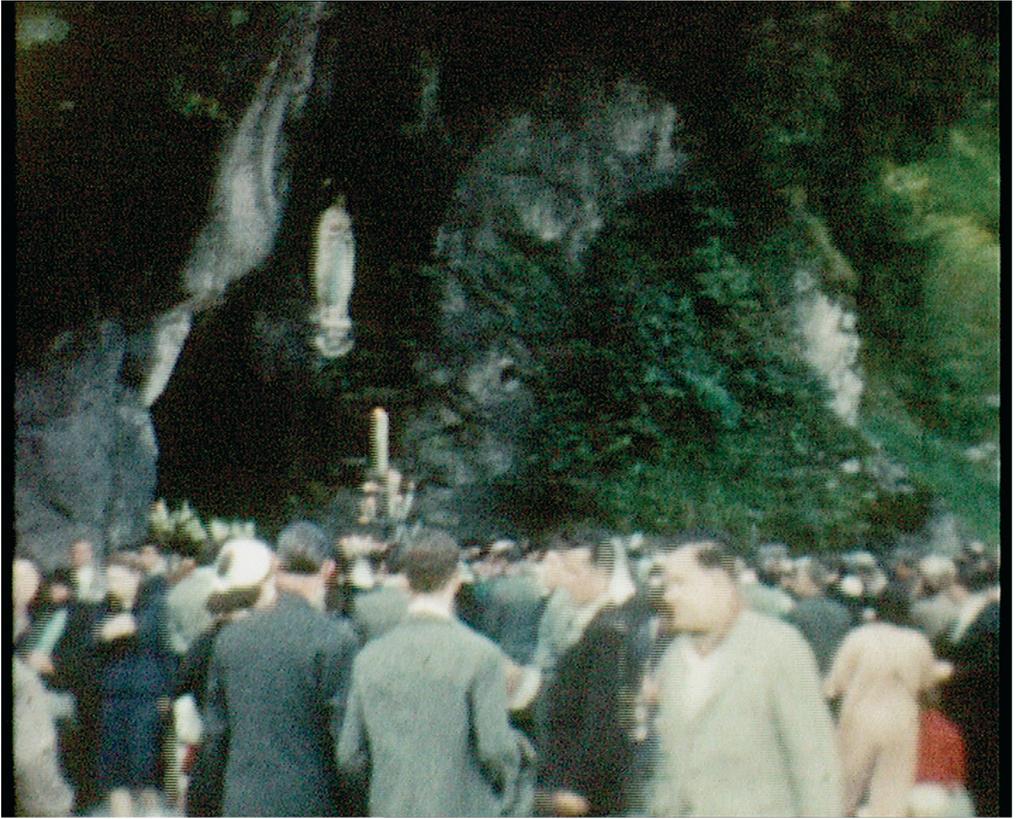
Part III:
CNA AMATEUR FOOTAGE UNRAVELLED

Sabrina Roob

A Voyage of Discovery

CNA code	IA_AMA_001808
Camera	Lucien Graas (b. 1931)
Date	1987
Region	Nevada (USA), British Columbia (Canada)
Format	probably Zeiss camera, Super 8, colour, no sound
Duration	29 minutes and 33 seconds

The earliest films shot by non-professionals in Luxembourg were probably made at the beginning of the twentieth century. The film critic Evy Friedrich lists films by professional photographers J. M. Bellwald, N. Schumacher and Nicolas Maroldt or those shot in the 1920s on 35 mm by Emile Etienne.[1] But amateurs only began to show an interest in filming after the 9,5 mm format was launched by Pathé in 1922, the 16 mm format by Kodak in 1923 and the 8 mm format by Kodak in 1932. While it is not known when the first narrow-gauge formats appeared in Luxembourg, the oldest films held by the CNA archive date back to the end of the 1920s. Some of Maroldts films (on 35 mm) as well as a certain number of 16 mm and 9,5 mm films from the 1920s and 1930s are kept by the CNA but most likely many of the amateur films shot before 1945 are lost today. Following the Second World War, the technique was simplified and film became less expensive. Consequently, more and more amateur films were produced either by family members or members of amateur film clubs.

1989 saw the opening of the Centre national de l'audiovisuel (CNA) in Dudelange. Its mission is to safeguard and archive all Luxembourg films and audiovisual recordings (sound and film) that have been created in Luxembourg or made by Luxembourgers, and to make them accessible to the public. In 1995, the CNA launched an appeal to residents to submit their amateur films; in return these people received a copy of their film on VHS. These days, films are copied onto DVD. While the films can be made public, filmmakers nevertheless retain the author's rights on all of their films. By 2011, the CNA had collected around 9.000 amateur films. The amateur film stock is interesting in particular for use in documentary films.[2] Other than a series of descriptions, which were created in the context of a course being taught at the University of Trier,[3] home movies and holiday films from the CNA
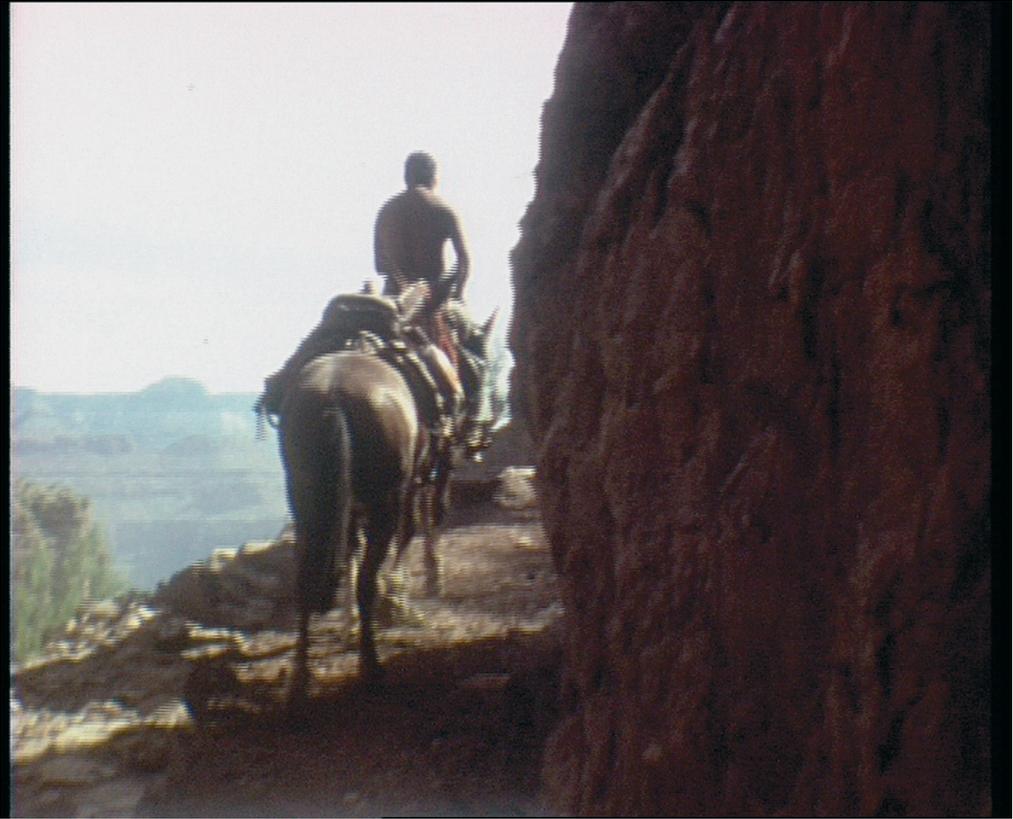
1   © Lucien Graas, 1987 / Archive: CNA.

archives have not attracted much research by academics. The focus of this article is on a 'holiday film' featuring the Graas family as its members embarked on a trip that took them through the northwest of the United States of America (State of Nevada) right up to British Columbia in the west of Canada. The trip went from 14 June to 12 July 1987. While in the United States, the family visited the Grand Canyon and Las Vegas, and in British Columbia they concentrated on Canada's nature reserves and the cities of Banff, Jasper, Vancouver, Victoria and Calgary. These spots still boast the same tourist attractions today as they did when this film was shot.[4]

The Filmmaker

The filmmaker is Lucien Graas, who was joined on holiday by his wife, his two daughters and his two son-in-laws. He filmed purely as a hobby, while travelling and on holiday. He himself said that the purpose of this film was to capture a souvenir, something he could watch later on with his family whenever they felt like it.[5] It was thus not intended for public viewing but for a family context. Mr Graas had done a lot of travelling and seen most of the world. He had already completed a USA trip during the 1970s. An interview with the filmmaker also revealed that during the 1970s and

1980s it became increasingly "trendy" to travel to America, just as it became increasingly "fashionable" to make holiday films, due among others to *Super 8* being a more appealing and cost effective format, and as a result a great number of amateur films were created on the American continent during this period.

Mr Graas probably filmed with a *Zeiss* camera, using the *Super 8* format. He filmed everything in the order that it occurred before his lens without changing the sequence of events. Editing was reduced to a minimum, only "ugly scenes", such as something that was not intended for filming – like the ground, for instance – were cut out. In addition, he inserted a black image after each film sequence to mark the next one. The film consists of a total of 28 film sequences.

Film Analysis

Firstly, I would like to analyse how the cameraman perceived North America through his camera, i.e. *what*, *how* and *why* he filmed. According to Werner Faulstich, these questions form the basis for all film analyses.[6] Subsequently, I would like to investigate the *mise en scène* of the family.

My working hypothesis is that this film embodies a *documentary exploration film* in a two-fold sense: it is a cultural appropriation of not just the filmmaker but also the viewer, who upon viewing the film feels as though he is experiencing the journey himself.

What Was Filmed?

The film focuses in particular on landscapes such as mountains, lakes and rivers, as well as local flora and fauna. Cities do not feature widely since this holiday was more about discovering nature. Nevertheless, several means of transport were filmed. In addition, the film focuses significantly on people: family members but also strangers, in particular more "exotic" people such as Asians, labourers and children. Cultural subjects such as festivals, uniforms and other specifically American moments were also captured by the camera. In the cities, the emphasis was on buildings, monuments and statues. It is also interesting to note what was not filmed. It is for instance noticeable that hotels were never filmed from the inside, they are only ever seen from the outside. The interview with the filmmaker revealed that the family used to return from their excursions only late at night, when they were really tired and the lights in the hotel were not bright enough to film. Which explains why, apart from in Las Vegas, no night shots were captured during the trip. Since film cameras in those days had no delete function and reels had a time limit on them, the filmmaker had to think very carefully about what he wanted to film.

How Was Filming Carried Out?

a) On the Road / Travelling Perspective

This film features an extraordinary amount of transport means. Be this cars, buses, snow mobiles, caravans, trains, yachts, boats, trucks, windsurfers or more unusual transport means such as rickshaws, a Rolls Royce, horse-drawn carriages, donkeys or helicopters, they all fulfil a useful purpose: being on the road and travelling. Transport means are also cut between sequences in order to show that the journey continues. It is interesting in this case to analyse the cameraman's method of filming while he himself is using transport means.

2 © Lucien Graas, 1987 / Archive: CNA.

The first scene in the film is a boat trip, which the Graas family takes through Page and Lake Powell, which lie in a Native American reserve. The camera's angle of vision emulates the movement of the boat. The viewer has the impression that he himself is observing his surroundings (in this case rocks) from the boat. Upon leaving the region, the cameraman glances backwards, while the distance separating him from the place increases. Annette Deeken describes this perspective as the "reverse journey", which symbolises a "farewell": "The line of vision here is the exact opposite of the direction of movement. [...] In contrast to a passage, the landscape in these sequences does not appear to roll by; rather, it looks as though it has stood still, untouched by the human process of ageing, by the passing of time."[7]

This technique also works in reverse: while the family makes its way down into the Grand Canyon, it is passed by a train of tourists on donkeys, who gradually disappear round a corner. In this case, it is not the viewer who distances himself, but rather the observed object. And yet, this case still symbolises a "farewell".

In contrast to the "farewell perspective", there is also the "forward travelling": the family travels straight up to the rocks in a boat, with the camera directed straight

ahead, so that the rocks almost appear to be passing by.

"Forward travelling optically shifts things into an actual movement. In contrast to panning and even the so-called travel imitation by means of zooming, the camera does not stick to one position, but rather gradually moves into the space."[8]

Other scenes have the cameraman, to his right out of the side of the car, filming houses or mountains while travelling past them by car or boat. Here, the viewer is usually given the impression that the houses or the mountains are passing him by, not the other way round. This perspective is called a "passage" or "moving panorama",[9] and the film contains many of these scenes. Unfortunately this technique is not always successful: it is more difficult to make a "passage" look authentic from a car, due to the fact that other vehicles cross the field of vision that the car drives past relatively quickly. In this case, the effect is thus lost, in contrast to the scenes in which the water is filmed from the boat, where there is no "telltale" frame and not enough speed to spoil the subjective feeling of "being on the move".

This film thus documents travelling and being on the road, while the landscape is partly also appropriated via means of transport.

b) Capturing Space / Panorama Technique

The panorama technique distinguishes between the *extreme long shot*, an impressive and large-scale representative image of a landscape, and the *panoramic shot*, so-called *panorama panning*.[10] Mr Graas systematically filmed waterfalls in a panning movement from top to bottom, to emphasise the fall of the water. Whenever Mr Graas stood

in front of a mountain, he illustrated it in a reverse panning, from bottom to top, before zooming in on the peak, to demonstrate the height of the mountain.

When filming from a mountain, the viewing angle alternates from the top to down into the valley, or the filmmaker zooms from back to front or pans from left to right and right to left across the landscape. When the cameraman films the river from the top of the mountains, he feels his way down from his heightened position, gradually getting closer to the river, zooming in on it before often following the course of the river with the camera. He also encounters a snake and zooms in on its head, letting the camera move along with the head of the snake, just like he did with the river. This is a simple observer's perspective, which also does not want to let the dangerous animal out of sight for self-protection reasons.

The *extreme long shot* panoramas are of mountains and lakes. This panorama view, according to Annette Deeken, is part of the basic pattern of landscape contemplation.[11]

These two techniques, travelling and panorama, give viewers an idea of space. They also allow to follow the filmmaker's gaze and see what he deemed interesting. The viewer thus becomes himself the explorer and adventurer.[12] They are complemented by a perspective that is meant to have a more objective effect, the so-called bird's eye perspective or aerial perspective. This can be seen twice in the film, once from a plane, down onto British Columbia, and again towards the end of the film, onto the city of Calgary, where the view subsequently focuses on a road. This perspective is also sometimes described as a perspective of power. In this case, however, it appears to be merely an extension of the panorama perspective.

3   © Lucien Graas, 1987 / Archive: CNA.

Why Was Filming Carried Out?

a) Orientation of Memory

Mr Graas' silent film features no explanatory commentaries. Between each stop, however, the name of the stop, be it a reserve, a country or a city, is inserted as a means of orientation. To this effect, either a close-up of a sign is inserted or Mr Graas wrote the name of the location with the help of a magnet panel and white magnetic letters before inserting it. The end of the film has the insertion "*BACK HOME AGAIN*". Even though the film was not intended for public viewing, the filmmaker placed great importance on recording every place the family visited for future reference.

b) Aestheticising

Capturing the beauty of nature appears to have been the filmmaker's primary objective. And so we witness not only panorama views of the Canadian landscape, but nature's play of colours – glacier blue water from rivers and lakes, in which the sunlight is reflected – is also widely featured in this film. Close-up shots[13] of exotic animals and plants abound. They are reminiscent of documentary films in the *National Geographic* style, and those plants that do not move bring to mind photographs, because the camera is focused for a long and steady time on individual plants, as though about to take a photo.

4   © Lucien Graas, 1987 / Archive: CNA.

Among the plants, those filmed the most are exotic flowers. Even a flower made of wood and a flowerpot dangling from a street lantern are filmed. Mr Graas films every river, lake or waterfall that he comes across. He does not restrict himself to just the spectacular tourist attractions, but also films fountains and the waves created by the boat in the water. His interest is captured by water as an element of flow and the contrast it provides to the rocks and stone structures. Together they are what make up the Canadian landscape – as experienced by Mr Graas.

c) Exoticising

In Vancouver's Chinatown we get to see a Chinese parade, organised by young Chinese Canadians, with a dragon swinging amidst typical Chinese garments. At the Calgary Stampede that takes place each summer in Calgary, a parade featuring majorettes and brass bands is filmed, followed by "Red Indians" on their horses and people sporting cowboy hats and dancing "cowboy dances" at the street festival. Mr Graas himself is also filmed sampling a Canadian delicacy. Tourists are here being fed the typical or even stereotypical image of Canada.

A very emblematic theme is that of the flags. Canadian flags are filmed, at a parade,

5   © Lucien Graas, 1987 / Archive: CNA.

on boats, before parliaments, always in close-up. A flag is first and foremost a national symbol and therefore "proof" of the Graas family's presence in Canada. It is a symbol, *pars pro toto*, much like television newsreels often show flags in front of public buildings to introduce the politics of the country in question.

Images of the Native American totems appear more exoticising. At an 'Indian Trading Post', sand images and hand-made carpets by 'Indians' are filmed. These are typical objects known from the westerns. The stone arch in a Native American reserve, known as the *Rainbow Arch*, which is featured a few times in the film, is also reminiscent of the

Winnetou films (1962–1968), even if this was not necessarily the intention of the cameraman. A different scene, in which the family crosses a wobbly suspension bridge from a mountain to another platform, evokes adventure films such as *Indiana Jones* (Steven Spielberg), the first episodes of which were released in 1981 and 1984.

The night shots of Las Vegas, a city full of lights and casinos, appear to have drawn their inspiration from the James Bond film *Diamonds are forever* (Guy Hamilton, 1971). The typical billboard featuring the cowboy with a cigarette dangling from his mouth can be seen in *Diamonds are forever*, and the cowgirl with the short skirt is also a landmark of
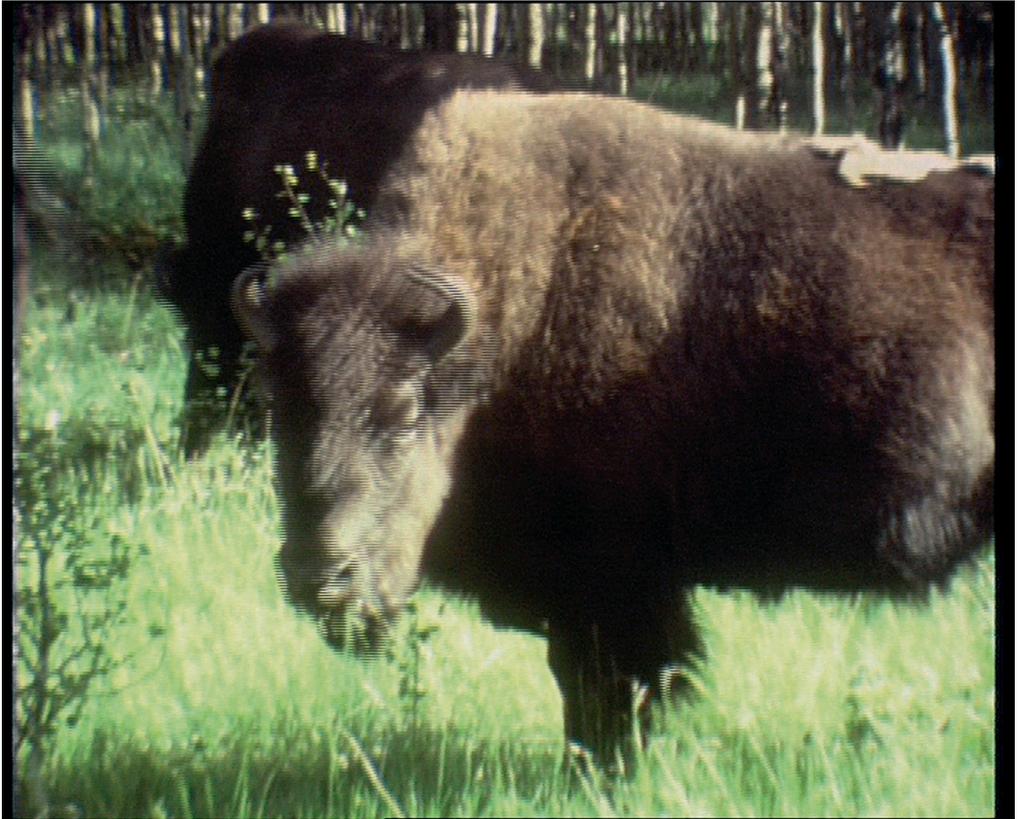
6   © Lucien Graas, 1987 / Archive: CNA.

Las Vegas. A further iconic image is that of the cowboy storming out of the saloon. This scene – re-enacted for tourists in a former western town – was also filmed by Mr Graas. The intertextuality is not always evident, neither for the filmmaker nor the viewer.

Staging of the Family

a) The Family as Explorers and Discoverers
This film depicts the family first and foremost as explorers and discoverers. Whether the family members set out to conquer a 'Red Indian' reserve by boat, climb like Indiana Jones between two mountains along a wobbly suspension bridge, contemplate a bog, plant or groundhog from close up, dis-

cover the Columbia Icefield or watch the traditional handcraft of the American indigenous people, in the film they always assume the role of the inquisitive discoverer and courageous adventurer.

b) Family Harmony
The family theme in this film is also characterised by several scenes of harmony: having a picnic together or taking a break together, sitting together at a dining table while having fun or couples putting their arms around each another. This does not involve family members laughing into the camera at every stage, but rather referring to one another. The individual family members are not

filmed equally often. And there is always at least one person missing in the picture, while the person the cameraman films the most is his wife. The cameraman himself is also filmed a total of four times, but each time he is alone in the picture.

c) The Cameraman as an Adventurer and Protector

When the camera is focused on the family, one sometimes gets the impression that there is an attentive eye behind the camera. The camera often rests on the second rental car, which always drives in front of the cameraman. This vehicle is transporting the other half of the family, those who could not fit into the cameraman's car (due to all the luggage involved, the family rented two cars). Mr Graas also keeps an eye on his wife and he films those moments in which the family climbs in and out of means of transport. Like a protector, he makes sure the family stays together.

The cameraman himself is also portrayed as an adventurer, since he films close-ups of wild animals such as bison, snakes, wapiti deer, groundhogs, bucks and even a grizzly bear.

Conclusion

At first glance, this amateur film appears spontaneous in nature. And yet it also features characteristics that point to the interference of the filmmaker. The amateur filmmaker makes a selection of what he wants to film, which reveals what he does or else does not find important. Furthermore, this film tells a story, a story of a close harmonious family that goes on a voyage of discovery to the "Wild West" of America. The camera invites the viewer – who was thought of as a family member – to join the voyage and embrace the perspective of the filmmaker as his own.

Notes

1   Friedrich, "Amateurfilm in Luxemburg." Much of what Friedrich declares has to be viewed as wishful thinking. The history of amateur films in Luxembourg still remains to be written.

2   See for example *Histoire(s) de jeunesse(s)/Being Young* (Anne Schroeder, 2001) or *Ma vie au Congo* (Paul Kieffer, 2001)

3   Deeken, *Voyage op Trier*.

4   http://www.derreisefuehrer.com/attraction/34/ attraction_guide/Nordamerika/Banff-Nationalpark. html; http://www.cosmotourist.de/reisen/d/i/1597 60/tab/5/t/banff/sehenswuerdigkeiten/;

http://westkanada-reisen.suite101.de/article.cfm/ sehenswuerdigkeiten_im_jasper_national_park. All accessed May 28, 2010.

5   Interview with Mr Lucien Graas (3 May 2010).

6   Faulstich, *Grundkurs Filmanalyse*, 25–26.

7   Deeken, *Reisefilme*, 225.

8   Deeken, *Reisefilme*, 224.

9   Cf. Deeken, *Reisefilme*, 221–224.

10   Deeken, *Reisefilme*, 198.

11   Cf. Deeken, *Reisefilme*, 201.

12   Deeken, *Reisefilme*, 197.

13   Faulstich, *Grundkurs Filmanalyse*, 113.

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Christophe Kneip

Documenting the US of America

City and Country through the Lens of a Luxembourgish Ambassador

CNA code	FCAM005272 / IA_AMA_002015 (Heisbourg collection n°17)
Camera	Georges Heisbourg (1918 – 2008)
Date	8 April 1959–1 August 1960, July 1961 / undated / 11 June 1964
Region	New York City / views of NYC and (presumably) Philadelphia / World Fair in New York City
Format	8mm, colour, no sound
Duration	15 minutes and 48 seconds

CNA code	FCAM005273 / IA_AMA_002016 (Heisbourg collection n°18)
Camera	Georges Heisbourg (1918–2008)
Date	17 October 1959–10 November 1964
Region	Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky
Format	8mm, colour, no sound
Duration	14 minutes and 25 seconds

Between 1959 and 1964, Georges Heisbourg shot over thirty 8mm films of a quarter of an hour each, documenting various places and regions throughout the United States of America. The films were captured on excursions or trips in the US, during the years Mr Heisbourg worked as a diplomat in Washington D. C. while living there with this family. They were deposited at the Centre national de l'audiovisuel in Dudelange in 2004.

Following a short introduction regarding the film contents, this article will endeavour, on the one hand via a technical analysis of the film, its themes and the camera settings, and on the other hand via a form analysis, to determine where Mr Heisbourg's interests lay and what else the films say about him. The second aim of the analysis is to answer the following questions: are these holiday films or home movies? Did Mr Heisbourg's films also have a different purpose and were they intended for any other use?

Film Content

New York

The first film, lasting 15 minutes and 48 seconds, is divided into two parts. The first part of the film (8'30") is an edited assembly of images shot between 8 April 1959 and 1 Au-

1   Georges Heisbourg , 1960s / Archive: CNA.

gust 1960 in the city of New York. It starts with a shot from the Empire State Building, onto Manhattan's high-rises, the bridges connecting the island to the rest of the city, Central Park, and, finally, the port. Then images taken from a ferry are seen. From this ferry, Mr Heisbourg filmed the skyline of Manhattan from various distances, as well as Liberty Island, home to the city's symbol, the Statue of Liberty. It is also noticeable how heavy the water traffic is. Similar shots were taken 11 months later (July 1961), with the difference that more images were captured of the port, as the boat from which the film was shot sails past. At the close of the New York part, two shots show construction

workers on a steel scaffold going about their jobs.

The first and second parts are separated by images taken from a plane. The contours of two different cities can be seen from the air. Presumably the first one is New York City and the subsequent one Philadelphia. Prior to landing, the plane flies over the port of Philadelphia, where a few huge warships are docked. The second part of the film features images shot on 11 June 1964, at the New York World Fair. In addition to the World Fair symbol, the "Unisphere", the Kodak, Pepsi and City of New York pavilions can also be seen, the latter with its "observation towers" that still stand there today and

2 Georges Heisbourg , 1960s / Archive: CNA.

have become known across the globe through various references, for instance in Hollywood films.[1] The last example shows how various themes are used time and again, be it for private or professional films. The inclusion of a shot overlooking the ground of the World Fair, with the cityscape of New York in the background, is an absolute must. Mr Heisbourg also filmed an acrobatic performance at the pavilion of Mexico,[2] showing acrobats hanging from a high pole by one foot, revolving around their own axis until they reach the ground again. For the rest, the images depict means of transport, which were available to the public at the World Fair, such as gondolas that ran across the ground or "golf carts" that came in different sizes. The conclusion of the film is made up of images featuring the neon advertising signs that could be seen lighting up the grounds at night.

American Landscapes

The second film, with a duration of 14 minutes and 25 seconds, is an edited collection of American landscapes, shot between 17 October 1959 and 10 November 1964. The film starts with shots of the Monticello domain in Charlottesville, Virginia, also home to the University of Virginia. Here Mr Heisbourg is above all interested in the architecture, which has to do with the fact that sev-

3   Georges Heisbourg , 1960s / Archive: CNA.

eral buildings on this domain were de-
signed by Thomas Jefferson. The next
themes we see include Shenandoah Na-
tional Park with its Blue Ridge Mountains,
and the Luray Caverns, the greatest cave sys-
tem in the east of the USA. Then come im-
ages from the Goodyear Tire and Rubber
Company factory in Akron, Ohio.[3] Later, we
see the Heisbourg family at Field's Point be-
fore enjoying a drink in the sunshine with
members of the American upper class on
the "Round Hill" golf course. In Louisville,
Kentucky, Mr Heisbourg once again focused
on technically interesting subjects such as a
train on a bridge, a factory building or the re-
nowned   sternwheel   steamboat   "Delta

Queen". A train journey back to Washington
with a short stop at Charlottesville railway
station highlights both the Blue Ridge
Mountains as well as the George Washing-
ton Masonic Memorial in Alexandria, Virgi-
nia. The end of the film features images cap-
tured from a bridge of the Mississippi, at
sunset, as well as shots of "Dunleith House"
in Natchez, the "Monmouth" houses and
Stanton Hall.[4]

Film Settings

In order to perform a technical analysis, the
two films must initially be assessed separ-

4 Georges Heisbourg , 1960s / Archive: CNA.

ately, and then compared with one another only in a second phase. The analysis here is restricted to the themes and the camera movements that Mr Heisbourg used in his films. We hope to learn more about the filmmaker's personality in this way, and his attitude towards the activity of filming.

The film on New York has a total of 93 shots, 48 of which were captured in New York, 39 at the World Fair and six in the intermediate sequence taken from the plane. The most common themes are the panorama shots, of the World Fair grounds and beyond, as well as shots of New York from above, together with its skyline, filmed from the boat, and the images taken from the

plane. These account for 34 shots. Other than the attractions of the World Fair, which together make up over 22 shots (approximately 25%), the only other "object of interest" is the Statue of Liberty, which is shown in only three shots. The 37 shots that are neither panorama shots nor attractions featured at the World Fair are restricted to relatively technical subjects. In addition to two shots from a helicopter, one of the war ships in the port of Philadelphia and the other of repair work being carried out on a ground installation at the World Fair, mostly "structures" can be seen. These include high-rises (eight shots), bridges (eight shots), factories (four shots), ship details (four shots) or

means of transport (five shots of Greyhound buses or small trains, cable gondolas and lifts) at the World Fair. It is moreover noticeable that other than one shot featuring two women, one of them most likely Mrs Heisbourg, sitting on a bench on the viewing platform of the Empire State Building, no family members were recorded.

The second film of the American landscapes tells a different story. The views over Shenandoah National Park, the Blue Ridge Mountains, the golf grounds and the Mississippi feature on 21 out of a total of 89 shots. Images of buildings, mostly from Field's Point and the Goodyear factories, still account for the majority of the film (30 shots). Technical subjects, such as high-tension power lines, trains and the Delta Queen, are represented in only 10 shots. The remainder is made up of 28 shots of people, largely of course of members of the Heisbourg family and their acquaintances (20 shots). By breaking down these different shots, we can interpret certain patterns and draw up hypotheses about Mr Heisbourg and his interests. It is clear that Georges Heisbourg was a man interested in technology and that he had an appreciation for architecture in particular. Furthermore, he wanted to capture the expanse and beauty of the American landscapes with his images.

The rare presence of the filmmaker's family, featuring in only 21 out of 182 shots, says less about family relations than it does about the planned use of the film, and is therefore the subject of the second part of the analysis.

With regard to camera settings, Mr Heisbourg limited himself to four types of images. Firstly a fixed setting, which remains unchanged and in which there is no move-ment of the camera, much like in a photograph. There are a total of 80 of these kinds of images, primarily frontal shots (65 times), but also lateral shots or shots taken from above or below. Secondly, we have a "panorama setting",[5] i.e. an image that allows a wide "view" and depicts mostly a large region (up to a few km²), an ideal setting for landscapes and in this case also for the World Fair. There are a total of 50 of these panorama shots in the two films. Thirdly, we have "panning" shots,[6] i.e. a voluntary movement of the camera in a certain direction, a method that can also be combined with the panorama setting, something Mr Heisbourg does only a matter of six times, however. There are 30 "panning" shots, and in these the camera moves from right to left 50% of the time. Fourthly, we have the "ghost ride",[7] in which the camera remains fixed, but the ground moves, as seen in images taken from a car or a boat, for example. In the New York part in particular, this method is used from the boat. In total, 18 such shots were filmed.

The limited number of film methods used by Mr Heisbourg reveals that either he was not that well versed in camera technology or else that it was simply not important to him to respect a particular artistic approach when filming. And yet it must be noted that he did try to inject a little variety between the four methods. Rarely are the same types of shots shown more than five times in succession.

Purpose of Use

What was the "purpose of use" that Mr Heisbourg intended for his films? Were they holiday films, home movies or neither?

5 Georges Heisbourg , 1960s / Archive: CNA.

A Home Movie?

Different authors focus on different aspects of a film when deciding on what does and what does not qualify as a home movie. Roger Odin's definition of a home movie is "a film (or a video) produced by a member of a family on characters, events or objects linked in one way or another to the history of this family and for the privileged use by members of this family."[8] Eric de Kuyper characterises this definition more precisely and places the focus on the feelings that the film is meant to convey. In his opinion, the home movie captures "highly significant moments in family life. Moments that endeavour to express the reason of being of the family: happiness."[9] A similar statement is made by Pierre Bourdieu in his book *Un art moyen. Essai sur les usages sociaux de la photographie* dated 1965, but in relation to family photographs: "Photographic practice exists and endures, most of the time, only through the force of its family function, which is to solemnise and immortalise the great moments of family life, in short, to reinforce the integration of the family group by reasserting the feeling it has of itself and its unit."[10] Roger Odin, however, goes further in his explanation than the above definition implies. He provides a list of "stylistic figures", which always reappear in family films.

Firstly, the home movie has neither a clear beginning nor a recognisable end, it can thus continue on endlessly. Secondly, it misses a narrative structure, which strings together the various actions and makes them into a story, as seen in cinema films. Thirdly, the home movie has an "indeterminate temporality", which means that the home movie might have a chronological sequence, but that the viewer has no information on how the various actions, or shots, are chronologically linked to one another. The only reference points can be found in the contents, such as the light of day (day, night, dawn, dusk), for instance, or the type of food being consumed (breakfast, lunch or dinner). Fourthly, home movies enjoy a rather more paradoxical relationship with the representation of space. Either the location where scenes are being played out is not recognised (after all a beach could be any beach), or else the location is recognised, due to a famous landmark, but it is not enough to gain a precise picture. These films just say: "I was there". Fifthly, home movies are often not much more than "animated photographs" of the family or individual members, in which camera movement or camera settings revealing variety and creativity rarely occur. Sixthly, it is normal in a home movie for people to look straight into the camera, something actors are always prohibited from doing, since this exposes the film as an artificial creation. The seventh point states that home movies often jump from one frame to another, interrupt 180° rotations or commit similar technical errors. Nevertheless, these are characteristics that not only professional filmmakers but also ambitious amateurs would pay attention to. The eighth and final point refers to the frequent presence of an "interference of perception", i.e. images that are badly ex-

posed or appear blurred as a result of excessively fast movements.[11]

At first glance, this list of "stylistic figures", i.e. the characteristics of the home movie, appears to be a list of mistakes that are frequently made. But when taking into account that the film is viewed by the family members who experienced the represented scenes, this negative impression must be revised. In this case a home movie needs neither a narrative structure nor a "coherent construction", because these elements are present in the memories of the family members. The film is thus able to evoke memories and feelings in every member, which would not be the case in "well" filmed films.[12] This is also the last important point that defines a film as a home movie: the fact that home movies were produced for the family, relate directly to the family and are also viewed *en famille*.[13]

Projecting the above-listed definitions and characteristics onto Mr Heisbourg's films will generate contradictory results. According to Odin's definition, these are clearly home movies, because they were made by a family member and capture part of a family's history. According to de Kuyper and also Bourdieu, they are not true home movies, however, because it appears as though the captured moments were not (necessarily) that important to family life, and other than three shots of family members (two in Shenandoah National Park and one at Field's Point), the film features no "moments of happiness". When it comes to the list of stylistic figures, however, we appear to be in the presence of a home movie after all, because almost all of them apply to the films of Mr Heisbourg. There is no clear beginning or obvious ending, no narrative structure, no real identifiable temporality,

there are plenty of jumps between frames and when people are filmed they always look into the camera. The only stylistic figure that is absent is the "interference of perception", as most of the blurry or underexposed shots were edited out and it is noticeable that Mr Heisbourg did try to respect a certain variety in shots. A further important point that is not explicitly stated in the literature as significant for home movies, because it is too obvious, is the presence of the family members in the films. As mentioned above, shots of the family are very rare in this case and do not even constitute an eighth of the films,[14] another indication that these are not true home movies.

A Holiday Film?

Though not being home movies, there is the possibility of Mr Heisbourg's films being holiday films. A holiday film is intended in the first instance to "conserve memories and serve as proof of the beautiful holidays one can afford."[15] The "typical" holiday film can also be identified by means of various characteristics. On the one hand, it features a particular, often standard course of action, which is chronologically arranged as the involved parties experienced it: "Trip – hotel – beach – tourist spots – holiday acquaintances and return trip home."[16] On the other hand, the camera work is not particularly creative and varied. Camera movement is often limited to two motions, the "panning shot"[17], when the camera performs a horizontal movement, and the "ghost ride"[18], in which not the camera but the ground moves, like on a boat or when filming from a vehicle. In addition, images from holidays are often reminiscent of a sequence of postcard images, similar to what Roger Odin said on the subject of the home movie, and

there is a total lack of "narrative or dramaturgical structure"[19] in these films.

It is not really possible to classify the two examined films as holiday films. They do fulfil the purpose of capturing holiday memories and display similar technical weaknesses, such as the lack of narrative structure and the typical use of panning and ghost ride shots. The expected course of action from a holiday film depicting arrival, hotel, departure and so forth is not present at all, however. Which has something to do with the fact that the Heisbourg family were not Luxembourgish tourists in America on a short trip, but of course lived in Washington. They are therefore not true holiday films.

Other Hypotheses

Even though his son considers the films to have been shot for private purposes only,[20] it may not be irrelevant to note that Mr Heisbourg worked as an ambassador in Washington from 1959 to 1964, and that he would be returning to Luxembourg to assume another public position. It is therefore conceivable that he considered the films as working material, to include as visual support in his talks or presentations, or at least as archival material for his own purposes.

Mr Heisbourg also wrote books and articles that were almost consistently dedicated to the subject of history: the Grand-Ducal family,[21] Metternich, La Fayette, Luxembourg politics during the Second World War[22] and the beginnings of diplomatic relations between Luxembourg and the USA.[23] He was deeply bound to Luxembourg for his entire life, as can be gleaned from statements like: "astounded by the absence of any mention of the Grand Duchy [...] Maybe this is regrettable as this can hurt our national pride."[24] If one takes into

account Mr Heisbourg's interest in history, it can be surmised that he may right from the start have viewed the films that he submitted to the CNA as historical documents or sources. Maybe this was precisely what he had in mind when he organised them so meticulously according to regions and dates? If the films were also edited with this purpose in mind, it would explain why his family is not to be seen very much and why the films cannot be truly classified as either home movies or holiday films.

Conclusion

As a conclusion, it must be pointed out how difficult it is to analyse a "banal" amateur film. On the one hand, there are various opinions on how amateur films should be classified and, on the other hand, it is difficult to gauge a film's purpose just from the film itself. In order to gain a more accurate insight, one would have to analyse all the films submitted to the CNA by Mr Heisbourg as a whole.

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Notes

1 E.g. *Men in Black* (Barry Sonnenfeld, 1997).

2 Information given by his son, Mr. Pierre Heisbourg, by e-mail, dated October 11, 2011.

3 Goodyear first came to Luxembourg in 1949, hence Mr Heisbourg's interest in the factory. Cf. http://www.industrie.lu/goodyear.html. Accessed August 10, 2011.

4 This information is included in the data files held at the CNA archives with the film.

5 Schneider, *Die Stars sind wir*, 90.

6 Schneider, *Die Stars sind wir*, 90.

7 Schneider, *Die Stars sind wir*, 92.

8 Odin, "Le film de famille dans l'institution familiale," 27.

9 De Kuyper, "Aux origines du cinéma: Le film de famille," 14.

10 Quoted by Aasman, "Le film de famille comme document historique", 104.

11 Odin, "Le film de famille dans l'institution familiale," 28–30.

12 Odin, "Le film de famille dans l'institution familiale," 31.

13 Aasman, "Le film de famille comme document historique", 109.

14 According to his son, the filmmaker simply considered the subject matter filmed to be of more interest (e-mail by Mr. Pierre Heisbourg, dated October 11, 2011).

15 Schenke, *Der Amateurfilm*, 48.

16 Schenke, *Der Amateurfilm*, 48.

17 Schneider, *Die Stars sind wir*, 90.

18 Schneider, *Die Stars sind wir*, 90.

19 Schneider, *Die Stars sind wir*, 91.

20 E-mail by Mr. Pierre Heisbourg, dated October 11, 2011.

21 Heisbourg, "La famille grand-ducale".

22 Heisbourg, "Le gouvernement luxembourgeois en exil".

23 Heisbourg, "Le Grand-Duché de Luxembourg et la diplomatie américaine".

24 Heisbourg, "La courte mais féconde carrière politique".

Sabrina Espinosa

The Home Movie as a Reflection of its Author

CNA code	IA_AMA_004409
Camera	Camille Bauer (1914–1981), occasionally his wife, Margot Bauer-Brachmont (b. 1922)
Date	Summer of 1956
Region	South of France, Mediterranean, North of Spain and homeward journey through Loire Valley.
Format	Ciné-KODAK 8 Modell 60, 8mm, colour, no sound
Duration	13 minutes and 29 seconds

Presentation of the Author: Just an Ordinary Schoolteacher?

Mr Bauer was born in Remich, but spent the rest of his life living in Esch.[1] Right from the start, he had an unquenchable thirst for knowledge. He was enthralled by art in particular. Mr Bauer found inspiration in music and played the guitar and the violin. He also developed an early love for photography. He applied himself skilfully to this hobby, revealing an attention to detail in his photographs not limited to portraits. He was also drawn to painting. And yet he was not content with mere static images, and so in the thirties he made his first foray into home movies, resulting in 37 reels of film being deposited at the Centre national de l'audiovisuel in Dudelange in 1996. The oldest film accepted by the CNA features the 1939 Centenary of Independ-

ence celebrations; the most recent film is dated 1975.

Professionally, Mr Bauer was initially a primary school teacher before going on to teach at secondary school level. This gave him an outlet to convey his knowledge. How important this was to him is highlighted in his books, which he specifically wrote for his stenography and typewriting students at Esch/Alzette's trade school. These manuals were written not only in French, but also in German and English. Those who knew Mr Bauer's sense of discipline and perfection will not be surprised to hear his daughter recounting how the entire family was enlisted to help bind these school manuals.

Mr Bauer trained not only his pupils, but also himself. He taught himself the violin, painting, photography and film; he also learnt English of his own accord and later Dutch. Towards the end of his career as a

secondary school teacher he even submitted a doctoral thesis before entering retirement.

As a father he was just as demanding of his children as he was of himself. His quest for perfection thus did not stop at his own door; he also expected his children to achieve great things. His daughter remembers that whenever they addressed him in unfinished sentences or used a less than exemplary choice of words, he would ignore them until they managed to use sufficiently correct language.[2] This example shows to what degree Mr Bauer challenged his own children. It also shows that he always acted as a teacher.

Film Analysis

Structure

Normally, home movies consist of shots that are not always technically perfect, that were recorded either in one go or else in several without any subsequent editing. In this too, Mr Bauer was very different. His 1956 home movie boasts a very clear structure. The film has an opening title, subheadings and a closing title, in each case illustrated by a filmed hand-drawn canvas. The subjects and colours accompanying the writing are not accidental. Six out of seven canvasses feature red writing, usually against a yellow background or within proximity of the colour yellow. The seventh canvas uses black writing, because the background is already completely red. The interaction between red and yellow is a clear allusion to the Spanish flag, which is red-yellow-red. In addition to these colours, a light brown colour is chosen time and again for façades, the earth and the land, anything that represents soil. Blue is used to represent the blue sky and water.

The fact that he painted with just five colours and his painting is simple but fast, allows the viewer to capture all the information of the subheadings in just a short space of time. Details are not important here and would be disruptive more than anything else.

This type of structure lends itself to a comparison with a classic narration, whereby the title would be *"Vacances 1956 en Espagne"*, the introduction *"En chemin vers Barcelone"*, chapters 1–3 *"Corrida"*, *"Pueblo Español"* and *"Sur les routes et places d'Espagne"*, the epilogue *"Retour par le Val de Loire"* and the end *"Adios Amigos"*. On the other hand, a double frame is also recognisable: the central focus being the holiday in the north of Spain, framed by the journey there and the trip back through France, framed once again by the title and epilogue. The one thing that is missing, however, is images or an allusion to Luxembourg. Mr Bauer appears to have felt it superfluous for his titles to mention that they came from Luxembourg and would be returning there again at the end of their holidays. "Home" falls outside the boundaries of the frame.

Handling of the Film Material

Once Mr Bauer had captured his impressions with his Kodak camera, he had more work to do once he got home. He had a special room, in which he could dedicate himself to his filming material. With a splicer, he meticulously edited the most important and best sequences and then glued the selected frames together. The 13 minutes and 29 seconds of film contain 165 cuts, a sign that the author did not want merely to cut bits out and chronologically stick things together. The fact that he included hand-drawn subheadings means

1 Camille Bauer, 1956 / Archive: CNA.

that the film was seen as a complete work, allowing it to be elevated beyond other standard home movies.

Handling of the Camera

Mr Bauer captured relatively clear images with his handy Kodak camera. He was self-taught and not a member of any film club. However, the fact that he had a semi-professional splicer and the latest-model camera suggests that he may have obtained his knowledge from film technology magazines. In addition, contemporary documentaries and television reports may have influenced his camera work and framing.

Individual examples, which will be analysed in more detail later on, will reveal the characteristics of Mr Bauer's film style.

To start with, the viewer's attention is caught by several images that contain a frame within another frame. Mr Bauer commonly filmed a building from a distance using tree branches to create a frame. Here the influence of photography is clearly visible, because this type of shot contains no movement. In addition, these shots also have the character of a postcard. This kind of

framing places a castle in a romantic and fairylike setting. Mr Bauer also liked to choose unusual perspectives, like for instance a bird's eye view. But he also developed a more personal cinematography.

Whenever Mr Bauer wanted to film a church tower, he first showed the people moving around the place before travelling from left to right while filming the buildings. Only then did he film the church tower from the bottom to the top. The viewer is thus given an impression of the actual visit. Had he been there himself, his eyes probably would also have travelled across the square first before concentrating on the church tower.

In a further example, Mr Bauer filmed a car, before going on from there to film, from bottom to top, the trees and, far beyond this landscape, the peak of a mountain. He repeatedly combined this typical vertical camera movement with his aesthetic expectations and so it happens that he first filmed his wife, appearing from the shadows to walk through a ray of light before disappearing into the shadows again, before then panning up and filming a façade. This sequence is tinged with an air of romance and has a magical effect on the viewer. The woman appearing from nowhere and disappearing into nothingness again after two steps makes her look like an apparition.

Stage Production or Control?

Mr Bauer was someone who placed a lot of value on getting things to look as perfect as possible. This is why he did most of the filming himself, but when he wanted to film something that had to be manually operated, he had to assign one or the other task to a helping hand. An example of this is a scene in which he drives around a water
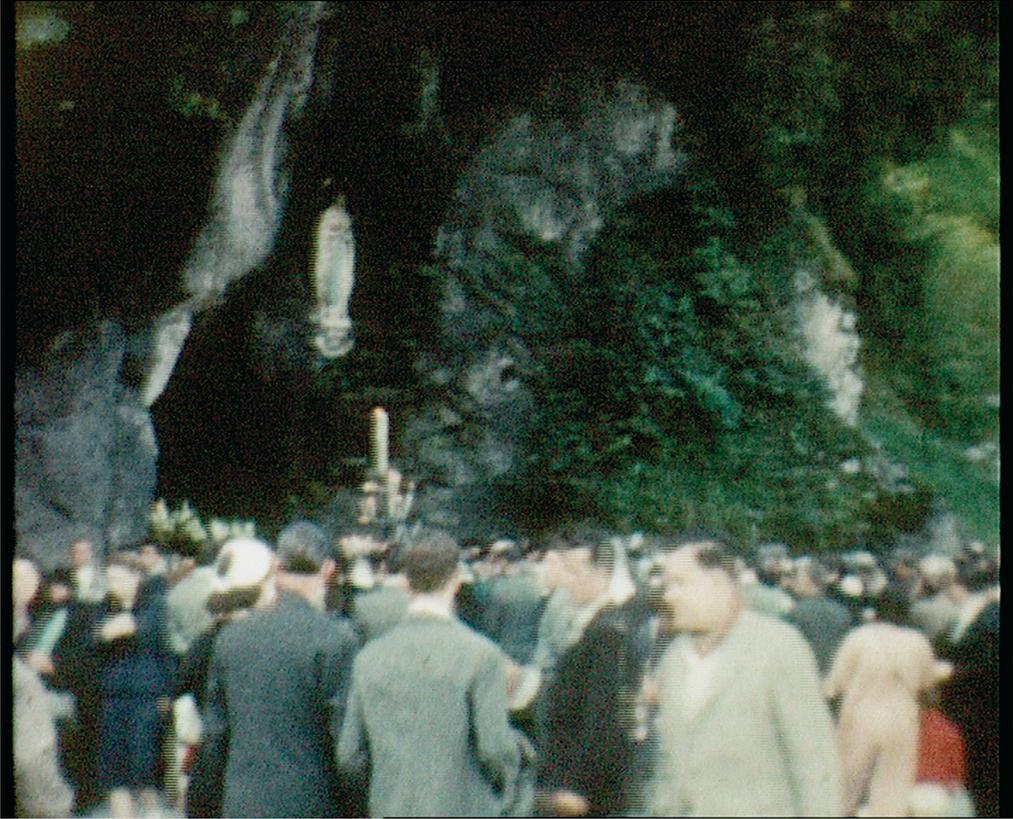
2   Camille Bauer, 1956 / Archive: CNA.

fountain in his car trailing the caravan. Following a cut, the car is once again filmed for a short time with the caravan while standing stationary. We know that his wife filmed the first scene according to the strictest instructions.[3] Yet the cut alludes to the fact that Mr Bauer once again assumed his cameraman duties as quickly as possible. So while he did reveal himself to be skilled at taking over the stage production while continuing to be in control, he felt safest when he himself was able to hold the camera.

The images in which his children can be seen appear staged. They can be seen laughing into the camera, hardly moving or else in a very controlled way. The fact that the

children are captured in medium shots points towards a familiarity that is absent when he filmed the foreign Spaniards, whom he decided to capture in a medium long shot or a distance shot. It is hard to know whether Mr Bauer was familiar with this kind of film language, since it also appears logical to prefer to shoot a stranger from a distance rather than close range. One must also remember that in 1956 cameras had no zoom function. However, Mr Bauer did capture one or the other Spanish *señorita* in a medium long shot. This does not imply familiarity, but it can be assumed that Mr Bauer wanted a closer shot of the women to capture their beauty. The

3   Camille Bauer, 1956 / Archive: CNA.

fact that almost all the women look into the camera causes the voyeuristic factor to fall by the wayside, and his motivation to film can be justified by an aesthetic and documentary intention.

Reading between the Images?

Mute Criticism

The 1956 film shows mostly church façades. This does not necessarily imply that the family was very religious and visited these churches for pious reasons. Despite the church being seen as the house of God, its architectural merit must not be forgotten.

The film length that Mr Bauer dedicated to churches and cathedrals can thus be seen as an enrichment of his cultural journey.

The film does nevertheless show a sequence that is set in a purely Christian context: the trip to Lourdes. Mr Bauer first films the basilica from the outside and after the cut he chooses the bird's eye perspective to film the esplanade from the basilica's tower. A large number of people are shown bustling around the place. The perspective chosen by Mr Bauer makes the pilgrims look like ants. In addition, this chosen bird's eye perspective gives the impression of power and superiority. The bird's eye perspective makes the family cinematographer

4   Camille Bauer, 1956 / Archive: CNA.

appear as though he is the one pulling the strings.

From the interview it was gleaned that, not long after this film, Mr Bauer turned his back on the Church.[4] In 1956 he already held his own opinion on Christian religion, but he had not yet spoken out against the Church. Here we can see how a film can most definitely express more than meets the eye. It is probably no coincidence that the Lourdes sequence concludes with an image of a demon on a façade. Much like the grimaces and the demons adorning church façades are meant to ward off evil spirits, the grimace in this context could be seen as a sign of the hypocrisy of the Church.

Contrasting Images

The chapter "*Sur les routes et places de l'Espagne*" features a sequence, after the subheading, of the car with the caravan at a petrol station. There is a real gathering around the vehicle. The amazement and admiration on the Catalans' faces imply that they have seldom or possibly never before seen a caravan. The next image shown is that of a cart laden with straw being pulled by three mules. It must be pointed out that these two vehicles are filmed from the same angle and thus create a perfect contrast. On the one hand we have the Spanish village inhabitants, who still mostly work the fields and are transported by mules, and on the other hand we

have the well-heeled Luxembourgish family, with a caravan towed by a modern VW Beetle. This unearths a contrast between necessity and luxury, daily life and holidays, traditional means of transportation and modern technology. The question whether this contrast is meant to highlight the inferiority of the Spanish farmers or merely Mr Bauer's pride for his car remains unanswered.

Longing for Adventure

The film also features a few images of ships. At one stage Mr Bauer films a sailing vessel travelling along the coast and subsequently other ships are shown docked in the port. Mr Bauer's daughter recalls his fascination for ships, which resulted in long port visits that the entire family had to endure. This passion for ships led Mr Bauer to purchase his own boat soon afterwards. This meant he was able to fulfil his dream of travelling the open sea.[5] This longing for adventure on the water was already crystallised in his 1956 film. Two sequences feature Mr Bauer filming a panorama of the endless sea. In contrast with most of the scenes, which last an average of four seconds, these two last eight and thirteen seconds, respectively, and are not interrupted by a cut. In particular the second sequence evokes, even to the viewer, the temptation of travelling out into the open sea.

A 'Picture Perfect' Family

Mrs Bauer can be seen in four scenes. Once in the already described romantic scene in which she appears as a kind of "fantastical" apparition, and in three other scenes. In the latter it is noticeable that she was filmed in cliché-like "female" situations.

To start with, we see Mrs Bauer in the role of the 'tattletale': she can be seen talking to another woman. They feel unobserved and chat away light-heartedly until the other woman realises they are being filmed. Both of them then seek out the camera and laugh. One has the impression that they felt they were being caught discussing the latest gossip.

Then we have the role of the perfect woman: we can see Mrs Bauer sitting next to her children and friends on a water fountain. She stands out through her posture: she dutifully places one hand over the other, sitting on the fountain with a straight back. Her feet are placed together. Her clothing and accessories have been meticulously chosen. The sand-coloured shoes match the colours of her dress, as does her brown handbag. She is also wearing jewellery in the summer weather. It therefore seems important to her to show a perfect appearance to the outside even while on holiday.

Finally we also see Mrs Bauer in the role of mother: sitting next to her children on a beach towel. The children are wearing swimming trunks and costumes, but she prefers to be sitting in the sun wearing a long blue dress. She embodies the image of the perfect mother of her time, who is always good-humoured and beautifully dressed and made up regardless of the situation.

To today's viewer, these images of the 1950s woman appear unfamiliar. Today's female tourist would probably behave differently, in particular when on holiday, where she knows nobody. She would probably walk around without makeup and dress comfortably in light clothing, in order to endure the cultural visits without suffering excessively from the heat. She would sit in the sand in a bikini and enjoy her time at the beach. In today's times of the digital camera and social networks, she would also not feel in the slightest embarrassed at having one or two pictures taken of her in a bikini.

5   Camille Bauer, 1956 / Archive: CNA.

This comparison is meant to emphasise that women from the sophisticated social circles of the 1950s had other ideas on how to behave and that this is also revealed in these images. Mrs Bauer felt obliged to play her role as a married woman and mother perfectly.

Since the film is dominated by the architecture of Spain and out of approximately 165 sequences only 10 are dedicated to the family and the children, we can assume that the main motivation of this film was not to portray the family on holiday. Rather, the viewer is left with the impression that the family was more of a decoration to liven up the film in between architectural images.

In several situations, the family also acts as a size reference with regard to buildings. In two scenes, Mr Bauer films his wife or his daughter before panning the camera upwards to film a façade. The person is used as a reference and at the same time he proves that the family was actually there.[6]

There could be several reasons as to why Mr Bauer did not have someone film him next to his family. For a start we can assume that Mr Bauer's sense of control did not allow anyone else other than his wife to handle the camera. Secondly, one can simply assume that he never intended to create a type of self-portrait, because he was more interested in filming other people and objects. It seems as

though the creative filming in itself and the *mise en scène* of the culture was his primary objective. It is also possible, however, that he did shoot a lot more family scenes but just did not include them in the editing process.

Conclusion

Via the subjects treated in Mr Bauer's private film, I have tried to emphasise the various aspects that are characteristic of his films. By means of exposing the decisions that he took to highlight subjects and through the analysis of the structure of his film, I found parallels in his character and his behaviour towards his fellow human beings.

In art, one can rarely 'read' a work without relating it to its creator, and the same applies to Mr Bauer. "Man acts neither irrationally nor voluntarily, but rather *in a purposefully rational way*", according to Philip Sarasin.[7] This can also be applied to

Mr Bauer's conduct when filming. He is unable to relinquish his sense of perfection and control while capturing images and during the subsequent editing process, but he has a very precise idea of what his images are supposed to express.

This film is therefore a clear reflection of its author. The film has a predominant structure, just like Mr Bauer structured everything around him in his life. He was self-taught in his hobby and performed above average, as he did in almost everything he tackled in life. His elaborate frames demonstrate his ambition and continuous search for perfection. The entire film bears witness to Mr Bauer's sense for aesthetics and his appreciation of culture. As in his real life, the cinematographer did not miss a chance to level some criticism against the Church and to hide other messages between the images. The viewer is able to extract Mr Bauer's passion for art, shipping and of course filming itself.

Notes

1   These biographical details were gleaned thanks to an interview with the filmmaker's daughter, Mrs Riette Thiry-Bauer (May 2010)
2   Interview with Mrs Riette Thiry-Bauer (May 2010).
3   Interview with Mrs Riette Thiry-Bauer (May 2010).
4   Interview with Mrs Riette Thiry-Bauer (May 2010).

5   Interview with Mrs Riette Thiry-Bauer (May 2010).
6   Cf. images by Erik Kessels featured in exhibition *I was here* (CNA from 26 March to 13 June 2010) and page 198–203 in this volume.
7   Sarasin, *Geschichtswissenschaft und Diskursanalyse*, 16.

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Fränk Muno

On the Hunt for Images

Amateur Film Practice between Observation and *Mise en scène.*

CNA code	IA_AMA_003149
Camera	Victor Kratzenberg
Date	July 1977
Region	India and Nepal
Format	Super 8, colour, no sound
Duration	20 minutes and 1 second

> *I was so disappointed that I have to leave tomorrow that I could sit*
> *down and cry, for with a little more time and planning, I could*
> *get a wonderful sequence of their daily life and culture and*
> *make a good documentary film of their ceremonies ...*[1]

Whenever an 'amateur' cameraman harbours the ambition to film "a good documentary film", it calls into question the strict difference between amateur and professional films. Michael Bourgatte sees this dichotomy also in a critical light and points out that private individuals are able to film increasingly professional films, as a result of today's computer technology. In addition, various amateur films are being filmed for competitions and if they win a prize, this can sometimes come in the form of a financial remuneration.[2] This contradicts the following, widespread definition of the amateur film: "Amateur practices are practised for pleasure, for personal purposes or for a circle limited to family members and close acquaintances, in contrast to a professional exercise".[3] Leska Krenz's definition also appears to fall short: "Whereas professionals work in teams, amateurs make films all on their own. A second criterion is that amateur filmmakers are people who film as a hobby. The third criterion is the non-commercial character of the amateur film".[4] One thing is certain, however: "Far from being simple recordings of family life, amateur films demand to be seen as processes that structure history and memory, as well as political and psychological imagination, at local, regional, national and transnational levels".[5] The analysis of Mr Kratzenberg's film reveals that it is not just a banal stringing together of various sequences, but a personal appropriation and a filmic 'conquest'. The cameraman has an influence on what he is in the process of filming and takes control over the action that plays out in front of his camera.

1 Victor Kratzenberg, 1977 / Archive: CNA.

Film Description

Our case involves an amateur tourist film, which was shot in July 1977 by Mr Victor Kratzenberg. The approximately twenty minutes of film material feature the last stage of an India and Nepal trip, which Victor Kratzenberg undertook together with his son Robert. The film starts with a short sequence of a few seconds, captured from a plane. This sequence is then abruptly interrupted, before the film focuses on people standing in Pokhara, Nepal, next to a landing strip. The airport consists of practically nothing but an unconcreted landing strip and counters for checking in and out. These days, this is diffi-

cult to imagine with all the administrative requirements and checkpoints that are part of an airport. Today, this sequence thus has the effect of an "authenticity signal", making the viewer aware that he is seeing a medial reconstruction of reality.[6] The sequences following the airport scene reinforce the impression of having landed in not only another time, but also another world. To cross over to an opposite bank, a few people gather on a floating timber platform, with one person manually pulling them over onto the other side with the help of a sail (fig. 2, 3). Subsequent sequences depict also mostly Nepalese, who are either being filmed carrying out their daily activities or who pose

2 Victor Kratzenberg, 1977 / Archive: CNA.

specially for the camera. They include a few children, for instance, who just happened to be where Mr Kratzenberg was filming: a fisherman holding a few fish in his hand or a small boy playing a sarangi.[7] These shots alternate with nature and animal images. Most of the nature images, at least in the beginning, are panorama shots. Occasionally, however, the cameraman decides to change the proportions of the depicted landscape by using a "zoom". This way, details such as the peak of a mountain, for instance, are illustrated more clearly.[8]

After the more rural images, the film moves on to a city of which we never find out the name. First of all, various buildings are filmed from several angles so that the viewer 'at home' can also get an idea of what it looked like 'over there'. Following these more architectonic images, the viewer then gets an insight into the daily activities of the 'indigenous' people.

This city most likely provided just a short stopover. The next sequences are indeed filmed out of the window of a bus. The viewer is thus given to understand that the journey continues. During a further stopover in a different city, once again mostly people are filmed as they do their washing on the banks of a river that does not have much water left in it. Generally, Mr Kratzenberg often captured the daily chores of the

3 Victor Kratzenberg, 1977 / Archive: CNA.

Nepalese. The next scene is again interesting from an ethnographical point of view, captured 20 kilometres south of Kathmandu, in a Dakshinkali temple. The camera – as well as the viewers 'at home' – become witnesses to a live goat being sacrificed. Victor Kratzenberg films the scenario from a slightly elevated position, giving him an overview of the entire scene. When observing the people taking part in this sacrifice, it becomes obvious that they are not tourists, but indigenous pilgrims. The Dakshinkali temple worships the Hindu goddess *Kali*. She is the goddess of destruction, but also the goddess of regeneration. The effect that this scene can have on 'Western' viewers has been described as follows in a tourist guidebook: "The best and the worst aspect of Dakshinkali is that everything happens out in the open. The famous sacrificial pit of southern Kali – the last stop for hundreds of chicken, goats and pigs every week – lies at the bottom of a steep, forested ravine, affording an intimate view of Nepali religious rituals. The spectacle makes many people feel uncomfortable – if it's not squeamishness, it'll be the sense of prying (fig. 4). That said, the public blood-bath is quite a sight, and attracts busloads of camera-toting tourists every Saturday morning. Asthami, the eighth day after a new or full moon, draws the largest crowds. Dakshinkali is as much a picnic area as a holy

4   Victor Kratzenberg, 1977 / Archive: CNA.

spot. The sacrifice done, families make for pavilions that surround the shrine and merrily cook up the remains of their offerings."⁹

These sacrifices are thus part of the daily life of Nepal's inhabitants and nowadays every Saturday tourists flock in droves to observe the religious rituals and if possible capture them with their cameras. The tourists penetrate a world from which they are nevertheless excluded, as they are simple spectators, without having any influence on the action of the pilgrims. Following the temple scenes Mr Kratzenberg once again films indigenous people (mainly women) at work. As seen earlier in the film, they are again mostly harvesting wheat.

Then we have a change in location. This is done very explicitly by inserting a text (probably from a guidebook) about the place that is to be visited next. In this case it is Srinagar, a city in Jammu and Kashmir, India. The last five minutes of this film show for pretty much the first time that there are tourists other than just Mr Kratzenberg and his son. Various tourists are seen chatting to each other in the garden of their hotel. Later the tourists are seen crossing the water on a pirogue, a type of raft specially built for them. Then they visit a renowned nature and flower reserve, which was built specially as a tourist attraction. Finally, the cameraman seems to remember his interest in the daily lives of the indigenous

5 Victor Kratzenberg, 1977 / Archive: CNA.

and, from a pirogue, films how they carry out their daily chores on the banks of a river. Despite this comparison possibly appearing a little far-fetched, this trip on the pirogue reminds me of the film *Apocalypse Now* (Francis Ford Coppola, 1979) (fig. 5). The camera travels with the protagonists down the river. The pirogue symbolises the world of the tourists, cut off from what is happening around them, detached from the normal daily life of the indigenous population. The two realities contrast with one another, while also observing one another. And this is how the film ends, during the trip on the pirogue, without any warning. The conclusion to be drawn is that either the cameraman simply ran out of film or that the following reel was not submitted to the CNA.[10] While a contribution in *Voyage op Trier* states that "it is not daily life that is documented, but the special moments in life, those that warrant the effort",[11] our example shows that one person's daily life can come to signify a special moment in the life of a person from a different culture.

A Film 'Safari'?

A specific form of tourism is the "safari". This expression comes from Swahili and means "to travel". *Meyers Universallexikon* defines safari as a group expedition undertaken in Af-

6   Victor Kratzenberg, 1977 / Archive: CNA.

rica, with the aim of hunting, observing and photographing big game. The hunt for big game has developed into a tourist phenomenon, which carries certain colonial connotations in the sense of conquests. Interesting to note is that, "in the [German] 'adolescent language', 'going on safari' can also mean either 'going shopping' or 'intimately touching', thus it is used to express either an economic or sexual form of appropriation."[12] Vinzenz Hediger therefore thinks it is no coincidence whatsoever that the hunt for big game is closely followed by an observation with the camera. He also talks of a "Gun-and-Camera-Deployment".[13] A statement by Patricia Zimmermann adds further clarification: "In photography or film safari, the image replaces the trophy and becomes a symbol of victory. The goal is to capture prey, to capture the experience and to bring it onto the screen".[14] The subjects pose specially for the camera or else appear tense as though a photo is about to be taken (fig. 6). It might not be so obvious in these stills, but when viewing the film, it becomes noticeable that the subjects seem afraid of moving, and this during the few seconds that they are being filmed. Martina Roepke describes this situation as follows: "... like he would never be in daily life [...] so awkward and self-conscious [...] and yet frantically trying [...] The entire scene is as terribly unnatural as it gets ..."[15] Alexandra

7   Victor Kratzenberg, 1977 / Archive: CNA.

Schneider explains this "unnatural" posture as follows: "People pose for a film. The way they conduct themselves almost seems a little 'unflattering' – an impression that is not associated with the 'models' themselves, but with their lack of media familiarisation or media competence. In contrast to the city ladies, the mountain farmers do not yet appear to possess an imaginary picture of what the film camera is doing with them and how they will later look on the screen (fig. 7). The farmers and their wives stand there as though they are posing for a staged studio portrait: as motionless as possible."[16] In my opinion, this awkwardness indicates we are dealing with a *mise en scène*. Nevertheless, this does not appear to

be successful all the time. There are moments when the cameraman has no influence whatsoever over what is happening in front of his lens! He is excluded from the scene here. He might choose the camera angle and therefore the angle of vision, but he has no influence on what is being played out in front of the camera.

Conclusion

As we have just seen, it cannot be said that our amateur tourist film is a complete *mise en scène*. The cameraman – possibly involuntarily – becomes a stage director when

the people he hopes to 'catch out' while going about their daily life recognise him and pose for him. In this moment the tourist with the camera automatically becomes part of the filmed situation, because he has

provoked a reaction. In the event that he is not seen or else ignored, he remains excluded from the interaction and then has no control over what is happening in front of his camera.

Notes

1 Quoted by Zimmermann, *Reel Families*, 141.

2 Bourgatte, "'La vidéo non-professionelle'".

3 Allard, "L'amateur: une figure de la modernité esthétique," 9.

4 Krenz, "Private Cinema in the GDR," 89.

5 Zimmermann, "Cinéma amateur et démocratie," 281.

6 Borstnar et al., *Einführung in die Film- und Fernsehwissenschaft*, 31.

7 A sarangi is an Indian stringed musical instrument made out of a piece of wood, featuring an unusually large pegbox with 3–4 main strings and 11–14 sympathetic strings, http://www.wissen.de/wde/

generator/wissen/ressorts/unterhaltung/index, page=1231796.html. Accessed June 5, 2010.

8 Mikos, *Film- und Fernsehanalyse*, 185, 194.

9 Reed, *The Rough Guide to Nepal*, 214.

10 The CNA only holds two others reels of that trip, probably filmed at an earlier stage and archived as IA_AMA_003147 and IA_AMA_003148.

11 Olligschläger, "Nr. 8733 unterwegs," 25.

12 Schneider, *Die Stars sind wir*, 74–75.

13 Hediger, "Töten und Abbilden: Zum medialen Dispositiv der Kamera," 85.

14 Quoted in Schneider, *Die Stars sind wir*, 75.

15 Roepke, *Privat-Vorstellung*, 89.

16 Schneider, *Die Stars sind wir*, 80.

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Part IV:
TRANSNATIONAL
FAMILY IMAGES

Heather Norris Nicholson

Manchester's Moving Memories: Tales from Moss Side and Hulme

Archive Film and Community History-making

The Luxembourg conference on *Tourists and Nomads* assumed an unforeseen media topicality in April 2010. Unexpected shifts in who moves and stays, being here and there, away from and returning to the place we call home and take for granted were highlighted by the eruptions of the Icelandic volcano Eyjafjallajokul. As geological power brought technical and economic impotence, we were reminded about the significance of being where one belongs or wants to be, rather than being forced to be somewhere else with no clear mental map or practical means of getting from one place to another. Those who normally have the liberty to move freely, found themselves stranded or stuck in transit and briefly encountering what millions of migrants and displaced people have experienced on different scales throughout human history. The media's consuming passion for human interest and spectacle briefly hungered for stories of marooned passengers and cast them in roles as nomads, itinerants and refugees before losing interest and moving on. Over time, those individuals shared their misadventures and reverted to being tourists and travellers by choice. Their temporary journeys over, abandoned or rescheduled, their lives moved on, beyond a momentary travel glitch. They were tourists, not migrants, after all. Returning home

meant reaching a destination that was the same point of departure. Returning was real and not just a myth. Lives resumed, normality ultimately unchanged.

Away from *volcanic* dust, archives, museums and repositories worldwide actively seek ways to dislodge the dust of neglect, inherited systems of cataloguing, and storing, and bring in fresh ways to represent and access their collections differently. In material and metaphorical form, considering varieties of dust has long been germane to the interpretation of historical experience. Steedman's *Dust: the Archive and Cultural History* (2002), itself in part a response to Derrida's *Archive Fever*, retrieves the richness of *writing* history hidden from view by different dusts of accretion. Although moving imagery was not part of Steedman's imaginative and probing enquiry, visual histories have their coatings and accretions too even if much of the materiality of dust particles is kept at bay by modern archiving systems and facilities. While fungal contamination on film entering the North West Film Archive prompts inter-disciplinary research between microbiologists and archive staff here in Manchester,[1] the inherited mantles of archive meaning and association prompt different ways of dusting off the collections and giving new life to archive imagery. *Mov-*

ing Memories: Tales from Moss Side and Hulme was one such initiative that brings forms of journeying and archival innovation together. Tourist, nomad and migrant all gained fresh meaning in the process of working creatively with local people and local archive footage.

During 2009, a six month partnership between archive staff at the North West Film Archive at Manchester Metropolitan University, an academic researcher and an independent filmmaker launched *Moving Memories*. The project used archive moving image to explore migration memories and experiences across different generations in two neighbourhoods of central Manchester, England. Funding came via Manchester Metropolitan University's Public Engagement Programme from the Manchester Beacon for Public Engagement, the largest ever public engagement project in the UK, funded by HEFCE (Higher Education Funding Council for England), Research Councils UK, and the Wellcome Trust. A shared belief in the power of moving image to unlock people's memories underpinned the work as did the hope that archive material would generate new and different meanings once it left the archive. It indeed accrued new significance outside the archive, particularly given that the inner city localities selected for the project are frequently described in negative terms in the local and national media and associated with drugs, gangs and gun-related violence.

Central to the project was the making of a new film that recalled memories of life in the neighbourhoods of Moss Side and Hulme between the later 1950s and early 1980s. The film clips triggered memories that predate even the earliest of the films, such as the memories of coal fires or arrivals between the later 1950s and the present. This new production engaged with the stories and experiences of first and second generation migrants that came to and lived in the area, particularly those of Irish, Caribbean and Sikh heritage. It combined two sources of imagery made between the later 1960s and mid 1980s. Professionally made regional BBC black and white and colour television footage was handed into the North West Film Archive over thirty years ago but only catalogued and made accessible for future viewing when the archive secured funding for this task in 2008–9.[2] Alongside this unique record of broadcast news output (that more usually was destroyed after transmission) from the early years of regional BBC television in northwest England, amateur home movies were used.[3] For over sixteen years, a local head-teacher filmed in and around the school, during lessons, assemblies, at playtime and on educational visits. He captured many aspects of school life on cine footage including the school's eventual move from its distinctive but outdated and overcrowded Victorian buildings into modern premises as part of Manchester's large-scale urban clearance and redevelopment.

Project material was selected, on the basis of housing areas, street scenes, adults and children, as well as the audibility and quality of surviving regional BBC current affairs programmes, interviews, and news clips. It was transferred onto DVD so it could be shown flexibly and informally using portable equipment. Establishing links with people from neighbourhoods not usually in contact with the archive or familiar with attending film shows required considerable time to develop the trust and networking necessary for interested individuals to come forward. Crucial to that process

1 *Pupils from Webster Street Primary School*, Norman Thursby, 1972. Still image supplied by courtesy of the North West Film Archive at Manchester Metropolitan University.

was the independent filmmaker, Karen Gabay, as she had grown up in Moss Side and had remained closely connected to people who lived in both neighbourhoods. News of the project spread initially, by word of mouth, and via key community members, whether in their role as faith leaders or as well-respected local residents. Later a newsletter was distributed freely although its value to the target audience was probably less than anticipated by the project team. Positive initial contact sustained over successive encounters made it possible to screen and discuss clips of archive footage over tea and biscuits, chicken and dumplings and other community specialities. Venues included different places of wor-

ship, pubs, shops, secondary schools, community centres and other locations including people's homes.

During this process, working singly and together in different ways, individuals were recorded or listened to as they shared their memories in response to the visual images. Silent amateur cine footage often prompted more immediate response as the absence of commentary enabled a space in which people could respond. The informal and unofficial nature of cine footage fostered a level of confidentially and personal intimacy that often contrasted with the more muted response to the professionally made sound imagery. Amateur film, even those head teacher's playground scenes shot by a for-

mer local figure of authority, represented insider views that perhaps contrasted with the outsider relationship inherent in the BBC footage despite the latter being filmed according to prevailing establishment views of cultural sensitivity and fostering positive race relations. Childhood reminiscences came readily from the school scenes too while family attitudes towards times of unrest and riot featured amongst an age group old enough to remember 1980s street violence, burning cars and damaged shop fronts even if parents had kept them indoors and away from the windows.[4]

Old and young engaged with the imagery differently and encountered it in different settings. Teacher supervised classroom contact with secondary school students during lesson time, led on to interviews at home and further family networking, and for some pupils, more involvement in the outreach, recording and production process. Many students revealed their lack of local awareness and sense of family history. Details of parents' lives or grandparents' origins in the Caribbean often seemed to be unknown. Some workshop members, invited to find out more information after the class, gained a reason for talking with elderly relations that they had not previously had. Devising appropriate forms of questions required assistance and patience but some elderly relatives enjoyed the unexpected attention and contact with grandchildren over sharing memories of childhood games and experiences in Jamaica. Where cross-generational communication occurred, it focused on long forgotten or unknown migration stories from over thirty to fifty years ago. Other students brought back few memories to share, their own or their family lives too complicated to reclaim or publicly exhume. Some reported

that their relatives requested payment for being interviewed. Students of African descent seemed to be more closely connected to their past, particularly through attending weddings, funerals and other family events overseas, although interviews and filming at the long-established fashion boutique run by an Irish migrant revealed that quality clothes for important occasions had long been purchased for overseas wear by members of both the African and Caribbean communities of inner Manchester.

Some adolescents focused on places rather than people and were struck by how places changed over time. They noted the disappearance of local cinemas, corner shops and bus routes, as well as the former well-kept appearance of now run down local parks and public open space: such observations reflected how they viewed and used local areas. Others were prompted by the domestic interiors, personal experiences of former migrants as they encountered overt and covert forms of racism in the workplace, or discrimination at job interviews. Past rigours of living in sub-divided rented housing with open fires and shared bathrooms prompted surprise. So did the testimonies on the local authority compulsory purchase for one pound of privately owned properties after years of saving to buy into the housing market. The shift from homes established after arrival in the UK into new social housing developments stirred reactions too. So did scenes of demolition and new construction, particularly where 1960s style redevelopment schemes have subsequently become notorious or more recently demolished. Memories included the wandering dogs rehoused with their owners from street level backyards to open-sided walkways in the high rise apartment blocks. Perhaps predict-

2 *Watching archive footage at Jamaica Day*, Manchester. Image by courtesy of Troubadour Cultural Heritage Foundation.

ably, the impact of Manchester's seasonal weather upon traffic, carnivals and 'playing out' (outside with friends) triggered strong responses across different age groups.

Editing together old imagery, stills and material from contemporary interviews resulted in a half hour film that was then shown in and beyond the participating communities. Following its launch during Black History Month (held nationwide annually) in October 2009, there were public film shows and discussions in varied neighbourhood and city centre locations, as well as screenings in a local women's prison, local businesses, libraries, arts and venues not usually associated with film shows, and within the university.[5] News coverage on regional media (including BBC television and community radio) and other publicity materials as well as distributing over forty copies of the film on DVD to project participants further helped to spread news about the initiative. At its launch, some viewers saw the new film as an artefact that validated their own histories and motivated others to come forward offering their own perspectives. For many audience members at the first and subsequent screenings, the film has given visibility to aspects of the city's recent past and kindled an interest in community history. Later funding from the Museum, Libraries and Archives Learning Transformation Fund financed the making of two further films during early 2010, involving the same director, similar approaches and most members of the original project. *Belle Vue: The Gardens That John Built* (14 mins.) was an upbeat exploration of

people's reminiscences about the heyday of Manchester's Belle Vue – the city's famous Pleasure Gardens comprising zoo, fair and circus complex and featured archive footage alongside interviews with people who had spent happy times there. *Ice Cream: Manchester's Little Italy* (12 mins.) captured memories about the making and selling of ice-cream, as told by the city's long-established Italian families and their often very loyal customers and used archive footage of festive scenes and the distinctive ice-cream vans that established their sales pitches across the city. Together these three films now form a trilogy about personal memories in Manchester and are available from the North West Film Archive where project materials have been deposited.

Evaluating project work of this kind is multi-pronged. For the filmmaker, positive response has validated the film and brought visibility that enhances a developing professional reputation. While the process of linking contemporary interviews to archival footage is well-established, the film clearly tackles both the content and the process well in an informative and engaging style. The prime time BBC screening of a shortened version reached a wide audience,[6] while awards from the BUFVC (British Universities Film and Video Council)[7] and the THE (Times Higher Educational)[8] have brought recognition of the film for its content and production quality. Responses have shown that the film's editing, humour and combination of nostalgia and reflection upon different aspects of past local experience sustain audience interest beyond a merely local level. Issues of how people remember, forget and share different and difficult, violent experiences resonate, of course, at much broader levels and tap into profound aspects

of twentieth century and more recent experience in many international settings.

From the archive's perspective, *Moving Memories* gave visibility to long-neglected archive television and amateur cine footage. Unprecedented contact was made with residents of inner city neighbourhoods that tend not to have established links with the university despite being physically adjacent. The informal screenings of archive material raised awareness that the university housed a regional public repository of material that was of direct interest and relevance to local people's lives. As a resource, it could contribute to future oral histories and other forms of community-history making. It identified the potential role of archive footage in reminiscence work with community elders and the scope for young people to use film creatively across the secondary school curriculum as historical evidence and source material for imaginative reworking and personal exploration. Gathered memories have given new significance to archive footage and exemplified how meanings change as footage travels into, through and beyond the archive. A new chapter has opened in the lives of these archived images and their potential for future contextualisation is enhanced by insights contributed during the project.

While institutions and academic departments acknowledge the value of public engagement and readily claim its successes, collaborative partnership requires sensitivity, time and forms of dialogue that are genuinely two-way between different parties involved. Different skills, perspectives, time-frames and ways of working need to be accommodated flexibly. Trust, respect and a sense of ownership rooted in a shared sense of purpose and agreed outcome are vital. If the project is to work, all parties involved

3   *Audience at the the Afewe*, Hulme, Manchester. Image supplied by courtesy of Troubadour Heritage Education Foundation.

need to feel comfortable during the process, at its conclusion and afterwards. No one must be used or exploited to fulfil some else's agenda or mission statement. Dismissing such truisms runs the risk of perpetuating past mistakes of misunderstanding well-intentioned initiatives and building barriers rather than bridges.

For members of the neighbourhoods involved, the project clearly enabled their experiences to become part of wider visual histories about inner city Manchester. Their voices and perspectives have been omitted too often from understanding Manchester's past but sharing private memories carries risks too. Public exposure is a mixed blessing. Caution, reluctance and sometimes unwillingness emerged too. Concerns about past misrepresentations, negative attitudes

towards previous initiatives involving community participation and the continuing concern that people and perspectives may not be understood on their own terms perpetuated anxieties about taking part. Screening the finished film raised issues too; some viewers identified its potential professional relevance in training for police or community relations. City councillors informally enthused after one university screening to an invited audience about its scope for raising awareness and challenging stereotypical views of individual urban localities. Some neighbourhood residents resisted any notion of their own contributed interviews being appropriated as training material for screening and discussing in contexts unintended at the outset of the film. For them, screening archive footage might merely re-

inforce rather than dispel more widely held cultural stereotypes.

Finding ways to reconcile different perspectives, responses and needs lies at the heart of such work. Acknowledging these concerns, and thus seeking to minimise the scope for mistrust and misunderstanding seems vital. Ownership means different things in planning and carrying out archival outreach of this kind: archive, filmmaker(s) (past and present), interviewees, community members and others each have a different sense of ownership and meeting the needs of those complex relationships involves respect, dialogue and compromise. Accepting that the filmic record can ever only tell part of the story – but one worth telling rather than left untold – is part of the solution. So too is thinking about the project's legacy. After its completion, something of lasting value needs to be left behind and available for a future response. Good will and positive relations need to outlive the project and be enhanced rather than exhausted.

This example of visual community history-making illustrates Robert Rosen's notion of "intentioned memory workers" as a film director, archive staff and historian collaborated to bring fresh meaning to archive film.[9] Its successful outcome, as reflected upon one year later, lay primarily in fostering prior connections established via the film director, although other project members brought other skills, expertise and qualities that contributed to their acceptance. In terms of this book's overall title, the project's focus on gathering past migration and settlement histories using archive footage, cast both archive and academic team members initially as tourists and visitors, rather than nomads, coming as outsiders into specific neighbourhoods. The term "hosts and guests" popularised by anthropologist Valence Smith in tourism discourse,[10] was later found to be inadequate in trying to describe the full complexity of unequal relations between tourists and their travel destinations. It is equally inappropriate in describing the kind of community engagement that occurred in Moss Side and Hulme. Admittedly there were key individuals that were significant in specific localities but, in modern urban neighbourhoods, too many different consistencies and interest groups exist for one individual alone to represent such diversity. Since there was no single invitation from a specific host we could not be guests. Each contact had to be nurtured individually even if sometimes it led on to other possibilities. Acceptance took root incrementally, embedding willingness and cooperation more readily and widely. Just as sustainable models of tourism have become desirable operational models in trying to develop responsible forms of policy and practice,[11] then sustainability seems the key ingredient here too. Further visits, on related activities, might enable a more nomadic and continuing pattern of periodic involvement that builds on what was attempted with *Moving Memories*. As return visitors rather than newcomers, lessons and contacts from our project may be taken on by our successors. Looking for what brings vitality and durability and meaning to community outreach, offers exciting and challenging opportunities as archival communities and their users move ever further away from dust into digital (and dust-free) times.

Acknowledgements

Notes

1   Rutherford, "Emerging fungal threat to historical film archives".

2   North West Film Archive, "BBC North West Regional News and Documentary Film 1966–1986".

3   Films made by Norman Thursby about life at and around Webster Primary School between 1962 and 1978 include North West Film Archive nos. 1271–73, 1278, 1282 and 1402.

4   For wider discussion of Britain's urban unrest in 1981 see Benyon, *Scarman and After*. For a retrospective assessment, see Lea, "From Brixton to Bradford". This text was in preparation when the UK's urban riots occurred during August 2011. It should be noted that the disturbances in Manchester (and other cities) focused on city centre areas. For some commentators, the fact that Moss Side did not see scenes of violence, suggested that widely shared anger against social exclusion and alienation among contemporary urban youth prompted the disturbances rather than race-related deprivation and discrimination as in the early 1980s. See: Valluvan, "Behind the Manchester riots".

5   See, for example, publicity for Film Show Discussion: "Moving Memories: Tales from Moss Side and Hulme", http://www.wfamedia.co.uk/Moving%20memories%20A4.pdf. Accessed January 7, 2011.

6   BBC Manchester, "Inside Out: *Memories of Moss Side and Hulme*".

7   BUFVC (British Universities Film & Video Council), "2010 Learning on Screen Awards: General Education Non Broadcast Award", http://bufvc.ac.uk/learningonscreen2010/shortlist. Accessed January 7, 2011.

8   THE (*Times Higher Education)* Awards 2010. [Nomination and short-list], "Outstanding Contribution to the Local Community", http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/story.asp?storycode=413567. Accessed January 7, 2011.

9   Rosen, "Something strong within," 108.

10   Smith, *Hosts and Guests*.

11   WTO, "Sustainable Development of Tourism".

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Vera Weisgerber

Tumbling Dice

Luxembourg – Montenegro, 2003–2007

Political art should be a sort of collage of opposites.
Jacques Rancière[1]

The Conflict

In accordance with the Geneva Convention, Luxembourg welcomed around 4.500 refugees from the former Yugoslavia between 1998 and 2003. The Grand Duchy was held to accommodate them pending a definitive response concerning their request for asylum. In July 2002, the government was of the opinion that the conditions were sufficiently secure to warrant their return and that the cause of their departure from Montenegro, the country of origin of the majority of asylum seekers in Luxembourg during that period, had been economic rather than political. The number of deportations to Montenegro rose from 100 in 2001 to 157 in 2002 and then to 458 in 2003[2] bears witness to the intensification of a painful program of assisted "repatriation", forced deportation and endless legal battles continuing today.

In the summer of 2003, alarmed and outraged by the nature and conditions of these deportations, the Association for Support for Immigrant Workers (ASTI) turned to the Musée d'Art Moderne (Mudam) in the hope of boosting their public actions through the

power of images. This was the beginning of a documentary project on the trials and tribulations of a group of families returning to Montenegro and, in certain cases, on the long process of requesting and obtaining residence in Luxembourg. The result, after four years of intense work, was the exhibition *Tumbling Dice* at the *Mudam Guest House 07* (13 October – 26 November 2007). It presented a collection of stories that led artists, citizens, the museum and its visitors to interact in a process of approaching the 'Other', who is generally known only in an abstract manner as a legal case (illegal immigrant, political exile, economic exile, etc) or sometimes as a human being without a face, whose traumatic situation generates fear.

The Children

At the start of this project, filmmaker Bady Minck and I suggested that it should be the children of the refugee families who tell their stories in Luxembourg and Montenegro.[3] Bady Minck had the idea of providing the children with fast and easy to operate Lomo cameras that are equipped with col-

1   *Tumbling dice*, 2003–2007 – Production: Mudam Luxembourg. Installation (detail) presented in the exhibition *Mudam Guest House 07*, Mudam Luxembourg 2007. © Photo: Andres Lejona.

our flashes and exhibition settings that produce abstract effects. The resulting images are surprising and turn photography into a game capable of transforming the world into an image freed of its normal colours and shapes. The thousands of photos compiled in Luxembourg and dispatched from Montenegro make up the core of the project, which was accompanied by the background work I carried out between 2003 and 2007. I spent a lot of time with the children and their families at Don Bosco, one of the reception centres for the refugees in Luxembourg. For me, it was a descent into hell. I was devastated by what I saw and invited the children to bear witness to what they did not like about their situation through their im-

ages. This proved to be in vain as the children were not ready to document their living conditions. These were not the images that they produced: they did not show the gutters, the dirt and the insecurity. Their floating images and apparently happy poses made it difficult for me to relate the story how I saw it. I witnessed how the adults, accommodated in successive reception centres, believed in a better future, which was tangible and almost within reach, but was then rendered inaccessible by law. As asylum seekers they were kept in a physical and legal limbo in which they were denied the most basic rights citizen take for granted, notably those concerning employment[4] and professional training.[5]

2 *Tumbling dice*, 2003–2007 – Production: Mudam Luxembourg. Installation (detail) presented in the exhibition *Mudam Guest House 07*, Mudam Luxembourg 2007. © Photo: Andres Lejona.

The children were schooled: many of them had been born and had grown up in Luxembourg.

The Project

While I was working with the twenty-five families in Luxembourg and subsequently following them to Montenegro, an intense social and political debate was raging, involving NGOs, activists, associations, journalists, etc. Questions were raised concerning the cursory and police-style nature of the expulsions to economically ruined Montenegro, the long delays in asylum procedures and the violence of the expulsions that became the source of a new trauma for the families, as well as alleged discriminations due to their Muslim denomination.[6] The government response merely cited its duty to apply the law. In Montenegro, where I visited the families in May 2005 and September 2006, nothing had been resolved. The problems had been 'relocated', but remained just as serious for the families: readjustment and adaptation of schooling, reinsertion of the adults who suffer both the disdain of those who were able to stay in Luxembourg and the resentment of those who did not have the opportunity to leave at all. Sometimes, the refugees who had been able to save money by working illegally had succeeded in improving their situation …

Working with people who sought to remain individuals, but who found themselves constantly defined as a socio-political group in a situation of inequality, certain questions come to the fore: how does an artist construct his/her point of view when the 'refugee' whom s/he hopes to approach sends him/her back an image of his/her own status as 'citizen' and of the structural imbalance between those in power – a group the artist belongs to, whether s/he wants it or not – and those reduced to passivity and uncertainty, whose destiny seems to lie in the hands of others? How does an artist construct his/her discourse when the illusion of an 'objective eye' that represents and judges the world from a privileged position has been definitely shattered and the artist can only see him/herself as an integral part of the question that s/he is addressing?

The living conditions of the artist as "tourist" and the people s/he worked with as "nomads" – according to the terminology proposed by this book – were set on a colliding course in this project. The dice had been tossed in 2003 when I was invited by the Mudam to participate in this – more or less elaborated – project, responding to the urgent appeal of NGOs in an attempt to at least to give a voice to people only known as 'numbers' or statistics. My commission consisted in accompanying asylum seeking families from Montenegro, who had spent between three and eight years in Luxembourg and that were about to be expulsed in the summer of that same year. When I accepted to take part in this adventure, I completely ignored that this decision would have a deep, irreversible impact on my life and that it would reveal the 'open end' inherent to the word 'project'.

The project generated lots of contradictory feelings: responsibility, guilt, aggression, sympathy, impotence etc. I was confronted with what to do in the face of attitudes of ethnic hatred that certain families feel to be real and justified and which they transmit to their children. How to maintain a certain independence and still remain credible? When the 'refugees' became Melvedin Agovic, Emanuela Tare or Melissa Trublijanin, was the separation between the I-artist and the I-citizen still possible?

The Images

Tumbling Dice presented to the visitor the intensity and complexity of children's images, eyewitness accounts, documentation, etc., a small part of a vast area of debate that was to be given a space and a visibility in the museum. What happens when the future is suspended, when nothing happens? What do these children see and what does it do to them? And what do the surprising photos taken by the children say about the capacity of representation of images? How do they project themselves and what will become of them? Exposed to extreme situations such as displacement and fratricide, fascinated by the mass-media visual culture, we see them grow up: children who throughout their painful trajectories, have produced thousands of images that would be hard to distinguish from those in an album of happy memories. As if the image was there precisely in order to change the colours and shapes of the world, to save what remains, after the drama.

3 *Tumbling dice*, 2003–2007 – Production: Mudam Luxembourg. Installation (detail) presented in the exhibition *Mudam Guest House* 07, Mudam Luxembourg 2007. © Photo: Andres Lejona.

Notes

1 Quoted by Dronsfield, "Nowhere is aesthetics contra ethics," 3.

2 Figures released by the government on November 20, 2003, http://www.gouvernement.lu/salle_presse/actualite/2003/11/21frieden_refugies/index.html. Accessed October 5, 2011.

3 According to her original idea for the project, Bady Minck hoped to be able to organise the return of the children to Luxembourg for the exhibition, which would one day take place at Mudam. Various difficulties prevented this from happening and Bady Minck therefore withdrew from the exhibition.

4 See Hansen, "Réforme du droit d'asile". The Luxembourgian weekly newspaper *d'Lëtzebuerger Land* has a file "Refugies-immigration" in its folder "Politique", which contains several articles by Josée Hansen. She undertakes critical analyses that take into account numerous interlocutors and the economic, political and social complexities of these events.

5 The "projet de loi N°5437, relatif au droit d'asile et à des formes complémentaires de protection" led to the "loi du 5 mai 2006 relative au droit d'asile et à des formes complémentaires de protection", published in the *Mémorial A* n°78 (Mai 5, 2006), 1402–1418. It was modified by several other laws in 2007, 2008 and 2011, so that the revised law was republished in the *Mémorial A* n°151 (Juli 7, 2011), 2184–2200. All documents pertaining to this law may be viewed on http://www.chd.lu (numéro du dossier: 5437). Accessed October 5, 2011.

6 The majority came from the mountainous region of Sandjak in the north of Montenegro and was composed mostly of Muslims, who were discriminated against both by the Serbs in Belgrade and the Montenegrins in Podgorica.

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Dagmar Brunow

Amateur Home Movies and the Archive of Migration

Sandhya Suri's *I for India* (UK, 2005)

How can amateur footage become part of the history of migration? In what ways can it be conceived as a memory work excavating hidden stories and as a counter strategy challenging hegemonic historiography? Encompassing 40 years of immigrant life in Britain, Sandhya Suri's prize-winning filmic essay *I for India* (2005) is a collage of amateur home movies, British newsreels as well as film stock shot by the director herself. Dealing with the memories of immigration to Britain, the amateur home movie footage in *I for India* can be said to establish a counter-history to the hegemonic national discourse in which migrant experiences are marginalised, objectified or rendered invisible. Yet, on what grounds would the film be able to counter and question the official hegemonic representation? Because it presents 'authentic reality'? In this article I would like to complicate the notion of counter cinema and stress the anti-essentialist aesthetic strategies employed in the film. I argue that its self-reflexive means allow the film to widen the space from personal memories to becoming a site of collective memory.

Sandhya Suri's film project was triggered off when she found a box of audio letters in the attic.[1] After having come to Britain as an immigrant doctor from India in 1965, her father, Yash Pal Suri, bought two sets of cine-cameras, two projectors and two reel-to-reel audio players. One set remained with him while the other was sent off to his family in India in order to communicate via audio-visual letters. For a period of over 40 years these films and the accompanying audio tapes were exchanged. While she was familiar with the Super 8 film footage from home movie screenings, the content of the audio tapes was new to Sandhya Suri. When Suri watched the (silent) Super 8 films with the audio letters being added, the footage acquired a new meaning: "Only years later, as an adult, when I came across a box of audio reels, did I realise that the films were part of a much bigger story."[2]

If the home movie footage acquires new meanings even within the family, what happens if (or when) the home movie footage is disseminated to other audiences? In what way do personal recollections and the public sphere fold into each other in (auto)biographical filmmaking?

In home movies the family is at once the production unit, its subject, and its audience.[3] Autobiographical documentary filmmaking, however, complicates this notion because personal recollections also create new meanings upon entering the public sphere as circulating text – creating yet another "bigger story". Accordingly, Suri's *I for India* can be perceived as a memory work in the under-

1   © Sandhya Suri.

standing of Annette Kuhn: "a method and a practice of unearthing and making public untold stories [...]. These are the lives of those whose ways of knowing and ways of seeing the world are rarely acknowledged, let alone celebrated, in the expressions of a hegemonic culture."[4] Filmmaking can thus be regarded as a way of giving voice to the forgotten stories of migration.

Due to the lack of visual imaginary in the historiography of migration and diaspora, the filmed documentation of private family stories and their release within the public sphere can be said to contribute new images to the media archives of official memory. As the history of migration is mostly absent in history books and in school education, it is transferred orally from generation to generation. Yet, while this form of communicative memory would only last for two or three generations, Aleida Assmann suggests that storage media can function as symbolic cornerstones that contribute to the stabilisation of memory by placing future generations under the obligation to create a common memory.[5] Memory and remembrance can function as a counter strategy, as Thomas Elsaesser suggests: "By marking what is personal about the past, by bearing witness, and giving testimony, such films add a new dimension to memory, [...] creating 'pockets of meaning', in the sense one can speak, in a guerrilla war, of 'pockets of resistance'."[6] Autobiographical filmmaking can be regarded as a counter practice to hegemonic historical narratives.[7] It creates a new visual archive which challenges the dominant mode of migrant historiography. However, the role of the archive is ambiguous, according to post-colonial theorist Fatima El-Tayeb: "For [mi-

2   © Sandhya Suri.

norities], archives are sites of exclusion, a manifestation of the minority's irrelevance to their nation's history, rather than taken-for-granted containers of established history."[8] Since archives have historically been dominated by a Eurocentric, colonialist perspective, immigrants have had few or no possibilities to represent themselves and to enter their stories into the (visual) archive of national historiography. Amateur footage contains unofficial histories which might feed into or counter dominant representations.

Film as Memory Work: Defying Essentialism

Although *I for India* challenges national British historiography, reducing it to a mere counter-narrative would perpetuate the bi-narism of hegemony and resistance. Moreover, counter politics often presuppose an essentialist notion of subjectivity. While self-essentialising may be a strategic means to counter asymmetrical power relations, it excludes the possibilities of acting out internal power conflicts, e. g. along the lines of gender and class. These ideas have been theorised in Black British Cultural Studies, especially in the writings of Stuart Hall and Paul Gilroy.[9] Gilroy's concept of "The Black Atlantic" undermines the idea that identity is determined by geographical territory. There is no locationally bound essence, but rather, a sense of in-betweenness.

Suri's film counters the myth of a unified ethnic identity by employing various strategies which defy notions of essentialism and authenticity.[10] While the footage is authored by various filmmakers (her father,

3   © Sandhya Suri.

the director herself, Suri's cameraman in India, various unknown TV cameramen), no coherent voice-over creates a unified meaning of these disparate images. Thus, the film defies notions of an authentic and homogenous speaking position.

Another strategy is the self-reflexive use of montage in *I for India* which intertwines both pre-existing visual material like home movies and archive footage from several TV-programmes and digital video material as well as 16mm film shot in India. The amateur film clips are assembled with archive footage taken from conventional TV documentaries, thus adding a new meaning to the home movie images. For example, in a sequence of home movie clips showing the Suris surrounded by nurses having tea (March 1968) and cheerfully dancing at a party among a

white crowd (London 1970) footage from the BBC documentary *The Dark Million* (1966) is inserted. The voice-over in the BBC-footage states: "Immigrants have often established little islands of their own culture. [...] They create an atmosphere of foreignness, very different from the sort of atmosphere that British people are used to."[11] Through the montage the filmic self-representation in the home movies forms a contrast to the stereotypical media representation, thus showing its inadequacy, its prejudiced stance and its strategies of objectifying, stereotyping and homogenising British Asians.[12] In *I for India* the amateur footage helps to counter the ethnographic, Eurocentric gaze on the new citizens and subverts the hegemonic use of images of migrants as a means of control and classification.

What then about the "reality effect" in the footage?[13] While Jim Lane distinguishes between the subject and a stable outside world, I would claim that there is no such thing as an authentic documentary representation.[14] As if departing from Walter Benjamin's historical philosophy, according to which historians cannot reconstruct the past "as it really was"[15], Suri does not claim to convey a prefilmic reality to the audience. Suri does not pretend to present the home movie footage in an unmediated way. Instead, the film foregrounds the role of the director as the second editor of this material (after her father) in choosing scenes, omitting others, editing the soundtrack and compiling the clips with other footage.[16] By focussing on the material aspects of these clips, Suri points at the filmic apparatus and its construction of reality. Suri's filmic essay expresses doubts and concerns about being able to convey reality "as it is".[17] Departing from notions of becoming a mere "window to the past", or creating a conventional historical documentary, the film dwells on the ontology of the image and on the role of film as memory work. Thinking about amateur filmmaking in this way defies notions of authenticity and essentialism.

I for India shows that reality cannot be accessed outside the realms of representation. As filmmaker and media theorist Hito Steyerl has pointed out, life cannot be directly transformed into an image.[18] Also Roland Barthes notes, as soon as he feels the camera directed at him, he is posing even before the picture is taken. When transforming himself into an image he creates another body for himself. Therefore, I would suggest that the concept of performativity, as theorised by Judith Butler, could prove useful for transgressing the notion of representing reality and for enabling us to get away from notions

of essence.[19] Via home movies or family photographs identity and memory is constantly reconstructed. Like family photographs, home movies constitute reality in a performative manner through the repetition of certain situations (Christmas, birthday parties, holiday outings, picnics) by which they inscribe themselves into British iconography. Susan Sontag also points at the performativity of family photographs when stating that "each family constructs a portrait-chronicle of itself – a portable kit of images that bears witness to its connectedness".[20] Moreover, home movies, even though they are a form of self-representation, are always performative since they try to present an idealised notion of family life. The ontology of the home movie footage used in *I for India* is further complicated by its epistolary nature. In the film letters both families create an image of themselves (which is in turn complicated even further by the contents of the audio tapes). While photographs – and home movies – are a means of self-assurance, they denote the gaps between past and present and show that the past is irretrievably lost.

Another aspect I would like to point at is the use of music as an anti-essentialist means. Wouldn't Suri's use of film songs from popular Hindi cinema connote a notion of 'Indianness'? However, Hindi film songs have not only become an increasingly transnational phenomenon, but they have always been hybrid by amalgamating a variety of influences. Thus, the use of Hindi film music is more complex than merely being a means of connoting 'home' and 'authenticity'. For example, in one scene Suri combines black and white archive footage representing her father's childhood in the 1930s with a song from the film *Shor* (Kumar, India 1972), sung by Lata Mangeshkar. This ana-

4   © Sandhya Suri.

chronism of images and song undermines efforts in conventional filmmaking attempting to represent the father's 'authentic' memory from those years. The music does definitely not stem from the period the father remembers. Rather than attempting to re-create an 'authentic' past, Suri, as in Benjamin's notion, lays bare the construction of memory. Using Hindi film songs as metaphors for longing Suri opens up new psychic spaces of longing, thereby deterritorialising memory. Moreover, the soundtrack invites the listeners to bring their own associations with the songs into the engagement with the film, as Anahid Kassabian suggests.[21] Kassabian has argued that a soundtrack consisting of pre-existing songs creates a new sonic space by broadening existing identifications. Unlike a score specifically composed for the film, songs control identi-

fication to a lesser extent. Therefore, it becomes a means of widening personal memory into collective memory while complicating the notion of 'ethnic' belonging.

The point for Suri is thus not to depict her family's past "as it really was", but to point at the modes of constructing a narrative about oneself. Memory is always linked to a remembering subject. Yet, who is actually the remembering subject in Suri's film? Is it the father? The director? The audience? Via the various self-reflexive means in its use of music and montage, *I for India* opens up the subjective space for remembering. Instead of representing one individual who remembers, it broadens the sphere from individual to collective memory. This strategy differs from individual-centred approaches like Ingmar Bergman's *Wild Strawberries* (Sweden, 1957) which ties the memories to one specific per-

son, the film's protagonist. Suri reminds us more of filmmakers like Tarkovskij in opening up the spaces of memory and in creating time-spaces, in which different layers of time overlap and intertwine. The past and the present are indistinguishable. Therefore, the past can be reached via the present alone. As Annette Kuhn points out: "memory work can create new understandings of both past and present, while refusing a nostalgia that embalms the past in a perfect, irretrievable, moment".[22] *I for India* forms an epistolary account of the creation of transnational memory production. In preserving a family's memory on a storage medium Suri's film can now enter the media archives of official memory and contest the exclusion of migrant and diasporic experiences.

Notes

1   An earlier, shorter version of the project was to become Suri's graduate thesis film at The National Film and Television School in London. *I for India* was co-produced by ZDF-ARTE and YLE, the Finnish national TV station, and was screened at festivals world-wide as well as on national television in European countries like France, Germany, Britain and Sweden. It is available on DVD (ICA Films).

2   Suri, "Director's Statement". She goes on: "Over weeks I sat down and listened to over 100 reels of audio letters, which my father had recorded and exchanged with his family back home in India – the most intimate thoughts and observations of our lives in England over a period of forty years. At the same time as he was recording Super 8 films of birthday parties, new houses and our successful lives abroad, the audio tapes were telling a more complex story. The familiar home movies took on a whole new meaning for me."

3   Cf. Schneider, *Stars sind wir*.

4   Kuhn, *Family Secrets*, 9.

5   Assmann, A., "Von individuellen zu kollektiven Konstruktionen von Vergangenheit". The notion of collective and communicative memory stems from the conceptualisation of memory developed in the works of Jan and Aleida Assmann. Cf. Assmann, J. *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis* as well as Assmann, A. *Erinnerungsräume*. A comprehensive overview over recent trends in memory studies can be found in Erll, *Kollektives Gedächtnis* as well as in Erll and Nünning, *Cultural Memory Studies*.

6   Elsaesser, *One Train*, 64.

7   Cf also Renov, according to whom "feminists and subaltern critics" regard autobiography as "a crucial medium of resistance and counter-discourse, 'the legitimate space for producing that excess which throws doubt on the coherence and power of an exclusive historiography'." Renov, *Subject of Documentary*, xvi.

8   El-Tayeb, *The Archive*, 1.

9   Cf. Hall, *Cultural Identity* and Gilroy, *Black Atlantic.*

10   Taking a look at the aesthetic strategies employed in *I for India* might help to avoid the pitfall of treating the film like a sociological case study, instead acknowledging its status as an artistic work.

11   Suri inserts clips from various British TV programmes, among others "The Immigrant Doctors" (part of the Horizon-series, BBC 1974) or Margaret Thatcher's notorious interview with Granada TV in 1978 in which she claimed Britain was being "swamped" by immigrants.

12   An account of the media representation of British Asians is given in Malik, *Representing Black Britain.*

13   Kmec and Thill, *Private Eyes*, 11.

14   Lane, *The Autobiographical Documentary.*

15   Benjamin, *Über den Begriff der Geschichte*, 144.

16   An important intertextual reference is Alan Berliner's *Nobody's business* (USA, 1996). The film about the director's father, the son of a Polish immigrant, also assembles home video, photographs and family interviews.

17   Patricia Zimmermann has convincingly pointed

out that home movies "are not empirical evidence, [they] are neither images nor representation". Zimmermann, *Speculations,* 14.

18 Steyerl, *Farbe der Wahrheit.*

19 Butler, *Gender Trouble.*
20 Sontag, *On Photography,* 8.
21 Kassabian, *Hearing Film,* 3.
22 Kuhn, *Family Secrets*, 10.

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Susan Aasman

"Smile, Wave or Blow a Kiss …"

Home Movies and Tele-Technologies from the Hearth

Our lives, relationships, fantasies,
desires also flow across media channels.
Being a lover or a mommy or a teacher
occurs on multiple platforms.[1]

"Kodak as you go" was the suggestion made by Eastman Kodak in the twenties, stimulating travellers to take a film camera with them. "Go places … see things … bring them back" was the slogan of Bell & Howell used in 1931 to market the Filmo 16 mm camera as a luxurious leisure article. Amateur film has always been about leisure and travel. And, it never lost its popularity, although the slogan – for a Nokia mobile phone with camera function – nowadays has changed slightly to: "see it … snap it … share it".

The word "share" sounds like a minor alteration but in fact it represents a major transformation. It replaces older notions such as 'recording', 'keeping' or 'saving' with others, such as 'sending', 'uploading' and 'instant' viewing. Technological changes have influenced existing conventions of production and reception. Especially the context of reception has changed: to watch a video that is transmitted online means that it is no longer necessary to be in the same room. On multiple platforms members of the family can view imagery together – simultaneously – while apart. It is fascinating to see how fast

new technologies and possibilities are embraced and become embedded in our daily life. In no time they transform from something new into routinised practices. They have made the home "a nodal point in a complex flow of people, goods and message", as David Morley notes in his book *Home territories*, wherein he explores our sense of belonging and the way the media have contributed to different conceptions of home, family and household in a globalised world.[2]

To analyse new ideas on home and home territories, Morley follows Michel Foucault who suggested to combine macro and micro levels of analysis by linking "grand strategies of geo-politics" with "little tactics of the habitat".[3] What I would like to add to this analytical framework is a historical perspective. What I would argue here is that if we want to understand family life and amateur filmmaking in a global age, we need to broaden our concept of home movie making by including new global communication technologies. I think it is necessary to re-evaluate and redefine the concept of amateur film making in order to understand current

changes in the way people communicate via do-it-yourself or user-generated content.

We live in an age, as David Morley remarks, of constantly changing variety of media and media applications and of permanent innovations that adjust, adapt and assimilate earlier traditions. A nice illustration is the slogan used by Skype, playing with conventions of twentieth century practices as they invite their users to: "Smile, Wave, or Blow a Kiss ... Make FREE video calls anywhere in the world!". It combines the tropes of family photography (*smile*), of home movies (*wave*), and of face-to-face communication (*blow a kiss*).

Tele-technology such as a Skype video call belongs to the domain of "technologies of the hearth" that offer, just like earlier practices of home movie making, tools to create a symbolic space of home and family in a globalised world. The term "technologies of the hearth" was originally used by John Tomlinson and described as: "imperfect instruments, by which people try to maintain something of the security of cultural location".[4]

The question is, how can we compare these new telecommunication based practices with the conventional home movie and home video practices? Until now, home movie making has been defined foremost as a memory practice. It is an activity that connects people to their past. On the other hand, home movie making has always been more than the storage of future memories. Not just the text (the film) but also the phase of producing is an important aspect of the home movie practice. According to Roger Odin "the family filmmaker's camera functions first as a go-between and only secondly as a recording instrument".[5] So the effect is already there during the production, before its ex-

hibition. Elsewhere I have labelled the practice of home movie making and viewing "rituals of domestic happiness", by which I mean that not only the content, but also the producing and the reception are about togetherness and the celebration of family life.[6]

The tradition of home movies and video making then is as much rooted in memory as in the here and now of the making. What is new is that never before there were so many users and never before the do-it-yourself technology was so embedded in our daily life. Here we can see a real change: in earlier days making home movies, including the buying of a camera, a projector, 8 or 16 mm films used to be a hobby for those who had the time and the means to afford it. With the emergence of new mobile media or free downloadable software, the production and reception of video has become a cheap, easy and almost casual thing to do. Mediated communication through technology has become very familiar and common. "The boundaries between media spaces and everyday life are porous", Michiel de Lange wrote about the impact of mobile media.[7] Following his argument, we could say that there is no such thing as family life and a separate space of media experience: they have become integrated in order to fit the dynamics of modern life.

Sharing a Cookie on the Webcam

A boy shows his cookie to the camera and in a reverse shot we see his father doing exactly the same. The rest of the video the father mirrors his son's action until the little boy starts laughing. Only then we see that they are in separate places, but connected through a webcam and a laptop. The father

1 Living room of an eighty year old woman using laptop with webcam for Skype conversations. © Susan Aasman.

then says: "good night buddy" to which the boy replies: "good morning dad", indicating the long geographical distance between them. The clip closes with a shot of the boy leaving the living room and the father finishing his cookie in his office.

This television commercial from Oreo, a well-known American cookie from the Nabisco Company, offers interesting material for sociological analysis of parenthood in the twenty-first century[8]. It shows us our times as the age of a nomadic existence, where you're expected to be a globally operating flex worker. The solution presented here signals what Morley considers a heralding of the "death" of geography, all thanks to new communication technologies.[9] In one of

their instructional promotion video, the Skype Company demonstrates the possibilities of the video call by showing a father reading a bedtime story to his child through the webcam, thus fulfilling his duties as a loving and caring dad, even when there is an ocean between them.

Making a video call for private reasons is a fairly new use. You need a videophone, a telephone with a video screen and webcam built in, or a computer that has software application and web cam and internet connection. It is now possible to transmit audio and video in real time between two or more people. Because of its low costs (a webcam is a relatively low cost device and many providers of video call offer the simple version

for free) it became very popular and because of its easy use it emerged quite fast as a daily practice. Companies like Skype popularised the video chat: in 2010 they had 663 million registered users. Although the idea of video call started out as more business-like usage such as videoconferencing, it is now used by many for private communications, triggered by the desire of families to keep in touch while away, instantaneously and simultaneously, and thus establishing a "symbolic proximity".[10] It is an effort to contribute to family life, through the use of technology – that is both new and old. It makes mediated, live face-to face communication with images possible in a way that was previous not there. When Kodak advertised during the Second World War: "Visit your man in the service with snapshots", the concept of "visit" was metaphorically used as in a mediated interaction that was monological.[11] Webcam-like applications make visual communication possible in a dialogical way.[12]

So, this simple Oreo chocolate cookies commercial perfectly represents the needs felt in the contemporary "post-geographical age" which has been described as a process of de-territorialisation.[13] This process hits the heart of the home: in our globalised world new practices that sustain a certain sense of belonging are constantly being developed, re-invented and appropriated. Sharing a cookie on the webcam, online and in real time, becomes thus a "little tactic of the habitat" representing contemporary family life.

Tele-Presence at a Distance

The experience offered by a video call expands the home video practice into a live performance, we see how it appropriates the experience of television's capacity to stay at home while simultaneously be elsewhere in a live connection. What seems to be lost here is the function of recording, of keeping and storing memories. With tele-technologies there is no need to bring the pictures back home. From an "archival desire" as Mary Ann Doane once described cinema's potential for archiving time-, we now have moved to another desire: tele-presence or simultaneity.

The video call is the ideal combination of tele-vision and the tele-phone as a way of transmitting in an interactive way sound and images over long distances in real time (live). It fulfills a long-lived ideal that was already foreseen in the nineteenth century, although by then only telephone was a reality, whereas television was still science fiction. Ideas circulated on combinations that bore names like telephonoscope or electrical radiophone, were much alive in the popular press. George du Maurier created a satirical cartoon in 1878 about a "telephonoscope that transmits lights as well as sounds" based on ideas on television published by Thomas Edison. To our contemporary eyes though, the cartoon of Maurier anticipates the concept of a video call or videophone. The drawing shows a widescreen hanging on a wall in a private living room. The screen depicts a scene of young people having fun in the park. In front of the screen an elderly couple is seated in their chairs, each holding a tube attached to a wire.

The idea depicted here is that the elderly couple is having a conversation with their daughter whom they can *hear* as well as *see*. The caption reads:

"Every evening, before going to bed, Pater- and Materfamilias set up an electric camera-obscura over their bedroom mantelpiece, and gladden their eyes with the sight of their Children at the Antipodes, and converse gaily with them through the wire.

PUNCH'S ALMANACK FOR 1879.

EDISON'S TELEPHONOSCOPE (TRANSMITS LIGHT AS WELL AS SOUND).

(*Every evening, before going to bed, Pater- and Materfamilias set up an electric camera-obscura over their bedroom mantel-piece, and gladden their eyes with the sight of*
Antipodes, and converse gaily with them through the wire.)

Paterfamilias (in Wilton Place). "BEATRICE, COME CLOSER, I WANT TO WHISPER."   *Beatrice (from Ceylon).* "YES, PAPA DEAR."
Paterfamilias. "WHO IS THAT CHARMING YOUNG LADY PLAYING ON CHARLIE'S SIDE?"
Beatrice. "SHE'S JUST COME OVER FROM ENGLAND, PAPA. I'LL INTRODUCE YOU TO HER AS SOON AS THE GAME'S OVER?"

2   Du Maurier, "Edison's telephonoscope", 1879. Public Domain.

Paterfamilias (in Wilton Place) Beatrice, come closer. I want to whisper.
Beatrice (from Ceylon)   Yes, Papa dear.
Paterfamilias Who is that charming young Lady playing on Charlie's side?
Beatrice She's just come over from England, Papa. I'll introduce you to her as soon as the Game's over!"[14]

What makes the cartoon so interesting is that it puts this new – still science fiction – technology right in the middle of the family: it shows the cultural imagination of the late nineteen century about a domestic appropriation of what we now call tele-presence or co-presence interaction.

This domestication of tele-presence became quite successful in the second half of the twentieth century as television conquered a central position in the living room and along the way contributed to a kind of internationalisation of daily life. Raymond Williams designates this development as a kind of "mobile privatisation". He admits that "it's an ugly phrase of an unprecedented condition", but appropriate, as it summarises two contradictory modes of modern social life: a form of retreat into the domestic, while at the same time living in a highly mobile world.[15] Due to modern communication technologies, from the telegraph to the satellite, tele-vision brought us basic new experiences: simultaneously staying at home and going places. In other words, communication technologies have become instruments of distance manage-

Family Ritual

According to the historian John R. Gillis, in the twentieth century we can see a growing disintegration of the *"family we live with"*, compensated by the construction of *"family we live by"*. He states: "Constituted through myth, ritual and image, they must be forever nurturing and protective, and we will go to any lengths to ensure that they are so, even if it means mystifying the realities of family life".[17]

Home movie making became an important ritual in constructing this "family we live by". From its invention at the end of the nineteenth century, the film camera enabled parents to become do-it-yourself historians. With a film camera it was possible to make a visual document, a record of important family moments. But just as important, it became a hobby that practiced a kind of active and collective form of domesticity that suited every member of the family.

The family today has become – more than ever – a mediated community, an enacted space, wherein many a special moment is celebrated, and shared. The question is to what extent new media technologies uphold family life that is no longer localised in a space or particular time. According to the anthropologist Mary Douglas, home is located but not necessarily fixed in space – rather, home starts by bringing space under control. But this process involves regular patterns of activity and structures of time.[18] So, if the home is not necessarily (or not only) a physical space, it could be a virtual space where one could communicate with each other. With a presence – even if it is a tele-presence – established at fixed moments during the day, the week and the year, the family can perform as an enacted space. Joining a meal, being present at birthday parties, or telling a bedtime story on the webcam makes the family both a singular entity fixed in a particular place, and a mobile symbolic habitat.

In our global age this understanding of the home as "a performative way of life and of doing things, in which one makes one's home while in movement,"[19] new social media practices perfectly add to traditional home movie making. There has emerged a wide range of new practices of web-based technologies that transform and broadcast media monologues into dialogues, a group of Internet-based applications that allow the creation and exchange of user-generated content or consumer-generated media, in which a high connectivity is crucial.

Video-sharing sites like YouTube, My Space or Facebook are full of examples of this trend. I selected just one example, uploaded in 2010 by a user who integrated Skype conversations in her video clip uploaded on YouTube. In this portrait called *A year of living on the small screen: a Skype family album* the 40-year old mother Kirsten Dirksen contemplates her family life and the possibilities of videophone technology in keeping the family.[20] She started her "Skype family album" after deciding to not fly for a year (for the sake of cutting greenhouse gas emissions) and instead use free Internet video calls to stay in touch with her parents and her friends. The compilation she uploaded on YouTube shows bits and pieces of her life and that of her family in front of the webcam. Dirksen reflections are added in postproduction. In the beginning of the film

she tells her viewers: "At first I was unwilling to give up my family trips, but slowly that started to change as I learned to embrace life on the little screen." Dirksen notices how her family enters her living room more and more on a regular basis. Especially the grandparents appear every now and then to keep in touch with their grandchildren. To Dirksens surprise she discovers that making a Skype call differs from a simple phone call in the sense that they went from having conversations to just being together. She states in her portrait: "Instead of having to call about something, video allow us to simulate being in the same place for a while". Although Dirksen acknowledges that there are moments when it is frustrating that physical contact is impossible, she closes her film with a touching shot showing how her parents are able to cheer up their crying granddaughter over the webcam.

Memory Practice

The history of home movie making shows how it enabled people to keep up the idea of a close family ties in a particular way: since the beginning of the twentieth century families have used privately made imagery to construct a transnational family life. According to Devin Orgeron the notion of the amateur cinematographer as "moment collector" has been especially strong when it came to travelling: "few activities were as collectible or as cinematographically inspiring".[21] Orgeron stresses how "the preservational awareness of a personal and global world in transition frequently expresses itself in images of family in transit, families moving between geographical and temporal poles. That the motion camera is capable of recording the details of this mobility is obvious but centrally important."[22]

Orgeron was writing on film based practices, but changing technologies of cultural production (film, video or digital camera) have shaped new practices of recording, distributing and screening moving image. From celluloid to digital, from storing to sending, from keeping to sharing, from saving for later to instant connection. But are we still able to talk about a home movie or home video practice? What about the different social media practices: can we compare free internet video calls with other older amateur film practices? To be more precise: can we look at video call as a "moment collector"? What does it contribute to the construction of a family archive? Can we interpret a skype video call as being a home video "live"?

On a more general level, the emergence of social media practices on a mass scale brings about a set of new questions, because they "fall of the familiar limits of our cultural habits and expectations", as William Uricchio notes.[23] They are beyond the familiar objects as they are networked and collaborative cultural productions, multiply voiced and ongoing in the sense of not finished.[24] They fall as Uricchio writes: "between the cultural and the social", which refers to a distinction between the artifact and the means of its production.[25] So, if we do acknowledge the importance of patterns of interaction, we should value them as as important as the final text.

Already new technological applications are explored to save "patterns of interaction". Communication services like Skype now transform gradually from a tele-technology that places present over past, sharing over saving, to include more archival services as well. Skype and other companies have introduced saving features that makes it possible to record video calls and post them on a video sharing website.

Silverton taught us to think about media as providing a frame for experience, but also to see the media themselves as transformed by experience. And that is exactly what we can see happening here. New media technology is offering new possibilities, combining live communication and video, but it is also slowly re-invented by appropriating older home movie traditions. From home video to live to home video again. As a result, new and old themes interplay: funny dialogues, romantic conversations, celebrations of the first teeth or first steps are being performed and saved for future memories.

Smile, Wave and Blow a Kiss

If we want to understand new social and cultural practices within our post-geographical age we must avoid focusing on home movie and video making as a fixed medium.[26] In other words: we need a more plural concept of home and family life in combination with a more plural concept of domestic media technologies. According to Morley, we need to "decentre" media in order to understand how media processes and everyday life are interwoven with each other: try to look at them as a "*media ensemble*".[27] Only then will the smiling, the waving and the blowing of a kiss be recognised as conventions that connect different historical and contemporary media practices. They make visible the convergence of innovation with that what remains of the traditions. Only then can we also become aware how this change "reconfigures our relations with physical and digital places and situations, the way we organise our social relations and how we present ourselves".[28]

Notes

1   Jenkins, *Convergence Culture*, 17.

2   Morley, *Home Territories*.

3   Morley, *Home Territories*, 3

4   Cited by Morley, *Media, Modernity and Technology*, 224.

5   Odin, "Reflections on the family home movie as document," 257.

6   See for example Aasman, "Home Movies" or Aasman, "Gladly Breaking Bread."

7   De Lange, *Moving Circles*, 22.

8   "Oreo Webcam Commercial" http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yl95nIN3Jx8. Accessed September 21, 2011.

9   Morley, *Media, Modernity and Technology*, 201.

10   Wurtzel and Turner, "Latent Functions of the Telephone," 256–7.

11   See Morley, *Home Territories*, 2.

12   The concept and analysis of mediated interaction used here is based on Thompson, *Media and Modernity*.

13   See Morley, *Home Territories*, 2–3.

14   Du Maurier, "Edison's Telephonoscope."

15   Williams, *Television*, 19; see also Morley, *Home Territories*, 149.

16   Morley, *Media, Modernity and Technology*, 224.

17   Gillis, *A World of their Own Making*, xv.

18   Cited by Morley, *Home Territories*, 17.

19   Morley, *Home Territories*, 47.

20   Dirksen, "A Year of Living on the Small Screen."

21   Orgeron, "Mobile Home Movies," 77.

22   Orgeron, "Mobile Home Movies," 77.

23   Uricchio, "Moving Beyond the Artifact," 137.

24   Uricchio, "Moving Beyond the Artifact," 137.

25   Uricchio, "Moving Beyond the Artifact," 137.

26   See Berger, *And Our Faces*, 64 and Morley, *Home Territories*, 46–47.

27   Morley, *Media, Modernity and Technology*, 200.

28   Morley, *Media, Modernity and Technology*, 200.

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Part V:
WORKING
WITH THE ARCHIVE
Private Collections
and Artist Practices

I Am an Omission

There he is. A man of lank appearance, clad in a dark suit, a camera strapped around his shoulder, smiling, waving.

I saw him in Paris first, perhaps also later in Dijon (I am not sure), in London, Lisbon and Athens, and also in Basel, Amsterdam and Leeuwarden. Others apparently have seen him in Rome, in Berlin, in the Black Forest and in Besançon, but this I cannot state. An airline tag on one of his suitcases suggests that this man, unmistakably of Asian origin, returned to Saigon at one point.

After all, it is indeterminable where he has been, who has seen him where, and if he eventually returned to Vietnam. All that is left are three reels of 8mm film footage showing him on his Grand Tour d'Europe, yet there might have been more, the travel recording may be incomplete. Part of this private travelogue I have made into a film that takes its name from the upper part of the mentioned airline tag: *Destination Finale.*[1]

Through researching the temporal overlaps of the different shows whose neon advertisements can be seen in a sequence shot at night on Piccadilly Circus, it was possible to roughly date the footage to a time frame between the second half of 1964 and the first half of 1965. A look at the clothes worn by the people visible in the footage allowed for a further narrowing down: It was neither very hot nor excessively cold. Fall 1964 or spring 1965 appear most probable.

While it is unsure – as most other things the images are only hinting at – whether Saigon in fact was the final destination of the man's journey, this combination of place and time foreshadows a possible personal drama. The collective drama is well known: On March 8, 1965, the first 3.500 United States Marines were officially dispatched to South Vietnam. The rest is history. But is it also his story?

Once the footage has been edited into a film with a beginning and an ending, completeness, or the lack of it, does perhaps not matter that much anymore. The footage has been transformed into something that is complete in itself – a montage of cutouts of time and places that have been made reproducible outside of the original viewing context of private films (the home), but nonetheless largely maintain the characteristics of an "open text".

This transformation is contrary to the one that is often attributed to archival art film. In a special issue of the Austrian film journal *Blimp* dedicated to found footage film, Sharon Sandusky argues that archival art film offers a personal interpretation with the help of images from a collective catalogue of pictures.[2] *Destination Finale* instead puts

1   © Philip Widmann.

forward a 'generalisation' of a singular experience with the help of private film footage. The man, whoever he was, unintentionally has become a proxy.

Just as it has become impossible to reconstruct the number and sequence of stops in his journey, the life and the identity of the man who is the protagonist of *Destination Finale*, remains for the largest part a mystery.

In a shot not used in the film, another tag appears on the suitcase, which reveals not only the apparent destination of the return flight but a name and address in Saigon. Shortly after I had transformed the source footage into what is now a film, and more than 40 years after the footage was shot, I went to this address: The city had then been

called Ho Chi Minh City for 33 years already, but certain structures do not change as easily as a name. What had been a street in downtown Saigon in the mid-1960s was now a street in downtown Ho Chi Minh City. The street name had not changed, neither had the fact that it requires a certain affluence to reside in this part of town. Around the corner from a Louis Vuitton store, the building now housed a Japanese restaurant squeezed next to a boutique on the ground floor.

Perhaps this street looked more than ever in 2008 the way it may have looked in the 1960s. But Vietnam is a rejuvenated country. More than one fourth of its population is said to be below 14 years old and the median age is just above 27 years.[3] No one

The footage used in this film was shot either in fall 1964 or in early spring 1965.

2 © Philip Widmann.

remembers this man or his family having resided here almost 50 years ago. The owner of the building, supposedly very old, was not available. According to the staff at the boutique, the upper floors of the building are not used as residential property anymore.

Destination Finale is hence also a story of loss and amnesia. The motif of travel stands as a synecdoche for life. Saigon, the final destination of the trip, might also have become the final destination of the man's life. With a minimum of historical context information given at the end of the film, *Destination Finale* offers a "comprehension of death"[4], not only of the protagonist but also of a society and its non-official images that he stands as a proxy for.

The visit to the address given on the tag did not yield considerably more information than could be drawn from the footage itself: The man lived in downtown Saigon, the capital of a country that was then called South Vietnam, and that would cease its existence some ten years after the footage was shot. Whereas the place of residence points towards his social status, owning a camera and being able to travel to Europe already presupposed a certain wealth. The details of both social status and the purpose and circumstances of the trip, however, remain absolutely opaque.

Private films of people bring their life to a temporary stand, define it for the moment, and thus are – even if film at 16, 18 or 24 frames per second is capable of capturing

3   © Philip Widmann.

movement – not entirely dissimilar to the notion of the photograph as a moment frozen in time. They perhaps also share some likeness to Stuart Hall's thought of identity as being a momentary halt to an infinite sequence of constant repositionings of the Self.[5] To record myself is to make myself identifiable. However, this Self is not me. It is a fragment of who I used to be, a pose, a figure, an anachronism.

As banal as it may be: Just as much as a person cannot be depicted as a whole, life can't either. For most people, life normally takes place between the images, in the omissions, the areas uncovered by cameras. The recording must remain incomplete, just as any other memory.

Besides the fact that this specific footage, as can be assumed of other private films, was never intended for our eyes to see, and thus arouses an interest that is barely distinguishable from voyeurism, private visual recordings offer another attractive feature: Since they depict real people but can – by definition – not exhaustively cover their entire lives, they evoke our speculation.

The visible points towards the invisible. Or, as Patricia Zimmermann puts it: "Home movies speak through their gaps."[6] And some of what is outside the frame (or inside the gap) is always already present: Our knowledge, our expectations and cultural predispositions as viewers. In almost the same manner as we sometimes silently com-

4   © Philip Widmann.

plete sentences that were begun by others, the omissions in the recordings are being filled with a combination of the visible with our imagination, knowledge, and memories. Alfred Hitchcock reckoned that viewers' mental images are not evoked by what is in front of their eyes but originate in their memories – just as, when they were children, they used to fill the gaps and their minds with images they created themselves a posteriori.[7]

What, then, can be made of the inchoate information that the footage used in *Destination Finale* gives away? Can we even trust our own knowledge and experience, the way we fill in the blanks? If there are people who think they see Berlin and Rome in the film, should they be told that the only places that

do appear are Paris (and perhaps Dijon), London, Lisbon, Belém, and Athens? Does it matter?

Does it matter whether this was just a joyous trip or perhaps the fun part of a more grave undertaking – a business trip, espionage activity, or the preparation stages of political exile?

What is most striking about the footage, and what I tried to intensify in the film, is the way it was shot. At first look it seems to follow basic amateur (non-)principles – in-camera edits, short and often unmotivated shots, a bias on people known to the camera operator – and thus evokes an uncannily universal aesthetic of amateur film. The aesthetic model of the footage, however, seems to draw on

postcards rather than on other travel films: Europe serves as a mere backdrop to the man's wanderings, its inhabitants mostly appear at the margins of the frame, as mobile inventory between the monumental props of Europe's capitals, seemingly as interesting as cars, yet still capable of staring at the man and looking back at the camera.

The footage is not so much a travelogue or a rendering of the tourist's gaze on cellulose acetate than the depiction of the tourist's desire itself. To be made visible somewhere, or perhaps even to fuse with this European background, instead of seeing something seems to be the real attraction. The camera, then, serves less so as an enhancement of vision but as one of imagination: On film, we all can merge with our surroundings, even if they feel alien and distant in the exo-filmic life. It is a proof of having been there, actually there, a materialised imagination of belonging.

Then again, is it maintainable to assume that the footage belongs to the man, that as a director in front of the camera he is also the author? That he is a first person and not a third? That the footage was shaped by his desire and volition?

Who operated the camera and how this person was related to the man in front of the camera is ultimately unknowable. Was it the Asian man who appears in one shot in France and in another in Basel? What about the dark-haired European man who also appears twice, in Amsterdam and Lisbon? Or the Asian woman who sets up the scene with the suitcases on what apparently is the walkway of a hotel in Greece? Was she perhaps his wife? When editing the film, I decided to exclude all these rudimentary leads in order to make the man what he seemed destined for: To be all alone, beckoning to us, his imaginary audience.

What we – the "we" in this case being a Western audience – do see is in fact a strange inversion of our own experience with, and memory of tourism. A postcolonial subject (French colonialism in Indochina had only ended some ten years before the footage was shot) acts out a conditioned behavior that we all know by heart – in a time when this presumably was a rather unlikely sight: Strolling through foreign lands, touring what is deemed interesting and worth seeing, taking snapshots.

Whereas thoughts like these might linger diffusely in our heads throughout the duration of the film, they are being adjusted and aligned by the title cards at the end of it, giving date and place of finding the footage, the probable date of shooting and travel, and only the slightest bit of historical context information: The relative concurrence of the end of the trip and the first official deployment of US ground forces to South Vietnam.

Both the inversion of the gaze within the footage and the historical concurrence, added as background information from outside the frame, help the film to delineate a private counter-history opposing or complementing the dominant (visual) historical narratives with regard to tourism as well as with regard to the Vietnam War. It is a "sideshadow"[8] of the official versions of history, and – depending on the viewers' knowledge – might also foreshadow an altogether different ending which lies both outside of the source footage and the film: Given his ability to travel, the man's trip to Europe might be read as a pre-inspection of possible places of refuge some ten years after the footage was shot when around 1.6 million South Vietnamese fled their country after the fall of Saigon.

Notes

1 *Destination Finale*, Germany 2008, 9'15, 8 mm transferred to Beta SP PAL, color, stereo, *Destination Finale* is currently available on DVD as a supplement to *Incite! Journal of Experimental Media and Radical Aesthetics*, Issue #2: Counter Archive.

2 Sandusky, "Archäologie der Erlösung," 14.

3 CIA, World Factbook.

4 Forgács, "Wittgenstein Tractatus: Personal Reflections on Home Movies," 49.

5 Hall, *Rassismus und kulturelle Identität*, 34.

6 Zimmermann, "Speculations on Home Movies," 19.

7 See Virilio, *Die Sehmaschine*, 17 f.

8 Wees, "'How it *was* then'," 2. Wees refers to the concept of sideshadowing as introduced by Michael André Bernstein "to characterize events related to, but not incorporated within a dominant historical narrative" which has been applied in relation to archival art film by Jeffrey Skoller in his book *Shadows, Specters, Shards: Making History in Avant-Garde Films*.

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Kathrin Franke

Hungary, Summer

Perspectives on the Representation of a Woman on Holiday Slides

The world is in the eye of the beholder.[1]
Humberto R. Maturana

About one hundred slides and a projector happened to be found in a plastic bag on a sidewalk in Weimar. Someone had thrown them away with clothes and household equipment, maybe after their owner(s) had died. Most of the slides show a woman, who appears to have spent her holidays in Hungary in the 1960s. For people from the former GDR, Hungary was a very popular summer destination, since they were only allowed to go on holiday to fellow socialist countries in Eastern Europe. There is noth-

1   Woman in front of a motel.

2 Woman on a bridge in Budapest.

ing special in the way the woman is represented in the pictures. Either she stands alone in front of a building or a holiday scenery at Lake Balaton, or she is photographed together with a couple – all in all a collection of rather typical holiday snapshots: hopping from one sight to the other and meticulously fixing them with the camera.

Private photographic material showing persons, that are unfamiliar to us, opens up a wide space for speculations: Who are they? Where are they? What might be their story? When I started thinking about and working with the found slides, I was not looking for the 'truth', but 'meaning'. My intention was not to do justice to the persons on the pictures in the sense of telling their 'real' story, but to acquire the material in terms of transforming something meaningless into something meaningful. If the observer creates re-

ality (Maturana), then any kind of interpretation – be it artistic or scholar – would be the effect of a decision making process based on permanent exclusion of alternative versions. The starting point of my 'acquisition' of the found slides was a historical perspective: I looked for indications, where and when the pictures were taken. The dim colours evoked the atmosphere of Szusza Bánk's novel *The Swimmer* and I started to associate them with the depressed atmosphere in Hungary after the political unrest in 1956. After the Soviet Army had brutally suppressed the strikes and demonstrations, more than 200.000 people left the country before the communist government of Hungary closed the border to Austria. Taken in the aftermath of these tragic events, the slides seem to induce an impression of the oppressive 're-normalisation'.

3   Woman and child, and a man with a hat.

4 Bungalows.

Beside the historical context I began to wonder about the relationship between the woman and the person who photographed her. Are the pictures relics of a couple's honeymoon or did they belong to a couple that had already been married for a long time? After many years of summer holidays spent together the woman might have become a routine eye-catcher in front of the camera and willingly took on the role of a 'decoration' to liven up boring sceneries ... I tried to imagine concrete interactions between them and zoomed into the psyche of the woman. The result of this subjective approach to the material was the following fictive text.[2]

Eye-catcher

Take up a stand there. A little bit more to the right. Stop, that's already been too far ... Again a bit to the left. Stop! Keep standing like this. Stomach in, chest out. Yes, that's OK ... And more of your profile. Very nice. Say cheese! ... Come on, give me a smile ... Put a smile on your face, darling. Yes, that's good. And 3, 2, 1, click!

Her facial muscles shaking after his camera let her be. The frantically strained corners of her mouth twitching and sinking. The crow's feet around her eyes continuing to simulate a forced smile as if their reaction time was retarded or they wanted to distract the attention from the gaffe of her mouth, until he turned away and started looking for a new background she was to take up a stand in front of. Between the shoots there was no need to hide, as all parts of her face wanted to

5   Boat trip.

surrender to gravity. She let it go without restraint. *Don't make such a fuss! ... OK, that's fine. And ... zap! Good, that's in the can.* He wanted to kiss her, which she did not like and turned her head away from him. His wet lips on her cheek, while his mouth talked itself away.

Summer in Hungary. At Lake Balaton were only a few tourists. Tired waves slapped against the beach. The holiday estate looked like a façade. When she approached the bungalows made of chipboard she was always afraid they would collapse. The staff did its job and talked little. Nor did either of them speak.

They got to know a couple from Dresden. Their talks circulated around the meal and the weather. He worked at the local state administration. She was a Russian language teacher and the leader of the Communist Youth at her school. A sticky trap shut. She tried to avoid meeting them and crept into her room, when their self-righteous voices went for a walk around the bungalows. He excused her several times because of *indisposition. – Are you pregnant?* the couple from Dresden curiously asked her once, when they were on a boat trip and she stared into space. She gave them the reason they looked for and said – *Yes.*

Lean against the railing, darling, legs loose. Come on, relax ... Good. And now put up the ball in front of your chest ... No, that's too high ... Yes, good. Stay like that. The position is perfect. Say cheese. Cheese please, cheese. Her, under the control of the camera: stiff from the feet to the hips, her torso itching – *The swimsuit could be more provocative!* – sweat trickling from under the swimming cap. When he pressed the ball into her hands,

6 Woman on a footbridge.

she felt a jolt in her arms, but it remained a reflex strangled at birth: pushing him into the lukewarm water and staring at him with her grave face while he came up gulping for air. And then – *Wanna fight your way out, um?* – the camera under her control: She unscrupulously aimed at his ruffled forehead, the biting flashes in his eyes and his line-shaped mouth searching for a swear word – *You bitch!* – and ... cut:

The film is not full yet, darling. Just look out of the window, so we have an impression of how nice our bungalow is. I'll also take a picture of our room. Take away the dirty towels on the bed! Back home, when he doggedly sorted out the pictures she had made during their holidays – *You just cannot handle a camera, my dear. It's a shame about the money!* – and

later withheld them from the neighbours during their joint slideshow evening, she had long since vanished from the field of view without a trace.

Writing a fictional (sub)-text gave me the opportunity to create a reality 'backstage' and fill the slides with subjective meaning. Looking from an analytical point of view, the story is based on two narrative perspectives that are presented in a controversial (imaginary) dialogue: On the one hand, direct speech of the husband, who gives her instructions on how she should look and behave in front of the camera. On the other hand, a neutral narrator, who describes her gestures and facial expressions and who seems to be able to read her thoughts. The text accentuates a stereotypical gender relation: The wife passively carries out the instructions of her husband and is not able to express her frustration or her needs. Resistance against him remains a "reflex strangled at birth" as she is not able to throw him into the water. Even in the end, when she "disappears from the field of view", it is not an active decision to go away, but rather a passive process of vanishing or being erased. The woman is trapped in typical holiday routines. She pretends to function by behaving like a 'happy tourist', but inside she is emotionally shaken by suppressed anger and fury. In the course of the story the woman is gradually replaced by another person that could be her but never became her. To some extent this is a 'would/could-have-been-person', who is aware of her emotions but unable to express them and follow spontaneous impulses. Whereas the photographer seems to have full control over the situation, she sinks into depression. Her exhaustion is even mirrored
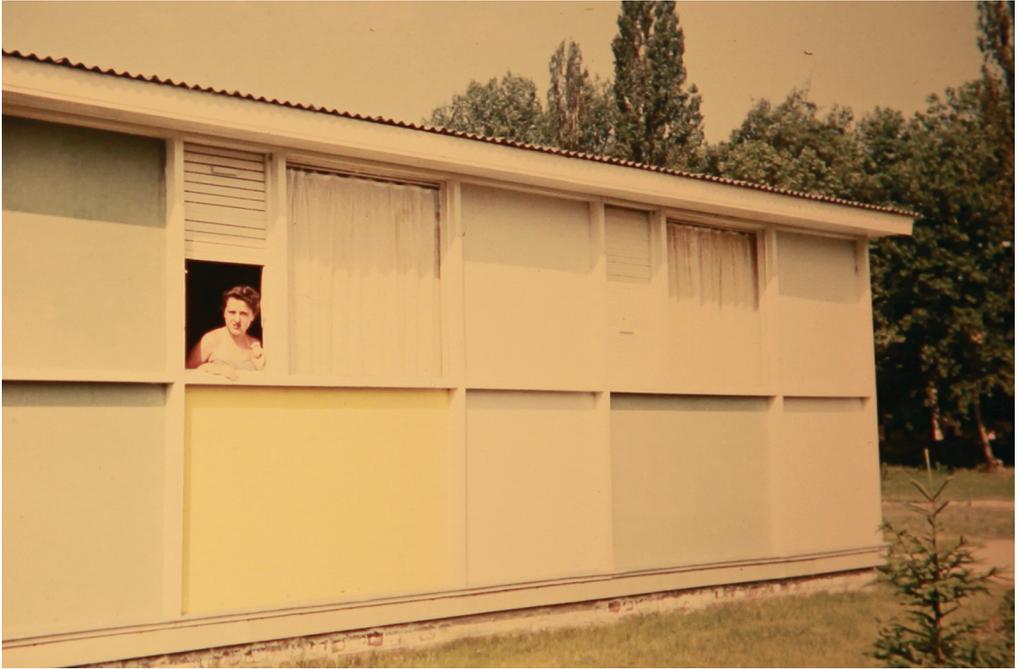
7   Woman looking out of a bungalow window.

8   Empty room.

9   © Tobias Klich, without title, oil on canvas, 50 × 70 cm, 2006–09.

by the surrounding: "tired waves slapped against the beach", uncommunicative interactions between the Hungarian staff and the couple or "bungalows made of chipboard" that "could collapse" any time. To stress this depressive atmosphere, the text also evokes the confined GDR-background the woman came and possibly wanted to escape from: The "couple from Dresden" is a symbol for opportunist GDR-citizen. Having jobs in accordance with the socialist state ideology, their inquisitive questions make the woman mistrustful and she hides from them.

Whereas the fictional text above shows the inner world of the woman at the very moment of being exposed to the camera, the paintings of Tobias Klich seem to reconstruct crucial incidents of her biography.

Starting point for Tobias Klich's approach to the material was a simultaneous and overlapping projection of a few selected slides. This multilayered reality created a surreal compression of the façade-like holiday reality.

In the above picture (fig. 9), the painter combined two slides: standing at the railing at the beach of Lake Balaton (fig. 6) and looking out of a bungalow window (fig. 7). Holding a ball in her hand may imply an infantilisation of the woman and a regression towards childhood. At the same time, the slide stresses her feminine body, whereas her head is hidden under a cap. In the painting, the bungalow functions like a wall that prevents from looking into the open space or at the horizon. The world of the woman is narrow and full of restraints. It does not

10   © Tobias Klich, without title, oil on canvas, 50 × 70 cm, 2006–09.

leave opportunities to move and act freely. The footbridge does not lead into the open water, but into a kind of dead end consisting of several rooms that look like boxes.

The picture also introduces the figure of an observer who is looking out of the window. Watching out of a window can be seen as an allegory for a strong desire to be connected with the world outside. At the same time it reveals the inability to do so, because the person stays inside the building. He or she remains an observer and does not enter the world as a subject taking action. In relation to the slides, the inactive/passive observer could be the woman, who is looking at herself from an outward position. It also could be a neutral observer comparable to the narrator in the story who functions like a silent witness.

The second painting (fig. 10) can also be interpreted as an allegory for loneliness and hopelessness. The impression of inescapability is even further strengthened by the seriality of the bungalows. Things seem to happen over and over again and there is no way to escape them. The accumulated bungalows do not look like a holiday estate anymore, but are like barracks in a refugee camp or – even more drastically – in a concentration camp. Again, there is an observer or witness who surveys the situation but remains passive.

The third painting (fig. 11) seems to trace back to the past of the woman. The ball in the hand of the girl implies that she must be the woman shown in the first picture. The girl is larger than life and turns away from the scenery. Only one half of her head is

11   © Tobias Klich, without title, oil on canvas, 50 × 70 cm, 2006–09.

visible, the upper part seems to be wiped out. She is not able to see or to witness, because her eyes are missing. Furthermore we see a street life scene with a small crowd of people that seem to hasten away. The people do not look like individuals but rather like a cluster welded together. Some of them have already dissolved and seem erased. In the foreground there is a doubled figure. Its alter ego or twin partner is a white silhouette. Another person is vertically falling out of the window as if she were a block of wood or concrete. Following the wall along the house and looking around the corner, one can see more people hanging under the ledges like icicles or bat-like creatures. Even in the sky, the motif of headfirst hanging / falling people is repeated. The scene evokes parallels to a story by the Russian writer Da-

niil Kharms called *Plummeting old Women*: "A certain old woman, out of excessive curiosity, fell out of a window, plummeted to the ground, and was smashed to pieces. Another old woman leaned out of the window and began looking at the remains of the first one, but she also, out of excessive curiosity, fell out of the window, plummeted to the ground and was smashed to pieces. Then a third old woman plummeted from the window, then a fourth, then a fifth. By the time a sixth old woman had plummeted down, I was fed up watching them, and went off to Mal'tsevisky Market where, it was said, a knitted shawl had been given to a certain blind man."

The narrator does not give any explanation of what is happening, but only notices the monotonous act of "plummeting" with-

12 © Tobias Klich, without title, oil on canvas, 50 × 70 cm, 2006–09.

out registering the cruelty of the whole situation. The story was written in the midst of the Stalinist purges at the end of the 1930s/beginning of the 1940s, when thousands of people disappeared without trace.

Explicitly showing the sexual abuse of a girl, the final painting (fig. 12) confirms the suspicion something very drastic and traumatic is happening here. The man with a conical hat can be found in one of the original slides (fig. 3), where he looks like a badly camouflaged spy, who is following the woman like a dark shade. His devious and at the same time clumsy-like posture and facial expression on the slide is 'quoted' by Tobias Klich. The head of the man appears several times at the right bottom of the picture like an echo. There is a group of people curiously watching the incident. Again, there is the silent observer/witness looking out of the window.

Oscillating between childhood sequences of a girl and holiday scenes of a woman, Tobias Klich's paintings reveal a multidimensional spatial impression and evoke the experience of temporal simultaneity. They do not only assemble the fragmented reality of the slides by indicating chapters of a story, but also intensify the blurred and enigmatic atmosphere of the original material. They are allegories for the loneliness and unfulfilled yearning of a person, who has experienced traumatic incidents. Although she seemed to be under observation all the time, no one *really* sees her. Being either observed or being a passive witness is a crucial motif in the fictional text as well as in the paintings. In the story, it is the gaze of the hus-

band that is directing and fixing the woman. In the paintings, it is a crowd or a distant observer who is watching cruel and abusive acts without interfering.

Touristic photography obeys certain unwritten rules of behavior. Spreading happiness and being willing to pose in front of sights are the crucial demands that need to be performed constantly. Both the story and the paintings thwart this logic by using the harmonious sceneries portrayed on the slides as projection surface for unexpressed emotions and thoughts. Whereas the fictive story concentrates on the fatal meshing of inner and exterior constraints, which mutually intensify each other, the paintings are an allegory: Instead of going on a journey to unknown places, traveling turns into a confrontation with the past. Both artistic and scholar interpretation change the 'message' of the original material to the very opposite: inertia and inescapability instead of joy and relaxation.

Notes

1   This translation of "Die Welt entsteht im Auge des Betrachters" – the subtitle of an anthology of Maturana's texts edited by zur Lippe, *Was ist erkennen?* – sums up his theories, as put forward in Maturana and Varela, *Autopoeisis and Cognition;* Maturana, "Reality".

2   The following text is a revised version. The original can be found at http://www.plotki.net/cms/ index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id =831&Itemid=31. Accessed September 28, 2011.

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Michèle Walerich

I was here

Exhibition from 26 March 2010 to 13 June 2010
Production Centre national de l'audiovisuel (CNA)
                  http://www.cna.lu
Curators   Marguy Conzémius, Michèle Walerich

I was here questions and presents different approaches on the subject of tourism, based on a photographic heritage that seems innocuous, anonymous, forgotten and often, from the technical point of view, of average quality.

It revisits the close relationship that tourism and photography have always maintained, as the one has grown in parallel to the democratisation of the other.

For tourists, photography appears to be an indispensable means by which to own their subject, to fully possess the experience of a landscape, of a historic or cultural site. Taking pictures is a way of relating to the world and grasping it by reducing it to a kind of miniature. As Susan Sontag states in her renowned work *On Photography*: "To collect photographs is to collect the world."[1]

Dealing with different kinds of tourist experiences – trips, vacations and travelling – the pictures exhibited have been valorised in a variety of ways: on one hand they have been preserved for their aesthetic value and historical interest, while on the other they have been reconsidered by artists and replicated in new contexts.

The central part of the exhibition presents a wide range of 'tourist iconography' selected from public archives (Centre national de l'audiovisuel, National Library, etc.), from precious albums of the grand voyages of the second half of the nineteenth century to a more official view of tourism, rendered by a collection bequeathed by the National Tourist Office, a series of stamp-sized intimate photographs ...

Parallel to these samples of 'archival' documents, *I was here* brings together various art practices around the topic of tourism and travelling, whose common impetus is the breathing of new life into found images: Erik Kessels hunts down new stories through photographs taken out of their original context and publishes them in serial editions, Robert Schlotter, who draws his images from recuperated Super8-films, addresses the process of memory creation, while Joachim Schmid has been exploring the world of found photographs for many years now, with almost obsessive rigor – but not without a degree of humor.

Working with found photography is an increasingly popular area that has a long history: from the practices of the Surrealists, who collected and reevaluated visual documents found in newspapers as well as photographs considered as purely 'functional', by way of Marcel Duchamp's iconic gesture of the ready-made, to today's image gleaning on the Internet.

As artists reengage with pictures today, they allow us to withstand the temptation of a purely sentimental or nostalgic viewpoint and to open our minds to critically reconsider the visual codes we have become used to in the context of a mass-media society.

I was here focuses on the realisation that a picture has multiple layers and that much of its potential is revealed depending on the use we make of it and the platform we present it on: whether we tell a story through the process of reassembling images in an album, sharing them on a social network, reusing them as an artist, or exploiting them for research purposes.

The exhibition highlights these status shifts between private and public display, blurs categorisations between amateur and professional use, and foregrounds the challenging and complex issues that dealing with a visual heritage involves.

ERIK KESSELS
in almost every picture #1
in almost every picture #1 is a collection featuring several hundred images of a woman being photographed by her husband on numerous trips between 1956 and 1968. From picture to picture, from one place to another, we can see her posing gracefully as a central figure. We observe her gradual ageing, witness the subtle changes in her

person, from the variations in her hairstyle and taste in fashion, to how her husband's gaze upon her alters. The starting point of this series is that of an amateur, but the series evolves intuitively with outstanding coherence and stylistic determination to a consistent twelve-year reportage unplanned at the outset. The collection is unique in the way it gives us an insight into the normally hidden side of an ordinary's person's life and private memories. Yet the presentation is not voyeuristic and never ironic, but compiled in such a way that we encounter the images with empathy and tenderness.

in almost every picture #1 is part of an ongoing series of found images. Beyond the simple recovery of old photographs – no longer an exceptional feat in itself – Erik Kessels is primarily interested in the story that the collection tells in its new context. The anonymity of the protagonists in the pictures makes them an inexhaustible target for speculation, a fruitful terrain for inventing and reinventing their second lives. Their pureness of intention, their imperfections and flaws, have something salutary about them, when compared to the slick and over-processed visual world we are constantly exposed to.

Dust, scratches, grain and other traces of time on the photographic paper contribute to conferring a patina of truly lived experience on these images. This inherent quality sought for today by the use of popular Smart Phone applications like Hipstamatic brings to light a quest for authenticity, as a reaction to the shallowness of the mass flow of digital images. Such a 'vintage aesthetic' seems to provide a certain materiality and depth and instantly charges images with a degree of authority and history.

Yet the evocation of nostalgia through these 'fake' vintage prints is a roundabout way of talking about present reality and quite symptomatic of the complexities of a globalised world, where distinct comprehension and experience often escape us.

ROBERT SCHLOTTER
Memories and how to get them

Robert Schlotter's work tackles the question of how memory is created. Lived experiences, sundry influences, imagination, cultural orientation, recollections seen time and again, are combined, filtered, amplified or toned down – giving rise to mental images. Yet there is also the physical image that triggers representation in our minds. Robert Schlotter is interested in how these disparate images come together and overlap leading to the construction of a memory. Using double exposure techniques from moving pictures, Schlotter obtains images that have a blurred, transitory texture. They remain vague, lack definition and drift in a temporal no man's land, like metaphors of the gaps in memory. *Memories and how to get them* raises the question about the latent, fragmentary nature of photography. On the one hand, its shifting between reality and fiction and vice versa gives rise to a quasi-infinite participative narrative. On the other hand, the awareness of the diversity of potential openings to representation stresses the impossibility of one absolute literal image and sharpens our critical reception and the way in which we deal with images. This topic is even more relevant when photography is used as a means to reflect upon the past and on collective remembrance. Contrary to popular opinion, memory is not a stable reservoir, but is shaped by the very act of recollection. Each alteration in world view involves new means of constructing it.

JOACHIM SCHMID
Archiv, 1986–1999

'No new photographs until the old ones have been used up'.

Archiv, a collection of thousands of photographs which illustrates this statement particularly well, was released by Schmid in 1989 on the occasion of photography's 150th anniversary.

Indexed into very personal, yet revealing classifications and image genres between 1986 and 1999, *Archiv* provides us with a different view of twentieth century photography, by deliberately excluding categories like photojournalism and art or fashion photography in order to privilege the so-called vernacular procedures: anonymous snapshots, commercial photography, postcards and catalogue images ... For *I was here* Schmid selected 24 panels on the subject of tourism – a new slant on his idea of each panel representing a 'type' of photography, borrowed from anthropologist methodology. A snapshot of a sunset, a view of a skyline, a monument, a hotel room ... the same pictures appear again and again. Stereotypes and commonplaces, revealed in the context of private images, demonstrating that for the average tourist the real quest isn't so much about visiting a place, as the preconceived idea of an image they expect to find of a place. Intent on using photography as a proof of lived experience, people operate by recording their lives selectively.

Archiv gives us food for thought concerning the sociology of photography, as much as it unveils the emotional charge of every single image as such.

Erik Kessels (1966) is a founding partner and Creative Director of KesselsKramer, an independent international communications agency located in Amsterdam. Kessels works and has worked for national and international clients such as Nike, Diesel, J&B Whisky, Oxfam, Ben and The Hans Brinker Budget Hotel for which he has won numerous international awards. Kessels is a photography collector and has published several books of his 'collected' images with KesselsKramer-Publishing – including the in almost every picture-series. Since 2000, he has been one of the editors of the alternative photography magazine Useful Photography. He has curated exhibitions such as Loving Your Pictures at the Centraal Museum Utrecht, The Netherlands and at the Rencontres Internationales de la Photographie Arles. During the opening of the first Graphic Design Museum in the world in Breda, Erik organised an exhibition entitled The European Championship of Graphic Design. For the DVD art project Loud & Clear he worked together with artists such as Marlene Dumas and Candice Breitz.

Robert Schlotter was born in 1981 in Jena, Germany. From 2000 till 2002 he attended a vocational education as mediadesign assistent in Plauen and started studying photography at the University of Applied Sciences Bielefeld, Faculty of Art and Design in 2003. Between 2005 and 2006 Robert Schlotter lived and worked in Halle (Saale) to realise the project Halle-Silberhöhe, which was published as book in 2009. In the year 2008 Robert Schlotter won the Canon-Profifoto-Award with his work Hotel Zagreb and achieved a schoolarship for Helsinki. Along the way he was working for the finnish artist Jari Silomäki. Robert Schlotter graduated from the University of Applied Sciences Bielefeld with his final work Memories and how to get them in 2009 (Prof. Katharina Bosse). In 2010 Robert Schlotter achieved a schoolarsip from the German Academic Exchange Service for the realisation his upcoming project Looking beyond Cold War.

Joachim Schmid (1955) is a Berlin-based artist. He has been working with found photographs since the early 1980s. In 1990 he founded the Institut zur Wiederaufbereitung von Altfotos (The Institute for the Reprocessing of Used Photographs). His works have been shown internationally in solo and group exhibitions. His publications include Erste allgemeine Altfotosammlung (1991), Bilder von der Strasse (1994), Very Miscellaneous (1997), Sinterklaas ziet alles (1998), A meeting on holiday (2003), Belo Horizonte, Praça Rui Barbosa (2004), and Photoworks 1982–2007 (2007). His work is included in numerous collections, including the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Daelim Contemporary Art Museum, Seoul, Fonds National d'Art Contemporain, Paris, Maison Européenne de la Photographie, Paris, Museo de arte contemporánea de Vigo, Museum Folkwang, Essen, Nederlands Fotomuseum, Rotterdam, San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, and Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam.

Notes

1   Susan Sontag, *On Photography*. London: Penguin Books, 1979, 3.

2   CNA archives, Inventory number: HISAAR M327. Collection: Norbert Theis. Photographer(s): unknown.

3   CNA archives, Inventory number: HISAAR 300A, 300B, 637, 954. Collection: Norbert Theis. Photographer(s): unknown.

4   For instance, see Tony Dutreux's album below.

5   CNA archives, Inventory number: HISAAV 1703–2461. Collection Office du Tourisme. Photographer(s): unknown.

6   CNA archives, Inventory number: HISAAH 1–119. Collection Groenland. Photographer(s): unknown.

7   CNA archives, Inventory number: HISAAB 619–790. CollectionThiry. Photographer(s): unknown.

8   Réserve Précieuse, Bibliothèque nationale de Luxembourg, Inventory number: MS.IV:286. Photographers: Peter Bergheim, Wilhelm Hammerschmidt, Justin Kozlowski, Frank Mason Good, Otto von Ostheim and unknown photographers.

Erik Kessels
in almost every picture #1

N°5 / June 1956 / Tamarin

N°122 / April 1959 / Madrid

N°142 / July 1959 / Formentor

N°128 / July 1959 / Camp de Mar

N°184 / September 1960 / Barcelona

Robert Schlotter

Memories and how to get them

Memories and how to get them, 2009

Memories and how to get them, 2009

Robert Schlotter

Memories and how to get them, 2009

Memories and how to get them, 2009

Joachim Schmid
Archiv, 1986–1999

Archiv #342, 1993

Archiv #203, 1992

Joachim Schmid

Archiv #618, 1995

Archiv #642, 1995

Joachim Schmid

Archiv #277, 1992

Archiv #115, 1990

Joachim Schmid

Archiv #40, 1988

Archiv #374, 1995
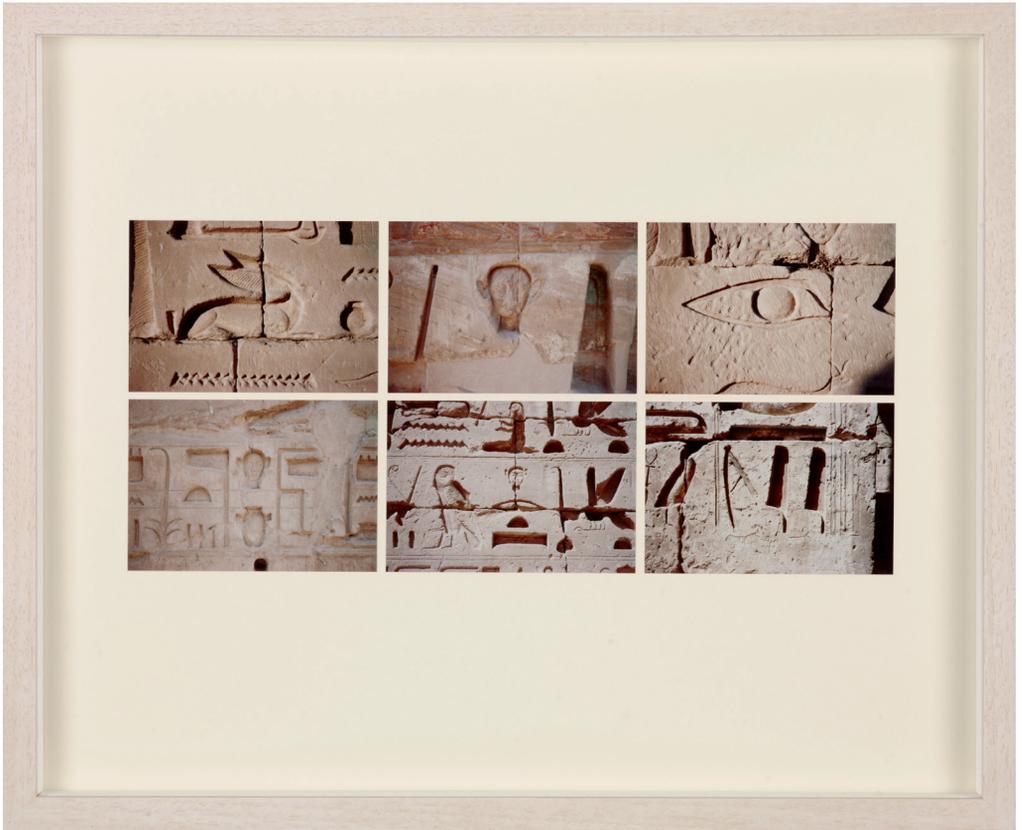
Public Archives
Album on China

Album on China was bought for 3600 Luxemburg Francs (ca. 900 €) by Norbert Theis in a flea market. In the aim of drawing up an inventory of the development of photographic devices from the beginnings of photography until the 1980s, he also collected photographic documents from the same epoch. The *Album on China* contains 48 gelatine chloride darkened prints dating from around 1908. The pictures represent places and buildings in Peking (Lama Temple, Temple of the Sky, Pagoda of the Janu Temple, The English Railway Station...), monuments (Kettler Monument – German diplomat, ambassador of the German delegation in China at the end of the 19th Century, who died on 20 June 1900 during the Boxer Revolt) and events marking the history of China (The burial of Emperor Guangxu, who died in 1908 and the arrival of the 13th Dalai Lama to Peking), as well as depictions of people going about their everyday lives (hairdressers, ironmongers...). Even though the photographer is anonymous and that little is known of the owner of this album, it is nonetheless a document which provides a wealth of information on daily life and historical events in China in the early 20th Century.

Inventory Number CNA Archive: HISAAR M327
Collection Norbert Theis
Photographer(s): unknown
(Reproduced as presented in the original album)

TOMBEAU DES PRINCESSES PRES PEKIN

Album and travel journal Tony Dutreux

In 1867, Tony Dutreux set out on a study voyage to the Orient (Egypt and Palestine) while construction work on the Suez Canal was underway. Of this adventure, he left a leather-bound, 148-leafed photo album in 47,5 × 61,5 cm format. The photographs – albumen prints in various formats – are all affixed to the right hand pages. The photos feature panoramas of urban and natural landscapes, architecture (citadels, temples, public squares, mosques, monuments, cemeteries, pyramids…), portraits, biblical landscapes. Certain photographs – countersigned by their authors – were taken by renowned photographers such as Antonio Beato, Peter Bergheim, Wilhelm Hammerschmidt, Justin Kozlowski and Otto von Ostheim. The album also contains a handful of panoramic views which are exceptional in terms of format (up to 2 metres) and the reproduction of a drawing in Indian ink (signed F. A. Brockhaus X. A.). It is accompanied by a manuscript containing re-transcriptions of letters that Tony Dutreux had written between January and April 1867 and which relate the observations made during the voyage.

Inventory Number Special Collection (Réserve Précieuse), Bibliothèque nationale de Luxembourg: MS.IV:286
Photographers: Peter Bergheim, Wilhelm Hammerschmidt, Justin Kozlowski, Frank Mason Good, Otto von Ostheim and unknown.

Voyage to Groenland

Voyage to Groenland is a series of 119 colour slides from an atypical travel destination, the island of Greenland. Neither the author of the pictures, nor the nature of the trip, are known. Most likely it was a private individual who undertook this trip in 1961. The viewpoint conveyed hovers between a purely scientific documentary vision and a vision imbued with a taste for the picturesque: purity of landscape, breathtaking panoramas, lyrical compositions. The fact of having chosen reversal film (slides) to capture the souvenirs of this voyage may have been for technical and aesthetic reasons: slide film produces more vivid colours, closer to reality, than prints made from negative film. Already in the photographer's mind prior to departure was the idea of showing such impressive images to friends and family upon his or her return. Slide show evenings were quite popular during the sixties, and back then, it was the only means of allowing several people at the same time to spectacularly witness one's holiday adventures. 1961 was also the year in which Kodak brought out its first 80-slide capacity carousel projector.

Inventory Number CNA
Archive: HISAAH 1—119
Collection Groenland
Photographer(s) unknown

Promotion of Tourism by the Office of Tourism

In the post-war years, the Office of Tourism (later called the National Tourism Office (ONT)) called upon renowned Luxemburg photographers, and amateurs too, to set up an image-bank with which to create its brochures, publications and posters and to promote Luxemburg and its tourist sites, both nationally and internationally. Here presented is an excerpt from a series of slides that the ONT bequeathed to the CNA in 1998, which representatives from the Ministry of Tourism, ONT agents and volunteers used to promote Luxemburg to professionals and the public in the course of trade shows and conferences. This "official" vision of tourism was conveyed by means of slides until the arrival of the video cassette.

Inventory Number CNA Archive: HISAAV 1703–2461
Collection Office du Tourisme
Photographer(s) unknown

Clervaux Abtei

Clervaux Schlass

Dideleng Stadthaus

Echternach Vue Gen.

Echternach Abbaye

Echternach Denzelt

Monsanto

Ehnen

Ehnen

Esch/Alz. Spidol

Esch/Alz. Ecole Prof.

Esch/Sure Vue aérienne

SEBES

Larochette

Camping

E'sleck Landschaft

Brout

Blumen

Hiescht

Schne'männchen

Baure Bomi

Tracteur am Hé

Autos Expo

Kamion

Ambulance

Parking

Petroltank Alca

Autobunn Esch

Findel Luxair

Ballon

Entrance tickets for the Universal Exhibitions

Entrance tickets for the Universal Exhibitions of Antwerp (1894), Brussels (1897 and 1910) and Liege (1905) also come from the collection of Norbert Theis. He paid 500 Luxemburg Francs (ca 13 €) each for them at the flea market; In visitor's card format, (6 × 10 cm), these tickets feature the ID photo and the signature of the holder on the front side as well as the subscription category (child, civil servant, etc …). The reverse side features information on the place and date of the exhibition, the entry price, a number, the name of the holder, and instructions for ticket use. The goal of the universal exhibitions was to present the industrial creations of the various participating countries and thus represent the technological and industrial development of each nation. The first universal exhibition was held in London in 1851. Closely bound to the journeys and expeditions undertaken to the Orient and Asia in the course of the 19th Century, visitors to these exhibitions could regularly admire photographic documents testifying to European industrial investment abroad (for instance, see Tony Dutreux's *Album on China*).

Inventory Number CNA Archive: HISAAR 300A, 300B, 637, 954
Collection Norbert Theis
Photographer(s) unknown

Carte d'Abonnement

Mme *Hermesse*

Profession :

Signature :

Carte d'Abonnement d'Enfant

N° 6497

Signature - Handtecken

637

Exposition Universelle de Liége 1905

ABONNEMENT

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Pour le Comité Exécutif :

Le Directeur Général de l'Exploitation,

637

EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE | WERELDTENTOONSTELLING

D'ANVERS 1894 | VAN ANTWERPEN 1894

N° 6497

CARTE D'ABONNEMENT POUR ENFANT en-dessous de 14 ans

M | Rue

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Le Directeur-Général de l'Exploitation.

Etabl. P. Delrue

954

954

Holidays at the Campsite

A series of stamp-format photos (3 × 4 cm) show us campsite holidaying from quite an intimist angle – thanks to their size, their closeness to the subject and their snapshot approach. The carefree nature of the shooting style with which the campsite is captured seems to reflect that of adolescence and lends the images a poetic fragility evoking the fleetingness of things. The place, the author and the people photographed are unknown.

Inventory Number CNA Archive: HISAAB 619–790
Collection Thiry
Photographer(s) unknown

List of Contributors

Dr Susan Aasman (1964) works as a Lecturer at the History Department and Department of Arts, Culture and Media at the University of Groningen. She has published widely in the fields of the history of home movies, history and theory of documentary film and the use of film as a historical source, notably in journals such as *Film History. An International Journal* and *TMG, tijdschrift voor mediageschiedenis*. Currently she is working as a postdoc on a long term research project titled *Changing Platforms of Ritualized Memory Practices. The Cultural Dynamics of Home Movies* funded by The Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO).

Dagmar Brunow has been a Lecturer in film studies at Halmstad University since 1999 and has also taught at the Universities of Lund, Växjö, Södertörn and Hamburg. She is currently completing her PhD thesis at Hamburg University on cultural memory and documentary film-making. She is a member of the editorial board of the *Journal of Scandinavian Cinema Studies* (Intellect Ltd.). Additionally she works as a literary translator, as a programme maker and host at the independent radio station FSK 93,0 in Hamburg (since 1996) and as a contributor to the series on popular culture *testcard. Beiträge zur Popgeschichte*.

Peter Burleigh (1962) is a Lecturer in the Department of English, University of Basel, and also teaches at the Hochschule für Gestaltung und Kunst, Basel. His main interests lie in the theories and histories of photography, approaches to the understanding of the photographic, forms of visual representation, and cultural studies, and he has published on early and contemporary photography in these areas.

Dr Ciara Chambers is a graduate of Queen's University, Belfast, Trinity College, Dublin and the University of Ulster and author of *Ireland in the Newsreels* (Irish Academic Press, 2012). She is currently a Lecturer in Film Studies at the University of Ulster with a research interest in archives and amateur film and has previously worked with the IFI Irish Film Archive, Northern Ireland Screen, Belfast Exposed Photography and University College Cork on a number of projects related to archival studies.

Guy Edmonds has worked at the Cinema Museum in London, Christie's Camera and Photographic auctions, and as a Film Restorer at EYE Film Institute Netherlands (formerly Nederlands Filmmuseum). He has organised two *Home Movie Days* in London and is advisor to the *Home Movie Days* at EYE. He

is a committee member of the Stichting Amateurfilm and committee member and Preservation Officer of the cine club, Group 9.5. He has developed his research interests in early cinema, home movies and spiritualism into the Séance du Cinema performances event where spiritualistic mediums attempt to divine further information about the unknown protagonists of contextless found films. He has published in the academic journal *Film History*, the monthly film magazine *Skrien*, and writes regularly for the *Stichting Amateurfilm* magazine and website.

Sabrina Espinosa   (1984) studied Hispanic languages, literatures and cultures in Montpellier and in Metz and completed her studies at the University of Luxembourg (Master en Langues, Cultures et Médias: Lëtzebuerger Studien). Since 2011 she teaches Luxembourgish as foreign language at the Institut National des Langues in Luxembourg.

Kathrin Franke   (1977) studied Politics, Sociology and Eastern European Studies in Leipzig, Berlin and at the University of Sussex. She is working on a PhD thesis on the transition of psychiatry in East Germany after 1989 and is the editor of *Behemoth. A Journal on Civilisation* (http://www.behemoth-journal.de). Together with Marijana Grsak and Ulrike Reimann she has published a book on women and women's organisations in Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina and Serbia (Edition AV, 2007). Her most recent work is a spoken libretto for the concert installation *PLAN P: An Archaeology of Silence* (2011) by Tobias Klich.

Dr Lise Gantheret   (1974) is a graduate of the University of Paris III- Sorbonne Nouvelle (Recherches audiovisuelles et cinématographiques), with a DEA on autobiography in cinema (*Le Je filme sa réalité*) and a PhD on autobiographical travel films (*Quête et traversée dans les films de voyage*). Her postdoctoral research at the University of Montreal dealt with the early Quebec cinema. She has also worked in the production and dissemination of documentary films and has directed a 'poetical documentary' on Haiti: *Capitaines de l'espérance* (52', Argus Films, 2010). Currently, she is working as researcher on the project *Histoires de vie de Montréal* at the University Concordia and preparing her new documentary film, produced by Lowik Productions.

Sophie Jung   (1982) studied Photography and Media Arts at the Folkwang school in Essen, the Zürcher Hochschule der Künste and graduated 2011 from the Rietveld Academy in Amsterdam. Her practice is predominantly involved with photography and its pitfalls, both culturally as a medium and personally as a way to track and record life. She regularly negotiates between form and affect, pragmatism and romance, between scrutinizing accuracy and magical awe for the medium.

Dr Sonja Kmec   studied History at the Universities of Paris IV-Sorbonne, Durham and Oxford. Since 2004 she is working at the University of Luxembourg in the field of memory studies and teaches, since 2008, history and cultural studies. Together with Benoît Majerus, Michel Margue and Pit Péporté, she has co-edited *Lieux de mémoire au Luxembourg* (Saint-Paul, 2007), *Dépasser le cadre national des lieux de mémoire* (Peter Lang, 2009) and co-written *Inventing Luxembourg Representations of the Past, Space and Language* (Brill, 2010) and *Doing Identity in Luxembourg. Subjective Appropriations – Institutional Attributions – Socio-Cultural Milieus* (transcript, 2011).

Christophe Kneip studied History (Bachelor en Cultures Européennes) at the University of Luxembourg and the University of Liège in Belgium. He is currently preparing a Masters degree in Luxembourg Studies (Master en Langues, Cultures et Médias: Lëtzebuerger Studien) with a dissertation on 'national' filmmaking about music and bands in Luxembourg, in collaboration with "Music and Resources: Rockhal".

Dr Paul Lesch teaches film and history at the University of Luxembourg and at Miami University (John E. Dolibois European Center in Luxembourg). He is the director of the historical documentary film *Call Her Madam* (Samsa Film, 1997) and the author, among others, of *Heim ins Ufa-Reich? NS-Filmpolitik und die Rezeption deutscher Filme in Luxemburg 1933–1944* (WVT, 2002) and *In the Name of Public Order and Morality. Cinema Control and Film Censorship in Luxembourg 1895–2005* (CNA, 2005). He has also published in international journals such as *Film History, Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* and *Cinema & Cie*. Since 2007, he is council member of IAMHIST (International Association for Media and History).

Fränk Muno is studying at the University of Luxembourg (Master en Langues, Cultures et Médias: Lëtzebuerger Studien), writing film and theater reviews and co-directing, with Raoul Schmitz and Christian Muno, a documentary film. The film *Nak Muay* – produced by Samsa – is a portrait of Kevin Haas, the Luxembourg-born world champion in Muay Thai Boxing.

Dr Christina Natlacen (1976) studied art history at the University of Vienna and the University of Lausanne. In 2006, she completed her PhD on the role of photography in the work of Arnulf Rainer at the University of Graz. She has been working for the photo collection of the Albertina in Vienna and as a research fellow at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. She is currently postdoctoral researcher at the University of Siegen, Department of Media History and Visual Culture, with a habilitation project about the visual representation of the individual in public space between 1880 and 1930.

Dr Heather Norris Nicholson is Visiting Research Fellow at the Centre of Visual and Oral History at the University of Huddersfield. She has written and presented extensively on different aspects of amateur film interpretation, working with archive footage, and good practice in cross-cultural community engagement. Her film-related writings include *Amateur Film. Meaning and Practice 1927–1977* (Manchester University Press, 2012). Recent collaborative outreach projects include *Reel Times* (Turnpike Gallery, Leigh, Lancs), consultancy for the BBC and independent filmmakers and she is now developing community-based projects in West Yorkshire.

Sabrina Roob studied German and Luxembourgish Language, Culture and Literature at the Karl-Franzens University of Graz and the University of Luxembourg, where she completed the "Master en Langues, Cultures et Médias: Lëtzebuerger Studien" in 2012.

Viviane Thill (1962) has been working for the Centre national de l'audiovisuel since 1996 and is in charge of the amateur film collection. A film critic, she is also co-author of *Oliver Stone* (Rivages, 1996) and the screen-

writer of the feature film *Perl oder Pica / Little Secrets* (Pol Cruchten, 2006) as well as the producer of several documentary films. She published articles in *24 frames* (Wallflower Press, London & New York) and *CinémAction* (éd. Corlet, Condé-sur-Noireau) and writes regularlay in *Forum* (Luxembourg).

Dr Gian Maria Tore   is Researcher in semiotics at the University of Luxembourg, where he also teaches film and media studies. He studied at the University of Bologna and at the University of Limoges. He is co-founder and co-director of the peer-reviewed journal *Signata – Annales des sémiotiques / Annals of Semiotics* (Presses Universitaires de Liège) and of *L'Université Populaire du Cinéma* at the Cinémathèque of Luxembourg. He has co-edited *Médias et mediations culturelles au Luxembourg* (Editions Guy Binsfeld, 2011) and *Regards croisés sur l'expérience. Dans les sciences de l'homme et de la société* (PULIM, 2006). His research concerns mainly images and meaning; he is currently working on a book of semiotics of cinema.

Michèle Walerich   studied Fine Arts at Université Marc Bloch de Strasbourg, Ecole nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts de Paris and Art Center College of Design Los Angeles. Since 2002 she has been working for the Centre national de l'audiovisuel (CNA) where she is curating photographic projects, exhibitions, and publications. She is a co-founder of the Borderline Agency, an independent art project, supporting the production of new works, experimentation, and exchange through a site specific approach.

Vera Weisgerber   graduated in Arts and Education. She frequently works with children and young people on projects involving photography. She coordinated the exhibition *Restaurations mises en scène et coups de coeur* organised by the Centre national de l'audiovisuel in Madrid (2002–2003) and served as an expert on the CNA's photographic archives for several years. While working as an independent artist, she continues to participate in educational art projects and is the head of the folklore museum "A Possen" in Luxembourg.

Philip Widmann   (1980) is a filmmaker, occasional programmer, writer and producer. He graduated in Cultural Anthropology from the University of Hamburg and visited the Documentary Film class at the University of Fine Arts Hamburg. In his work with film and video he predominantly deals with the interrelation of visual documents and biographies as well as with different possibilities of (re-)contextualisation of found visual artefacts. His films are being shown internationally at film festivals; the most recent *Die Frau des Fotografen*, a collaboration with Karsten Krause, won the German Short Film Award 2011. He is a member of the artist-run film laboratory LaborBerlin, practising and teaching the use of Super 8 and 16mm film as handcraft.

Picture Credits

Sonja Kmec & Viviane Thill

Image 1   Still from "Déjà vu" (© Lisl Ponger, 1999)
Image 2   Still from "Passagen" (© Lisl Ponger, 1996)
Image 3   Still from "Déjà vu" (© Lisl Ponger, 1999)
Image 4   Still from "Passagen" (© Lisl Ponger, 1996)

Guy Edmonds

Image 1–5   © Eye Film Institute

Paul Lesch

Image 1–2   Archive: Cinémathèque de la Ville de Luxembourg

Ciara Chambers

Image 1   Still from "Sea Harvest" (1964), Archive: Irish Film Archive
Image 2   Still from "Dear Old Donegal" (1960s), Archive: Irish Film Archive
Image 3   Still from "Sea Harvest" (1964), Archive: Irish Film Archive

Peter Burleigh & Sophie Jung

Image 1   Private collection Peter Burleigh and Sophie Jung
Image 2–3   Private family collection Germaine Hoffmann
Image 4   Internet link no longer valid: collection Peter Burleigh and Sophie Jung)
Image 5   Private collection Peter Burleigh and Sophie Jung
Image 6–8   Internet link no longer valid; collection Peter Burleigh and Sophie Jung

Sabrina Roob

Image 1–6   © Lucien Graas, 1987 / Archive: CNA

Christophe Kneip

Image 1–5   Georges Heisbourg, 1960s / Archive: CNA

Sabrina Espinosa

Image 1–5   Camille Bauer, 1956 / Archive: CNA

Fränk Muno

Image 1–10   Victor Kratzenberg, 1977 / Archive: CNA

Heather Norris Nicholson

Image 1   Still image supplied by courtesy of the North West Film Archive at Manchester Metropolitan University
Image 2–3   Image supplied by courtesy of Troubadour Cultural Heritage Foundation

Vera Weisgerber

Image 1–3   *Tumbling dice,* 2003–2007 – Production: Mudam Luxembourg. Installation (detail) presented in the exhibition *Mudam Guest House 07*, Mudam Luxembourg 2007. © Photo: Andres Lejona

Dagmar Brunow

Image 1–4   © Sandhya Suri

Susan Aasman

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Philip Widmann

Image 1–4   © Philip Widmann

Kathrin Franke

Image 1   Woman in front of a motel
Image 2   Woman on a bridge in Budapest
Image 3   Woman and child, and a man with a hat
Image 4   Bungalows
Image 5   Boat trip
Image 6   Woman on a footbridge
Image 7   Woman looking out of a bungalow window
Image 8   Empty room
Image 9–12   © Tobias Klich