Schirmer Encyclopedia of Film

Schirmer Encyclopedia of Film

VOLUME 1

ACADEMY AWARDS®–CRIME FILMS

Barry Keith Grant
EDITOR IN CHIEF

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Preface

The *Schirmer Encyclopedia of Film* is intended as a standard reference work in the field of film studies. Designed to meet the needs of general readers, university students, high school students and teachers, it offers a comprehensive and accessible overview of film history and theory with an American emphasis.

SCOPE OF THE WORK

Readers will find in the *Schirmer Encyclopedia of Film* the major facts about film history, clear explanations of the main theoretical concepts and lines of scholarly interpretation, and guidance through important debates. Approaching cinema as art, entertainment, and industry, the *Encyclopedia* features entries on all important genres, studios, and national cinemas, as well as entries on relevant technological and industrial topics, cultural issues, and critical approaches to film.

To be sure, there are numerous other reference works and film encyclopedias available, on the shelves of both retail bookstores and library reference sections. However, the *Schirmer Encyclopedia of Film* is distinctive in format and coverage. The *Encyclopedia*'s 200 entries are substantial in length—from approximately 1,500 to 9,000 words. Even as these essays distill influential scholarship in different areas of film studies, they also offer fresh arguments and perspectives.

Accompanying the main entries are more than 230 sidebars profiling important figures in film history. More than career summaries, each profile places the subject's achievements within the context of the particular entry it accompanies, offering a historical or theoretical perspective on the person profiled.

GUIDE TO THE WORK

Within the main entries, the first mention of a film title is the film's original language title followed parenthetically by the American release title, the name of the director (if it is not mentioned in the text), and the year of the film's release. A title that has no English release title is translated parenthetically but not italicized. In subsequent mentions of non-English language titles within the same entry, the most well-known title is used. Also upon first mention, the names of historically important figures are followed parenthetically by the dates of birth and death.

Each of the entries is followed by a Further Reading section. These bibliographies include both any works referenced in the body of the entry and other major works on the

subject in English. In a few instances books or articles published in languages other than English are mentioned where appropriate. For the most part, references to Internet sources are not included, because of their more fleeting nature, except where appropriate.

The sidebars—highlighting important individual accomplishments—are color-coded to indicate broadly the type of achievement discussed. Sidebars for actors and performers are shaded in green, directors in blue, and those involved in other aspects of film production in yellow. People whose influence has been more culturally pervasive and not restricted primarily to cinema, are shaded in tan.

Each of the sidebars is followed by headings for Recommended Viewing and Further Reading. The viewing sections are not complete filmographies but suggest the best, most representative, or most useful works concerning the person profiled. Similarly, the reading lists are not meant as definitive lists but are intended to steer the reader by citing the principal sources of information regarding the subject.

The *Encyclopedia* also features an Index and a Glossary. The comprehensive index, including all topics, concepts, names, and terms discussed in the work, will enable readers to locate information throughout the *Encyclopedia* in a more thorough manner than cross-references provided at the end of entries. Readers should use the Glossary to track subjects not treated in separate articles but discussed within the context of multiple articles. The Glossary provides concise definitions of terms used in the entries as well as other basic film studies terms that informed readers should know.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The Editor-in-Chief wishes to thank all of the contributors for their expertise and professionalism. The Editorial Advisory Board, consisting of Professors David Desser, Jim Hillier, and Janet Staiger, provided invaluable editorial guidance. Nevertheless, the realization of this *Encyclopedia* would not have been possible without the expertise and tireless efforts of Mike Tyrkus, Senior Content Project Editor at Thomson Gale and Project Coordinator for the *Schirmer Encyclopedia of Film*, who, among other duties, coordinated the submission and copyediting of the work of the 150 contributing scholars from nearly twenty countries whose writings comprise these pages.

Barry Keith Grant

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ACADEMY AWARDS®

The Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences (©A.M.P.A.S.®) is a professional honorary organization with membership by invitation only, extended by its Board of Governors to distinguished contributors to the arts and sciences of motion pictures. The Academy (at its Web site, *www.oscars.org*) asserts seven purposes:

1. Advance the arts and sciences of motion pictures
2. Foster cooperation among creative leaders for cultural, educational and technological progress
3. Recognize outstanding achievements
4. Cooperate on technical research and improvement of methods and equipment
5. Provide a common forum and meeting ground for various branches and crafts
6. Represent the viewpoint of actual creators of the motion picture and
7. Foster education activities between the professional community and the public at large.

To accomplish these goals, the Academy enlists its fourteen branches: actors, art directors, cinematographers, directors, documentary, executives, film editors, music, producers, public relations, short films and feature animation, sound, visual effects, and writers. But while ©A.M.P.A.S.® represents over six thousand technical and artistic members of the motion picture industry and supports diverse educational and promotional activities, the general public knows the Academy primarily through its highly publicized Academy Awards®.

To merit invitation to membership in any category, an individual must have "achieved distinction in the arts and sciences of motion pictures," including, but not limited to, "film credits of a caliber which reflect the high standards of the Academy, receipt of an Academy Award® nomination, achievement of unique distinction, earning of special merit, or making of an outstanding contribution to film" (*www.oscars.org*). At least two members of the nominee's respective branch must sponsor the candidate. The candidacy must then receive the endorsement of the pertinent branch's executive committee for submission to the Board of Governors. That Board consists of three representatives from each branch, except the documentary branch, which elects one governor. All terms run for three years.

At its discretion, the Board of Governors may also invite individuals to join ©A.M.P.A.S.® in the member-at-large or associate member categories, two distinctly different types of membership. Members-at-large are individuals working in theatrical film production but with no branch corresponding to their job responsibilities. They enjoy the same membership privileges, including the right to vote, as those in any of the fourteen designated branches, with one exception—members-at-large are ineligible for election to the Board of Governors. Similarly, associate members cannot serve on the Board. Composed of individuals "closely allied to the industry but not actively engaged in motion picture production," associate members vote only on branch policies and actions.

All members pay dues, except those who have been extended lifetime membership by unanimous approval of the Board. These exceptionally meritorious individuals enjoy all member privileges. Dues from all other

members fund the operating revenue for Academy activities, in addition to income from other sources such as theater rentals and publication of the *Players Directory*. But financial health comes primarily from selling the rights to telecast the annual Award ceremonies. Known colloquially as "Oscar®," the Academy Award® statuette is recognized internationally as the most prestigious American award of the film industry; it is conferred annually for superior achievement in up to twenty-five technical and creative categories. Explicitly not involved in "economic, labor or political matters," ©A.M.P.A.S.®'s origins tell a dramatically different story, with the monumental importance of the Academy Awards® an unexpected outgrowth of the founders' intentions.

EARLY HISTORY

A decade of industry-wide labor struggles and bargaining debates culminated in nine Hollywood studios and five labor unions (carpenters, electricians, musicians, painters, and stagehands) signing the Studio Basic Agreement on 29 November 1926. Slightly over a month later, in January 1927, Louis B. Mayer (1882–1957), head of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM) Studios, spearheaded an effort to avert further unionization of motion picture workers, especially the major artistic groups not yet organized: writers, directors, and actors. Mayer pressed for a representative umbrella organization when he and three others—Fred Beetson, head of the Association of Motion Picture Producers; Conrad Nagel (1897–1970), Mayer contract actor; and Fred Niblo (1874–1948), MGM director—met on 1 January 1927 to discuss business issues and the possibility of a "mutually beneficial" industry organization (Holden, p. 86). Sound films waited in the wings, conservative groups had strong community support and threatened increasing censorship pressure, and the economics of the business always merited attention and concern.

A second meeting on 11 January led to the initiation of articles of nonprofit incorporation, and on 4 May 1927 California legally established the Academy charter. In its mission statement, published 20 June 1927, the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences formed "to improve the artistic quality of the film medium, provide a common forum for the various branches and crafts of the industry, foster cooperation in technical research and cultural progress, and pursue a variety of other stated objectives." On the labor front, the Academy founders' preemptive action achieved only temporary success. The Screen Writers Guild organized on 6 April 1933; the Screen Actors Guild followed suit, with twenty-one actors filing articles of incorporation on 30 June with membership "open to all" as opposed to "by invitation only" (*www.sag.org*); and the Directors Guild of America encouraged an Awards boycott by all the guilds in January 1936, all after continuing labor disputes.

The conferring of "awards of merit for distinctive achievements" appears in the last half of goal five of the Academy's seven original goals. In fact, with the transition to sound under way at full throttle, the Academy did play a significant role in technical innovation and training. But almost as quickly, the Academy Awards® emerged as public relations jewels for studios and individuals. In July 1928 the Academy first solicited Award nominations in twelve categories for the period from 1 August 1927 through 31 July 1928. The top ten nominees went to judges representing the five Academy branches. Each branch in turn forwarded three names to a centralized board, which then chose and announced the fifteen winners, who received their Awards at an anniversary dinner in the Blossom Room of the Hollywood Roosevelt Hotel on 16 May 1929. At a cost of $10 each, 250 guests attended the Awards dinner, where *Wings* took Best Picture; Janet Gaynor (1906–1984) was named Best Actress for three roles: *Seventh Heaven*, *Street Angel*, and *Sunrise*; and Emil Jannings (1884–1950) was awarded Best Actor for *The Last Command* and *The Way of All Flesh*. For the first fifteen years, winners received their Oscars® at private dinners. By the second Awards ceremonies, on 30 April 1930 (with seven awards bestowed), media coverage began with a live, hour-long, local radio broadcast; the entire ceremony was broadcast the following year, on 3 April 1931 (Levy, *All About Oscar®*, p. 29). Interest continued to escalate thereafter. President Franklin D. Roosevelt spoke via radio to the Academy in 1941, President Harry Truman sent greetings in 1949, and President Ronald Reagan (former Screen Actors Guild president) provided a prerecorded video greeting in 1981. National coverage began in 1945; the first televised presentation of the Awards ceremonies took place on 19 March 1953.

On three occasions the Academy has postponed, but never canceled, the Awards show. In 1938 floods caused a one-week postponement; in 1968 the Academy postponed the ceremonies for two days after the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr.; and in 1981 the Academy delayed the ceremony for one day because of the attempted assassination of President Reagan. During the "blacklisting" period of the 1950s, political events altered policy: the Academy ruled in February 1957 that any past or present member of the Communist Party and anyone who refused a Congressional subpoena was ineligible for any Academy Award®. Just under two years later, in January 1959, the Academy repealed that policy.

NOMINATIONS AND VOTING

In early January, the Academy solicits nominations for "awards of merit" for an individual or a collaborative effort in up to twenty-five categories. To be eligible for nomination, each responsible production agency must submit an alphabetized list of qualified films to the Academy. Beginning in 1934, the calendar year determines the eligibility period during which any potential nominee must have a theatrical run for a minimum of one week in Los Angeles. While most nominees now also show in New York, this venue is not required.

From these lists, members of technical and artistic branches nominate within their category; that is, editors nominate editors, producers nominate producers, and so on. In each category, up to five nominations may be accepted. Nominations for best foreign-language film, defined as a feature-length motion picture produced outside the United States with a predominantly non-English dialogue track, follow a different procedure, as do the documentary nominations. Foreign countries, following their own individual procedures, submit one film for consideration as their entry in the Best Foreign Film category, and the foreign film eligibility period runs from 1 November to 31 October instead of the calendar year. A committee representing all Academy branches selects up to five finalists for the Best Foreign Film award, and all members vote for the recipient.

Divided into two categories, documentary candidates also follow different rules. Among other stipulations, feature documentaries (more than forty minutes in length) must be submitted with accompanying certification of theatrical exhibition for paid admission in a commercial motion picture theater, and such exhibition must be within two years of the film's completion date. Short-subject documentaries (under forty minutes) may qualify after theatrical exhibition or by winning a Best Documentary Award at a competitive film festival. Documentary candidates eligible for nomination are viewed by the documentary branch screening committee, which then nominates no more than five and no fewer than three candidates for the Oscar®. Only lifetime and active Academy members who view all contenders at a theatrical screening and the members of the screening committee vote for the documentary category. By contrast, nominations for Best Film are solicited from all members, regardless of their branch affiliation. In its earliest years, Academy practices varied; upon occasion, industry workers and guild members also nominated or voted, and occasionally write-ins were accepted on Oscar® ballots.

Categories for the Academy Awards® have changed over the decades. In 1934 the Academy added the categories of Film Editing, Music Scoring, and Best Song. Supporting Actor and Supporting Actress categories were included in 1936, the Best Documentary category in 1941, and, most recently, the Animated Feature Film category in 2001.

Beginning in 2005, the Academy announces nominations in the last week of January and mails Award of Merit ballots in early February with a two-week return deadline. Coding prevents forgeries, and PricewaterhouseCoopers (formerly Price Waterhouse and Company, an accounting firm, which began work for the Academy in 1936) enforces top-secret measures to maintain confidentiality. In fact, only two PricewaterhouseCoopers partners know the results before public announcement during the annual telecast of the Awards ceremony. Until 1941, the press received several hours advance notice of awardees, but beginning that year the Academy added the element of surprise: both press and public learn the winners when the envelopes are opened. In response to other attention-grabbing award ceremonies, the Academy moved its ceremony from March to February in 2005. Attendance at the Awards ceremony is by invitation; no tickets are sold by the Academy.

THE OSCAR® STATUETTE

Officially referred to as the "Academy Award® of Merit," the 13½-inch, 8½-pound statuette awarded to each individual who wins an Academy Award® takes twelve workers five hours to hand cast and complete at R. S. Owens, the factory in Chicago, Illinois, that has been responsible for production since 1982. The carefully protected steel mold gives shape to a britannium alloy, roughly 90 percent tin and 10 percent antimony, though initially Oscar® was solid bronze. Because of rationing during World War II, the Academy used plaster, but, at the war's conclusion, the plaster statuettes were replaced with gold-plated replicas. Today, with sanding and polishing each step of the way, the statue receives layers of copper, nickel, silver, and, finally, 24–karat gold plating. A layer of epoxy lacquer provides the protective outer coating. Each statue bears its own serial number engraved at the bottom, at the back of its base, which has been made of brass since 1945 (it was black Belgian marble before that date). After the recipients have been announced, R. S. Owens then produces brass nameplates with the winner's name and category.

The famed MGM art director Cedric Gibbons (1893–1960) designed the statuette, and sculptor George Stanley was paid $500 to shape the model in clay. Alex Smith cast the design in 92.5 percent tin and 7.5 percent copper, finishing it with gold plating. Gibbons's original design was a knight holding a double-edged sword, standing on a film reel with five spokes, each spoke representing one of the original five Academy branches:

Denzel Washington and Halle Berry at the Academy Award® ceremonies in 2002. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

producers, directors, writers, technicians, and actors. The Academy has retained the original design, though it has altered the pedestal, increasing its height in 1945. On several unique occasions, the award took slightly different forms. In 1937 (the Tenth Awards), ventriloquist Edgar Bergen's Oscar® statuette sported a movable jaw, an homage to his Charlie McCarthy dummy. Honoring *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* in 1938, an amused Walt Disney received a standard Oscar® statuette and seven miniatures.

Accounts vary as to the origins of the nickname (the "Oscar®") for the Academy statuette. Those who have claimed to have invented the appellation include actress Bette Davis (1908–1989), librarian Margaret Herrick, and columnist Sidney Skolsky (1905–1983). Davis is said to have claimed that the image reminded her of her husband Harmon Oscar Nelson's backside, so she dubbed the icon "Oscar®." Another version comes from Margaret Herrick, who began working for the Academy as librarian in 1931 and then as executive director from 1943 until her retirement in 1971. Herrick remembers calling the statuette Oscar® because it resembled her second cousin Oscar Pierce, whom she called her "Uncle Oscar." In yet another widely disseminated account, syndicated gossip columnist and entertainment reporter (later scriptwriter and producer) Sidney Skolsky offers his own ownership tale, a purely utilitarian desire to give the statue a name for ease in writing his column and to confer a personality without suggesting an excess of dignity. Whatever its derivation, Skolsky used the nickname "Oscar®" in his column in 1934 and Walt Disney used it in his acceptance speech in 1938. The Academy did not use the Oscar® appellation officially before 1939, by which time it had gained the wide currency it still enjoys.

OTHER ACADEMY CATEGORIES AND AWARDS

©A.M.P.A.S.® may, at its discretion, vote additional awards, and it began doing so from the Academy's inception. These special awards are initiated at a designated meeting of the Board of Governors. The board itself nominates or accepts nominations for special awards from area committees, for example, the Scientific and Technical Awards Committee. The Board of Governors votes on conferring special awards through a secret ballot.

For the first Academy Awards® in 1927–1928, the Board created a special award for Charlie Chaplin (1889–1977) for *The Circus*, which he produced, wrote, starred in, and directed. An Honorary Award went to Warner Bros. for the studio's groundbreaking work on sound technology, exemplified by *The Jazz Singer*. In 1978 Garrett Brown received an Award of Merit for the invention and development of Steadicam technology. Though the Board of Governors has created a variety of special awards over the decades, it now regularly bestows several established awards. Recipients of the Jean Hersholt Humanitarian Award, the Gordon E. Sawyer Award, and the Special Achievement Award all receive Oscar® statuettes. A special award may be presented as an Oscar® statuette, or it may take another form; for example, Scientific and Engineering Award recipients are given a plaque, and the Technical Achievement Award winners receive a certificate. The special awards include the following.

The Jean Hersholt Humanitarian Award: Established in 1956, this award is named in honor of the silent-era actor Jean Hersholt (1886–1956), who was famous for his philanthropic work. It is awarded to an "individual in the motion picture industry whose humanitarian efforts have brought credit to the industry." At a special meeting, after nominations, the first ballot narrows the field to the candidate with the highest number of votes. On a second secret ballot, this individual must tally two-thirds approval by the Governors in attendance to receive the award. Past winners of this award include Audrey

Hepburn (1929–1993), Bob Hope (1903–2003), Quincy Jones (b. 1933), Paul Newman (b. 1925), Gregory Peck (1916–2003), and Elizabeth Taylor (b. 1932).

Honorary Award: Given most years, the Honorary Award is voted to individuals showing "extraordinary distinction in lifetime achievement, exceptional contributions to the state of motion picture arts and sciences, or for outstanding service to the Academy." This award may also honor an individual for whom no annual Academy Award® category fits; for example, honorary awards went to choreographer Michael Kidd in 1996 and animator Chuck Jones in 1995. An Honorary Award may also be voted to an organization or a company. In 1988 the National Film Board of Canada received this award in the organization category and Eastman Kodak in the company category. Also, though not often, two Honorary Awards may be given in the same year; for example, in 1995 Kirk Douglas and Chuck Jones both received Honorary Award Oscars®, as did Sophia Loren and Myrna Loy in 1990. Though not labeled a lifetime achievement award, it is often given for a life's work in filmmaking, as it was in 1998 to American director Elia Kazan and in 1999 to Polish director Andrzej Wajda.

The Honorary Award may take the shape of the familiar Oscar® statuette, in which case it is presented during the yearly telecast, or it may be conferred as life membership in the Academy, a scroll, a medal, a certificate, or any other form chosen by the Board. The Medal of Commendation, established in 1977, is another version of the Honorary Award voted for "outstanding service and dedication in upholding the high standards of the Academy." The Scientific and Technical Awards Committee forwards nominees for this award to the Governors. After 1997 this award, a bronze medallion, has carried the name of legendary sound engineer John A. Bonner, a 1994 recipient who died in 1996. Except for the Oscar® statuette, these Honorary Awards are usually presented at the annual dinner ceremony for Scientific and Technical Awards.

Gordon E. Sawyer Honorary Award: Named for the head of the sound department at Samuel Goldwyn Studios, who was a member of the Scientific and Technical Awards Committee from 1936 to 1977, the Gordon E. Sawyer Award (an Oscar® statuette) aims to honor "an individual in the motion picture industry whose technological contributions have brought credit to the industry." The Scientific and Technical Awards Committee usually recommends candidates for this award to the Board.

Irving G. Thalberg Memorial Award: Given when the Board designates a deserving recipient, the Irving G. Thalberg Memorial Award goes to "a creative producer who has been responsible for a consistently high quality of motion picture production." It is named for Irving Grant Thalberg (1899–1936), who produced films from the early 1920s until his death in 1936. At twenty years of age, he became production head at Universal Film Manufacturing and, three years later, vice president and supervisor of production for Louis B. Mayer. The following year Mayer affiliated as Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, where Thalberg continued his production responsibilities for eight years, until his untimely death from pneumonia at age thirty-seven. In 1937 the Academy inaugurated the Thalberg Memorial Award by honoring producer Darryl F. Zanuck (1902–1979). Instead of an Oscar® statuette, the awardee receives a solid bronze head of Thalberg on a black marble base. Two earlier versions were superseded in 1961 by the sculpture designed in 1957 by Gualberto Rocchi, weighing 10¾ pounds and standing 9 inches tall.

Scientific and Technical Awards: After receiving recommendations from outstanding technicians and scientists in the cinema field, the Governors evaluate potential recipients. In contrast to the Special Achievement Award that may be given for an exceptional contribution to one film, the Scientific and Technical Awards are conferred on individuals who have initiated proven, long-standing innovations. These awards are given during a special dinner, separate from, and in advance of, the annual Oscar® telecast, during which these awards are usually acknowledged.

Special Achievement Award: Instituted in 1972, the Special Achievement Award, an Oscar® statuette, is voted when an achievement makes an exceptional contribution to the motion picture for which it was created, but for which there is no annual award category. In contrast to the Honorary Award, the Special Achievement Award can be conferred only for achievements in films that qualify for that year's eligibility requirements. In most instances (13 of 17 times before 2005), visual or sound effects have been singled out as exemplary achievements deserving acknowledgment. Its four other honorees were: Benjamin Burtt Jr. for the alien, creature, and robot voices in *Star Wars* (1977); Alan Splet for sound editing of *The Black Stallion* (1979); animation director Richard Williams for *Who Framed Roger Rabbit* (1988); and John Lasseter "for his inspired leadership of the Pixar *Toy Story* team, resulting in the first feature-length computer-animated film" (1995).

OTHER ACADEMY ACTIVITIES

The Academy continues its original aim of offering seminars for training and dissemination of technical information. The Nicholls Fellowships in Screenwriting provide

KATHARINE HEPBURN

b. Katharine Houghton Hepburn, Hartford, Connecticut, 12 May 1907, d. 29 June 2003

A legend for her prodigious talent and lengthy career, which stretched from the 1930s through the early 1990s, Katharine Hepburn has been voted more Academy Awards® than any other actor (as of 2005), though Meryl Streep holds the record (13) for nominations. Of Hepburn's twelve nominations for Best Actress, she received four Awards: *Morning Glory*, her first nomination (1933); *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner* (1967); *The Lion in Winter* (1968); and *On Golden Pond* (1981), forty-nine years after her first Oscar®. The Academy also nominated her for *Alice Adams* (1935); *The Philadelphia Story* (1940), which earned her the New York Film Critics' Best Actress award; *Woman of the Year* (1942); *The African Queen* (1951); *Summertime* (1955); *The Rainmaker* (1956); *Suddenly, Last Summer* (1959); and *Long Day's Journey into Night* (1962), for which she won the Best Actress award at the Cannes International Film Festival.

Following her initial popularity in the early 1930s, Hepburn became known as a feisty, outspoken nonconformist who refused to capitulate to studio publicity demands, gaining a reputation in the mid- to late 1930s as "box office poison." Today her films from this period retain immense appeal, and she seems an independent, intelligent woman forging ahead of social customs (she became infamous for wearing pants) and eschewing demure demeanor. Demonstrating her extraordinary range, Hepburn starred in comedies and dramas as well as theatrical adaptations for television and cinema in her later years. For example, she displays dazzling comic timing and airy grace in the screwball comedy classics *Bringing Up Baby* (1938) and *Holiday* (1938), as well as in *The Philadelphia Story*. Her extraordinary intensity and poignant emotional appeal are evident in *Suddenly, Last Summer* and *Long Day's Journey into Night*. Hepburn's fourth Academy Award® nomination singled out her performance in *Woman of the Year*, the first pairing of Hepburn with Spencer Tracy. Hepburn starred with him in a total of nine successful films, most of them addressing topical issues such as gender equality (*Adam's Rib*, 1949) and racism (*Guess Who's Coming to Dinner*). The latter film featured Tracy's final appearance, for which the Academy nominated him posthumously; Hepburn won her second Oscar®.

The recipient of numerous awards and honors (multiple Emmy and Tony Award nominations, voted top-ranking woman in the American Film Institute's greatest movie legends, lifetime tributes), Hepburn remained unimpressed with all awards, never attending an Academy Awards® event as a nominee, though she did contribute a filmed greeting for the Fortieth Academy Awards® ceremonies in 1967, the year she won for *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner*. Despite these slights, Hepburn received a standing ovation when she finally appeared in person at the Forty-sixth Academy Awards® show (1973) to present the Irving G. Thalberg Award to her friend and producer Lawrence Weingarten, with whom she had worked on *Without Love* (1945), *Adam's Rib*, and *Pat and Mike* (1952).

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Christopher Strong (1933), *Morning Glory* (1933), *Alice Adams* (1935), *Stage Door* (1937), *Bringing Up Baby* (1938), *Holiday* (1938), *The Philadelphia Story* (1940), *Woman of the Year* (1942), *Adam's Rib* (1949), *The African Queen* (1951), *Pat and Mike* (1952), *Summertime* (1955), *The Rainmaker* (1956), *Suddenly, Last Summer* (1959), *Long Day's Journey into Night* (1962), *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner* (1967), *The Lion in Winter* (1968), *On Golden Pond* (1981)

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Diane Carson

Katharine Hepburn in* The Philadelphia Story *(1940).
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support for writers. The Center for Motion Picture Study, home of the Margaret Herrick Library and the Academy Film Archive, provides extensive motion picture resources for scholarly research as well as facilities for film screenings and the Academy Foundation Lecture Series. The Academy Foundation, under the auspices of ©A.M.P.A.S.®, coordinates scholarships, college student Academy Awards®, and film preservation.

THE ACADEMY SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY COUNCIL

Responding to dramatic technological changes, especially those introduced by digital manipulation, ©A.M.P.A.S.®'s Board of Governors officially created the Academy Science and Technology Council in 2003. The Council's mission includes four goals: to advance the science of motion pictures and foster cooperation for technological progress in support of the art; to sponsor publications and foster educational activities that facilitate understanding of historical and new developments both within the industry and for the wider public audience; to preserve the history of the science and technology of motion pictures; and to provide a forum and common meeting ground for the exchange of information and to promote cooperation among divergent technological interests, with the objective of increasing the quality of the theatrical motion picture experience. In addition, the Council serves as a resource for the Scientific and Technical Awards program, though the Council itself does not administer them.

NOTABLE ACHIEVEMENTS

In its history, only three films have swept all five of the most important Academy Awards®: Best Picture, Best Director, Best Actor, Best Actress, and Best Writing. *It Happened One Night* first accomplished this feat in 1934 for director Frank Capra, actress Claudette Colbert, actor Clark Gable, and writer Robert Riskin (for Best Writing Adaptation). Over forty years later, in 1975, *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* swept the Awards for director Milos Forman, actress Louise Fletcher, actor Jack Nicholson, and writers Lawrence Hauben and Bo Goldman (Best Writing, Screenplay Adapted from Other Material). In 1991 *The Silence of the Lambs* became the third film to achieve this landmark for director Jonathan Demme, actress Jodie Foster, actor Anthony Hopkins, and writer Ted Tally (Best Writing, Screenplay Based on Material from Another Medium).

Other films have won more Oscars®. The record as of 2005 was held by three films that each won eleven Academy Awards®: *Ben-Hur*, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, 1959 (12 nominations); *Titanic*, Twentieth Century Fox and Paramount, 1997 (14 nominations); and *The Lord of the Rings: The Return of the King*, New Line, 2003 (11 nominations). Only two films have received fourteen nominations: *Titanic* and *All About Eve* (1950), which took home six awards. Meryl Streep (b. 1949) holds the record for the most acting award nominations (13); Katharine Hepburn (1907–2003) remains the only actress to have achieved the feat of four Best Actress Oscars®. Bette Davis follows the record holders, with ten nominations and two Oscars®. Jack Nicholson holds the Academy record among male actors, with twelve nominations and three Oscars®. Laurence Olivier (1907–1989) received ten nominations and one Oscar®. As of 2005, forty-seven actors had received five or more Oscar® nominations.

Among legendary directors, William Wyler (1902–1981) received twelve nominations, seven in the consecutive years from 1936 to 1942, and three Oscars®. However, John Ford (1894–1973) holds the most Best Director Awards, at four out of five nominations. It should be noted that many individuals in other areas (costume design, cinematography, art direction) have received many more nominations; for example, art director Cedric Gibbons received thirty-eight nominations and won eleven times, and costume designer Edith

Katharine Hepburn and Peter O'Toole in* The Lion in Winter *(1968). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Head (1897–1981) won eight of the thirty-five times that she was nominated.

Five times the Academy has declared a tie. At the Fifth Awards in 1931–1932, a tie occurred for the Best Actor Award between Wallace Beery for *The Champ* and Fredric March for *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, though technically March received one more vote (at the time, fewer than a three-vote difference equaled a tie). In 1949 *A Chance to Live* and *So Much for So Little* tied for the Documentary (Short Subject) Oscar®. And in 1968 Katharine Hepburn, for *The Lion in Winter*, and Barbra Streisand, for *Funny Girl,* tied for Best Actress. In 1986 the Documentary (Feature) went to *Artie Shaw: Time Is All You've Got* and *Down and Out in America*. And in 1994 *Franz Kafka's It's a Wonderful Life* and *Trevor* shared the Short Film (Live Action) Oscar®.

PROTEST AND CRITIQUE

Several amusing incidents have interrupted the Awards, while more serious issues have also troubled them, including inequalities in gender and minority representation. On a light note, one of the funniest moments came in 1973, when a streaker upstaged David Niven's introduction of Elizabeth Taylor to present the Best Picture Award. Niven got the last laugh by commenting on the man's "showing his shortcomings."

Upon occasion, recipients have refused the award, the first being Dudley Nichols, who declined the honor of his Best Writing, Screenplay Oscar® for *The Informer* (1935). He thereby asserted his solidarity with the Writers' Guild, which was involved in a protracted labor dispute with the studios. In 1970 George C. Scott rejected his Oscar® because of what he termed the "offensive, barbarous, and innately corrupt" process (Holden, p. 60). Perhaps the most famous rejection occurred in 1973, when Marlon Brando won the Best Actor Award for his performance in *The Godfather*. Not in attendance, Brando sent Sacheen Littlefeather (a Native American actress, born Maria Cruz) to the podium to denounce America's mistreatment of Native Americans on and off the screen. But the overwhelming majority of nominees embrace the award, even at times mounting aggressive self-promotion campaigns that have cost huge sums. Academy regulations endeavor to "maintain a high degree of fairness and dignity" in its practices.

The most serious critiques of the Academy Awards® involve charges of sexist and racist practices. Throughout its entire history, as of 2005, no black or female director has ever received an Academy Award® for Best Director, and only one black director was ever nominated (John Singleton in 1992 for *Boyz N the Hood*). In 2002 a milestone occurred when Sidney Poitier received an Honorary Award and three of the ten acting nominations went to African Americans: Halle Berry, for *Monster's Ball*; Denzel Washington, for *Training Day*, and Will Smith, for *Ali*. Berry and Washington won (his second Oscar®; he had been named Best Actor in a Supporting Role for *Glory* in 1989). Three black actors (Paul Winfield and Cicely Tyson for *Sounder* and Diana Ross for *Lady Sings the Blues*) had been nominated in 1972. But until 2002 Sidney Poitier was the only African American to have won a Best Actor Oscar® (in 1963 for *Lilies of the Field*), and only four African Americans had won Supporting Actor Oscars®. Lack of adequate minority representation in acting and throughout the movie industry led to picketing in 1962 and a call by social activist Reverend Jesse Jackson to boycott the Awards in 1996.

The other serious criticism of the Academy and the industry it represents involves prejudice against women. Only two women have received Best Director nominations (Jane Campion, for *The Piano*, in 1993, and Sofia Coppola, for *Lost in Translation*, in 2003) and no woman has ever received the award. Because of the small percentage of women working in the industry—except in acting—the disproportionate male representation for Award nominations and winners is unlikely to change, unless membership in the branches becomes more equitable.

Academy analysts conclude that in some years Awards have been voted for performances or achievements less deserving than a previous year's unrewarded accomplishment. Without question, popularity and politics factor into the voting. And yet, because of the Oscar's® international prestige, because it means millions in earned income to individuals' careers and films' earnings, and because of the palpable excitement for each year's ceremony, professional and amateur alike will continue to second-guess, handicap, and watch the Awards, often unaware of the Academy's myriad activities. Several other countries have organizations similar to the Academy, which also bestow annual awards. For example, the British Academy of Film and Television votes yearly awards officially called the Orange British Academy Film Award, known colloquially as the BAFTA after its parent organization. The French Motion Picture Academy bestows the César. The People's Republic of China votes the Golden Rooster (first bestowed in 1981, a year of the rooster), and the Italian film industry votes the David di Donatello Award. But there is no organization that carries the prestige of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, and no award so important to the film industry as the Oscar®.

SEE ALSO *Festivals; Prizes and Awards*

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Diane Carson

ACTING

The performances seen in films reflect the diversity of cinema practice over time and across the globe. Actors' performances, like the contributions made by other members of a production team, are designed to be consistent with the style of a film as a whole. Most often, they are crafted to convey a director's interpretation of the narrative. Because performances are integral components of specific films—and films themselves differ widely—it is not possible to evaluate individual performances in relation to a fixed standard, such as the expectation that acting in the cinema should be realistic.

Instead, film performances are best understood and assessed by studying work from different time periods, genres, aesthetic movements, production regimes, and national cinemas. This approach prompts one to see that there are several styles of acting in film. Studying various kinds of filmmaking also allows one to see that performance elements are combined with other cinematic elements in many different ways. The range of acting styles and approaches to presenting performance reveal that film acting does not have a single, defining attribute and point to the fact that performance elements are not inert matter given meaning by directors, cinematographers, and editors.

INTEGRATING PERFORMANCE AND OTHER CINEMATIC ELEMENTS

The central place of narrative means that in most films, actors adjust the quality and energy of their gestures, voices, and actions to communicate their characters' shifting desires and dynamic relationships with other characters. At each moment of the film, actors' performances are keyed to the narrative, which provides the (musical) score for the film's rising and falling action. The scale and quality of actors' physical and vocal expressions are also keyed to the film's style or genre. For example, there is a discernable difference in the energy underlying the performances in a 1930s screwball comedy and a 1990s action-adventure film. The material details of actors' performances are also keyed to the function of their characters. Performances by the extras are typically less expressive than performances by the actors portraying the central characters.

The quality and energy of actors' movements and vocal expressions are equally important in experimental cinema, for actors' performances contribute to the mood or feeling conveyed by the piece as a whole. The actors' impassive performances in the surrealist classic *Un chien andalou* (*An Andalusian Dog*, 1929) by Luis Buñuel (1900–1983) are integral to the film's dreamlike quality. Similarly, in *Dead Man* (1995), directed by American independent filmmaker Jim Jarmusch (b. 1953), the energy of the actors' disquieting performances, which jumps from stillness to sudden movement and shifts unexpectedly from animated to collapsed, plays a crucial role in creating the disturbing tone of the film's absurd world.

In mainstream and experimental cinema, performance details will serve to create and sustain a director's overall vision. Based on discussions with the director, an actor might use bound or tightly controlled movements to portray a character that is continually on guard, while another works in counterpoint, using light and free-floating movements to portray a character that is open to experience. Through rehearsal and individual script

analysis, actors find the quality and the energy their intonations and inflections must have to convey their characters' changing experiences. Sharp, sudden, staccato bursts of words might be used to show that a character is alarmed, while a smooth, sustained, legato vocal rhythm will be used to show that the character is at ease.

In mainstream and experimental cinema, dramatic and comedic narratives, a film's presentation of performance will also reflect the director's stylistic vision. Films present performances in different ways because directors make different uses of actors' expressivity, that is, the degree to which actors do or do not project characters' subjective experiences. Presentation of performance also differs from film to film because directors make different uses of cinematic expressivity, or the degree to which other cinematic elements enhance, truncate, or somehow mediate and modify access to actors' performances. Working in different periods, aesthetic movements, and production regimes, directors have presented performances in markedly different ways.

At one end of the spectrum, directors use performance elements as pieces of the film's audiovisual design. In these films, actors often suppress expression of emotion, and the film's nonperformance elements become especially important. This approach to presenting performances is found in many modernist films, which frequently use framing, editing, and sound design to obstruct identification with characters. Films by the French director Robert Bresson (1901–1999) and the Italian director Michelangelo Antonioni (b. 1912) exemplify presentation of performance at this end of the spectrum, for actors' use of their physical and vocal expressivity is so delimited by the directors that glimpses of their characters' inner experiences often are more clearly conveyed by the directors' framing, editing, sound, and production design choices.

At the other end of the spectrum, actors' movements and interactions are the basis for a film's visual and aural design. Here, nonperformance elements are orchestrated to amplify the thoughts and emotions that actors convey to the audience through the details of their physical and vocal expressions. Films at this end of the spectrum use lighting, setting, costuming, camera movement, framing, editing, music, and sound effects to give audiences privileged views of the characters' inner experiences. This approach to the presentation of performance focuses audience attention on the connotative qualities of actors' movements and vocal expressions. The first structural analysis of acting, a study of Charlie Chaplin's performance in *City Lights* (1931) by Jan Mukarovský of the Prague Linguistic Circle (1926–1948), examines this type of film, wherein performance elements have priority over other cinematic elements.

While there are exceptions, films produced in different eras and production regimes tend to incorporate performance elements in dissimilar ways. In the Hollywood studio era, for example, the collaboration between director William Wyler (1902–1981) and cinematographer Gregg Toland (1904–1948) on *The Best Years of Our Lives* (1946) features deep-focus cinematography and a long-take aesthetic. In this approach, camera movements, frame compositions, editing patterns, and sound design are organized around actors' performances. By comparison, in the postmodern, televisual era, Baz Luhrmann's (b. 1962) collaboration with production designer Catherine Martin (b. 1965) on *Romeo + Juliet* (1996) resulted in a film in which actors' physical signs of heightened emotion are shown in tight framings as pieces of a larger collage that is cluttered with striking costumes, frenetic camera movements, and dizzying editing patterns.

As is the case with other postmodern films from around the world, the performances in *Romeo + Juliet*, which make extensive use of sampling and intertextual quotation, are sometimes extremely truncated and minimalist, and at other times highly exaggerated and excessively dramatic. In addition, like a number of films designed for consumption in today's media marketplace, Luhrmann's *Romeo + Juliet* seems to model its presentation of performance on viewing experiences in our media-saturated environment. As if echoing current televisual and new media experiences, the film's framing, editing, and sound design sometimes obstruct access to characters' experiences; at other times the film's nonperformance elements enhance identification with characters by amplifying the intensity of their subjective experiences.

QUESTIONS ABOUT ACTING, NARRATIVE, AND AUDIOVISUAL DESIGN

Studies of acting in film have had to face challenges presented by certain views of cinema that for some time determined how film performance was understood. While scholars and critics have offered various perspectives on cinema, early commentaries by writers such as Walter Benjamin (1892–1940) led many observers to believe that film was primarily a medium that captured sounds and images. This view of film prompted many critics to see film acting as something that was captured and then joined together by framing and editing, the ostensibly unique qualities of film.

Studies of film acting also have been stymied by certain ideas about cinematic character. Hollywood's dominant place in the global market seems to have led many observers to believe that film cannot accommodate more than character types. The preponderance of genre

Method acting by Marlon Brando in Elia Kazan's* A Streetcar Named Desire *(1951). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

films and high-concept blockbusters appears to have prompted critics to see all cinematic characters as intrinsically different from dramatic or novelistic characters, which seem to be considerably more complex. Hollywood's emphasis on spectacular action and other scenes that display performers' physical expertise has caused some observers to see film acting as primarily "performing," as instances in which individuals behave as themselves in performances that do not involve the representation of characters. Imagining that Hollywood movies are representative of filmmaking in general, other observers have categorized acting in film as "received acting," as cases in which the representation of character is attributed to individuals due to costuming or context. For still others, the high visibility of formulaic Hollywood productions has made film acting seem like "simple acting," instances when someone simulates or amplifies actions, ideas, or emotions for the sake of an audience but represents only one dimension of a character or situation.

Even for those who recognize that cinema is more than a recording medium and that there are numerous conceptions of character in film, acting in the cinema has proved to be a challenging field of study because actors' performances belong to a film's narrative and audiovisual design. Screen performances reflect the aesthetic and cultural traditions that underlie a film's narrative design, conception of character, and orchestration of performance and nonperformance elements.

In film, actors' performances are integral to the flow of narrative information. Audiences construct interpretations about characters' desires, choices, and confrontations largely by watching actors' performances. To create performances that give audiences clear and nuanced information about what is happening, why, and what is at stake, competent actors and directors working in film

do extensive script analysis and character study. In the cinema, actors' performances are also part of a film's overall formal design. Audience impressions are shaped by the dominant patterns and specific features of a film's sound, lighting, set, costume, makeup, color, photographic, editing, framing, and performance design. Competent directors develop a clear and imaginative design that serves as the blueprint for selections made by all members of the production. Skilled actors create performances that contribute to the style embodied by a film's other cinematic elements by adjusting their voices, gestures, postures, and actions to conform with the director's stylistic vision.

In studies that consider performances in light of a film's narrative, one challenge is to find ways to discuss distinctions between characters and actors. Characters in narrative films are defined by their given circumstances. They have short- and long-range goals, tacit and explicit desires, stated and unstated objectives. They take actions to achieve those objectives. They change their actions when they encounter obstacles to achieving their goals. Like the characters one encounters in a novel, characters in a film narrative exist within the world of the story. By comparison, actors who portray filmic characters exist in everyday life. Like all of us, actors are defined by their circumstances; they have goals, take actions to achieve those goals, and shift actions when they encounter obstacles.

Sometimes, a nonprofessional is cast in a certain part because there are correspondences between the individual's physical appearance and the director's view of what a particular type of character should look like. In the silent era, Russian filmmakers such as Sergei Eisenstein (1898–1948) relied on this casting approach, known as typage. In the mid-twentieth century, Italian neorealist filmmakers such as Vittorio de Sica (1902–1974) sometimes cast a nonprofessional because his or her appearance, carriage, and lived experienced so closely matched the character's. In most narrative films, however, there is little connection between the fictional character and the actor's physical qualities.

The key difference between all characters and actors is that audiences construct interpretations about characters' fictional lives by observing actors' performances. Audiences make inferences about what fictional characters want based on actions that actors perform; they make inferences about characters' temperaments and emotional states by observing the quality of actors' physical and vocal expressions, which can be direct or flexible, sudden or sustained, light or strong, bound or free. A character might want to punch his boss, but we only know that because we see the actor clench his fists. In an early scene in *Devil in a Blue Dress* (1995), Easy Rawlins (Denzel Washington) is laid off from his job. The changing qualities of Washington's gestures and expressions communicate the various tactics Easy uses to keep his job. As the scene nears its end, the way Washington grips the hat in his hand shows that this is Easy's last attempt to plead for his job. When his pleading fails, Easy quickly realizes he need not beg like a second-class citizen and Washington conveys the depth and suddenness of Easy's resolve by stepping abruptly to stand opposite the boss. Then, holding his body upright and using a quiet, even tone as he carefully enunciates each word, Washington explains that his name is Ezekiel Rawlins, not "fella."

In studies that analyze performances in light of a film's narrative, another challenge is to find ways to discuss relationships between character and performance elements in cases when the actor is a media celebrity or a star closely linked to a certain genre or type of character. While viewers' ideas about a character are shaped by the details of a particular performance, in mainstream cinema those ideas are also strongly influenced by an actor's public image. Sometimes, audience conceptions about an actor are derived primarily from his or her appearance in other films. Other times, those ideas depend more on information about the actor that is circulated in the popular press. For example, the public image of an actor such as Jean-Claude Van Damme has been shaped by his appearance in a series of action films, while viewers' ideas about an actress such as Jessica Simpson have a great deal to do with the tabloid coverage of her personal life.

Interestingly, audiences' views about actors lead them to see performances by media celebrities and genre stars as revealing the unique qualities of the *actors* rather than the characters. In the silent era, film performances by matinee idol Rudolph Valentino (1895–1926) were prized by fans because they offered an opportunity to commune with the star. With their views of the celebrity or genre star defined well in advance, fans enjoy a particular performance insofar as it reveals the personality that the fans expected to encounter. Other observers take a different tack. With their ideas about the celebrity or genre star defined in advance, critics sometimes dismiss performances by celebrities and genre stars as being instances of personification, that is, cases when actors are simply playing themselves. John Wayne's (1907–1979) performances in films produced over a fifty-year period are often seen as instances of simple personification.

Widely held beliefs about other actors prompt audiences to see their performances as revealing the unique qualities of the characters rather than the actors. As with celebrities and genre stars, audience perceptions about "serious" actors are shaped by information in the popular press and by the actor's appearance in a series of films.

However, in contrast to media celebrities and genre stars, the actors in this select category are legitimized by their close associations with *auteur* directors or with their leading roles in films that are considered high quality. The Academy Award® winners Kevin Spacey (b. 1959) and Jodie Foster (b. 1962) belong to this category. Audiences approach legitimized performances differently than performances by celebrities and genre stars, enjoying performances by actors such as Robert De Niro (b. 1943) and Meryl Streep (b. 1949) insofar as they satisfy audience expectations that the performances will create memorable characters. Performances by actors whose legitimate credentials are defined well in advance are seen as cases of impersonation, that is, as instances when actors craft portrayals of characters that are separate from themselves.

Challenges to discussing performance in relationship to character and narrative are compounded by complications that confront analysis of acting and audiovisual design. In studies that consider performances in light of a film's formal design, one challenge is to find ways to discuss distinctions between performance elements and other cinematic elements. A moment that joins the close-up of a child's startled expression with a sharp rise in the musical score's volume and intensity can be considered under the rubrics of sound design, frame composition, and/or film performance. The image of a woman glaring, wide-eyed, her face half in light, half in shadow, can be discussed in relationship to lighting design and film performance. In a scene midway through *The Letter* (1940), Leslie Crosbie (Bette Davis) delicately but deliberately persuades her very proper attorney and family friend, Howard Joyce (James Stephenson), to purchase the letter that would, if revealed to the jury, lead them to see she had murdered her lover. As the scene closes, Leslie glares defiantly at Howard, no longer trying to hide that she is an adulteress and a murderer, while Howard gazes openly at Leslie, no longer hiding that he is bewitched by the depth and power of her sexual desire. The performances and the lighting express the characters' strange intimacy and tense excitement that both of them are trapped and exposed: the tightly controlled quality of the actors' performances serves to heighten the energy and expressivity of their very direct gestures; the lines of shadow that fall across Davis's body and face do not conceal but instead call attention to the passionate intensity of her glare.

Another complication that has confounded the study of acting and other film elements is that performance details do not have fixed relationships with any other cinematic techniques, even within an individual film. Sometimes, performance elements exist in counterpoint to other cinematic elements. In a carefully choreographed sequence that features singing, dancing, or dynamic interactions between actors, the editing and framing might be relatively static, doing little to direct audience attention and having little impact on audience interpretation. Other times, performance elements are consonant with other cinematic elements. Here, the formal design and the connotations carried by the details of the performance are the same as the design and connotations of the other aspects of cinematic technique. In *The Player* (1992), director Robert Altman (b. 1925) parodies conventional narrative elements and the conventional, often redundant use of cinematic elements in the sequence that features studio executive Griffin Mill (Tim Robbins) at the desert resort with June (Greta Scacchi), a self-absorbed artist who does not realize Griffin has killed her estranged boyfriend. Following a conventionally romantic dinner, and with Griffin having just explained to June that Hollywood films must have the right narrative elements, "suspense, laughter, violence, hope, heart, nudity, sex, happy endings," Altman cuts directly to Griffin and June having sex in a cinematically conventional scene that combines extreme close-ups, strong and direct movements, and a full dose of heavy breathing.

A third complication for analyses of performance and other cinematic elements is that it is difficult to determine which, if any, element has priority at any given moment. The combination of pastel colors, diffuse beams of light, and an actor's languid gestures might give audiences a sense of the character's inner calm. Changing any one of these elements changes the meaning of the scene. For example, combining the actor's languid gestures with a monochromatic color scheme and high-contrast lighting might convey the idea that the character is weak and fatigued; alternatively, combining pastel colors and diffuse beams of light with images of an actor's rigid gestures could create the impression that the character is strangely uncomfortable in a peaceful environment.

As these considerations about performance's relationship to narrative and audiovisual design suggest, film acting does not have a fixed or defining attribute that makes it fundamentally different from other aspects of film (or from acting in other media). Recognizing that acting in film does not have an essence, and that it cannot be defined by isolating a single, distinguishing attribute, is a first step toward understanding and appreciating acting in the cinema.

AUDIENCE EXPERIENCE, CULTURAL CONVENTIONS, AND TRADITIONS IN THE PERFORMING ARTS

To assess performances in individual films, one also needs to understand that a viewer's own experience in daily life plays a key role in his or her interpretation of and response to film performances. To a large extent, audiences interpret actors' performances through and in

Naturalist acting in John Cassavetes's* Shadows *(1959). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

terms of expressions, intonations, inflections, gestures, poses, and actions found in daily life. Because performance signs are drawn from everyday life, audiences' impressions and interpretations depend on the disparate and complicated interpretive frameworks that emerge from their own experiences.

That same principle applies to performance in theater, television, video installations, performance-art pieces, and new-media projects. Yet, while it is possible to locate a central principle in composite forms such as theater and film, dramatic art forms are not entirely distinct from other art and media forms. Composite forms such as film are related to other art and media forms because they use iconic signs (such as portraits), which represent things by means of resemblance. Like other art and media forms, films also use indexical signs (such as weathervanes), which have a causal link with what they are representing. Like other art and media forms, films also use symbolic signs (for example, essentially all aspects of spoken and written language), which depend on convention.

What distinguishes film and other dramatic art and media forms is their use of ostensive signs. In contrast to painting, sculpture, architecture, dance, music, poetry, and literature, dramatic arts use objects and people to represent themselves or things just like themselves: tables and chairs are used to represent tables and chairs; gestures and expressions are used to represent gestures and expressions. Importantly, the way people interpret those ostensive signs is shaped in large measure by their personal history and cultural background. To some audiences, a Bauhaus-style Barcelona chair might seem antiquated, while others would see it as futuristic. To some American audiences, the Italian hand gesture meaning "come here" seems to indicate "go away."

Viewers' acquaintance with performance in everyday life creates a dense interpretive framework. That framework is one of several filters through which audiences

encounter film performances. Another filter is created by a more specific type of experience, namely, viewers' knowledge of media and popular culture. As in the case of celebrities, genre stars, and legitimate actors, viewers encounter many film performances through and in terms of an actor's picture personality (a composite figure that emerges from an actor's portrayal in a series of films) or star image (a multidimensional image created by stories about an actor's off-screen life). An additional framework or filter that colors audience responses and interpretations emerges from another specific type of experience, in this case, viewers' knowledge of film history and traditions in the performing arts.

While most performance signs are drawn from everyday life, even in Anglo-European cinema the degree to which that is true depends on the performing art tradition that most influences the film. For example, Orson Welles's (1915–1985) performance in *Citizen Kane* (1941), which includes scenes that are emblematic of expressionistic performance, often uses performance signs that do not have a direct relationship with everyday life. In moments of extreme emotion, as when Kane smashes the furniture in his wife's bedroom just after she has left him, Welles uses highly stylized expressions, gestures, and actions to convey the character's anguished inner experience. His gestures and actions are larger and more extreme than gestures and actions used in daily life, and his facial expressions are far more truncated than facial expressions in everyday interactions. By comparison, Meryl Streep's Academy Award-winning performance in *Sophie's Choice* (1982), which exemplifies the naturalistic tradition in film performance, depends on performance signs found in everyday life. In moments of extreme emotion—for example, when she recalls the experience of giving up her daughter to Nazi officers—Streep uses familiar physical signs to convey the character's anguished inner experience. She creates the image of a woman in anguish through her tears and runny nose, the rising color in her cheeks, the tightness of her voice, her shortness of breath, and her glances that avoid eye contact.

In world cinema, it is clear that performance signs reflect the cultural and aesthetic traditions underlying a film's production context, and that theatrical traditions are an especially important factor. Western audiences need to recognize that, for example, Peking Opera is a major influence in Chinese cinema, and that Sanskrit drama is a central influence in Indian cinema. In order to appreciate the rapid shifts in the tone and energy of the actors' performances in a film such as *Die xue shuang xiong* (*The Killer*, 1989) by Hong Kong director John Woo (b. 1946), one needs to be acquainted with performance traditions in Peking Opera. Similarly, to see how performances contribute to the modulations of mood and feeling in a film such as *Monsoon Wedding* (2001) by Indian director Mira Nair (b. 1957), it is useful to understand the influence of Sanskrit drama even on internationally produced Bollywood films.

Even when there is a shared theatrical tradition, films and audiences are often separated by distances in time, location, and social situation. For audiences acquainted with Anglo-European theatrical traditions, a look at films from different eras and different national cinemas helps to clarify the fact that performances reflect the cultural and cinematic conventions that inform a production context. For example, performances in a Shirley Temple (b. 1928) film such as *The Little Colonel* (1935) are entirely different from the performances in a film such as the dark, retro fantasy *The City of Lost Children* (1995). The contrast between the performances does not reflect an evolutionary process in acting but instead the fact that films draw on historically specific conventions in their representations of gender, age, class, ethnicity, and locality.

In the Hollywood studio era, characters in films such as *The Little Colonel* are embodiments of social types that are combined in ways that illustrate moral truths. In a modernist film such as *Un condamné à mort s'est échappé* (*A Man Escaped*, 1956) by Bresson, the human figures are minimalist traces stripped down to their essential qualities. In a naturalistic film such as *A Woman Under the Influence* (1974), directed by the American independent filmmaker John Cassavetes (1929–1989), characters exist in social environments and their actions emerge from personal histories and environmental circumstances. In a postmodern film such as *The City of Lost Children*, characters are traits cobbled together, vacuous shells of identities that circulate in a narrative-saturated society.

A film's conception of character will often reveal the dominant views of its culture. For example, in *Broken Blossoms* (D. W. Griffith, 1919), the young Chinese man (Richard Barthelmess), more complicated than the stereotypes of the era, is still the inscrutable Oriental, while the young waif (Lillian Gish) who is killed by her drunken father is given enough screen time to transform the emblematic case of domestic violence into the story of an individual young woman. The various conceptions of character in a film can also create layers of social commentary. In *Memorias del subdesarrollo* (*Memories of Underdevelopment*, 1968) by Cuban director Tomás Gutiérrez Alea (1928–1996), the women that Sergio (Sergio Corrieri) mentally undresses as he passes them on the streets of Havana are presented as social types, namely, women in the tropics who are living in conditions of economic and cultural underdevelopment. Interestingly, the film's use of voice-over and subjective flashbacks prompts us to see Sergio as a unique individual and as

JOHN CASSAVETES

b. New York, New York, 9 December 1929, d. 3 February 1989

John Cassavetes's independent films challenge distinctions between documentary and fiction films. Described sometimes as home movies, they seem to capture authentic moments of individuals' experiences. The films' intimate quality reflects Cassavetes's career-long collaboration with cinematographer Al Ruban and actors such as Gena Rowlands, Peter Falk, Ben Gazzara, and Seymour Cassel.

Cassavetes's films direct audience attention to the work of actors—rather than the work of cinematographers, editors, production designers, or directors—in part because framing and editing choices are so directly keyed to actors' movements and dramatic interactions. The films are also uniquely actor-centered because they consistently include brief passages in which the actors' performances illuminate their characters, further the plot, and, at the same time, divert attention to the specific filmmaking moment that captured the actors' performances and the actors at work. In contrast to mainstream films that invite audiences to shift attention from the character to the star, largely because star images help to flesh out formulaic characters, in Cassavetes's films there are moments when one or more of the actors seem almost to drop out of character. These passing moments prompt audiences to think about the actors on the set as well as the characters in the story. While fleeting, these moments deepen the emotional impact of scenes that follow, for the viewer has been reminded that real people have been laughing, crying, feeling awkward—even if only to create the impression that their characters are having those experiences. Considered retrospectively, these ostensibly unscripted and unplanned moments also suggest a glimpse of the actors' personal experience in that filmmaking moment.

Cassavetes's respect for actors' contributions issued from his training and career as an actor. He is known for his leading role in the television series *Johnny Staccato* (1959–1960) and for his performances in films such as *Crime in the Streets* (1956), *Edge of the City* (1957), *The Killers* (1964), *The Dirty Dozen* (1967), and *Rosemary's Baby* (1968). Cassavetes's own films are enriched and complicated by his presence as an actor in *Husbands* (1970), *Minnie and Moskowitz* (1971), and *Opening Night* (1977). As an actor-director committed to exploring acting methods that facilitate actors' connections with each other and with the audience, in the late 1950s Cassavetes cofounded the Variety Arts Studio, a workshop that explored improvisation methods.

Like Italian neorealist films of the 1940s and 1950s, Cassavetes's films rely on location shooting, have an episodic rather than classical linear structure, and feature actors who are not encountered through and in terms of their star images. They issue from the period when television dramas crafted by writers such as Paddy Chayefsky and directors such as Delbert Mann changed American cinema by presenting audiences with performances that captured the telling and intimate details of working- and middle-class characters.

As with the work of Jean-Luc Godard, Cassavetes's films have been seen as a type of direct cinema, one that acknowledges the filmmaker's impact on the material presented and that attempts to reflect or reveal the material itself. For both filmmakers, actors function as graphic or narrative components effectively controlled by the director and as documentary evidence of social and emotional realities that simply cannot be represented in a fictional film narrative. Cassavetes has also been seen as an influence on directors such as Martin Scorsese and Robert Altman, who share with Cassavetes an abiding concern with the uneasy fit between self-expression and social scripts.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Shadows (1959), *Faces* (1968), *Husbands* (1970), *Minnie and Moskowitz* (1971), *A Woman Under the Influence* (1974), *The Killing of a Chinese Bookie* (1976), *Opening Night* (1977), *Gloria* (1980), *Love Streams* (1984)

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John Cassavetes. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

a social type—this time, a Cuban male who is underdeveloped by virtue of his sexist perspectives.

Even a glance at film history and performing-art traditions indicates that performances are grounded in specific conceptions of character, person, and identity. Yet describing those conceptions remains difficult largely because characters in film and other dramatic and narrative forms do not exist in distinct categories, but on a continuum that is defined by degrees of typicality and individuality. As the above examples suggest, conception of character exists on a continuum even within a single film, if only because characters have plot functions that range from extra to messenger boy to confidant to antagonist to heroine.

PRESENTATIONAL AND REPRESENTATIONAL ACTING

Acting styles also exist on a continuum, with extreme presentational styles at one end and extreme representational styles at the other. The distinction between the two is not clear-cut. Viewers' knowledge, experience, and expectations help to determine whether or not a particular performance will be seen as presentational or representational. Moreover, the two styles appear in different films made during the same period, and are often found in the same film. Gradations of presentational and representational styles exist even in the earliest years of film performance. While a presentational style marks performances in single-scene novelty pieces such as *The May Irwin Kiss* (1896) and *Fatima's Coochee-Coochee Dance* (1901) and single-scene trick films such as *The Lady Vanishes* (1896) and *How It Feels to Be Run Over* (1901), other types of single-scene films seem to capture the "natural" behavior of individual human beings. For example, many slice-of-life actualités produced by the Lumière Company are staged to suggest scenes of individuals engaged in familiar activities and are crafted so that the actions of selected individuals disclose discernible personality traits. In actualités such as *La Sortie des usines Lumière* (*Leaving the Lumière Factory*, 1895) and *Bataille de boules de neige* (*Snowball Fight*, 1896), the men singled out riding a bicycle through the crowd in each film seem to enjoy the opportunity to clown around. In *Enfants pêchant des crevettes* (*Children Digging for Clams*, 1896) a young woman in the foreground seems to be a bit anxious about being photographed. While these individuals reveal their awareness of the camera, in contrast to the novelty pieces or trick films, the individuals are not presented as if they are onstage but instead as if they are reenacting scenes from daily life and inadvertently revealing aspects of their individual personalities.

The acting style or styles featured in a film reflect the conception of character and the conception of cinema at the heart of that specific film. Put in the simplest terms, presentational acting styles are used to present character types or social types, while representational acting styles are used to represent characters with ostensibly unique personality traits. For example, the presentational acting style found in *Making of an American Citizen* (Alice Guy Blaché, 1912) illuminates identifiable social types, while the representational style of Lillian Gish's (1893–1993) performance in *The Mothering Heart* (1913) suggests a character with certain individual qualities. Presentational acting styles can also be found in modernist films that are designed according to pictorial or graphic principles. In a film such as *Oktyabr* (*Ten Days that Shook the World* and *October*, 1927), Eisenstein uses the evocative power of the stage picture and the polemical power of the social tableau to make his directorial statement. By comparison, representational acting styles are often found in mainstream films that are designed according to novelistic principles. In *Wuthering Heights* (1939), William Wyler uses the cinematic frame to create a window on a verisimilar world that invites audiences to locate occasions for emotional resonance.

Studies of acting in early cinema often discuss the presentational performance styles in American and European films produced before 1913. Scholars agree

BERTOLT BRECHT

b. Eugen Berthold Friedrich Brecht, Augsburg, Germany, 10 February 1898, d. 14 August 1956

Bertolt Brecht is a central figure in twentieth-century theater. A playwright who moved into directing to have an influence in the production of his own work, Brecht's first plays reflected the influence of dadaism and expressionism. He began directing in 1924 and had his first success in 1928 with *The Threepenny Opera*. Active in German theater until Hitler's rise to power in 1933, Brecht spent the next fifteen years in exile. During this period Brecht wrote the plays for which he is best remembered, but his work was rarely produced until he returned to (East) Germany. In the 1950s touring productions of Brecht's plays had a salient influence on Roland Barthes, Jean-Luc Godard, and others interested in modernist aesthetics and left-leaning politics.

Brecht's writing on theater practice also had a profound influence on theater and film. By the 1970s, Brecht's critique of conventional theater provided a model for politically engaged cinema that featured aesthetic experimentation. Sustained interest in Brecht's call for experimental stage practice still prompts filmmakers and stage practitioners to explore alternative relationships between performer, director, and audience.

Brecht is best known for defining distinctions between epic theater and mainstream dramatic theater. According to Brecht, the two types of theater have different objectives—epic theater is designed to illuminate the operations of social and political power, while dramatic theater accommodates people to existing social realities. Epic theater does not have a fixed style or set of techniques, and the logic for selecting and combining aesthetic elements is different from that used in dramatic theater. In epic theater, dramatic, visual, and aural/musical elements are placed in counterpoint to emphasize the constructed nature of representation itself. By comparison, dramatic theater orchestrates dramatic, visual, and aural/musical elements to create a coherent and emotionally engaging reflection of the world as it is defined by the traditions and myths that serve the interests of those in power.

In Brecht's productions, actors' gestures and vocal expressions were presented in spatial and/or temporal counterpoint to other performance and staging elements. At any moment, disparities between lighting, scenic, musical, and performance elements called attention to the concrete reality of the elements themselves. Rather than coming together to create a seamless stage picture, the disparate performance and staging elements kept meaning in play and made the entire theater event strange. Building on Russian formalists' concept of "making strange" and the Prague School's theories on the social function of art's "foregrounding effect," Brecht used the term "*verfremdungseffekt*" (alienation) to describe the effect of visual, aural, and comedic/dramatic collage techniques that keep audiences attentive to connections between social realities and the situations presented onstage.

Throughout his career, collaboration was integral to Brecht's work as a playwright and director. He worked closely with individuals such as director Erwin Piscator, composer Kurt Weill, actress Lotte Lenya, and actress Helene Weigl, with whom he founded the Berliner Ensemble in 1949. *The Threepenny Opera* (1928), *Life of Galileo* (1937), *Mother Courage and Her Children* (1941), *The Good Person of Setzuan* (1943), and *The Caucasian Chalk Circle* (1948) are among his best-known plays. After fleeing from German-occupied countries in Europe, Brecht lived in southern California from 1941 to 1947. During that time, he collaborated occasionally with actors, directors, and screenwriters working in Hollywood. He chose to leave the United States in 1947 after turning in a remarkable performance before the House Un-American Activities Committee as the eleventh unfriendly witness in a group that later became known as the Hollywood Ten.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Kuhle Wampe (1932), *You and Me* (1938), *Hangmen Also Die* (1943)

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that presentational styles were dominant in films produced before 1908, and they have used various terms, including "histrionic," "melodramatic," and "romantic," to describe acting in early cinema. The salient point in their studies is that the early years of Anglo-European cinema often featured performances with emphatic and highly expressive postures and gestures. Linked to theatrical traditions in which tableaux were important, early film performances were marked by poses that forcefully embodied the emotional or narrative situation.

Many scholars see a transition in the 1910s from presentational to representational acting styles. The change in acting style is linked to the rise of naturalism in late-nineteenth-century theater and to developments in film practice as the movies became an entertainment form for middle-class audiences. Scholars have used terms such as "verisimilar acting," "naturalistic performance," and "realistic acting" to describe the representational styles that accompanied the transition to feature-length films and the rise of the star system. In contrast to the emphatic poses featured in presentational acting styles, representational acting involves extensive use of props, blocking, and stage business to reveal dramatic conflict and characters' inner experiences.

By the 1920s representational acting styles were the norm in Anglo-European filmmaking, and thus an aspect of film practice open to challenge. While mainstream cinema continued to feature representational acting styles, filmmakers inspired by Soviet cinema rejected them on the grounds that they were one of the culture industry's more insidious methods for instilling false consciousness in mass audiences. Turning instead to epic theater and documentary forms, leftist filmmakers produced work such as *Kuhle Wampe* (1932) and *Native Land* (1942). Creating work that sometimes is compared to surrealist films of the 1920s and 1930s, experimental artists began using presentational acting styles to illustrate archetypical figures in dreamlike narratives such as *Meshes in the Afternoon* (1943).

Impatient with the conventions of commercial film and theater, modernists such as Jean-Luc Godard (b. 1930) found inspiration in stage productions mounted by Bertolt Brecht's (1898–1956) Berliner Ensemble in the 1950s. The influence of Brecht's views on dramatic art is visible in films directed by Godard and in the work of filmmakers such as Danièle Huillet (b. 1936) and Jean-Marie Straub (b. 1933), who were influenced by Godard's contributions to the French New Wave. In this line of modernist cinema, characters are presented as social types or stereotypes. Dispassionate performances obscure access to characters' inner experiences. Functioning as news readers more than characters, actors break the illusion of the fictional world by using direct address; working as cultural or media images more than characters, actors become pieces of the film's graphic design.

In Godard's films, performance elements are just one part of an audiovisual collage. Performances function independently of or in counterpoint to framing, editing, camera movement, and other cinematic elements. As models of social types, Godard's actors display little or no emotion. They often convey information about their characters' social and narrative situation by reenacting a gesture or assuming a pose drawn from film and media culture. For example, in a scene in *À bout de souffle* (*Breathless*, 1960), Jean-Paul Belmondo (b. 1933) pensively draws his thumb across his lips, emulating a gesture his character has seen on a poster of Humphrey Bogart (1899–1957).

Brecht's writing on epic theater prompted film critics to see the truncated performance style in modernist films as "Brechtian." The term served to differentiate the minimalist presentation of social types from the more histrionic style used in early cinema. With impassive performances in modernist films identified as Brechtian, expressive performances in a representational style came to be seen as "Stanislavskian." The connection between representational performance styles and the

MARLON BRANDO

b. Omaha, Nebraska, 3 April 1924, d. 1 July 2004

Marlon Brando is often considered by many to be America's greatest actor. He made his stage debut in 1944 and won acclaim for his 1947 performance in *A Streetcar Named Desire*, directed by Elia Kazan. Following his film debut in 1950 Brando quickly became the preeminent actor in postwar America. He received Academy Award® nominations for his performances in *A Streetcar Named Desire* (1951), *Viva Zapata!* (1952), and *Julius Caesar* (1953), and an Oscar® for his performance in *On the Waterfront* (1954).

Publicity surrounding these films helped to establish the idea that Brando's acclaimed performances represented the arrival of Method acting in Hollywood. To understand Brando's work as a Method actor, however, it is important to recognize that the principles of acting and actor training associated with the Method were developed by three different individuals: Lee Strasberg, Stella Adler, and Sanford Meisner. Each focused on different methods of preparation and character development: Strasberg focused on affective memory, Adler emphasized imagination, and Meisner stressed the importance of actors' connection. Brando took classes at the Actors Studio when it opened in New York in 1947, but he did not study with Strasberg, who joined the Actors Studio in 1948 and became its artistic director in 1951. Instead, beginning in 1942, Brando studied with Adler at the New School in New York. The New School's Dramatic Workshop, established by Erwin Piscator, who established the principles of epic theater that Bertolt Brecht would make famous, gave Brando the chance to perform in Shakespearean and symbolist productions. Studying with Adler, Brando was trained not to use memory and personal history as the basis for developing characterizations, but to enter into a character's fictional world by studying the script and historical accounts that would shed light on the character's given circumstances.

Working with Adler also instilled in Brando the belief that actors were not isolated artists, but instead citizens who should have a point of view about society. Brando's decision to protest Hollywood's representations of Native Americans by declining the Academy Award® for his performance in *The Godfather* (1972) is seen by many critics as a flamboyant gesture of a short-lived political stance. Yet, careful review of the roles Brando selected throughout his career reveal an engaged and long-standing interest in decrying the unchecked exercise of power. Brando's characterizations in *Reflections in a Golden Eye* (1967) and *Burn!* (1969) are especially rich for their depiction of power's devastating effects. His portrayals in *The Ugly American* (1963), *The Godfather*, and *Apocalypse Now* (1979) are good examples of his ability to craft performances that suggest the allure and the ruthlessness of men who operate beyond the boundary of social norms. While he is often associated with the rebel characters he portrayed, Brando is best understood as a gifted actor, skilled enough to create performances that also invariably exposed the downside of rogue masculinity.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

A Streetcar Named Desire (1951), *The Wild One* (1954), *On the Waterfront* (1954), *The Young Lions* (1958), *Mutiny on the Bounty* (1962), *Reflections in a Golden Eye* (1967), *Burn!* (*Queimada!*, 1969), *The Godfather* (1972), *Last Tango in Paris* (1973), *Apocalypse Now* (1979), *A Dry White Season* (1989)

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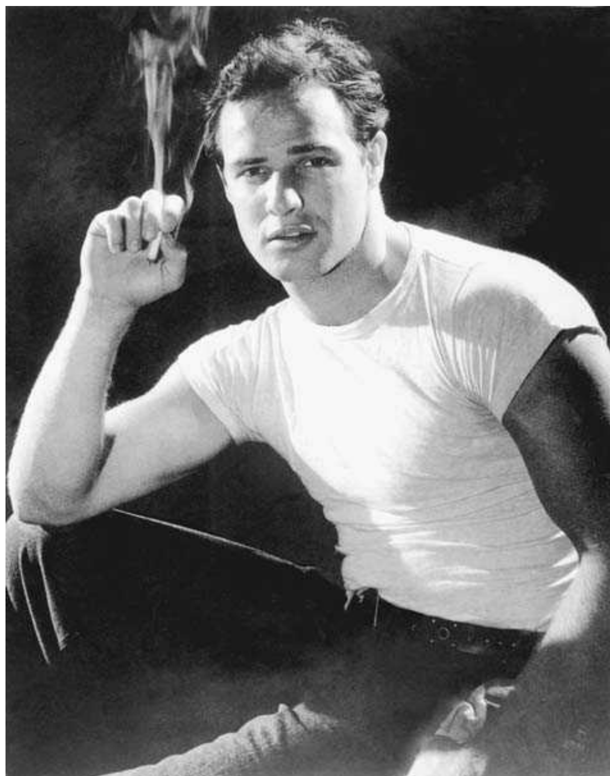
Russian actor-director-theorist Konstantin Sergeyevich Stanislavsky (1863–1938) is not surprising. In 1906 the Moscow Art Theatre's first European tour prompted theater critics to discuss the marvelous details of the actors' stage business. Their reviews called attention to the actors' ability to create the impression of everyday life. During the Moscow Art Theatre's tours in America in 1923 and 1924, which featured productions from the company's 1906 tour (*Tsar Fyodor*, *The Lower Depths*, *The Cherry Orchard*, and *The Three Sisters*), American critics were



Portrait of Marlon Brando at the time of* A Streetcar Named Desire *(1951). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

equally impressed by the simplicity and naturalness of the actors' performances.

There is a connection between the multidimensional "System" Stanislavsky developed over the course of his career and representational performance styles because the System included new methods that actors could use to prepare for and execute performances suited to the demands of late-nineteenth-century naturalism. For example, in place of studying painting or sculpture to create poses that would reveal characters' emotional states, actors using Stanislavsky's System learned to use script analysis to understand a character's circumstances and a script's fictional world. Rather than working to create certain images in their performances, Stanislavsky's actors turned to historical research and observation of everyday life. This research provided the basis for actors' imaginative creation of details about their characters' life history and social environment. When combined with exercises that enhanced actors' ability to relax on stage and focus their attention on fellow actors, the process of script analysis devised by Stanislavsky made it possible for actors to create performances that seemed to be lifted from everyday life.

From the 1920s forward, most actors in the United States have approached performance using strategies based on their understanding of the approach to actor training, character development, and performance outlined in the Stanislavsky System. In the 1930s dialogue directors, who worked with film actors to develop characterizations, and drama coaches, who developed actor-training programs for the studios, became an integral part of Hollywood's industrial production process. At institutions such as the American Academy of Dramatic Art and the Pasadena Playhouse, actors working in film learned scientific, modern, and systematic methods for developing characterizations and working in film. Many film actors took classes at the Actors Laboratory in Hollywood, which was established in 1941 by Group Theatre actors Morris Carnovsky (1897–1992), Roman Bohnen (1894–1949), J. Edward Bromberg (1903–1951), and Phoebe Brand (1907–2004) (all of whom shared Stella Adler and Sanford Meisner's opposition to Lee Strasberg's interpretation of Stanislavsky). Courses at the Actors Lab and at long-established institutions, and working sessions with drama coaches such as Sophie Rosenstein, were all grounded in Stanislavsky's view that actors must ask what the character would do in the given circumstances. In the late 1940s, when studios reduced their investment in contract players and communist-front allegations forced the Actors Lab to close, Robert Lewis (1909–1997), Elia Kazan (1909–2003), and Cheryl Crawford (1902–1986) established the Actors Studio in New York. Soon after, Lee Strasberg (1901–1982) assumed the role of artistic director, and in the decades that followed, Strasberg popularized the American Method, which inverts Stanislavsky's System by encouraging the actor to ask how he or she would feel in the character's situation.

The distinction scholars seek to describe by referring to Brechtian and Stanislavskian performance styles is an important one, but it is better understood as a contrast between presentational and representational styles. In a Hollywood studio–era film such as *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* (Frank Capra, 1939), editing and framing choices are subordinate to actors' movements and facial expressions. Like the film's musical score and sound design, they serve to enhance audience access to characters' subjective experience and desires. Actors' performances are designed to disclose the inner lives of their characters. By comparison, in a modernist film such as Godard's *Weekend* (1967), editing and frame compositions often exclude close-ups. That approach eliminates cathartic or emotion-laden moments from the screen. *Weekend*'s editing, framing, sound design, and camera movement also are often unrelated to actors' movements or interactions, serving instead to provide commentary on the film's polemical vignettes. The figures in the film

are not defined by their personality traits, but instead represent social types shaped entirely by external forces.

As shorthand, it might make sense to discuss Stanislavskian performances in films such as *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* and Brechtian performances in films such as *Weekend*, but doing that obscures important information about the multifaceted system Stanislavsky developed. Today, scholars and practitioners alike recognize that Stanislavsky's System can be used to create a range of performances styles. They see the value of analyzing scripts to understand (1) the problems characters need to solve to reach their goals, (2) the specific actions characters will use to reach their goals, and (3) the structure of scenes that arises from the actions characters take in pursuit of their goals. Many scholars now recognize that Brecht actually used Stanislavsky's System to develop performances and that Brecht's approach to staging required actors to use direct address, truncated performances, and animated acting styles imbued with the dynamic energy of circus and music hall performances.

Describing performances in mainstream Hollywood films as Stanislavskian and performances in modernist European films as Brechtian dissuades observers from seeing that even in largely representational performances, actors step outside their characters to comment on their characters and on their performances. What makes performances so compelling in Cassavetes's films, for example, is the fact that they not only create memorable characters, but also contain moments when actors seem to comment on the narrative and on their participation in the film. The Brechtian potential of Stanislavskian performances is also disclosed by many of Orson Welles's performances. His portrayals in *Jane Eyre* (1944), *The Third Man* (1949), *The Long Hot Summer* (1958), *Touch of Evil* (1958), and *Campanadas a medianoche* (*Chimes at Midnight*, 1965) do not simply present audiences with a character, or even the star performance of a character. Instead, Welles's portrayals enlist sympathy for the characters, critique the social and economic conditions the characters exemplify, and comment on Welles as an artist working in a capital-intensive industry.

CHANGING VIEWS OF MEDIATED PERFORMANCE

Film scholars are coming to the view that presentational and representational acting styles are options that exist along a continuum, rather than opposite and mutually exclusive approaches, and they recognize that actors draw on a range of methods to prepare for and execute film performances. Acknowledging that film and theater portrayals require the same depth of preparation, and that each context requires unique adjustments, film scholars have set aside definitions of film acting that involve a strict opposition between stage and screen acting. Instead, gaining insights from video and performance art, television and performance studies, they now see connections between performance in film and other forms of mediated performance. Anthologies such as *More Than a Method* (Baron, Carson, and Tomasulo, 2004) feature scholarship that considers ways that performance elements contribute to films' meaning and emotional effects—even though audiences encounter performances in relationship to other aspects of the film's visual, aural, and narrative design.

Scholars have also developed more nuanced ways of considering authorship and film performance. They acknowledge that film performances are made up of physical and vocal expressions produced by actors—even in cases when directors such as Stanley Kubrick (1928–1999) maintain a high degree of control by tricking actors, misinforming actors, or giving actors predetermined line readings and body positions. They recognize that screen performances depend on actors' voices and actors' bodies as the source of characters' movements—even in animated and computer-generated films. Like performances in disparate forms of theater, video, television, and new media, acting in film depends, at least in part, on actors who use their bodies and voices to create impressions, moods, and characterizations.

SEE ALSO *Casting; Character Actors; Child Actors; Direction; Star System; Stars; Supporting Actors; Theater*

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ACTION AND ADVENTURE FILMS

Action and adventure have long been established features of American and other national cinemas. Associated with narratives of quest and discovery, and spectacular scenes of combat, violence and pursuit, action and adventure films are not restricted to any particular historical or geographic setting. Indeed, the basic elements of conflict, chase, and challenge can be inflected in any number of different directions. As such, action and adventure as cinematic forms are constantly in the process of reinvention, manifesting themselves in a multiplicity of different genres and sub-genres over time. It is nonetheless useful to distinguish between the two terms and the kind of cinema to which they refer, since "action," "adventure," and "action-adventure" are all descriptors with difference valences. With this in mind, a rudimentary distinction can be made between action *sequences* and adventure *narratives*. Action is associated with a particular kind of scene or spectacle (explosions, chases, combat); adventure, by contrast, implies a story (typically, though not always, the quest narrative) often located within a fantasy or exoticized setting, for example, the search for mythical objects or treasure in such films as *King Solomon's Mines* (1950) and *Raiders of the Lost Ark* (1981).

Despite their generic diversity, all action and adventure films focus on some form of conflict. Alone or as part of a group, the heroes face some figure, force, or element that challenges them physically and mentally. They may face an opponent of enormous size, strength (*The Terminator*, 1984) or intelligence (*The Matrix* trilogy, 1999, 2003, 2003), alien or supernatural forces (the monstrous creature in the *Alien* series, 1979, 1986, 1992, 1997; the invading alien ships in *Independence Day*, 1996), an unjust system (the British in *Captain Blood*, 1935; imperial power in the *Star Wars* series, 1977, 1980, 1983, 1999, 2002, 2005), mechanical malfunctions (runaway trains in *The Hazards of Helen*, 1914; the booby-trapped bus in *Speed*, 1994), a natural disaster (*Volcano*, 1997), or simply a harsh natural environment (the deserts of *Lawrence of Arabia*, 1962). Of course, many action and adventure films often call on several of these elements in combination: thus, in *The Thief of Bagdad* (1924), Ahmed (Douglas Fairbanks) faces physical humiliation at the hands of palace guards before traversing a series of challenging environments and defeating a variety of monsters and treacherous human opponents in order to claim his prize (marriage to the princess). In all these circumstances, the action or adventure hero is called upon to demonstrate courage, initiative and physical endurance, ultimately triumphing over what are typically cast as impossible odds.

EARLY AND SILENT ACTION AND ADVENTURE

Action and adventure form a key component of early and silent cinema. At a relatively early stage of film history, elements of chase and pursuit were developed into basic narratives through innovations in editing, evident in such important cinematic reference points as *The Great Train Robbery* (1903) in the United States and *A Daring Daylight Burglary* (1903) in the United Kingdom. Both titles involve crime, some form of pursuit, and the ultimate capture of the thieves in question by the forces of law. The sensational appeal of crime and pursuit remain evident throughout the silent era. Film historians such as Richard Abel and Ben Singer have done much to map

Bruce Willis in the prototypical contemporary action film **Die Hard** ***(John McTiernan, 1988).*** © 20TH CENTURY FOX FILM CORP./COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

the appeal of sensational cinema in the period, pointing out that what we now typically term "action" was framed within the silent era as a form of popular melodrama featuring scenes of peril, pursuit, villainy, and rescue, forms derived in part from spectacular theatrical traditions. These basic elements of chase and pursuit were also given comic inflection in Mack Sennett's highly successful slapstick Keystone productions, most notably through the antics of the "Keystone Kops."

As the silent cinema reached maturity in the United States, the most remarkable action star of the period was undoubtedly Douglas Fairbanks (1883–1939), who defined both the historical adventure and the action spectacle for the silent era. From his unexpected success with *The Mark of Zorro* (1920), a departure from the star's established association with comedy, Fairbanks appeared in a series of costly spectacles that showcased his athleticism and physical exuberance, notably *Robin Hood* (1922) and *The Thief of Bagdad* (1924). The latter, directed by Raoul Walsh, is an epic fairytale film featuring extravagant sets and breathtaking choreography. The film follows Fairbanks's Ahmed from life as a thief on the streets of Bagdad through various adventures that end in his redemption through love and heroism. Rudolph Valentino (1895–1926), Fairbanks's contemporary, was also associated with exoticized adventure in such films as *The Sheik* (1921) and his last film, *Son of the Sheik* (1926), his star persona foregrounding eroticism rather than the athleticism that was Fairbanks's trademark. However different, dance draws the two together, with *The Thief of Bagdad* clearly being influenced by contemporary dance styles and Valentino's being heavily associated with the ethnic eroticism of the tango. Both stars are analyzed in *This Mad Masquerade* by Gaylyn Studlar, who explores their images within the period's evolving and fluid discourses of American manhood. Their different images underline the centrality of the star body to action and adventure films: as a form that foregrounds the body in motion and in combat, action and adventure cinema advances a physical (frequently sexualized), imagery of heroism that veers between the poles of aggression and grace.

Though lacking the continuing cultural visibility of Valentino as star, the "serial queen" has attracted critical attention as an extremely popular site of action and spectacle in the silent era. As Singer notes, serial star Pearl White (1889–1938) was an extraordinarily popular performer, with high-grossing serials such as *The Perils of Pauline* (1914) demonstrating the association between intrepid action heroines, modernity and early cinema (*Melodrama and Modernity*, pp. 214–216). Jennifer Bean explores such connections to the long-running serial *The Hazards of Helen* (1914–1917). She foregrounds the railroad and other forms of transportation as important sources of cinematic thrills within these films and as a marker of the perceived speed and unreliability of modern life. The centrality of female performers to action and adventure in the silent period, admittedly within the less prestigious form of the serial, usefully frames the critical interest in contemporary Hollywood action heroines (*Action and Adventure*, pp. 21–23).

Finally, it should be noted that the silent cinema also sees the formation of a tradition of adventure filmmaking strongly associated with special effects. The fabulous sets of the Fairbanks adventures represent one such source of spectacle. Of equal significance is the appeal of landmark films such as the adaptation of Jules Verne's *20,000 Leagues Under the Sea* (1916), complete with elaborate underwater sequences, or the ground-breaking stop-motion animation detailing dinosaurs in the lavish 1925 adaptation of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's *The Lost World*. Such laboriously produced films exploiting a variety of technical innovations indicate the early importance of spectacular scenes as a defining feature of action and adventure cinema.

CLASSICAL CINEMA: HISTORICAL ADVENTURE

Within the classical period of American cinema, a variety of action and adventure types were produced, several achieving distinct generic status (the western, gangster, and war film pre-eminently). Setting aside for the moment these familiar action genres, we might consider the historical adventure film as the classical cinema's central manifestation of action and adventure. In his comprehensive study of the genre, Brian Taves suggests that historical adventure comprises five principal types which relate to the setting or activity associated with the major characters: swashbuckler, pirate, sea, empire, and fortune hunter. Of these, the swashbuckler is the most familiar, an adventure form associated with a hero who battles against unjust authority, displaying martial skills in extravagant scenes of swordplay, often combined with verbal wit. Though by no means associated with one studio alone, Warner Bros. notably generated a series of successful historical adventures featuring Errol Flynn (1909–1959), first as the eponymous hero in *Captain Blood* and subsequently in such titles as *The Charge of the Light Brigade* (1936) and *The Adventures of Robin Hood* (1938). In the latter, both a commercial and critical success, Flynn was paired once more with female lead Olivia de Havilland (b. 1916). This Technicolor epic, with its spectacular sets and scenes of combat, built on Fairbanks's successes of the silent period. Flynn's Hood quips as he scales walls and fights in trees, atop tables, and on staircases, suggesting a hero equally at home in natural and human-made environments. Robin's good looks, hearty good humor, and martial skills position him as both one of the people and a leader of men, his virtues contrasted to the idle indulgence of most of the ruling class he opposes. Released on the eve of World War II, the film offered as explicit a condemnation of authoritarian regimes as was perhaps possible within the restrictions of the day. In its alignment with the Saxons, an oppressed group that has lost power (rather than never having had it), against the Normans, *The Adventures of Robin Hood* exploits the political impulses that Taves sees as central to the historical adventure, without ever needing to touch on the complexities of power and oppression within the United States itself. The historical adventure continued as a Hollywood staple through to the mid-1950s, showcasing various athletic, pin-up male stars, including Tyrone Power (1913–1958), Douglas Fairbanks Jr. (1909–2000), Burt Lancaster (1913–1994), and Stewart Granger (1913–1993). In turn, this tradition was revived in the 1970s, with films such as the American-British co-production of *The Three Musketeers* (1973), and has remained evident in later successes, such as *Pirates of the Caribbean: The Curse of the Black Pearl* (2003), hybridized with horror elements.

Many adventure films depict their protagonists journeying to or through a geographically and culturally distant landscape. Whether explicitly figured as the space of empire, or simply evoked as primitive, non-western ("other") worlds, adventure space typically exists to be conquered or in some way mastered. Its inhabitants are defined as inferior and/or threatening to the white/western adventurers who enter these sites. *The Lost World*, with its Amazon setting, can be framed in this way, as can various H. Rider Haggard adaptations, such as *She* (1935) and *King Solomon's Mines* (both novels have been filmed on numerous occasions, the latter again in 2004). Perhaps the best-known character to function within this type of adventure space is Tarzan, a character first filmed in the silent period (*Tarzan of the Apes*, 1918) and forming a cinematic staple of the adventure film for decades. The former Olympic swimmer Johnny Weissmuller (1904–1984) portrayed Tarzan in a series of films, beginning with *Tarzan the Ape Man* (1932); subsequently, a number of other male stars and athletes portrayed the character

ERROL FLYNN

b. Hobart, Tasmania, Australia, 20 June 1909, d. 14 October 1959

Errol Flynn is the Hollywood star most closely associated with the genre of historical adventure at the height of that cycle's popularity. His good looks and athletic performance came to define the romantic male exuberance of the swashbuckler.

Flynn's most successful and influential films were made at the beginning of his career as a leading actor. *Captain Blood* (1935), which both propelled Flynn into stardom and set the terms of his subsequent image, was the first of several collaborations with the director Michael Curtiz and the co-star Olivia de Havilland. He plays Peter Blood—a doctor turned fighter who is sold into slavery by a tyrannical English monarch, flees with his fellow captives to escape slavery for a life of piracy, and finally reclaims his position and marries his former owner (de Havilland), when the monarchy changes—the archetypal redeemed rogue.

Flynn starred in a variety of different genre films, including westerns and war movies, romances and comedies. Early in his career he demonstrated dramatic versatility in the remade World War I aviation drama *The Dawn Patrol* (1938), yet Flynn's stardom remained linked to the swashbuckling roles he played in Warner Bros. historical adventures. Of these, the most accomplished and well regarded is certainly *The Adventures of Robin Hood* (1938), an acclaimed Technicolor adventure in which Flynn romances de Havilland's Marion, fights memorably with Basil Rathbone's Sir Guy of Gisbourne, and outwits Claude Rains's weaselly Prince John. Effectively showcasing his physical grace and athleticism, boyish good looks, and easy manner, Flynn plays Robin Hood as a charismatic figure of roguish charm, a conservative rebel whose robbery and violence is, like Peter Blood's piracy, a clear response to injustice. Produced during World War II, *The Sea Hawk* (1940) also effectively exploited Flynn's adventure-hero persona while emphasizing the contemporary resonances of its tale of Spanish imperial expansionism.

If Flynn's film career was defined by the romantic figure of the swashbuckler, his star persona was framed by sexual scandal. His (first) trial for statutory rape in 1942 had a devastating effect, even though Flynn was acquitted, initiating a period of personal and physical setbacks. Alcohol and drug use led to a marked decline in the looks on which his career had been founded. *The Master of Ballantrae* (1953) was his last swashbuckling hit (though not his last effort in the genre) and marked the end of his contract with Warner Bros. His final years included a series of performances as alcoholics, in a somewhat perverse on-screen enactment of his physical decline; the first of these, *The Sun Also Rises* (1957), received critical praise, generating renewed interest in the star's career.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Captain Blood (1935), *The Charge of the Light Brigade* (1936), *The Adventures of Robin Hood* (1938), *The Dawn Patrol* (1938), *Dodge City* (1939), *The Sea Hawk* (1940), *They Died With Their Boots On* (1941), *Gentleman Jim* (1942), *Adventures of Don Juan* (1948), *The Sun Also Rises* (1957)

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Yvonne Tasker

in films featuring action sequences, an adventure setting, and a legitimate context in which to display near-naked bodies. The long-running cinematic success of the Tarzan story can be understood in terms of its deployment of a series of core action and adventure elements, which reassured viewers through white male dominance in an African landscape defined by its remoteness and racial difference. Such constructions are not limited to fantastic representations of Africa, of course; the construction of native American lands and peoples within the western may also be considered in this context—the much discussed John Ford film *The Searchers* (1956), for instance. As this suggests, sites closer to home may still be rendered as threatening, fantastic, and exotic within the codes of Hollywood adventure. Equally, though, the quest for empire may provide the explicit setting for war, as in the British action epic *Zulu* (1964); produced in a period defined by Britain's emerging post-imperial status, the

Errol Flynn as* Captain Blood *(Michael Curtiz, 1935).
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film depicts British forces as hopelessly outnumbered by Zulu opponents.

CHALLENGES AND CHANGE: THE 1970s AND AFTER

With the collapse of the Production Code in 1968 and the introduction of a ratings system, Hollywood action films of the 1970s begin to push acceptable boundaries with respect to screen violence. Arthur Penn's stylish gangster film *Bonnie and Clyde* (1967) and Sam Peckinpah's elegiac western *The Wild Bunch* (1969), both controversial at the time, have been read as important markers in a move toward a clearly differentiated, adult form of violent cinema in which scenes of dramatic and bloody death are vividly portrayed. The series of films initiated by Don Siegel's *Dirty Harry* (1971), featuring Clint Eastwood as the eponymous rogue cop, routinely feature shocking images of death, violence, and torture. The 1960s and 1970s saw not only a more explicit rendition of violence but also a reinvigoration of various chase and pursuit formats, a process facilitated by new technologies including more mobile cameras (*Action and Adventure Cinema*). For Romao, films such as *Bullitt* (1968) work to harness the counter-cultural associations of rebel masculinity signalled by the automobile, rendering old forms (the car chase) exciting for a new generation (pp. 139–141).

Informed in a rather different way by anti-traditional culture and politics, the 1960s and 1970s witnessed the emergence of a cycle of thrillers in which the protagonist is caught within a bewildering and extensive conspiracy. *The Manchurian Candidate* (1962) features both brainwashing by captors during the Korean War (a familiar construction of Southeast Asia as threatening to the United States) and a political conspiracy involving the protagonist's mother. The director John Frankenheimer followed up with another conspiratorial thriller, *Seven Days in May* (1964), which sees a military coup narrowly averted. Paranoid traditions continued well into the 1970s with such films as *The Parallax View* (1974) and *Winter Kills* (1979). Typically critics have framed this tradition in terms of popular scepticism toward official government in the wake of the Watergate scandal and US military involvement in Vietnam. Later surveillance/persecution fantasies, such as *Enemy of the State* (1998), *Conspiracy Theory* (1997), and the futuristic *Minority Report* (2002), suggest the more general appeal of this mode of narrative.

The 1970s also saw the emergence of black action cinema (sometimes called "blaxploitation") with both male and female heroes deploying violence, gun power, and martial arts against oppressive enemies and institutions. The sports star Fred Williamson (b. 1938) appeared in a variety of European and US productions during this period, while Pam Grier (b. 1949) established herself as an action icon in such films as *Coffy* (1973) and *Foxy Brown* (1974). Many critics regard blaxploitation as a problematic mode of film production because it typically employed familiar but unwelcome racial and sexual stereotypes. Significantly, though, black action films of the 1970s strongly evince the influence of Hong Kong filmmaking on American cinema. In particular, the international stardom achieved by the Hong Kong cinema martial arts icon Bruce Lee (1940–1973) suggests the possibility of shifting the seemingly fixed association between heroism and whiteness in US cinema. Lee's premature death, in the same year that his first (and only) American production, *Enter the Dragon* (1973), scored a huge commercial hit, reinforced his iconic status.

Although some of these films have critical or cult status, it is worth noting that many black action films, and other films that potentially troubled traditional configurations of American heroism, were associated with low-budget production and/or restricted in their theatrical distribution. Yet from the end of the 1970s to the present day, action and adventure films have been associated with some of the most costly, highly promoted,

and highly profitable Hollywood films and franchises. Thus, while action and adventure forms took on challenging material (in terms of both censorship and mainstream taste) in the 1970s, the decade also saw the reinvention of a family adventure tradition that has continued to fare well commercially, if not critically. The release of George Lucas's enormously successful fantasy adventure, *Star Wars*, underlined the commercial potential of "safe" adventure scenarios. Lucas and his contemporary Steven Spielberg, director of adventure hits such as *Raiders of the Lost Ark* and *Jurassic Park* (1993), have come to represent a commercially lucrative yet culturally conservative vision of the action-adventure film, one which remains enormously influential.

Action, as distinct from adventure, was significantly redefined once more in the American cinema of the 1980s: "action" became a widely used term to promote films as generic, rather than for describing one element of a film's repertoire of pleasures or a type of sequence. Through its association with the blockbuster, action and adventure cinema is increasingly typified by pleasures of spectacle and excess, a showcase for innovations in special effects, including three-dimensional computerized imagery. Action and comedy also became an increasingly common pairing, as the earnest action narratives of the 1980s gave way to more or less explicit action-comedy and tongue-in-cheek enactments of the genre's conventions and character types, as seen in such films as *Con Air* (1997) and *Charlie's Angels* (2000). Such films ask, even require, that audiences not take them too seriously; it is as if filmmakers, aware of action cinema's reputation for ideological simplicity and spectacular violence, seek to acknowledge and to revel in the genre's fantastical premises.

Two male stars are particularly associated with the genre's prominence during the 1980s: Sylvester Stallone (b. 1946), star of the highly successful and culturally controversial *Rambo* series (1982, 1985, 1988), about a vengeful Vietnam veteran's quest for redemption; and the former bodybuilder Arnold Schwarzenegger (b. 1947), whose film career proved to have far greater longevity than Stallone's, arguably due to his greater talent for comedy. These stars' muscular bodies have stood in for the general excess with which 1980s action is associated. Shifting this emphasis onto bodily display, a new group of male action stars came to prominence during the 1980s and 1990s, among them such A-list stars as Tom Cruise, Mel Gibson, and Will Smith. In reflecting on the male stars associated with action and adventure in this period, it is notable that these genres have been somewhat more open to black, Asian, and Latino performers than some other Hollywood genres. Yet this diversity in casting is by no means in conflict with the cultural conservatism associated with action and adventure. Just as 1970s blaxploitation deploys uncomfortable racial and sexual stereotypes, the 1980s variant of biracial buddy movies, such as *48 Hours* (1982), the *Lethal Weapon* series (1987, 1989, 1992, 1998), and the *Die Hard* series (1988, 1990, 1995), has been read as a strategy to exploit and contain black male stars, such as Eddie Murphy. These films pair black and white stars in order to appeal to the widest audience demographic, and in the process black characters are typically portrayed within primarily (or entirely) white institutional contexts. More recently, Mary Beltrán considered Hollywood's deployment of biracial and multi-ethnic stars such as Vin Diesel and Keanu Reeves in terms of economic and cultural expediency (p. 54).

INTERNATIONAL ACTION

European cinemas boast strong national action traditions. These range from Italian westerns and *peplum*, defined by Richard Dyer as "a cycle of adventure films centered on heroes drawn from classical antiquity played by American bodybuilders" (p. 286), to the British gangster film, such as *Brighton Rock* (1947) and *The Long Good Friday* (1980). Frequently European action films are successful primarily within local markets, although there are also notable international successes, such as *Nikita* (Luc Besson, 1990) and *Lola rennt* (*Run, Lola Run*, Tom Twyker, 1998). That both of these titles focus on female protagonists is not insignificant, since the marketing of a certain image of female action became increasingly central to the genre through the course of the 1990s. Hong Kong action cinema has also accorded female fighters a more central position than has Hollywood cinema. With the success of Hong Kong action cinema in the United States, a series of awkward attempts to incorporate Hong Kong stars within American filmmaking practices occurred, many featuring Jackie Chan (b. 1954) or Jet Li (b. 1963) (the latter moving from villain to hero in his American films). A huge star in Asian markets, Chan finally achieved a measure of consistent commercial success in the United States through variants of the bi-racial buddy formula, for instance, in *Rush Hour* (1998).

With the migration of many Hong Kong filmmaking personnel at the end of the 1990s, different patterns of influence and exchange become notable. The critical and commercial interest in the Hong Kong director John Woo (b. 1946), who has had some success in Hollywood with such films as *Face/Off* (1997) and *Windtalkers* (2002), is one manifestation. Perhaps more indicative is the use of Hong Kong fight choreography, though less often with Asian performers, in Hollywood films such as *The Matrix* series and *Charlie's Angels*. Quentin Tarantino's decision to film sections of his hit martial arts pastiche *Kill Bill,*

ARNOLD SCHWARZENEGGER

b. Thal, Styria, Austria, 30 July 1947

A bodybuilder, entrepreneur, and movie star, Arnold Schwarzenegger is associated with the box-office prominence of spectacular action cinema through the 1980s and into the 1990s. Schwarzenegger achieved fame first as a bodybuilder, appearing in the documentary *Pumping Iron* (1977). From his early leading roles in comic book, fantasy muscle movies, notably *Conan the Barbarian* (1982) and *Conan the Destroyer* (1984), Schwarzenegger demonstrated a capacity for physical acting. His key success came with *The Terminator* (1984), a noirish science-fiction film in which he plays a cyborg sent from the future to kill the unwitting mother of a rebel leader yet to be born. Playing off the performer's machine/body and "robotic" delivery, the film ensured his iconic status. With minimal dialogue, Schwarzenegger's part focused on the formation of an image, one defined by his physical presence.

Schwarzenegger's subsequent 1980s action vehicles, such as *Commando* (1985) and *Predator* (1987), turned him from menacing villain to hero, frequently dwelling on his upper body in fetishistic detail. Many found the loving portrayal of strong, white male bodies to be a persistently troubling feature of the Hollywood cinema of this period. The qualities that had made Schwarzenegger so effective as a monstrous threat in *The Terminator* were harnessed with tongue-in-cheek humor in the films that position him as an action hero, yet the complex potential of such an iconic figure is evident, for instance, in *Total Recall* (1990), in which Schwarzenegger plays an everyman figure, his extraordinary physique somewhat less central against the futuristic context and various rebel mutants he encounters. The film that marked Schwarzenegger's mega-stardom, *Terminator 2: Judgement Day* (1991), rewrote his earlier signature role in these new heroic terms. His Terminator comes back from the future with a mission to protect, facing down an enhanced model (Robert Patrick) whose relatively slim frame and shape-shifting potential contrast sharply with the muscular cyborg "hero."

Ironically, *Terminator 2* foregrounded the built-in obsolescence of the muscular persona. The disappointing *Terminator 3: Rise of the Machines* (2003) some twelve years later underlines the difficulty in sustaining such a physically-defined mode of performance. The star's move to comedy built on and fed his action roles, themselves tinged with an almost parodic excess. Generic crossover is most explicit in *Kindergarten Cop* (1990), in which he plays a tough cop who goes undercover as a kindergarten teacher. In another kind of crossover activity, Schwarzenegger was elected as the Republican governor of California in 2003.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Conan the Barbarian (1982), *The Terminator* (1984), *Predator* (1987), *Total Recall* (1990), *Kindergarten Cop* (1990), *Terminator 2* (1991), *True Lies* (1994)

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Yvonne Tasker

Vols. 1 and 2 (2003, 2004) in China suggests that both economic and aesthetic interests are at work in the ongoing exchange between Asian and American cinemas. Alongside this American refiguring of martial arts as a more central component of its action cinema, Asian filmmakers have secured global successes, producing an internationalized cinema that drew initially on the commercial success in the West of Ang Lee's art house action movie, *Wo hu cang long* (*Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*, 2000). In this context, the commercial and

Arnold Schwarzenegger as* Conan the Destroyer *(John Milius, 1984). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

critical success of Chinese director Zhang Yimou's *Ying xiong* (*Hero*, 2002) and *Shi mian mai fu* (*House of Flying Daggers*, 2004) after the failure to secure significant US distribution for the Hong Kong mega-hit *Siu lam juk kau* (*Shaolin Soccer*, 2001) suggests both the significant commercial potential of an emergent transnational action cinema within domestic markets and a conservative approach with respect to the marketing of such titles.

CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES: NATION, GENDER, AND RACE

While westerns, war, and gangster films have long generated critical interest, action per se began to receive sustained critical attention in the wake of its commercial pre-eminence during the 1980s. Two early 1990s studies of American action films have been particularly influential, Susan Jeffords's *Hard Bodies: Hollywood Masculinity in the Reagan Era* (1993) and Yvonne Tasker's *Spectacular Bodies: Gender, Genre and the Action Cinema* (1993). Both Jeffords and Tasker foreground questions of gender and politics, drawing attention to the genre's importance as a space for the elaboration of new formations of masculinity. Jeffords's analysis situates the muscular action stars of the 1980s against the contemporary neo-conservative context, suggesting a rhetorical association between the white, male "hard body" and the nation itself. Tasker frames the gender politics of 1980s action in related gender terms, emphasizing the class and racial dimensions of the genre. In line with the emphasis on action as a genre staging masculinity, several scholars in Steve Cohan and Ina Rae Hark's 1993 collection *Screening the Male: Exploring Masculinities in Hollywood Cinema* engage with action cinema, foregrounding the (barely) latent homoeroticism of the 1980s buddy movie in particular.

While action cinema has been much discussed in relation to its presentation of masculinity and male heroism, critics have also emphasized the long-standing role of women within both Hollywood and Hong Kong action cinemas. Tasker's analysis of the action heroine's physicality in terms of "musculinity" serves to foreground the performative dimensions of gender with respect to the buff female figures, like Sigourney Weaver in the *Alien* series and Linda Hamilton in *Terminator 2* (1991), who attracted the attention of feminist critics throughout the 1990s. Although women had long played supporting roles in action and adventure films, and had taken more central roles during the 1980s, toward the end of the 1990s Hollywood cinema began to foreground (or return to the fore) a glamorous, sexualized action heroine in such titles as *Charlie's Angels*, *Lara Croft: Tomb Raider* (2001), and *X-Men* (2000). The toned bodies of these film's female stars—Angelina Jolie, Halle Berry, Cameron Diaz—were markedly different from the more muscular or androgynous incarnations of the action heroine of the previous decade. Just as writers engaged with the tough male heroism of contemporary male action stars consider these images to have a wider cultural significance, feminist writers have been keen to map evolving ideas about women and gender through a discussion of action women. The central contradiction, critics have repeatedly stated, consists of the obviously—for some, excessively—sexualized filming of the female body, on the one hand, and the potentially empowering images of female physical confidence and strength on the other.

As this difference of perceptions perhaps suggests, while marketing copy writers and reviewers might frequently refer to adventure films as "timeless," film scholars have demonstrated the historical and cultural specificity of such fantasy scenarios. Action and adventure films clearly develop over time, engaging with and responding to contemporary themes and concerns in a

manner that is sometimes fairly straightforward and at other times more complex. Thus, for example, crime thrillers and cop and gangster films articulate perspectives on law and order, registering the social and ethnic upheavals of the 1970s. Yet while commonplace, it is somewhat reductive to read the vigilante or rogue cop cycles of the 1970s in the context of social upheaval. The muscular cinema and stars of the 1980s have been read as fantasized responses to the defeat of American forces in Vietnam. Similarly, such sprawling war films of the late 1970s as *Apocalypse Now* (1979) and *The Deer Hunter* (1978), which began to engage that conflict as a problematic aspect of US history, have been seen to register a cultural uncertainty about US involvement in the region.

Because action focuses on conflict, it is centrally concerned with defining heroism and presenting violence as just in some instances, unjust in others. As such, action and adventure narratives enact scenarios of social power at a variety of registers, whether as a response to oppression, a celebration of empire and conquest, or more generalized images of physical freedom from the restraints of culture (the hero as a commanding figure within a natural landscape, for instance). Yet violence and movement more generally are also presented as sources of formal pleasure within action cinema. Thus while it is important to place action and adventure narratives in their social and historical contexts, it is also necessary to understand their centrality as sites of pure cinematic spectacle.

SEE ALSO *Feminism; Genre; Martial Arts Films*

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Yvonne Tasker

ADAPTATION

It seems certain that the first "fiction" film, *L'arroseur arrosé* (*The Waterer Watered*, 1895) by Louis Lumière (1864–1948), was based on an 1889 comic strip by "Christophe" and that two of the most famous early American narrative films, Edwin S. Porter's (1869–1941) *The Great Train Robbery* (1903) and *Dream of a Rarebit Fiend* (1906), were derived, at least in part, from contemporary theatrical and comic strip material respectively. Generally the earliest attempts at narrative cinema were taken from already existing literary or theatrical sources and have provided by far the largest proportion of script material for the cinema ever since. This process, however, has been regularly plagued by arguments over the vexed question of fidelity. To what extent should (or can) a film be "faithful" to its original source? Which aspects of literary or theatrical technique are compatible with the film medium and which cannot be successfully transferred? To what extent should filmmakers alter characterization, setting, or plot to suit their own interpretation of the original? Does it matter if the filmmaker changes the original almost completely and yet comes up with a cinematic masterpiece in its own right? Should a film adaptation, in other words, always have to justify itself in terms of its closeness to its literary original, or can the two be accepted and judged independently?

The questions continue to be debated. Most theorizing tends to split types of adaptation into three categories: strict, loose, or free (using these or somewhat similar terms). They also often distinguish between classic or well-known works where audiences already have some knowledge of the original and may expect to see this reproduced reasonably faithfully on the screen, and less famous or forgotten works where audience loyalty to the original is less significant. Many critics accept a compromise: if the essence of the original (theme, mood, tone in particular) is preserved and not deliberately or incompetently distorted, then other, less crucial, changes are acceptable. The claim that a successful adaptation should be medium specific—thoroughly rethought in terms of film and the filmmaker's own creative approach and not hampered by inappropriate adherence to literary or stage techniques—is also now commonly held. Such a view, for example, would approve of *A Clockwork Orange* (1971) by Stanley Kubrick (1928–1999), despite its being disowned by the author of the original novel, Anthony Burgess (1917–1993), who felt that Kubrick overemphasized the violent and negative aspects of the book.

The most difficult task for the filmmaker is probably to take a classic or currently popular work and present it in a way that avoids alienating those who have a commitment to their own interpretation of the original while simultaneously producing something that works successfully as a film in its own right. These adaptations would normally fall into the category of strict or loose, though free reworkings of, for example, William Shakespeare (1564–1616) (*Joe MacBeth*, 1955), Charles Dickens (1812–1870) (*Rich's Man's Folly*, 1931; based on *Dombey and Son*), or Jane Austen (1775–1817) (*Clueless*, 1995; based on *Emma*) certainly exist. One of the most highly acclaimed examples of an adaptation that has managed to please both die-hard admirers of the original books and to be accepted as a cinematic masterpiece is Peter Jackson's (b. 1961) version of J. R. R. Tolkien's (1892–1973) *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy (2001–2003).

A more common resource, however, has been to take works that, for reasons of literary style, plot, or characterization, are more amenable to being "tampered with" and are less complete or self-sufficient in their original form, or that belong to literary genres such as detective or gangster fiction, thrillers, westerns, or science fiction, which are often considered to be marginal in terms of literary respectability and are thus less likely to arouse indignation if they are "betrayed" in the process of adaptation. Many of the finest American films fall into these categories, as do those of the French New Wave works that were based on *Série noire* (1979) or pulp fiction.

ADAPTATION IN THE SILENT PERIOD

The earliest narrative films were rarely more than three to five minutes long, gradually extending to approximately twenty minutes by 1910, and then increasing steadily to a standard feature length of ninety to one hundred twenty minutes by the end of the silent era. Partly to avoid copyright payments and partly to exploit audience familiarity with already existing subject matter at a time when a coherent story could rarely be told on film without the use of copious intertitles or the services of a lecturer within the auditorium to explain the plot, the first adaptations were almost invariably taken from classic authors such as Shakespeare, Dickens, George Eliot (1819–1880), and Thomas Hardy (1840–1928) in Britain, and, on the Continent, Émile Zola (1840–1902), Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832), Leo Tolstoy (1828–1910), Alexander Pushkin (1799–1837), and others. The sheer length of most of these works, however, prohibited any attempt at completeness, and standard practice was to choose well-known extracts or scenes that were relatively self-sufficient, such as the "Dotheboys School" scenes from *Nicholas Nickleby* or the shipwreck scene from *The Tempest*. As films gradually increased in length, valiant attempts were made to squeeze the whole plot of a novel or film into a running time of around twenty minutes. Popular titles adapted in this early period included *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1903), *Frankenstein* (1910, and much filmed since, though never, despite such titles as *Mary Shelley's Frankenstein* [1994], with much authenticity), *Robinson Crusoe* (1913), *Faust* (1915), and *Don Quixote* (1915).

Technically, most of these early films were static—filmed from a fixed camera position, usually in long shot, and presenting action in tableau-like form. By the 1910s, however, cinematic technique had become much more sophisticated, with extensive camera movement, fuller use of screen space and camera angle and distance, a more naturalistic acting style, and creative editing that enhanced understanding of plot and character rather than simply moving the action from one setting to another. It became possible to tell stories on the screen with more completeness and complexity, though the desire to give the young medium cultural respectability led to continued reliance on Shakespeare and Dickens in particular. Soon, however, more recent "best-selling" works began to appear on the screen, such as Mrs. Henry Wood's (1814–1887) melodrama *East Lynne*, filmed as the first British six-reeler (sixty to seventy minutes) in 1913, and, more controversially, D. W. Griffith's (1875–1948) adaptation of Thomas Dixon's (1864–1946) *The Clansman*, filmed as *The Birth of a Nation*, one of the longest American features to date, in 1915. By the 1920s, such works predominated, with adaptations of now largely forgotten writers such as "Ouida" (1839–1908), Marie Corelli (1855–1924), Sir Hall Caine (1853–1931), E. Phillips Oppenheim (1866–1946), and the "sensational" novels of such writers as Michael Arlen (1895–1956), whose *The Green Hat* was filmed as *A Woman of Affairs* in 1928, starring Greta Garbo (1905–1990); while the endlessly prolific Edgar Wallace (1875–1932) may well hold the record for being the most frequently filmed English-speaking author ever.

In Europe the epics of the Polish novelist Henryk Sienkiewicz (1846–1916), such as *Quo Vadis?* (filmed in 1912), helped to provide material for the influential Italian historical dramas, and the novels of Selma Lagerlöf (1858–1940) were crucial sources for the great films of Victor Sjöström (1879–1960) and Mauritz Stiller (1883–1928) in Sweden, particularly the former's *Körkarlen* (*The Phantom Carriage*, 1921) and the latter's *Gösta Berlings saga* (1924). In France Jean Renoir's (1894–1979) *Nana* (1926), Jacques Feyder's (1885–1948) *Thérèse Raquin* (1928) and Marcel L'Herbier's (1888–1979) *L'argent* (*Money*, 1929) were all based on works by the still controversial Zola. L'Herbier also filmed Luigi Pirandello's (1867–1936) *Feu Mattias Pascal* (*The Late Mathias Pascal*, 1925) and Feyder adapted both the best-seller *L'atlantide* (*Lost Atlantis*, 1920) by Pierre Benoît (1886–1962) and *Crainquebille* (*Bill*, 1922) by the then prestigious Anatole France (1844–1924). What is probably the greatest French film of the 1920s, however, was a different sort of adaptation: every word of Carl Theodor Dreyer's (1889–1968) *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc* (*The Passion of Joan of Arc*, 1928) was scrupulously based on the original transcripts of Joan's trial, and the austerity of the filmmaking style exactly matched the sparseness of the dialogue.

FILMING CLASSIC FICTION: 1927 TO THE PRESENT

While few people today would care whether *The Green Hat* was in any way betrayed by its transformation into

the Garbo vehicle *A Woman of Affairs*, the situation is very different with an acknowledged literary classic, where readers tend to have fixed, and widely differing, views of the appearance of the characters or setting—not to mention the meaning or interpretation of the work as a whole—and naturally wish to see these perceptions respected on the screen.

There are many other problems too. Even a relatively short novel cannot be filmed word for word within the confines of the two- to three-hour limit of the average film (though Erich von Stroheim [1885–1957] claimed to have done so with his original cut of *Greed* [1924] from Frank Norris's [1870–1902] novel *McTeague*). Selection, omission, and condensation of some kind is inevitable. This normally involves suppression of minor characters and subplots, though these may be among the aspects of the book most cherished by readers. More seriously, although a ten-second shot in a film can often replace pages of description of character, landscape, or a house interior, it is rarely possible for a film to convey the detailed analysis of character psychology or motivation crucial to much of the finest fiction without resorting to lengthy stretches of dialogue. Dialogue itself is also a problem, for even the most apparently "naturalistic" speech on the printed page can appear stilted on the screen, and the complex sentence structure of a Henry James (1843–1916) or William Faulkner (1897–1962) is almost impossible to reproduce successfully. Point of view is another difficulty, especially with first-person narration in a novel; film, by its very nature, tends to employ shifting viewpoints throughout and seem to be objective and external rather than internal. Few of these obstacles are ultimately insuperable; they involve a thorough rethinking by the scriptwriter and director and a readiness to substitute techniques appropriate to film for those less suited to it—for example, Harold Pinter's (b. 1930) and Karel Reisz's (1926–2002) film *The French Lieutenant's Woman* (1981) after John Fowles's (1926–2005) novel.

Adaptations of short stories, on the other hand, present almost exactly opposite problems, for even a long (twenty- to thirty-page) story has to be expanded to fit the minimum ninety minutes of screen time. As a result, incidents barely referred to in the story may be expanded or others invented, new characters may be introduced, plot elements concocted, and brief conversations may be lengthened or new ones created. Though few classic stories can survive this treatment without severe distortion of the original work, some authors have occasionally been better served by adaptations of shorter works than by the treatment of their novels. *The Fallen Idol* (1948), directed by Carol Reed (1906–1976) from Graham Greene's (1904–1991) story "The Basement Room"; *The Rockinghorse Winner* (1950), directed by Anthony Pelissier (1912–1988) from the D. H. Lawrence (1885–1930) story; *Tomorrow* (1972), directed by Joseph Anthony (1912–1993) from the William Faulkner story; and *The Innocents* (1961), directed by Jack Clayton (1921–1995) from Henry James's "The Turn of the Screw," are all at least the equal of the often more pretentious feature-length films made from the novels of these authors.

The work of almost every classic English novelist from Daniel Defoe (1660–1731) onward has been filmed at least once, and the same is true in America from James Fenimore Cooper's (1789–1851) *The Last of the Mohicans* and the stories of Edgar Allan Poe (1809–1849) onward. In France, Stendhal (1783–1842), Honoré de Balzac (1799–1850), Gustave Flaubert (1821–1880), Victor Hugo (1802–1885), and Zola have been constant favorites. Possibly the finest adaptations of French literature have been from the novels of Georges Bernanos (1888–1948), where Robert Bresson (1901–1999), in *Journal d'un curé de campagne* (*Diary of a Country Priest*, 1950) and *Mouchette* (1967), has provided the perfect equivalent in cinematic terms of the mood, theme, and characterization of the originals, while Maurice Pialat's *Sous le soleil de Satan* (*Under Satan's Sun*, 1987) delivers great emotional power. The inherently "cinematic" novels of Georges Simenon (1903–1989) have been frequently filmed, in France and elsewhere, with *Les fiançailles de M. Hire* directed strikingly well by both Julien Duvivier (1896–1967) in *Panique* (*Panic*, 1946) and Patrice Leconte (b. 1947) in *Monsieur Hire* (1989).

Adaptations of classic Russian literature during the Soviet period tended to be hampered by excessive respect for the originals, though Sergei Bondarchuk's (1920–1994) version of Tolstoy's *Vonya i mir* (*War and Peace*, 1968)—like King Vidor's (1894–1982) American production in 1956—provided a certain degree of visual interest. *Anna Karenina* has also been frequently filmed, usually in simplified form, and used as a Garbo vehicle in 1935. Iosif Kheifit's film of Anton Chekhov's (1860–1904) story "The Lady with the Little Dog" (*Dama s sobachkoy*, 1960) was well received abroad. Most films of Fyodor Dostoyevsky's (1821–1881) fiction—including even Akira Kurosawa's (1910–1998) *Hakuchi* (*The Idiot*, 1951)—have been unmemorable, with the striking exception of Bresson's *Quatre nuits d'un rêveur* (*Four Nights of a Dreamer*, 1971), from the story "White Nights" (also filmed by Luchino Visconti [1906–1976] as *Le notti bianche* in 1957; restored version 1997) and, especially, *Une femme douce* (1968) from the story "A Gentle Creature," both of which, despite updating the settings, are typically near-perfect re-creations of mood, character, and theme, while being thoroughly "Bressonian" throughout.

From German literature, R. W. Fassbinder's (1946–1982) 1974 film of Theodor Fontane's *Effi Briest* surprised many with the director's unusually sober and restrained visual style and sympathetic treatment of the heroine's fate, both aspects re-creating the book with considerable effectiveness. And Eric Rohmer's (b. 1920) version of Heinrich von Kleist's novella "Die Marquise von O ..." (*The Marquise of O*, 1970) transferred successfully to film the author's ironic and tongue-in-cheek presentation of the heroine's bizarre predicament in finding herself pregnant with no memory of any sexual encounter. Thomas Mann's (1875–1955) novella "Death in Venice," however, was controversially filmed by Visconti in 1971 (*Morte a Venezia*). Some critics gushed over the visual lushness of the setting and Dirk Bogarde's (1921–1999) fine performance, while others objected to the liberties taken with the central character and the awkward attempts at conveying the aesthetic and philosophical themes of the story. By contrast, Visconti's earlier film of Giuseppe di Lampedusa's (1896–1957) *Il gattopardo* (*The Leopard*, 1963), especially in its recent fully restored version in 1996, is a masterpiece both of filmmaking and adaptation, brilliantly re-creating both the period setting and the moral and political dilemmas faced by the main character. Other major Italian successes are Bernardo Bertolucci's (b. 1941) *Strategia del rango* (*The Spider's Stratagem*, 1970), from a story by Jorge Luis Borges (1899–1986), and *Il conformista* (*The Conformist*, 1970) from Alberto Moravia's (1907–1990) novel, with both films expressing their director's personal vision.

The first Japanese film to achieve international success, Akira Kurosawa's *Rashomon* (1950), was based on two stories by Ryunosuke Akutagawa (1892–1927). The classic novels of Jun'ichiro Tanizaki (1886–1965) and Yasunari Kawabata (1899–1972) have provided source material for several films by Kon Ichikawa (b. 1915) and Mikio Naruse (1905–1969) respectively, while Hiroshi Teshigahara (1927–2001) has specialized in adapting the idiosyncratic fiction of Kôbô Abe (1924–1993), with *Suna no onna* (*Woman in the Dunes*, 1964) becoming an international art house favorite.

Charles Dickens has been the most frequently filmed of classical English novelists, followed, especially in the 1990s, by Jane Austen, Henry James, Thomas Hardy, and E. M. Forster (1879–1970). Each of Austen's six novels has been filmed, either for the cinema or for television, with the most acclaimed versions being *Sense and Sensibility* (Ang Lee, 1995), *Persuasion* (Roger Michell, 1995), and the television *Pride and Prejudice* (also 1995), which compares favorably with the still popular 1940 version starring Greer Garson (1908–1996) and Laurence Olivier (1907–1989). The updating of *Emma* as *Clueless* (1995) retains many of Austen's themes but sets them in the context of a contemporary American high school.

The adaptations of E. M. Forster and Henry James by the team of Ismail Merchant (1936–2005) and James Ivory (b. 1928) have often been dismissed as "Masterpiece Theatre" material for their emphasis on accuracy of costume and setting and their close adherence to the details of characterization and plot at the expense of deeper thematic concerns, thus providing merely an agreeable illustration of the text rather than an interpretation of it. Perhaps in reaction to the Merchant-Ivory approach, several recent versions of James's works have attempted to modernize and make explicit what is left unsaid, and to the reader's imagination, in the originals, most obviously in *The Portrait of a Lady* (Jane Campion, 1996) and *The Wings of the Dove* (Iain Softley, 1997); *Mansfield Park* (Patricia Rozema, 1999) has been accused of imposing an overtly political meaning on a nonpolitical text, and *Vanity Fair* (Mira Nair, 2004) turns William Makepeace Thackeray's (1811–1863) manipulative and possibly murderous Becky Sharp into a feminist heroine.

Other English classic authors frequently filmed include Emily (1818–1848) and Charlotte Brontë (1816–1855), with William Wyler's (1902–1981) 1939 version of *Wuthering Heights*, despite dealing with only half of the book, being still the most powerful and atmospheric treatment, and the 1944 *Jane Eyre* maintaining its superiority to most recent versions. Thomas Hardy has been well served by *Far from the Madding Crowd* (John Schlesinger, 1967), *Tess* (Roman Polanski, 1979), and *Jude* (Michael Winterbottom, 1996). The exquisitely beautiful *Barry Lyndon* (Stanley Kubrick, 1975) catches perfectly the sense of waste and decay beneath the glittering surface of the worlds of high society and war central to Thackeray's novel. From the eighteenth century, Henry Fielding's (1707–1754) *Tom Jones* was filmed as a high-spirited romp by Tony Richardson (1928–1991) in 1963, an approach that captures one aspect of the novel but far from all of it, and Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* has been filmed often, most surprisingly—and effectively—by Luis Buñuel (1900–1983) (*Las adventuas de Robinson Crusoe*, 1954).

Among the "moderns" Graham Greene heads the list, though his novels have rarely been filmed with much success apart from the 1947 *Brighton Rock*, and it is strange that so inherently cinematic a novelist should have been so poorly served on film. Of the two versions of *The Quiet American* (1958 and 2002) and *The End of the Affair* (1955 and 2004), the more recent of each title has been the more successful, but Greene still awaits his ideal adaptor. Joseph Conrad (1857–1924) and D. H. Lawrence, whose works have frequently been

JOHN HUSTON

b. Nevada, Missouri, 5 August 1906, d. Newport, Rhode Island, 28 August 1987

John Huston, the son of the actor Walter Huston, was a boxer, actor, and journalist before becoming a scriptwriter and then writer/director. Almost all his films were based on literary sources, ranging from established literary greats such as James Joyce, Herman Melville, Rudyard Kipling, and Dashiell Hammett to other largely forgotten authors. His directorial career began with a masterpiece of both filmmaking and adaptation, *The Maltese Falcon* (1941), and it ended with another, *The Dead* in 1987.

Because he drew on such a wide variety of sources, it is difficult to identify "auteurist" elements in Huston's work. Critics generally pick out such themes as group endeavours and quests (often criminal) that fail as a result of moral flaws—particularly greed and self-interest—among the participants. This view applies to some of his best work, such as *The Maltese Falcon*, *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre* (1948), *The Asphalt Jungle* (1950), and *The Man Who Would Be King* (1975), though not to the majority of his other films. As someone given considerable freedom to choose his own projects, Huston seems to have rather randomly decided on works that appealed to him personally (as with the boxing theme of *Fat City*, 1972) or gave him the chance to travel to exotic foreign locations (*The African Queen*, 1951, and *The Roots of Heaven*, 1958).

Huston's "invisible" camera style is generally subordinated to presentation of character and plot, although lighting, camera angles, editing, close-ups, gesture, movement, and the use of space are never mechanical and always contribute to understanding and responding to the film's meaning. In his color films especially, however, Huston often conducted daring and controversial experiments, as in the attempt in *Moulin Rouge* (1952) to re-create the ambience of Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec's paintings. *Reflections in a Golden Eye* (1967) drained every color except red from the image to produce an overall golden glow that was promptly restored to full color by an outraged studio. One of his finest films, *Wise Blood* (1979), uses distorted camera angles and unnatural color effects to create the bizarre world of Flannery O'Connor's novel and its half-crazed main character.

Huston was also prepared to alter plot and characterization where necessary. The characters played by Humphrey Bogart and Katharine Hepburn in *The African Queen* are markedly different from those of the novel, and the book's ending is altered to make the quest succeed (for once). In *The Asphalt Jungle*, Dix Handley, the "hooligan" played by Sterling Hayden, is presented with far more sympathy than in W. R. Burnett's novel, and the closing scene in which Dix dies in a field surrounded by his beloved horses is far more moving than Burnett's more prosaic ending and remains one of the most memorable images in all of Huston's work

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

The Maltese Falcon (1941), *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre* (1948), *Key Largo* (1948), *The Asphalt Jungle* (1950), *The Red Badge of Courage* (1951), *The African Queen* (1951), *Moby Dick* (1956), *The Unforgiven* (1960), *The Night of the Iguana* (1964), *Reflections in a Golden Eye* (1967), *Fat City* (1972), *The Man Who Would Be King* (1975), *Wise Blood* (1979), *Under the Volcano* (1984), *Prizzi's Honor* (1985), *The Dead* (1987)

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adapted to film, have rarely been re-created successfully. Alfred Hitchcock's (1899–1980) film of *Secret Agent*, titled *Sabotage* (1936), is more Hitchcock than Conrad, and Christopher Hampton's 1996 version is more respectful than inspired. Much the same is true of probably the best of the Lawrence adaptations, the 1960 *Sons and Lovers*, while Ken Russell's (b. 1927) *Women in Love* (1969) is better suited to fans of the director than of the author. The fiction of a supposedly lesser author, W. Somerset Maugham (1874–1965), has fared better,

John Huston in* Chinatown *(Roman Polanski, 1974).
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in such films as *The Letter* (1940) and *Of Human Bondage* (1934).

Classic American fiction has been less fortunate, on the whole. Victor Sjöström's 1926 film of Nathaniel Hawthorne's (1804–1864) *The Scarlet Letter*, starring a luminous Lillian Gish, is still by far the best version of that book. Clarence Brown's (1890–1987) silent version of Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans* (1920) is much superior to any later version, while films based on Mark Twain's (1835–1910) work, such as *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1938, 1968 [TV]) or *The Adventures of Hucklebrry Finn* (1939, 1960, 1985 [TV]) have generally been intended for children. John Huston (1906–1987) made a brave but doomed attempt at Herman Melville's (1819–1891) *Moby Dick* in 1956; *Billy Budd* (1962), based on a much shorter work, directed by Peter Ustinov (1921–2004) and starring an appropriately angelic Terence Stamp (b. 1938), was more successful. The stories of Edgar Allan Poe have provided the basis for a whole series of films, notably for American International Pictures in the 1960s and 1970s, with few having much connection with the stories beyond the title, yet often, as with *The Masque of the Red Death* (1964) providing stylish and sophisticated entertainment. Edith Wharton's (1862–1937) *The Age of Innocence* was, somewhat unexpectedly, turned into a film in 1993 that was both very close to its source and yet paralleled Martin Scorsese's (b. 1942) more typical world of low-life gangsters with their own hierarchies, rituals, and penalties for refusing to conform.

The major figures of twentieth-century American fiction have also been unevenly treated. Faulkner's novels have generally proved remarkably resistant to adaptation, while Clarence Brown's *Intruder in the Dust* (1949), from one of the author's less complex works, was an effectively straightforward treatment. Films based on Ernest Hemingway's (1899–1961) fiction have fared best when they depart drastically from the original, as with Howard Hawks's (1896–1977) *To Have and Have Not* (1944) or Robert Siodmak's (1900–1973) expansion of the story *The Killers* (1946). John Steinbeck's (1902–1968) *The Grapes of Wrath* provided the basis for John Ford's classic but not particularly faithful film in 1940, and *East of Eden* (1955) is memorable mostly for the performance of James Dean (1931–1955) under the somewhat overheated direction of Elia Kazan (1909–2003), who also directed (more sedately) F. Scott Fitzgerald's (1896–1940) unfinished *The Last Tycoon* (1976). Neither the 1949 nor the 1974 version of *The Great Gatsby* is considered to be truly successful, despite the meticulous attention to period detail in the latter. The best films adapted from American literature, in fact, have come from works originally considered marginal or beneath serious literary attention.

CASE STUDY: ADAPTATIONS OF CHARLES DICKENS

Dickens has been by far the most filmed of English novelists, with something like one hundred versions in the silent era alone, and numerous further adaptations for both film and television, continuing to the present day. The earliest films could cope only with well-known incidents or brief character sketches from the books; the sheer length of the major novels has always proved a serious stumbling block. It was natural, then, that the first attempts at full-length treatment would be with shorter works such as *A Christmas Carol*, *A Tale of Two Cities*, or *Oliver Twist*, all filmed several times each before 1920.

Though Dickens has often been called the most cinematic of novelists, his books are far from easy to film satisfactorily. The mixture of realism and symbolism, especially in the later novels, the often larger-than-life or grotesque characters, the first-person narration of some books, the pervasive authorial narrative tone and commentary of others, the sheer scope and variety of characters, incidents and settings, and the insistent social and moral analysis of the later works in particular, all

Bill Mauldin and Audie Murphy in* The Red Badge of Courage *(1951), one of the many literary adaptations directed by John Huston. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

provide formidable barriers that have rarely been totally overcome. All of the thirteen novels have been filmed at one time or another, but the choice has consistently been skewed toward the more realistic, usually early, works, or to those that contain the best-known characters—where the filmmaker is often assisted by the illustrations of George Cruikshank (1792–1878) and "Phiz" (Hablot Knight Browne) (1815–1882), which accompanied the original publications. The complex, densely structured, darker books like *Bleak House*, *Little Dorrit*, and *Our Mutual Friend* have generally met with far less favor.

Though few, if any, of the film adaptations have coped with all the challenges presented by the books, there have been several at least partial successes. *David Copperfield*, *A Tale of Two Cities*, *A Christmas Carol*, *Oliver Twist*, and *Great Expectations* have been the most frequently filmed, with, in almost every case, the focus being fixed on character and plot rather than the social criticism that made Dickens such an important figure in his time. The most notable of these include the MGM *David Copperfield* of 1935, sensitively directed by George Cukor (1899–1983) and with inspired casting that included W. C. Fields (1880–1946) as Micawber, and the same studio's *A Tale of Two Cities* (also 1935), with a memorable performance by Ronald Colman (1891–1958) as Sydney Carton. These two films still stand as the best adaptations of these books. David Lean's (1908–1991) *Great Expectations* (1946) and *Oliver Twist* (1948) are generally considered the classic treatments of these works and the definitive *A Christmas Carol* is widely acknowledged to be the 1951 *Scrooge*, starring Alastair Sim (1900–1976). Though Lean's *Great Expectations* is often considered the finest of Dickens adaptations, it can be argued that his version of *Oliver Twist* succeeds better in capturing the many dimensions of Dickens's work—the realistic, the grotesque, the comical, the social

comment, the sentimental, the symbolic, the fascination with violence—presented in imagery that creates London both as a real city and a symbolic underworld. It does all this much more successfully than Polanski's disappointing treatment (2005). Other interesting versions of less frequently filmed works include *The Mystery of Edwin Drood* (Stuart Walker, 1935), *Nicholas Nickleby* (Alberto Cavalcanti, 1947), and the ambitious but flawed two-part *Little Dorrit* (Christine Edzard, 1988). The well-cast and intelligently reworked *Nicholas Nickleby* (Douglas McGrath, 2002) unfortunately met with scant interest at the box office. In recent years the most impressive adaptations have come from British television, where the serial format of three to four hours or more can allow a fuller and more leisurely treatment of the texts. Some of the best of these have been Granada Television's *Hard Times* (1977) and the BBC's *Bleak House* (1985), *Martin Chuzzlewit* (1994), and *Our Mutual Friend* (1998)—all of them books largely neglected by the cinema.

Although all the films mentioned are set in the Victorian period, there have been some attempts at updating them. *Rich Man's Folly* (1931), a truncated and unsatisfactory version of *Dombey and Son*, is set at the time of filming, as is a misbegotten *Great Expectations* (Alfonso Cuarón, 1998), which succeeds in getting almost everything about the novel wrong. By far the best updating is the Portuguese director Joâo Botelho's (b. 1949) *Tempos difíceis* (*Hard Times*, 1989), where Dickens's assault on the capitalist mentality remains as relevant today as it was during his lifetime. And, although most of the films based on Dickens's works have come from the English-speaking world, there have also been German, French, Italian, Danish, Russian, and Hungarian treatments, mostly in the silent period.

GENRE ADAPTATIONS: WESTERNS, CRIME, AND *FILM NOIR*

American cinema is largely a genre cinema. Melodramas, westerns, crime and gangster films, science fiction films, historical and biblical epics, comedies, war films, and musicals have formed the staple of its offerings from the very beginning. A surprising number of these are based on written sources, but because most of these are not canonical in the way that the works of Dickens or Austen are, this goes largely unnoticed and scant attention is paid to whether they have been faithfully adapted or not. As almost all of these genres focus on action, movement, setting (urban or rural), and atmosphere, and generally offer little scope for complexity of character, elaborately phrased dialogue, or intense psychological analysis, they are eminently suited for film.

The inherently "filmic" genre of the western is far more dependent on written sources than is generally realized, ranging from some of the few acknowledged literary classics such as Jack Schaefer's (1907–1991) *Shane*, filmed by George Stevens (1904–1985) in 1953, to the more ephemeral magazine stories and pulp novels on which films like *High Noon* (1952) and *Stagecoach* (1939) were based. In these and similar cases, little more than a basic plot and some aspects of character and setting are generally all that is taken over from source to film.

Crime and gangster films, including *films noirs*, are also heavily indebted to literary sources, many of them now gaining belated critical respect. Here, too, a considerable laxity in transformation from book to film has been widespread, even with major writers such as Raymond Chandler (1888–1959) and Dashiell Hammett (1894–1961), where only *The Maltese Falcon* (1941) has survived intact in its adapted form. Less "reputable" writers such as James M. Cain (1892–1977), Jim Thompson (1906–1977), Cornell Woolrich (1903–1968), and David Goodis (1917–1967) have nevertheless provided the basis for some of the finest of American (and also French) films, once again in the form of loose or free rather than strict adaptations. Cain's *Double Indemnity*, *The Postman Always Rings Twice* (filmed at least four times to date), and *Mildred Pierce* were turned into 1940s classics, and a sudden vogue for Thompson produced several adaptations in the 1980s and 1990s, the most successful probably being *Coup de Torchon* (*Clean Up*, Bertrand Tavernier, 1981), based on *Pop. 1280*, which, despite being set in French colonial Africa rather than the American South, brilliantly captures the sleaze, cynicism, and nihilism of the novel. Woolrich, under both that name and William Irish, wrote the original story that Hitchcock filmed, much altered and expanded, as *Rear Window* (1954), and also the novels on which Hitchcock's admirer François Truffaut (1932–1984) based *La marié était en noir* (*The Bride Wore Black*, 1968) and *The Mississippi Mermaid* (1969), as well as providing the source for such *films noirs* as *Phantom Lady* (1944). Truffaut also filmed, with considerable fidelity, Goodis's despairing *Down There* as *Tirez sur le pianiste* (*Shoot the Pianist*, 1960).

The Sherlock Holmes stories of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle (1859–1930) and his novel *The Hound of the Baskervilles* have been endlessly reworked (or, in some cases, invented) for both film and television, with critical debate centering mainly on who has been the "best" or most "authentic" Holmes or Watson; a similar fate has met Ian Fleming's (1908–1964) James Bond. And a rather neglected figure in crime fiction, W. R. Burnett (1899–1982), provided the original stories on which such classics as *Little Caesar* (1931), *High Sierra* (1941), and *The Asphalt Jungle* (1950) were based.

RAYMOND CHANDLER

b. Chicago, Illinois, 23 July 1888, d. La Jolla, California, 26 March 1959

Educated in England, Raymond Chandler worked as an accountant and in a bank on returning to America before turning to writing pulp fiction in the 1930s. The success of his first novel, *The Big Sleep* (1939), brought him an invitation to Hollywood. His involvement with film had two aspects: as screenwriter and as author of six novels adapted for the screen, some of them more than once. After a rewarding experience collaborating with Billy Wilder on the script of *Double Indemnity* (1944), Chandler became increasingly disillusioned with Hollywood and attacked it as a soul-destroying environment in articles written for *Atlantic Monthly*. Apart from receiving cowriting credit on two minor films in 1944 and 1945, his only further completed work for the screen was an original script for *The Blue Dahlia* (1946). He received only cowriter credit on Alfred Hitchcock's *Strangers on a Train* (1951) after disagreements with the director.

The first two film versions of his novels, *The Falcon Takes Over* (1942), loosely based on *Farewell, My Lovely*, and *Time to Kill* (1942), based on *The High Window*, retained only aspects of the plots and created a Philip Marlowe character very different from Chandler's original. A more serious attempt at adapting Chandler's work came in *Murder, My Sweet* (1944), again from *Farewell, My Lovely*, with Marlowe played by Dick Powell. This was followed by what is considered to be the finest Chandler adaptation, *The Big Sleep* (1946), directed by Howard Hawks, with Humphrey Bogart as the definitive Marlowe, even though he played the role only once. *The Lady in the Lake* (1947) made a largely unsuccessful attempt to use the camera as first-person narrator, with Marlowe seen only in mirrors until the very end of the film. *The Brasher Doubloon* (1947), a weak adaptation of *The High Window*, starred George Montgomery as an unconvincing Marlowe.

Twenty years passed before further adaptations were made, creating problems with attempts to re-create the very specific 1940s settings, themes, and ethos of the novels. *Marlowe* (1969), based on *The Little Sister* and starring James Garner, updated the story to the 1960s and presented the hero as a figure of integrity who was out of step with the times. Robert Altman's *The Long Goodbye* (1973) went even further by presenting Elliot Gould as a bewildered and largely ineffectual figure in 1970s Los Angeles—and treated as a figure of fun by most of the other characters. Although the film was disliked by many Chandler admirers, it remains a brilliant piece of filmmaking. The two most recent versions both starred an ageing Robert Mitchum. *Farewell, My Lovely* (1975) took great pains to re-create the settings and atmosphere of the book, and a *Big Sleep* (1978), directed by Michael Winner and set bizarrely in contemporary London, suffered fatally by comparison with Hawks's film.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Double Indemnity (1944), *Murder, My Sweet* (1944), *The Big Sleep* (1946), *The Blue Dahlia* (1946), *The Lady in the Lake* (1947), *Strangers on a Train* (1951), *The Long Goodbye* (1973), *Farewell, My Lovely* (1975)

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THEATRICAL ADAPTATIONS

Film historians have noted the close links between theatrical melodrama of the late nineteenth century and the techniques and narrative structure of early film—in content and elaborate lighting and stage effects. The obvious similarities between a play and a film—in overall length, use of sets, the apparent realism of character and dialogue—have obscured the very real differences. Stage dialogue can sound artificial and tedious when transferred directly to the more naturalistic medium of film, and, as with fiction, a successful adaptation has to be thoroughly rethought in terms of the new, primarily visual, medium of cinema. While the faults of mechanically adapted "filmed theater" are usually obvious, there

Raymond Chandler. **PHOTO BY JOHN ENGSTEAD/EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

is equal danger in attempts to "open out" a play by transferring interior scenes into exotic outdoor locations and hoping that will somehow make the work more cinematic. Some sort of balance between stage and film effects is therefore essential. Sidney Lumet's (b. 1924) filming of Eugene O'Neill's (1888–1953) *Long Day's Journey into Night* (1962) achieves its claustrophobic effect by respecting the spatial limitations of the stage while transforming it through skillful use of camera movement and lighting, and by varying screen space and distance for dramatic effect.

Shakespeare has been by far the most adapted playwright worldwide, even in the silent period, when extracts and condensed versions of his plays proliferated in most European countries as well as in Britain and the United States. The coming of sound brought the inevitable problem of how to make poetic dialogue convincing in the more naturalistic medium of film. It is often argued that the finest of all Shakespeare films is Kurosawa's 1957 *Kumonosu jô* (*Throne of Blood*), which is based on *Macbeth*. It retains almost nothing of the dialogue, even in Japanese, while majestically transforming theme, emotion, and imagery into purely visual terms, with Macbeth constantly surrounded by images of fog, nets, and labyrinths. Though Grigori Kozintsev's (1905–1973) *Gamlet* (*Hamlet*, 1964) and *Korol Lir* (*King Lear*, 1970) use Boris Pasternak's (1890–1960) translation of the plays, the non-Russian–speaking viewer, forced to rely on subtitles, can perhaps appreciate better the stark black-and-white imagery of the films.

The most admired English-language versions usually attempt a compromise between stylization and naturalism, both in speech and action; for example, Laurence Olivier used the confined space of the castle set in *Hamlet* (1948) and allowed the camera full rein in the battle scenes of *Henry V* (1944). Polanski's *Macbeth* (1971) accentuates the physical violence inherent in the play, and Orson Welles (1915–1985) brings his own superb visual sense to his *Othello* (1952) and *Campanadas a medianoche* (*Chimes at Midnight*, 1967, based on the *Henry IV* plays) without neglecting the spoken word. Examples of more radical transformations are the updating of *Romeo and Juliet* by Baz Luhrmann (1996) and the intensely personal re-creations of *The Tempest* (1979) by Derek Jarman (1942–1994) and Peter Greenaway (b. 1942) (as *Prospero's Books*, 1990). Kenneth Branagh (b. 1960), in seemingly open competition with Olivier, has filmed an uncut *Hamlet* (1996) and an impressive *Henry V* (1989), among others.

The most often filmed English dramatists after Shakespeare have been George Bernard Shaw (1856–1950), Noel Coward (1899–1973), Terence Rattigan (1911–1977), and Oscar Wilde (1856–1900). In most cases the results have been respectful and moderately faithful rather than inspired (though the 1928 film of Coward's *The Vortex* and the 1933 *Design for Living* had to be drastically altered to escape the censors). Anthony Asquith's (1902–1968) 1952 film of *The Importance of Being Earnest* still far surpasses later versions of Wilde, both as a film and as an adaptation, and both versions of Rattigan's *The Browning Version* (1951, 1994) and *The Winslow Boy* (1948, 1999) remain popular.

Eugene O'Neill, Tennessee Williams (1911–1983), Arthur Miller (1915–2005), Clifford Odets (1906–1963), and Lillian Hellman (1906–1984) are among the most frequently adapted American playwrights, though, with Williams in particular, contentious subject matter has often forced major alterations between stage and screen. *A Streetcar Named Desire*, directed by Elia Kazan in 1951, remains the classic transformation of his work. Apart from the version of *Long Day's Journey into Night*, the best O'Neill adaptation has been John Frankenheimer's (1930–2002) *The Iceman Cometh* (1975). Hellman's *The Little Foxes* (1941) became a classic film through William Wyler, but *Clash by Night* (1952) and *The Big Knife* (1955) are largely rewritten versions of Odets. Perhaps the most interesting film based on Arthur Miller's work is *Sorcières de Salem* (*The*

Witches of Salem, 1957), from *The Crucible*, with a script by Jean-Paul Sartre (1905–1980).

In Europe, Henrik Ibsen (1828–1906), August Strindberg (1849–1912), and Anton Chekov (1860–1904) have often been adapted. The 1951 *Fröken Julie* (*Miss Julie*), directed by Alf Sjöberg (1903–1980), is still the best Strindberg, but few of the English-language films of Ibsen and Chekov have been particularly successful. Jean Renoir (*Les bas-fonds*, 1936) and Akira Kurosawa (*Donzoko*, 1957) made very different but equally fascinating films of Maxim Gorky's (1868–1936) *The Lower Depths*.

OTHER KINDS OF ADAPTATION

Detstvo Gorkogo (*The Childhood of Maxim Gorky*, 1938), directed by Mark Donskoy (1901–1981), remains one of the finest of film biographies/autobiographies, but most such films are bedevilled by questions of authenticity, for content is more important here than transforming sophisticated literary techniques into film. Does the leading actor really resemble the subject (whose photos or portraits are usually well known)? Is the film factually accurate or truthful (and is this true of its source)? Is it slanted in favor of or against the protagonist? Are there distortions of fact, omissions, invented incidents or encounters? Some film biographies, such as *Finding Neverland* (2004), admit to not being completely factual, but most do not, and the majority of such films are built up by drawing on a variety of sources, augmented by scenes imagined or created by the scriptwriter. The result, as in Martin Scorsese's *Raging Bull* (1980), may be superb cinema but should not necessarily be considered a definitive account of the subject's life.

Comic books and comic strips have proved a consistent source of film material, though the various treatments of Batman and Superman, for example, usually consist of rewritten works based on a variety of incidents taken from the original rather than an adaptation of one particular story. Many popular television series have been turned into films, such as *The Addams Family* (1991) or *The Brady Bunch* (1995), on much the same principle of selection, and the recent vogue for graphic novels has also spilled over into film, as with *Ghost World* (2001) from the original by Daniel Clowes (b. 1961).

Films for children tend to be either live action, as in the several versions of *Little Women* (1933, 1949, 1994) and *The Secret Garden* (most recently 1993), or animated, as with the Disney classics *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937) and *Bambi* (1942), though more recent films from that studio are too often saccharine distortions of what were quite tough-minded originals. The digital animation of *The Polar Express* (2004) recreates the visual world of the book very convincingly. Opera on film tends to be similar to "canned theater" with a few exceptions, such as Joseph Losey's (1909–1984) *Don Giovanni* (1979) or Francesco Rosi's (b. 1922) *Carmen* (1984), which were well reimagined for film. And longer poems such as Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's (1807–1882) *Hiawatha* (1952) or Alfred Lord Tennyson's (1809–1892) *The Charge of the Light Brigade* and Geoffrey Chaucer's (1340–1400) *The Canterbury Tales* have become (very loosely) the basis for feature-length films. Overall, then, almost anything written, or even drawn, can be transformed into a film, either faithfully or altered almost out of recognition, with success depending as much on the skill and intelligence of the filmmaker as the often uneven quality of the original material.

SEE ALSO *Biography; Comics and Comic Books; Screenwriting; Theater*

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Graham Petrie

AFRICA SOUTH OF THE SAHARA

Africa south of the Sahara is one of the most destitute regions of the world. In 2002 its gross national income per capita was US$450, one-tenth that of Latin America. Not surprisingly, the promotion of economic development, especially through initiatives by groups such as New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), is the most pressing issue for this area and indeed for all of Africa, which is the only continent in the world that has grown poorer in the last twenty-five years.

Film production is tenuous at most, and concentrated mostly in Nigeria and South Africa. Problems of financing remain part of a vicious circle that continues to hinder the full development of African film industries. One of the key challenges is the struggle to control modes of production, exhibition, and distribution. The continuing dominance of foreign interests in these areas has, in part, spurred an ongoing debate throughout the decades concerning the appropriate filmic modes of representing African cultural identity.

BEGINNINGS

Cinema first came to the French-colonized territories of Africa south of the Sahara in 1900 when a French circus group projected the Lumière brothers' *L'arroseur arrosé* (*Watering the Gardener*, 1895) in a Dakar marketplace. The early European films were admired and even feared for their potential to capture people in real-life situations. Distribution and exhibition expanded accordingly in major cities to meet the demands of this novelty. There was no question, however, of sub-Saharan Africans producing or directing films, even though their continent became a "fashionable" subject for ethnologists, researchers, missionaries, and colonial administrators eager to document Europe's "Other."

In South Africa, newsreels of the Anglo-Boer War were filmed between 1898 and 1902. During the 1910s and 1920s, the Boer and British tensions were overlooked as whites stood together against indigenous peoples in films such as *Die Voortrekkers* (*Winning a Continent*, 1916) and *Symbol of Sacrifice* (1918). *Die Voortrekkers* provided inspiration for the American-produced *The Covered Wagon* (1923).

Most sources claim the 1955 Senegalese production *Afrique-sur-Seine* (*Africa on the Seine*) as the first film shot by a black African. This short film by Paulin Soumanou Vieyra (1925–1987) focuses on the lives of several African students and artists living in Paris as they contemplate Africa's civilization, culture, and future. However, other early productions include two Congolese short films, *La leçon du cinema* (*The Cinema Lesson*, Albert Mongita, 1951), and *Les pneus gonflés* (*Inflated Tires*, Emmanuel Lubalu, 1953). In 1953 Mamadou Touré of Guinea shot a twenty-three–minute short called *Mouramani* in which he glorifies the friendship between a man and his dog. Ousmane Sembène (b. 1923) of Senegal produced his famous first short, *Borom Sarret* (1963), which deals with a day in the life of a Dakar cart driver. By 1966, Sembène had produced *La noire de . . .* (*Black Girl*), the first feature in Africa south of the Sahara. Ghana's first feature, *No Tears for Ananse* (Sam Aryeetey, 1968), was inspired by a traditional folktale. The first black South African film was *How Long Must We Suffer?* (Gibsen Kente, 1976).

OUSMANE SEMBÈNE

b. Ziguinchor, Senegal, 1 January 1923

Senegalese writer and director Ousmane Sembène is a pioneer of African cinema south of the Sahara. He has been highly influential in shaping the evolution of African film practices over forty years, including a style of filmmaking known as African cinematic realism.

After working as an apprentice mechanic and bricklayer in Dakar and as a dockworker in Marseille, Sembène published three novels: *Le docker noir* (translated as *The Black Docker*, 1987, 1956), *Ô pays, mon beau people!* (O my country, my beautiful people, 1957), and *Les bouts de bois de Dieu* (translated as *God's Bits of Wood*, 1962, 1960). He realized that because of literacy issues few Africans south of the Sahara had access to the literature of their own languages, so he turned to cinema to reach a larger African audience. Sembène trained in Moscow's Gorki Studio in the early 1960s and returned to Senegal in 1962 to work on his first short, *Borom Sarret* (1963). This watershed film, for which he founded his own production company, Filmi Domireew, won first film prize at the 1963 Tours International Film Festival, and set the stage for many of the themes and political concerns that inform his later work.

In 1966 Sembène's first feature (also the first feature film in sub-Saharan Africa), *La noire de . . .* (*Black Girl*) explored one of his major themes: the crucial role of women in Africa's development. The film probes the suicidal despair of a young Senegalese maid who encounters racism in France, thus denouncing the consequences of embracing neocolonialism. In *Xala* (*Impotence*, 1974), multiple female points of view depict the splintered nature of postcolonial Africa. *Faat Kiné* (2000) and *Moolaadé* (2004), which focuses on the controversial subject of female genital mutilation, also explore women's issues. Sembène also has undertaken the task of rewriting Senegalese history in *Emitaï* (*God of Thunder*, 1971), *Camp de Thiaroye* (Camp Thiaroye, 1988), and *Ceddo* (1976).

Throughout his film career, Sembène has been a socially committed activist, regarding film as a tool for political change. Although all his films provide commentaries on the political and social contradictions of a changing society, *Guelwaar* (*Guelwaar: An African Legend for the 21st Century*, 1992) most compellingly argues that change in Africa can only occur if it is initiated by Africans from within. The film attacks foreign aid as an impediment to true African economic and political independence; and Sembène's narrative strategy of presenting a multiplicity of spectator positions forces the viewer to actively participate in the debate. This is ultimately Sembène's major contribution to African cinema: the forging of a truly indigenous African cinema aesthetic that speaks to a unique vision of what Africa might become.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

La noire de . . . (*Black Girl*, 1966), *Mandabi* (The Money Order, 1968), *Emitaï* (*God of Thunder*, 1971), *Xala* (*Impotence*, 1974), *Ceddo* (Outsiders, 1976), *Camp de Thiaroye* (Camp Thiaroye, 1988), *Guelwaar* (*Guelwaar: an African Legend for the 21st Century*, 1992), *Faat Kiné* (2000), *Moolaadé* 2004)

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Sheila Petty

DEVELOPMENT AND EVOLUTION

By the early 1960s, many countries south of the Sahara had gained independence from the nations that had colonized them. However, political independence did not mean that Africans suddenly possessed the infrastructure to produce films. Furthermore, the exhibition and distribution of films south of the Sahara continued to be controlled by foreign companies, a practice that had begun as early as 1926 with the establishment of the Compagnie Africaine Cinématographique Industrielle

Ousmane Sembène. © NEW YORKER FILMS/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

et Commerciale (COMACICO) and in 1934, with the establishment of the Société d'Exploitation Cinématographique Africaine (SECMA). These two French film distribution companies circulated copies of B-grade European, American, and Indian films in the countries of the former French Western and Equatorial Africa (Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal, and Togo).

In the anglophone region, the film business was dominated by the United States as early as World War I, through arrangements with such affiliates as Rank (UK) and Gaumont (France) (Ukadike, *Black African Cinema*, p. 62). By 1961 the America Motion Picture Export Company (AMPEC-Africa) was gaining control over the market previously dominated by the British Colonial Film Unit. In 1969 Afro-American Films Inc. (AFRAM), representing the Hollywood majors, was created specifically to fight the monopoly enjoyed by SECMA and COMACICO in the francophone zone (Ukadike, p. 63).

In 1963 the French Ministry of Cooperation set up a Bureau of Cinema in Paris in an attempt to provide Africans with the opportunity to create independent productions. However, while financial and technical assistance was offered, a portion of the financing was automatically directed toward French postproduction services and technical support. Different forms of subsidies have evolved over the years, but France remains one of the main financiers of African film'' (Thackway, p. 8).

In 1966 Tahar Cheriaa, then director of the Tunisian Cinema Service, founded the Journées Cinématographique de Carthage (JCC), in which African productions could compete for the ''Tanit d'or.'' Before this, African films could be launched only through European festivals, such as the Berlin Film Festival, where Blaise Senghor (Senegal) won the Silver Bear in 1962 for his short film *Grand Magal à Touba*, and the Tours International Film Festival, where Ousmane Sembène won the first film prize in 1963 for *Borom Sarret*.

A decision was made in 1969 at the Algiers Festival Panafricain de la Culture to create an organization of African filmmakers known as the Fédération Panafricaine des Cinéastes (FEPACI). The federation was officially inaugurated in 1970 at Carthage, Tunisia, with the mandate of promoting film as a tool for liberation and decolonization. The same year saw the establishment of the biennial Festival Panafricain du Cinéma de Ouagadougou (FESPACO), where African filmmakers could compete for the prestigious Etalon de Yennenga prize. Festival goals included the promotion and dissemination of African films, encouraging dialogue among filmmakers, and the fostering of African film as a means of consciousness-raising. It was anticipated that an African film industry would grow and flourish from that point onward and would contribute to the cultural development of the continent. This goal provided the focus for the meeting of FEPACI in Algiers in 1975, which set the stage for the ''Algiers Charter on African Cinema,'' stipulating that African film should reject commercialism and imperialism, instead promoting its pedagogical potential. The members of FEPACI did not assemble again until 1982 in Niamey, where they assessed the state of production, distribution, and exhibition of African films. This meeting resulted in the ''Niamey Manifesto,'' which focused more on the economic conditions of film production and distribution in Africa, while declaring the importance of the art form's role in the assertion of an African cultural identity.

The 1980s and 1990s saw increased Western pressure for African images as well as a thrust toward professionalization of African film. This set the stage for ''Écrans du Sud'' in 1992, the goal of which was to

"put filmmakers from the south in contact with professionals from the north and to promote the emergence of an African cinema which could meet the demands of the hour" (Barlet, 267). The declared goals of this association included the development of genuine coproductions between nations in the Southern Hemisphere, in order to spur local film industries. The organization was intended to operate on joint private and public funding, but closed down after one year due to a lack of private funds. In 1999 the French Ministry of Cooperation merged with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, marking the end of the Ministry of Cooperation's direct financial aid to both short and feature films of directors from francophone African nations. Subsidies are now available from ADCSud (Appui au développement des cinémas du Sud) for feature films alone by filmmakers from the South, and competition for funding has intensified.

Alternative funding sources outside Africa include TeleFilm Canada, Channel 4 (UK), ZDF (Germany), Canal + (France), and the European Union. Funding sources south of the Sahara remain limited, forcing filmmakers to piece together resources in order to complete their projects, a process referred to by Ousmane Sembène as "mégotage," the piecing together of little bits to create a whole. Directors must often also act as their own producers and distributors. This situation is further complicated by the lack of trained African technicians, and filmmakers often must resort to using Western technicians. In addition, a lack of postproduction infrastructure in Africa south of the Sahara means continued reliance on expensive European laboratories, although some filmmakers are now accessing Zimbabwean or South African facilities.

Market development is also a crucial concern. Currently, outside the regions south of the Sahara, the African film market is often limited to international festivals and art house cinemas. Even films selected for Cannes and other prestigious festivals often cannot find commercial distribution; attempts are made by some venues to promote African films, most notably by the US media distributors Artmattan Productions in New York, California Newsreel in San Francisco, and Mypheduh Films in Washington, as well as Vues d'Afrique in Montreal. In addition, filmmakers are also proactive in foregrounding these concerns. For example, in 1999 a group of filmmakers living in France established the African Guild of Directors and Producers in an effort to promote shared experiences and collective issues.

NATIONAL CINEMAS

Although Burkina Faso (formerly Upper Volta) is one of the poorest countries south of the Sahara, its authorities made an early decision to support their national cinema. Cinema houses were nationalized in 1970 and the Burkinabé distribution company SONACIB (Société Nationale du Cinéma Burkinabé) was established with the goal of supporting national filmmakers by taxing foreign films shown locally and then redirecting those funds into local production. This system paved the way for the first Burkinabé fiction feature, *Le sang des parias* (*The Blood of the Pariahs*, Mamadou Djim Kola, 1971). Several other initiatives make this country one of the most dynamic on the continent in terms of filmmaking activity. The INAFEC (Institut Africain d'Education Cinématographique), founded in 1976 and in operation until 1986, helped foster film production in the nation. The capital, Ouagadougou, hosts the biannual festival, FESPACO, along with its parallel international television and film market. In 1995, Burkina Faso created the African Cinémathèque of Ouagadougou, which collects and preserves African films. Gaston Kaboré (b. 1952) is considered the leading filmmaker in Burkina Faso and made his debut as a feature filmmaker in 1982 with *Wend Kuuni* (*God's Gift*). His films draw very heavily on African oral tradition, as evidenced by his other key features, *Zan Boko* (*Homeland*, 1988) and *Buud Yam* (1997). Kaboré is deeply committed to the development of African film industries and was secretary general of FEPACI from 1985 to 1997. Other key filmmakers include Dani Kouyaté (b. 1961), Idrissa Ouédraogo (b. 1954), Fanta Régina Nacro (b. 1962), and Pierre Yameogo (b. 1955), the latter three residing in Paris.

In Ivory Coast (Côte d'Ivoire), fiction features for television preceded feature filmmaking. From 1962 to 1979, the Société Ivoirienne de Cinéma (S.I.C) acted as the umbrella organization for all national film production. Timité Bassori directed Ivory Coast's first fiction feature, *La femme au couteau* (*Woman with a Knife*), in 1969. This psychological thriller was followed by other films focusing on social and cultural issues such as inheritance woes, polygamy, and clashes between tradition and modernity. By 1979 S.I.C. had disappeared, leaving in its place a system more focused on private interests. In 1993 the Audiovisual and Cinema Company of Ivory Coast was established with the aim of renationalizing the film industry. Private production companies suffered greatly from the 1994 devaluation of the franc CFA, as did all the rest of the "zone franc" in West Africa. Ivorian cinema is known for its comedies, such as *Comédie exotique* (*Exotic Comedy*, Kitia Touré, 1984), and *Bal poussière* (*Dancing in the Dust*, Henri Duparc, 1988) and *Le sixième doigt* (*Sixth Finger*, 1990). Key Ivorian filmmakers include Désiré Ecaré (b. 1939), Kramo Lanciné Fadika and Roger Ngoan M'bala (b. 1943). M'bala's ambitious project *Andanggaman* (2000) deals with the role played by indigenous African rulers in the slave trade. Ivory Coast has produced two noted film actors, Hanny Tchelley and Sidiki Bakaba, who is also a film

director and producer. In 1998 the audiovisual production company African Queen Productions inaugurated the Abidjan International Festival of Short Films with Hanny Tchelley as the secretary-general.

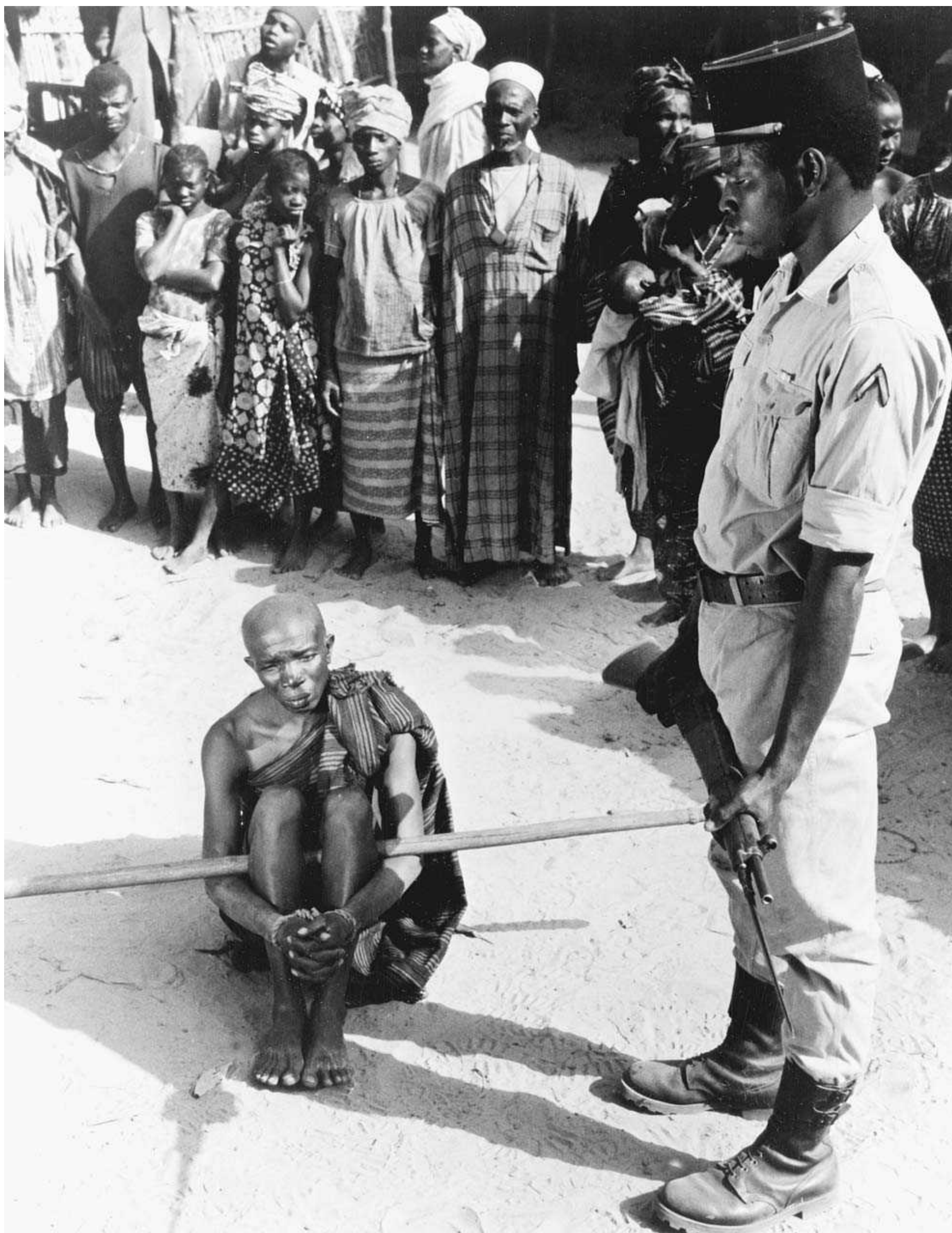
Many of the African films that reach Western audiences are produced in Senegal. In fact, Senegalese cinema enjoys a renown and longevity unknown in other countries south of the Sahara, due, in part, to the pioneering efforts of Ousmane Sembène and Paulin Soumanou Vieyra. Senegal gained independence from France on 4 April 1960, but it was not until the early 1970s that the newly independent state created a national infrastructure for the development and promotion of Senegalese cinema: in 1974 the Société d'Importation, Distribution, et Exploitation Cinématographique (SIDEC) and the now defunct Société Nationale du Cinéma (SNC); and finally in 1984, the Société Nationale de Promotion du Cinéma (SNPC), whose goal was to take over all functions of the SNC and to assist the initiatives of SIDEC.

Senegal has produced three prominent African filmmakers: Ousmane Sembène, who directed *La noire de . . .* (*Black Girl*), Senegal's first feature in 1966; Djibril Diop-Mambéty (1945–1998), known for his experimental use of symbolism in *Touki Bouki* (*Journey of the Hyena*, 1973); and Safi Faye (b. 1943), one of sub-Saharan Africa's foremost woman filmmakers. Faye studied ethnography in Paris with Jean Rouch (1917–2004) and acted in his film *Petit à petit ou les lettres Persanes* (Little by Little or the Persian Letters, 1968). She began her directing career with the short *La passante* (*The Passerby*) in 1972. Her first feature, *Kaddu Beykat* (*Letter from My Village*, 1975), shows the influence of Rouch with its use of nonprofessional actors and improvisation. She departs from this school of filmmaking, however, by positioning herself within the community she films, as in her 1979 feature, *Fad'jal*, screened that same year in the "Un Certain Regard" section at the Cannes Film Festival. In 1990 the Senegalese writer and activist Annette Mbaye d'Erneville (b. 1926) founded RECIDAK (Rencontres Cinématographiques de Dakar), an annual festival in Dakar with an extension to certain regional capitals of Senegal.

In Mali, many directors and technicians who were trained in Russia and the Eastern bloc worked in documentary before turning to fiction filmmaking. Mali gained independence from France in 1960 and nationalized its cinema sector as early as 1962 with the creation of OCINAM, the Office Cinématographique National du Mali. This company controlled distribution and exhibition of African films in the region until the early 1990s, due to a shortfall of resources. Many theaters were forced to close. The CNPC, or Centre National de la Production Cinématographique, has attempted a renaissance. Film professionals founded the Union des Créateurs et Entrepreneurs du Cinéma et de L'Audiovisuel de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (UCECAO) in 1996 in an attempt to promote more effective advocacy for African cinema issues. This initiative was spearheaded by the veteran filmmaker Souleymane Cissé (b. 1940), one of the first generation of filmmakers south of the Sahara. A contemporary of Ousmane Sembène, Cissé studied directing at VGIK, the State Institute of Cinematography in Moscow. He produced Mali's first fiction feature, *Den Muso* (*The Young Girl*) in 1975. His later films, such as *Baara* (*Work*, 1978), *Finyé* (*The Wind*, 1982) and *Yeelen* (*Brightness*, 1987), deal with themes of abuse of power and exploitation. *Yeelen* was awarded the Jury Prize at Cannes that same year as well as the British Film Institute's prize for most innovative film of the year. Other key Malian directors include Cheick Oumar Sissoko (b. 1945), with *Finzan* (*A Dance for the Heroes*, 1989), *Guimba un tyrant une époque* (*Guimba the Tyrant*, 1995), and *La genèse* (*Genesis*, 1999); and Adama Drabo (b. 1948), with *Ta Dona* (*Fire*, 1991) and *Taafe Fanga* (*Skirt Power*, 1997).

Ghana (the former Gold Coast) had the potential to become a strong film-producing nation. In 1935, long before independence, the British colonial authorities established the Gold Coast Film Unit. After independence in 1957, Kwame Nkrumah (1909–1972), the first president of the Ghanaian Republic, nationalized the film industry. Thus, the Ghana Film Industry Corporation (GFIC) was established, taking over from the Gold Coast Film Unit, and production facilities were relatively sophisticated. However, these facilities deteriorated after the overthrow of Nkrumah in 1966, and feature filmmaking suffered a decline. During this period, *No Tears for Ananse* (Sam Aryeetey, 1968), *I Told You So* (Egbert Adjesu, 1970), and *Do Your Own Thing* (Bernard Odidja, 1971) were produced. The 1980s saw a brief revival with the production of six features. Among these are the three most well-known Ghanaian films in Africa and abroad: *Love Brewed in the African Pot* (Kwaw Ansah, 1981), which took ten years to complete due to insufficient resources; Ansah's very popular *Heritage . . . Africa* (1988), which won the Grand Prize (Etalon de Yennenga) at FESPACO 1989; and *Juju* (King Ampaw, 1986). It has since become much more economically viable to produce video films, which are taking on increasing importance in the local film industry.

Nigeria, with 120 million inhabitants, is the most populous country on the continent, and shares with Ghana the phenomenon of a burgeoning video economy. Although Nigeria gained independence in 1960, indigenous feature filmmaking did not begin until 1970 with the Lebanese coproduction *Son of Africa*, directed by Segun Olusola (b. 1935), and *Kongi's Harvest*, directed



Emitai (Ousmane Sembène, 1971). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

by the African American Ossie Davis (1917–2005). During the early 1970s, three or four features were produced every year, and until the early 1980s there was a trend toward higher quality films, including 35 mm production. The Nigerian Film Corporation was established in 1979 with the mandate of encouraging local film production. Ola Balogun (b. 1945), a novelist and playwright who was trained in cinematography at L'Institut des hautes études cinématographiques (IDHEC) in Paris, is Nigeria's most prominent filmmaker, known for directing comedies and musicals. He has produced or directed at least one feature every year since 1972, the year he directed *Alpha*, which some credit as the first truly indigenous Nigerian feature film. His *Ajani-Ogun* (1975) is sub-Saharan Africa's first musical; it spurred a series of films incorporating Yoruba popular theater on film. Other notable films include *A Deusa negra* (*Black Goddess*, 1978), *Cry Freedom* (1981) and *Money Power* (*Owo L'agba*, 1982). Another prominent filmmaker is Eddie Ugbomah, whose films such as *The Rise and Fall of Dr. Onyenusi* (1977), *The Mask* (1979) and *The Death of a Black President* (1983) were largely inspired by current events. By the end of the 1970s, and as Lagos became more dangerous at night, many middle-class homeowners turned to videocassette players so they could watch video movies in the safety of their homes. Video film production is an important industry in Nigeria and is practiced as a solution to film distribution bureaucracy. Although some criticize their technical shortcomings, the impact of video films as an expression of cultural identity cannot be denied.

The history and development of Angolan cinema is directly linked to the country's liberation struggle. During the 1960s, three liberation movements were born, with the common goal of gaining independence from Portugal: the Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita), and the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA). Angola gained independence on 11 November 1975, but fighting among the groups continued, fueled by ethnic differences. It was during the 1970s that Angolan cinema really began, with politically engaged films about the battle for independence (*Sambizanga*, Sarah Maldoror, 1971) and consisting mainly of documentaries and videos that were cheaper to produce than feature-length films. In an attempt to encourage and foster the development of Angolan film production, the government established the Angolan Film Institute (IACAM) following independence. It fell into disrepair during the civil war, but the Institute and the Angolan film industry began to thrive at the end of the war in 2002. Three films were released in 2004: *Comboio da Cañhoca* (*The Train of Canhoca*, Orlando Fortunato de Oliveira); *Na Cidade Vazia* (*In the Empty City*, Maria João Ganga); and *O Herói* (*The Hero*, Zeze Gamboa). *The Hero*'s main character attempts to build a new life in Luanda after losing his leg to a land mine. Gamboa wrote the script in 1992, but a new episode of war caused a decade-long delay. The film was awarded the Grand Prize in the World Dramatic Competition at Sundance in 2005.

The history of film in South Africa is one of the longest south of the Sahara. Film was born in this country at virtually the same time as in Europe, and the country produced *African Mirror* (1913–1984), the world's longest-running weekly newsreel. Until the 1920s, films were mainly adaptations of British novels. During the 1930s and 1940s, Afrikaner forces were building South Africa's apartheid system, which was legislated with the 1948 election victory of the National Party. This period marks the beginning of treason trials, the Freedom Charter, and the Sharpeville Massacre. It was also the period during which Jamie Uys (1921–1996), considered to be South Africa's most commercially successful director, established independent production using Afrikaner-controlled capital. His 1980 feature, *The Gods Must Be Crazy*, which upholds a pro-apartheid worldview, is considered the most commercially successful African film worldwide, shattering all box office records in South Africa. Anti-apartheid filmmaking began during the 1950s, with films like *Cry the Beloved Country* (Zoltan Korda, 1951), based on Alan Paton's novel of the same title, and documentaries such as *Come Back Africa* (1959) by the American filmmaker Lionel Rogosin (1924–2000). A noted filmmaker during the 1960s was the exiled Lionel N'Gakane (1928–2003), with short films such as *Vukani Awake* (1965) and *Jemima and Johnny* (1966). After Sharpeville, many artists and activists went into exile, and resistance movements emerged. Benchmark films during the 1970s and early 1980s include the documentary *Last Grave at Dimbaza* (Nana Mahomo, 1973) and *The White Laager* (Peter Davis, 1977) and *Generations of Resistance* (1980). In 1988 Olivier Schmitz and Thomas Mogotlane codirected *Mapantsula*, South Africa's first "militant anti-apartheid feature film," winning seven AALife/M-Net Vita Awards (Gugler, *African Film*, p. 91). All-black productions took off in the 1990s, following the official demise of apartheid. Ramadan Suleman (b. 1955) directed *Fools* in 1997, and the American-trained Ntshavheni Wa Luruli (b. 1955) directed *Chikin Biznis* (1998) and *The Wooden Camera* (2003), which garnered a Crystal Bear at the Berlin Film Festival in 2004.

ISSUES AND TRENDS

The French ethnographic filmmaker Jean Rouch began making films in sub-Saharan Africa as early as 1946,

employing Africans as technicians and actors. *Les maîtres fous* (*The Mad Masters*, 1955), arguably his most famous film, depicts a ritual of possession among the Hauka sect in Ghana. The Nigerian filmmaker Oumarou Ganda (1935–1981) acted in Rouch's *Moi, un noir* (*I, a Black Man*, 1958) before going on to direct *Cabascabo* (*Tough Guy*, 1968), *Saitane* (1972) and *L'Exilé* (*The Exiled*, 1980). Rouch's influence on Africans has been controversial: some credit him with advancing the careers of many African filmmakers and exposing them to the techniques of cinéma direct, while others condemn him for exoticizing Africa. Other ethnographic-based films include the Vietnam-born Trinh T. Minh-ha's *Reassemblage* (1982) and *Naked Spaces: Living Is Round* (1985), in which she challenges Western anthropological views of Africans.

Filmmaking in Africa south of the Sahara has been marked by several major trends over the past fifty years. Following independence, many films of the 1960s and early 1970s emphasized the notion of rehabilitation and reaffirmation of the validity of African traditions and institutions, which had been devalued during colonialism. Furthermore, filmmakers attempted to rebut negatively marked representations of Africans in Hollywood films like *King Solomon's Mines* (1950), *Mogambo* (1953), and *Roots of Heaven* (1958), or the portrayal of Africans as naturally subservient and therefore deserving of the West's protection and benevolence in films like the British production *Sanders of the River* (1935).

Not surprisingly, there has been much debate among African filmmakers concerning appropriate modes of representing African cultural identity. In the 1970s, films such as *Le bracelet de bronze* (*The Bronze Bracelet*, Cheikh Tidiane Aw, 1974, Senegal) and *Pousse-pousse* (*Pedicab*, Daniel Kamwa, 1975, Cameroon) were condemned by members of FEPACI for being too openly commercial and less committed to an overt critique of neocolonialism. Others, such as the films of Sembène, Mahama Johnson Traoré (Senegal), and Med Hondo (Mauritania), were praised for following a pattern that veered away from Western traditions: their primary audiences were deemed to be in Africa, the language of their dialogues was African, the location of their shooting often a typically rural African setting, and their intent didactic. The refusal of a Western aesthetic model led to the emergence of a style known as African cinematic realism, featuring cinematic grammar that emphasized social space and narratives focused on episodic plot structures.

By the late 1960s and early 1970s, other styles began to emerge that were more experimental or that blended genres. Med Hondo's groundbreaking *Soleil O* (*O Sun*, 1969, Mauritania) draws on Brechtian theater, while Djibril Diop-Mambéty's surrealist *Touki Bouki* laid the ground for subsequent hybrid narratives such as *La vie sur terre* (*Life on Earth*, Abderrahmane Sissako, 1998, Mali) and *Heremakono* (*Waiting for Happiness*, 2002, Mauritania), in which dialogue is minimal and the images themselves tell the story.

Censorship has been an issue of concern for African filmmakers since the early days. As early as 1934, the French colonial authorities instituted the Laval Decree, which prohibited the production of any anticolonial films in the African colonies. Some early cases of censorship include the French filmmaker René Vautier's condemnation of French colonialism in *Afrique 50* (*Africa 50*, 1950), which earned him a year in prison, and Alain Resnais and Chris Marker's *Les statues meurent aussi* (*Even Statues Die*, 1953). Many other filmmakers have endured forms of censorship for a variety of reasons ranging from political (Ousmane Sembène's *La noire de...* and Pierre Yameogo's *Silmandé* [*Whirlwind*], 1998) to religious (*Karmen Geï*, Joseph Gaï Ramaka, 2001) to sexual (*Visages de Femmes* [*Faces of Women*], Désiré Ecaré, 1985), which was the first film to be prohibited in Ivory Coast for its sexual content (Ukadike, p. 213).

By the 1990s, filmmakers began crossing borders, forming more production partnerships between Africans and striking north-south partnerships or coproductions. African cinema south of the Sahara is now marked by a diversity of approaches, including nonchronological storytelling, as in Diop Mambety's *Hyènes* (*Hyenas*, 1992, Senegal); popular culture forms, as in *Twiste à Poponguine* (*Rocking Poponguine*, Moussa Sene Absa, 1993, Senegal); and fragmented dream structures or memory constructions, as in *Asientos* (François Woukoache, 1995, Cameroon), and *Abouna* (*Our Father*, Mahamat-Saleh Haroun, 2002, Chad). The Burkinabé filmmaker Idrissa Ouédraogo (b. 1954) insists that "it's the diversity of ideas, of opinions that will lead to the creation...of thriving African cinemas" (Thackway, p. 28).

From the mid-1990s onward, filmmakers south of the Sahara have been developing new aesthetic and narrative strategies best suited to communicating increasingly complex sociopolitical cultural contexts. Films such as *Dakan* (1997) by the Guinean Mohamed Camara, *Woubi Chéri* (1998) by Philip Brooks and Laurent Bocahut (France/Ivory Coast), and *Nice to Meet You, Please Don't Rape Me* (Ian Kerkhof, 1995, South Africa) explore issues of homosexuality in urban African settings, whereas *Clando* (Jean-Marie Teno, 1996, Cameroon), *Keita! L'heritage du griot* (*Keita: Voice of the Griot*, Dani Kouyaté, 1995, Burkina Faso), Sissoko's *Guimba the Tyrant* (1995, Mali), and *La nuit de la vérité* (*The Night of Truth*, Fanta Régina Nacro, 2004, Burkina Faso) challenge issues of political tyranny, abuse of power and privilege, and the resistance to these excesses in

JEAN-MARIE TENO

b. Famleng, Cameroon, 14 May 1954

The Paris-based Cameroonian director Jean-Marie Teno is known for his provocative interrogations of political and social issues in postcolonial Cameroon. Using narrative and aesthetic strategies that combine elements of fiction and documentary to create innovative new structures, he belongs to the "new" generation of African filmmakers who are experimenting with new forms and styles.

Teno studied filmmaking at the University of Valenciennes in France. After graduating in 1981, he worked as a film critic for *Buana Magazine*, then as an editor for France's FR3 network. Teno claims to have been inspired by *Pousse-pousse* (*Pedicab*, Daniel Kamwa, 1975), which demonstrated to him that cinema was an important medium for illuminating social issues in Africa. Teno moved from short films to features in 1988 with the fictional documentary *L'eau de misère* (*Bikutsi Water Blues*), which deals with the social issue of polluted water supplies in Cameroon.

Teno continued his socially conscious filmmaking with his next feature, *Afrique, je te plumerai* (*Africa, I Will Fleece You*, 1992), by probing the continuing legacies of colonial oppression. Teno's original goal was to explore the world of publishing in Cameroon, but this soon evolved into an indictment of press censorship, his own Eurocentric education in Cameroon during the 1960s, French colonialism, and the destruction of traditional cultures by neocolonial societies. Teno advanced these themes in the subsequent documentaries *La tête dans les nuages* (*Head in the Clouds*, 1994) and *Chef* (Chief, 1999), in which he locates the roots of current woes as existing in kleptocracy, authoritarian regimes, and government irresponsibility. Teno's 2004 film, *Le malentendu colonial* (*The Colonial Misunderstanding*) is a searing commentary on the paradoxical relationship of European Christian missionaries to colonization in Africa, and how their "noble deeds" actually served to further the interests of their own nation states, rather than those of Africa.

Clando (1996), Teno's only fiction feature to date, explores issues of migration, violence, and imprisonment from the point of view of Sobgui, an unlicensed taxi driver, or *clando*, in Douala. In serious political trouble, Sobgui accepts the offer of an elder to travel to Germany to buy cars and search for the elder's son. Discontinuous events are juxtaposed in a way that presents the clashing of private memory and political events. In 1996 *Clando* was nominated for Best Film at the International Festival of French-speaking Films at Namur. In the documentary *Vacances au pays* (*A Trip to the Country*, 2000), Teno advances the stylistic use of geography and landscape introduced in *Clando* by creating a travelogue structure in which he documents his return to Cameroon after an extended absence. He taps into the past by retracing his childhood vacations in order to examine the concept of modern development in Africa.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Fièvre Jaune taximan (*Yellow Fever Taximan*, 1986), *L'eau de misère* (*Bikutsi Water Blues*, 1988), *Afrique, je te plumerai* (*Africa, I Will Fleece You*, 1992), *La tête dans les nuages* (*Head in the Clouds*, 1994), *Clando* (1996), *Chef* (Chief, 1999), *Vacances au pays* (*A Trip to the Country*, 2000), *Le malentendu colonial* (*The Colonial Misunderstanding*, 2004)

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contemporary African societies. The new millennium is also witnessing a surge of musicals, including Ramaka's *Karmen Geï* (2001, Senegal), *Madame Brouette* (Moussa Sene-Absa, 2002, Senegal), *Nha Fala* (Flora Gomes, 2002, Guinea-Bissau), and *Les habits neufs du gouverneur* (*The Governor's New Clothes*, Ngangura Mweze, 2004, Congo/Belgium) that serve as a platform for interrogating social and political issues affecting postcolonial

cultures. By incorporating new visions, ideologies, and aesthetic expressions, these filmmakers are interrogating not only the territoriality of sub-Saharan African identities, but are also staking places for African cultures in the global flow of ideas and peoples.

SEE ALSO *Colonialism and Postcolonialism; National Cinema; Third Cinema*

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AFRICAN AMERICAN CINEMA

Traditional film scholarship has often attributed the emergence of African American cinema to the need for a response to the racial stereotypes prevalent in mainstream films. Indeed, the early representations of African Americans, as in *Chick Thieves* (1905) and the Edison shorts *The Gator and a Pickanninny* (1903), in which a fake alligator devours a black child, and *The Watermelon Contest* (1908), relied on staid and pervasive stereotypes common in literature, vaudeville, minstrel shows, and the culture in general. Though cinema would progress, as an industry and as an art form, the stereotypes of African Americans, rooted in slavery and used to justify racist ideologies and acts of discrimination, remained, though often adapted to fit changing cultural contexts. The most common archetypal forms, as identified by Donald Bogle, include: the mammy (a dark, large-bodied, asexual woman whose role is to provide maternal comfort for whites); the coon (a sexless comic figure, dull-witted, lazy, and cowardly, used for comic relief); the Uncle Tom (servile and overly solicitous to whites); the buck (defined by his physicality, a brutish and hypersexual black man who lusts after white women); the tragic mulatto (a mixed-race woman who, as a symbol against miscegenation, is caught between the races and denied access to the privileges afforded by a white identity), and the jezebel (an amoral temptress, promiscuous and oversexed).

RACE MOVIES

Hollywood rarely, if ever, offered depictions of African American life and culture with humanity, and as a response, many African American entrepreneurs ventured into filmmaking to "correct" the negative images. Pioneers included Bill Foster (1884–?), founder of the first black film production company, the Foster Photoplay Company, established in Chicago in 1910; Noble Johnson (1881–1978), the Hollywood character actor who, along with his brother George, led the Lincoln Motion Picture Company in Los Angeles established in 1916; and Oscar Micheaux (1884–1951), a noted novelist who formed the Micheaux Film and Book Company (1918). Their companies led the production of "race movies," films that featured all-black or predominantly black casts and were marketed to black audiences. Another important figure who would emerge as a writer, producer, and director, though decades later, is the actor Spencer Williams (1893–1969), who made the most popular race movie ever released, *Blood of Jesus* (1941).

This sound film, and the silent films that preceded it, like Lincoln Picture's *The Realization of a Negro's Ambition* (1916) and Micheaux's *The Homesteader* (1919), the first feature film by an African American, presented themes in concert with the racial uplift movement, an effort by African Americans to combat the unrelenting ideological and physical assaults aimed at their communities. During the period in which these film companies were formed, African Americans had to contend with lynchings (the practice was at its height between 1880 and 1940), race riots, the philosophy and practices of eugenics (pseudoscientific theories of racial inferiority), and psychological theses that rendered African Americans deviant and pathological. Ideologies of racial uplift based their opposition in the assertion of African Americans as civilized humans deserving of

Spike Lee's* Bamboozled *(2000) deliberately invokes racist stereotypes. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

equality and social justice through an emphasis on education and morality. In films this was realized in narratives that valued temperance, adherence to the tenets of Christianity, and social mobility through education. Characters who engaged in criminal acts, gambling, infidelity, and substance abuse received punishment by the end of the film. *The Realization of a Negro's Ambition*, for example, is centered on James Burton (played by Noble Johnson), a civil engineer who leaves his rural surroundings to seek out his fortune in the oil industry of California. Using the knowledge he gained while attending Tuskeegee Institute (a black college founded in 1880), he surmounts a series of obstacles, including employment discrimination, and eventually discovers oil and returns home with newfound wealth.

Several films are also linked to racial uplift through the references made to actual community leaders and places of importance. For example, the schoolteacher Sylvia Landry (played by actress Evelyn Preer), the protagonist of Oscar Micheaux's *Within Our Gates* (1920), travels north to Boston in order to raise funds for the Piney Woods School, historically the largest black boarding school in the United States, located in rural Rankin County, Mississippi. By referring to the school in the film, Micheaux used his film as a publicity tool, aiding the institution's goal of providing for young black students a "head, heart, and hands education."

With the popularity of race movies also emerged an entire industry, virtually a separate cinema with its own stars, distribution system, and exhibition venues, such as the Howard Theater (1910) in Washington, D.C., and the Madame C. J. Walker Theater (1927) in Indianapolis. The development of this industry, in addition to its formation as a "counter cinema," should also be considered a logical outgrowth of already established forms of African American expressive culture. Bill Foster, for example, had a background in theater and vaudeville, and Paul Robeson (1898–1976), the noted stage actor, made his film debut in Oscar Micheaux's *Body and Soul* (1924). The films often highlighted African American forms of dance, fashion, and literature.

The Great Migration between 1910 and 1920 was also a significant factor in the development of African American cinema. During this period close to 2 million African Americans moved from the South to northern cities, such as Chicago, New York, Cleveland, and Detroit, and west to Los Angeles, to escape feudal tenant farming, the lack of gainful education and employment, and Jim Crow laws, searching for what they imagined would be better opportunities. Though their choices remained limited and they were still subject to racism, the access to greater education, factory jobs, and positions of skilled labor and professional employment led to the growth of a black middle class. Films provided not only a reflection of their striving but also, for many, a way to engage in an urban form of modernity.

It is estimated that more than five hundred race movies were produced and distributed between 1910 and 1948, the most prolific era of black-directed and black-themed films (though not all race movies were directed by African Americans). Eventually, though, this separate cinema was crushed by a number of industry shifts, including co-optation by Hollywood and the coming of sound, and by the Depression. Interestingly, the introduction of synchronous sound and the genre that would develop with it, the musical, are grounded in African American popular culture, and it is this link that helped lead to the end of the race movies.

BLACKS IN CLASSICAL HOLLYWOOD

Though not thoroughly synchronous, Warner Bros.' *The Jazz Singer* (1927) is considered the first commercially released feature to make use of the new technological development of sound. The conflict in this drama centers on the struggle of a Jewish singer, Jakie Rabinowitz (Al Jolson), who wants to perform as a jazz artist, despite his father's wish that he become a cantor. Though in his nonreligious persona Jack Robin is not actually singing jazz, his performances (in blackface) draw from the blues tradition and black spirituals, capitalizing on the appropriation of black expressive culture. Hollywood's affinity for black musical forms continued with the production of the early musical *Hallelujah* (1929), an all-black cast feature, directed by King Vidor, that featured black folk music and spirituals. The industry's incursion into sound race movies with this film and others, including *The Green Pastures* (1936) and *Bronze Venus* (1938), had a dramatic effect on the independent producers. Increasingly, the stars of the race movie industry migrated to the Hollywood studios, lured by the offer of higher salaries, despite the reduction in their roles to performers in item numbers or supporting characters, often as servants to white protagonists. Though some directors like Micheaux would continue to work in the sound era, the talent drain and the inability to invest heavily in sound equipment led to the collapse of many of the independent studios. To make matters worse, the devastating collapse of the US economy that began in 1929 ravaged a community whose economic stability was tenuous at best. African American audiences had less money to spend on entertainment and sought out the better-financed, high production value spectacles of the Hollywood oligopoly.

The restricted roles offered to African American actors in Hollywood expanded with the US entry into World War II. As participants in the war, in the armed forces and on the home front, African Americans could not be ignored by the culture industry, certainly not when the country was engaged in a war to ensure freedom and democracy. In films like *Casablanca* (1942), *Sahara* (1943), and *Lifeboat* (1944), African American characters were constructed with greater complexity and humanity. The actor Rex Ingram (1895–1969) plays a pivotal role in the war film *Sahara*, as a sergeant in the Sudanese army who fights alongside British and American troops. He performs heroically in the fight against the German Afrika Korps and takes charge of Axis POWs.

BREAKING DOWN BARRIERS

Postwar liberalism led to even more change, as dramas directly addressing issues such as race and power emerged from the studios in films like *Intruder in the Dust* (1949), *Home of the Brave* (1949), and *Pinky* (1949). By the 1950s, the "separate cinema" had ended, and African Americans no longer had creative control over their images. Hollywood had sought and highlighted black talent in front of the camera, but continued exclusionary policies in the unions and administrative offices. Social change brought by the civil rights movement saw changes at the box office, as the first group of African American movie stars emerged in the 1950s. Prominent among them were Sidney Poitier (b. 1927), the first black superstar; Harry Belafonte (b. 1927), the first African American male sex symbol; and Dorothy Dandridge (1922–1965), the first African American screen siren. Though in hindsight their films are somewhat problematic, the roles performed by these three talents brought new images to the screen, often challenging society's precepts about race and "proper" social roles. *Island in the Sun* (Robert Rossen, 1957), for example, contains what has been identified as the first real interracial kiss in a Hollywood film (previous films usually involved two white performers, with one in blackface). In the film, a political scandal erupts when a family in the West Indies is found to have "mixed blood." The situation is further complicated by the presence of two interracial romantic couples: one played by Dorothy Dandridge and John Justin, and the other played by Harry Belafonte and Joan Fontaine. Of

OSCAR MICHEAUX

b. Metropolis, Illinois, 2 January 1884, d. 25 March 1951

One of the most renowned African American directors, Oscar Micheaux produced and directed forty-three films over three decades. Though he was not the first African American director or the first to head an African American motion picture company, he *was* the first to direct a feature-length film.

Born in a small town in southern Illinois to a schoolteacher mother and an agriculturist father, the influence of his parentage can be seen in themes that would emerge in his films: the importance of landownership, an appreciation for those that work the land, and the value of education. In 1910 he became a homesteader in South Dakota. His skills as an entrepreneur were revealed when he prospered as a novelist, selling his works first to his fellow South Dakotans, white farmers whose land surrounded his own, and later nationally. His third novel, *The Homesteader* (1917), attracted the interest of the Los Angeles–based Lincoln Motion Picture Company, which wanted to adapt it into a film. Micheaux agreed, under the stipulation that he be hired to direct. When Lincoln refused, he founded the Micheaux Film and Book Company, which would later grow to include distribution offices in three locations: Chicago; Roanoke, Virginia; and Beaumont, Texas. His first film, the first feature film directed by an African American, was *The Homesteader* (1919), financed through the selling of shares. Micheaux earned enough profits from that film to finance his second production, *Within Our Gates* (1920), a provocative film that challenged the racist ideologies of D. W. Griffith's *The Birth of a Nation* (1915).

Micheaux's *Within Our Gates* presents African American characters who seek education, despite poverty, as a means to social mobility, while it critiques the failure of the judicial system to afford racial minorities equal protection under the law. Even more controversially, it blatantly portrays racial violence as it more commonly occurred—not committed by African Americans against whites, but just the opposite—through a tense scene of lynching. *Within Our Gates* was released during the height of lynching in the United States and immediately following the "Red Summer," when twenty-six race riots erupted across the nation.

Throughout his career, Micheaux would include such sensational elements in his work. His *Body and Soul* (1925), the first film to star Paul Robeson, was a scathing critique of corruption in organized religion. It was perhaps this element that would separate Micheaux's films from those of his "race movie" counterparts, since the Foster Photoplay Company specialized in comedy and the Lincoln Motion Picture Company on middle-class melodrama.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Within Our Gates (1920), *Symbol of the Unconquered* (1920), *Body and Soul* (1925), *Murder in Harlem* (1935), *Underworld* (1937), *Swing!* (1938), *Lying Lips* (1939)

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course, the times would dictate that the kiss occur between the former couple, not the latter. Hollywood may have been transgressive with this film, but it would not go so far as to have an African American man kiss a white woman.

Dandridge's career was impeded by typecasting. More often than not, she was offered roles that took advantage of her physical appearance, casting her as a sexual siren and object of desire. The exception was a film earlier in her career, *Bright Road* (1953), a low-key drama in which she plays a small-town schoolteacher trying to reach a troubled student. Ironically, the same can be said of Harry Belafonte, who played the principal in the same film. His films also exploited his good looks and physique, often placing him in competition against his white male costars. In *The World, the Flesh, and the Devil* (1959), Belafonte plays one of three survivors of the nuclear apocalypse. The struggle for survival is made more difficult by the contest of masculinity between

Oscar Micheaux. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Belafonte's character and the white male survivor (played by Mel Ferrer) over the sole surviving woman (Inger Stevens), who is white.

Of the three new black stars, only Poitier would enjoy a long and varied career, one that would last for decades. Dandridge's was cut short by her death in 1965. Belafonte, frustrated by the lack of roles, turned his energy toward music and a more involved role in the global human rights movement. Poitier became a Hollywood icon and a popular star with audiences. He was the first African American to receive an Oscar® nomination for a leading role, in 1959 for his work in *The Defiant Ones* (1958), and he would eventually win the award for his performance in *Lilies of the Field* (1963). His groundbreaking performances in films like *In the Heat of the Night* (1967), in which he plays a Philadelphia police detective who, in Mississippi to visit his mother, works with the local racist sheriff to solve a murder, and *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner* (1967), in which a seemingly liberal father is introduced to his daughter's fiancé, played by Poitier, foregrounded issues of racism in American and the need for progress.

It was not until 1962 that an African American director would be accepted in Hollywood, when the renowned photographer Gordon Parks (1912–2006) was contracted by Warner Bros. to direct the adaptation of his autobiography, *The Learning Tree*. The film, a sensitive and poetic drama completed in 1969, chronicles the coming of age of a black teen in 1920s Kansas. It influenced the theme of most subsequent African American coming-of-age films, which, unlike their white counterparts, do not focus on sexual initiation. Rather, they center on the emergence of racial consciousness.

Melvin Van Peebles (b. 1932), noted for his work in the independent realm, is also one of the earliest African Americans to work within the Hollywood studio system, securing a three-picture deal with Columbia Pictures after the success of a film he made in France, *Story of a Three Day Pass*, in 1967. His second film, his first in Hollywood, was *Watermelon Man* (1970), a comedy examining racism and its stereotypes. In the film, the comedian Godfrey Cambridge plays a white bigot who wakes one morning to discover his race has changed—to black. That same year, United Artists released the first film by the actor/playwright/activist Ossie Davis (1917–2005), who would go on to direct four more feature films. *Cotton Comes to Harlem*, an adaptation of the Chester Himes crime novel of the same name. It is unfortunate that this film and those by Parks and Van Peebles are often misidentified, commonly assumed to be a part of the film movement known as blaxploitation (black exploitation). The movie-viewing public often assumes incorrectly that all black-themed films of the 1970s, regardless of origin, style, or content, can be categorized as such. A close examination of the period, however, reveals that there were three major trends of African American filmmaking during the 1970s: films produced within the Hollywood system; films produced by exploitation studios, such as American International Pictures (AIP); and another independent movement—an aesthetically challenging cinema politically grounded in issues of civil rights and the global pan-Africanist movement.

THE FIRST BLACK RENAISSANCE

The decade of the 1970s represents a unique period in American film history: it was the first time since the race movies of the silent era that such a high volume of black-themed films played in commercial theaters, many of them helmed by African American directors. The reception of the early works by Parks, Van Peebles, and Davis, by both critics and popular audiences, resulted in a new acceptance of African American talent in Hollywood, both in front of and behind the camera. Films moved beyond the usual social problems to treat African American communities more broadly, from comedies about everyday life, teen films, and romance to biopics, period films, and action thrillers. Though many noted films that featured black actors and themes, such as

SIDNEY POITIER
b. Miami, Florida, 20 February 1927

Sidney Poitier remains the most highly recognized African American actor in the history of American cinema. His triumphs on stage, television, and in film countered the typically demeaning stereotypes of African Americans. The first African American superstar, he entered Quigley's "Top Moneymaker's Poll" in 1967, and ascended to number one the following year, beating the popular icons Steve McQueen, Paul Newman, and John Wayne. His dramatic characterizations brought dignity, complexity, and depth to African American depictions during one of the most tumultuous periods of social change in US history, the civil rights movement.

Born in Miami to Bahamian parents, Poitier was reared in the Bahamas but returned to the United States in 1943. After a brief stint in the army at age sixteen, he moved to New York, working odd jobs until he discovered an interest in acting. After training at the American Negro Theater, he appeared in several plays, the most noted being Lorraine Hansberry's Tony-nominated *A Raisin in the Sun*, the first work by a black playwright produced on Broadway. He received a Tony nomination for the role he would reprise in the 1961 film. His film debut was in Joseph L. Mankiewicz's *No Way Out* (1950).

Despite positive reviews of his performance as a doctor confronted with racism, he struggled for years to land significant roles. He hit his stride in the mid-1950s, gaining momentum with a number of highly touted films. With his role in *The Defiant Ones* (1958), he became the first African American nominated for an Academy Award® in a leading role. He would win five years later for *Lilies of the Field* (1963).

In an acting career that lasted more than fifty-one years, he accumulated numerous accolades, including the Cecil B. DeMille Award by the Hollywood Foreign Press Association (1982), a Lifetime Achievement Award from the American Film Institute (1992), the Kennedy Center Honors (1995), and a Lifetime Achievement Award from the Screen Actor's Guild (1998). In 2002 he was awarded an honorary Oscar® for his "extraordinary performances and unique presence on the screen and for representing the industry with dignity, style, and intelligence."

Poitier's success as an actor often eclipsed recognition for his work as a director on nine feature films. One of the first African American directors in Hollywood, he reworked genres such as the western in *Buck and the Preacher* (1972) to reflect the contribution and struggles of African Americans. In addition to his work in cinema, Poitier has served as a dedicated activist in the fight against apartheid in South Africa and in the US civil rights movement.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

As Actor: *Blackboard Jungle* (1955), *Defiant Ones* (1958), *A Raisin in the Sun* (1961), *Lilies of the Field* (1963), *A Patch of Blue* (1965), *To Sir with Love* (1967), *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner* (1967), *In the Heat of the Night* (1967); As Director: *Buck and the Preacher* (1972), *A Warm December* (1973) *Uptown Saturday Night* (1974), *Let's Do It Again* (1975), *Stir Crazy* (1980)

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Sounder (1972), *Claudine* (1974), and *The Wiz* (1978), were not directed by African Americans, a great many of them were. Several of these directors would go on to develop significant careers, lasting decades and expanding into television.

The actor Sidney Poitier directed his first Hollywood film in 1972: *Buck and the Preacher*, a film that would allow him to break out of his usual persona and bring his fellow 1950s star Harry Belafonte back to the screen. This western restored African Americans to the history of the settlement of the West, as it concerned the journey of African American homesteaders from the South to what they imagined as new opportunities after the Civil War. Accosted by white landowners who want to return them to tenant farming, the settlers seek the aid of a wagonmaster, Buck (Poitier), who is assisted by Preacher

Sidney Poitier in Norman Jewison's **In the Heat of the Night** ***(1967).*** EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

(Belafonte). The film revised the implicit ideology of the all-American genre of the western, providing a critique of US expansionism. Poitier formed his own production company, E and R Productions Corporation, and when in creative control of his films, he insisted that the crew include people of color as technicians. His career as a director spanned eight films, across twenty years.

Michael Schultz (b. 1938) is another important African American director, one of the most prolific of the era. He is most noted for *Cooley High* (1975), a coming-of-age film set in 1960s Chicago; *Car Wash* (1976), a "day in the life" film about an ensemble of workers at a Los Angeles car wash; and *Greased Lighting* (1977), based on the story of Wendell Scott, the first African American stock-car champion. Though his films are considered comedies, they contain moments of profound sadness and despair. For example, the slapstick and verbal play in *Car Wash*, provided by the pranks and jokes the workers play on each other, reveal an attempt to counter the monotony of their dead-end, working class jobs. Further, the viewer gains access to the workers' outside lives and dreams, made difficult by the social circumstances of their lives.

Gordon Parks followed up *The Learning Tree* with *Shaft* (1971), introducing the first African American private detective film and a new treatment of African American masculinity. Considered the first African American film hero, John Shaft, played by Richard Roundtree (b. 1942), was the epitome of cool. Equally comfortable in the underworld and the mainstream, he was very popular with the ladies. His persona as a man of action and power is communicated brilliantly at the film's opening, when Shaft emerges from the subway to walk the streets of New York as if he owns them, accompanied by the funky grooves of Isaac Hayes's Oscar®-winning score.

Parks's son, Gordon Parks Jr. (1934–1979), would continue in his father's tradition, directing some of the most well-received films of the period. His works include *Aaron Loves Angela* (1975), a tender story about the romance between an African American teen and a Puerto Rican girl living in the slums of New York, and *Thomasine and Bushrod* (1974), starring Max Julien and Vonetta McGee as a bank-robber couple in the early 1900s. He is best known, however, for *Superfly* (1972), starring Ron O'Neal (1937–2004). A highly stylized film that made great use of Curtis Mayfield's original music, *Superfly* highlighted the protagonist's decadent lifestyle as a successful pimp and drug dealer—fashion, cars, jewelry, recreational drug use, and promiscuity. It is perhaps for this reason that this film in particular would be identified with blaxploitation film. Because young people became infatuated with the surface details that overwhelmed the underlying social critique, it was at the center of controversy in the African American community. While middle- and upper-class African Americans saw the film as sensationalist, promoting the lifestyle of the main character, others championed the film for its presentation of an African American protagonist, Youngblood Priest, who stands up to "the Man," and for its treatment of police corruption. Looking deeper into the film, *Superfly* provides an insightful commentary on the lack of opportunity for African American youth and the ways they may be driven to achieve the American ideal of consumerism. The legal system is presented as corrupt, and through its imagery, the film reveals the devastation the drug trade has wrought on urban communities. It also presents criminality as a dead-end profession, as Priest is working to remove himself from prostitution and drug trafficking.

The new forms of masculinity represented in the films noted above—in which African American men function in narratives to benefit themselves and their communities, rather than the white communities in which they were usually socially isolated in earlier Hollywood films—were accompanied by a different kind of physicality. Previously, actors with large, muscular physiques were seen as threatening, drawing on the

Sidney Poitier with Elizabeth Hartman in the earnest* A Patch of Blue *(Guy Green, 1965). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

stereotypes of the black brute. With former athletes such as Fred Williamson and Jim Brown (b. 1936) becoming actors, and with characters like John Shaft, African American men were no longer sidekicks in action films, supporting the heroism of the white lead actor; they became heroes themselves. Changes were also due African American women, and the desire for more complex female characters was met in films like *Mahogany* (1975), featuring the singer Diana Ross (b. 1944), who received an Oscar® nomination for the costume designs she created for the drama. Directed by the Motown music mogul Berry Gordy (b. 1929), the film focused on the development of an impoverished girl who becomes an international fashion model. *Five on the Black Hand Side* (Oscar Williams, 1973) reflected the ideological tensions between African American middle-class conservatives and more progressive feminist and black nationalist liberals.

THE INDEPENDENT SPIRIT

As these films were being produced within the Hollywood system, some filmmakers, unwilling to compromise their artistry or ideology, chose to work independently, as too often the Hollywood studios demanded changes in their scripts or denied them final edit power. Others saw entry into the industry as a sell-out, bowing to a capitalist oligarchy that had historically denigrated their communities. Melvin Van Peebles abandoned his deal at Columbia to independently produce, direct, and star in *Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song* (1971). The film represented a radical break from Van Peebles's earlier work. Dedicated in the opening credit sequence to "All the brothers and sisters who have had enough of the Man," it is a touchstone example of African American counter cinema, utilizing a loose shooting style, experimental editing, and a discourse rooted in Black Nationalism. Sweetback, played by Van Peebles himself, starts out as a politically naive and uninvolved sex worker who has his consciousness raised and becomes a folk hero. While in police custody, he witnesses the beating of a community activist by the police. Sweetback uses his handcuffs to fight off the two policemen, saving the activist's life, then spends the rest of the movie a wanted man, evading the authorities with the help of the local community. *Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song*, which was produced with a budget of only $500,000, earned more than 10 million dollars, and secured for Van Peebles the sobriquet "Father of Soul Cinema." The film won praise in the United States and Europe, and its success provided the impetus that would lead to the blaxploitation movement.

Ossie Davis, like Van Peebles, would remove himself from the "Hollywood plantation" to work independently. In 1972 he helped create the Third World Film Corporation, a New York–based company that functioned both as a film training center for people of color and a distribution house for their works. Two of Third World's most well known productions are *Greased Lightning*, starring Richard Pryor (1940–2005), and *Claudine* (1974), with Diahann Carroll (b. 1935), who garnered an Oscar® nomination for the lead. With his second film, *Kongi's Harvest* (1970), Davis became the first African American director to shoot films on the continent of Africa. Adapted from a work by the Nigerian Nobel Laureate Wole Soyinka (b. 1934), who also played the starring role, the film is set in the Congo and concerns the attempt of an African leader to modernize and unite his nation (made up of different tribes), while at the same time keeping the country's cultural roots intact. Davis's last effort as a director, *Countdown at Kusini* (1976), was financed by Delta Sigma Theta, the largest African American women's service organization in the United States. Written by Davis and his fellow African American thespian Al Freeman, Jr. (b. 1934), the film, shot in Nigeria, is an anti-neocolonialist action/drama that encouraged coalitions and solidarity between Africans and the Diaspora.

Another actor turned director Ivan Dixon (b. 1931), memorable for his roles in film and television—one of the most notable as the lead in the groundbreaking feature *Nothing But a Man* (1964)—began directing tele-

vision shows in 1970. In 1973 he directed the film that took him five years to get off the ground: *The Spook Who Sat by the Door*, adapted from Sam Greenlee's famous 1969 novel. The funds were raised through private investments—not from corporations or wealthy individuals, but from supporters in African American communities across the country. Despite its initial success, the film was withdrawn in several cities because it was deemed too controversial; its plot involves a former African American CIA agent who uses his knowledge and skills to train guerrilla fighters, building a network across the country to lead a revolution.

In this fashion, African American directors regularly employed established Hollywood genres, such as the action film, western, crime thriller, romance, and spy film, to reveal the contradictions and ideologies on which they were based. The formulaic conventions and iconographies were recoded to work as tools of social criticism. The horror genre was no exception. *Ganja and Hess* (1973) by the writer Bill Gunn (1934–1989), an experimental vampire film in the mode of art film, is a complex treatise on race, addiction, and assimilation that violates conventional Hollywood norms of linear temporality, characterization, and causation. Despite having won the Critics' Choice prize at Cannes and favorable reviews, the producers withdrew the film from distribution, claiming the writer-turned-director had failed to deliver a commercially viable film.

THE L.A. REBELLION

As these veterans of the cinema created socially significant feature films that were aesthetically grounded in African American (and in some cases African) cultural forms, a new group of filmmakers would emerge, trained in university film schools located primarily in Los Angeles. Their educations in graduate programs went beyond technical training. Their "coming-of age" coincided with the push for ethnic studies programs on campuses around the country, nationalist movements in the Asian/Pacific American, African American, Latino, and Native American communities, and global struggles against neocolonialism and for independence. Armed with a knowledge of "traditional" film history now infused with an introduction to the Third Cinema movement and exposure to revolutionary films from Latin America and Africa, these filmmakers took advantage of their "outsider" positioning, reinvigorating the push for a politically driven cinema, in a movement that became known as the "L.A. Rebellion." The first group of graduates from the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) included Billy Woodberry, best known for *Bless Their Little Hearts* (1983), and Larry Clark, director of *Passing Through* (1977). The two most noted, Charles Burnett (b. 1944) and Haile Gerima (b. 1946), became leaders of the contemporary African American independent cinema movement.

Charles Burnett, who started his career as a cinematographer and camera operator for his contemporaries, is considered to be one of the most important American filmmakers. Burnett has made more than fourteen films, both within and outside the Hollywood industry, as well as several works for television. His most acclaimed film, *Killer of Sheep* (1977), is considered the first neorealist masterpiece of African American cinema. Selected into the National Film Registry by the Library of Congress and recognized internationally, the film, completed in 1973 as his MFA thesis for UCLA but not released until 1977, uses poetic imagery to detail the day-to-day struggle of the working poor who, despite their efforts and dreams, are caught by a social structure that benefits from their oppression. When not writing and directing, Burnett often supports the work of other progressive filmmakers, among them the New York–based Korean American Dai Sil Kim Gibson, Julie Dash (b. 1952), and Haile Gerima (from Ethiopia).

Haile Gerima, also a professor at Howard University, remains one of the most politically committed African American filmmakers. His films do not just depict oppression, they theorize historical and global conditions, interrogating not only what, but why. His works genuinely function as "counter cinema," linking the storytelling function in film with African cultural and aesthetic traditions to advance consciousness and politicize audiences. As was the case for Burnett, it was Gerima's MFA thesis film at UCLA, *Bush Mama* (1979), that brought him wide attention. Like *Killer of Sheep*, *Bush Mama* focuses on poverty in the Los Angeles area. Using a dynamic visual style paired with a powerful use of sound, Gerima presents a challenging narrative that raises the consciousness of the audience simultaneously with that of the film's protagonist.

BLAXPLOITATION

Despite these two concurrent trends of African American filmmaking—filmmakers within the Hollywood system and filmmakers without, both creating ideologically and aesthetically thoughtful films—most people associate African American cinema of the 1970s with blaxploitation, a series of extremely low budget, sensationalist features of which there were more than two hundred. Produced from the early 1970s through the middle of the decade, these films capitalized, or exploited, the desire of African Americans (and others as well) to see transgressive characters in urban settings. Many attribute the birth of this movement to the success of Van Peebles's *Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song*, which was released with an X rating, and Park's *Superfly*, exciting films that featured

characters involved in "underground" economies, the sex and drug trades.

Of the ultra-low budget, campy, violent films that followed, about pimps and drug dealers in stack shoes, bell bottoms, and furs, very few were written or directed by blacks, financed and produced by black production companies, or reached theaters through black-owned distribution businesses. Those that were, such as *Blacula* (William Crain, 1972), were often politically relevant, but they fell victim to the designation of blaxploitation because of their lower production values. Nevertheless, the power of the movement was a significant one, as it influenced more mainstream productions. For example, the 1973 installment of the James Bond series, *Live and Let Die*, makes use of the established iconography. Though the movement was relatively short-lived, ended by both public protest and falling profits—attributed to its over-reliance on formula—it did create some opportunities for African Americans in the film industry, creating a new galaxy of stars, including Pam Grier, Tamara Dobson, Fred Williamson, and Jim Kelly.

NEW JACK CINEMA

The end of the 1970s saw a great diminution of films by African American directors. This was particularly the case in Hollywood, for the industry had committed to the blockbuster model of filmmaking, more or less abandoning the production of low-to-middle budget films—the range in which most African American movies were placed. Many of the established directors moved to television, while still others worked on direct-to-video releases. A few directors capitalized on the newly developing youth subculture of hip hop with films like *Beat Street* (Stan Lathan, 1984) and *Krush Groove* (Michael Schultz, 1985), films centered on the music industry. Another link to popular music was *Under the Cherry Moon* (1986), a black and white feature directed by and starring the musical artist Prince.

The course of African American filmmaking was redirected, literally, by the newcomer Spike Lee (b. 1957), who in 1986 saw great success with his independently produced first feature film, *She's Gotta Have It*, an irreverent look at an African American professional woman and her romantic relationships. Well-received by critics and audiences, *She's Gotta Have It*, along with *Hollywood Shuffle* (Robert Townsend, 1987), a comedic treatment of Hollywood's racist production practices, and *I'm Gonna Git You Sucka* (Keenan Ivory Wayans, 1988), a parody of blaxploitation films, heralded a new era in African American filmmaking. The popularity of these three films, as well as the ascendancy of rap music, opened the door for a new generation of directors. In 1991 sixteen African American–directed movies were released theatrically, the most since the era of the race movie. Those titles included *Jungle Fever*, *New Jack City*, *True Identity*, *The Five Heartbeats*, *House Party II*, *Talkin' Dirty After Dark*, *Hangin' with the Homeboys*, *A Rage in Harlem*, *Chameleon Street*, *Strictly Business*, *Living Large*, *To Sleep with Anger*, and *Up Against the Wall*.

It was also the year of release for *Boyz N' the Hood* by John Singleton (b. 1968) and *Straight Out of Brooklyn* by Matty Rich (b. 1971). Both films were tense coming-of-age dramas about male teens trying to make it out of the ghetto (South Central L.A. and Red Hook, Brooklyn) and its pervasive cycle of poverty. While Singleton's film was supported by a major studio (Columbia Pictures), Rich's film was funded by family credit cards and an address on a local radio station for investors. Both went on to receive widespread attention. Singleton became the youngest person ever nominated for an Oscar® for Best Direction, as well as a nominee for Best Original Screenplay. A number of movies followed in their wake, all featuring young men in urban locales and focusing on crime, such as *Juice* (1992) and *Menace II Society* (1993), causing many critics to wonder if it was a case of blaxploitation revisited. In addition, cultural critics lamented the masculinist perspective of the films, concerned that the films perpetuated the stereotype of young urban African American males as crack-dealing gangsters pervasive in the late 1980s and early 1990s. There was also the issue of presenting a singular construction of African American communities—ignoring the true diversity of African American populations.

One film that did diverge from the urban male hegemony was *Daughters of the Dust* (1991) by Julie Dash. The first feature-length film by an African American woman to be released theatrically, this unique vision, which took more than twelve years to bring to the screen, is a hypnotic period drama, set in 1902 on one of the Sea Islands off the East Coast of the United States. It is a celebration and remembrance of Gullah, a distinct African American culture that developed during slavery. Because of the islands' relative isolation, the inhabitants were able to build a culture more closely linked to that of Africa than were those enslaved on the mainland. Dash uses this setting and rich cultural tradition to tell the story of a family that gathers for what may be their last meal together.

Toward the end of the 1990s, African American filmmaking was no longer typified by the narrow parameters that defined its renaissance. Haile Gerima provided a harrowing, much-needed lesson on slavery in *Sankofa* (1994), the most successful self-distributed independent feature of African American cinema, while Spike Lee with *Malcolm X* in 1992 brought the slain activist to the consciousness of a generation with no experience of the civil rights movement. This was also the decade when several women directors came into their own. With *Just*

SPIKE LEE

b. Shelton Jackson Lee, Atlanta, Georgia, 20 March 1957

The most prolific African American director since Oscar Micheaux, Spike Lee is credited with heralding a renaissance of African American filmmaking, initiating a radical break from Hollywood's neo-minstrelization in the 1980s, and reestablishing the commercial viability of "political" cinema. As one of the few African American directors considered an auteur, his films concern the dramatic tensions of personal conflict informed by social hierarchies of power—particularly of race and class, encoded in a highly expressive and recognizable style.

Lee graduated in 1979 with a degree in mass communications from Morehouse College, and in 1982 with a graduate degree in film from New York University's Tisch School of the Arts. His thesis film, *Joe's Bed-Stuy Barbershop: We Cut Heads* (1983), won an Academy Award®, helping him to secure interest from two talent agencies, William Morris and International Creative Management (ICM). When neither company could find him work in the film industry, Lee went independent, securing financing with the help of friends and the Black Filmmakers Foundation for *She's Gotta Have It* (1986). The film, produced by Lee's newly formed company, 40 Acres and Mule (a reference to America's broken promise to African Americans during Reconstruction), was shot in twelve days with a budget of $175,000. It went on to earn more than 8 million dollars at the box office and the Prix du Film Jeunesse at Cannes. *She's Gotta Have It* is considered the catalyst for a resurgence in African American filmmaking, demonstrating the commercial viability of films about African Americans by African Americans.

Similarly, his second feature, *School Daze* (1988) also did well at the box office, earning more than twice its production costs. It was his third film, *Do the Right Thing* (1989), that would secure his reputation as a director of artistry and vision. This postmodern masterpiece, concerned with rising tensions in a Brooklyn, New York, neighborhood over the course of a hot summer's day, is a complex and compelling film examining race relations, police brutality, class differences, and gentrification.

Lee expanded his talents, working in the area of music videos, television commercials, and public service announcements. He won an Emmy for a segment of "Real Sports" and he directed two documentaries: the Oscar®-nominated *Four Little Girls* (1997), about the 1963 bombing of a church in Birmingham, Alabama, that resulted in the death of four African American girls; and *Jim Brown: All American* (2002) a feature on the sports icon. Further, his impact on the industry includes the introduction of a number of African American actors to the cinema and the reinvigoration of the careers of Ossie Davis and Ruby Dee. He has also produced films by other African American directors that have become classics of African American cinema, including *I Like It Like That* (1994), *The Best Man* (1999), and *Love & Basketball* (2000).

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

She's Gotta Have It (1986), *Do the Right Thing* (1989), *Malcolm X* (1992), *Clockers* (1995), *Four Little Girls* (1997), *Summer of Sam* (1999), *Bamboozled* (2000), *A Huey P. Newton Story* (TV, 2001), *Inside Man* (2006)

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Another Girl on the I.R.T. (1992), Leslie Harris provided a female perspective on teen life in an urban locale. *I Like It Like That* 1994) by Darnell Martin (b. 1964), the first film directed by an African American woman to receive studio funding, provides an interesting tale of a woman who, driven by a family crisis, finally comes to full self-realization. Other women directors who would emerge in the 1990s include Bridgett M. Davis, Alison Swan, DeMane Davis, Cauleen Smith, and Neema Barnette. Cheryl Dunye directed *Watermelon Woman*, the first African American lesbian feature, in 1996, and in 1997 Kasi Lemmons delivered a haunting, atmospheric drama, *Eve's Bayou*, the most successful independent film of that year. Chicago-based George A. Tillman, Jr. (b. 1969),

Spike Lee. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

directed *Soul Food* (1997) and *Men of Honor* (2000), and produced the sleeper hit *Barbershop* (2002), its sequel *Barbershop 2* (2004), its spin-off *Beautyshop* (2005), and its television adaptation for Showtime. *The Best Man* (1999) by Malcolm Lee was a welcome change for many moviegoers, as it was the first ensemble film by an African American director about a sophisticated group of college-educated, professional African Americans.

FUTURE PROSPECTS

The new millennium was ushered in by a series of firsts, including the awarding of an Oscar® to Denzel Washington for Best Leading Actor in 2002, the first time the award was given to an African American since it was bestowed upon Sidney Poiter in 1964. And, perhaps even more significantly, it was the first for a performance in an African American–directed film, *Training Day* (2001) by Antoine Fuqua. MTV, the video music network powerhouse, entered into the realm of filmmaking with *Save the Last Dance* (2001), a teen film directed by Thomas Carter. And for the first time, African American directors were given the green light to direct big-budget films, films that did not necessarily feature African American characters. Though this was not the first time African American directors worked with non-black subjects—*Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* (Michael Schultz, 1978), *The Cemetery Club* (Bill Duke, 1993), and *Swing Kids* (Thomas Carter, 1993) are notable examples—it was the first time they were granted control of tent-pole pictures such as the epic *King Arthur* (Fuqua, 2004) and the summer blockbuster *Fantastic Four* (Tim Story, 2005), one of the few summer spectacles that did not disappoint at the box office that year.

This status granted to African American filmmakers holds great promise but also may bode ill. Hollywood's interest in maximizing profits mandates films centered on white protagonists more often than not. If African American directors are to concentrate on the larger-budgeted films, that leaves the untold stories of the African American community without a voice once again.

SEE ALSO *Class; Race and Ethnicity*

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AGENTS AND AGENCIES

Agents are the middlemen of show business. They represent talent, which is to say actors, writers, directors, producers, and other artists, and their job is to sell the services of their clients to buyers of talent—film and television producers, publishers, and entertainment promoters of all stripes. To best serve their clients, agents need to have access to information about the availability of scripts, the pictures in development, and the going prices being paid for talent—information that they can use to close deals. Agents even with college degrees have traditionally started out in the mail rooms of talent agencies learning the ropes before being given actual responsibilities. At William Morris and MCA, they were also required to abide by a conservative dress code.

Governed by state employment-agency laws and regulations and by agreements with Actors Equity and other talent guilds, agents are allowed to collect a fee for their services, usually 10 or 15 percent of their clients' earnings. In signing with an agency, the client authorizes the agency to represent him or her in all areas for a specified term, usually five or seven years, and to collect a fee from all sources of income. Agencies can be grouped into two categories, compound and independent. Compound agencies, such as William Morris (1899–1989), International Creative Management, and Creative Artists, are the largest in the business with offices in New York, Beverly Hills, and in European capitals. They represent a broad range of established talent, including Olympic stars and former US presidents, and are organized into departments representing different fields of entertainment. Independent agencies are much smaller. They typically specialize in representing a single type of client, such as writers or actors, and are more prone to solicit new and untried talent.

Once concerned mainly with getting the highest possible salary for their clients, agents have gradually taken an active role in shaping their clients' careers. Stars sometimes also retain managers or personal representatives to assume this function. Unlike agents, managers work on an exclusive basis and devote as much attention as possible to the individual and business needs of a star. And because managers are allowed to produce films and television shows with their stars and others, they can collect 15 percent or more of their clients' earnings.

Although agents have been much maligned by clients and producers alike, they perform a valid economic function within the sprawling, loose, and disjointed confines of show business. By separating the involved parties in the negotiation process, agents, first of all, enable buyers to deal with professionals on a business level for the services of artists or for literary rights. Secondly, they enable artists and buyers to concentrate on creative matters. Agencies have regularly raided one another for clients, sometimes using aggressive tactics. But the intense competition that exists among them invigorates the business.

BEGINNINGS

The modern talent agency has its roots in vaudeville with the founding of the William Morris Agency in 1898. A German-Jewish immigrant, William Morris (1873–1932) established his agency on the Lower East Side of New York and catered mostly to independent vaudeville managers who were forced to book their acts individually

from numerous employment agencies. Morris offered to take over this function for them by packaging entire shows for distribution. When motion pictures became big business in the 1920s, Morris offered these same services to the new motion picture theater chains that included vaudeville in their programs. William Morris prospered as a result, but the movies soon killed vaudeville and the road for legitimate theater, forcing the agency to exploit new entertainment fields.

William Morris entered Hollywood in 1927 and radio soon after. By 1938, William Morris was once again the preeminent talent agency with some 850 persons under contract. Most of its business came from radio and the movies, but Morris's clients also included night-club performers, musicians, and performers in vaudeville and theater.

Lined up against William Morris was MCA, the Music Corporation of America, which was formed in 1924 by Jules Stein (1896–1981), an ophthalmologist turned agent, who organized the chaotic band business during the 1920s and capitalized on the post-war entertainment boom. Starting out in Chicago as a booker collecting 10-percent commissions, Stein offered to bill bands under their leader's names in return for exclusive representation rights. Stein then convinced nightclub operators and hotel managers that rotating bands would draw larger crowds and new business. After the plan proved spectacularly successful, Stein introduced the exclusive deal whereby MCA, in a form of block booking, secured from operators of amusement places the sole right to book talent into their spots. By guaranteeing a continuous flow of bands at the right prices, MCA assured itself a steady market for its clients and attracted new names to the fold. MCA represented over half of the major bands in the United States by the late 1930s, including Harry James, the Dorseys, Guy Lombardo, Kay Kyser, and Benny Goodman. Control of the band business led quite naturally to representing singers, comedians, jugglers, and other performers. Around 1938, Stein branched out into practically the whole gamut of marketable talent. This meant all-out war with all other agencies, particularly with the William Morris Agency.

RADIO AND THE MOVIES

Radio became a national pastime during the Depression and offered new opportunities for talent agencies. With unemployment high and disposable income dropping for most people, audiences had time to spare. Radio manufacturers had huge inventories, creating a buyer's market. And as the average of price of a radio fell from 90 dollars in 1930 to 47 dollars in 1932, 4 million families purchased receivers. By 1934, radio was reaching 60 percent of all American homes and had become a common habit. Since radio networks left to advertising agencies the job of putting shows together, talent agencies responded to the opportunity by honing a talent-selling technique called packaging. A practice as old as vaudeville, packaging offered a complete show—star, orchestra, announcer, writer, guest stars, and even a producer. In selling a package, an agency such as William Morris waived its standard 10 percent commission on the salaries from each of its clients and instead levied a 10 percent fee on the package price to the network. MCA honed the practice by becoming an employer of sorts and generating more money. MCA hired its own clients for its radio shows and sold the packages for lump sums. The difference between what MCA paid for the ingredients of the shows and what it received from sponsors went into MCA's pockets.

The most popular radio shows of the era starred former vaudeville headliners, among them William Morris's Fanny Brice, Burns and Allen, and Eddie Cantor, and MCA's Edgar Bergen and Charlie McCarthy, Rudy Vallee, Abbott and Costello, and The Great Gildersleeve. By the 1940s, MCA had a hand in more than ninety radio shows a week, ranging from the highest-rated coast-to-coast headliners down to soap operas.

Agents fared less well in Hollywood. Close to one hundred and fifty registered agents worked in Hollywood during the 1930s. A dozen or so firms did most of the business, among them the William Morris Agency, Joyce and Selznick, Charles K. Feldman, and Leland Hayward. As a group, they played a marginal role in the industry during the era of the studio system. They sometimes succeeded in negotiating higher salaries for their clients, but it was the studio that nurtured talent, selected properties to develop, and took the long view in developing screen careers.

Because stars played a key role in the marketing of motion pictures, studios devised numerous ways to keep them under control. The most potent device was the option contract. In signing an aspiring actor or actress, the studio used a contract that progressed in steps over a term of seven years. Every six months, the studio reviewed the actor's progress and decided whether or not to pick up the option. If a studio dropped the option, the actor was out of work; if the studio picked up the option, the actor continued on the payroll for another six months and received a predetermined raise in salary. The contract did not provide reciprocal rights, meaning that an actor or actress could not quit to join another studio, could not stop work, and could not renegotiate for more money. In short, the contract effectively tied a performer to the studio for seven years.

Before 1930, the majors had tacit nonproselytizing agreements with one another to tie the knot tighter. In essence, studios agreed not to hire an actor away from a competitor, even after a contract had expired. A star therefore had to negotiate a new contract with the old company. This cozy relationship was broken up by Myron Selznick (1898–1944), the agent brother of David O. Selznick (1902–1965). Warner Bros. had gotten a head start on its competitors by innovating sound, but it needed stars to stay ahead. Understanding this, Selznick offered the studio three of his clients—William Powell (1892–1984), Kay Francis (1899–1968), and Ruth Chatterton (1893–1961), all of whom were working for Paramount. Warner capitulated and hired them away. Paramount sued, but Warner quelled the controversy by agreeing to loan Miss Francis to Paramount when it needed her. By then, nonproselytizing agreements were on their way out.

Producers tried to outlaw star raiding and to hem in the power of agents during the days of the National Recovery Act (1933–1935), but an executive order from President Roosevelt prevented them from doing so. Nonetheless, the studios got their way by instituting the practice of loanouts. Talent was scarce, and although studios developed young talent and recruited personalities from the stage, radio, and foreign fields, nothing proved sufficient to meet all their needs. Rather than raiding one another to bolster star rosters, the majors found it easier and just as effective to loan one another talent. As always, economics played a role. Try as they might, studios found it impossible to keep high-priced talent busy all the time. An idle star was a heavy overhead expense. Why not loan out the idle star and recoup the overhead? Studios devised various formulas to determine the fee: the most common one was to charge a minimum fee of four weeks salary plus a surcharge of three weeks; another was to charge the basic salary for however long the star was needed plus a surcharge of 25 percent.

POSTWAR CHANGES

After the war, the film industry entered a ten-year recession, during which weekly attendance declined by around one half. The stock system that enabled the studios to turn out a new film every week of the year went by the board. Cutting back on production and trimming budgets in an attempt to reduce overhead, studios took actors, writers, producers and directors off long-term contracts or pared them from the payroll. In the process the majors abrogated the functions of nurturing and developing talent—and in so doing, relinquished power to the talent brokers.

MCA led the way. MCA's entry into the movie business was accomplished principally by buying out several other agencies. The company's most important acquisition came in 1945, when it bought the Hayward-Deverich Agency in New York for about 4 million dollars. Headed by Leland Hayward (1902–1971), this was the prestige company of the agency business, whose 200-odd clients included Fredric March, Ethel Merman, Barbara Bel Geddes, Henry Fonda, James Stewart, and Billy Wilder. The star power on MCA's roster after the war enabled Lew Wasserman (1913–2002), who succeeded Jules Stein as president of MCA in 1946 at the age of thirty-three, to exact new terms for his clients. Instead of asking for higher salaries, Wasserman began demanding a percentage of the profits. In a percentage deal, a star worked for a lower salary than usual, but received a share of the profits if the picture was a success. The arrangement lowered the cost of production for the producer and provided an opportunity for the star to take home more money and save on income taxes as well by sharing in the risks of the venture. In a landmark deal with Universal-International in 1950, MCA negotiated a 50-percent profit participation for James Stewart to star in *Winchester '73*. Stewart earned more than 600,000 dollars from the picture. In comparison, a star such as Clark Gable in his heyday at MGM never earned more than 300,000 dollars for an entire year's work. James Stewart's deal with MCA changed the face of the business; thereafter, profit participations for top talent became standard practice.

Profit participations also played an important role in convincing stars and directors such as Kirk Douglas, Burt Lancaster, Frank Sinatra, Otto Preminger, and others to become independent producers and assume complete ownership of their work. In doing so, the star or director typically engaged a support staff consisting of an associate producer, production manager, story editor, accountant, legal representation, and, of course, an agent. Theoretically, the staff concerned itself with business affairs and the logistics of production, whereas the independent producer pondered creative matters. In turning independent, artists still required the services of agents. A good agent not merely negotiated as good a deal as could be made, but also tried to take the long view to nurture and sustain the client's career.

Most stars played safe and sold their services on a picture-by-picture basis. In such cases, talent agencies imitated the traditional functions of the old studios by effectively putting together packages consisting of stars, literary properties, directors, and other ingredients and offering them to the highest bidder. Packaging movies went hand in hand with the big-budget blockbuster policy the studios were relying on to revive the business. By the 1960s, it was estimated that of the 125-or-so films Hollywood made each year about 80, or nearly two-thirds, were prepackaged by agents for their clients. No packaging fee was assessed in movie deals; agencies got

LEW WASSERMAN

b. Lewis Robert Wasserman, Cleveland, Ohio, 15 March 1913, d. 3 June 2002

The man who transformed Music Corporation of America (MCA) from the world's strongest talent agency to one of the largest global media conglomerates, Lew Wasserman was for forty years generally regarded as the most powerful man in Hollywood. Although he shunned the limelight, Wasserman was renowned for his business acumen, his political connections, and his ruthlessness. He was also admired for his philanthropy and was awarded a special Oscar® for humanitarianism in 1973 as well as the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the country's highest civilian honor, in 1995.

The son of Russian emigrants, Wasserman started in the entertainment field in high school, ushering for a Cleveland movie theater seven nights a week. Unable to afford college, he got a job booking bands and doing publicity for the Chicago-based Music Corporation of America, then a fledgling agency. Impressed with Wasserman's resourcefulness, Jules Stein sent him and his wife, Edith, to Hollywood in 1939 to take MCA into the film business. In 1946, Stein named the thirty-three-year-old Wasserman president of MCA.

Wasserman opted to take MCA out of the talent-agency business in 1962, foreseeing greater opportunities elsewhere in entertainment. He then solidified MCA's position as a film and television producer by buying out Decca Records, the parent of Universal Pictures, and by transforming the Universal lot into a profitable theme park and shopping complex. Afterward, MCA consistently captured a substantial share of the box office with hits such as *Airport* (1970), *American Graffiti* (1973), *The Sting* (1973), *Jaws* (1975) *E.T. the Extra-Terrestrial* (1982), and *Back to the Future* (1985). For years MCA's remarkably stable television operations had more network prime time shows on the air than any of its rivals.

MCA diversified in the 1980s, acquiring toy companies, music companies, a major independent television station, and an interest in a large theater chain. The diversification strategy strengthened MCA's existing positions and extended the company into contiguous businesses. Wasserman's most successful investment was the Universal Studios Florida theme park in Orlando near Disney World, which opened in early 1990.

Having exercised near total control of MCA since the death of Jules Stein in 1981, Wasserman decided to sell the company in 1990 to Matsushita, a Japanese electronics giant, for 6.6 billion dollars. Wasserman stayed on as chief executive, but his plans to make MCA more competitive were ignored by Matsushita executives. Dissatisfied with MCA's performance, Matsushita sold MCA to Seagram, a Canadian liquor company, in 1995. Edgar Bronfman Jr., the new chairman of MCA, retained Wasserman as a consultant but he was given no real responsibilities. In 1997, Wasserman departed MCA, marking the end of an era, and Bronfman changed the name of the company to Universal Studios.

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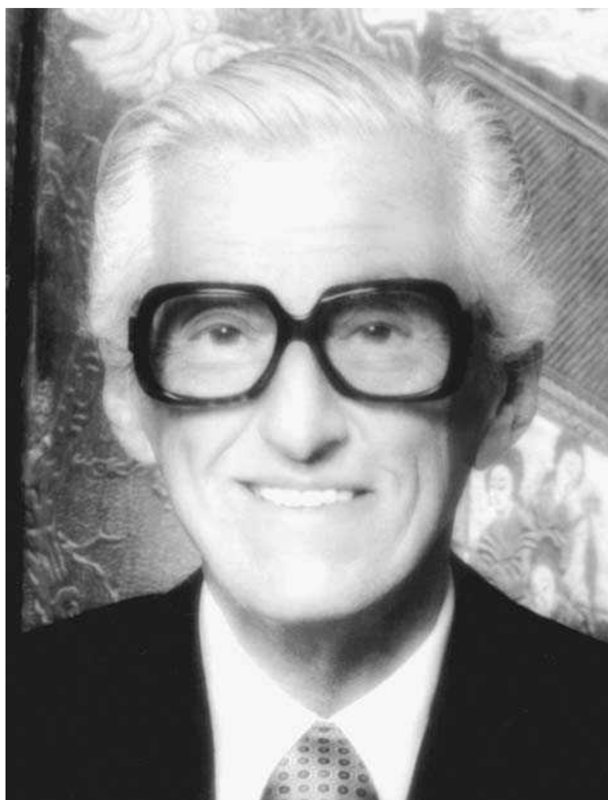
Tino Balio

their money from the higher salaries their clients were now able to command.

TELEVISION

The post-war recession in the motion picture business was caused in no small measure by television, which began its commercial expansion during the 1950s. At the start, prime-time programs were produced mostly live out of New York. As in radio, programming was left to advertising agencies, which bought blocks of time on the networks and negotiated with talent agencies for shows. Since many of the most popular shows on TV were patterned on the variety format of live radio, the old line agencies easily made the transition to the new medium. William Morris, for example, entered television in 1948 by converting its radio show, *Texaco Star Theater* starring Milton Berle for NBC (1948–1956). It went on to package other variety shows for the network such as *The Jack Carter Show* (1950–1951), *Your Show*



Lew Wasserman. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

of Shows (1950–1954), and *The Colgate Comedy Hour* (1950–1955), among others.

By the end of the decade, prime-time television was produced on film in Hollywood. Regardless of the format of the package or the medium in which it was produced, agencies collected a 10 percent commission on the package price of the show to the network, just as in radio. Once again, MCA devised a way to wring more money out of the situation. In a daring move to provide employment for its unemployed clients, MCA went into television production in 1949 by forming a subsidiary called Revue Productions. Its first venture was a live variety show called *Stars Over Hollywood.* When it became apparent that filmed shows, particularly series, would become a TV mainstay, MCA moved into television production in a big way by negotiating a blanket waiver from the Screen Actors Guild in 1952 that allowed the agency both to represent talent and to produce television shows in which talent appeared. The head of the Screen Actors Guild at the time was Ronald Reagan (1911–2004), an MCA client. Generally, the Guild had prohibited agents from producing programming because it would allow them to act as both the seller and the buyer. Since no other company won the same rights, the blanket waiver was a watershed for the company. MCA through its Revue subsidiary quickly became the un-challenged giant of television production. By 1960, MCA, by then referred to as The Octopus, was producing some forty hours worth of television shows every week, among them *The Danny Thomas Show*, *The Andy Griffith Show,* and *The Loretta Young Show*.

Unlike William Morris and other agencies that packaged shows, MCA through its television production arm was able to maximize its takings. Launching a television series, MCA-TV went fifty-fifty with the star. Selling the show to the network, it collected 10 percent of the package price of the show. Revue Studios, the MCA subsidiary that actually produced the show, collected a 20 percent fee of the costs to physically produce the show for its services. The remainder of the production budget went to Revue to cover studio overhead, labor, and other expenses. After a successful network run, MCA received syndication fees when the show was sold to individual television stations for off-network programming and a cut of foreign sales.

By 1960, MCA was the largest talent agency in the business, with double the revenues of William Morris, its nearest competitor. Strengthening its position as a television distributor, MCA had purchased the syndication rights to Paramount's pre-1948 film library for 50 million dollars in 1958. Within months, MCA strengthened its position as a television producer by purchasing Universal's 367-acre back lot in the San Fernando Valley for 11.3 million dollars and spent an additional 30 million dollars to renovate the facility. The expansion ultimately led to a three-year investigation by the Justice Department of the Kennedy Administration into the possible antitrust violations by talent agents. In 1962, MCA signed a consent decree in which it agreed to immediately get out of the talent agency business.

POST MCA

After MCA's divestiture put its clients and agents in play, William Morris regained its former preeminent status in the industry, based primarily on its strength in television. But other agencies captured the spotlight as they moved into the movies. For example, Creative Management Associates, which was founded by Freddie Fields (b. 1923) and David Begelman (1921–1995) in 1960, carved a niche for itself in the business by becoming a boutique agency for stars. Its client list included Henry Fonda, Paul Newman, Kirk Douglas, Peter Sellers, Steve McQueen, and Phil Silvers, among others. After signing some of MCA's best agents, Ashley-Steiner merged with Famous Artists in 1962 and strengthened its position in

motion pictures. Renamed Ashley-Famous, the agency was acquired by Kinney National Services and then sold to Marvin Josephson Associates in 1969. Marvin Josephson, which started out agenting in 1955 representing Robert Keeshan (Captain Kangaroo) (1927–2004), was a mini-conglomerate that included a TV production firm and a concert-booking bureau. Expanding further, Josephson bought out Creative Management Associates in 1974 and formed International Creative Management, a compound talent agency with 2,000 clients that rivaled William Morris.

William Morris, whose top executives were being described in the trade press as "gentlemanly and geriatric," faced a threat of another sort in 1975, when five of its agents left the company to start Creative Artists Agency (CAA). Headed by Michael Ovitz (b. 1946), a UCLA graduate from the San Fernando Valley who started out in the William Morris mail room, and Ron Meyer (b. 1944), a senior agent, CAA lured away the top directors and stars in the business with the promise of securing top dollar for their services and delivering on their word. CAA also aggressively took on many of the traditional functions of the studios, searching out properties and putting together packages consisting of star, director, and writer, which they offered to the studios on an all-or-nothing basis. With names such as Tom Hanks, Tom Cruise, Robert De Niro, Demi Moore, Martin Scorsese, Robert Zemeckis, and Sydney Pollack on its roster, CAA could just about dictate the terms when it came to salaries.

Ovitz could exercise this power because of a vacuum in the motion picture business. Beginning in the late 1960s, the movie industry had entered the age of conglomerates, when the Hollywood majors were either taken over by outside conglomerates engaged in a range of businesses or became conglomerates themselves through acquisitions. In the new order, film production became just one of several "profit centers" for these conglomerates and not necessarily the most important. Hollywood studios more and more took on the function of financiers and left the development of projects to suppliers—independent producers and agencies.

Not content in jacking up salaries and compensation to record highs to earn more in commissions, CAA branched out into corporate acquisitions, consulting, and marketing. Ovitz helped Sony buy Columbia Pictures from Coca-Cola for 3.4 billion dollars in 1989 and negotiated Matsushita's 6.6 billion dollars acquisition of MCA in 1990. Ovitz also advised Credit Lyonnais, the French bank, on how to manage and ultimately dispose of its subsidiary MGM/UA. Then Ovitz and his partner Ron Meyer, CAA president, left the agency business for the movies. Meyer departed first to replace Sidney Sheinberg (b. 1935) as president and chief operating officer of MCA (renamed Universal Studios) when Seagram acquired MCA from Matsushita in 1995. In taking the job, Meyer joined the select group of talent agents, likes Lew Wasserman, David Begelman, and Freddie Fields, who had earlier became production chiefs of major studios. Ovitz also joined the group in 1995 when he became president of the Walt Disney Company. Afterward, Ovitz and the other CAA founders sold the agency for more than 150 million dollars to a group of company insiders headed by Richard Lovett, who became the new president of CAA.

Many big names left CAA for rival agencies during the transition, but the ranking among the major talent agencies did not change as much as some predicted. Creative Artists still maintained the top talent list in the movie business, with over one thousand names. And William Morris and International Creative Management held steady. Michael Ovitz, meanwhile, saw his career plummet. After just fourteen months in office at Disney, he was fired, with the explanation that Ovitz was unable to carve a role for himself in the company. But Ovitz's imperial manner might have also contributed to the decision. Nonetheless, Disney gave Ovitz a severance package estimated at over 125 million dollars. Ovitz attempted to reestablish himself in Hollywood by forming a new company, Artists Management Group, that was intended to represent high-profile talent in film, music, sports and publishing and to produce feature films and television programs. The venture never got off the ground and Ovitz lost an estimated 70–100 million dollars of his own money before he sold off the vestiges of his operations to an upstart agency called The Firm.

During the post-Ovitz era, talent agencies continued their search for new sources of revenue and naturally gravitated to Silicon Valley. Virtually all the leading agencies opened media divisions to explore ways in which the Internet might have an impact on the form and content of entertainment and serve as a new distribution conduit for their clients. Breaking into the business, agents sought opportunities for their stars, directors, and writers to shape material for the Web, such as short films, both live action and animation, and to link high-tech companies to Hollywood. The foray into Silicon Valley suffered a temporary setback when the high-tech bubble burst in 2000, but the marriage of the Internet and show business seems inevitable.

SEE ALSO *Acting; Casting; Star System; Stars; Studio System; Television*

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Tino Balio

ANIMAL ACTORS

"Actors are cattle," Alfred Hitchcock (1899–1980) is reported to have said. Yet cattle can also be actors. For Howard Hawks's *Red River* (1948), second-unit director Arthur Rosson (1886–1960) had been having a nightmare working with a huge herd for sequences that show them moving from Texas to Abilene under the direction of John Wayne and Montgomery Clift. So painful was this experience for Rosson and director Howard Hawks that Hawks finally remarked, "Go out and try to tell fifteen hundred cows what to do!" (McCarthy, 423).

Animal performances have constituted some of the most provocative moments in the history of film from its earliest days and even before: from the precinematic projections of running horses by Eadweard Muybridge (1830–1904) in 1878 to the scrambling dog in the Lumières' *Workers Leaving a Factory* (1895), National Velvet nosing past the finish line, the fluffy white cat gazing malevolently from Ernst Stavro Blofeld's lap at his next victim in *Diamonds Are Forever* (1971), the shark mechanically snacking on Quint in *Jaws* (1975), Hitchcock's seagulls aloofly hovering while the town of Bodega Bay far below is consumed by flames (*The Birds*, 1963), a friendly fawn peeking in at young Joey Starrett's window in *Shane* (1953), a deer brought back from the dead by the title character in *Starman* (1984), Norma Desmond celebrating the funeral of her pet monkey in *Sunset Boulevard* (1950), or Elliott liberating a platoon of frogs from imminent decortication and thus winning the girl of his dreams in *E.T. the Extraterrestrial* (1982). Fans of horror and science fiction will never forget Ripley's orange cat in the finale of *Alien* (1979) or the uncannily smart German shepherd in *The Brain from Planet Arous* (1957). In *Arizona Dream* (1993), a snow-white sled dog saves a man from freezing on the ice, then hauls him safely home.

Screen animals can be a human's best friend. In *The Birds*, for example, Hitchcock marches into a pet shop with his two beloved Scottish terriers. In *Turner and Hooch* (1989), Tom Hanks is a detective whose working partner is a huge mutt. In *Men in Black II* (2002), a pug vocally animated by Danny DeVito accompanies Will Smith with a much too wry commentary on sex life. Clayton Moore (1914–1999) is never far from his noble white stallion Silver in *The Lone Ranger* (1956), and Bill Murray is psychically bonded to his goldfish Bob in *What about Bob?* (1991).

But animals can also be particularly chilling villains. Sherlock Holmes is daunted by the hound of the Baskervilles, an iridescent and wraithlike Great Dane (1939). In *Strangers on a Train*, (1951), Guy Haines sneaks up to Bruno's father's bedroom, only to find a growling mastiff staring him in the face. In *The Boys from Brazil* (1978), Dr. Josef Mengele is mauled to death by a pack of Dobermans. A stallion turns mad and vicious before killing himself in the sea in *The Ring* (2002).

ANIMALS IN PRODUCTION

The use of animals as onscreen performers presents a range of technical, legal, choreographic, medical, and strategic difficulties. Special medical insurance may be required for animal just as for human performers. Because animals are relatively incompetent linguistically, choreography and cinematic trickery must take the place of direction. In the film-within-a-film in Truffaut's *Day for Night* (1973), for example, there is a scenic reference

to the director's earlier *The Soft Skin* (1964)—itself a play upon Jean Vigo's *L'Atalante* (1934)—that uses a kitten to demonstrate this difficulty. The scene calls for a pair of lovers to wake up one morning, open the door of their motel room, and find a kitten begging for a bottle of milk that has been left on their stoop; when they pour a little into a saucer, she drinks. But the feline actor has other things in mind and keeps heading offscreen; in the close shot that focuses upon her as she sniffs at the saucer of milk, the hand of the assistant director is visible, pushing the animal back into the frame. Many takes are needed before everyone is happy: while in "real life" nothing would seem to be simpler or more natural, in filmmaking this moment is a supremely difficult technical achievement.

Filming with animals is demanding in the extreme, and often arcane. Disney's *Old Yeller* (1957) required a coyote and raccoon wrangler; *Daddy Day Care* (2003) called for cockroach handlers. Duplicate or even triplicate performers must frequently be on hand; in *Seabiscuit* (2003), ten bay horses played the lead role. Animals must be rested between takes, because they tire under the intense heat of the lights and are likely to react adversely to prop noise. Sometimes animals are very close to props themselves: from a design point of view, their natural coloration forms part of the aesthetic challenge of a shot. A telltale example of this kind of problem was presented to Woody Allen when he was filming the lobster-steaming sequence of *Annie Hall* (1977). Alvy (Allen) and Annie (Diane Keaton) are supposed to lose control of the lobsters they are about to cook, so that the animals fall to the kitchen floor and a "chase sequence" ensues. Unexpectedly, the lobsters scuttling around the kitchen in the rented location disappeared against the brick red floor tiles because the crustaceans had been painted red (authentic greenish uncooked lobsters being unappealing to the eye), so a plywood floor had to be dropped and speedily whitewashed. Against this "kitchen floor," the cosmetically improved animals showed up beautifully on camera.

While screen action involving animal performances is constructed to look believable and is often intended to represent excitement and danger, care must be taken to ensure the safety, nourishment, and protection of animals working in the film industry. Originally in line with section 12 of the Production Code Administration's guidelines in 1930 ("There shall be no use of any contrivance or apparatus for tripping or otherwise treating animals in any unacceptably harsh manner"), and more recently under a 1980 agreement with the Screen Actors Guild, the responsibility for overseeing animal care in filming motion pictures and television shows rests with the Film and Television Unit of the American Humane Association. This office assists in the production of about 1,000 films a year involving animals. Here scripts are vetted in collaboration with filmmakers to plan the safest ways to shoot animal scenes—a goal entirely different from that used, for example, in the explicit beheading of an ox in *Apocalypse Now* (1979). Sets and animal costumes must be safe for animal contact; animal action must be meticulously planned to keep within the bounds of what training can effect and to protect animals from harm. In *Anger Management* (2003), for example, a fashion line is designed for husky cats and modeled by Meatball, a tabby. Under the "adorable" cat outfits (including a hip-hop hooded sweatshirt) lay a fiberfill "fat suit" that required the scenes to be photographed under air conditioning so that the cat would not become overheated.

Many techniques of scene simulation are used, including blue or green screen background projection, mechanically operated simulated animals or animal parts or "animaltronics" (an industry pet name for using animatronics—building a robot to look like an animal)—a process involving hydraulic systems, manipulated camera speeds, editing, padded environments, and specially designed costumes. In *Dr. Doolittle 2* (2001), for instance, a suicidal tiger paces on a window ledge and is "talked down" by the animal psychiatrist (Eddie Murphy). The tiger was filmed pacing against a green screen, and this image was then combined optically with a shot taken at a designed window ledge. Using computerized two-dimensional imaging techniques, frames showing an animal moving its mouth naturally can be individually coordinated with a prerecorded sound track to give the impression, in close-up, that the animal is mouthing words. Other examples can be found in *Animal Farm* (1999) and *Babe: Pig in the City* (1998). Three-dimensional animation makes it possible to superimpose computer-generated mouths onto images of animal faces. Stuffed stand-ins ("stuffies") are used frequently. In *There's Something about Mary* (1998), a dog gnaws at a man's trousers, is kicked away, then gets picked up and thrown out a window. A real dog went for the trousers, but a stuffed dog was kicked away and tossed. In *The Birds*, one of the most celebrated animal films in the history of the medium, Ray Berwick was responsible for training and handling dozens of gulls, sparrows, crows, and other avians. In a birthday party scene, gulls fly at children eating cake. The birds' beaks had been wired shut, and one creature managed to fly off. Berwick insisted that shooting be closed down for the afternoon while he went off to rescue it, since in that condition the bird would have died from hunger.

The tricks that trainers, cinematographers, directors, and handlers use in order to produce realistic but bizarre animal performances onscreen are uncountable. In *Daddy Day Care*, a tarantula crawling over a character's head was

created by using a real tarantula and a Styrofoam human head—such a creature was as easy to obtain in Hollywood as a cute puppy: the animal manager and supplier Jim Brockett keeps cockroaches, tarantulas, alligators, vipers, and other lethal and nonlethal insects and reptiles at Brockett Film Fauna in Ventura County. For *Open Range* (2003), horse "agitation" during the climactic gunfight was produced by trainers throwing dirt near the animals' hooves. In *Seabiscuit*, horses never ran more than three furlongs at a time in the meticulously choreographed simulated races. *American Wedding* (2003) made use of trained tree squirrels (as did *Charlie and the Chocolate Factory,* 2005), a pair of identical Pomeranians (who shared one role), and a dog who was cajoled into leaping onto a character's pants by a hidden pocketful of creamed chicken.

STRUCTURING ANIMAL PERFORMANCE

Characters exist only within the boundaries of a fictional world, while actors animate them from underneath, within, or behind. But animal characters are not always played by animal actors; in other words, an animal performance can be achieved without animals. Humans can animate animals, as did the "Half-boy," Johnny Eck (1911–1991), who played a bird creature and the "Gooney-bird" in *Tarzan the Ape Man* (1932), *Tarzan Escapes* (1936), and *Tarzan's Secret Treasure* (1941), and Joe Martin, who played a chimp or an ape in *Making Monkey Business* (1917), *Monkey Stuff, Jazz Monkey* (1919), *Prohibition Monkey* (1920), and *Down in Jungle Town* (1924). Other examples of human-generated animal performance include the apes in the "Dawn of Man" sequence in *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968), the woodland gorillas in *Instinct* (1999), and the apes who nurture John Clayton (Christopher Lambert) in *Greystoke: The Legend of Tarzan, Lord of the Apes* (1984).

A screen animal can be composed through graphic art (see the title sequence of *The Pink Panther* [1963]), computer animation (the shocking dissected horse in *The Cell* [2000], the invisible gorilla in *Hollow Man* [2000], the spunky little rodent hero of *Stuart Little* [vocalized by Michael J. Fox, 1999], the giant cockroach in *Men in Black* [1997]), or some form of animatronic mechanical artifice (the protagonist in *King Kong* [1933 and 1976], the shark in *Jaws*, affectionately called "Brucie" during production, the goofy kangaroo [animatronics by Jocelyn Thomas, vocalization by Adam Garcia] in *Kangaroo Jack* [2003], the giant squid—live footage intercut with rubber puppet arms—in *20,000 Leagues under the Sea* [1954]).

Animal actors may play animal characters of a different breed or species. In *Red River*, for example, historical accuracy would have called for the herds to be played by longhorn cattle. But very few longhorns were available to Howard Hawks, and so he placed them close to the camera—a procedure requiring considerable production time. Most of the cattle were actually Herefords, who, in deep perspective (where details would not be visible to the audience) played longhorns. In *Legend* (1985), a horse portrays a unicorn.

Just as with human performance, so with animal participants, narrative action does not require that characters look realistic even when they are played by real animals. Thus, the long chain of cinematic animal monstrosities and monsters: played by made-up, costumed, and/or photographically enhanced actors, animal or otherwise, or animated through increasingly sophisticated and expensive techniques. The flying monkeys in *The Wizard of Oz* (1939), for example, are people dressed up as monkeys dressed up with wings, then hoisted through the air on invisible wires. The various alien animals in the *Star Wars* saga (1977 onward) are manufactured using latex prostheses and specially designed costumes or are computer animated. Puppetry and matte photography are used for the flying dog sequence of *The Neverending Story* (1984). In *Mars Attacks!* (1996), a Chihuahua is grafted onto a human brunette using digital animation.

What is essential in scenes played between humans and animals is the sense of copresence and mutual awareness. But an animal's "awareness" onscreen may be established narratively. Consider the attack of the giant spider in *The Incredible Shrinking Man* (1957). A man shrinks to the size of a pea and retreats to his basement, where he encounters a household spider. Photographed from his perspective, the spider is a giant. In order to achieve this effect, the director Jack Arnold simply matted together shots of the actor Grant Williams on a set made of enormous props with shots of a normal spider taken through a telephoto lens. The spider onscreen seems properly bellicose and unyielding, a true enemy of human flesh, yet the actor who plays this spider is a spider unaware of its own performance. The millions of ants that mount Charlton Heston in *The Naked Jungle* (1954) do not need to know they are acting in order to perform brilliantly.

Sometimes the entertainment value for the audience is provided precisely by the lack of clarity as to whether or not an onscreen animal is "in the know." A beautiful example is given in *Lost in La Mancha* (2002) by a horse who has been patiently trained by an off-camera handler to work with an actor in a scene of the film-within-a-film. Standing in for the actor, the handler coaches the horse to creep up from behind and nuzzle him forward along a path, a kind of "guiding spirit." The horse learns his routine brilliantly. But when the actor Johnny Depp

shows up and the director calls for action, the now apparently starstruck horse refuses to move. A similarly "transcendent" consciousness, played for pathos, not laughs, characterizes the wailing puppy in Hitchcock's *Secret Agent* (1936). Far off, through a window, we see the dog's master being strangled on a mountaintop, while a mile away, near the camera, the dog is crying.

While the performances by human actors are sometimes obtained involuntarily, the screen performances of animals are, in some sense, always produced this way. Ultimately, what the animal does in front of the camera is behave rather than perform. It is through editing, shot selection, and narrative technique that the animal's behavior is transformed into a screen performance. When narrative techniques of constructing cinema are notably absent, the participating viewer's imaginary construction of animal behavior as screen performance is especially salient: if the milkman's dog, for instance, in *The Dog and His Various Merits* (Pathé Frères, 1908) gazes occasionally at the camera with no discernible tendency to play to it, the viewer can still construct him as a screen actor. Equally oblivious to the camera, yet deeply engaging, are the ostrich, mules, horses, camel, elephants, and goats who parade through the Lumières' *Promenade of Ostriches, Paris Botanical Gardens* (1896) and the swimming horses in *Dragoons Crossing the Saône* (1896).

Early cinema was full of animals who were either transformed into actors by the viewer's gaze or carefully trained to behave before the lens. Some animals "acted" in early cinema by performing their own deaths. In a famous early Edison film, *Electrocution of an Elephant* (1903), Topsy is put to death for the delectation of viewers (who are not informed by the film that earlier she had killed three humans, one for feeding her a cigarette). In *Nanook of the North* (Robert Flaherty, 1922), seals are routinely slaughtered by Inuit. Other early films featured explicit animal performers. Early Edison catalogs advertise *Pie, Tramp and the Bull Dog* (1901) ("Tramp enters, sees bull dog in kennel. Retreats, re-enters on stilts. Starts eating pie from a shelf. Bull dog jumps from window, throws tramp and shakes him up"), *Laura Comstock's Bag Punching Dog* (1901), and *A Donkey Party* (1903). An interesting early dramatist of animal life onscreen was Nell Shipman, notably in *Back to God's Country* (1919), where a wild dog named Wapi is rescued from beating by the filmmaker acting as protagonist.

THE ANIMAL STAR SYSTEM

Since the development of the star system, cinema has presented four types of screen actors, animal or human: screen icons, performers who are so universally recognized and loved that their identities entirely transcend the star system as well as individual films or genres of films and who come to stand for film itself; stars, relatively few in number and broadly known beyond any one film for the particular personalities they continually display in principal protagonists' roles; character or bit players, often eccentric and bearing especially discernible physical characteristics, who play secondary roles of significant import for the plot; and extras, who are typically massed in crowds or in nondescript background parts without character names and typically without individual consequence for the plot.

There have been four principal *animal icons* since the birth of film—vastly circulated and deeply memorable screen creatures even when they were not authentic animals in real life: Leo the Lion (the roaring trademark of MGM since 1928); King Kong (the animated model star of the film of the same name, 1933); Mickey Mouse, first seen in *Steamboat Willie* (1928), who reaches his apotheosis when he congratulates Leopold Stokowski for his competence in conducting the Philadelphia Orchestra in *Fantasia* (1940); Toto, the canny Norwich terrier in *The Wizard of Oz*, who, by pulling away the curtain from a frantic little man, reveals not only the artifice of the Emerald City but also the artifice of cinema. The mere invocation of the names of these screen animals induces a full range of imaginary connections to image, behavior, character, and the viewer's recollection. Leo the Lion stands out among studio logos, gazing as he does beyond the screen into spectatorial space.

The great *animal stars* certainly include Rin Tin Tin (1918–1932), a German shepherd pup found by an American soldier during World War I in Lorraine and named after a French children's puppet. Rin Tin Tin was brought to America and began work at the nearly bankrupt Warner Bros. studio on *The Man from Hell's River* (1922). His agile and athletic performance was so wildly popular with audiences—he received thousands of fan letters every week—that he is often credited with saving the studio from bankruptcy. Also unusually celebrated was Trigger (1932–1965), the golden palomino ridden by Roy Rogers in all of his thirty-three films and lengthy television series (1951–1957). The onscreen relationship between Rogers and this horse was so affectionate that it formed much of the basis for the oft-told joke that a cowboy "loves his horse more than his woman"—although in Rogers's case, his spouse, Dale Evans, was almost never far from his side, secure on her own mount, Buttermilk.

Other animal stars include Lassie, the collie heroine of *Lassie Come Home* (1943, trained by Rudd Weatherwax), a beloved family dog who is sold to relieve poverty; the much re-created stallion protagonist of *Black Beauty* (1910, 1921, 1933, 1946, 1971, 1994), who in the

Courage of Lassie ***(1946), with Elizabeth Taylor.*** EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

1994 remake (under the horsemaster Vic Armstrong and the trainer Rex Peterson) speaks English with Alan Cumming's voice; The Black Stallion, played by a horse named Cass-Ole in the 1979 film, who gamely manages to survive a shipwreck and being marooned on a desert island. Other memorable stars of the animal world are the lovable killer whale from *Free Willy* (1993), assisted in his performance by the effects supervisor Walt Conti; the sad and noble Skye terrier hero, trained by John Darlys, in *Greyfriars Bobby: The True Story of a Dog* (1961), so loyal to his old master that he persists in sleeping upon the dead man's grave; Francis the Talking Mule, who from 1950 through 1955 goes to college, the races, and West Point, covers the Big Town, and joins the WACs, speaking believably wherever he goes, thanks to Dave Fleischer's timing corrections; Bonzo the athletic chimpanzee in *Bedtime for Bonzo* (1951), bravely learning the difference between right and wrong from Ronald Reagan; Kevin DiCicco's Buddy, the golden retriever basketball prodigy who stars in *Air Bud* (1997); the English sheepdog who, supervised by William R. Koehler, stumbles and bounds through *The Shaggy Dog* (1959); the various nonfleshly, anthropomorphized, puppeted, or painted creatures in the pantheons of Jim Henson, Walt Disney, and Warner Bros. cartoons: Miss Piggy, Kermit the Frog, Mickey Mouse, Donald and Daffy Duck, Bugs Bunny, Porky Pig, The Road Runner, Wile E. Coyote, Lady, and The Tramp.

Character or bit parts played by animals are legion and include Cheetah the chimp (played by Cheetah the chimp) in *Tarzan the Ape Man* (1932); Asta the wire-haired terrier (played by Asta the wire-haired terrier), famous for repeated appearances in the various *Thin Man* films (1934–1947) and also for playing George in *Bringing Up Baby* (1938), nemesis of the leopard (trained by Olga Celeste) who is Cary Grant's nemesis; the shrieking cockatiel in *Citizen Kane* (1941); the lethal panther (trained by Mel Koontz) in *Cat People* (1942); Pyewacket, Kim Novak's Siamese cat familiar in *Bell*

Book and Candle (1958); the snarky black raven confederate of Julius Kelp in *The Nutty Professor* (Jerry Lewis, 1963); the two caged lovebirds around whom Hitchcock's *The Birds* swirl and flutter; the rats Ben and Socrates (trained by Moe and Nora Di Sesso) in *Willard* (1971); the homesick humpback whales in *Star Trek IV: The Voyage Home* (1986); the domesticated rabbit that gets cooked in *Fatal Attraction* (1987); the killer poodle in *Hulk* (2003). In the musical *Summer Stock* (1950), a mixed-breed chorus of singing dogs backs up Gene Kelly and Phil Silvers in "Heavenly Music." In *AVP: Alien vs. Predator* (2004), a penguin does a walk-on, first as a potentially lurking, alien presence and then as its actual benign self.

Bart the Bear (1977–2000) was a genuine screen personality. He staunchly antagonized Anthony Hopkins and Alec Baldwin in *The Edge* (1997) and appeared as "the bear" in ten other films: *Windwalker* (1980), *The Clan of the Cave Bear* (1986), *The Great Outdoors* (1988), *L'Ours* (1988), *White Fang* (1991), *The Giant of Thunder Mountain* (1991), *On Deadly Ground* (1994), *Legends of the Fall* (1994), *Walking Thunder* (1997), and *Meet the Deedles* (1998). A better comedian than Bart is the horse who gets knocked cold by a punch in the teeth in *Blazing Saddles* (Mel Brooks, 1974). In *L'Atalante* (Jean Vigo, 1934), a pregnant cat drops a litter early in the film, and as the story sails on, the kittens attach themselves to virtually all the characters and every object that can be pounced or cuddled upon. In *Le Grand bleu* (*The Big Blue*, Luc Besson, 1988), a dolphin plays a deeply affecting and ethereal magical role, luring a heroic competitive diver to an undersea afterlife.

In the concluding sequence of *Umberto D* (Vittorio De Sica, 1952), a particularly affecting and variegated supporting performance is given by a fox terrier. Signior Umberto Ferrari (Carlo Battisti), the aging protagonist, has moved out of his lodgings with his dog, Flaik, under his arm. Lonely and facing death, Umberto rides the streetcar to an isolated district where he tries to convince a man and his wife to take the dog. Flaik is afraid of them, so Umberto moves on to a park at the edge of the city. Here, a little girl wants to take the dog but is forbidden to by her nursemaid. Umberto sneaks away, hiding just outside the park, but soon the dog comes trundling out, sniffs around, and finds his master. There seems no choice but suicide for them both. Umberto brings Flaik to a railway crossing and holds him in his arms as a train swiftly approaches. The dog whines in abject terror. Suddenly he flies off as the train whistles past. "Flaik!" cries the old man. By now, the dog is standing several yards away, and when Umberto walks up to him, Flaik retreats into the park. The camera views him now from ground level, a tiny waif among massive trees, terrified of the man who wanted to kill him. It takes several moments, with Umberto begging pathetically and urgently, before the dog finally relents and the two disappear together among the trees, friends again. Umberto holds up a pine cone and the loyal Flaik leaps in musical rhythm to snatch it.

Animal extras have populated many films, most typically as herds of cattle or buffalo (as in *Dances with Wolves* [1990]) or as horse teams who pull the *Stagecoach* (1939) or bear the weight of sheriff's posses, robbers (*The Great Train Robbery* [1904]), or whooping Indians (*The Searchers* [1956]). The stunt man Yakima Canutt's facility in working with equine extras to produce spectacular tumbles in fast chases is legendary. In *Far from the Madding Crowd* (1967), sheep come down with a mysterious belly-bloating condition. Elephants bear important human characters in ceremonial processions in both *Around the World in 80 Days* (1956) and *The Greatest Show on Earth* (1952), the latter boasting a bevy of circus animals including, in bit roles, a terrier attached to Buttons (James Stewart) and an elephant so trusted by Angel (Gloria Grahame) that she places her face beneath its foot.

Unquestionably the most realistic performance given by an animal onscreen belongs to Mike the Dog as the neurotic border collie Matisse in the hilarious *Down and Out in Beverly Hills* (Paul Mazursky, 1986). Pampered, all-comprehending, drooping with self-hatred, but always happy to be on show—and far beyond the help of his expensive canine psychiatrist—this animal is the ultimate denizen of Hollywood.

SEE ALSO *Nature Films*

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Murray Pomerance

ANIMATION

Even in the contemporary era, when animation enjoys mainstream success and a diverse presence in everything from feature films to television sitcoms to festival shorts, and to Web and mobile delivery, the animation form is still very much understood in the popular imagination as "the cartoon"; its history, as ostensibly "American"; and its principal identity, as "Disney." This neglects an extraordinary body of work made with different techniques and by animators and studios worldwide. Animation may be broadly categorized under four key headings: the traditional cartoon; stop-motion three-dimensional (3D) animation, including puppet and clay animation, and work undertaken within the special-effects tradition; digital animation, incorporating computer-generated films, Web animation, motion capture and postproduction visual effects; and alternative animation, embracing experimental and avant-garde forms and independent, developmental films that are essentially related to a fine-art discipline and context. Inevitably, these definitions overlap and combine in specific works, but they operate as convenient signposts by which to address different "histories" of animation, and animation as a consistently progressive form even as it has entered mainstream acceptance and popular culture.

CARTOONS

Despite all the innovations in the early years of US cinema that eventually led to the emergence of the "cartoon," it is *Fantasmagorie* (1908), by Emile Cohl (1857–1938) with its surreal stick-figure animation, that should be understood as the first two-dimensional cartoon film. Its bizarre narrative shows off the possibilities of the new form and signals "metamorphosis" as the core language of animated stories. Inevitably, though, it is the US tradition that defines the form in the public imagination, beginning with cartoon versions of comic strips and quickly embracing vaudeville and slapstick film comedy as the touchstone for its development as an indigenous American art. The pioneering work of Winsor McCay (1871–1934), including *Gertie the Dinosaur* (1914), arguably the first "personality" animation, was hugely influential on the aspirational Walt Disney (1901–1966), who became the key figure in creating an animation industry and ultimately in determining a critical view of animation as a film art. Disney's entrepreneurial and editorial skills drove his company and created a small-scale studio that could compete with the major players in the Hollywood system. The *Silly Symphonies*, made throughout the 1920s and 1930s and arguably some of the studio's greatest works, preceded the groundbreaking *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937), the first full-length, sound-synchronized Technicolor cartoon. Though challenged by the innovations of the Fleischer and Warner Bros. studios, Disney's masterpieces, *Pinocchio* (1940), *Fantasia* (1941), and *Bambi* (1941), consolidated the studio's hyperrealist "full-animation" aesthetic, and defined animation as a form.

Once Disney prioritized its feature-length works, Warner Bros. and MGM successfully advanced the cartoon short. Warner Bros., with key figures such as Tex Avery (1908–1980), Chuck Jones (1912–2002), and Bob Clampett (1913–1984), modernized the cartoon by making it more urbane and adult and more self-consciously "cartoonal" by foregrounding the very mechanisms by which cartoon narrative and comedy was achieved.

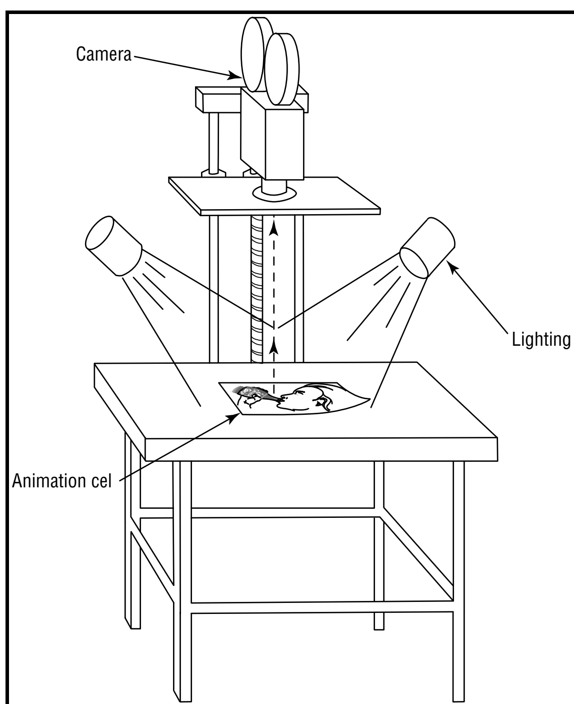

Diagram of a typical setup used to film animation. Includes camera, animation cel, and lighting. © THOMSON GALE. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

MGM enjoyed success with the Tom and Jerry series, becoming endlessly inventive in character humor and chase scenarios, a formula later aped by Chuck Jones in his Roadrunner cartoons. Warner Bros. prospered throughout World War II, continuing to make innovative cartoons, but chiefly establishing Bugs Bunny, Daffy Duck, and Porky Pig as household names. The postwar period, however, was the end of the "Golden Era," as a breakaway group from Disney formed United Productions of America (UPA), working in a minimalist, modern-art style, and on far more auteurist terms and conditions. John Hubley (1914–1977), and later his wife, Faith Hubley (1924–2001), and their family, developed the cartoon form with an aesthetic that sometimes embraced non-Western art forms; spiritual aspiration in relation to philosophical or quasi-religious topics; and the direct engagement with personal subject matter.

As the postwar world changed, the cartoon adapted, but its production costs and declining popularity led to the closure of many of the major studios' theatrical cartoon units and to a watershed for Disney, which failed to produce the classics of old. Chuck Jones had made masterpieces for cinema screens in the last throes of theatrical exhibition (*What's Opera, Doc?*, 1957), but the television era had begun in earnest, with Hanna-Barbera making more economically viable cartoons using a minimalist "reduced" style with simple and repeated movement cycles, and prioritizing witty scripts and characterful vocal performances. *Ruff and Reddy* debuted in 1957, and Huckleberry Hound and Yogi Bear soon became popular favorites, but it was *The Flintstones* (1960), the first prime-time animated sitcom, that vindicated the company's cost-effective methods. Though the 1960s proved to be a time in which animation was arguably at its lowest ebb in the United States, the shifting political climate encouraged more independent work, and by the early 1970s, with the work of Ralph Bakshi (b. 1938), the cartoon fully embraced the counterculture and its value as an "adult" language of expression.

Fritz the Cat (1972), *Heavy Traffic* (1973), and *Coonskin* (1975) engaged with the sexual, racial, and political mores of an America embroiled in the Vietnam War and coming to terms with the implications of Watergate. Though not entirely successful, Bakshi's work was nevertheless a last hurrah for traditional animation, as it became clear that the rejuvenation of the form in the mainstream arena would be determined by the recovery of Disney classicism and the rapid development of the new computer-generated aesthetic. The former only came in the late 1980s with the work of Ron Clements (b. 1953) and John Musker, who with *The Little Mermaid* (1989), and later, *Aladdin* (1992) and *Hercules* (1997), revived Disney's fortunes, ironically by using a more self-conscious, Warner Bros. style. In the midst of their achievements, *Beauty and the Beast* (1991) and the phenomenally successful *The Lion King* (1994) also resurrected Disney's classical animation aesthetic in the guise of the romantic musical. Interestingly, though, it was the computer-generated sequences in these films—the ballroom scene and the charge of the wildebeest, respectively—that signalled fully how computer-generated animation would eventually overtake traditional cel animation as the signature look of the animated feature. With the closure of the 2D animation department at Disney in 2003 came the tacit admission that 3D computer-generated imagery (CGI) was the new language of animation. Ironically, for all of that, the work of Hayao Miyazaki (b. 1941), with the Oscar®-winning *Spirited Away* (2001); Bill Plympton (b. 1946) with *Mutant Aliens* (2001) and *Hair High* (2004); and Tim Burton (b. 1958), Henry Selick (b. 1952), and the Aardman Studios working in 3D stop-motion proved that "tradition" was never very far away.

3D STOP-MOTION ANIMATION

Three-dimensional stop-motion animation has two distinct histories. The first is the largely European tradition

of short stop-motion films made by individual artists and stop-motion series made principally for children's television. The second, predominantly Hollywood tradition, is the "invisible" history of stop-motion animation as a branch of special effects for feature-length films. This is complicated further by the fact that 3D stop-motion animation also has two principal approaches, using either puppets or clay models, but also includes films made with objects and artifacts.

Though J. Stuart Blackton (1875–1941) and Albert E. Smith (1875–1958), Britons working in the United States, have been credited with making the first puppet film, *The Humpty Dumpty Circus* (1908), the British filmmaker Arthur Melbourne Cooper (1874–1961) made the first 3D advertisement ("Matches: An Appeal," featuring animated matches) perhaps as early as 1899. Cooper's "toys come to life" stories, including *Dreams of Toyland* (1908) and *The Toymaker's Dream* (1913), became a staple of early British animated film. Similar preoccupations informed *The War and the Dreams of Momi* (Giovanni Pastrone, 1913) and, later, *The New Gulliver* (Alexander Ptushko, 1935); but it was another Russian, Ladislaw Starewich (1882–1965), who first developed an extraordinary technique, following his interest in entomology, in animating three-dimensional insect characters. *The Cameraman's Revenge* (1911) is a melodramatic love triangle, and highly self-conscious in its reflexive tale of cinema about cinema. His later films *Town Rat, Country Rat* (1926) and *Tale of the Fox* (1930, released 1938) are masterpieces of the stop-motion form, drawing upon a darker, more amoral tradition of the folktale, yet they remained singularly unsung until recent years.

This neglect is a signal that animation made outside the US cartoonal tradition, in the long shadow of Disney, has been often marginalized in animation histories. This does more than negate important, aesthetically different work; it dismisses significant indigenous works that reflect national cultures and alternative perspectives on human experience. It is also true to say that the US tradition, particularly in its formative years, is largely a comic tradition. Other countries have aspired to different kinds of storytelling and have different thematic and artistic preoccupations. Indeed, even the comic work inevitably reflects different traditions of humor. The recovery of this work is paramount to a full understanding of the place of animation in international film culture.

Back in the United States, though, it was the pioneer Willis O'Brien (1886–1962) who inspired generations of what came to be called "effects artists." Amused by his brother, who playfully changed some of the postures of clay figures created for the exhibits in the San Francisco World's Fair of 1915, O'Brien experimented with his first stop-motion film, of a boxing match, soon to be followed by a prehistoric comedy, *The Dinosaur and the Missing Link* (1915). In 1925 he made *The Lost World*, based on a story by Arthur Conan Doyle, assisted by the gifted model maker Marcel Delgado (1901–1976), who constructed 18-inch models influenced by Charles Knight's acclaimed dinosaur paintings in the American Museum of Natural History. RKO then employed O'Brien on the groundbreaking *King Kong* (1933), which changed the status of special-effects work, fully deploying O'Brien's "rear-projection" system, which combined background live action with foreground miniature animation, first seen in O'Brien's aborted project, *The Creation* (1930). *King Kong* has generated a high degree of critical attention, playing out considerations of its sexual and racial subtexts, and the complex implications of its bestial and imperialist agendas. These issues were revisited in the 2005 remake by Peter Jackson (b. 1961), which uses the same combination of motion-captured performance, 3D puppet animation, and 3D computer animation so successfully deployed in the creation of the character Gollum for Jackson's *Lord of the Rings* trilogy (2001, 2002, 2003).

O'Brien later became mentor to the most famous of all stop-motion animation artists, Ray Harryhausen (b. 1920), who, inspired by *King Kong*, sought to ape the technique in his own short films. After working with the renowned George Pal (1908–1980) on his *Puppetoons*, Harryhausen made his own short educational films, the first of which was the *Mother Goose Stories*, then joined O'Brien in making *Mighty Joe Young* in 1949. This was the beginning of a long and distinguished career in which Harryhausen created many fantastical and mythical creatures in films such as *The Beast from Twenty Thousand Fathoms* (1953), *The Seventh Voyage of Sinbad* (1958), *Jason and the Argonauts* (1963), and *Clash of the Titans* (1981). The effects tradition essentially defined by Harryhausen has the inherent contradiction that an effect must operate as something that draws attention to itself as "spectacle," but at the same time remains invisible as an "effect." Harryhausen's painstaking efficiency in the frame-by-frame compositing of increasingly complex miniature figures and creatures with live-action characters and environments represents a major achievement in cinema practice. As such, he is cited as a major influence by contemporary animators and artists from Phil Tippett (b. 1951) to James Cameron (b. 1954) and is referenced in animated films from *Nightmare Before Christmas* (Henry Selick, 1993), in which skeletons battle underwater, echoing Jason's fight with six skeletons in *Jason and the Argonauts*, to PIXAR's *Monsters, Inc.* (2001), in which a top-class restaurant is called Harryhausen's.

King Kong ***(Merian C. Cooper and Ernest Schoedsack, 1933) featured stop-motion animation by Willis O'Brien.*** EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Harryhausen's legacy is great, but George Pal, his one-time employer, also produced fine work. His "replacement" technique was slightly different from Harryhausen's method: whereas Harryhausen manipulated his models by small increments and recorded them frame by frame, Pal created replacement pieces of his models—faces, arms, legs, and so on—which progressed the cycle of movement he was creating, and which he inserted and changed, once more recording the incremental progression frame by frame. Though a more cumbersome technique, it survives into the modern era, particularly in clay animation, and has been used in films by Aardman Animation in England. After making early films in Germany, Pal moved to Holland, fleeing the rise of Nazism, and established the biggest puppet studio in Europe, principally making striking advertisements for sponsors such as Phillips and Unilever. His *Puppetoons*, made in Hollywood, included *Jasper and the Beanstalk* (1945), *Henry and the Inky Poo* (1946), and *Tubby the Tuba* (1947). They were highly successful, though sometimes they fell afoul of what might be termed "cultural difference" in regard to the representation of race issues and the interpretation of Western humor. These films nevertheless secured Pal a reputation that enabled him to produce and direct feature-length science-fiction and fantasy films such as *The War of the Worlds* (1953), *Tom Thumb* (1958), *The Time Machine* (1960), and *The Wonderful World of the Brothers Grimm* (1963). These films all included tour-de-force sequences of puppet animation—"the yawning man" from Tom Thumb being one of the most remembered. The quality of the animation by Harryhausen and Pal overshadowed similar efforts in the field such as, for example, *Jack the Giant Killer* (1961) by Tim Barr (1912–1977), one of a number of variations on *The Seventh Voyage of Sinbad* (1958) that sought to cash in on its popularity. Barr later joined up with Gene Warren (1916–1997) and Wah Chang (1917–2003) to work on visual effects for Pal and on their own work in Projects Unlimited.

Pal's legacy in Europe has been sustained, consolidated, and advanced by two major figures of Czechoslovakian origin. Influenced by indigenous marionette and theatrical traditions, Jirí Trnka (1912–1969) and Jan Svankmajer (b. 1934) produced a range of extraordinary films pushing the boundaries of stop-motion and other techniques as well. Trnka's politicized if romantic vision inspired masterpieces such as *Staré povesti ceské* (*Old Czech Legends*, 1953), *Sen noci svatojanske* (*A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 1955), and *Ruka* (*The Hand*, 1965), while Svankmajer's more subversive and challenging view, genuinely taboo-breaking in its daring, appears in such features as *Alice* (1988) and *Otesánek* (*Little Otik*, 2000). This altogether darker work inspired the Quay Brothers working in England, Kihachiro Kawamoto (b. 1925) in Japan, and Tim Burton and Henry Selick in the United States. Svankmajer's work is an important example of the ways in which the principles of modernist thought and political insight may be accommodated in experimental film. His "agit-prop" (strident critique of authoritarian regimes and political repression) and "agit-scare" (use of surreal images drawn from the unconscious to prompt moments of fear and revelation in his audience) are conceptual applications to the medium and should be understood as a methodology in the creation of distinctive imagery and alternative narratives. Svankmajer's masterpiece, *Moznosti dialogu* (*Dimensions of Dialogue*, 1982), is a tripartite meditation on the breakdown of communication, illustrating the brutal and destructive tendencies inherent in human exchange. The film is a complex metaphor and a challenging comment on humankind's inability to resolve its differences.

The contemporary era has seen the emergence of the Will Vinton studios in the United States and Aardman Animation in England as masters of clay animation. The two styles vary, but both studios value the "clay" aesthetic as something visually distinctive and engaging. Nick Park (b. 1958), Aardman's most famous son, created Wallace, the eccentric inventor, and his altogether smarter dog, Gromit, a now globally famous partnership, who have featured in Park's shorts *A Grand Day Out* (1989), *The Wrong Trousers* (1993), and *A Close Shave* (1995). Park's work, though speaking to a wider tradition of English wit and whimsy, nevertheless has clear affiliations with the stop-motion animation made for children's television in England by Gordon Murray (b. 1921) and Bura and Hardwick (*Camberwick Green*, 1966, and *Trumpton*, 1967); Oliver Postgate (b. 1925) and Peter Firman (b. 1928) (*The Clangers*, 1969, and *Bagpuss*, 1974); and Ivor Wood (1932–2004) at Filmfair (*The Wombles*, 1973, and *Postman Pat*, 1981). The high quality of 3D animation for children in England has been sustained by Cosgrove Hall, S4C, and BBC Animation, and has been only echoed in the United States by the early 1960s work of Jules Bass (b. 1935) (*Rudolph the Red-Nosed Reindeer*, 1964, and *Mad Monster Party*, 1968) and by Art Clokey's (b. 1921) simple clay figure, *Gumby* (1955 onward). Inevitably, Will Vinton's (b. 1948) *Martin the Cobbler* (1976), *The Adventures of Mark Twain* (1985), and the 1990s' advertisements for the California Raisin Advisory Board, featuring raisins singing popular songs, have in their various ways created a high-water mark in clay animation in the United States, which has always had to compete with the Disney tradition, but also in recent years with the now dominant CGI aesthetic.

Stop-motion and clay animators have always championed the "materiality" and "textural" aspects of their work as the distinctive appeal of 3D stop-motion, but one of the most significant aspects remains the necessarily artisanal approach to the work, which is reliant not on off-the-shelf software but on the ability to make and build things, as well as to respond to the miniature demands of theatrical practice and live-action filmmaking techniques on a small scale. The fundamental belief in the sheer "difference" and visual appeal of stop-motion animation has also prompted the emergence of important individual artists, from Serge Danot (*The Magic Roundabout*, 1965) to Joan Gratz (*Mona Lisa Descending a Staircase*, 1992) to Barry Purves (*Gilbert and Sullivan*, 1999), each bringing a specific vision to the materials, as well as a sense of theatrical space and the fluid timing of their narratives. Peter Lord (b. 1953) and David Sproxton's (b. 1954) *Animated Conversations* (1978) and *Conversation Pieces* (1982–1983) were also groundbreaking in their combination of animation and "documentary" soundtrack. *Chicken Run* (2000), an Aardman feature, proved hugely successful, and crucially represented the maintenance of 3D work in a physical and material context. The persuasiveness of 3D CGI has proved a serious threat to such work, but the sheer tactility, texture, and presence of 3D stop-motion work with puppets or clay has endured and has maintained its own aesthetic distinctiveness. Tim Burton's *Corpse Bride* (2005) and Aardman's feature *Wallace and Gromit: Curse of the Were-Rabbit* (2005) are testaments to the style's achievement and future.

DIGITAL ANIMATION

The history of digitally produced animation, and animation produced through the use of a computer, begins outside the sphere of the entertainment industry, emerging out of the work of military and industrial research teams seeking to use computer graphics for simulation and technical instruction. The Electronic Numerical Integrator and Computer (ENIAC), created by the US army at the University of Pennsylvania in 1946, was

JAN SVANKMAJER

b. Prague, Czechoslovakia, 4 September 1934

Jan Svankmajer studied sculpture, painting, engraving, and the writings of the surrealist artists at the College of Applied Arts in Prague in the early 1950s, eventually entering the famed Prague Academy of Performing Arts in 1954 to study puppetry and filmmaking. These multidisciplinary skills earned Svankmajer a place as director and designer at the Czech State Puppet Theatre in 1958 and secured him work with the Semafor Mask Theatre in 1960. His first films—*Poslední trik pana Schwarcewalldea a pana Edgara* (*The Last Trick*, 1964), *Hra s kameny* (*A Game with Stones*, 1965), and *Rakvickarna* (*Punch and Judy*, 1966)—demonstrate Svankmajer's trademark synthesis of the arts and the particular relationship between animated puppets and objects, human actors, and automata within performance contexts and "psychological" spaces.

The most significant influence on Svankmajer is the authoritarian context in which he worked. Following the Prague Spring of 1968 and his implicit critique of communism in *Leonarduv denik* (*Leonardo's Diary*, 1972), Svankmajer was banned from making animated films for seven years. When permitted to return to filmmaking, he agreed to make approved literary adaptations. His interpretations of Hugh Walpole's *Castle of Otranto* (*Otrantský zámek,* 1977) and Edgar Allan Poe's *The Fall of the House of Usher* (*Zánik domu Usheru*, 1981), are nevertheless thematically similar to his later Poe adaptation, *Kyvadlo, jáma a nadeje* (*The Pendulum, the Pit and Hope*, 1983) and his Lewis Carroll pieces, *Zvahlav aneb Saticky Slamenébo Huberta* (*Jabberwocky*, 1971) and the full-length feature *Neco z Alenky* (*Alice*, 1988). All are strident surrealist critiques of authoritarian regimes and political repression using irrational images drawn from the unconscious.

Svankmajer's bleak masterpiece, *Moznosti dialogu* (*Dimensions of Dialogue*, 1982), was banned in Czechoslovakia but enjoyed international success as a rich metaphor about the failure of personal and political communication. *Do pivnice* (*Down to the Cellar*, 1983) was an autobiographical interrogation of Svankmajer's childhood, depicting the terrors of unknown and mutable objects in a dark cellar. Many saw a similarly frightening engagement with childhood in Svankmajer's *Alice*, which sees Carroll's Wonderland recast as a nightmare world of disturbing images suggesting death, decay, and detritus, propelled by unconscious and complex desires.

The eventual downfall of communism produced *Tma/Svetlo/Tma* (*Darkness/Light/Darkness*, 1989), an absurdist fable about human endurance in the light of repression, and a short history of postwar Czechoslovakia, *The Death of Stalinism in Bohemia* (1990), which retains a chilling scepticism about oppression even in the newly democratic state. Svankmajer'ssubsequent features, *Faust* (1994), *Spiklenci slasti* (*Conspirators of Pleasure*, 1996), and *Otesánek* (*Little Otik*, 2000), combine live action and animation, yet continue his preoccupations with the "life" within found objects, the reconfiguration of "the body," and the surreal and subversive prompts of the unconscious.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

The Last Trick (1964), *Leonardo's Diary* (1972), *Dimensions of Dialogue* (1982), *Alice* (1988), *Jídlo* (*Food*, 1992), *Otesánek* (*Little Otik*, 2000)

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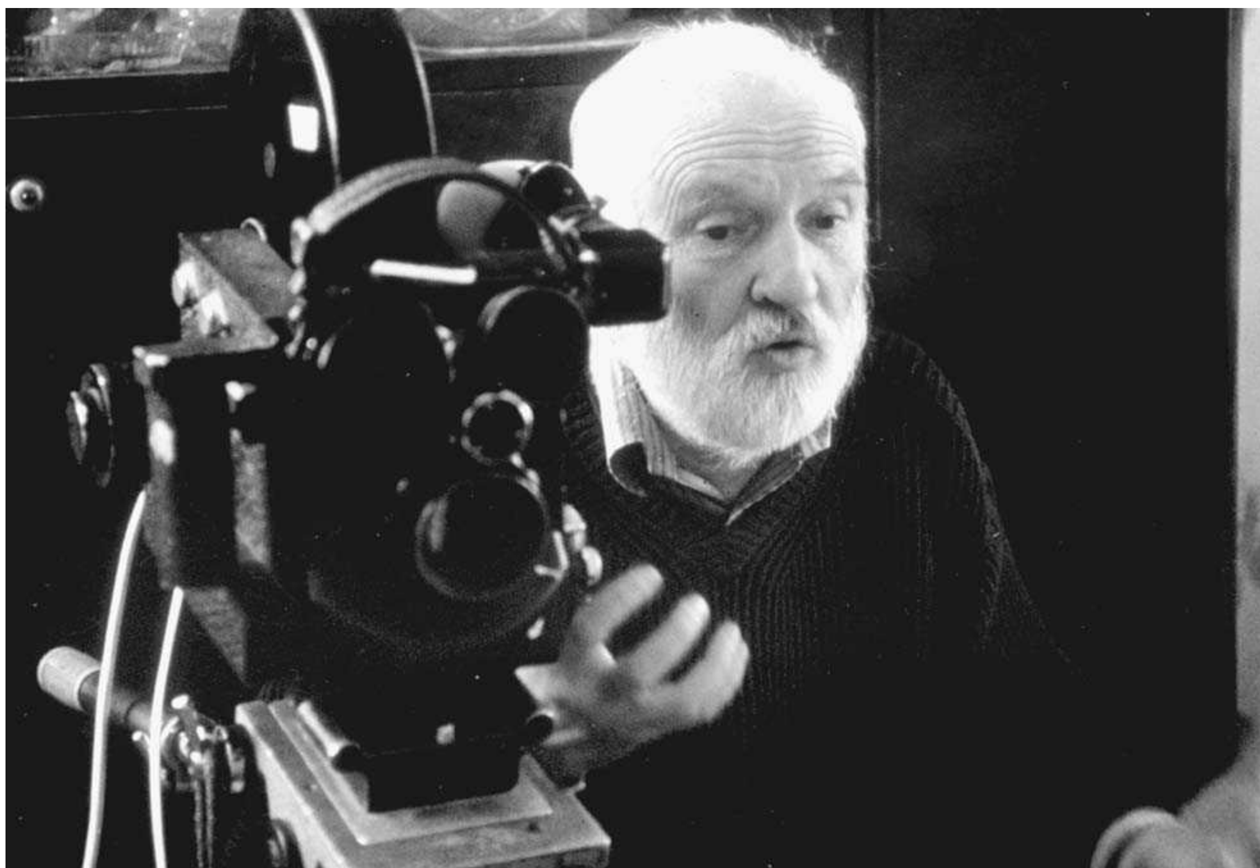
Paul Wells

the world's first electronic programmable computer; although it was a vast contraption, it had little processing power. With the first silicon transistors, made in 1954, and integrated circuits in 1958, computers became more powerful, and their uses more various but still largely untouched by creative endeavors.



Jan Svankmajer. JAN SVANKMAJER/ATHANOR/THE KOBAL COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

John Whitney (1917–1995) was a pioneer in this respect, establishing Motion Graphics Inc. and making analog computer–generated light effects. He, in turn, inspired his son, John Whitney Jr., who was aware of the more commercially oriented innovation prompted by Ivan Sutherland's invention of the Sketchpad in 1962. This device enabled "drawing with light" into the computer, and underpinned the establishment of Evans and Sutherland as the first company to promote computer graphics as a creative technology. Whitney Jr. worked for the company for a short period before joining Information International, Inc. ("Triple I"), specializing in 3D computer-generated (CG) simulations. By 1964, when the first digital film recorder became available, John Stehura had made "Cibernetik 5.3" using only punch cards and tape, imagining his abstract, computer motion picture in his mind, and only seeing its outcome onscreen for the first time when using the recorder at General Dynamics in San Diego.

Having worked on an analog videographic system for his projects in the early 1970s, Ed Emshwiller (1926–1990) made the pioneering *Sunstone* (1979), a three-minute 3D computer graphic work using traditional frame-by-frame transitions and color in motion to create movement in static images that preceded the development of any software or hardware to facilitate such work. Another pioneer, Larry Cuba, made *First Fig* in 1974, and later worked with John Whitney Sr. on *Arabesque* (1975). Both of these were not merely experimental films, but also research into the relationship between geometry, mathematics, and graphics as they could be expressed through the computer.

One of the most crucial developments in the field in the 1970s was George Lucas's (b. 1944) creation of the initial teams that later became the nucleus of Industrial Light and Magic (ILM) and, later, PIXAR—a company created by Steve Jobs (b. 1955), the founder of Apple Computers, following the purchase of Lucasfilm's computer research and development division in 1985. Robert Abel (1937–2001), a pioneer in motion-control camera techniques, joined Lucas's team, and as well as doing development work on *Star Wars* (1977), effected research with Evans and Sutherland on applications of computer animation in the entertainment industries. It

was not until 1982, however, that the first fully persuasive applications of computer-generated imagery emerged, first in Disney's *Tron* (1982), and then in the "Genesis" sequence of *Star Trek II: The Wrath of Khan* (1982).

It was clear, though, that the research and development undertaken by ILM aspired to move beyond using computer graphics as purely an effect, to prioritizing the technology as a new model for the filmmaking process per se, thus creating a postphotographic mode of cinema. John Whitney left Triple I to establish Digital Productions and was responsible for the next key development in CGI by creating over twenty-five minutes of material for *The Last Starfighter* (1984). In 1985 three works ensured that CGI would have a significant role to play in future production: John Lasseter's (b. 1957) ILM research project *The Adventures of Andre and Wally Bee*, which showed early signs of Lasseter's trademark combination of traditional cartoon-character animation with computer aesthetics; Daniel Langlois's (b. 1961) *Tony de Peltrie*, the first convincing CG character performance, here an aging pianist; and Robert Abel's Canned Food Information Council–sponsored commercial *Brilliance*, featuring a sexy robot employing some primitive but nevertheless effective motion capture. Though these works were in some senses primitive, they signalled the possibility of character-driven narratives in a new aesthetic context even while drawing upon filmic imagery from earlier cartoons made by Chuck Jones and Tex Avery. *Tony de Peltrie* used software, which would underpin the creation of Softimage, along with Alias|Waterfront, one of the major computer-animation software companies in the world.

Though initially the progress of CGI as a process was compromised by its cost, technical constraints, slowness of execution, and the lack of a standardized software package, James Cameron's *Terminator 2: Judgement Day* (1991) demonstrated that CGI could be used for effective storytelling and aesthetic ends and could work on a scale different from anything previously envisaged. With the increasing standardization of the requisite software, production facilities proliferated and CGI became an intrinsic tool of expression throughout the commercial and entertainment sector, in film, video games, and other multimedia applications.

Jurassic Park (1993) consolidated CGI as a crucial cinematic tool in the creation of its highly realistic dinosaurs, just as *King Kong* (1933) vindicated the importance of stop-motion animation as more than just a special effect in the creation of Kong, and Jackson's remake of *King Kong* progresses the field of visual effects once more in the contemporary era. The process of animated film practice itself also changed with the advent of computers, as much of the arduous work involved in cel animation (in-betweening, ink and paint) could now be done with a computer. Postproduction in most feature films was also revolutionized by the impact of computer applications and their intrinsic role as a special effect. Digital compositing and motion-controlled camera became a norm in feature production comparatively quickly, but it was the work of PIXAR that prioritized research and development in the service of creating a fully computer-animated feature—a model echoing Disney's desire to use the *Silly Symphonies* during the late 1920s and early 1930s as prototypes for the eventual creation of *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937). Each year PIXAR made a short film—*Luxo Jnr* (1986), *Red's Dream* (1987), *Tin Toy* (1989), and *Knick Knack* (1990)—in anticipation of *Toy Story* (1995), the groundbreaking CGI feature featuring the now iconic Woody and Buzz.

Less heralded but also important is *Reboot* (1993), the first fully computer-generated television animation. Produced by Ian Pearson, Gavin Blair, and Phil Mitchell, it self-reflexively used the computer as its narrative subject, depicting the city of Main Frame where Bob, Enzo, and their friend, Dot Matrix, battle two viruses, Megabyte and Hexadecimal. Also, Chris Wedge (b. 1958), who worked initially for Magi, a company run by a group of nuclear particle scientists literally creating images from the data, went on to make the digital effects for *Tron*. Wedge and some Magi colleagues then formed their own company, Blue Sky, in 1987, making MTV logos, dancing cockroaches in *Joe's Apartment* (1996), swimming aliens in *Alien Resurrection* (1997), and *Bunny* (1998), which won an Oscar® for the best animated short film. Blue Sky also wrote their own proprietary software for tracing light rays, which has enabled the company to achieve its own signature aesthetic in *Ice Age* (2002) and *Robots* (2004), and to work within the remit of Fox in a fashion similar to PIXAR's relationship to Disney.

Inevitably, with the success of CGI on the big and small screens, investment in the technology increased, and computer-generated images became the dominant aesthetic of animated features and children's programming. Equally inevitably, a variety of approaches to using computer animation have characterized the post–*Toy Story* era. While Dreamworks's SKG has emerged as a serious contender to PIXAR with films such as *Shrek* (2001), PIXAR has continued to innovate in features such as *Finding Nemo* (2002) and *The Incredibles* (2004), creating software to extend the range of the visual palette, incorporating underwater visualization and more cartoon-like aesthetics. With each new feature has come another innovation—even the holy grail of realistic-looking human hair in *The Incredibles*. Companies such as Rhythm and Hues specialize in animated visual effects for live-action animals in films such as *Cats and Dogs* (2001); Sony Pictures Imageworks advanced the complexity of special effects in films such as *Spiderman 2* (2004);

CORE Digital Pictures in Toronto, Canada, created a range of persuasive children's television with *Angela Anaconda*, *The Savums*, and *Franny's Feet*; and individual artists such as Karl Sims, Yoichiro Kawaguchi, William Latham, Ruth Lingford, James Paterson, Amit Pitaru, Tomika Satoshi, Johnny Hardstaff, Marc Craste, and Run Wrake have challenged the dominant look and styles using the available range of computer software packages to create what might be described as the avant-garde or experimental end of the CG form. It is clear that as different software packages become more affordable and user-friendly, and the use of the computer as a creative tool becomes both a domestic and industrial orthodoxy, the same degree of breadth and variety that has characterized all other approaches and techniques to animation will characterize computer-generated imagery. In many senses, in the same way as the term "new media" now seems redundant, it is possible that "CGI" will also become part of an assumed lexicon of creative practice in animation.

ALTERNATIVE METHODS

The term "alternative methods" merely begs the question—alternative to what? Within the context of animation, the methods discussed below essentially operate as alternatives to the trends in industrial production contexts, largely resisting the dominant aesthetics of contemporary CGI in feature work, traditional puppet and model animation, and orthodox cel or drawn material. There is also a resistance to the "Disney style," both visually and thematically, and inevitably a more personal or auteurist approach to the work, which often customizes a technique to achieve a highly individualized look.

Previously, these kinds of films might have been termed experimental animation, and to a certain extent this does embrace the auteurist sensibility present in such work, and the strong links it often has with an avant-garde approach or the personal approach of fine art. "Experimental animation" as a term has become more associated with nonobjective, nonlinear work—which some claim is the purest form of animation—but in other ways this misrepresents a whole range of work that is not necessarily highly progressive in its "experimentation," but merely of a different order from "classical" or traditional 2D cartoons or 3D animation. It is essentially "developmental" animation in the sense that it is often a response to, and a resistance of, orthodox techniques, in a spirit of creating a personal statement or vision not possible in a big-studio context, or within the field of popular entertainment.

The abstract films of Walter Ruttmann (1887–1941), Viking Eggeling (1880–1925), and Hans Richter (1888–1976) in the early 1920s are commonly understood as a benchmark for some of the formative ways in which animation was used in the service of a modernist approach to filmmaking. Richter's *Rhythmus 21* (1921), made with Eggeling, sought to use the movement of shape and form as an expression of thought and emotion in its own right. *Ballet Mecanique* (Fernand Léger, 1924), featuring full animation, painting directly on film, and Méliès-style effects, as well as live action, demonstrated a wholly self-conscious use of technique as a model of creative resistance to modernist machine cultures and consumerism. The kinetic combination of abstract form and sound to create a kind of "visual music" was pioneered by Oskar Fischinger (1900–1967) during the 1930s in experimental works such as *Composition in Blue* (1935). Lotte Reiniger (1899–1981) successfully combined abstract work with a visual narrative more accessible to wider audiences using the technique of cut-out, silhouette animation, most particularly in her full-length work *The Adventures of Prince Achmed* (1926). She collaborated with Berthold Bartosch (1893–1968), who later made *The Idea* (1932), a thirty-minute poetic narrative of high technical innovation and achievement.

As the industrial model of animation production emerged at the Disney Studio and elsewhere between 1928 and 1941, experimental work continued. Mary Ellen Bute (1906–1983) and Leon Thurmin worked with the idea of drawing with electronically determined codes in *The Perimeters of Light and Sound and Their Possible Synchronisation* (1932), while Alexander Alexeieff (1901–1982) and Clare Parker created the "pin screen," where raised pins were lit to create particular images in *Night on Bald Mountain* (1934). Particularly influential were Len Lye (1901–1980) and Norman McLaren (1914–1987), whose work for the GPO Film Unit, under the auspices of John Grierson, significantly advanced experimental forms. Lye's *Colour Box* (1935) was painted directly on film, while his *Trade Tattoo* (1937) used stencilling on documentary footage. McLaren, who continued to work with Grierson at the National Film Board of Canada, experimented with many techniques, including direct "under-the-camera" animation, pixellation, cut-out and collage animation, and shifting pastel chalk, making many influential films including *Begone Dull Care* (1949), *Neighbours* (1952), and *Pas de Deux* (1968). Lye and McLaren essentially recognized that animation was a cross-disciplinary and interdisciplinary medium, and they exploited its affinities with dance, performance, painting, sculpture, and engraving.

This period of high experimentation in the 1930s was arguably the purest expression of what animation could achieve beyond the American cartoon and European 3D stop-motion puppet traditions, demonstrating that animation had credibility as a "fine art." Cartoon animation still remained unrecognized as an art

NORMAN McLAREN

b. Stirling, Scotland, 11 April 1914, d. 27 January 1987

Norman McLaren was one of the most innovative and influential figures in animation. Throughout his life McLaren worked in any number of techniques, including painting, drawing, and scratching directly onto film; pixellation (the frame-by-frame animation of staged live-action movement); stop-motion chalk drawing; multiple compositing; hand-drawn soundtracks; cut-outs; and 3D object animation. Beyond the implicit influence of his work, he also nurtured other artists, and maintained a pacifist, left-wing, humanitarian agenda in his creative practice, evidenced early in his student film, *Hell UnLtd* (1936).

Educated at the Glasgow School of Art in 1933, he made his first experimental "cameraless" film in 1934, and entered two films, *Camera Makes Whoopee* and *Colour Cocktail* in the Glasgow Film Festival of 1936. Though he believed the former to be his "calling card" to the creative industries, it was the latter that impressed the documentary filmmaker John Grierson, who invited McLaren to work at the General Post Office (GPO) Film Unit. Initially undertaking camerawork for *Defence of Madrid* (1936), and later, encouraged by the new studio head, Alberto Cavalcanti, he made *Love on the Wing* (1938) and *Many a Pickle* (1938); the former was banned by the postmaster for its use of phallic imagery. McLaren was then invited by the Museum of Non-Objective Painting, later the Guggenheim, in New York, to make a range of abstract loops, including *Allegro* (1939) and *Dots* (1940), though he managed also to make two other personal films—*Stars and Stripes* (1939), which used the US flag as its background, and an experimental electronic work with Mary Ellen Bute, *Spook Sport* (1939).

By this time Grierson had moved on to establish the National Film Board of Canada (NFB), and McLaren joined him, becoming head of the newly formed animation unit in 1943. Embracing the creative freedom offered by the NFB, McLaren embarked on a career that sought to advance animation as an art form, most notably by drawing upon its relationship to dance in such films as *Blinkity Blank* (1954) and *Pas de Deux* (1968), but also by the imaginative use of sound—for example, in *Begone Dull Care* (1949) and *Synchromy* (1971). McLaren's desire to transcend national and ethnic boundaries in his work, and to ensure aesthetic, technical, and creative innovation, meant that he used little dialogue, and employed multilingual credits. *Neighbours* (1952), his famous antiwar parable, not only redefined the cartoon, the principles of live-action performance, and the use of animation as a peacetime propaganda tool, but also embodies the philosophic, imaginative, and humanitarian heart of Norman McLaren's vision.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Love on the Wing (1938), *Hen Hop* (1942), *La Poulette Grise* (1947), *Begone Dull Care* (1949), *A Phantasy* (1952), *Neighbours* (1952), *Blinkity Blank* (1954), *The Crow* (1958), *Pas de Deux* (1968)

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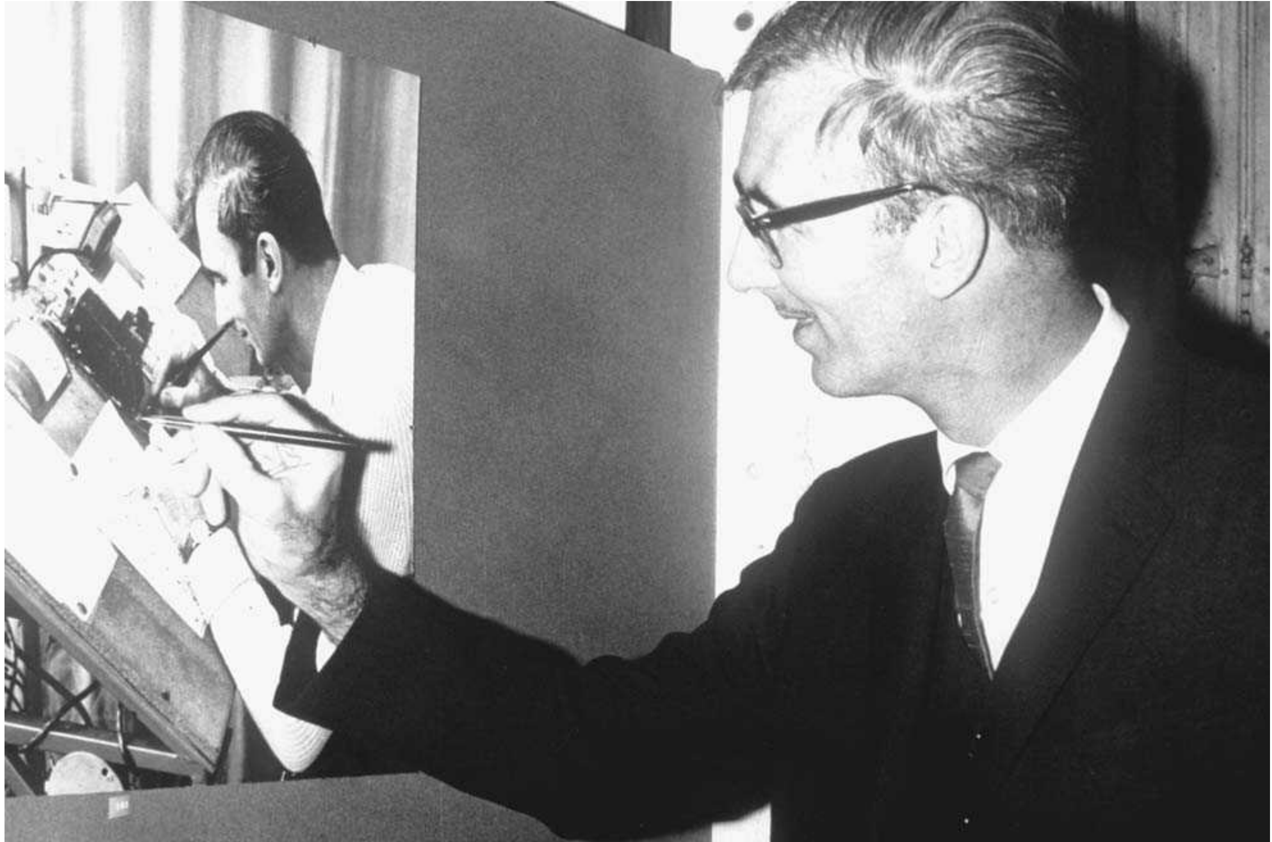
form despite the critical and cultural attention enjoyed by the Disney Studio with *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* and *Pinocchio* (1940). Disney responded with *Fantasia* (1941), which aspired to combine classical music with lyrical animation in the same spirit as the abstract artists. The mixed reception to *Fantasia* helped to establish the sense of separatism between different kinds of animation, a trend that has continued into the contemporary era. Yet all animation is arguably "experimental" by virtue of its aesthetic, technical, and cultural difference, even as it finds continuing currency in mainstream culture. The late Jules Engel (1909–2003), though ostensibly an experimental filmmaker, worked on Disney features, developed the characters of Gerald McBoing Boing and Mr. Magoo at UPA, and worked on individual projects, rejecting the false boundaries within the field.



Norman McLaren. © CORBIS KIPA.

What is important about "alternative" animation, though, is its innovation in the use of materials and techniques. Robert Breer (b. 1926) used file cards with different imprints of various kinds for his seminal *LMNO* (1978), effectively creating a visual stream of consciousness of an artist as he creates his art; Caroline Leaf (b. 1946) deploys sand on glass in *The Owl Who Married a Goose* (1974) and ink on glass in *The Street* (1976), foregrounding the core principle of metamorphosis in animation as one scene evolves directly into another; in *Dimensions of Dialogue* (1982) Jan Svankmajer uses all manner of materials, which are crushed and pulped to illustrate the innate conflict in human communcation; the Quay Brothers "reanimate" detritus and abandoned materials in *Street of Crocodiles* (1986) to create the sense of a supernatural other-wordliness; and Vera Neubauer (b. 1948) creates knitted characters in revisionist feminist fairytales such as *Woolly Wolf* (2001). In recent years the rise of conceptual art has enabled the use of all materials and contexts for the suggestion and facilitation of art-making; in a sense, animation has always been an art form that has worked in this spirit, defining concepts through the choice, treatment, and application of new materials and new techniques.

SEE ALSO *Cartoons; Children's Films; Experimental Film; Special Effects; Walt Disney Company*

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ARAB CINEMA

The "Arab world" constitutes twenty-two states spanning an area from the Atlantic Ocean in the West to the Arabian Gulf in the East, and from the Taurus mountains in the North to the Equator in the South. It has a multireligious and multiethnic population of nearly 300 million. As a mass art form, film was introduced in the main population centers of the region within the first two years of its invention in 1895. Over the following century, only seven Arab states established a significant or burgeoning film production activity. During this period Egypt, the cultural center of the Arab world, produced almost 75 percent of the total output of films in the region as well as comprising the largest share of the Arab film market. Eventually, Cairo became—and in many respects remains—the region's main center for film studios, artists, training facilities, technical support and expertise, and distribution networks. However, since the 1950s (and particularly since the mid-1980s) filmmaking activity in Syria, Lebanon, the Palestinian community, Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria, as well as in Arab immigrant centers, has led to an increasingly heterogeneous and progressively more interactive Arab film culture.

ARABS IN HOLLYWOOD

Before considering Arab cinema itself, it is useful to note a critical dynamic that has consistently marred Arab people's relationship with film: their image in Western cinemas. Many Arabs and Arab filmmakers view the portrayal of the Arab world in the West as a major obstacle to screening, publicizing, and appreciating a fundamentally vibrant Arab film culture. Vilifying and stereotyping Arabs has been a standard practice since the early years of cinema. Hollywood in particular has played a consistent role in spreading images that inculcate racist attitudes toward Arabs. As Jack Shaheen points out in a study of this issue, two groups, Arabs and Muslims (frequently, the two are erroneously collapsed into one identity), stand out as persistent targets of negative stereotyping in American cinema. By contrast, representations of other ethnic groups have gone through major positive changes since the late 1960s.

Since 1896, Hollywood filmmakers have categorized "the Arab" as the enemy. In *The Sheik Steps Out* (1937), the American heroine says: "All of them [Arabs] are alike for me." In Hollywood films the image of the Arab is all too familiar: dark-skinned men with large noses and black beards, wearing kuffiehs (headscarves) and dark sunglasses, and in the background a limousine, women in a harem, oil wells, and camels. A variation on this stereotype is the man with gun in hand and hatred in his eyes uttering "Allah" or incomprehensible words. Arab women are mostly silent and ugly, or beautiful belly dancers and slaves who are often vindictive.

In hundreds of Hollywood films Arabs are the bad guys, and the good guys are out to eliminate them. Examples abound: Emory Johnson in *The Gift Girl* (1917), Gary Cooper in *Beau Sabreur* (1928), John Wayne in *I Cover the War* (1937), Burt Lancaster in *Ten Tall Men* (1951), Dean Martin in *The Ambushers* (1967), Sean Connery in *Never Say Never Again* (1983), Kurt Russell in *Executive Decision* (1996), and Brendan Fraser in *The Mummy* (1999), to name just a few. Long before September 11, 2001, Hollywood Arabs have been invading America and killing its innocents. From *The Golden Hands of Kurigal* (1949) to *The Terror Squad*

(1987) to *The Siege* (1998), the theme of the looming Arab threat to America persists.

Arabs are also almost always anti-Christian. In *Another Dawn* (1937), an American army officer asks, "why do Arabs hate westerners?" The answer is, "it is the deep Moslem hatred for Christians." Islam itself is associated with violence, as in *Legion of the Doomed* (1958), in which one Arab tells another: "Kill him [your enemy] before he kills you.... You are after all uttering the words of Allah." Other films, such as *Rollover* (1981), *The Jewel of the Nile* (1985), *American Ninja 4* (1990), and *Team America: World Police* (2004), associate Arabs and Muslims with hatred and violence.

The extent to which this stereotypical image of Arabs and the Arab world has influenced Western attitudes toward Arab cinema itself, even among film scholars, is a subject for further discussion. At a minimum, Arab cinema continues to be largely relegated to the margins of English-language film studies; whatever scholarly work on Arab cinema does exist is disproportionate to this cinema's influence in the Arab world itself and in major areas of Africa and East Asia. Yet, since the 1990s, Western interest in films originating in Arab countries has increased. More than ever before, Arab films are making the rounds of film festivals and repertory or art cinemas in Europe and North America. Recently, the Palestinian filmmaker Hany Abu-Assad's (b. 1961) film *Paradise Now* (2005) won major festival awards including the Golden Globes (2006) and the Berlin festival (2005). The film was also nominated for Best Foreign Film at the American Academy Awards® (2006). Along with this wider exposure, Arab cinema has become of increasing interest to film critics and scholars.

BEGINNINGS AND LANDMARKS

Domestic film production activity in several Arab countries other than Egypt remained limited and sporadic until they gained their independence in the period between the early 1940s and the early 1960s. During the colonial period, film production was mostly attributable to the initiative of ambitious young artists and entrepreneurs who were enthused about cinema and the possibility of making quick profits. In 1928 *Al Mutaham al bari* (*The Innocent Victim*) became the first Syrian feature-length fiction film. Based on real events, it tells the story of a band of thieves who spread havoc across Damascus. Its producers also created a film production company, Hermon Film. Despite the film's commercial success, the budding Syrian film industry nearly died out owing to the arrival of sound and the ability of Egyptian film to streamline and diversify its mass production. In Lebanon cinema did not come into existence until the early 1960s, although, as in Syria, attempts at filmmaking had begun in the late 1920s. The first Lebanese film, *Mughammarat Elias Mabruk* (*The Adventures of Elias Mabruk*, 1930), is a silent amateur comedy about a Lebanese immigrant who returns home from America.

Similarly, in the Arab Maghreb—Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria—national cinema only emerged in the aftermath of these countries' independence. The French in 1946 created major studios in Tunisia (Studios Africa) and Morocco (Studios Souissi), but they did so as part of a strategy to ensure the creation of an Arabic-language cinema alternative (with colonialist French propaganda) that could counter the popularity of Egyptian cinema. Films emerging from these studios were all foreign-directed, -produced, and -written.

The postcolonial period in the Arab world witnessed unprecedented interest in creating authentic national cinema. Throughout the 1940s and into the mid-1970s, however, Egyptian cinema maintained its position as the major attraction for Arab audiences across the region. But the rise of left-leaning, pan-Arab nationalist regimes in several countries ultimately encouraged the public sector to play a major role in filmmaking. In Egypt this shift weakened the private film industry, but in other respects it also improved the quality of production and helped diversify and widen the thematic and stylistic interests of Egyptian cinema. In Syria and Algeria public-sector film production benefited from new regulations allowing the use of a proportion of the income generated from the distribution of foreign films. Government support also helped expand filmmaking activity and inadvertently launched the careers of numerous Arab filmmakers.

In 1959 the new left-leaning nationalist government in Iraq created the Cinema and Theatre General Organization. The organization soon undertook the production of several documentaries and a few fiction shorts and features. In the late 1970s a cinema department was created at the University of Fine Arts that was later provided with state-of-the-art equipment. With the launching of the Iraq-Iran War in the early 1980s, however, Iraqi cinema drew to a virtual halt. Aside from a few propaganda films (such as the 1981 film *Al-Qadisiya*, a historical epic made on commission by the veteran Egyptian filmmaker Salah Abouseif), filmmaking became almost entirely restricted to reflecting the opinions of political authority. In Syria, on the other hand, the creation of the General Institution of Cinema in 1963 signaled the beginning of a new filmmaking culture.

By the 1970s Syria was producing a number of high-quality documentary and fiction films. At the time, films like *Knife* (Khaled Hammada, 1971), *al-Makhdu'un* (*The Dupes*, Tewfik Saleh, 1972), and *Kafr Kasem* (Borhan Alaouie, 1974) made Damascus the focal point of an "alternative" Arab filmmaking movement. These films

influenced film practice in other Arab countries and rejuvenated interest in themes of social, cultural, and anticolonial resistance. In the 1980s, however, Syrian cinema became more associated with a limited group of auteurs such as Samir Zikra (b. 1945) (*Hadisat an-nusf meter* [The Half-meter incident], 1981), Mohamed Malas (*Ahlam el Madina* [Dreams of the City], 1985), and Usama Muhammad (b. 1954) (*Stars in Broad Daylight*, 1988).

Palestinian cinema, on the other hand, emerged in the late 1960s in the refugee camps of Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria and in conjunction with the rise of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Film activity began with the creation of the Photography and Cinema Section of the PLO, which produced and gathered footage on current political events. With the later creation of the Palestinian Cinema Institution, young filmmakers/activists such as Samir Nimr, Mustafa Abu Ali, and Qasem Hawal and the cinematographer Hany Jawahrieh began to make feature documentaries depicting the situation in southern Lebanon, battles with the Israeli army, and Israeli raids on PLO bases. Among the first films to attract international attention was Hawal's *Limatha Nazraa Al-Ward?… Limatha Nahmil Al-Banadiq?…* (*Why Do We Plant Roses? … Why Do We Carry Guns?…*, 1974), a poetic documentary on Palestinian participation in the Tenth International Youth Festival in Berlin (held in the former German Democratic Republic) in 1973.

After Algeria won independence in 1962, its films mainly focused on themes relating to the war of liberation. Several such films became landmarks in the history of what came to be known as Third Cinema. Also in 1962 a private production company helped finance several big-budget European films, among which was the classic *La Battaglia di Algeri* (*The Battle of Algiers*, 1965) by Gillo Pontecorvo (b. 1919). After Algeria nationalized its film industry in 1964, the National Centre of Cinema was created. The Centre produced several high-profile films like *Rih al awras* (*Winds of the Aures*, 1966) by Mohammed Lakhdar-Hamina (b. 1934); *L'Opium et le baton* (The opium and the stick, 1970) by Ahmed Rachedi (b. 1938); and *The South Wind* (*Rih al-Djanub*, 1975) by Mohamed Slim Riad (b. 1932), along with numerous documentary and feature shorts. By the mid-1970s an average of five feature films per year were being produced, including Hamina's big-budget epic, *Chronique des années de braise* (*Chronicle of the Years of Fire*), which won the Grand Prix at Cannes in 1975. The film focused on a family in an Algerian village and its fight against poverty, a mad village prophet, feudal collaborators with French colonialism, and religious fanatics. By the early 1980s an increasing number of filmmakers began to focus on issues of land reform, industrialization, and the situation of North African immigrant workers in Europe. The work of Al-Amin Mirbal, Mohammed Bou-Ammari (b. 1941), and Mirzak Allouashe (b. 1944) reflected these emerging preoccupations.

Even countries unaffected by the new active involvement of the public sector experienced the rejuvenation of cinema. In Lebanon, from the mid-1950s to the mid-1970s (the beginning of the Lebanese civil war), an influx of Egyptian filmmakers and film personnel fleeing the constrictions placed on their work by the nationalization of various branches of the film industry helped create a hub for film production investment and activity. However, as early as 1952 (even before the nationalization of Egyptian cinema), two studios, Al-Arz and Haroun, were already in place. Another production company, Georges Nasser's Films, made important and widely screened films such as *Ila ayn* (*Whither?*, 1958) and *Al Gharib al saghir* (*The Small Stranger*, 1960). By the mid-1960s large sums of capital had been invested in the film industry in Lebanon, and new studios with high-quality equipment such as Ba'albeck, Near East Sound, and Modern were created. Following Egypt's lead, Lebanon created a university-level film training institute at St. Joseph University in Beirut.

Ironically, the most important period in the history of Lebanese cinema was born out of the destruction of civil war. Widely acclaimed films were made in the 1970s and 1980s in Lebanon and in exile by experimental feature documentarists such as Borhan Alaouié (*Kafr Kasem*, 1974, and *Beyroutou el lika* [*Beirut—The Encounter*], 1981), Heini Srour (*Saat el Fahrir Dakkat, Barra ya Isti Mar* [*The Hour of Liberation Has Arrived*], 1974), Jocelyn Saab (*Egypt City of the Dead*, 1978), Maroun Bagdadi (*Beyrouth ya Beyrouth* [*Beirut Oh Beirut*], 1975, and *Les Petites guerres* [*Little Wars*], 1982), and Jean Chamoun and Mai Masri (*Tel al-Zaatar*, 1979; *Under the Rubble*, 1983; *Wild Flowers: Women of South Lebanon*, 1986; *The War Generation*, 1988; and *Children of Fire*, 1990). All these films captured the anxiety of a war-torn country and people, and the suspended dreams associated with the Palestinian dilemma.

Postindependence film production in Tunisia and Morocco took longer to emerge than it did in other Arab countries. However, despite its reliance on sporadic individual initiatives, filmmaking in the 1970s and 1980s signified the birth of an authentic movement that fostered the emergence in the 1990s of a new Arab national cinema. In Tunisia the completion of the publicly supported Gammarth studios in 1968 facilitated early training of several young cinephiles. But it was not until the 1980s that Tunisian filmmakers began to make their

ELIA SULEIMAN
b. Nazareth, Israel, 1960

With only six films to his credit to date, the Palestinian director, writer, producer, and actor Elia Suleiman already has won the attention of film critics around the world. Suleiman left his hometown of Nazareth in Israel to live and study film in New York City where he spent nearly twelve years in a self-imposed exile. Two of his feature films, *Chronicle of a Disappearance* (1997) and *Yadon ilaheyya* (*Divine Intervention*, 2002), garnered eight major awards in international film festivals (Chicago, Bodil, Cannes, Cinemanila, European, Rotterdam, Seattle, and Venice). In 2002 the American Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences did not allow *Divine Intervention* to be entered for competition in the Best Foreign Language Film category, igniting major controversy (although one Academy official claimed that Suleiman did not actually submit the film). Many saw the decision as a political rejection of Palestine; however, the film was allowed to compete in 2003.

Suleiman focuses on the Palestinian dilemma, but his approach mixes humor, ambiguous imagery, and heavy-handed sloganeering. His stories are fragmented rather than constructed as seamless and straightforward narratives. Suleiman often plays himself, a filmmaker pursuing motivation and deliverance through his relationship with a politically active Arab female protagonist. With a style reminiscent of the French director Jacques Tati, Suleiman's witty, absurd and highly unsettling portraits of the lives of the Palestinian middle class offer a scathing political critique of its class's complicity in the political stagnation that afflicts the Palestinian predicament.

With *Chronicle of a Disappearance* Suleiman offered a unique vision of the theme of living under occupation. The film invokes *Waiting for Godot* as it presents the story of people waiting, and waiting, for something that never happens. *Divine Intervention* tells the story of a young Palestinian filmmaker. The film is built around numerous segments depicting the life of the filmmaker as he discerns moments of inaction and waiting among some middle class Palestinians. The only action in the film occurs in the imagination of the filmmaker: he eats an apple and throws away the remains only to have it turn into a bomb that destroys an Israeli tank; a balloon with the image of the Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat surmounts Israeli barriers and unites with the dome of the Al-Aqsa mosque in Israeli-occupied east Jerusalem. In one of the most memorable and fitting comments on the Palestinian people's state of affairs, the final shot is that of the filmmaker and his mother watching a pressure cooker. "It should be enough now—turn the heat off," the mother tells her son as the shot intolerably lingers on the pot about to boil over.

Suleiman's utilization of static long shots and slow editing rhythm might not be a preferred choice for some viewers. This, as an example, has effected how his films were received among some Palestinian critics, some of whom saw his style as somewhat elitist. Yet, his film aesthetics indeed represent an original and somewhat unique attempt to cinematically translate both personal and collective experiences of people living in the shadow of occupation.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Introduction to the End of an Argument (1990), *Harb El Khalij . . . wa baad* (*The Gulf War . . . What Next?*, segment: *Homage by Assassination*, 1993), *Chronicle of a Disappearance* (1997), *War and Peace in Vesoul* (1997), *Cyber Palestine* (1999), *Divine Intervention* (2002)

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Elia Suleiman. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

mark on Arab cinema. *Aziza* (Abdellatif Ben Ammar, 1980), along with *Dhil al Ardh* (*The Shadow of the Earth*, Taieb Louhichi, 1982), *Les Baliseurs du désert* (The wanderers, Nacer Khemir, 1986), and *Rih essed* (*Man of Ashes*, Nouri Bouzid, 1986), were enthusiastically received by film critics in both Europe and the Arab world. The films addressed various aspects of the decline of agrarian social and economic structures in the face of foreign capital invasions.

In Morocco, *Wechna* (*Traces*, Hamid Benani, 1972), *Les Milles et Une Main* (*A Thousand and One Hands*, Souheil Ben-Barka, 1972), and *La Guerre de pétrole n'aura pas lieu* (The oil war did not happen, 1975), along with *Winds of the East* (*el-Cherqui*, Moumen Smihi, 1975) and *Trances* (Ahmed El Maanouni, 1981) all reflected the emergence of a stylistically and thematically rich cinematic movement. These films sensitively evoked social, political, and cultural predicaments and landscapes. The government-created agency Fonds de Soutien a l'Expansion de l'Industrie Cinématographique expanded its role in the 1980s, allowing Moroccan feature film production to grow at unprecedented rates: thirty-three films were produced in just six years, from 1980 to 1986.

ARAB CINEMA SINCE THE LATE 1980s

Since the late 1980s Arab cinema has responded to greater political openness and relative relaxation of official censorship in various Arab states. In addition, a growing number of filmmakers, both local and émigré, have made use of financial and logistical support provided by European producers and agencies. New Arab cinema is also increasingly becoming less Egypt-centered and more trans-Arab in terms of production, themes, and audiences. Although market regulations (leaving local Arab film industries unprotected against Western-based films) and censorship of religious, political, and sexual content take their toll, Arab cinema is fast becoming more interconnected and diversified in its outlook and its audience. On the level of production, for example, Egyptian films are increasingly being produced by Lebanese and Gulf state investors. Lebanese, Syrian, Palestinian, and Arab North African filmmakers have also been involved in numerous ventures with European government and private-sector agencies such as Montecinemaverita Foundation and La Sept-Arte, and Egyptian films have been steadily featuring stars from Lebanon, Syria, Morocco, and Tunisia.

In a related arena, an increasing number of television dramas are being made for trans-Arab distribution. After Egypt, Syria has become the second-largest producer of television drama and comedy. In 2004 more than seventy television shows were produced in Syria, most of which were widely distributed and extremely popular around the Arab world, particularly in the Gulf states. Greater relaxation of government restriction on private industries, combined with the recent building of major film and television production facilities near Damascus and the influx of business investments from various Gulf countries, together have created a potentially major base for a trans-Arab film and television industry based in Syria. Moreover, the overwhelming majority of movie theaters around the region remain locally owned and operated, enhancing possibilities for the growth of Arab national cinema and encouraging more diversity in film programming. At the most basic level, these theaters ensure that films from across the Arab world can be seen by other Arabs.

THEMES

Since the late 1980s the anxieties associated with, on the one hand, the stagnation of the pan-Arab project of national self-determination, and on the other, the wave of religious fundamentalism, have been reflected in Arab cinema. Cinema in the region is increasingly reaching toward a national identity struggling to affirm its heterogeneity and to find a new role in the fight for social and national liberation.

In Egypt, the film production center of the Arab world, the wave of Islamic fundamentalism directly affected intellectual and cultural life, resulting in a flood of films dealing with the issue. Algerian and Tunisian filmmakers have also explicitly tackled fundamentalism, depicting its practices and its impact on youth and youth culture. In Merzak Allouache's *Bab El-Oued City* (1994), the protagonist, Boualem, works the night shift in a bakery. He steals the loudspeaker installed on the roof by a group of religious fanatics who use it to increase their influence in the district. Yamina Bachir's (b. 1954) *Rachida* (2002), looks at religious terrorism against women through the eyes of a schoolteacher who refuses to abandon her profession and accept the role prescribed for her by religious fanatics.

Emerging out of the highly charged political atmosphere in the region throughout the 1990s and beyond, numerous popular films have commented on colonial and neocolonial dominance there. Usama Mohammad's stylized approximation of life in a small village in Syria during the 1967 war with Israel, *Sunduq al-dunyâ* (*The Box of Life*, 2002) links the struggle to modernize social relations with resistance against neocolonialism. In turn, new Arab cinema tends to foreground social and cultural settings and characters that reflect a rapidly changing society struggling to reclaim its national identity against internal as well as external pressures. The Lebanese filmmaker Randa Chahal Sabag's (b. 1953) film *Le cerf-volant* (*The Kite*, 2003) turns an across-the-barbed-wire love story between a young Arab girl and an Arab Israeli soldier (both from the same Druze religion) into a stinging critique of the oppressive reality of occupation. Earlier examples of this new trend include *Asfour Stah* (*Halfaouine: Child of the Terraces*, Férid Boughedir, Tunisia, 1990), *al-Kompars* (*The Extras*, Nabil Maleh, Syria, 1993), and *al-Lail* (*The Night*, Mohamed Malas, Syria, 1993).

In a related thrust, the Palestinian dilemma remains among the more frequently visited themes in Arab cinema. Since the late 1980s, however, more emphasis has been put on approaching the issue through the eyes of its real victims: refugees, peasants, fishermen, working-class and unemployed Palestinians. Filmmakers such as Michel Khleifi (*The Tale of the Three Lost Jewels*, 1994). Elia Suleiman (*Yadon ilaheyya* [*Divine Intervention*], 2002), Hany Abu-Assad (*Al Qods Fee Yom Akhar* [*Rana's Wedding*], 2002), and Yousri Nasrallah (*Bab el shams* [*The Gate of Sun*], 2004) place an accent on exploring the politics of personal experience.

New Arab films also approach the notion of national self-determination with an eye for celebrating the heterogeneity of Arab identity and culture. The role of Arab Christians in the religiously diverse Arab society is one of the narrative threads, if not necessarily a main theme, running through several Arab films. However, since the creation of the state of Israel, allusion to Jews as part of the Arab cultural mosaic has largely remained a taboo in Arab cinema. This taboo has been frequently challenged in Arab films since the mid-1990s. Férid Boughedir's 1996 film *Un été à La Goulette* (*A Summer in La Goulette*) includes a Jewish girl as one of its three main characters. Presenting the story of three Tunisian teenage girls—a Muslim, a Christian, and a Jew—the film revisits history by way of exploring the religious and cultural richness of Arab identity. During the 2003 Ismailia International Film Festival for Documentary and Short Films in Egypt (the largest festival of its kind in the Arab world), the first prize was awarded to *Forget Baghdad: Jews and Arabs—The Iraqi Connection* (Samir, 2002), which depicts the life and struggle of four Iraqi communist Jews as they face national alienation as Arabs living in Israel.

The notion of national identity and resistance is increasingly becoming integral to the discussion of gender

Manal Khader in* Divine Intervention *(Elia Suleiman, 2002). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

and sexual politics. One early example is the classic *Urs al-jalil* (*Wedding in Galilee*, Michel Khleifi, 1987), which draws connections between repressive gender and sexual relations within Palestinian society and the stagnating efforts to achieve national liberation for Palestinians. *Samt el qusur* (*The Silences of the Palace*, Moufida Tlatli, 1994) redefines the parameters for the struggle of its female protagonist to affirm her personal identity: in the end, rejecting her boyfriend's wishes to abort her baby denotes her resistance to patriarchy, but also underscores her defiance of today's ''postindependence'' power elite and its complicity with colonial and neocolonial interests.

More Arab filmmakers are also intrepidly delving into the issue of gay and bisexual relations within Arab society. Two examples are the 1998 Moroccan film *Adieu Forain* by Daoud Aoulad-Syad (b. 1953), which features a homosexual transvestite dancer in the lead role, and *Une minute de soleil en moins* (*A Minute of Sun Less*, Nabil Ayouch, 2002), in which the principal character is a police inspector whose friend is a transvestite. Other films are even clearer in their rebellion against the sexual repression of gays and bisexuals, but because of their experimental character they are less likely to reach a wide audience. The Lebanese director Akram Zaatari's documentary short, *How I Love You* (2002), and the Palestinian Tawfik Abu Wael's dramatic short, *Diary of a Male Whore* (2001), are two important cases in point.

PATTERNS IN NEW ARAB CINEMA

Since its early beginnings in the late 1920s and until the late 1940s, the influential Arab Egyptian cinema evolved and reinvented itself largely by incorporating Hollywood's well-tested formulas. By the mid-1950s Egyptian cinema was loosely amalgamating various realist cinematic trends, including French poetic realism, Italian neorealism, and socialist realism. It also began to incorporate modernist German expressionist tendencies as well as early Soviet dialectical montage. These impulses, however, were assimilated by Egyptian and other Arab filmmakers as complementary rather than antithetical to existing local

film practices. By the early 1990s Arab films were frequently using self-reflexive stylistic strategies.

In the Palestinian film *Divine Intervention* (2002), directed by Elia Suleiman, the story of a young Palestinian filmmaker (played by Suleiman himself) is punctuated by shots of the filmmaker placing the film's cue cards on the wall of his apartment. *Kanya Ya Ma Kan, Beyrouth* (*Once Upon a Time in Beirut*, 1995), by Jocelyn Saab (b. 1948), concerns the search by two young women for their own city. It presents a barrage of archival footage, film clips, and images of old downtown movie theaters, as the two women attempt a sort of excavation of the Lebanese capital before the civil war. Their search ends in the discovery of Western and Arabic film clips—including ones made by the Lumière Brothers—from the 1920s up to the early 1970s. And in *West Beyrouth* (Ziad Doueiri, 1998), a young boy's infatuation with his Super-8 camera results in his becoming a witness to the destruction of his war-torn city.

Developments in communications technologies, including the mushrooming of Arab satellite film and television networks, were a major element in the expansion of Arab cinema at the end of the twentieth century. Film festivals in the region are also growing. Among the most influential annual events that screen films from the Arab world and elsewhere are the Cairo, Beirut, Marrakesh, Damascus, and Carthage Film Festivals as well as the Dubai Film Festival, created in 2004. The burgeoning annual Ismailiah International Documentary Film Festival in Egypt has also become a major outlet for screening and discussing the latest trends in Arab documentary and experimental filmmaking. All these events are increasingly informing and informed by a renaissance of a pan-Arab national cultural interaction.

Important distribution centers for Arab film in the West include New Yorker Video, Winstar Home Video, and Kino International, all in New York. The largest source of Arab films remains Arab Film Distribution in Seattle. Among the major events that regularly screen Arab films are the Arab Film Festival in San Francisco (organized by Cinemayaat), the Seattle Film Festival (Arab Film Distribution), the Arab Film Festival in Montreal (organized in coordination with Cinémathèque Québécoise), the Biennial of Arab Cinemas (organized in Paris by l'Institut du Monde Arabe), and Arabscreen, a documentary and short festival in London.

On the one hand, and more than ever before in contemporary Arab history, a cultural revival is transcending divisions and borders between various Arab states, regions and peoples—a division originally prescribed and designed by colonial powers in the first decade of the twentieth century. This revival appears to be ushering in a new period in the development of Arab cinema. On the other hand, political tensions in the Middle East—including the continuing Palestinian dilemma, and the ramifications of the Gulf War (1992) and the Iraq War (2003) (both of which are widely viewed in the area as reflections of neocolonialist designs and interventions)—continue to stimulate politically and culturally conscious preoccupations in film. This complex backdrop has encouraged the emergence of new thematic trends and stylistic patterns in various areas of cultural production, including filmmaking. It has allowed for the growth of film practices that favor breaking down artificial barriers—of form, nationality, and "high" and "low" art—that so often delineate cinematic practices in the West. All this can only signal new beginnings for a cinema that bears the responsibility of expressing the struggles of its people.

SEE ALSO *Egypt; Iran; National Cinema; Third Cinema*

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ARCHIVES

Film and television history can only be written, evaluated, and rewritten with the cooperation of archives, since most primary materials in the public domain—that is, not in the hands of collectors—are housed in archives and libraries. For scholars of media, knowledge of the archives and their holdings are essential for their work. Film and television archives were established to preserve the objects that document the history of these media; they collect both the actual software or products (films, videotapes), as well as the material culture of these media. Such material culture includes production and distribution documents, stills, production photos, sets, props, costumes, theater programs, trade periodicals, fan magazines, personal papers of filmmakers, call sheets, financial documents, production schedules, awards, technical manuals of equipment manufacturers, cameras, projectors, window and theater displays, and other related items.

THE NECESSITY OF ARCHIVES

Of all the films produced during the silent era (1895–1930), approximately 95 percent have been lost. Of all films produced during the nitrate sound film era (1930–1955), only about 50 percent survive in any form. Even many films from the most recent years of film history have failed to survive, due to color fading, marginal status (industrial films), and archaic formats (for example, Cinerama). Probably as much as 60 percent of all television production has been lost.

Films from the entire nitrate era (1895–1955, silent and sound) have decomposed due to poor storage conditions. In the first stage of decomposition, the film turns sticky, while the image disappears in a gelatinous mass. In the second phase, the film roll solidifies into a hard disk, making the retrieval of any images virtually impossible. Finally, the material turns into a brown powder. Since nitrate film is highly flammable, many films were lost in fires. In fact, it was not uncommon for commercial film companies to burn their vault holdings because they saw old films as merely a liability and an expense once they had made their initial theatrical runs. Not until the advent of television and later consumer video were rereleases of economic interest to the major corporate studios.

Other problems of film stability appeared with time. In the 1970s, it was discovered that newer acetate films decomposed through what was termed the "vinegar syndrome." Rather than turning gooey, the films became brittle and buckled, making them unprojectable. Color film was also subject to decay. While the old Technicolor films have remained relatively stable, color film stocks from the 1950s (Eastmancolor) have been subject to extreme fading, leaving prints and negatives looking pink after only two decades or less. Finally, the advent of television and video brought with it more than three dozen television and video formats that appeared and disappeared over the last forty years, making it necessary to preserve not only the electronic moving images in these formats but also the equipment that played them. For example, many two-inch quad tapes (the first videotape format from the late 1950s) can no longer be accessed because the large and cumbersome machines used to play such tapes no longer exist. Unlike film material, which can be viewed with the naked eye or with standardized projectors,

videotapes are encoded and decoded by machines from specific manufacturers and are usually incompatible with machines from another manufacturer.

The whole area of digital information preservation and access, whether on the Internet or on DVDs and other new digital media, compounds issues of format migration and is only now being confronted by moving image and sound archivists. For film and television archivists, these new media present ever greater challenges, given a lack of standardization on the one hand and the ephemeral nature of the media on the other. Formats are appearing and disappearing even more rapidly than was the case with analog video, making preservation a complex issue, indeed. Furthermore, many classic films still held by copyright holders are being digitized and often manipulated in ways not intended by the original producers, making them more commercial but no longer true to their original content and form. For example, recent DVD "restorations" of some classic Technicolor musicals no longer look like the original Technicolor, which is characterized by garish color and a slightly soft focus, because it is now possible to eliminate these "defects" digitally.

THE FIRST GENERATION

The first generation of film archivists were essentially collectors interested in showing their treasures. Before the age of television, old films were virtually impossible to see, since producers had little interest in saving material that had outlived its economic usefulness. Furthermore, mainstream cultural institutions and governments considered the cinema a crass commercial enterprise, a form of communication not worthy of serious intellectual consideration. Having what Roland Barthes has called "bad object" status, the cinema was mistreated by governments, institutions of education, and commercial interests alike.

In the 1920s, a minority of intellectuals began championing the cinema as a new art form, advocating the creation of noncommercial screening spaces and the establishment of archives for the preservation of old films. Once sound film was introduced between 1927 and 1931, however, the matter of the medium's survival became critical, since silent films were considered obsolete. Yet in that era many critics, historians, and cinephiles believed that silent film was a superior art form, one that deserved to be preserved. The first film archive in the world was established at the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA, New York) in 1935 by Iris Barry and her husband, John Abbott—both cinephiles who understood that the cinema was potentially a modern art. A year later, two young Frenchmen, Henri Langlois (1914–1977) and Georges Franju (1912–1987), founded the Cinémathèque Française in Paris as a private initiative. Before the decade was out, two more archives were founded in London (the National Film Library) and Berlin (Reichsfilmarchiv). While the latter two were national in scope, the MoMA Film Library and the Cinémathèque collected internationally. Together, these archives established the Fédération Internationale des Archives du Film (FIAF) in 1938. After World War II, FIAF expanded considerably with the founding of film archives in Switzerland, Prague, Amsterdam, Warsaw, Rochester (New York), and Moscow. By 1959, FIAF consisted of thirty-three members and by the turn of the millennium had over 120 archives associated with the organization.

The priority of the members of FIAF, then, was to collect films. Not without some justification, it was thought that the very act of collecting prints also contributed to their preservation. Just as important as collecting films was the act of screening them, making them live again on the screen for a new generation of filmgoers. Most of the first generation of film archivists, including Henri Langlois (Paris), James Card (Rochester), Maria Adriana Prolo (Turin), Jan de Vaal (Amsterdam), Jacques Ledoux (Brussels), Einar Lauritzen (Stockholm), and Freddy Buache (Lausanne), were indeed film collectors rather than film archivists. Films were stored in vaults that often did not meet standards for archival security, and catalogs consisted more often than not of lists printed in loose-leaf notebooks.

On the positive side, many films were indeed saved from destruction because the mentality of the film collector precluded throwing anything away. In other words, most of the first generation believed in saving every film they could get their hands on, legally, semi-legally, or illegally. Indeed, until quite recently film archives often operated without the blessing of film companies and rights holders; according to the strict letter of the law, only the rights holders could acquire films, making the very act of collecting illegal.

Finally, by the end of the 1960s, numerous countries around the world had established film and television archives, often funded by their governments. This was the case in Canada, for example, where, after numerous government and private initiatives, a national film archive was established in 1969. In the United States, however, moving image archives remained for the most part private affairs. At the same time, film companies soon realized that they had lost many films, which now only existed in the archives—films that could not be resold to television and later remarketed as videos.

HENRI LANGLOIS

b. Smryna (Izmir), Turkey, 13 November 1914, d. Paris, France, 13 January 1977

The cofounder of the Cinémathèque Française in Paris, Henri Langlois belonged to the first generation of film archivists, most of whom were dedicated cinephiles rather than trained archivists. Over a forty-year period he amassed one of the largest cinema collections in the world, but unfortunately a significant percentage decomposed due to poor storage conditions.

In 1934, already mad about movies, Langlois started a film club, the *Cercle du Cinéma*, with his friend, the filmmaker Georges Franju. With a 10,000-franc donation from the publisher of *La Cinématographie Français*, the Cinémathèque Française was officially established on 2 September 1936.

Although extremely disorganized, Langlois was a rabid collector, taking in any and all films. According to Langlois, films were to be preserved by showing them, not by placing them in an archive. He is quoted as saying: "Order? That is for the Germans." In 1938, Langlois joined forces with Iris Barry (Museum of Modern Art), Olwen Vaughn (British Film Institute), and Frank Hensel (Reichsfilmarchiv) to form the Fédération Internationale des Archives du Film (FIAF). Thanks to excellent relations with the Reichsfilmarchiv, Langlois could protect the Cinémathèque's holdings during the German occupation of France during World War II; indeed, Langlois's first office was at the Nazi German film office in Paris. After World War II, the Cinémathèque became the epicenter for the French New Wave. By the early 1960s, the forty programs a week in two cinemas (Ulm opened in 1955 and Chaillot in 1963), functioned as a film school for aspiring filmmakers. Retrospectives were organized around directors or countries; there, Alain Resnais, François Truffaut, Jean-Luc Godard, among others, discovered the work of Louis Feuillade, Jean Renoir, and Erich von Stroheim.

In 1962, Langlois dropped out of FIAF, apparently on a whim, but by then the Cinémathèque's fame was so great that he continued to deal with most archives, also curating series at the Cannes and Venice film festivals. However, with increased funding from the French government, the state demanded an end to the chaos in the archive and in 1964 appointed an administrative council and director over Langlois. On 9 February 1968, Langlois was fired and Pierre Barbin was named the new director of the Cinémathèque, leading to a firestorm of protest in the press and on the streets as dozens of well-known film directors came to Langlois's defense while police bloodied protestors. On 22 April, Langlois was reinstated by the administrative council, but it was a pyrrhic victory because the government withdrew almost all of its funding. While Langlois was able to open the Musée du Cinéma in June 1972, the Cinémathèque's finances remained chaotic. Today, Langlois remains a controversial figure in the film archives world.

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THE PROFESSIONALIZATION OF FILM ARCHIVES

In the late 1960s, with the development in the United States of government funding sources for preservation through the National Endowment for the Arts and the growth of local, regional, and television archives, a sea change occurred in the US archival community. While moving image preservation had previously been handled by only a few nitrate-holding archives, including George Eastman House, UCLA Film and Television Archives, MoMA, and the Library of Congress Motion Picture Division, literally dozens of new archives were founded in the following years, making the need for a North American organization apparent. Suddenly a host of regional archives, archives of special collections (dance film, for example), and television news archives appeared on the scene. What had been a loose organization of film and television archives at the end of the 1970s, the Film Archives Advisory Committee/Television Archives Advisory Committee (FAAC/TAAC) was formalized into a new organization, the Association of Moving Image Archivists (AMIA), founded in 1990. Unlike FIAF, which was based on institutional membership, AMIA

Henri Langlois. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

became an organization of individual archivists and other persons engaged in film and television preservation, including commercial laboratories, the major studios, and stock shot houses. By 2003, membership had grown to nearly one thousand, with yearly conferences, a newsletter, archival education, scholarships, a journal, and an Internet Listserv as a part of its mandate. The organization has also expanded from a strictly North American organization of archivists to one with members from all over the world. As a result of these structural changes, the field of film and video preservation has matured from a group of individual collectors into a discipline with standards and sanctioned practices.

While films and videos were often stored in substandard environments, film/video archivists now attempt to maintain strict standards for climate control and vault safety. By the late 1980s, it became increasingly clear that both acetate and nitrate materials benefited from extremely low humidity and very cold environments. The lifespan of nitrate film, for example, could be doubled by lowering the ambient temperature in a vault by 5 degrees and the humidity by 5 percent. Storage suddenly became the first line of defense for preservation, not the transfer of images to newer film stocks, making the 1970s slogan "Nitrate Can't Wait" an anachronism. At the same time, the Library of Congress and other institutions developed cataloging standards for moving image materials, while the archives themselves began the massive project of properly cataloging their holdings. Finally, most archives discontinued the old policy of sending out "unprotected" prints (materials that had not been preserved) for screenings. Instead, preservation priorities were often formulated based on the need for public access to given titles.

Making all this possible was regularized funding. The National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) was created in the United States in September 1965 through an act of Congress. Based on a recommendation from the Stanford Research Institute, in June 1967 the NEA formally awarded a 1.3 million dollar grant for the establishment of an American Film Institute (AFI), which furthermore received matching grants from the Ford Foundation and the Motion Picture Association of America. Based on the model of the British Film Institute, the AFI's mandate was to support the production of quality films, train filmmakers, and foster the preservation of American film. From the start, the AFI's role was not actually to preserve film, but to act as a conduit for collecting films and funding archives, such as the Library of Congress and George Eastman House. Essentially, the AFI became a regrant agency for NEA film preservation funds, while taking an allowable 30–35 percent cut for administrative overhead. And while the archives received a total of more than 10.5 million dollars for film preservation between 1968 and 1972, the AFI's overhead costs took an ever bigger bite out of funding so that by 1972 film preservation accounted for a mere 9 percent of its expenditures. The NEA continued funding the archives through the 1970s and 1980s, but its funding levels remained at about 350,000–450,000 dollars despite inflationary costs for film preservation due to increased laboratory costs.

While the NEA discontinued funding moving image archives in the early 1990s, other organizations took up the challenge. As early as the late 1980s, the American Film Institute's campaign "Nitrate Won't Wait" had increased public consciousness about the need to save and preserve the precious moving image heritage. Through the National Film Preservation Act of 1988, Congress established a National Film Preservation Board and created a National Film Registry (twenty-five titles are added each year by the Librarian of Congress), which identifies "national film treasures." The initial impetus for the act was the concern over the commercial treatment of classic films, including re-editing to fit television time slots, panning and scanning to fit the television screen, and electronic colorization of black-and-white materials.

The National Film Preservation Board consists of appointed representatives from virtually all of the medium's professional organizations, including the Society of Cinema and Media Studies, the Screen Actors Guild, the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, and the National Society of Film Critics. The reauthorization of the board in 1992 asked the Library of Congress to complete a study of the state of film preservation, *Film Preservation 1993*, which in turn led to the founding of the National Film Preservation Foundation (NFPF) in 1999. The NFPF, which was reappropriated by Congress in April 2005, is now funding film preservation projects at a national level through direct government monies and grants from private foundations and companies. While the National Film Registry's titles are overwhelmingly culled from mainstream Hollywood's output, the NFPF mandate is to fund only so-called orphan films (films that were never copyrighted or have entered the public domain). As a result, many previously marginalized films and film genres, including amateur films, industrial films, educational films, medical films, avant-garde films, and silent films are being preserved.

The 1990s also saw a number of private foundations become involved in the preservation of films, including the Film Foundation (founded by Martin Scorsese [b. 1942] in 1992), and the David and Lucille Packard Foundation, both of which have shown a preference for classic Hollywood cinema. Meanwhile, the major film studios, including Sony Pictures Entertainment, Warner Bros. and Universal Studios have redoubled their own preservation efforts, at least of materials on which they own copyright or which they are planning to rerelease in digital formats. In 1997, the Librarian of Congress commissioned another study to look at the state of television preservation, *Television and Video Preservation 1997: A Report on the Current State of American Television and Video Preservation*. Seven years later, the National Television and Video Preservation Foundation (NTVPF) was finally established, albeit without the participation of Congress or the Library of Congress, which had initially funded the NFPF. Instead, Sony Pictures Entertainment, the Association of Moving Image Archivists (AMIA), and Jim Lindner, a video preservationist, have made initial cash donations, while video laboratories have offered in-kind services. The NTVPF has thus secured preservation services valued at over 350,000 dollars from preservation sponsors for an initial round of grants.

In Europe, major national archives have continued to dominate film preservation of fiction features, but smaller regional archives have developed in the United Kingdom, France, and Germany that target amateur, newsreel, and documentary films. In the UK, for example, while the British Film Institute Film Archive has floundered due to four major reorganizations in less than a decade, North West Film Archive, the Scottish Screen Archive, and the East Anglian Film Archive, among others, have taken the initiative, establishing the Film Archive Forum in 1987.

Meanwhile, in 1991, several European film archives founded the Association des Cinémathèques de la Communauté Européenne (ACCE) and launched the Projet LUMIÈRE (LUMIERE Project) with support from the European MEDIA I Program. Projet LUMIÈRE focused on three main activities: the restoration of European films, the search for "lost" European films, and the compilation of a European filmography. More than one thousand films, mostly dating from the silent era, were restored through interarchival cooperation. The national filmographies of all European Union countries, which in some cases had to be created from scratch, were compiled in a single database. That was followed by the establishment of the Association des Cinémathèques Européennes (ACE) through MEDIA II in 1996, as well as of Archimedia, which was initiated the same year within the framework of the European MEDIA Plus program. Archimedia aims to establish a network of archives and universities throughout the European Union and has funded seminars and symposia on new digital media, film archives training programs, film festivals, and preservation. Meanwhile, film festivals, like the Giornate del Cinema Muto (Pordenone, Italy) and Cinema Ritrovato (Bologna) have focused attention on film archives and preservation.

MOVING IMAGE ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

The professionalization of moving image archives has been accompanied by changes in film studies, which have precipitated a new consciousness not only in media historians but also in the archivists themselves. While the previous generation of film historians perceived film history in a teleological fashion, as a progressive evolution toward film art, the new film historians have been much more interested in contextualizing film and television history in the broader arena of cultural studies and cultural critique. They have attempted to ground film history in an empirical methodology, based on academic conventions of evidence gathering and presentation. No longer is film history a matter of connoisseurship and the analysis of individual examples of film art or the *oeuvre* of so-called film auteurs; rather, the new historians see film and television as one form of evidence in a historical discourse. While the goal of standard film histories of the past was to establish aesthetic norms of quality for cinema history, the new film history is interested in describing and analyzing the technological, economic,

social, political, ethical, and aesthetic development of the medium of film and the institution of cinema. The new methodologies, furthermore, have shifted the focus from a critic's reading of the artifact to a reconstruction of the historical audience's readings and usage of cinema and television.

Such an agenda means that virtually any form of moving image can function as historical evidence, whether fiction feature film or short, documentary or avant-garde film, advertising film or ethnographic film, industrial or medical film, amateur film or newsreel. It also means that the material culture of moving image media has become a much more important factor in the construction of history. The inevitable conclusion for moving image archivists must be that they should neither exclude material from their archives nor actively participate in the judgmental game of deciding what is important and what is not. Finally, it means that a symbiotic relationship now exists between archivists and historians: new academic research leads to the formulation of new preservation priorities. For example, a new sensitivity in the archives to amateur film was brought about by academic research concerned with the cultural value of such material. Conversely, the preservation of materials outside of the classical canon has led to further reevaluation of moving image history. For example, the FIAF Brighton Conference in 1978 led to the creation of a whole new subfield of early cinema studies; previously academics had relegated cinema from the first fifteen years to the arena of the "primitive." Only the continual interplay between archives and academics will lead to increased knowledge of these media that have had such a vital impact on our perceptions of the world.

SEE ALSO *Canon and Canonicity; Film History; Technology*

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ARGENTINA

Argentine filmmaking dates approximately from the same period as the emergence of the industry in Western Europe and the United States, as well as in Mexico and Brazil, and Argentina continues be a major film producer. Luis Puenzo's *La historia oficial* (*The Official Story*, 1985) is the only Latin American film to have received the Oscar® for the best foreign film, although during the past few decades a healthy number of Latin American films have been contenders. While political considerations have often determined the growth and health of the industry, there has been a sustained presence of Argentine filmmaking since the early twentieth century, with an excellent reception not only on the part of Argentine audiences, but also from audiences throughout Latin America and Spain as a consequence of the international projection of Argentine culture in general.

Early Argentine filmmaking parallels in many ways American and other Western European models, and some of the most important early films attempt to portray national characteristics, folk heroes, and the tensions of modernity, which in Argentina developed with exceptional vigor. As modernity became firmly established and urban life grows ever more sophisticated and, therefore, conflict ridden, sophisticated drawing-room comedies, so-called white telephone melodramas, and political and detective thrillers were produced in abundance. It is during this period that the Argentine equivalent of the star system, as regards both actors/actresses and directors, is firmly established and movie houses become one of the most profitable establishments of the much vaunted nightlife of the Argentine republic along the Broadway-like Avenida Corrinetes and the adjoining street of Calle Lavalle.

PERONISTA AND NEOFASCIST IMPACT ON THE INDUSTRY

Political considerations that have affected the fortunes of the industry cluster around two important periods: the Peronista period (1946–1955) and the neofascist period of military dictatorship (1966–1973; 1976–1983). While Juan Domingo Perón (1895–1974) was never a dictator in the proper sense of the word, he was a strong-arm populist who used the film industry to propagate the ideology of his movement. Peronista ideology is often rather confusing and contradictory, and it is not always easy today to point to specific ways in which it is present in films from the period. One of the most important films made under the aegis of Peronism was *Las aguas bajan turbias* (*Roiling Waters*, Hugo del Carril, 1952). Perón also used the industry to reward supporters and punish adversaries by, for example, insisting on positions for the former and the severance of the latter. Eva Duarte, Perón's mistress, is a well-known beneficiary of this practice, although when Perón married her in 1946, he demanded the destruction of the negative and prints of the 1945 film that was designed to be a vehicle for her career, *La pródiga* (*The Prodigal Woman*). The title was far too problematical, given the accusations of Perón's opponents against his wife; it means "woman of easy virtue" and the film tells the story of a woman with a shady past who becomes a philanthropic landowner. It was saved from total destruction thanks to a secretly held copy, and was eventually released in 1984 to damning reviews.

The icon of the ways in which Perón punished his adversaries was Libertad Lamarque (1908–2000), who—legend has it—was driven from the sound stage and from

Argentina in a spat with Eva Duarte. Lamarque had a long and successful career in Mexico and elsewhere, returning to Argentina only after Perón's fall in 1955. Many other Argentine actors also sought their fortune in Hollywood, most notably Fernando Lamas (1915–1982), who was married to the swimmer Esther Williams (b. 1922) and who served as the all-round Latin lover in such films as *The Merry Widow* (1952) and *The Girl Who Had Everything* (1953).

During the neofascist period, filmmaking was severely curtailed, as was the distribution of US films, by the Axis-sympathizing governments prior to Perón and then by Perón during his regime. Nevertheless, Buenos Aires remains almost fanatical about film, and foreign films have always played an important general cultural role in Argentine society, as well as serving as closely studied models for Argentine filmmakers.

It is important to note that private, semi-clandestine film clubs allowed for some distribution of films that could not have been shown publicly during the neofascist period. Many films were either banned outright or severely mutilated, and this had a dampening effect on production initiatives, with many insignificant films filling the resulting void. In addition to defecting actors, such as Héctor Alterio (b. 1929), Norman Briski (b. 1938), and Norma Aleandro (b. 1936), who figured prominently in the resurgence of filmmaking in Spain after the death of the dictator Francisco Franco (1892–1975) in 1975—precisely the period of the worst phase of military tyranny in Argentina—major directors such as Carlos Hugo Christensen (1914–1999) and Héctor Babenco (b. 1946), both with extensive directorial records in Brazil, also worked elsewhere.

MAJOR FIGURES

The importance of *La historia oficial*, aside from its intrinsic qualities that merited the Oscar®, lies in the fact that it is emblematic of the sort of Argentine film that could not be made during the dictatorship, while at the same time it represents the attempt to analyze the material and emotional violence of the neofascist period. Virtually a Who's Who of Argentine filmmaking and other realms of culture were involved in the making of Puenzo's film, including Aleandro and Alterio, for whom this film was a comeback to Argentine cinema. Moreover, *La historia oficial* represents the extensive array of films made in Argentine under the aegis of the Program for the Redemocratization of Argentine Culture during the latter half of the 1980s. These films, many of which attained international recognition (María Luisa Bemberg's *Camila* [1984], Héctor Olivera's *No habrá más penas ni olvido* [*Funny Dirty Little War*, 1983], Eliseo Subiela's *Hombre mirando al sudeste* [*Man Facing Southeast*; 1986]), had to compete with the large inventory of American and European films that were finally able to be exhibited either for the first time or without cuts in Argentina after 1983.The intense competition for screen space and critical attention afforded a new vigor to film as a cultural product in Argentina that has lasted into the twenty-first century.

La historia oficial, however, remains the iconic film of the period, not only because of the Oscar®, but also because of the story it tells: a prosperous businessman who has shady dealings with the military is rewarded for his loyalty with a baby born in prison to one of the so-called disappeared ones. His wife, a history teacher who until that moment has had little involvement with the recent events in her country, begins to suspect the truth and undertakes to establish how the child came to them, with violent consequences. The adoptive mother's quest symbolizes how, more than twenty years after the return to constitutional democracy, Argentina had yet to overcome the many social and political effects of the tyranny.

One of the most significant figures to be associated with the post-dictatorship period is María Luisa Bemberg. When Bemberg died of cancer in 1995, she had been directing for little more than a decade and had signed only a half-dozen films. It was not until she walked away from her upper-middle class marriage in her late fifties that she began making films on her own. All of Bemberg's films attracted rave reviews and significant critical attention, along with enthusiastic public reception, so that she was well known by the time of her last completed film, *De eso no se habla* (*I Don't Want to Talk about It*, 1993), which recounts how a comfortable merchant-class young woman who is a dwarf runs off with the circus as an act of rebellion against her mother's attempt to deny the reality of her physical condition. Bemberg used international stars such as Marcello Mastroianni (1924–1996), Julie Christie (b. 1941), Assumpta Serna (b. 1957), and Dominique Sanda (b. 1948) in starring roles in her films.

Aside from the general feminist quality of Bemberg's films, in which she showed women rebelling against stifling social paradigms, they are important for their generally queer orientation. Argentina does not have a distinguished record in gay and lesbian or queer filmmaking, although some important work has been done. One could almost say that Bemberg naturalized queerness in her films, and her premature death deprived Latin American filmmaking of one of its truly unique voices. In Argentina there is a new generation of feminist directors such as Lucrecia Martel (b. 1966) (*La Ciénaga* [*The Swamp*, 2001] and *La Niña santa* [*The Holy Girl*, 2004]), who has garnered considerable international

Luis Puenza's **La historia oficial (The Official Story**, ***1985) was a breakthrough international hit.*** EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

attention, but none has yet to attain the level of Bemberg's originality.

Leopoldo Torre-Nilsson (1924–1978) was one of the first Argentine directors to attract international recognition. He represented the transition in the 1960s from the heavily Hollywood-inspired work of the pre-Perón Golden Age of elegant drawing room and boudoir (''white telephone'') films, and the hack work during Perón's two presidencies, to an art cinema that was strongly influenced by French intellectualism, Italian neorealism, and a general leftist social realism without ever imitating formulaic Soviet models. Moreover, Torre-Nilssen collaborated extensively with his wife, the novelist Beatriz Guido (1924–1988), to produce a body of films on the decaying oligarchy—including *La casa del ángel* (*The House of the Angel*, 1957)—that refocused European social critique through a (proto)feminist lens that was unique in Latin America. Unlike other directors who abandoned Argentina for political reasons, Torre-Nilsson remained in Argentina, where he continued to make film versions of major works of Argentine literature until his death in 1978. Although his father, Leopoldo Torre Ríos (1899–1960), was one of the founders of Argentine filmmaking both of Torre-Nilsson's sons, Javier Torre (b. 1946) and Pablo Torre, are undistinguished directors.

While Torre-Nilsson remained a resolutely narrative filmmaker, other more experimental filmmakers brought added recognition to the Argentine industry. Octavio Getino (born in Spain in 1935) has received recognition for documentaries that combine stunning photography with highly charged political propaganda, such as the famous *La hora de los hornos* (*The Hour of the Furnaces*, 1968), co-directed by Fernando Solanas (b. 1936). Adolfo Birri, who has played a major role in the Cuban industry and the Cuban national film institute, has been called the father of the so-called New Latin American film, which is characterized by its political commitment and its adoption of an aggressive anti-Hollywood style. Terms such as ''Third Cinema'' (i.e., neither Hollywood nor European art cinema) and ''imperfect cinema'' (because it cannot aspire to American and European

technical perfection, nor should it attempt to) have been used for this mode of filmmaking. In addition to recent films about the Argentine leftist icon Che Guevara, Birri is most known for the short *Tire dié* (*Throw Me a Dime*, 1960), which, apart from its social realism, provided the model for an extensive tradition of films about street children during the past half century in Argentine films, much as did the Mexican film *Los olvidados* (*The Young and the Damned*, Luis Buñuel, 1950). Also from the same period is *Breve cielo* (*Brief Heaven*, David José Kohon, 1969), a marvelous example of the gritty urban existence of young adults. In addition to exemplifying the large contribution of Jews to Argentine filmmaking, *Breve cielo*'s female lead, Ana María Picchio (b. 1946), won the Moscow Film Festival award that year for best actress.

TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY TRENDS

At the turn of the century, filmmakers were eager to discover unique ways to compete within Latin America and internationally invested in the sort of technical qualities that Getino and Birri renounced, while at the same time remaining resolutely committed to social critique. This is evident in artistic and commercial successes such as *Nueve reinas* (*Nine Queens*, Fabién Bielinsky, 2000) and *El hijo de la novia* (*Son of the Bride*, Juan José Campanella, 2001). Both films are marked by a mordant sense of humor that contributes to their success. Bielinsky also exemplifies the long participation of Jews in Argentine filmmaking.

An alternative strain was the extensive presence in Argentina of Dogma filmmaking, with such notable examples as *Plata quemada* (*Burnt Money*, Marcelo Pineyro, 2000); *La Ciénega* (*The Swamp*, Lucrecia Martel, 2001), *Bolivia* (Adrián Caetano, 2001), *El Bonaerense* (*The Man from Buenos Aires Province*, Pablo Trapero, 2002), and *Tan de repente* (*Suddenly*, Diego Lerman, 2002). Lerman's film is particularly interesting as one of the first explicitly lesbian films in Argentina and the fact that it was made by a man. Pineyro's film, while not intending to be a "gay" film, nevertheless does an excellent job of portraying a queer subtext in what is otherwise a fairly standard bank heist film. Adhering partially to Dogma principles, or using a quasidocumentary black-and-white format, *Bolivia* centers on the plight of Bolivians (and by extension, other Latin Americans) who work illegally in Argentina and are subject to violent harassment and racism.

SEE ALSO *Latinos and Cinema; National Cinema; Third Cinema*

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David William Foster

ART CINEMA

The term ''art cinema'' is one of the most familiar in film studies, marking out simultaneously specific filmmakers, specific films, specific kinds of cinemas, and, for some writers, specific kinds of audiences. The filmmakers implied by the term are such European *auteurs* as Michelangelo Antonioni (b. 1912), Federico Fellini (1920–1993), Jean-Luc Godard (b. 1930), and Ingmar Bergman (b. 1918); the films include *L'Avventura* (1960), *8½* (1963), *À bout de souffle* (*Breathless*, 1960) and *Det Sjunde inseglet* (*The Seventh Seal*, 1957). The cinemas are small film theaters, rather than the picture palaces of old or the multiplexes of the present, screening new films but having a repertory function as well; the audiences for the art film are drawn from the highly educated urban intelligentsia. These features, however, are only the predominant connotations of the term, which has a range of uses and connotations, so it is useful to distinguish between extended and restricted definitions of art cinema.

The extended definition suggests an ''art film'' presence in the history of cinema virtually from the beginning, incorporating historical instances stretching back to the years before World War I; it retains relevance throughout the history of film and possesses a certain amount of currency in relation to contemporary cinema. The restricted definition refers to the emergence in the 1950s of a strand in European cinema with a distinct set of formal and thematic characteristics, specialized exhibition outlets, specific artistic status as part of ''high culture,'' constituting in some respects cinema's belated accession to the traditions of twentieth-century modernism in the arts. The two senses are interrelated and art cinema in the restricted sense can be regarded as part of the historical continuum embodied in the extended definition as a key, though bounded, phase in the history of a particular kind of film.

EXTENDED DEFINITIONS

The extended definition of art cinema marks off films that can be differentiated from commonplace entertainment cinema in terms of source material and intended audience. Alongside such popular genres of early cinema as actualities, trick films, chase films, and comedies were brief films drawn from the traditional elements of ''high culture,'' that is, adaptations from classic drama and literature and films based on historical events. This dimension of the art film emerged most forcibly in France during the years before World War I, with films from the appropriately titled Le Film d'Art company, and there were equivalent trends in Germany and Italy. At this time, the contours of the art film begin to form in terms of its relationship to orthodox and established high culture—literature, history, and the fine arts—together with the aspiration on the part of producers to attract a more ''respectable'' and educated audience than the urban working classes that patronized the nickelodeons. Art cinema's project was the transformation of a cultural phenomenon with origins in fairgrounds, vaudeville theaters and music halls, and improvised screening venues, into a cultural activity comparable to the established art forms.

However, the most important phase in the early history of art cinema was the 1920s. The major European film industries had been severely effected by World War I, and Hollywood had established itself as the

MICHELANGELO ANTONIONI

b. Ferrara, Emilia-Romagno, Italy, 29 September 1912

Antonioni is synonymous with the notion of art cinema. His film career began in 1942 when he worked on Roberto Rossellini's *Un Pilota ritorna* (*A Pilot Returns*) and Marcel Carnés *Les Visiteurs du soir* (*The Devil's Envoys*), and, despite suffering a stroke in the 1980s, Antonioni has remained sporadically active.

His first feature film was *Cronaca di un amore* (*Story of a Love Affair*, 1950), but it was his sixth feature film, *L'Avventura* (1960), that thrust him into public prominence. Though it was booed off the screen at the Cannes Film Festival, it was defended by Rossellini, among others, and went on to win the festival's Special Jury Award. It was followed by *La Notte* (*The Night*, 1961), *L'Eclisse* (*Eclipse*, 1962), and *Il Deserto rosso* (*The Red Desert*, 1964), all featuring the actress Monica Vitti, who had played the central character in *L'Avventura*. While the early 1960s films all centered on a female character, Antonioni's next three fiction films—*Blow-Up* (1966), *Zabriskie Point* (1970), and *The Passenger* (1975)—placed a man at the center of the narrative and were set in London, California, North Africa, and Spain rather than Rome and Milan. They were made in English for an international market produced by his fellow Italian Carlo Ponti and the American major studio—MGM (Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer). Antonioni returned to the ethos of the early 1960s films with *Identificazione di una donna* (*Identification of a Woman*, 1982) and *Al di là delle nuvole* (*Beyond the Clouds*, 1995).

The films display a number of the key characteristics of the European art film. Embodying a somewhat bittersweet perspective, they focus on the intimate personal lives of affluent urban professionals. Stylistically, the films employ the meandering narratives characteristic of art cinema, in which the protagonists, enveloped in their inner turmoils, wander aimlessly through visually dramatic landscapes and cityscapes and are often captured in meticulously composed off-centered images, clinging to the edges of the frame. The films also refuse the neat closure of the classical film.

Antonioni's significance as a director is likely to rest on his early films of the 1960s, although a rounded picture of his achievements requires attention to his documentary work and and his color experimentation in *The Red Desert* and *The Mystery of Oberwald* (1981). Shot on videotape and in the thriller format, the later film serves as a loose narrative basis for the director's existential concerns while also representing the film noir dimension of his works, which can be discerned as well in *The Story of a Love Affair*, with the disappearance of Anna in *L'Avventura*, the mysterious death in the park in *Blow-Up*, and the man on the run in *Zabriskie Point*. Roland Barthes attested to Antonioni's high standing in the world of cinema when he suggested that the filmmaker's work stands as a challenge to all contemporary artists.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Cronaca di un amore (*Story of a Love Affair*, 1950), *L'Avventura* (1960), *La Notte* (*The Night*, 1961), *L'Eclisse* (*Eclipse*, 1962), *Blow-Up* (1966), *Zabriskie Point* (1970), *Identification of a Woman* (1982), *Beyond the Clouds* (1995)

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Tom Ryall

main provider of entertainment cinema in many parts of the world. In the course of reconstructing their film industries, Germany, France, and the Soviet Union, in particular, created a diverse range of cinemas, making films that differed in key respects from the Hollywood films that filled European screens. Such films reflected an attempt to establish alternatives to the evolving Hollywood cinema of stars and genres and were recognized by intellectuals and artists in such metropolitan centers of culture as Berlin, Paris, London, and New

Michelangelo Antonioni. © JOHN SPRINGER/CORBIS.

York as art films. These countries did have their equivalents to the American entertainment films, but the art strands represented distinctive approaches to filmmaking that were aligned with the modernist and avant-garde artistic currents of the time: expressionism, surrealism, dadaism, and constructivism. In France, such films as *La Souriante Madame Beudet* (*The Smiling Madame Beudet*, 1923), *Ménilmontant* (1926), and *La Coquille et le clergyman*, (*The Seashell and the Clergyman*, 1928) deployed a range of techniques to represent the inner psychological life of their protagonists, while such filmmakers as René Clair (1898–1981) with *Entr'acte* (1924), and Salvador Dali (1904–1989) and Luis Buñuel (1900–1983) with *Un Chien andalou* (*An Andalusian Dog*, 1929) defied the narrative logic of mainstream Hollywood films. The German film acquired an international prominence with the appearance of *Das Kabinett des Doktor Caligari* (*The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*, 1920), a self-consciously artistic film that combined the psychological qualities associated subsequently with the French films with an approach to *mise-en-scène* influenced by expressionist drama and painting. Though most German films during the period were commercial genre pieces, historical spectaculars, and thrillers, the handful of expressionist films that followed *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari* have imprinted themselves on film history as founding examples of art cinema both through their eccentric style and their international circulation through specialized cinema clubs and societies. In particular, the other important art cinema of the 1920s came from the Soviet Union, where Sergei Eisenstein (1898–1948) and Vsevolod Pudovkin (1893–1953) made formal and narrative innovations in terms of montage. Such films as *Bronenosets Potyumkin* (*Battleship Potemkin*, 1925), *Oktyabr* (*Ten Days That Shook the World* and *October*, 1927), and *Mat* (*Mother*, 1926) also injected a political edge into the art film. In economic terms, art films were financed from a mixture of sources including the state itself in the case of the Soviet film, large commercial concerns such as Germany's Univesum Film Aktiengesellschaft (Ufa), smaller specialist firms, and private financing by the filmmakers themselves or by wealthy patrons. In 1920, the German government instituted financial incentives for exhibitors screening films with artistic and cultural value, a move that many governments would later emulate in order to protect and foster an indigenous cultural cinema.

The 1920s saw the establishment of a number of the parameters for the art film, in particular its status as a challenge artistically, culturally, and financially to the Hollywood film, which had established itself as the exemplar of cinema in most countries of the world. The art film presented a parallel experience—complex artistic films instead of entertainment narratives, intimate screening venues instead of picture palaces, intellectual journals instead of fan magazines—addressed to audiences familiar with modernist developments in literature, music, and painting. The territory staked out by the art film of the 1920s was defined in the polarized terminology of "art versus entertainment" and "culture versus commerce," conceptual couplets that still inform thinking about the medium.

RESTRICTED DEFINITIONS

The demise of the art film in the 1930s is often attributed to the advent of the sound picture, which escalated production costs and fostered a conventional approach to narrative and representation. Yet it has been suggested that some strands of the cinema of the period do bear the marks of art cinema in some respects. For instance, the state-sponsored documentary film supervised by John Grierson (1898–1972) has been proposed as Britain's art cinema, the drab though realist subject matter and the often innovative form of the films differentiating

them from the escapist Hollywood cinema that dominated British screens; similarly, it is argued that the poetic realist films from the French cinema with their gloomy narratives culminating in the death of the hero as in Marcel Carné's (1909–1996) *Quai des brumes* (*Port of Shadows*, 1938) and *Le Jour se lève* (*Daybreak*, 1939) offer a different, more downbeat experience compared to the American films with their characteristically optimistic endings. Yet, these arguable instances apart, the renewal of the art impulse in film did not occur in a significant sense until the 1940s, with the key films once again coming from European industries engaged in a postwar rebuilding process. Italy played a major role with neorealist films, such as *Roma città aperta* (*Open City*, 1945) by Roberto Rossellini (1906–1977) and *Ladri di biciclette* (*The Bicycle Thieves*, 1948) by Vittoria de Sica (1902–1974), and the success of such films in America paved the way for the development of the specialized exhibition venue—the art house, the "sure seater"—in the large cities and university towns.

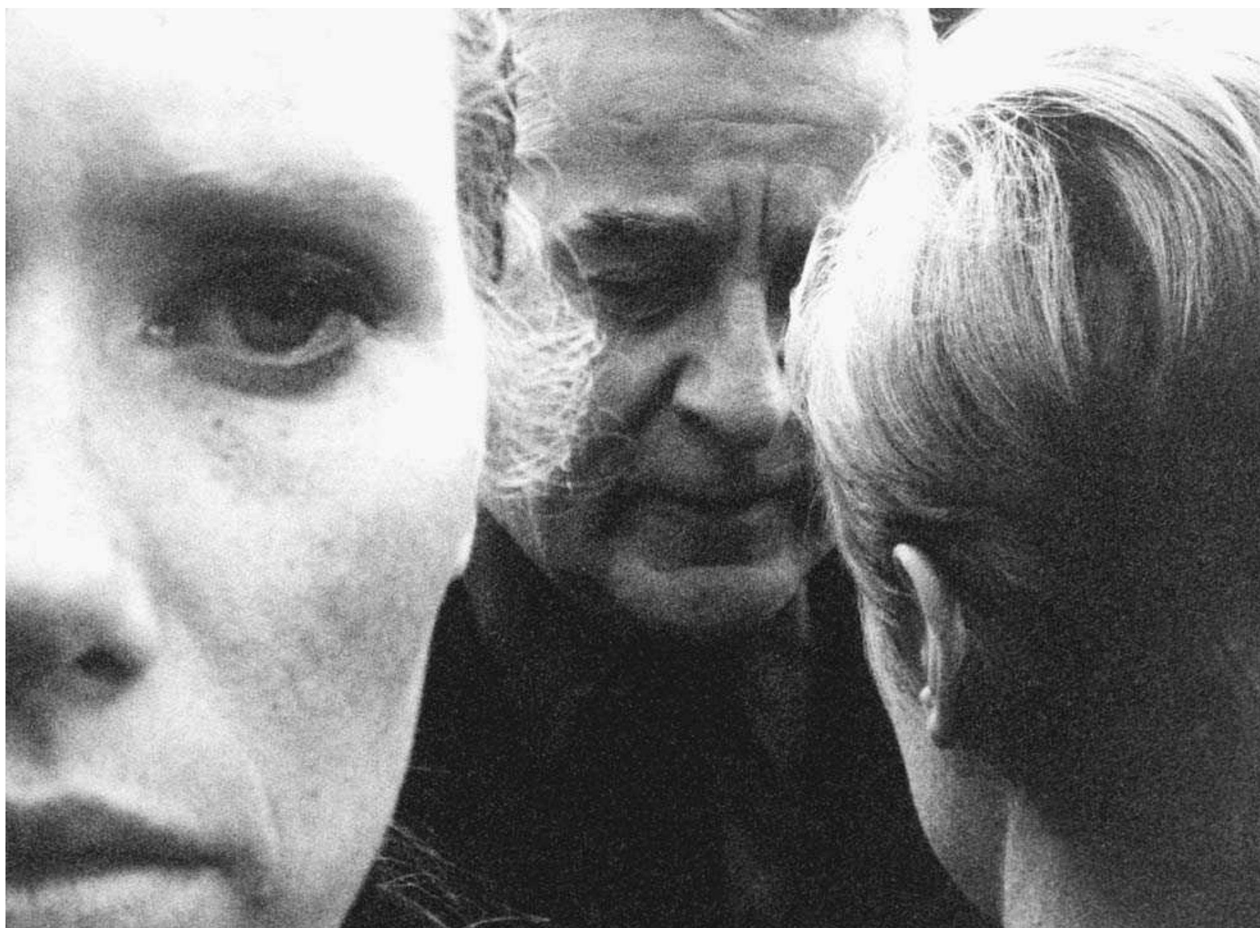
There were a number of reasons for the increased prospects for foreign films in the American market in the late 1940s. These range from reduced production levels at the Hollywood studios, which created gaps in the market; concerted efforts by the British, Italian, and French industries to distribute their films in the United States; the move toward "runaway production" by American companies, which gave the majors an investment stake in British, French, and Italian films; the changing composition of the audience from a family one increasingly catered to by television to one dominated by young people; and an interest in European culture among the returning service personnel who had spent some time in England, France, and Italy during the war. It has also been suggested that the changing audience tastes consequent upon the demographic shift went in the direction of films with mature, adult, serious thematic concerns, qualities that were to be found in the new European films.

One adult dimension of the foreign film, which became an important marketing feature, was the liberal approach to the representation of sexuality. This became more marked with foreign films from outside of the "art" sector, such as *Et Dieu ... créa la femme* (*And God Created Woman*, 1956) and the phenomenon of the actress Brigitte Bardot (b. 1934), but prior to that even a serious political narrative such as Rossellini's *Open City* was marketed in the United States with one eye on the hints of lesbianism and drug use in the film. In this respect, the art cinema was an important agent in the erosion of the careful censorship of films in America. Indeed, a court case involving a segment of the 1948 Italian film *L'Amore* known as *The Miracle*, prompted the US Supreme Court to issue a landmark judgement in 1952 that conferred upon films the constitutional guarantees that already protected freedom of speech and the free press. By the early 1960s Antonioni's *L'Avventura* (1960), a classic art film, had an American trailer that simply featured the film's sex scenes with a voice-over acclaiming the film as "a new experience in motion picture eroticism."

This period saw the formation of art cinema in its most prominent connotation—the restricted sense—with the directorial debuts of a number of the key directors and the emergence of some of the key actors identified with the art film. Robert Bresson (1901–1999), Luchino Visconti (1906–1976), and Ingmar Bergman made their first features in the 1940s, followed by Federico Fellini (who had worked with Rossellini) and Michelangelo Antonioni in the early 1950s. Later in the decade, French directors including Alain Resnais (b. 1922), Jean-Luc Godard, François Truffaut (1932–1984), Claude Chabrol (b. 1930), and Eric Rohmer (b. 1920) directed their first features and were collectively dubbed the "Nouvelle Vague," or New Wave. The definitive "art house" films created by these filmmakers include Bergman's *Smultron stället* (*The Seventh Seal*, 1957) and *Wild Strawberries* (1957), Visconti's *Rocco e i suoi fratelli* (*Rocco and His Brothers*, 1960), Fellini's *La Dolce Vita* (*The Sweet Life*, 1960) and *8½* (1963), and Antonioni's *L'Avventura*, *La Notte* (*The Night*, 1961), and *L'Eclisse* (*Eclipse*, 1962). The key films from the French New Wave included Chabrol's *Le Beau Serge* (*Handsome Serge*, 1959), Godard's *À bout de souffle* (*Breathless*, 1960), Resnais's *Hiroshima mon amour* (*Hiroshima My Love*, 1959) and *L'Année dernière à Marienbad* (*Last Year at Marienbad*, 1961), and Truffaut's *Les Quatre cents coups* (*The 400 Blows*, 1959). Such films also produced a galaxy of "art film stars" who were often closely associated with particular directors. Major examples include the work of Liv Ullman (b. 1938), Ingrid Thulin (1929–2004), Max Von Sydow (b. 1929), and Harriet Andersson (b. 1932) with Bergman; Monica Vitti's (b. 1931) work with Antonioni; Giulietta Masina (1921–1994) and Marcello Mastroianni's (1924–1996) work with Fellini; Jean-Pierre Léaud's (b. 1944) work with Truffaut; Anna Karina's (b. 1940) work with Godard; and Stéphane Audran's (b. 1932) work with Chabrol. Other stars of the art film not as closely linked to particular directors include Catherine Deneuve (b. 1943), Jeanne Moreau (b. 1928), Jean-Louis Trintignant (b. 1930), Alain Delon (b. 1935), Dirk Bogarde (1921–1999), and Terence Stamp (b. 1939).

TEXTUAL CHARACTERISTICS

For many theorists, art cinema, at least in the restricted sense, is defined through narrative and textual qualities



Liv Ullmann, Gunnar Bjornstrand, and Bibi Andersson in Ingmar Bergman's* Persona *(1966). **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

that run counter to the body of conventions associated particularly with the Hollywood studio picture but also characteristic of the conventional cinemas in many countries. The traditional qualities of the linear narrative with a finite ending, clarity of plot, such unobtrusive use of film techniques as camera movement and editing, the underlining of thematic and narrative points through repetition, sharply delineated characters and empathetic character identification techniques were jettisoned by the art film. In their place came oblique, non-linear, and episodic narration strategies, a commitment to "realism," both in terms of surface detail and complex character definition, thematic ambiguities, and overt displays of cinematic style. Whereas mainstream films concentrated on character behavior, action, and plot, art films tended to delve into character psychology and sensibility, to investigate the drama of the interior. The narrative economy and speed of the classical film gave way to the *temps mort* (dead time) of the art film. Although thematically broad, it is possible to argue that art cinema as part of its "realist" project often focuses upon the existential problems of the bourgeois intelligentsia, which constitute a meditative mirror for the supposed audience of urban intellectuals. In addition, unlike the authorial anonymity associated with mainstream filmmaking, art films are assumed to possess a strong, identifiable authorial presence. That is, the films are expressions or constructs traceable to the director, and as such they are the centerpiece of the critical discourses that focus upon the art film.

ART CINEMA AND AUDIENCE

In addition to different textual qualities, art films were characteristically screened in venues other than the commercial cinema circuits. The 1920s saw the development of a range of different and separate exhibition venues, for example, cinema clubs, film societies, and dedicated

Delphine Seyrig and Giorgio Albertazzi in Alain Resnais's* Last Year at Marienbad *(1961). **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

repertory cinemas. France was central to this trend with the ciné club movement, and although Britain did not contribute much in the way of films to the new art cinema, it was prominent in the development of alternative exhibition venues with the establishment of the Film Society in London in 1925. In America, some art films were imported in the 1920s, and there were attempts to establish art cinemas. Among the proponents were Symon Gould's International Film Arts Guild, which organized foreign film screenings in New York and Philadelphia, and the club network of the Amateur Cinema League. These distribution methods led to what became known as "the little-cinema movement."

In America after World War II emerged a small but perceptible art house segment that screened foreign, particularly European films, and by 1950 it registered sufficiently in the industry to be included as a specific listing in the *Film Daily Year Book*. Though such cinemas screened the now-acknowledged early classics of art film by Rossellini and De Sica, they also played host, for example, to a variety of British films, including Laurence Olivier's (1907–1989) Shakespeare films, *Henry V* (1945) and *Hamlet* (1948), *The Red Shoes* (1948) by Michael Powell (1905–1990) and Emeric Pressburger (1902–1988), *The Fallen Idol* (1948) by Carol Reed (1906–1976), and Ealing comedies, for example, *Tight Little Island* (*Whisky Galore!*, 1949). As the juxtaposition of a Rossellini film and an Ealing comedy suggests, the films screened in art cinemas in both the United States and Britain ranged beyond the restricted definition of the art film to incorporate foreign films of various kinds. A rounded picture of the art film of the postwar period based upon the exhibition dimension could also include a number of other filmmakers and works: for example, the Spanish director, Luis Buñuel's films *Viridiana* (1961) and *Belle de jour* (1965) and the Italian director Pier Paolo Pasolini's (1922–1975) *Il Vangelo secondo Matteo* (*The Gospel According to St. Matthew*, 1964) and *Teorema* (*Theorem*, 1968). They also include works by the Japanese

filmmakers Akira Kurosawa (1910–1998), Kenji Mizoguchi (1898–1956), and Yasujiro Ozu (1903–1963); the Indian director Satyajit Ray (1921–1992); and the Polish director Andrzej Wajda (b. 1926), creator of the war trilogy *Pokoleni* (*A Generation*, 1955), *Kanal* (1957), and *Popiól diament* (*Ashes and Diamonds*, 1958). There were also a number of "new waves" including young filmmakers from Central Europe such as Miloš Forman (b. 1932), Věra Chytilová (b. 1929), and Jiří Menzel (b. 1938) from the former Czechoslovakia, Miklós Jancsó (b. 1921) from Hungary, Jerzy Skolimowski (b. 1938) and Roman Polański (b. 1933) from Poland, and Dušan Makavejev (b. 1932) from the former Yugoslavia. In addition, there were the politically conscious films of Latin American directors such as the Brazilian Glauber Rocha (1938–1981) and Fernando Solanas (b. 1936) from Argentina. British filmmakers, including Karel Reisz (1926–2002) and Lindsay Anderson (1923–1994), created such films as *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning* (1960), *This Sporting Life* (1963); Tony Richardson (1928–1991) made *Tom Jones* (1963), and the British work of the American Joseph Losey (1909–1984), particularly *The Servant* (1963) and *Accident* (1968), though circulating as mainstream films in their home country, tended to be regarded as art films when screened abroad. There was also a belated resurgence of postwar German cinema with the emergence of such directors as Alexander Kluge (b. 1932), Volker Schlöndorff (b. 1939), Werner Herzog (b. 1942), and Rainer Werner Fassbinder (1945–1982).

This heterogeneous array of films became familiar elements of minority cinema during the 1950s and 1960s, sharing the specialized art cinema exhibition space with the iconic art films from France and Italy. Also during this period, the film festival became an important means of publicizing art films to an international audience and ensuring their circulation through the art cinema circuits in the United States and Britain. The most prestigious, the Venice and Cannes festivals, both originated in the 1930s, though the Cannes Film Festival did not truly begin until 1946; subsequently, they were joined by a range of venues in Britain and other European countries (Edinburgh, Berlin, Barcelona, and London), the United States (San Francisco, New York), and Australia (Melbourne, Sidney).

ART CINEMA IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

In terms of the extended definition of art cinema—a cinema of formal innovation, a cinema aligned with the latest trends in literature and the fine arts, a cinema that targets an audience outside of the typical young adult demographic—the notion of art cinema nearly retains a degree of currency.

Many recent filmmakers from most of the filmmaking countries of the world have made films that explore the potential of cinema to do more than tell simple stories and offer the experience of spectacle; films that do the kinds of things traditionally associated with the world of art; films that premiere at the world's leading film festivals; films that circulate internationally. Pedro Almodóvar (b. 1949), Krzysztof Kieślowski (1941–1996), Ken Loach (b. 1936), Mike Leigh (b. 1942), Michael Haneke (b. 1942), Robert Altman (b. 1925), Wong Kar Wai (b. 1958), Jane Campion (b. 1954), Béla Tarr (b. 1955), and Theo Angelopoulos (b. 1935) have made films that in various different ways carry on the traditions of complexity and formal innovation associated with art cinema. In America, the work of independent filmmakers such as David Lynch (b. 1946) and Jim Jarmusch (b. 1953) achieves a similar complexity while the films of experimental British directors such as Peter Greenaway (b. 1942) and Derek Jarman (1942–1994) have blurred the distinction between the avant garde cinema and the art film.

The pessimistic view of contemporary cinema is that the polarized battle for cinematic hegemony in the early twentieth century was won by entertainment and commerce interests at the expense of art interests. However, a more optimistic view is that artistic influences have infiltrated commercial filmmaking to the extent that the traditional oppositions of "art and commerce" and "culture and entertainment" have less force than previously. Moreover, despite the high profile of spectacular blockbusters, contemporary cinema offers a wide spectrum of experiences. The multiplex cinema is the potential home to films at all ranges of this spectrum because it has the screen capacity to host the latest Hollywood blockbuster as well as the new Almodóvar, in the process making the notion of a separate art cinema venue redundant. If the reality of multiplex programming does not always confirm this possibility, then art cinema in the future may well depend upon television—a major source of art film financing in Europe dating from the 1970s—and on the development of the less expensive methods of digital production and exhibition.

SEE ALSO *Exhibition; Fine Art; New Wave*

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Tom Ryall

ASIAN AMERICAN CINEMA

Asian American cinema, broadly defined, refers to all films (and videos) produced by filmmakers of Asian descent in the United States. More narrowly defined, Asian American cinema refers to independently produced films that evince an Asian American sensibility (perspective) and/or Asian American subject matter. Materially speaking, only a small fraction of Asian American films achieve commercial distribution: the vast majority are exhibited at film festivals, broadcast on public television, and increasingly are sold directly to home viewers (often via the Internet). While feature-length narrative films achieve more visibility, documentaries dominate festival and television programming.

The term "Asian American" first received currency through its adoption on college campuses in the late 1960s. In years past, Americans of Asian ancestry tended to identify (and form organizations) with nations of origin (China, Korea, and so on). The civil rights era produced new racial formations, among them a growing panethnic sense of Asian American identity, at least among English-speaking Asians born in the United States. These shifting sensibilities are reflected in government policy, which has come increasingly to recognize panethnic terms such as "Asian" and "Pacific Islander," displacing an emphasis on national origin.

In an important sense, then, Asian American cinema could not exist before the "Asian American" conception of racial identity gained acceptance. Furthermore, while some filmmakers might identify themselves as Asian Americans (and their films might thereby evince an Asian American sensibility), without the existence of networks of filmmakers, institutions devoted to the production and distribution of films, and an audience or marketplace for the films, the label of Asian American cinema remains purely academic. Therefore, while the term "Asian American" might be applied retrospectively to describe people or films made before the 1960s, such semantic relabeling obscures the historical specificity of films produced by cultural institutions established in the 1970s and 1980s, although a prehistory of Asian American cinema can be traced back to the 1910s.

PRECURSORS

Asian Americans have been prominently involved in the US film industry since the 1910s. While none of these filmmakers may have thought of themselves as "Asian Americans," many of the most famous demonstrated a racial consciousness that suggests they are ancestors of the ethnically identified filmmakers who followed in their footsteps. For example, after the matinee idol Sessue Hayakawa (1889–1973) made such an impression as a villain in *The Cheat* (Cecil B. DeMille, 1915) he contractually required Paramount to cast him as the hero (and often romantic lead) as often as they employed him as a villain. When *The Cheat* was reissued in 1918, Hayakawa's character was identified as Burmese in deference to Japan's role as a wartime ally; given that context of racial sensitivity, it is reasonable to conclude that Hayakawa was motivated by concerns about racial stereotyping as much as by an actor's desire for varied roles. With the founding of Haworth Pictures in 1918, Hayakawa became arguably the first Asian to head a US production company. Films such as *The Dragon Painter* (1919) were set in Japan, evinced themes drawn from Japanese philosophy, and influenced later generations of

Asian American artists (for example, the jazz musician Mark Izu, who composed a score for *The Dragon Painter*).

If Hayakawa struggled with the roles granted him by Hollywood, the options open to Anna May Wong (1905–1961) were limited still more. As a woman, Wong was typically cast as either a "Butterfly" or a "Dragon Lady," the specifically orientalist inflections of the woman as victim and vamp. At the age of seventeen, Wong starred in *The Toll of the Sea* (1922), Technicolor's first feature film using its two-strip color process. The film's plot was lifted from *Madame Butterfly*: Lotus Flower surrenders her child to her American lover and his white wife and then commits suicide. This was the first of many roles in which convention dictated that Wong's character expire to redress the taboo of interracial romance. Citing her frustration with such limitations, Wong departed in 1928 for Europe, where she tackled some of the most interesting and complex roles of her career in films such as *Schmutziges Geld* (*Song*, 1928) and *Piccadilly* (1929). Wong's European roles were still orientalist, with her exotic sexuality emphasized in the manner of her contemporary Josephine Baker (1906–1975), but her characters often drove the plot, exhibiting an agency largely absent from her US roles. In the early 1930s Wong crossed the Atlantic frequently to make films such as *Shanghai Express* (1932) in the United States and *Chu Chin Chow* (1934) in England. After losing the lead role in MGM's adaptation of Pearl S. Buck's *The Good Earth* (1937) to the white actress Luise Rainer (b. 1910), Wong traveled to China to see her family and to study Mandarin. Wong was received with some controversy in China, where many in the cultural elite had disapproved of many of her film roles. Wong's film career was virtually ended by the mid-1940s, although she did star in a mystery series for the Dumont Network in 1951 (*The Gallery of Madame Lui-Tsong*).

Winifred Eaton Reeve was most likely the first significant Hollywood screenwriter of Asian ancestry. Born in Montreal in 1875 as Winifred Eaton to an English father and a Chinese mother, Eaton adopted a Japanese persona and published a number of best-selling novels under the pen name Onoto Watanna in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Arriving in New York in 1924, she was hired to head the scenario department at Universal's New York headquarters, then transferred to Hollywood the following year. She is credited with a half-dozen screenplays in the late 1920s, most notably *Shanghai Lady* (with Houston Branch, 1929) and *East Is West* (with Tom Reed, 1930).

James Wong Howe (1899–1976) immigrated to the United States from China with his family at the age of five. Hollywood lore has it that Howe, while working as a still photographer for Famous Players–Lasky, was championed by the actor Mary Miles Minter (1902–1984) and given the opportunity to shoot two of her films in 1923. Over the next fifty years, Howe shot over 125 feature films, winning Academy Awards® for *The Rose Tattoo* (1955) and *Hud* (1962). He is known as an innovator in deep-focus cinematography, the use of low-hung ceilings (*Transatlantic* [1931]), and hand-held camera work (he shot the boxing sequence in *Body and Soul* [1947] on roller skates), and most of all for his lighting. Howe directed only two feature films, the story of the Harlem Globetrotters, *Go, Man, Go!* (1954), and Richard Derr's 1958 portrait of Lamont Cranston, the Shadow, *The Invisible Avenger*.

REPRESENTATION AND STEREOTYPES

Representations of Asians have been at the center of US film history from its inception. At the turn of the twentieth century, interest in the Spanish-American War was met with both "actualités" (documentary or news footage) and "reenactments" (staged depictions of key events). These early representations drew from US attitudes toward other races: early cartoons depicted Filipinos as vaguely African in appearance, for example, and a 1899 film, *Filipinos Retreat from Trenches*, employed African American actors to portray Filipino insurgents. Throughout film history, cinematic portrayals of Asians and Asian Americans have shifted in response to world events and US foreign policy on the one hand, and have drawn from a legacy of Western attitudes toward the "Orient" on the other.

Edward Said's influential 1979 book *Orientalism* had a major impact on postcolonial studies, cultural studies generally, and literary studies specifically. Said argued that orientalism was not a politically neutral field of knowledge, but rather a system of governing the so-called Orient. (Note that in Europe the term "Orient" has traditionally referred to North Africa [the "Middle East"] and the Indian subcontinent [the "Near East"], whereas in the United States "Orient" typically refers to the "Far East.") While Said was specifically concerned with representations of the Middle East, scholars interested in East Asia and in Asian Americans have appropriated the term. Said argued that European writings did not illuminate the Orient so much as they revealed European attitudes about neighboring lands. After Said, then, to label a text as "orientalist" is to imply that it is culturally biased, trafficking in stereotypes of sensuality, decadence, and weakness.

Said touched briefly on the sexual aspects of orientalism, but did not fully develop these arguments. Said's conception of orientalism as the will to dominate and possess is entirely congruent with patriarchal sexuality.

The "white man's burden" (the title of an 1899 poem by Rudyard Kipling, subtitled "The United States") justifies imperial domination under the guise of uplift, but is then faced with a dilemma of integration and assimilation. In Gayatri C. Spivak's formulation, the white man's burden is specifically inflected as "white men saving brown women from brown men" (287), thus allowing for simultaneously repressing Asian masculinity and celebrating Asian femininity.

Rapidly changing geopolitical circumstances, such as shifting attitudes toward US colonialism in Asia, produced complex and contradictory representations. Shifting US relations with China offer another example: in the 1920s and 1930s Hollywood depicted Chinese as despots or warlords, most famously in the figure of Fu Manchu. As China developed into an ally, the Charlie Chan figure gained ascendance, but when the Communists came to power in 1949, Hollywood shifted its attention back to Japan and Korea, where US military presence was bringing Americans into closer contact with Asia.

Fu Manchu, created by Sax Rohmer (1883–1959) (Arthur Henry Sarsfield Ward) in the 1910s, is the prototypical despot bent on world domination. Fu Manchu's criminal successes are dependent not just on his position as king of a criminal underworld, but also on his tremendous intellect and scientific genius. Fu Manchu is simultaneously ascetic and sexually threatening, which is to say that his Scotland Yard foes suppose his deviance to extend to misogyny even as he seems repulsed by virile masculinity. In seeming polar opposition to Fu Manchu, Charlie Chan represents law and order. Created by Earl Derr Biggers (1884–1933), the Chinese detective from Honolulu was portrayed by Warner Oland (1879–1938) in a popular series of films produced by Fox from 1931 to 1942. Upon Oland's death in 1938 the role was taken over by Sidney Toler (1874–1947), and when Fox ended production Toler continued to play Chan in a series produced at Monogram starting in 1944. Upon Toler's death, Roland Winters (1904–1989) took on the role until the Monogram series ended in 1949. (In total, Fox made twenty-seven films, Monogram made seventeen.) Accompanied by his "Number One Son" (played with all-American vim by Keye Luke [1904-1991]), who did much of his legwork, Chan traveled the globe, and his reputation as a brilliant detective preceded him and typically won over racist skeptics. Chan is perhaps best known for his aphorisms, witty sayings that have been derided by his detractors as "fortune-cookie philosophy."

Fu Manchu and Charlie Chan are seeming opposites, but both were known for their keen intellects and weak bodies (both men delegated strenuous activity to their children—Fu Manchu to his vamp daughter, Chan to his eldest son). Another curious point of similarity is their paradoxical sexuality: Fu simultaneously asexual and predatory, Chan seemingly shy but blessed with dozens of children. In Hollywood films, such paradoxes were typical for Asian masculinity. The "chink" in Griffith's *Broken Blossoms* (1919), played by Richard Barthelmess (1895–1963), is a noble figure in large part due to his refusal to act on the sexual desires that inspire his devotion; General Yen (Nils Asther) in *The Bitter Tea of General Yen* (1933) commits suicide and thus spares the missionary (Barbara Stanwyck) the need to resolve her own anxieties about miscegenation.

The situation for Asian femininity was somewhat different. The roles accorded to Asian and Asian American women in the studio era were of course constrained by Hollywood conceptions of gender. Career women, regardless of race, were portrayed as homewreckers or dragon ladies of a sort. Nevertheless, US attitudes toward miscegenation cannot be discounted when considering cinematic depictions of gender. Romantic relationships between Asian women and white men were far more prevalent than those between Asian men and white women, in accordance with US perceptions about cultural difference and assimilation (men posed a threat of ineradicable foreignness while women had the potential for absorption into US culture). In the years following World War II, when US gender roles were being redefined in large part due to the legacy of Rosie the Riveter, the popular representation of working women during the period, the perceived traditionalism of Asian cultures (an orientalist perception) marked Asian women as domestically oriented and subservient. Concurrently, the US occupation of Japan and Okinawa following World War II, and US involvement in the war in Korea (1950–1953), were responsible for significant numbers of interracial marriages (between US servicemen and foreign nationals) as well as, perhaps, an association of Asian women with prostitution. In the 1957 film *Sayonara*, Marlon Brando (1924–2004) portrayed an Air Force officer stationed in occupied Japan who falls in love with a Japanese woman (Miiko Taka) after much soul-searching. The film's message of racial tolerance is put in service of a conservative affirmation of the sexist ideology of romantic love. The apotheosis of romantic melodrama in this mode was *The World of Suzie Wong* (1960), adapted from a Broadway play that was in turn adapted from a best-selling novel by Richard Mason (1919–1997). An American expatriate (William Holden) falls in love with a Hong Kong prostitute (Nancy Kwan) and (again, after much soul-searching) asks her to follow him (presumably, back home to the United States). While *Sayonara*'s heroine was a woman of some social standing, Suzie Wong transmitted the notion

that Asian women are inherently submissive, even to the point of depicting Suzie's friends complimenting her for inspiring violent jealousy in her lover.

These romantic melodramas differed from pre-1940 tragic romance narratives by allowing the interracial attraction to be consummated. Movies made under the Production Code generally ended with the death of one of the lovers (with the white partner surviving more often than not). Furthermore, the Asian characters were typically portrayed by a white actor made up in "yellow face" makeup (minimally, minor prosthetics to alter the shape of the eyes). Cultural conventions dictated that if the characters were of different races, it would be preferable if the actors were both white. Thus the practice of "yellow face" casting was driven not solely by economic concerns (casting a film with established white stars in favor of unknown Asian American actors), but also by responsiveness to societal taboos.

FROM SHORT SUBJECTS TO FEATURE FILMS

While the films produced by Sessue Hayakawa in the 1910s and 1920s are tenuously related to Asian American film production a half-century later, other filmmakers have a more direct relation by virtue of their subject matter and perspective, as well as their independent productions. The prehistory of Asian American cinema includes *A Filipino/a in America* (1938), a 16mm film produced by the University of Southern California student Doroteo Ines; the 8mm "home movies" shot by David Tatsuno in the Topaz internment camp during World War II (recognized in 1997 by the Library of Congress's National Film Registry); and Tom Tam's *Tourist Bus Go Home* (1969), a silent 8mm film documenting protests against tours of New York's Chinatown.

The period of the 1970s saw the rise of media arts collectives and centers and the filmmakers affiliated with them officially or unofficially. Many of their short films were shot without synchronized sound and utilized an essayistic mode of voice-over narration: *Manzanar* (Robert Nakamura, 1972), *Dupont Guy: The Schiz of Grant Avenue* (Curtis Choy, 1976), *Wong Sinsaang* (Eddie Wong, 1971). Loni Ding produced more conventional documentaries (*How We Got Here: The Chinese*, 1976) as well as children's programming such as the series *Bean Sprouts* (1983). Nakamura, Duane Kubo, and others made *Hito Hata: Raise the Banner* (1980), arguably Asian American cinema's first feature-length narrative film.

Asian American cinema's networks are built around the spine of a number of regional media arts centers, supported by grants from federal and state agencies as well as private foundations. Los Angeles's Visual Communications (VC) was the first significant Asian American media-arts collective, coalescing around a core of filmmakers associated with the University of California Los Angeles's ethno-communications program. In 1971 VC was granted nonprofit status and produced a number of short films (primarily documentaries) over the next decade. In 1976 Asian CineVision (ACV) was founded in New York City. Centered initially in Chinatown, ACV organized workshops in video technique with the aim of producing programming for public-access cable, and it organized its first film festival in 1978. Following in ACV's footsteps, most of the media-arts organizations founded since have organized annual film festivals, including Seattle's King Street Media, Boston's Asian American Resource Workshop, and Washington, DC's Asian American Arts and Media. Chicago's Foundation for Asian American Independent Media (FAAIM), which evolved out of the Fortune4 group that organized a nationwide tour of Asian American rock bands, put on its first showcase in 1996: it remains to be seen whether future organizations will focus on maintaining production facilities or on promoting Asian American arts generally.

In 1980 the first conference of Asian American filmmakers was held in Berkeley, California. Motivated in part by the report "A Formula for Change" by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB), which identified the need for greater inclusion of minorities within PBS onscreen and off-, the conference produced a national organization, the National Asian American Telecommunications Association (NAATA) based in San Francisco. The NAATA organizers no doubt made note of the fact that CPB had provided funding to the Latino Consortium in 1979; CPB formally recognized the Latino Consortium and NAATA as "minority consortia" in 1980. In effect, CPB funds NAATA, which in turn funds independent filmmakers, whose projects are then slated for PBS broadcast. NAATA's mandate thus favors documentary projects suited for television broadcast, and the San Francisco Asian American International Film Festival features nonfiction programming to a greater degree than the annual festivals in New York, Los Angeles, and elsewhere. (See Gong in Feng, *Screening Asian Americans*, pp. 101–110.)

The early 1980s saw the emergence of a number of documentarians in conjunction with PBS's increased receptivity to minority filmmakers. Loni Ding made *Nisei Soldier* (1983) and *The Color of Honor* (1987), and Christine Choy and Renee Tajima collaborated on *Who Killed Vincent Chin?* (1987). Arthur Dong (*Forbidden City, USA*, 1986) and Curtis Choy (*Fall of the I-Hotel*, 1983) were joined by Steven Okazaki (*Unfinished Business*, 1985; *Days of Waiting*, 1990) and Mira Nair (b. 1957) (*So Far from India*, 1982; *India Cabaret*, 1985). Okazaki has continued to produce

WAYNE WANG
b. Hong Kong, 12 January 1949

Named after John Wayne, Wang studied painting at the California College of Arts and Crafts, where he also studied film history and production. Wang worked as a director for a television comedy in Hong Kong in the 1970s before returning to the San Francisco Bay area, working as an administrator for a Chinatown community organization and assisting in the production of children's television programming aimed at Chinese American children.

Chan Is Missing (1981), Wang's breakthrough feature, was originally planned as a video documentary about cab drivers. The cast, which combined theatrically trained actors skilled in improvisation with nonactors in supporting roles, was completed on a budget of $22,500, with the lion's share of funding coming from the American Film Institute and the National Endowment for the Arts. Along with *sex, lies, and videotape* (Steven Soderbergh, 1989), *Chan Is Missing* has been credited with launching the independent film scene of the 1980s and 1990s.

Wang is perhaps best known for directing the 1993 screen adaptation of Amy Tan's best-selling debut novel *The Joy Luck Club* (1989), financed by Disney's Hollywood Pictures division and produced by Oliver Stone. In the intervening decade, Wang had directed two feature films with funding from public television's *American Playhouse* (both with Chinese American themes, including a 1989 adaptation of Louis Chu's 1961 novel *Eat a Bowl of Tea*), an independent feature with predominantly white characters played by a cast of established actors, and a low-budget film (produced in collaboration with writer-director-actor Spencer Nakasako) drawing upon European art cinema à la Jean-Luc Godard. Wang has demonstrated a commitment to guerrilla filmmaking: establishing himself as a skilled director of studio-owned properties, he has generally followed these mainstream projects with his own productions, taking advantage of technological developments such as digital video to restrict costs and facilitate an improvisatory approach. *Blue in the Face* (1995), for example, was improvised on the same sets and with much of the cast of *Smoke* (1995). Wang followed *Anywhere But Here* (1999), an adaptation of the novel by Mona Simpson, with *The Center of the World* (2001), shot on digital video and written in collaboration with (among others) Paul Auster, who had previously worked on *Smoke* and *Blue in the Face*.

Wang's early films, produced during a period of rapid growth and reconsolidation in the US film industry, have provided the template for independent Asian American feature filmmaking. Wang has expressed the desire not to get pigeonholed as an Asian American or Chinese filmmaker, but he has also returned repeatedly to Asian and Asian American themes. He has demonstrated a commitment to alternative cinematic modes that balances his lowbrow commercial films (*Maid in Manhattan* [2002], *Because of Winn-Dixie* [2005], and *Last Holiday*, 2006). In many ways, Wang's career evinces the same liminality as Asian American cinema as a whole.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Chan Is Missing (1981), *Dim Sum: A Little Bit of Heart* (1985), *Eat a Bowl of Tea* (1989), *The Joy Luck Club* (1993), *Smoke* (1995)

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documentaries as well as feature films (*Living on Tokyo Time*, 1987), while Nair has established herself as a feature filmmaker with *Mississippi Masala* (1991), *Kama Sutra: A Tale of Love* (1996), and *Monsoon Wedding* (2001), as well as non–Asian-themed features such as *Hysterical Blindness* (2002) and *Vanity Fair* (2004). Other feature filmmakers to emerge in the decade include Peter Wang (*A Great Wall*, 1986; *The Laser*

Wayne Wang at the time of* Blue in the Face *(1995).
EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Man, 1988) and perhaps most successfully, Wayne Wang (b. 1949) (*Chan Is Missing*, 1982).

The 1990s witnessed innovative approaches to nonfiction film and video as well as the emergence of a new generation of independent feature filmmakers. Spencer Nakasako collaborated on a series of "camcorder diaries" with Southeast Asian youth in the San Francisco Bay Area (*A.K.A. Don Bonus*, 1995, with Sokly Ny; *Kelly Loves Tony*, 1998, with Kelly Saeteurn and Tony Saelio; *Refuge*, 2002, with Mike Siv). The video artists Richard Fung (*The Way to My Father's Village*, 1988; *My Mother's Place*, 1990; *Sea in the Blood*, 2000), Rea Tajiri (*History and Memory*, 1991), and Janice Tanaka (*Memories from the Department of Amnesia*, 1989; *Who's Going to Pay for These Donuts, Anyway?*, 1993) combined documentary technique with first-person videomaking in a series of strikingly personal video essays, while the experimental filmmaker Trinh T. Minh-Ha critiqued conventional ethnographic, documentary, and fiction film practices in *Reassemblage* (1982), *Surname Viet Given Name Nam* (1989), and *A Tale of Love* (1995). Tajiri has also directed a feature film, *Strawberry Fields* (1997), as well as a more conventional documentary, *Yuri Kochiyama: Passion for Justice* (1993, with Pat Saunders).

The feature filmmakers Quentin Lee and Justin Lin (b. 1973) collaborated on *Shopping for Fangs* (1997); Lin's *Better Luck Tomorrow* (2003) was picked up for commercial distribution by youth-oriented MTV Films. Tony Bui (b. 1973) established himself as an art-house filmmaker with *Three Seasons* (1999) and *Green Dragon* (2001). Certainly the most successful of these filmmakers was Ang Lee (b. 1954), whose first features were produced with Taiwanese funding (*Pushing Hands*, 1992; *The Wedding Banquet*, 1993) and who has escaped pigeonholing with Emma Thompson's adaptation of Jane Austen's *Sense and Sensibility* (1993), as well as *The Ice Storm* (1997), *Hulk* (2003), based on the popular Marvel Comics character, and the gay-themed western *Brokeback Mountain* (2005).

The audience for Asian American film remains small: it is not just that there are fewer Asian Americans than African Americans and Latinos, but also that a smaller percentage of Asian Americans are regular consumers of film and the other arts, perhaps due to language barriers (foreign-born Asians outnumber US-born). To survive, independent filmmakers have relied heavily on grassroots and Internet-based publicity campaigns. The release strategy for *The Debut* (Gene Cajayon, 2000) and *Robot Stories* (Greg Pak, 2003) involved a city-by-city rollout, with reliance on e-mail lists to spread word of mouth. Evolving distribution technologies may impact independent filmmakers in surprising ways, perhaps bringing them into more direct contact with their audiences. At the dawn of the twenty-first century, however, regional film festivals, video distribution through NAATA, and airings on PBS are still the primary venues for Asian American cinema.

The return of Hong Kong to Chinese rule in 1997 precipitated an exodus of action stars and filmmakers. Hollywood has been eager to assimilate the expertise of these filmmakers as well as exploit their popularity in the Asian market. The impact of these new arrivals on Asian American feature filmmaking is uncertain. Directors have typically taken on mainstream US projects without discernible Asian content. Actors such as Chow Yun-fat (b. 1955) (*The Replacement Killers*, 1998; *Bulletproof Monk*, 2003) and Jet Li (b. 1963) (*Romeo Must Die*, 2000; *Cradle 2 the Grave*, 2003), by virtue of their appearances on screen, sometimes inspire narratives that account for their presence on US soil—either marking them as foreign or temporary visitors, or narrativizing their immigration status. Such movies arguably dramatize

The ensemble cast of Wayne Wang's **The Joy Luck Club** *(1993).* EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

an Asian American context. However, it is also the case that the importation of established stars does little to increase the visibility of Asian American independent filmmaking. From Hollywood's perspective, the Asian American audience (as a market) is equally receptive to escapist entertainment with established Asian stars as it is to independent (not to say art-house) movies with unknown Asian American stars.

In contrast with the Hong Kong industry, there has been virtually no crossover from the Hindi cinema of India (known as Bollywood). Indian film stars have occasionally appeared in English-language films produced in Canada and the United Kingdom, which is not surprising given patterns of Indian migration between former Commonwealth nations. The most notable US-based filmmaker of South Asian ancestry is Mira Nair, who has produced films in the United States as well as in India. Interestingly, many of these films produced by Britons and Canadians of South Asian ancestry, such as Hanif Kureishi (b. 1954), Gurinder Chadha (b. 1966), and Deepa Mehta (b. 1950), have much in common with Asian American narrative filmmaking. While the context of the north of England may differ significantly from that of the Atlantic seaboard of the United States, thematizations of acculturation, racism, and romance suggest that much can be learned by taking a ''diasporic'' approach, comparing films made by Asian minorities in ''Western'' (English-speaking) countries. Many of Kureishi's films have been produced by Channel Four Films (later Film Four) or for the BBC; like NAATA and CPB in the United States, then, the national television service in the United Kingdom is specifically tasked to distribute money to diverse, often first-time filmmakers. Unlike the US system, however, Channel Four funds primarily narrative features.

SEE ALSO *Diasporic Cinema; Race and Ethnicity*

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AUSTRALIA

Between 1910 and 1912, eighty Australian films were released. In 1913, only seventeen films were released. Ten years later production had dropped to only eight films. A similar pattern of boom and bust occurred in the 1930s and 1940s. The first boom ended in 1912, when the major distributors and exhibitors merged into one company, Australasian Films. The second boom ended in 1946 for similar reasons, when the management of Australia's largest and most profitable studio, Cinesound, decided that investing in local production was too risky and thenceforth concentrated on the distribution and exhibition of American and British films. This decision consigned the Australian feature film industry to a slow death in the 1950s and 1960s, and it was not until a profound cultural and political change in the late 1960s and early 1970s, along with the establishment of a viable infrastructure, that the Australian cinema regained its audience.

OPTIMISM AND GROWTH: THE EARLY YEARS

Australians embraced film from the beginning. Edison's "kinetoscope" 31 mm film-viewers arrived in Sydney in November 1884. Over the next five months, twenty-five thousand Australians viewed the machines. In 1898, Henry Lawson's "The Australian Cinematograph" was published, and the story's imaginative use of color and movement encouraged the film historian Ina Bertrand to describe it as "Australia's first screenplay." Lawson's story appeared two years after Australia's first film, *Passengers Alighting from the Paddle Steamer "Brighton" at Manly*, which was filmed by the Frenchman Marius Sestier (1861–1928) in October 1896. However, it was Sestier's next venture the following month, at the Flemington Racecourse in Melbourne, that captured the public imagination when he filmed a number of races, including the Melbourne Cup race of 1896. Unfortunately, Sestier did not believe that there was much future in his occupation, and he left the country with the negative; it was not until 1969 that a copy of the film was presented to the National Film Library in Canberra.

Early film production came from an unlikely source, the Limelight Department of the Salvation Army. Beginning in 1891, the Limelight Department, under the supervision of its chief technician, Joseph Perry (1863–1943), developed slides to accompany religious presentations (it "officially" opened on 11 June 1892). In 1897 Perry began using motion pictures, and he established Australia's first film studio behind the Salvation Army's Bourke Street headquarters in Melbourne, where Commandant Herbert Booth scripted and directed "feature length" presentations of one-minute films and slides. The most well known was *Soldiers of the Cross*, a lecture on the Christian martyrs that consisted of 15 one-minute films and 220 slides, first screened on 13 September 1900. The popularity of these films encouraged the Salvation Army to undertake secular projects, and in 1901 it produced a thirty-five-minute film, *The Inauguration of the Australian Commonwealth*, on behalf of the New South Wales government.

The Story of the Kelly Gang, Australia's first fully integrated, secular, fictional narrative film, appeared in 1906. Stage productions dramatizing the exploits of Australia's most famous bushranger, Ned Kelly, were common even before his hanging in 1880, and J. & N. Tait, which held the stage rights to the exploits of the Kelly Gang, encouraged the Melbourne chemists Milliard

Johnson and William Gibson to make a film on Kelly's life up to the point where he was captured by the police at the Glenrowan Hotel. With a budget of £1,000, filming took place over a series of weekends in the bush around Melbourne. Although the running time at the first screening on 26 December 1906 was reported to be forty minutes, advertisements for the film claimed its length to be approximately four thousand feet, or sixty-seven minutes, provoking speculation that this was the world's first feature film. The film enjoyed great success in Australia and Britain, where it was advertised as the longest film ever made. It also encouraged the development of the "bushranging genre," Australia's most popular film genre until it was banned by the New South Wales Police Department in 1912. The police justified the ban on the basis that bushranging films ridiculed the law and transformed lawbreakers into heroes. The police claimed that such films would have a negative effect on children and teenagers. The ban lasted until the 1940s.

Australia was a prolific producer of relatively long films between 1906 and 1912. For example, in 1911, when the film industries in the United States and Britain concentrated mainly on short films, more than twenty Australian films exceeded three thousand feet, with nearly half of them greater than four thousand feet. This boom in local production did not last, and during World War I, Hollywood began to dominate Australian screens. By 1920, Australasian Films controlled nearly three-quarters of local exhibition under its Union Theatres banner, and it demonstrated only a sporadic interest in local production. Its main competitor, Hoyts Pictures, was even less interested in local production. In the 1950s Hoyts and Australasian's successor, Greater Union Organisation, was joined by a third national chain, Village Theatres, which became active in the financing and distribution of Australian films in the early 1970s.

AMERICAN CONQUEST, AUSTRALIAN RESISTANCE: 1914 TO 1932

During World War I, the first American film exchanges in Australia opened, and they consolidated their control throughout the 1920s. With the exception of Hercules McIntyre at Universal, who financed a number of films directed by Charles Chauvel (1897–1959), including *In the Wake of the Bounty* (1933), *Forty Thousand Horsemen* (1940), and *Sons of Matthew* (1949), the American companies showed little interest in Australian films and production was sporadic. Consequently, many Australians, such as Louise Carbasse (1895–1980), who achieved stardom as Louise Lovely, the swimmer Annette Kellerman (1887–1975), John Gavin, Snub Pollard (1889–1962), Billy Bevan (1887–1957), Arthur Shirley (1887–1967), and Clyde Cook (1891–1984) enjoyed success in Hollywood.

Although strong patriotic feelings during World War I encouraged the production of propaganda films such as *The Hero of the Dardanelles* (1915), *Within Our Gates, or Deeds That Won Gallipoli* (1915), and *The Martyrdom of Nurse Cavell* (1916), the American domination continued. Before 1914 less than half of films screened in Australia were American; by 1923 the figure had grown to 94 percent. Yet the Australian cinema matured during this period and filmmakers such as Raymond Longford (1878–1959) and Franklyn Barrett (1874–1964) produced their finest films. Longford, in collaboration with his long-term partner Lottie Lyell (1890–1925), directed *The Woman Suffers* (1918), *The Sentimental Bloke* (1919), *Ginger Mick* (1920), *On Our Selection* (1920), *Rudd's New Selection* (1921), *The Blue Mountains Mystery* (1921), co-directed by Lyell, and *The Dinkum Bloke* (1923). Barrett, who shared Longford's interest in distinctly Australian stories, captured the harsh qualities of the Australian outback in films such as *The Breaking of the Drought* (1920) and *A Girl of the Bush* (1921). However, adequate distribution and financing was a perennial problem and Barrett, for example, retired from production in 1922 to concentrate on exhibition in Sydney and Canberra.

Another perennial problem concerned the content of the films. Should Australian films, such as *The Breaking of the Drought*, focus only on recognizably Australian stories and themes, or should they be more universal in the hope that they might appeal to overseas, primarily American, audiences? A concerted effort in the latter direction occurred in 1919, when the actor Reginald "Snowy" Baker (1884–1953) formed a production company with exhibitor E. J. Carroll and his brother Daniel to produce films at their newly renovated Palmerston Studios in Sydney. To this end they imported the American husband-and-wife filmmakers, the director Wilfred Lucas (1871–1940) and the screenwriter Bess Meredyth (1890–1969), together with the American actress Brownie Vernon (1895–1948), the Hollywood cinematographer Robert Doerrer, and the production assistant John K. Wells to make three films starring Baker: *The Man from Kangaroo* (1920), *The Shadow of Lightning Ridge* (1920), and *The Jackeroo of Coolabong* (1920). Although these films were attacked by the local critics for their "Americanisms," Australian audiences flocked to them, and they were subsequently reedited and retitled for the American market. After the completion of *The Jackeroo of Coolabong*, Baker left Australia with Lucas and Meredyth and enjoyed a modest career in a series of westerns and action films in Hollywood in the 1920s.

The importance of the American market was also a crucial factor in removing Raymond Longford from *For the Term of His Natural Life* (1927), a film he had been preparing for Australasian Films. In the hope of

improving American sales, Longford was asked to step aside in favor of the visiting American director Norman Dawn (1884–1975). Dawn then proceeded to hire the American cameraman Len Roos and the Hollywood actors George Fisher (1891–1960) and Eva Novak (1898–1988) as the budget escalated to fifty thousand pounds, twenty times the cost of the average Australian film. Released in June 1927, *For the Term of His Natural Life* was an immediate success in Australia but, partly due to the arrival of sound, failed in America.

KEN G. HALL AND CINESOUND: AUSTRALIA'S "HOLLYWOOD" STUDIO

At the nadir of the Depression in 1931, the controlling shareholder of Australasian Films forced the company into liquidation. Immediately, the managing director, Stuart Doyle, formed a new company, Greater Union Theatres, and the following year he created Australia's most financially successful studio, Cinesound Productions, under the supervision of Ken G. Hall (1901–1994). Beginning with *On Our Selection*, Hall produced, directed, and was often the writer of seventeen films between 1932 and 1940, which was Cinesound's total output except for one film, *Come Up Smiling* (renamed *Ants in His Pants* after it was previewed in Hobart in 1939), and even in this film, Hall's influence was evident, as it was based on his script (under the pseudonym John Addison Chancellor). Every Cinesound production was profitable, although *Strike Me Lucky* (1934), starring Australia's most popular stage and radio comedian, Roy Rene (1892–1954), only recovered its costs some time after its initial release.

Hall, who visited Hollywood in 1925 to observe film production techniques, modeled Cinesound on the Hollywood studio system. He tried to minimize the chances of failure with a formula that emphasized the "Australianness" of Cinesound Productions through dialogue and settings within a narrative structure that appealed to audiences familiar with Hollywood films. The most successful Cinesound productions were the series of "Dad 'n' Dave" films starring Bert Bailey (1868–1953) as Dad Rudd and Fred MacDonald (1895–1968) as his slow-witted son, Dave. Loosely based on the characters created by Steele Rudd (1868–1935), Hall directed *On Our Selection*, *Grandad Rudd* (1935), *Dad and Dave Come to Town* (1938), and *Dad Rudd MP* (1940), Cinesound's last production. Hall's versatility also included a wide range of genres from society melodramas (*The Silence of Dean Maitland*, 1934, and *Broken Melody*, 1938), to adventure melodramas (*Orphan of the Wilderness*, 1936; *Thoroughbred*, 1936; *Lovers and Luggers*, 1937; *Tall Timbers*, 1937), and musicals (*Gone to the Dogs*, 1939) as well as various forms of comedy (*It Isn't Done*, 1937, *Let George Do It*, 1938). In 1938 he persuaded Cecil Kellaway (1893–1973) to return to Australia from Hollywood, where he had a contract with RKO, for one of his best films, *Mr. Chedworth Steps Out* (1939). Kellaway plays George Chedworth, a likeable family man victimized by a pretentious wife, ungrateful employers, and a son (Peter Finch) addicted to gambling. This gentle melodrama combined comedy with a subtle critique of Australian middle-class family life in the late 1930s.

GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION IN THE 1920s AND 1930s

A Royal Commission was established in 1927 to investigate the influence of Hollywood films, and although there were concerns over the state of the Australian film industry, the commission was equally concerned by the decline of the number of British films screened in Australia. In 1913 British films represented 26.3 percent of the total number of imported films, but by 1923 this figure had fallen to 3.4 percent. Although the commission recommended protection for the British industry with an exhibition quota, it did nothing to change American domination. In the 1930s the Fox film company purchased a controlling share in Hoyts, while MGM and Paramount secured their own first-run theaters. In 1945 the British Rank Organisation acquired a controlling interest in Union Theatres.

In 1934 an inquiry established by the New South Wales government recommended a five-year distribution and exhibition quota for Australian films. The resultant NSW (New South Wales) Cinematograph Films (Australian Quota) Act of 1935 required that 5 percent of all films handled by distributors and 4 percent of all those screened by exhibitors in the first year should be Australian. The act also encouraged the establishment of a new studio modeled on the Gaumont-British National Studios in London, namely National Studios, built at Pagewood in Sydney. However, its first film, *The Flying Doctor* (1936), with the American actor Charles Farrell (1901–1990) in the lead role under the direction of the British actor Miles Mander (1888–1946), failed badly, and the company only made one more film, *Rangle River* (1936), an Australian western written by Zane Grey (1872–1939) during a visit to Australia and starring the Hollywood actor Victor Jory (1902–1982) and the British actor Robert Coote (1909–1982), under the direction of the American Clarence Badger (1880–1964). Although *Rangle River* was commercially and critically successful in Australia, it did not receive an American release until 1939, and by then National Films had collapsed.

Other than *The Flying Doctor* and *Rangle River*, Charles Chauvel's *Uncivilised* (1936) was the only other film to be made as a direct result of the NSW Quota Act

PETER WEIR

b. Sydney, New South Wales, Australia, 21 August 1944

Peter Weir's *Picnic at Hanging Rock* (1975) was hailed as a seminal moment in the development of the Australian film industry. This film, together with *Sunday Too Far Away* (1975), was perceived as evidence that the local film industry had moved beyond the "ocker" comedies of the early 1970s to producing mature, aesthetically complex films. This tale of a small group of late-Victorian schoolgirls, who vanish while exploring the volcanic outcrop known as Hanging Rock north of Melbourne, was heavily influenced by the conventions of the art cinema, with its ambiguous closure and strong reliance on symbolism. The film was a commercial and critical success after it won acclaim at Cannes in 1976.

Weir began directing during a period when there was, in effect, no Australian feature film industry. His first film, made in 1967 for the social club of a Sydney television channel, was a 16mm comedy, *Count Vim's Last Exercise*. He continued directing 16mm films as well as filming sequences for a local television program. In 1969 he joined the Commonwealth Film Unit and made two low-budget films, the comedy *Homesdale* (1971), which won the Grand Prix at the 1971 Australian Film Awards, and a rare example of Australian Gothic, *The Cars That Ate Paris* (1974).

Weir's interest in the mystical aspects of nature is also apparent in *The Last Wave* (1977), but issues of Australian identity are explored most fully in *Gallipoli* (1981), a retelling of the military disaster on the Dardanelles in 1915 starring Mel Gibson. The film emphasizes the nexus between athletics and war in the formation of Australian national identity, concluding with a striking freeze-frame as the two young men dash across the bloody battlefields at Gallipoli to their deaths.

After the success of *The Year of Living Dangerously* (1982), Weir left for Hollywood, where he has continued to explore various permutations of the individual seemingly out of his depth in an "alien" culture. Weir's pre-1977 films were influenced more by European art cinema than by mainstream Hollywood cinema, but since his move to America in the early 1980s, his American films have tried to assimilate aspects of the former mode into the grander narrative and economic demands of the latter. *Witness* (1985) and *Dead Poets Society* (1989) have fared better in this regard than *The Mosquito Coast* (1986) and *Fearless* (1993). Weir received best director nominations for *Witness*; *The Truman Show*; and *Master and Commander: The Far Side of the World* (2003). Weir's screenplay for *Green Card* (1991) was also nominated for an Academy Award®.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Picnic at Hanging Rock (1975), *The Last Wave* (1977), *Gallipoli* (1981), *The Year of Living Dangerously* (1982), *Witness* (1985), *Dead Poets Society* (1989), *The Truman Show* (1998), *Master and Commander: The Far Side of the World* (2003)

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of 1935. In December 1938 the New South Wales government offered guaranteed bank overdrafts to local productions and, again, Charles Chauvel benefited as the guarantee provided 50 percent of the financing for his most popular film, *Forty Thousand Horsemen* (1940), a stirring war film celebrating the courage of Australian soldiers in the Sinai Desert campaign during World War I. An ardent nationalist, Chauvel directed only nine feature films, including Errol Flynn's (1909–1959) first film, *In the Wake of the Bounty* (1933).

THE BARREN YEARS: 1945 TO 1969

Unfortunately, *Forty Thousand Horsemen*, which premiered six months after Cinesound's final film, *Dad Rudd, MP*, marked the end of an era. For the next thirty years the Australian film industry diminished to a point where, in the 1960s, it barely existed. Only nine Australian feature films, produced independently, were released during World War II. The high point, however, was not a feature film but *Kokoda Front Line*, a special edition of the weekly newsreel *Cinesound Review*, which

Peter Weir shooting* The Mosquito Coast *(1986). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

won an Academy Award® for the best documentary in 1942. After the war the British studio Ealing tried hard to convince Greater Union, the parent company for Cinesound, to join with it in the production of Australian films. This followed the worldwide success of Ealing's first Australian production, *The Overlanders* (1946), an epic adventure starring Chips Rafferty (1909–1971) as the leader of a small group who drive eighty-five-thousand cattle two thousand miles from Western Australia to the Queensland coast during the early years of World War II. Greater Union, however, was not interested in resuming production, and after two more films Ealing abandoned its plan.

This was symptomatic of the 1950s, a decade of lost opportunities. Only a few filmmakers, such as the New Zealander Cecil Holmes (1921–1994) and the actor Chips Rafferty, in partnership with the director Lee Robinson (1923–2003), kept the industry alive with low budget action melodramas such as *The Phantom Stockman* (1953), *King of the Coral Sea* (1954), and *Walk into Paradise* (1956). This was a period dominated by overseas companies. The British made *Smiley* (1956), *The Shiralee* (1957), *Robbery under Arms* (1957), *Smiley Gets His Gun* (1958), and *The Siege of Pinchgut* (1959), while the Americans filmed *The Kangaroo Kid* (1950), *Kangaroo* (1952), *Summer of the Seventeenth Doll* (1959), *On the Beach* (1959), *Shadow of the Boomerang* (1960), and *The Sundowners* (1960). The lack of regular film work meant that many Australian actors, such as Peter Finch (1916–1977), Ron Randell (1918–2005), John McCallum (b. 1917), Charles Tingwell (b. 1923), Grant Taylor (1917–1971), Guy Doleman (1923–1996), Michael Pate (b. 1920), Jeanette Elphick (1935–1988) (Victoria Shaw), and Reg Lye (1912–1988) left for either Britain or Hollywood.

THE AUSTRALIAN NEW WAVE: THE COMEDIES

While the feature film industry languished in the 1950 and 1960s, this was a relatively rich period for documentary and nonfiction film. The visit to Australia in 1940 by John Grierson (1898–1972) helped the establishment of the National Film Board in 1945, which was modeled on the Grierson-inspired National Film Board of Canada. This evolved into the Commonwealth Film Unit, and in 1973 it became Film Australia. Directors such as Peter Weir (b. 1944), Tim Burstall (1927–2004),

Michael Thornhill (b. 1941), Esben Storm (b. 1950), Brian Hannant (b. 1940), and Olivier Howes (b. 1940) produced films for this organization and, together with Ken Hannam (1929–2004) and Carl Schultz, who gained experience in television, and Fred Schepisi (b. 1939), who emerged from the advertising industry, there was a pool of talent eager to make feature films in the late 1960s and early 1970s. All that was needed was an adequate infrastructure that could assist with financing, distribution, and exhibition. This took shape when Prime Minister Harold Holt (1908–1967) established the Australian Council of the Arts, with a Film and Television Committee, in 1967. In May 1969 this committee recommended the establishment of a national film and television school, which opened in 1973; a film development corporation; and an experimental film fund. All three recommendations were accepted by the government, and with the passage of the Australian Film Development Corporation Bill in 1970, Australian film was finally recognized in a parliamentary act.

Among the first films to benefit from government assistance were two "ocker" comedies: *Stork* (1971) and *The Adventures of Barry McKenzie* (1972). The "ocker" comedies of the 1970s were developed by non-mainstream writers and actors associated with progressive theatrical groups such as the Melbourne-based Pram Factory. The "ocker" films were urban in setting and were usually grotesque parodies that lampooned various aspects of Australian life. *Stork*, scripted by David Williamson (b. 1942) from his play, was directed by Tim Burstall, who was a key figure in the revival of the feature film industry. The film, with a budget of $70,000, was shot in Melbourne on 16mm film stock, and it received $7,000 from the Experimental Film and Television Fund. To recover costs, Burstall and his associates successfully screened the film themselves before it was picked up for distribution by Roadshow. *The Adventures of Barry McKenzie* was more fortunate, as its entire $250,000 budget was provided by the Australian Film Development Corporation. Directed by Bruce Beresford (b. 1940), scripted by Barry Humphries (b. 1934) from his own comic strip, and produced by Phillip Adams (b. 1939), *The Adventures of Barry McKenzie* benefited from the easing of censorship in Australia, where it received the "R" certificate ("Restricted," people under 18 years of age were prohibited from attending these films). This bawdy comedy featured copious amounts of beer drinking and vomiting and numerous scenes demonstrating the sexual inadequacy of its dim-witted Australian protagonist (Barry Crocker) during his "adventures" in Britain. The success of the film in both Australia and Britain encouraged local investment. Burstall's *Petersen* (1974), scripted by David Williamson and starring Jack Thompson (b. 1940) as the electrical tradesman who enrolls at a university and enters into an affair with his married tutor, received a more positive endorsement from the critics. Similarly, *Don's Party* (1976), directed by Beresford from Williamson's script, was also well received for its incisive critique of the failed dreams of a small group of people attending a party on the night of the 1969 election.

Sex comedies, such as Burstall's *Alvin Purple* (1973), emerged in the early 1970s as an alternative to the "ocker" comedies. These films were much less confrontational in their criticisms of Australian attitudes. *Alvin Purple*, for example, was based on the simple premise of a naive young man (Graeme Blundell) who cannot understand why every woman he meets wants to have sex with him. It became Australia's most successful film in the 1970s and was followed by a sequel, *Alvin Rides Again* (1974), and a television series.

FROM THE NEW WAVE TO GENRE FILMS

In 1972 the premier of South Australia, Don Dunstan, established the South Australian Film Corporation, and three years later this organization produced two films that changed the nature of the Australian film industry: *Sunday Too Far Away* and *Picnic at Hanging Rock* (both 1975). The corporation was also involved in many other notable productions during this period, including *Storm Boy* (1976), *"Breaker" Morant* (1980), and Peter Weir's *The Last Wave* (1977) and *Gallipoli* (1981). Its success inspired the other states to establish similar organizations and provided an ideal environment for directors such as Weir to develop a style of filmmaking that was noticeably different from the prevailing Hollywood style. Many of its films, including television productions such as *Sara Dane* (1982) and *Robbery under Arms* (1985), were set in the past and characterized by spectacular cinematography; character-based narratives; and downbeat, or open, endings.

The best film to emerge from this period, *Sunday Too Far Away*, was filmed on location near Port Augusta in South Australia. The setting is a shearing station in 1956, and while it details the rough mateship of men separated from wives and girlfriends, a sense of melancholy permeates the film. Aside from winning major awards in Australia, it was selected for screening at the Director's Fortnight at the Cannes Festival, and it also received generous praise from British critics. While Hannam's film favored a low-key realist style, Weir's *Picnic at Hanging Rock* was more in keeping with the European art film, as it largely eschewed a driving, coherent narrative style in favor of ambiguity and symbolism. Weir's film, which was based on Joan Lindsay's 1967 book, was concerned with the disappearance of a small group of Victorian schoolgirls who vanish while exploring

David Gulpilil (left) and Richard Chamberlain (center) in Peter Weir's* The Last Wave *(1977). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

the strange volcanic rocks at Hanging Rock, just north of Melbourne. The film was heralded as evidence of the artistic maturity of the Australian film industry.

The success of both films was influential, and they were followed by a series of low-key period films in the next four years, including *Caddie* (Donald Crombie, 1976) and *The Irishman* (1978), *Storm Boy* (Henri Safran, 1976), *Break of Day* (Hannam, 1976), *The Picture Show Man* (John Power, 1977), *The Getting of Wisdom* (Beresford, 1977), *The Mango Tree* (Kevin Dobson, 1977), and *Blue Fin* (Carl Shultz, 1978). The languid pacing and downbeat tone of these films encouraged producer, author, and radio commentator Phillip Adams to catalog them as "elegiac images of failure."

Bruce Beresford's *Money Movers* (1979) and George Miller's *Mad Max* (1979) were tough crime genre films and represented a significant change. Beresford's film, one of his best, was underrated by critics at the time of its release. On the other hand, Miller's film, which was made on a very tight budget, struck a chord with audiences in Australia, America, and elsewhere. The film, which made Mel Gibson (b. 1956) a star, was rooted in the most elemental of melodramatic plots, the revenge story. It was lean, violent, humorous, and had little interest in the nuances of characterization. While some critics condemned it, its commercial success resulted in two sequels, *The Road Warrior* (1981) and *Mad Max Beyond Thunderdome* (1985). Larger budgets gave Miller an opportunity in the two sequels not only to intensify the visceral spectacle of the first film but to be more ambitious thematically.

The success of the *Mad Max* trilogy, in conjunction with changes in the nature of government support for the industry, provoked a rapid increase in the production of crime films and other forms of melodrama. In 1981 division 10BA of the Income Tax Assessment Act offered a tax deduction of 150 percent of eligible film investment and exemption from taxation on the first 50 percent of net earnings from that investment, providing that the projects could verify their Australian credentials and could be financed, completed, and released in the year

JANE CAMPION

b. Wellington, New Zealand, 30 April 1954

Educated in London, where she studied fine arts at the Chelsea School of Arts, and Sydney, Jane Campion was accepted into the Australian Film and Television School in 1981, where she directed the controversial short *Peel* (1982), which some years later won the 1986 Palme d'Or for shorts at the Cannes Film Festival. After more shorts and, following that, experience on a television series, her first feature was *Two Friends* (1986) for television. Although the basis of the story, the relationship between two girls over a period of time, was familiar, Campion's interest in exploring independent women in films that were presented in a nonliteral manner was already evident. *Two Friends* won awards from the Australian Film Institute for its innovative narrative, which told the story of the two girls in reverse time.

Similarly, Campion's first theatrical feature film, *Sweetie* (1989), was unconventional. The film traces the volatile relationship between two sisters, the introverted Kay and the erratic Sweetie, and explores a recurring motif in Campion's cinema, the tenuous divide between anarchy and "civilization." *Sweetie* was followed by *An Angel at My Table* (1990), a three-part miniseries for New Zealand television. Based on the experiences of the New Zealand writer Janet Frame it contains some of the stylistic and thematic attributes of her earlier films. Frame suffered from long periods of institutionalization following an incorrect diagnosis of schizophrenia, but Campion did not present her story as a simple melodrama of victimization, producing instead an episodic blend of comedy, suffering, and sensuality.

In 1993 Campion won an Academy Award® for best screenplay for *The Piano*, as well as receiving a nomination for best director and a host of other awards. Filmed in New Zealand, the story concerns a deceptively "mute" Scottish widow who arrives in nineteenth-century New Zealand with her young daughter. After an arranged marriage to a lonely farmer, she enters into an affair with a neighbor who gives her piano lessons. Although the story contained elements of the romantic melodrama, Campion refused to be constrained by its conventions and combined a sense of "perverse" eroticism with stylistic modernism as she explored the negative effects of patriarchy and colonialism.

Campion's subsequent films have not achieved the critical or commercial success of *The Piano*. Her 1996 adaptation of Henry James's *The Portrait of a Lady* was another study of an independent woman battling the social and sexual constraints of a repressive environment, a theme she revisited in a contemporary setting in her 2003 adaptation of Susanna Moore's novel, *In the Cut*.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Sweetie (1989), *An Angel at My Table* (1990), *The Piano* (1993), *The Portrait of a Lady* (1996), *In the Cut* (2003)

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of the deduction (changed to two years in 1983). This encouraged a boom in production although, unfortunately, there were many substandard films as some producers, motivated solely by the tax rebate, churned out movies that went straight to video or even remained unreleased. As a consequence, the tax benefits were constantly reduced throughout the 1980s as the debate over the nature, and level, of government support intensified until a major review of film funding was conducted in 1997. The resultant Gonski Report, however, received only a lukewarm reception by the federal government, and a mixture of tax concessions and incentives for private investment emerged as a compromise between a government reluctant to continue large-scale financial support and an industry still reliant on external funding.

There was also a steady increase in offshore American productions during the 1990s with large budget films such as *Mission Impossible* (1996), its sequel (2000), *The Matrix* (1999), and its sequels (2003, 2004), as well as the continuation of the *Star Wars* series. Many Australian actors, directors, cinematographers, and musicians found work, and sometimes fame, in Hollywood and Britain, including Russell Crowe (b. 1964) (who was born in New Zealand), Mel Gibson (who was born in the United

Jane Campion at the time of* Sweetie *(1990). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

States), Nicole Kidman (b. 1967), Hugh Jackman (b. 1968), Geoffrey Rush (b. 1951), Judy Davis (b. 1955), Rachel Griffiths (b. 1968), Toni Collette (b. 1972), Cate Blanchett (b. 1969), Heath Ledger (b. 1979), Naomi Watts (b. 1968), Peter Weir, Bruce Beresford, Phillip Noyce (b. 1950), Fred Schepisi, Jane Campion (who was born in New Zealand), George Miller (b. 1945), Gillian Armstrong (b. 1950), and others.

AUSTRALIAN FILM AND AUSTRALIAN CULTURE

Australia is now a multicultural country and no one film, or cycle, can fully capture the country's diversity. This was not always the case, as prior to World War II there was a degree of cultural uniformity in Australia due to its predominantly British heritage. Hence, for much of the last half of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth, Australia was a culture trying to establish and articulate its distinctive characteristics. The bush and the outback provided the iconography and values for this, and the bush-city dichotomy in the pre-1941 rural comedies and rural melodramas reinforced a mythology based on the virtues of mateship, sport, physical labor, and egalitarianism. Longford's *The Woman Suffers* (1918) and Franklyn Barrett's *The Breaking of the Drought* (1920) express this mythology as clearly as Peter Weir's *Gallipoli* (1981). Even Australia's most celebrated silent film, Longford's *The Sentimental Bloke* (1919), traces the regeneration of its larrikin hero from the temptations associated with the streets of Woolloomooloo in Sydney to an orchard in the country. (A "larrikin" is an irreverent male who fails to take himself, or anything else, seriously. He generally prefers the company of his mates and pursues "masculine" interests, such as drinking, gambling and sporting activities. The idea of a career or a longtime romantic relationship is normally anathema to the larrikin.)

Two of Australia's most commercially successful films, *The Man from Snowy River* (1982) and *Crocodile Dundee* (1986), provide a romantic version of this mythology by suggesting that the distinctive Australian (male) characteristics were forged in the harsh Australian outback. By contrast, a new generation of filmmakers, such as Sue Brooks (b. 1953) in *Japanese Story* (2003) and Cate Shortland in *Somersault* (2004), provide a different, more problematic, interpretation of this nexus between the Australian landscape and the Australian character.

However, the original inhabitants of the bush, the Aboriginal Australians, have not fared well in the Australian cinema. There were, for example, few Aboriginal Australians featured as major characters in Australian films until the 1970s. The notable exceptions included Charles Chauvel's *Uncivilised* (1936) and *Jedda* (1955) and the Ealing production of *Bitter Springs* (1950), starring Chips Rafferty, which reversed the usual moral stereotypes by presenting white farmers as intruders upon land sacred to the local Aborigines. There was a change in the 1970s and 1980s with films such as *Walkabout* (Nicolas Roeg, 1971), *Backroads* (Noyce, 1977), *The Chant of Jimmie Blacksmith* (Schepisi, 1978), and, especially, *The Fringe Dwellers* (Beresford, 1986) and *Blackfellas* (James Ricketson, 1993). These last two films are notable because of the way they emphasize the communality of Aboriginal life. Other attempts to demythologize prevailing European perceptions of Aboriginality include *Nice Coloured Girls* (Tracey Moffat, 1987) and *Radiance* (Rachel Perkins, 1998). However, the mainstream Australian cinema has yet to totally embrace films about, or made by, Aboriginal Australians. Even Noyce's moving drama concerning the removal of Aboriginal children from their families by white officials in the 1930s, in *Rabbit-Proof Fence* (2002), was subjected to abuse from conservative elements.

Australia, with its population of little more than twenty million, will always struggle to maintain a feature film industry that can compete in the same marketplace with the Hollywood blockbusters. In the 1970s there was a concerted effort by directors such as Burstall, Hannam, Beresford, Weir, Armstrong, Schepisi, Noyce, and Paul Cox to distinguish their films from the usual Hollywood fare. This trend has been maintained by subsequent

Alexia Keogh in Jane Campion's film about the New Zealand writer Janet Frame,* An Angel at My Table *(1990). © FINE LINE FEATURES/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

filmmakers such as Jane Campion, with *Sweetie* (1989), *The Piano* (1993), and *Holy Smoke* (1999); Baz Luhrmann (b. 1962) with *Moulin Rouge* (2001), Ray Lawrence with *Bliss* (1985) and *Lantana* (2002); John Ruane (b. 1952) with *Death in Brunswick* (1991) and *Dead Letter Office* (1998); Scott Hicks (b. 1953) with *Shine* (1996); David Caesar with *Mullet* (2001) and *Dirty Deeds* (2002); Jonathan Teplitzky with *Gettin' Square* (2003); Clara Law with *The Goddess of 1967* (2002); and Cate Shortland with *Somersault*. These directors have been able to fashion a distinctive place somewhere between the poetic realism of the European art film and the narrative demands of the classical Hollywood cinema, a difficult terrain as commercial failure is always precipitously close.

SEE ALSO *National Cinema*

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Geoff Mayer

AUTEUR THEORY AND AUTHORSHIP

Translated from the French, *auteur* simply means "author," but use of the term in relation to cinema—since the 1950s at least—has caused much controversy and critical debate. The frequent retention of the French word, as *auteur* and in the somewhat ungainly "auteurism," marks the prominent part played in those critical debates by French film critics, especially those associated with the journal *Cahiers du Cinéma* (literally: cinema notebooks), in the 1950s and 1960s. Controversy arose in part from the industrial and collaborative nature of most film production: given that collaborative context, who might be considered as, or who might claim to be, the "author" of a film? If authorship is claimed, on what basis of evidence might the claim be made? Claims were made for the director to be considered the most likely member of the filmmaking team—in industrially organized commercial film production—to be the author of a film. However, this did not mean that every film director should be considered an *auteur*, or author, or the author of a particular film. Indeed, in many ways it could be said that the director as *auteur* should be considered the exception rather than the rule.

Does a film need to have an author? Perhaps, to qualify as "art," a film needs an author, an artist. The question of authorship is important in every art form, whether for reasons of intellectual property rights and the art market or for reasons of status and identification. Painting and sculpture have usually offered reasonably clear examples of the individual artist as author, as have the novel and poetry. But other arts can pose considerable problems for straightforward identification of authorship. A playwright may be the undisputed author of a play text, but who authors a play text in performance? In the twentieth century, many theater directors claimed authorship on a par with playwrights (although television drama has usually preferred the writer as author). A composer may be the undisputed author of a musical score, but what about music in performance?

ASCERTAINING AUTHORSHIP IN CINEMA

Cinema poses its own problems. Commercial filmmaking, which accounts for most of the films—European and world as well as American—shown in cinemas and reviewed in print, as well as most of the material made for television, is justifiably seen as a collaborative activity, involving the skills and talents of many different film workers. At the same time, that mode of film production is hierarchical as well as collaborative: not all the collaborators count in the same way. In the sense that many commercial film productions will include a "dominant personality" influencing the shape and look of a film more than others, the idea of the film *auteur* or author is not necessarily very controversial. Although claims have been made for the importance of producers, screenwriters, and stars, either in general or in relation to particular films, the director—usually with the final say over the detailed realization of scenes (and hence over the way they will look and sound on screen) and often with crucial say over editing and other postproduction processes, and even over scripting—has usually been credited with having the dominant role in most cases. This dominance seems implied by the nature and place of the director's credit on the film itself, though dominance may not equate with authorship.

Although the numbers and processes involved can vary greatly within commercial film production, filmmaking can also be organized in quite different ways. In experimental or avant garde filmmaking, for example, the term "filmmaker" is often preferred to "director," simply because the filmmaker does often make the film rather than play the particular role of director in a complex collaborative hierarchy. Filmmakers like Stan Brakhage or Michael Snow, for example, generally shot, edited—and sometimes distributed—their films. In such cases questions about authorship must be very different from those for commercial production—and perhaps should figure in the same way they might in the fine arts. Some radical filmmaking groups, such as the Dziga Vertov Group of the late 1960s and early 1970s, have purposefully rejected the hierarchical nature of most commercial production and claimed collective authorship.

Despite the controversial nature of claims about film authorship in the 1950s, authorship or something approximating to it had been very widely accepted for many years. No one seriously disputed that the films of D. W. Griffith (1875–1948) were "authored" by him, or that it was justified to use the possessive form "D. W. Griffith's *The Birth of a Nation*" for that 1915 film, or at the very least that Griffith was the "dominant personality" influencing the film's final form. This was even more the case with non-US films, like those by the German directors Fritz Lang (1890–1976), F. W. Murnau (1888–1931), and G. W. Pabst (1885–1967); Soviet films by Sergei Eisenstein (1898–1948), Vsevolod Pudovkin (1893–1953), Aleksandr Dovzhenko (1894–1956), and Dziga Vertov (1896–1954) (despite the supposedly more cooperative and egalitarian Soviet approach to art production); and films by, for example, Abel Gance (1889–1981), Jean Epstein (1897–1953), Luis Buñuel (1900–1983), Victor Sjöström (1879–1960), and Carl Dreyer (1889–1968).

AUTHORSHIP AND US CINEMA

Apart from Griffith, US cinema certainly was looked at rather differently than European cinema—especially after the entrenchment of the studio system and the coming of sound. (Cinemas other than the US and European barely registered with US and European critics and audiences at this time.) Hollywood cinema came to be seen as more industrialized, more factorylike and commercial, than production in Europe, and therefore less likely—perhaps, unlikely—to produce more personal or individual films. Even so, in the 1920s some American filmmakers managed to establish authorial identity. In some cases, like that of Erich von Stroheim (1885–1957), this standing drew on a variety of elements, such as his foreign background and his status as a star actor as well as a director, but authorial recognition of Stroheim owed much to his clashes with the system and not being allowed to make and release films like *Greed* (1924) in the form that he wished. Stroheim projected the image of the artist struggling to make art and achieve his personal vision against the impersonality of the system. Some other, less controversial, directors, however, also managed to establish some kind of personal identity with industry peers, critics and, to some extent, audiences without too many obvious or outright clashes with the system—Ernst Lubitsch (1892–1947), Frank Capra (1897–1991), Josef von Sternberg (1894–1969), John Ford (1894–1973) to a certain extent, and perhaps Preston Sturges (1898–1959). Some of these were special cases in other ways—Sternberg's long association with star Marlene Dietrich, for example—and some were their own producers as well, especially from the late 1930s onward.

At the time of *Citizen Kane* (1941), Orson Welles (1915–1985) represented a clear break with past practices in terms of the freedom and status he was accorded, though his later image and notoriety drew on some of the same sources as Stroheim's. Much more clearly, here was the director—though in this case also the performer—as artist. No one could seriously doubt—despite later attempts to prove otherwise—that Welles was the author of *Citizen Kane*. The soon rapidly changing landscape of Hollywood production after the Paramount decision of the US Supreme Court in 1948, and the divorcement decrees obliging the studios to divest themselves of their exhibition outlets that followed, also encouraged what *Cahiers* Jacques Rivette (b. 1928) would call the more "egocentric conception of the director" of the postwar era, initiated by Welles (Hillier, 1985, p. 95).

AUTHORSHIP AND POSTWAR FRENCH CRITICISM

In terms of international recognition—industrially and critically as well as in terms of audiences—European cinema was seen rather differently than US cinema. If US cinema was produced in factorylike conditions for mass consumption and entertainment, European cinema was seen much more in relation to, and as the equal of, the other arts. But it is also the case that European critics (and probably audiences as well, though this is less clear) considered the cinema in general—including US cinema—much more as an art form on a par with the other arts than US—and British—critics and audiences (and this was also true of other aspects of popular culture). In the postwar period, especially in France, the cultivation of cinema as an art form was sustained in part by a network of art cinemas and cine clubs (and in Paris

HOWARD HAWKS

b. Goshen, Indiana, 30 May 1896, d. 26 December 1977

As well as racing cars and planes, the young Howard Hawks also worked vacations in the property department of Hollywood's Famous Players–Lasky studios. After serving as an army pilot in World War I and working in the aircraft industry, Hawks returned to Hollywood in the early 1920s as a cutter, assistant director, story editor, and casting director before writing screenplays and selling the story *The Road to Glory* (1926) to Fox on condition that he also direct. Thereafter, Hawks worked for over forty years in Hollywood as director, producer, and writer, one of the few filmmakers whose careers spanned the silent period, the heyday of the studio system, and the post-studio period, making over forty major features.

Hawks accommodated the demands and constraints—as well as exploiting the possibilities—of the studio system, covering a wide range of genres as well as making classic examples in several of them: *Ceiling Zero* (1936) and *Only Angels Have Wings* (1939) in the action-adventure genre; *Red River* (1948) and *Rio Bravo* (1959) in the western; *Scarface* (1932) in the gangster film; *The Big Sleep* (1946) in the noir thriller; and *Bringing Up Baby* (1938), *His Girl Friday* (1940), and *Monkey Business* (1952) in the screwball comedy genre. In addition, Hawks's economical style—often referred to as "invisible"—makes his work a major example of classical cinema.

Though Hawks's talents were noted within the industry as far back as the 1920s, his work was not critically recognized until the 1950s, when French critics like Jacques Rivette and Eric Rohmer in *Cahiers du Cinéma* took his work seriously and claimed him as an *auteur* whose work demonstrated a consistent personality and worldview. Hawks—along with Alfred Hitchcock—became a key test case for the possibility for authorship within popular cinema. Hawks's predilection for understated, everyday heroism, often in the context of the all-male group; his straightforward, direct visual style; and his flair for bringing out unexpected traits in stars like John Wayne, Cary Grant, and Humphrey Bogart were seen as marking Hawks out as special. In the early 1960s Hawks was taken up by auteurist critics in the United States like Andrew Sarris and in the United Kingdom by *Movie* magazine and Robin Wood, who took Hawks as a supreme example of the understated artistry possible within the Hollywood system. Later, Peter Wollen emphasized the way in which the male struggle for mastery in the adventure and western films serves as an inverted mirror image of the comedies, which stressed gender role reversal and lack or loss of mastery.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Scarface (1932), *Ceiling Zero* (1936), *Bringing Up Baby* (1938), *Only Angels Have Wings* (1939), *His Girl Friday* (1940), *To Have and Have Not* (1944), *The Big Sleep* (1946), *Red River* (1948), *I Was a Male War Bride* (1949), *Monkey Business* (1952), *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* (1953), *Rio Bravo* (1959), *Hatari!* (1962)

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Jim Hillier

by the Cinémathèque Française), though directors like Howard Hawks (1896–1977), King Vidor (1894–1982), and Frank Borzage (1893–1962) had been identified as distinctive as far back as the 1920s.

Postwar France was thus fertile ground for critics trying to develop new ways of thinking about cinema, particularly American cinema. From 1944 and 1945, Hollywood films that had not been allowed in France during the German occupation arrived in a flood and prompted insightful ways of thinking about cinema, especially American cinema. Examples are André Bazin's ideas about realism, responding to Welles's and William Wyler's (1902–1981) films with cinematographer Gregg Toland (1904–1948), and the identification

Howard Hawks. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

of new strains in the crime thriller as *film noir*. The "egocentric conception of the director" embodied by Welles was important: François Truffaut (1932–1984) later used as an epigraph to his collection of critical writings, *The Films in My Life,* Welles's dictum, "I believe a work is good to the degree that it expresses the man who created it." This was the atmosphere in which the young novelist and director Alexandre Astruc wrote in 1948 the polemic "The Birth of a New Avant-Garde: La Caméra-Stylo [Camera-Pen]" (Astruc in Graham, 1968, pp. 17–23). Although Astruc's precise meaning is not always clear, a central idea was that cinema was becoming a medium of personal expression like the other arts: "In this kind of filmmaking the distinction between author and director loses all meaning," he stated. "Direction is no longer a means of illustrating or presenting a scene, but a true act of writing. The filmmaker-author writes with his camera as a writer writes with his pen" (Astruc in Graham, 1968, p. 22).

Contentions like Astruc's that filmmaking was as much an expressive art form as painting and the novel—art forms where the essentially Romantic idea of the individual artist before the page or canvas was easiest to sustain—and that the filmmaker arrives at self-expression through the process of direction, helped nurture the development of the *politique des auteurs*—the *auteur* policy or polemic—in the pages of *Cahiers du Cinéma* in the 1950s. Some confusion tends to arise from the fact that the auteurism associated with critics like Truffaut, Rivette, Eric Rohmer (b. 1920), Jean-Luc Godard (b. 1930), and Claude Chabrol (b. 1930) is usually linked with their enthusiasm and reverence for Hollywood directors like Hawks, Alfred Hitchcock (1899–1980), Ford, Nicholas Ray (1911–1979), Anthony Mann (1906–1967), and Samuel Fuller (1912–1997), whom they identified as *auteurs*, while the essay often credited as setting the scene for the *politique* was Truffaut's critique of contemporary French cinema (in his essay, "Une Certaine Tendance du Cinéma Français" (A certain tendency of the French cinema), in the January 1954 issue of *Cahiers*. As spectator-critics, the *Cahiers* writers enjoyed and admired American popular cinema, but as future French film-makers-critics in the French *nouvelle vague* (new wave), they would inevitably make French films, not American Hollywood ones; thus, their major concerns included French cinema (along with, for example, Italian cinema, which offered conditions and possibilities much more akin to their own than did US cinema).

AUTHORSHIP AND *MISE-EN-SCÈNE*

However, although French cinema and American cinema were very different in some respects, in others they were not. The more personal and individual French cinema that Truffaut and the others admired—Jean Renoir (1894–1979), Robert Bresson (1901–1999), Jacques Tati (1909–1982), Jean Cocteau (1889–1963), Max Ophuls (1902–1957), Jacques Becker (1906–1960)—drew its strength and individuality from an essentially nonliterary originality and audacity of realization, or *mise-en-scène*—qualities that they also admired in American cinema. This French cinema they contrasted to the tired *cinéma de papa* (daddy's cinema)—the unadventurous literary cinema of Jean Delannoy (b. 1908) or Claude Autant-Lara (1901–2000), or the academic technical competence of directors like René Clément (1913–1996) and Henri-Georges Clouzot (1907–1977), who, they claimed, merely put solid, worthy scripts into sounds and images.

As this implies, one of the crucial effects of this identification of *auteurs* was to shift to the center of film analysis the notion of *mise-en-scène* as the means through which the *auteur* expressed his (or her—but American or European, the figures discussed were all male) personality and individuality. Writing in *Cahiers* in August 1960, Fereydoun Hoveyda argued that:

Air Force *(1943): Auteur critics have emphasized the importance of the male group in Hawks's films.* EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

> the originality of the auteur lies not in the subject matter he chooses, but in the technique he employs, i.e., the *mise-en-scène*, through which everything on the screen is expressed.... As Sartre said: "One isn't a writer for having chosen to say certain things, but for having chosen to say them in a certain way." Why should it be any different for cinema?... The thought of a cineaste appears through his *mise-en-scène* (Hillier, 1986, p. 142).

Although the Hollywood director might have little control over choice of subject and cast, or over the script, it was on the set, attentive to décor, performance, and camera positioning and movement—controlling what would appear on the screen—that the director expressed his individuality. Of course, many of the directors that the *Cahiers* critics championed as *auteurs*—Hitchcock and Hawks, certainly—were often their own producers and chose their projects and worked on their scripts, officially or not, and so had more control than the general model implied. Additionally, in the post-Divorcement Hollywood of the 1950s and 1960s, the growth of independent production meant that many other directors began to have more say in their projects.

Given the essential emphasis on *mise-en-scène*, it is somewhat confusing that *Cahiers* critics distinguished between those directors whom they regarded as *auteurs* and those they regarded as (mere) *metteurs en scène*, directors whose work lacked the individual personal expression of the *auteur* but who could be competent and even skilled interpreters of others' ideas. Clément and Clouzot might have been classified thus; regarding American cinema, arguments raged around particular directors—Vincente Minnelli (1903–1986), for example—as to whether they were *auteurs* or *metteurs en scène*.

What appeared in *Cahiers* was not any kind of concerted "theory"; furthermore, there were disagreements in *Cahiers* itself. Chief among those who did not

Robert Ryan and Ida Lupino in* On Dangerous Ground *(1952) by cult auteur Nicholas Ray. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

subscribe to the ''excesses'' of the *politique des auteurs* was the journal's chief editor (until his death in 1958) and best-known writer, André Bazin. Bazin shared his colleagues' enthusiasm for taking American cinema seriously, but at the same time he argued in the April 1952 issue of *Cahiers* that in the cinema more than in the other arts, and in American cinema more than in other cinemas, industrial, commercial, and generic factors came into play and meant that ''the personal factor in artistic creation as a standard of reference'' needed to be seen in context (Bazin in Graham, 1968, pp. 137–156). It is also not quite right to credit *Cahiers* exclusively with thinking about authorship in popular cinema. In Britain during the late 1940s and the 1950s, the young critics who produced *Sequence* magazine and later worked on *Sight and Sound*—preeminently Lindsay Anderson and Gavin Lambert—identified the popular cinema of John Ford and Nicholas Ray, for example, as distinctive and personal. Strikingly, Anderson argued the case for John Ford's authorship in terms of his westerns rather than his more ''worthy'' prestige productions, while Ray became seen—by *Cahiers* and later by the British film publication *Movie*—as one of the supreme examples of the post–Orson Welles generation of Hollywood directors, consciously striving to make more personal films and often in conflict with the system.

Ordinarily, such polemics and debates in a French film magazine barely read outside of France would not have caused many ripples in American and British film criticism. However, by 1959 many of the *Cahiers* critics involved in those polemics had gained acclaim as new filmmakers. This was particularly true of two of the most controversial *Cahiers* critics, Truffaut, whose first feature, *Les quatre cent coups* (*The 400 Blows*, 1959), triumphed at the 1959 Cannes festival, and Godard, whose first feature, *À bout de souffle* (*Breathless*, 1960), also premiered in 1959. Chabrol had already had success with *Le Beau Serge* (*Handsome Serge*, 1958) and *Les cousins* (*The Cousins*, 1959). The international success of these *nouvelle vague* films drew attention to their directors' critical

pasts, helping ideas about authorship, and new ways of thinking about popular cinema, become matters of debate in Britain and the United States at more or less the same moment.

AUTHORSHIP AND FILM CRITICISM IN BRITAIN AND THE US IN THE 1960s

The tastes of both *Movie* in Britain and Andrew Sarris in the US were clearly influenced by those of *Cahiers,* and they shared similar ideas and emphases. The British magazine *Movie*, whose main editors and contributors included Ian Cameron, V. F. Perkins, Mark Shivas, Paul Mayersberg, and Robin Wood, opened its first issue (May 1962) with an assessment of American and British cinema in the form of rankings, signaling Hawks and Hitchcock as "great," with Joseph Losey (1909–1984), Mann, Minnelli, Otto Preminger (1906–1986), Ray, Douglas Sirk (1897–1987), and Welles among the "brilliant." Andrew Sarris in his "Notes on the Auteur Theory in 1962" (Sarris in Mast and Cohen, 1979, pp. 650–665)—later reprinted and expanded in his book, *The American Cinema* (1968)—included Hawks, Hitchcock, Ford, and Welles in his "pantheon," with Losey, Mann, Minnelli, Preminger, and Sirk just below them. As in *Cahiers*, both the *Movie* critics and Sarris aimed to be provocative, to stir things up—though more in the arena of critical attitudes than in filmmaking itself. In this they certainly succeeded. In Britain, under the impact of the French *nouvelle vague*, *Sight and Sound* in its Autumn 1960 issue tried to address the critical "excesses" of *Cahiers*, while editor Penelope Houston ("the critical question") joined battle with the critics on *Oxford Opinion* (shortly to found *Movie*), arguing that "cinema is about the human situation, not about 'spatial relationships'" (Houston, 1960, p. 163) and that criticism should be concerned primarily with a film's "ideas." In the United States, Sarris's "auteur theory" provoked a fierce attack by critic Pauline Kael, arguing that artistic signature did not imply anything about the value of the art itself, and that Hollywood directors were inevitably working with material of low artistic value (Kael in Mast and Cohen, 1979, pp. 666–679).

But the differences between *Movie* and Sarris were important, too. *Movie* committed itself—in a way which *Cahiers* had not—to the detailed analysis of films. The conventional view has been that the *Movie* writers combined *Cahiers*'s tastes with the British tradition of close literary textual analysis associated with F. R. Leavis and others. Certainly, *Movie*-associated writing is rich in close attention to textual detail, which is largely absent in the more philosophical and abstract writing in *Cahiers* (although the lengthy interviews in *Cahiers* with directors demonstrated its writers' interest—as critics and future filmmakers—in detailed decisions about *mise-en-scène*), but of the original *Movie* group, only Robin Wood was familiar with this literary tradition. From their earliest writing in the student magazines *Oxford Opinion* and *Granta*, the *Movie* critics, like the *Cahiers* critics before them, were always as interested in non–English-language—primarily European—cinema (Renoir, Roberto Rossellini, Michelangelo Antonioni and, not least, the French *nouvelle vague*) as they were in English-language cinema.

Sarris's object of study was American cinema, and one of his prime goals was to argue for the superiority of American cinema over others. Both *Movie* and Sarris, however—like *Cahiers*—aimed to change perceptions of and attitudes to American popular cinema. Most established critics and reviewers—used to weighing the thematic content of respected directors like Fred Zinnemann (1907–1997), George Stevens (1904–1975) or William Wyler—found it hard or even impossible to consider B westerns and thrillers by directors such as Budd Boetticher (1916–2001) or Samuel Fuller—e.g., *The Tall T* (1957) or *Pickup on South Street* (1953)—as both examples of the art of cinema and vehicles for the articulation of an authorial worldview. As Sarris noted, "Truffaut's greatest heresy … was not in his ennobling direction as a form of creation, but in his ascribing authorship to Hollywood directors hitherto tagged with the deadly epithet of commercialism" (Sarris, 1968, p. 28). Though Sarris translated the *politique des auteurs* into the auteur "theory," there was little more, if any, theory in Sarris's version than there was in *Cahiers*; Sarris himself concedes that "the auteur theory is not so much a theory as an attitude, a table of values that converts film history into directorial autobiography … a system of tentative priorities" (Sarris, 1968, pp. 30, 34).

Although Sarris saw the critic's job as illuminating—and implicitly evaluating—"the personality of the director"—also necessarily an evaluative task—this did not mean that directors should be credited with total creativity and control. For Sarris, all directors, whether from Europe or Hollywood, are shaped and constrained by the conditions in which they work and the culture that has formed them. "The auteur theory values the personality of a director precisely because of the barriers to its expression" (Sarris, 1968, p. 31). Sarris conceded studio domination of Hollywood cinema but argued that producers were more likely to tamper with scripts than with visual style; further, genre filmmaking was likely to provide more freedom from studio interference for filmmakers.

Theoretically, both *Movie* and Sarris recognized that authorship might on occasion be ascribed to someone other than the director. In the second issue of *Movie*, Ian

ROBIN WOOD

b. London, England, 23 February 1931

Robin Wood is one of the most influential film critics to write in the English language. Brilliantly insightful and infuriatingly opinionated, Wood has spoken for a minority of critics in his attempt to bridge the gap between politically engaged criticism and questions of human value. Educated at Cambridge University in the early 1950s, Wood has taught film studies at universities in England and Canada, ultimately making his home in Toronto, where he has worked with an editorial collective to publish the journal *CineAction* since 1985.

Wood began publishing film criticism while a graduate student, contributing an article to *Cahiers du Cinéma* on *Psycho* (1960) in 1960 and a short piece on *Advise and Consent* (1960) to the second issue of the British film journal *Movie* in 1962. But it was with a series of books on individual directors (Alfred Hitchcock, Claude Chabrol, Howard Hawks, Arthur Penn, and Ingmar Bergman) in the latter part of the decade that Wood established himself as a major voice in film criticism. In *Hitchcock's Films* (1965), he offered a series of impressively detailed textual analyses of seven Hitchcock films to argue that Hitchcock is a moralist who forces spectators to confront their own darker impulses through "therapeutic" viewing experiences. Wood's auteurist readings of Hitchcock and Hawks have become canonical, influencing virtually all subsequent scholarly discussions of these two directors.

When Wood shifted his attention to genre films in the late 1970s, he set the terms for the intense critical debates on horror films that would arise in the following decade. In 1979, along with his longtime partner Richard Lippe, Wood mounted a major horror retrospective for the Toronto International Film Festival that included the publication of a small anthology of essays on horror titled *The American Nightmare: Essays on the Horror Film* (1979). In Wood's celebrated introduction, he argued that the horror film was driven by the Freudian concept of repression and offered a psychoanalytic and Marxist reading of the genre that remains influential.

Wood came out as gay in the mid-1970s, and since that time his criticism has become increasingly political. Sexual politics has been of particular importance to Wood in his later work, whether he is discussing light-hearted entertainments like *American Pie* and its sequels or the confrontational art films of Gaspar Noé and Michael Haneke. Many of his essays are gathered in the volumes *Hollywood from Vietnam to Reagan* (1986) and *Sexual Politics and Narrative Film* (1998). In subsequent editions, Wood has also reconsidered his early auteurist work from his more recent critical perspective, often examining the directors' ideological limitations rather than celebrating their stamp of personality. Over three editions of the book on Hitchcock, for example, Wood offered new gay and feminist readings of the director's films.

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Barry Keith Grant

Cameron argued that it was the director who was responsible for what appears on the screen, but he also argued that a dominant personality other than the director could be the "author" of a film, that, for example, the "effective author" of the film versions of Paddy Chayefsky's (1923–1981) works was primarily Chayefsky rather than the credited directors, and the person responsible might on occasions be the photographer or composer or producer or star. Cameron cites *The Sins of Rachel Cade* (1961), which "although directed by the excellent Gordon Douglas, was above all an Angie Dickinson movie, being entirely shaped by her personality and deriving all its power, which was considerable, from her performance" (Cameron, 1972, pp. 13–14). In practice, though, little of the work done by *Movie* or Sarris implied an authorial dominant presence other than the director.

In important respects—and this was a clear implication in Astruc's conception of the "caméra stylo"—the arguments for authorship in cinema at this time represented a triumph for a rather traditional Romantic view of the author as artist. This was a somewhat paradoxical position to take in relation to an art form that was popular and made in industrial and collaborative conditions—though the film author was seen as able to transcend those conditions. Given the dominance of modernism in the other arts, and particularly developments in literature and literary criticism that rejected Romantic forms and Romantic views of the artist, the establishment of the idea of authorship in this period could be seen as a retrogressive step. Yet at the same time, auteurism offered a critical method to replace the then-dominant largely thematic or sociological critical approaches with more specifically cinematic concerns, as well as opening up for serious consideration many filmmakers and categories of film barely taken seriously before. Auteurism shifted the focus of film criticism away from the more or less explicit thematic subject matter that was the concern of most other critical approaches, and toward the personality of the auteur and the consistency of the auteur director's style and themes. These were not immediately or easily accessible, and required the analysis of individual works in relation to a body of work: the critic's task became to discover and define the auteur and the ways in which the auteur had worked with the given material. "Film criticism became a process of discovery, a process which ... forced a more precise attention to what was actually happening within the film than had been customary for a traditional criticism which tended to be satisfied with the surfaces of popular film" (Caughie, 1981, pp. 11–12).

AUTEUR STRUCTURALISM AND BEYOND

Given the debates and arguments about authorship in cinema, and given the changing cultural context, it was inevitable that auteurism would be put under pressure and evolve. Peter Wollen, influenced like *Movie* and Sarris in his tastes by those of the *Cahiers*'s critics, wrote in the early 1960s in *New Left Review* and developed his ideas in the 1969 and 1972 editions of his book *Signs and Meaning in the Cinema*. He introduced a new emphasis, so-called "auteur structuralism" or "cine-structuralism." Claude Lévi-Strauss's structural anthropology looked for patterns of "structuring oppositions," or antinomies, both within and between texts, and the cine-structuralist, as Wollen put it, looked not only for "resemblances or repetitions," but also for "a system of differences and oppositions." These needed to be teased out of what might appear very different kinds of films—Ford's or Hawks's westerns as well as their comedies, for example. In a further shift, Wollen put the *auteur* directors' names in inverted commas—"Hitchcock," "Ford," "Hawks"—to distinguish the real people and creative personalities Hitchcock, Ford, and Hawks from the structures or retrospective critical constructs—the *auteur* codes—named after them.

The *auteur* thus became something more like an unconscious catalyst for elements and influences beyond his or her conscious control. In the politically and theoretically highly charged post-1968 cultural atmosphere in France, *Cahiers* itself was changing rapidly, and this stage of the development of *auteur* theory generated the collective essay by the editors of *Cahiers*, "John Ford's *Young Mr Lincoln*" in the August 1970 issue of *Cahiers*. This essay considers the film symptomatically in terms of its repressions and contradictions, in which the auteur/director John Ford cannot be taken unproblematically as a unifying, intentional source. From Wollen's inverted commas and the *auteur* as "unconscious catalyst" and *Cahiers*'s problematizing of authorial inscription, it is not far to post-structuralism's virtual disappearance or "death of the author," as Roland Barthes's 1968 essay put it. For Barthes, the author becomes a by-product of writing, and emphasis on the author is replaced by emphasis on the text's destination, the reader.

THE IMPACT OF AUTEURISM ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF FILM STUDIES

For many writers on film for whom auteurism had been in many ways liberating, these post-structural theoretical debates were a step too far. One of the main results has been that, having been central to debates about the nature and function of film criticism and film studies for twenty-five years or more, since the 1980s questions about authorship in film have not generated the same frenzied critical debate they did between the 1950s and the 1970s. To a large extent, this is because—the problems of high theory aside—auteurism has been widely recognized as one of the most useful critical approaches available, and writers on film, while happy to modify what might have been initially naïve ideas about authorship in film, have refused to give up the concept. This is not to say that critical and theoretical writing has reverted to the simpler and hence more problematic positions of the 1950s and 1960s: the critiques of those positions have been taken on board and have been adapted and modified. More recently, Robert Stam argues that "auteur studies now tend to see a director's work not as the expression of individual genius but rather as the site of encounter of a biography, an intertext, an institutional context, and a historical moment." (Stam & Miller, 2000, p. 6).

The radical changes in film studies brought about by auteurism's insistence on exact attention to just what was occurring in the film brought in its train a number of

very important later developments in film criticism and film theory. Indeed, as well as, from the mid-1960s, a steady flow of sophisticated and influential *auteur* studies—notably Robin Wood's monographs on Hitchcock and Hawks—the discipline of film studies itself can be seen to have emerged out of these first debates in English about authorship in cinema and the further debates and questions they raised.

Bazin's objections to some of the ways the *politique des auteurs* was practiced by his *Cahiers* colleagues arose in part from his insistence on the contexts in which Hollywood films were made. These objections were recognized, if not paid much attention to, by early *Movie* writers and Sarris's writing. One of these contexts—of more interest to Bazin than to most of his *Cahiers* colleagues—was genre. Hollywood cinema was, in many ways, primarily a generic cinema; Bazin himself was particularly interested in the western. Whatever might be said about the authorial signatures of Hawks, Ford, or Mann, the fact remained that they made—among other genre types—westerns. How did the long-established but constantly evolving conventions of the genre interact with authorial personality? What did the genre provide for the *auteur*, and what different authorial emphases or inflections might the *auteur* bring to the genre—or, put more simply, how were westerns by Hawks, Ford, and Mann both different and the same? Building on the previous critical theoretical work on genre, which was very sparse, these were the questions posed by Jim Kitses's book *Horizons West* (1970), a study of the western genre and of the work of Ford, Mann, Boetticher, and Peckinpah within it. Colin McArthur's *Underworld U.S.A.* (1972) aimed to do something very similar for the gangster-crime genre. These were important stages in the growth of genre study, soon able to break away from any dependence on *auteurs* for its justification. Debates about authorship also raised the question, as discussed above, of whether anyone might stake a greater claim to authorship than the director. This question also had some fruitful results: although no one was very convinced by Pauline Kael's attempt in *The Citizen Kane Book* (1974) to argue that the writer Herman Mankiewicz (1897–1953) was the real author of *Citizen Kane*, Richard Corliss's *Talking Pictures* (1975) was a useful reminder of the often crucial role of screenwriters in the Hollywood system and in the work of individual directors.

For Bazin, genre was part of the "genius of the system," but the system was also a mode of production. Sarris could assert that the studio system imposed potentially beneficial constraints on its directors and *Movie* could recognize that a film like *Casablanca* (1942) represented a coming together of various talents and conventions, but there was relatively little thought about or research into the intricacies of how films actually got made within the studio system—and after. Given the new interest in the possibilities for authorship within that system, this then became an area for urgent further research, stimulating a remarkable amount of work on the way the industry functioned, and functions. Major books like Thomas Schatz's *The Genius of the System: Hollywood Filmmaking in the Studio Era* (1988) and David Thomson's *The Whole Equation: A History of Hollywood* (2005) are testimony to both the new research field that opened up and the more "holistic" perspectives on Hollywood production.

As mentioned, debates about authorship also served to focus attention on the ways in which directors made choices in the process of direction in relation to meaning-making. This suggested that the specificity of the medium—what made film different from other media—resided in *mise-en-scène*. Sarris argued that the art of cinema was "not so much *what* as *how*" (Sarris, 1968, p. 31), and this *Movie*-Sarris emphasis began a process of focusing on questions about the specificity of cinema—or at least the specificity of narrative, illusionist cinema. V. F. Perkins's book *Film as Film* (1972), which is strongly authorial in its assumptions, looks at the ways in which meaning is constructed in such cinema, in a chapter titled " 'How' Is 'What.' "

One thing this focus on direction, or *mise-en-scène*, did not really do was pay much attention to the various conventions and "rules" about shooting and editing. However much an *auteur* might "invent" (as Hoveyda put it) via the *mise-en-scène*, this invention also took place in the context of a long and developing history of textual conventions. This was an area that had interested Bazin since the 1940s (as in, for example, his essay on "The Evolution of the Language of Cinema") and which was no doubt part of the "genius of the system," but the *auteur* debates, as they focused on *mise-en-scène*, also foregrounded the need for a systematic examination of the various conventional constituents of the "classical" style of film narration. Not quite coincidentally, Jean-Luc Godard's *nouvelle vague* films of the 1960s were also engaging in a systematic deconstruction of these narrative and continuity conventions. Later critical and theoretical work like David Bordwell, Janet Staiger, and Kristin Thompson's book, *The Classical Hollywood Cinema*, (1985) and Bordwell's *Narration in the Fiction Film* (1985) grew out of these imperatives.

THE TRIUMPH OF THE DIRECTOR AS AUTEUR

Outside of academic and other serious film writing and teaching, auteurism in relatively uncritical form has been much more obviously triumphant. Perhaps because it was always more critical—and evaluative—than theoretical, early auteurism was very readily assimilated into film

journalism, relatively untroubled by later debates about the theoretical basis of authorship. In serious and even popular film journalism it is now generally and quite routinely taken for granted that directors are primarily responsible for films, no matter what country or system they might originate from. The period since the 1960s has been, effectively, the age of the director as superstar. In part, this reflects the triumph of the concept of the "director as *auteur*" not only in Europe and world cinema, but in commercial cinema—and not least Hollywood—as well. And this is a concept that the film industries themselves—including post-studio Hollywood, with agents putting together star-director-writer packages—have also bought into. The earlier, relatively neutral credit, "Directed by Joe Doakes," is now routinely replaced by "A film by Joe Doakes" or "A Joe Doakes film"—even when this might be Joe Doakes's first film—with legal copyright and "authorship" implications. In some senses, director-*auteurs* have taken the place of—or become the equal of—stars, cultivating *auteur* "brands." One has only to think of the ease with which we are invited to consider not only the Pedro Almodóvar or Michael Haneke or François Ozon "brands" but also, in different registers, the Spike Lee, David Lynch, Woody Allen, Martin Scorsese, Francis Ford Coppola, John Sayles, Ridley Scott, or Steven Soderbergh "brands."

SEE ALSO *Criticism; Direction; France; Genre; Great Britain; Journals and Magazines; Mise-en-scène; New Wave*

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Jim Hillier

B MOVIES

The term "B movie" is still frequently used to describe any low-budget film. At the same time, it is an appellation saddled with negative connotations, and for many people, the "B" in "B movie" stands for "bad." But not every low-budget movie is a B movie, and most B movies were not that bad. B movies were, in fact, a fairly short-lived phenomenon, a product of the studio era that disappeared during the 1950s. From the 1930s through the 1950s, all of the major studios made B movies; a number of other companies existed for the sole purpose of cranking out the cheap films used to supplement Hollywood's top-of-the-line products in double bills. Unlike their A counterparts, B movies were designed as a disposable product. They were the excelsior of the bill, filler used to pad out a program and create a perception of value to ticket buyers. Even if they did not win awards or receive critical plaudits, the majority of B movies were still capable of providing an hour's worth of diversion. Some rose above their throwaway status to become box-office hits or recognized classics. Meanwhile, the B movies served as an important training ground for actors, directors, writers, and technicians in the years before television, and later film schools, filled that role.

THE ECONOMICS OF B MOVIES

It took some time for the stock market crash of 1929 and the Great Depression to have an effect on the motion picture business in the United States, but when the economic tailspin hit, it hit hard. Between 1930 and 1933 attendance dropped by almost one-third, forcing exhibitors to scramble to hang onto as many ticket buyers as possible. Price cuts and gimmicks like "dish night" created a sense of value and brought some moviegoers back to the box office. Theaters in parsimonious New England began offering moviegoers two movies for the price of one—double features. The practice proved popular and spread across the country. While most first-run theaters, largely controlled by the major studios, continued to show just a single feature, the majority of US theaters were subsequent-run houses. Audiences at second run theaters in big cities, at neighborhood theaters, and in small towns came to expect a full program of entertainment—cartoons, shorts, newsreels, and two full features. This expectation left exhibitors in a difficult position. Running two top-flight films was not only time consuming, as the features tended to run 90 minutes or more, it was costly. "A movies" were rented to exhibitors on a percentage basis with the favorable terms going to the distributor, which would take 60, 70, or 80 percent of the box office, leaving the exhibitor with the short-end money. Theaters turned to low-budget films from so-called Poverty Row companies that rented their films for a modest flat fee.

Initially, many bookers looked to low-end outfits like Chesterfield, Invincible, Mascot, and Tiffany to fill out the lower half, or "B position," on a double bill. Low-budget films and the companies that made them had a minor niche in Hollywood, usually servicing small-town theaters and marginal venues in larger cities, which could not afford to compete for films made by the majors. Exhibitors in some rural areas found that their audiences preferred the straightforward plots and black-and-white morality of low-budget films over the slick sophistication of movies made by Paramount and Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM). But continued demand for double features eventually led all the majors to produce

Edgar G. Ulmer's *The Man from Planet X (1951)* was shot in six days. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

B movies. Most created specialized units for the task, such as the one headed by Brian Foy (1896–1977) at Warner Bros. in the 1930s or the Pine-Thomas unit at Paramount in the 1940s. B units also permitted the majors to keep their workforce active, and even though the profits from the flat rental of Bs were small, they were consistent and reliable. The film historian and archivist Brian Taves has developed a taxonomy of B movies that includes: major-studio programmers, major studio Bs, smaller company Bs, and Poverty Row quickies. Given such a wide range of B product, it is impossible to characterize B movies without considering who was making them.

Bs AT THE MAJORS

Programmers were made by the majors, and as their name indicates, they could fit in either the A or the B slot on a program, depending on the needs of the individual theater. For instance, MGM programmers such as the Hardy Family series, with Mickey Rooney (b. 1920), and the Dr. Kildare series maintained the gloss that characterized MGM's "A" product. During the 1930s, budgets for major studio programmers could range from $100,000 to $500,000, at a time when A films could run from a conservative $200,000 up to $1 million, depending on the studio. It was not uncommon for programmers to develop from A features. MGM's *Tarzan the Ape Man* (1932), starring Olympic swimmer Johnny Weissmuller, featured opulent production values and was a considerable hit for the studio, and the film's sequel, *Tarzan and His Mate* (1934), was, if anything, even more elaborate. But after the first two outings, the series moved down to programmer status. For instance, *Tarzan Finds a Son!* (1939) had a ninety-minute running time, allowing it to serve as either the top or bottom half of a double

bill. MGM made its last entry in the series, *Tarzan's New York Adventure*, in 1942, at which point producer Sol Lesser (1890–1980) brought Cheetah the chimp and Weissmuller to RKO Studios. At RKO the series trundled along as a major studio B. Most of the Tarzan movies at RKO clocked in at less than eighty minutes and became increasingly predictable. After Weissmuller left the series in 1948, the series continued on, with Lex Barker and Gordon Scott essaying the role until 1955, the year Howard Hughes (1905–1976) sold the studio to General Tire and Rubber. A similar pattern is evident in the history of the Charlie Chan films, which began at Twentieth Century Fox, and later shifted to Monogram.

Programmers and major studio Bs reaped the technical benefits of being made at MGM, Paramount, Warner Bros., Twentieth Century Fox, and RKO (often referred to as the Big Five). They were accorded some time and care in their production, with shooting schedules as long as three weeks, and budgets of up to several hundred thousand dollars. They were also able to make use of elaborate standing sets and to call on reliable actors. For instance, Glenda Farrell (1904–1971) and Barton McLane (1902–1969) were familiar faces in character roles in Warner's A films for many years. The two were paired and elevated to the lead roles for seven of the nine movies in the Torchy Blane series of Bs at Warners, starting with *Smart Blonde* in 1936.

Needless to say, the majors produced some of the very best B movies. Because the financial stakes were minimal, B producers were often given more latitude and had to endure less scrutiny than their counterparts making A movies across the lot. In 1942 RKO hired story editor Val Lewton (1904–1951), formerly with Selznick, to produce a series of low-budget horror films. The resulting movies are widely considered among the best B movies ever made. Stuck with lurid pre-sold titles like *Cat People* (1942), *I Walked with a Zombie* (1942), and *The Leopard Man* (1943), and with budgets of less than $150,000, Lewton and his staff set about crafting small, literate gems, filled with an atmosphere of dread. Beneath the penny-dreadful titles lurked stories of sexual anxiety, family dysfunction, and urban paranoia. *Cat People*, about a young woman who fears she will turn into a beast when she is sexually aroused, became a surprise hit for RKO. Both *Cat People* and *The Seventh Victim* (1943) contain a strong lesbian subtext that slipped by studio executives, as well as the Hays Office, which enforced the production code, Hollywood's system of content regulation. *The Seventh Victim* finds a young woman (Kim Hunter) searching Greenwich Village for her missing sister, who has become entwined with a satanic cult. The film presents a bleak view of urban life, and offers suicide as a reasonable alternative to an unhappy existence. It remains a remarkably sophisticated work among the light entertainment and jingoistic films produced during World War II. Most of Lewton's films were re-released—a rather unusual occurrence for B movies.

If B movie production was important to the Big Five, it was critical for the little majors, Universal and Columbia. Both studios produced A films, but it was B westerns and B series films that were their bread and butter. Universal produced dozens of B westerns, and the horror films that gave the studio its identity in the early 1930s were relegated in the 1940s to B budgets and second-rate stars: *The Mad Ghoul* (1943) with George Zucco (1886–1960); *Son of Dracula* (1943) with Lon Chaney Jr. (1906–1973); and *House of Horrors* (1945) with Martin Kosleck (1904–1994). Universal also had its share of series pictures. The Sherlock Holmes films, starring Basil Rathbone (1892–1967) and Nigel Bruce (1895–1953) as Holmes and Watson, are standouts. B movies made up nearly 70 percent of Columbia's output in the late 1930s; the studio favored series pictures such as The Lone Wolf, The Crime Doctor, Blondie, Boston Blackie, and Jungle Jim, which starred a post-Tarzan Weissmuller. Collectively, those series accounted for more than eighty features. As with the Bs made at the Big Five studios, Bs at Universal and Columbia were occasionally capable of exceeding their limitations. Columbia's *The Face Behind the Mask* (1941), directed by Robert Florey (1900–1979), starred Peter Lorre (1904–1964) as Janos, a Hungarian immigrant who is horribly disfigured in a hotel fire. He slips into a life of crime, leading a gang in a series of daring robberies. When a blind girl falls in love with him, he vows to leave his criminal life, but his vindictive partners kill the girl in an explosion meant for him. Janos lures the thugs to the desert, where they all die from exposure. Florey's film presents the tragic flip side of the American dream, and Lorre gives a strong performance as a gentle man who is embittered by a stroke of misfortune.

THE Bs OF POVERTY ROW

Smaller company Bs were dominated by three companies with a significant output during the 1930s and 1940s: Monogram, Republic, and Producers Releasing Corporation (PRC). Although a number of low-end studios existed at the end of the silent era, the transition to sound, coupled with the Great Depression, caused most of them to fall by the wayside. In 1929 W. Ray Johnston and Trem Carr transformed their Rayart Pictures into Monogram, with a production studio and a nationwide distribution system. Monogram successfully capitalized on the double feature trend by making cheap and efficient B movies, and by 1933 the company had produced a well-received version of *Oliver Twist*, which was followed by respectable versions of other classics such

as *Jane Eyre* (1934). Monogram's appearance of success was belied by the fact that it had built up significant debt. In 1935 Consolidated Film Laboratory, one of Monogram's creditors, took over the company. Johnston and Carr formed a new Monogram in 1937, building a new distribution network from the ground up. In addition to westerns featuring Buck Jones (1889–1942), Ken Maynard (1895–1973), and others, Monogram cranked out dozens of Charlie Chan mysteries (having picked up the series from Fox), as well as East Side Kids and Bowery Boys films. Movies based on comic strips and a series of horror films with Bela Lugosi (1882–1956), along with melodramas (*Black Market Babies*, 1945), jungle films (*Call of the Jungle*, 1944), and the occasional musical were also part of the Monogram mix. Monogram had the capacity to make amiable films, but much of its output was lethargic, even with trim, one-hour running times.

Herbert J. Yates (1880–1966), owner of Consolidated Film Laboratory, formed Republic Pictures in 1935 when he took over several small producers, including the original Monogram. Despite its concentration on low-budget films, Republic was noted for its relatively slick production values for a B studio. There were probably more westerns made than any other B genre, and Republic produced the majority of them. Most of their films feature fine cinematography and action-filled story lines. The company boasted a much-admired special effects unit and the best stable of stunt performers in the business, led by Yakima Canutt (1896–1986). The major points of differentiation in the B western were the name of the cowboy star, whether or not he sang, and the color of his horse. Given those limitations, Republic's films were formulaic. Despite their interchangeability, the movies were exciting for juvenile audiences and diverting for some adults as well. Republic stars Gene Autry (1907–1998) and Roy Rogers (1911–1998) were among the leading western stars of the day, and Autry ranked among Hollywood's top ten moneymakers for several years.

Producers Releasing Corporation (PRC) was founded by a former film exchange manager, Ben Judell, in 1939. PRC's first release was the timely *Beasts of Berlin* (1939), one of the first dramatic films to deal with Hitler's Germany. PRC profited even more when it later reissued the film to capitalize on the stardom of its male second lead, Alan Ladd (1913–1964). The company produced westerns, mysteries, horror films, and even some musicals and costume films. Sam Newfield (1899–1964) directed so many films for PRC—more than fifty over the course of seven years—that he used several pseudonyms in addition to his own name. Films made by Monogram, Republic, and PRC were made in only a week or two, usually for less than $100,000—sometimes considerably less.

Finally, there were those ragtag companies that existed on the fringes of the motion picture industry making Poverty Row quickies. If films from Monogram and PRC often looked threadbare, Poverty Row quickies were the bottom of the barrel. Generally made for under $25,000 and in less than a week, movies made by companies like Empire, Peerless, Puritan, and Victory were poorly shot and often verged on incoherence.

Whether they were programmers, studio Bs, small company Bs, or Poverty Row quickies, the Bs provided a training ground for many. Leigh Brackett (1915–1978) and Carl Foreman (1914–1984) were among the screenwriters who wrote for formula pictures before going on to craft screenplays for *The Big Sleep* (1946), *High Noon* (1952), and other classics. Directors such as Edward Dmytryk, Robert Wise, Anthony Mann, and Fred Zinnemann cut their teeth on Bs before graduating to Hollywood's A-list. Young performers who honed their craft in B movies and emerged as major stars include Humphrey Bogart, Rita Hayworth, John Wayne, Anthony Quinn, Ava Gardner, Jane Wyman, and Susan Hayward, to name just a few. B movies also provided a haven for actors who no longer commanded the public's fancy. Once-popular performers such as Neil Hamilton, Clara Kimball Young, Harry Langdon, Kay Francis, and Erich von Stroheim found themselves toiling in B movies long after their popularity had faded.

While most in the movie business may have aspired to work on A films, many specialized in Bs. Some directors, such as Robert Florey, Joseph H. Lewis, Joseph Kane, Phil Karlson, Arthur Lubin, Edgar G. Ulmer, and William Witney could be counted on to turn out minimally competent—and at times quite extraordinary—work on a budget. Others like William ("One Shot") Beaudine, Reginald Le Borg, Sam Newfield, Phil Rosen, and Jean Yarbrough were undeniably prolific but more workmanlike—if not downright uninspired. Producers like Sam Katzman made a career in Bs, starting by opening a short-lived outfit called Victory Pictures, and later churning out movies for Monogram and Columbia. A number of stars established and maintained their fame in the Bs, including cowboy stars like Tim McCoy, Bob Steele, Charles Starrett, Johnny Mack Brown, Allan "Rocky" Lane, Bill Elliott, and Lash LaRue, not to mention their sidekicks such as George "Gabby" Hayes, Al "Fuzzy" St. John, and Smiley Burnette.

THE AETHESTICS OF B MOVIES

Just as the budgets of B movies covered a wide spectrum, the look and feel of the Bs ran the gamut from the sophisticated to the incompetent. Programmers, and even

EDGAR G. ULMER

b. Olmütz, Austria-Hungary, 17 September 1904, d. 30 September 1972

Few names are as closely associated with the B movie as Edgar G. Ulmer. After studying architecture and working in the theater and cinema in Europe (notably for F. W. Murnau), Ulmer settled in the United States. He directed films in a variety of low-budget forms, including exploitation movies (*Damaged Lives*, 1933), Yiddish films (*Green Fields*, 1933), and dozens of Bs.

One of Ulmer's earliest efforts, *The Black Cat* (1934), is considered one of his best. Although the movie boasted Universal's first teaming of Boris Karloff and Bela Lugosi, it was made quickly, on a B budget. Ulmer gave the bizarre tale of vengeance and necrophilia a sleek modern look that suggested spiritual corruption. He pulled a sympathetic performance from Lugosi and made Karloff, as a devil-worshipping architect, a genuinely malevolent figure. *The Black Cat* still ranks as an early horror classic.

In 1942 Ulmer began a four-year association with PRC, where he directed *Girls in Chains* (1942), one of the first women-in-prison films, and *Strange Illusion* (1945), a low-budget take on *Hamlet*. *Bluebeard* (1944) starred John Carradine as a puppeteer and painter in mid-nineteenth century Paris who is driven to strangle women who remind him of the model who helped him achieve his artistic breakthrough. An elaborate costume production, especially by PRC standards, the film featured one of Carradine's most subtle performances and Ulmer's typically baroque visual touches. *Detour* (1945) is doubtless Ulmer's most enduring production. The fatalistic story of a hapless hitchhiker (Tom Neal) mixed up with murder and a femme fatale (Ann Savage), it ranks as the darkest noir film of the 1940s. Savage's Vera is one of the nastiest creatures ever captured on film, and the whiney Neal seems to wear the weight of the world on his shoulders. His confessional voice-over is filled with metaphysical emptiness. Ulmer excels in capturing the lonely world of roadside diners, cheap motels, and dark streets, which often verge on abstraction. Similar qualities are at work in his 1954 western, *The Naked Dawn*.

While at PRC, Ulmer also made gangster films (*Tomorrow We Live*, 1942), musicals (*Jive Junction*, 1943), and costume films (*The Wife of Monte Cristo*, 1946). Later Bs for other companies include *Ruthless* (1948), often referred to as a poor man's *Citizen Kane*, and *The Man from Planet X* (1951), both of which were invested with a fine sense of atmosphere.

Ulmer finally achieved some critical attention from auteurist critics during the 1960s and 1970s. Although some individuals made better Bs or more of them, Ulmer is still remembered as one who was able to occasionally rise above the time and budget restrictions of the form to make stylish and thematically compelling films.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

The Black Cat (1934), *Bluebeard* (1944), *Strange Illusion* (1945), *Detour* (1945), *Ruthless* (1948), *The Man from Planet X* (1951), *The Naked Dawn* (1955)

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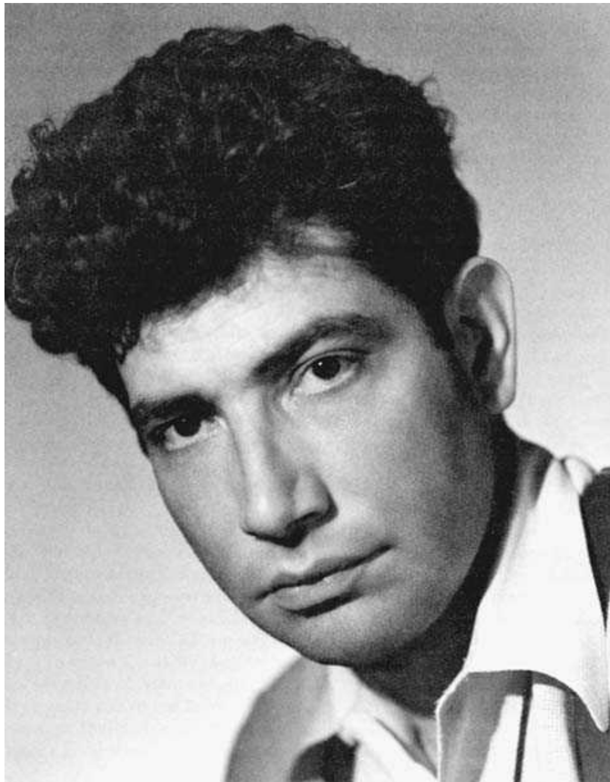
Eric Schaefer

some Bs made by the majors, could come close to the quality of A films, the only obvious difference being shorter running times. But a B running time could affect the final product. For instance, in Warner Bros.'s *Smart Blonde*, noted above, the studio attempted to fit a complex mystery into a fifty-nine-minute slot. Wise-cracking reporter Torchy Blane and her police detective boyfriend Steve McBride attempt to solve the murder of the man set to buy the holdings of nightclub owner Fitz Mularkay. A dizzying array of characters with barely sketched motivations are tossed into the trim film, producing so much confusion that in the final scene Torchy and Steve must give an accounting of the characters, their relationships and motives, and the reasoning they used to solve the case. Even with the elaborate explanation, the plot remains maddeningly obscure. With smaller company



Edgar G. Ulmer. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

Bs and Poverty Row quickies, the impact of a low budget and a fast shooting schedule was much more obvious.

Lower budgets meant that exposition tended to be handled in a more overt, at times ham-fisted, manner than in A films, in which it could be delivered more subtly over a longer running time through character behavior. Dialogue was the most expedient way to transmit crucial plot information. In PRC's *The Devil Bat* (1941), the vengeful mad scientist Bela Lugosi greets the jumbo creation of the title by telling it, "Ahhh, my friend, our teeory ov glandular stimooolation through electrical impulses vas correct! A few days ago you were as small as your companion. And now, look at you!" He reveals his plan to murder the employers who have cheated him by having them wear a bat-baiting shaving lotion he has concocted. He tells the bat, "You hate diss strange oriental fragrance even vile you sleep, just as you did before I made you big and strong. Now if you detect de fragrance in de night when you're fully avake, you vill strike! Yes, you vill strike and kill!" The overwrought dialogue is not, of course, meant for the bat but for the audience, as the film awkwardly establishes its story line. Exposition could also be transmitted overtly in the form of swirling newspaper headlines, radio news broadcasts, and character voice-over. All three techniques are utilized in *The Devil Bat*, which plays out as a series of repetitive attacks, interspersed with investigation scenes with a big-city newspaper reporter and his photographer, who provides comic relief.

The plots of B movies were generally as thin as the film on which they were shot. As a result, many films required padding of various kinds to bulk them up to feature length. For instance, *Arizona Badman*, a 1935 B western, clocks in at just under an hour. It uses a song sung at a campfire and footage of cattle meandering over the hills to pad its running time, and more than a third of the film's first sixteen minutes are devoted to interminable scenes of townsfolk hoofing at a square dance. Other cost-saving measures were employed in B movie production to save both time and money, most of which are evident on the screen: day-for-night shooting (daylight shooting employing filters and/or underexposing the film to simulate nighttime), liberal doses of stock shots and repeated shots (e.g., the Devil Bat flying out of its lair to attack), and the use of rear-screen projection in place of location work. Shooting techniques always attempted to maximize efficiency. For example, rather than shooting dialogue as a series of complex shot/reverse shot combinations (shooting over the shoulder of one actor, then the other), which requires multiple set-ups, relighting, and time in the editing room to assemble the footage, B directors would cut corners. Dialogue scenes were often filmed by framing all of the actors together facing each other, but turned slightly toward the camera. The conversation unfolds in a single, extended shot—effectively eliminating the time necessary for additional set-ups and the editing needed to achieve shot/reverse shot combinations. Moving camera shots were usually kept to a minimum because of the expense and time needed to mount them. As a result of these factors, the majority of B movies have a relatively static quality.

That static quality carried over to acting. Because of the brief shooting schedules and desire to avoid retakes, performances in B movies often appear hesitant and wooden when compared to the smoother, more naturalistic performances in A films. Fight scenes in Bs were often poorly choreographed, with pulled punches obvious and falls leaden. While Bs occasionally employed imaginative camerawork and staging (e.g., the opening dream sequence in *Fear in the Night*, 1947), B movies can best be described as displaying classical Hollywood style in its most stripped-down, unembellished form.

DECLINE OF THE Bs

The rationing of raw materials during World War II led to an overall cutback in film production. The majors reduced their output of B movies to concentrate on fewer

and better A productions, a trend that continued after the war. The Supreme Court's Paramount Decision in 1948 led to further cutbacks and consolidation. With every movie expected to stand on its own merits with bookers and buyers, there was little impulse on the part of exhibitors to book movies that were obvious cheapies.

In 1946 Monogram formed Allied Artists to produce higher-budget pictures, while it continued to churn out B movies. The corporate name was officially changed to Allied Artists in 1953, and the company signed high-profile directors such as Billy Wilder (1906–2002) and John Huston (1906–1987) to make more expensive films. PRC was bought out by Eagle-Lion, a British distribution company, in 1947. Eagle-Lion made a series of taut B-level thrillers that were a cut above PRC's earlier productions, including Anthony Mann's *T-Men* (1947) and *Raw Deal* (1948) and the noirish fantasy *Repeat Performance* (1947). In 1950 Eagle-Lion merged with Film Classics, only to be absorbed by United Artists the next year. At Republic, Yates experimented with A productions, but faced steadily declining profits throughout the 1950s—in no small measure because of his efforts to prop up the acting career of his wife, Vera Hruba Ralston (1921–2003). Republic closed shop in 1959.

The spirit of B movie production lived on in two realms. The first was the series of teen-oriented exploitation pictures made by newcomers like American International Pictures (AIP). They were quick, cheap, and made on budgets of less than $100,000. AIP packaged the films as double bills (*Sorority Girl* teamed with *Motorcycle Gang*, both 1957; *She Gods of Shark Reef* paired with *Night of the Blood Beast*, both 1958), for product-hungry neighborhood theaters and drive-ins around the country.

It was, however, the growing television industry that subsumed much of B movie production in the early 1950s. Like their radio counterparts, the young television networks concentrated on live shows. Filmed programs were used as a last resort, but some of their advantages became obvious fairly quickly. "Telefilms" could be rerun ad nauseam, and it was far easier to stage action sequences in a filmed program than with a live show. Several B western stalwarts made the successful, and profitable, transition to television. William Boyd (1895–1972), who was savvy enough to buy the rights to his old Hopalong Cassidy movies and the Hoppy character, brought them to television, and made new episodes as well. Roy Rogers starred in *The Roy Rogers Show* from 1951 to 1957 to the delight of a new generation of fans. Others who had made a living in Bs made the move to the new medium. For instance, Roland D. Reed (1894–1972), who edited and directed B movies for Chesterfield-Invincible, formed Roland Reed Productions in 1950 to produce TV commercials. The firm soon began producing programs as well, making a number of successful early telefilm series such as *My Little Margie* and *Rocky Jones, Space Ranger*. Jack Chertok (1906–1995), who produced Bs such as *Eyes in the Night* (1942) at MGM, went on to produce several significant early telefilm series, including *The Lone Ranger*, *Private Secretary*, and *Sky King*.

B movie production techniques were the natural model for television film production. In *Hollywood TV* Christopher Anderson notes that the creation of a television production division at Warner Bros. "required the studio to resurrect its dormant tradition of B-movie production and retool to operate on budgets barely adequate even on Poverty Row" (Anderson, p. 172). This meant tight budgets, restricted production schedules, the recycling of stories and scripts, and pilfering the studio library for stock shots.

If B filmmakers and production techniques saw new life with the advent of television, the B movie did as well. The film libraries of Poverty Row companies were some of the first to turn up on early television, allowing TV stations to pad their programming day, in much the same way that Bs had padded out double bills for exhibitors for twenty years. A new generation was exposed to the simple pleasures, and occasional artistry, of B movies through the video medium. Today Bs continue to fill out the hours on cable television networks devoted to classic movies, westerns, and mysteries, as well as the shelves of video and DVD stores.

SEE ALSO *Cult Films; Distribution; Exhibition; Studio System*

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BIOGRAPHY

Biographical films, or biopics, depict the lives (or segments thereof) of past and present eminent, famous, and infamous people. The boundary between the biopic and other genres is fluid, since biography can include historical film, costume drama, musical, melodrama, western, crime film, social problem film, documentary, and so on. The biopic distinguishes itself by emphasizing the person rather than a history of an era, at least in its title. The genre is not static, but rather sensitive to cultural and social transformations involving nation and community, and its form and discourse alters over time. Biopics can be allegories of power, tributes to genius and talent, paradigms of economic success, or celebrations of nation formation and patriotism, or they can capitalize on transgressions of prescribed standards of social behavior (as in gangster films, social problem films, and docudramas). Biopics present their historical subjects by means of textual and intertextual strategies that draw on the predilections of the producer, the technological and economic resources of a studio, the likelihood of profitability, the style of a director, and the personae of stars, as well as on existing versions of social history, propaganda, or a particular ideology. The biopic bases its claims to authenticity on research—written histories of a period, biographies, diaries, journals, paintings, architecture, fashion—often relying on and crediting the work of historical advisers.

The classic form of the biopic is sensitive to direct and indirect forms of censorship, and the elimination or reworking of pertinent and sensitive data about the personal life of the biographical subject is a common feature of the genre that elicits criticism about its historical legitimacy. The biopic has been a catapult to stardom for some actors because it creates the illusion of a fit between the physical appearances, mannerisms, modes of speaking, and temperaments of the actor and the famous subject. Yet the use of a star can create a tension between the famous biographical subject and the fame of the star, contributing to the complexity of the portrait or creating problems of credibility. The style can follow the model of established generic formulas, veer in an avant-garde experimental direction, or assume an investigative and reflexive mode.

EMERGENCE OF THE GENRE

From *Plutarch's Lives*, and from Shakespeare's history plays, with their focus on the tragic fate of monarchs, to erudite and popular biographies, the fascination with the lives of the rich, the famous, and the infamous persists, as does the question of the source of this fascination. In the evolution of cinema, individuals of "consequence" were not slow to appear onscreen: short films were produced in the United States, France, Russia, and Italy, featuring monarchs, political dignitaries, military heroes, dancers, and celebrities. Early documentaries such as *The Execution of Mary Queen of Scots* (1895), *President McKinley Taking the Oath of Office*, *President McKinley Reviewing the Troops at the Pan American Exposition*, and *Funeral of President McKinley* (all United States, 1901), *The King and the Queen at the Royal Castle at Monza* (Italy, 1897), *The Assassination of the Duc de Guise* (France, 1908), *The Coronation of Czar Nicholas II* (Russia, 1896), *Queen Elizabeth* (France, 1912), and *Garibaldi and His Times* (Italy, 1926) were vignettes of visual history, a harbinger of the power of the cinema to engage audiences with images of prominent people that previously they only could read about in books and,

more unlikely, see at public ceremonies. These films assumed that the spectator had some prior knowledge of the subjects filmed, but the pleasure resided in the experience of actually seeing these noteworthy individuals. The main characteristic of these short films was their documentation, their soliciting of the spectator's attention, but they were not docudramas that developed the psychology and motivation of the biographical figures.

By the middle years of the twentieth century's second decade the cinema had turned from an artisanal mode of production to an industrial one with greater industrial and technological standardization. The opportunities for the creation of complex narratives were in place, and biopics such as *Joan the Woman* (1917), *Madame Dubarry* (1919), and *Anna Boleyn* (1920) became part of the cinematic landscape. What technological, economic, and formal changes meant for the biopic is seen in the lengthy *Joan the Woman* (125 minutes) by Cecil B. DeMille (1881–1959). The film's creation of the historical context relied on huge panoramas based on replicas taken from paintings, sketches, lithographs, and photographs of villages, towers, castles, and cathedrals such as Rheims Cathedral, as well as on the use of weapons purchased from museums. Starring the opera diva Geraldine Farrar, the film was enhanced by hand-tinted shots and the use of double-exposure effects to convey her visions, and contrasts between her and the crowds. In presenting Joan as a young woman in love with a soldier who sacrifices herself to religious and national responsibility, DeMille constructed the biopic as a form of melodrama, employing monumental history that relied on spectacle to convey conflict between desire and duty, and the private and the public spheres.

Another version of Joan's life, contrasting sharply with the DeMille biopic, appeared a decade later. *The Passion of Joan of Arc* (1928), directed by Carl Theodor Dreyer (1889–1968), signaled another direction for the biopic. This radical cinematic experiment eschewed the epic dimensions of DeMille's Hollywood melodrama, restricting the action to twenty-four hours in the life of the saint and minimizing the use of costumes, objects, and makeup. Dreyer's film focuses on Joan's trial and execution in numerous close-ups, creating a counterexample to expansive and spectacular forms of the biopic. A year earlier, *Napoléon vu par Abel Gance* (*Abel Gance's Napoleon*, 1927) presented yet another biopic and experimental treatment of epic, using every possible cinematic device including montage, tinting, split screen, superimpositions, dissolves, matte shots, and dramatic camera angles. The film followed the career of Napoléon Bonaparte from schoolboy to soldier, lover, revolutionary, and empire builder. Its historical sweep monumentalized Napoléon, and its encyclopedic depth established the biopic as a premier form of biography, history, and drama.

THE COMING OF SOUND AND THE INTERWAR YEARS

The advent of synchronized sound charted new directions for the biopic. More than announcing the arrival of sound on film, *The Jazz Singer* (1927) anticipated the marriage of the biopic and the musical, highlighting the lives and careers of musical impresarios, entertainers, and composers. *The Great Ziegfeld* (1936), produced by MGM, with lavish sets, song and dance numbers, guest appearances by popular entertainers, and the use of stars, memorialized the rise and fall of the impresario. Biopics documenting the lives of entertainers increased in number throughout the remainder of the interwar years; films about Johann Strauss, Victor Herbert, Vernon and Irene Castle, and Fanny Brice celebrated the overcoming of adversity through talent and perseverance, and, by implication, the role of cinema in bringing these figures to life on the screen. Images of landscape and architecture, paintings, costumes, and dialogue (and intertitles) all helped to create the historical milieu, and sound enhanced the depiction of the period through orchestral scores of classical music, the introduction of patriotic and folk songs, drum rolls, and sound effects pertaining to coronations, marriages, funerals, and military encounters. Musical leitmotifs heightened character or cued irony.

Biopics about monarchs, literary figures, and political and military leaders featured stars with impeccable acting credits from stage and film, including George Arliss (1868–1946) in *Disraeli* (1929), *Voltaire* (1933), and the *Iron Duke* (1934), and, in the late 1930s, Paul Muni (1895–1967) in *The Story of Louis Pasteur* (1936), *The Life of Emile Zola* (1937), and *Juarez* (1939). These films had a morally uplifting message and a tendency to humanize and universalize ethical commitment, social responsibility, and opposition to vested interests. The Arliss and Muni films had a theatricality that highlighted the acting style of the performer and their ability to impersonate the historical figure.

Biopics also featured popular female and transnational stars of the silent and early sound eras, notably Greta Garbo (1905–1990) in *Mata Hari* (1931) and *Queen Christina* (1933) and Marlene Dietrich (1901–1992) in *The Scarlet Empress* (1934). These films were tailored to their star images and to tie-ins between the films and contemporary fashion. Garbo's portrait of the Swedish queen capitalized on the monarch's bisexuality, ill-fated romance, and disdain for fame and power in a style that accentuated the star's legendary face, ambiguous sexual identity, and independence. Dietrich's portrait of the Russian

empress fused the personae of the historical figure and the star, relying on Dietrich's publicized image in movie magazines and contemporary gossip as well as on the director's role in her creation.

The biopic is also associated with crime films of the late 1920s and 1930s. *Little Caesar* (1931) and *Scarface* (1932) were thinly veiled, fictionalized accounts of the life of Al Capone that resulted in intensified demands for industry self-regulation. Thus the biopic played a role in the implementation of the Production Code, which was designed to regulate depictions of sex and criminality and to offer a moral image of the industry through commonly accepted and respectable models of moral behavior, appearance, and action.

Biopics of the interwar and World War II years were closely tied to discourses of nation formation. *Abraham Lincoln* (1930), *Young Mr. Lincoln* (1939), and *Abe Lincoln in Illinois* (1940) depicted the transformation of an unprepossessing figure to an icon endowed with exceptional abilities and power. The casting of Walter Huston (1884–1950), Henry Fonda (1905–1982), and Raymond Massey (1896–1983), respectively, in the title roles identified them with these qualities. While the Lincoln biopics differ in the selection of the biographical events filmed, in the acting, and in the depictions of communities, the tendency of the films—most evident in *Young Mr. Lincoln*—is to mask the politics, presenting history as a moral parable or allegory about national unity. To develop the credibility of the historical context presented, the films include portraits of social institutions: the family, the local community, law, commerce, the military, and the government. History is visualized through costuming, photographs, landscapes, and printed documents, as well as reinforced through the uses of music and speeches.

Clive of India (1934), *Rhodes of Africa* (1936), *Stanley and Livingstone* (1939), which featured such prominent actors as Ronald Colman (1891–1958), Walter Huston, Spencer Tracy (1900–1967), and Cedric Hardwicke (1893–1964), are biopics concerned with issues of empire. Replete with images of maps, scenes of combat, trials, and oratory, these biopics romanticized the trials and the superhuman qualities of European men—entrepreneurs, expansionists, explorers, and colonizers—who undertook to civilize the "natives." Relying on the rhetoric of a benevolent imperialism, the films highlighted an "exotic" landscape, depicted hostile encounters with indigenous peoples, and underscored the protagonists' successful struggle to create peace and unity in an alien terrain despite the resistance of the natives. According to established conventions, it is not chance that determines these men's victory, but their resourcefulness and indomitable wills.

THE BIOPIC IN WAR

Directly or indirectly, the Hollywood wartime biopic justified national involvement in war, dramatizing the essentially peaceful and moral nature of the American male and distinguishing him from the enemy. *Sergeant York* (1941), starring Gary Cooper (1901–1961), is an example of the biopic's linking its biographical subject to national crises, and also of the genre's malleability to changing historical circumstances. Set during World War I but clearly making analogies with World War II, the film focuses on the transformation of an uneducated and problematic figure, a "hillbilly," to a wartime hero. Cooper's star image as a shy, modest, and inarticulate American male, slow but sure to rise to action, serves the demands of the York character and of the narrative's ideological designs. In a series of dramatic encounters with the community, his minister, and his military superiors, York fights a series of moral and personal battles that bring him finally to a spiritual conversion that enables him to renounce pacifism and serve the nation. Similarly, in *The Pride of the Yankees* (1942), Cooper reincarnates his star persona: Cooper takes on Gehrig's persona, but Gehrig becomes Cooper the star. Heroism is played down, becoming all the more prominent for its being muted. In its focus on Gehrig's fatal illness and his equanimity in facing death, the biopic offers a model of heroism transferable to the home front and battlefield, offering a strategy to cope with death. This self-effacing form of masculinity accords with a proper conception of stardom during the war and with the studio's conception of moral responsibility to its audiences at a critical time for the nation.

British biopics of wartime such as *Young Mr. Pitt* (1942), starring Robert Donat (1905–1958), are more polemic, drawing on allegory to create parallels between the Napoleonic wars and the war with the Nazis. Donat's portrait of Pitt is unmistakably hagiographic; Pitt becomes a martyr to the nation, a monument and testimonial to the British national character, and a figure of wisdom and sacrifice in the interests of national unity and mobilization.

A further development of the biopic came from the German cinema of the interwar and Nazi era, in which the illustrious man's view of history was deployed in the interests of propaganda. Among the biopics depicting the lives of monarchs, political leaders, artists, and scientists, the most notable were *Friedrich Schiller* (1940), *Bismarck* (1940), *Ohm Krüger* (1941), and *Paracelsus* (1943). These men of genius and prophetic vision realized heroism in the service of their nation against seemingly overwhelming odds. The film narratives are constructed with an escalation of conflicts involving private and public life that portray the protagonists' indomitable will and indefatigable ability

Ken Russell's The Music Lovers (1971) depicts the conflicted sexuality of the composer Tchaikovsky (Richard Chamberlain).
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to overcome the constraints of the commonplace and everyday world. Built on oppositions between life and fiction, escapism and realism, these biopics rely on the spectators' extratextual memories from schoolbooks, paintings, and architecture. The films utilize costume, musical accompaniment, period settings, props, makeup, and actor's poses to distinguish the individual from the mass.

Emil Jannings (1884–1950), known for his roles in such films as *The Last Laugh* (1924) and *Variety* (1935), lent his prestige to *The Old and the Young King* (1935) and *Ohm Krüger*. The protagonists of these films realize heroism in the service of their nation but in a manner that separates them and places them above the common people. Despite their ostensible similarity to the conventions of the Hollywood biopic, these biopics reversed the process of humanizing the historical protagonist, portraying him instead as a monument, an immortal being who has risen above history. While they are self-consciously intertextual and rely on conventions of the biographical film, these biopics are not reflexive about their uses of history and their status as film.

POSTWAR TRANSFORMATIONS AND BEYOND

Post–World War II cinema focused on more contemporary biographical subjects—and on the audience as consumers of popular culture—and displayed a more overt reflexivity about its identity as historical spectacle. One direction for the biopic dealt with the lives of entertainers, particularly musicians, and sports figures, as *The Babe Ruth Story* (1948), *The Great Caruso* (1950), *With a Song in My Heart* (1952), *The Glenn Miller Story* (1953), and *The Man of a Thousand Faces* (1957), about the actor Lon Chaney (1883–1930). *The Great Caruso* followed a chronological trajectory to underscore Caruso's "natural" genius, portraying his gradual rise to fame as a vindication of his talent in the face of social class distinctions and economic obstacles. The identification of the aspiring

opera singer and movie star Mario Lanza (1921–1959) with Caruso signaled a shift in the ethnic clichés of Latinos as womanizers, exotic dancers, and gangsters; by contrast, Lanza's life and operatic career is integrated into mainstream American culture. His body, voice, and working-class credentials identified Lanza with the regeneration of the "American dream," as an exemplification of the power of "people's capitalism" touted in ads of the 1950s.

Concomitantly, the biopic began to portray eccentric literary figures whose scandalous heterosexual and homosexual behavior had been censored, omitted, or doctored in earlier forms of the genre (for example, in the 1946 biopic of Cole Porter, *Night and Day*). Biopics such as *The Bad Lord Byron* (1948) depicted the scandalous heterosexual affairs of the writer, and by 1960, *The Green Carnation* (1960), a biopic about Oscar Wilde, confronted the writer's homosexuality. Biopics about transgressive women were not new: *Madame Dubarry*, *Queen Christina*, and *The Scarlet Empress*, all from the 1930s, had portrayed the lives of "promiscuous" women. But the postwar biopic was inclined to focus on the scandalous behavior of less illustrious women, signaling the fusion of the biopic with the social problem film by linking marginal behavior to problematic social conditions. Susan Hayward (1918–1975), whose star image was associated with a stormy personal life that made headlines, appeared in two biopics that capitalized on her bad-girl image and best exemplified the fusion of genres. *I'll Cry Tomorrow* (1955) portrayed Lillian Roth's alcohol addiction, fall from fame, and personal recuperation. *I Want to Live* (1958) depicted "social misfit" Barbara Graham's connections to the underworld and her arrest, trial, and execution for murder; the film's tone is sympathetic, with scenes that portray her sexual encounters with men, her run-ins with the law, and the injustice of capital punishment. *Yield to the Night* (1956), another indictment of capital punishment, was a veiled story of Ruth Ellis, who was tried and executed for the murder of her lover. It featured Diana Dors (1931–1984), another female star identified with a turbulent and much publicized personal life.

Biopics about deranged, promiscuous, and violent women (and about homosexuals) survived into the 1980s. *Dance with a Stranger* (1985), another biopic about Ruth Ellis, focused on her working-class background, her struggles to survive economically with her son as a woman on her own, her exploitation by her upper-class lover David Blakely and his snobbish friends, the desperation that led her to shoot and kill Blakely, the drama of her trial, and her sentence to death by hanging. *Prick Up Your Ears* (1987) portrayed the unstable, and ultimately violent, homosexual relationship of the gifted playwright Joe Orton and Kenneth Halliwell, which resulted in Orton's death. Other biopics portrayed corruption in high places (for example, *Scandal*, 1988). The tempestuous relationship between the writer T. S. Eliot with his mentally unstable first wife, Vivian, was dramatized in *Tom and Viv* (1994). If these biopics were a form of social history, they were indicative of the intertextual character of the biopic as it engaged with the effects of contemporary politics, the ongoing struggles of the film industry in the international market, the impact of television with its endless sensational reportage, and changing discourses of sexual, national, and gendered identity.

Television offers another opportunity to experiment with biography. In addition to his 1950 film about St. Francis, *Francesco guillare di deo* (*Francis, God's Jester*, 1950), which was an antihagiographic treatment of the saint, Roberto Rossellini (1906–1977) directed for television *The Rise to Power of Louis XIV* (1966), in which the king is likened to a theatrical director who transforms social life into spectacle. Ken Russell (b. 1927), a prolific director of biographical television programs and films, has also experimented with the form, in *Elgar* (1962), *The Music Lovers* (1971), *Lisztomania* (1975), and *Valentino* (1977).

Hitler: A Film from Germany (Hans-Jürgen Syberberg, 1977) and *Marlene* (Maximilian Schell, 1983) are other alternative treatments of biography on film. Using a montage of clips from films, commentaries and monologues by various personages, impersonations, fictional figures, cartoons, documentary footage, allusions to legends, pornography, and inserts of icons, *Hitler* is a critical investigation of the German nation and the media that created Hitler. The ostensible subject becomes a vehicle for the deconstruction of the individual "great man" and a depiction of the legendary sources of his construction. *Marlene* avoids images of the dying diva, but through dubbed narration (as if she were already dead) becomes a meditation on the biopic and death, on relations between filmmaker and biographical subject, and on film as history. Similarly, the Hong Kong film *Centre Stage* (1991) is an index to contemporary reconstructions of the biopic in its uses of Brechtian distancing, its creation of multiple viewing positions, and its investigative probing of the clichés of public fame, authenticity, and the conventional biopic's treatment of time, narration, memory, and history.

The Hollywood biopic has continued to thrive in the films of Steven Spielberg (b. 1946), Spike Lee (b. 1957), and Oliver Stone (b. 1946). *Schindler's List* (1993), a blockbuster biopic and a contribution to the growing number of films (and works of critical literature) that memorialize the Holocaust, does not foreground familiar Nazis (though some are present). Rather, the biopic follows the fortunes of a benign member of the Nazi party, Oskar Schindler, a savior of many Jews whose altruism is the pretext for this elegiac treatment of the Holocaust. *Malcolm X* (1992) follows the familiar

KEN RUSSELL

b. Southampton, England, 3 July 1927

Ken Russell has had a multifaceted career as a dancer, photographer, actor, and producer-director at the BBC, where he was responsible for a series of artist biographies including *Elgar* (1962), *Bartok* (1964), and *The Debussy Film* (1965). *French Dressing* (1963) and *Billion Dollar Brain* (1967) were his first films, but it was *Women in Love* (1969) that marked his coming out as a controversial British filmmaker. Based on D. H. Lawrence's novel and starring Alan Bates, Glenda Jackson, and Oliver Reed, it revealed Russell's highly theatrical style and his use of visually compelling images of the eroticized body. Russell would return to Lawrence in a 1989 adaptation of *The Rainbow* with the same stars.

Russell's fascination with the gothic and with sexually transgressive subjects continued in *The Devils* (1971), his adaptation of Aldous Huxley's *The Devils of Loudon*. Starring Oliver Reed and Vanessa Redgrave, this study of corruption by church and state outraged critics with its visually vivid sensual depiction of sadistic and masochistic sexuality in a seventeenth-century French convent. *The Music Lovers* (1971), a musical biopic, probed Tchaikovsky's creativity through a stylized and theatrical depiction of the composer's incestuous and homosexual relationships. *Mahler* (1974), a film about another tormented composer with whom Russell identified, treated its subject in grotesque and dreamlike images and revealed the filmmaker's self-reflexive investment in his biopics. *Lisztomania* (1975) uses fantasy, horror, satire, and intertextual allusions to other films and composers in its depiction of Franz Liszt as a precursor of the rock star.

Maintaining the focus on fame and popular culture, *The Boy Friend* (1972) is an homage to Hollywood's Busby Berkeley, while *Tommy* (1975) is a countercultural classic, a rock opera about youth, stardom, and the fusion of popular music and cinema. Unlike the exuberant style of *Lisztomania*, *Valentino* (1977), another star biopic, explores the legend of the star Rudolph Valentino in a sympathetic and more restrained style than Russell's other biopics, recalling Orson Welles's *Citizen Kane* (1941). In his contamination and critical treatment of genre forms, Russell challenges cultural taboos; his experimental treatments of narrative and of visual and sound images are examples of experimental filmmaking that crosses national boundaries and does not comfortably fit the mold of classical genres, realism, or heritage cinema.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Elgar (1962), *Women in Love* (1969), *The Devils* (1971), *The Music Lovers* (1971), *Mahler* (1974), *Lisztomania* (1975), *The Boy Friend* (1972), *Tommy* (1975), *Lair of the White Worm* (1988), *The Rainbow* (1989)

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Marcia Landy

narrative trajectory of the biopic, portraying Malcolm's early brushes with the law, his conversion to Islam, and his rise to prominence, as well as the opposition to him that results in his assassination. As a biopic that purports to create an image of the man and his era, the film also situates Malcolm in the context of Black Power, the struggle against racism, and as a contrast to Martin Luther King Jr.

Oliver Stone's *JFK* (1991) raised conventional expectations for the biopic but revealed another form for the treatment of historical events on film. The film relied on the public's knowledge of the life of John F. Kennedy, choosing, like a crime detection film, to investigate the investigators of the assassination. *JFK* called attention to the questions of conspiracy and cover-up that are attached to the president's death, and, hence, took a critical view of American politics. *Nixon* (1995), also by Stone, is closer to the genre of the biopic in its depiction of the man's rise and fall from power. Beginning with the disgrace of the Watergate scandal,

Ken Russell. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

the film uses flashbacks to offer another disastrous view of US political corruption.

Another permutation of the biopic is the "heritage film," exemplified by works such as *Gandhi* (1982), *Another Country* (1984), *Carrington* (1995), *Shadowlands* (1993), *Restoration* (1996), *The Madness of King George* (1997), *Elizabeth* (1998), and *Shakespeare in Love* (1998). This hybrid film form, which combines biography with costume drama, literary adaptation, and melodrama, has returned to the spectacular dimension of the earlier biopic. Marketed to appeal to audiences across cultural, economic, national, and generational divides, the films feature theatrical forms of acting and display, lavish period costumes and furnishings, and a forthright treatment of romance and sexual and gender conflicts in the context of an earlier period.

NEW CHANNELS

The biopic continues to thrive not only in the cinema but also on TV, on the Arts and Entertainment Network and the Biography Channel, and in docudramas about celebrities, royals, and politicians, as well as on the Internet. By far the most biographized contemporary figure is Princess Diana. But very few celebrities escape media treatment. There is an emphasis on their private lives, highlighting their troubled childhoods, struggles to succeed, fame, marriages and divorces, illnesses, and deaths. The televisual biopic proffers the lives of the famous and infamous by means of "documentary" footage of their lives and times, commentary by their biographers, family members, colleagues, and friends, and, in the case of film stars, clips from their films. The biographies benefit from controversial material, scandals, and conflicts with the law. Thus it seems that the "biopic" is alive and well: the unabated flow of media biography is testimony to its continuing popularity, its profitability, and its responsiveness to changing cultural and social conditions.

SEE ALSO *Genre; Historical Films; Stars*

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Marcia Landy

BRAZIL

Despite its scant international visibility, Latin American cinema has a long and complex history bound to international aesthetic movements and local social conditions, global economics—particularly the control of distribution by transnational conglomerates—and the building of national cultures. These particular dialectics between center and periphery intensify cinema's intrinsic tension between its industrial base and its aesthetic presumptions as well as its dual, contradictory nature as an art form and a commodity. As a result, Latin American filmmakers developed over decades the theoretical and practical foundations of postcolonial Third World Cinema, as articulated in the Cuban theory of Imperfect Cinema, the Argentinean theory of Third Cinema, and the Brazilian movements first of Cinema Novo and later of Tropicalism.

THE *BELA ÉPOCA*

Only a few months after the first Lumière projection, a keen fascination with the practice of cinema developed in the main urban centers of Latin America. In Brazil, the birth of cinema coincided with the newly institutionalized Republic and its thrust in export-led industrialization, urbanization, and mass immigration. From 1900 to 1912, an incipient Brazilian film artisanal industry begun to develop. Although it was concentrated in a vertically integrated system managed by local entrepreneurs, cinema was never perceived as a significant national industry. In this period, known as the *Bela Época*, Brazilian films dominated the domestic market, and documentaries and newsreels constituted the most important filmic productions. Fiction films were realized according to the established genres of comedy, melodrama, and historical drama, generally adaptations of literary classics, as well as carnival and satirical musicals, which followed the popular traditions of the circus and the vaudeville of the nineteenth century.

Os estranguladores (*The Stranglers*, 1908) by Antônio Leal (1876–1947) was the first Brazilian feature film and Júlio Ferrez's *Nhô Anastácio chegou de viagem* (*Mr. Anastácio Has Arrived from His Travels*, 1908) was the first Brazilian comedy. During this period, Brazilian fiction films, such as Leal's adaptation of José de Alencar's literary work *O guaraní* (*The Guaraní*), *O Diabo* (*The Devil*, Antonio Campos), and *O crime da mala* (*The Suitcase Crime*, Alberto Botelho) and *Paz e amor* (*Peace and Love*), were unfaithful copies of European and American cinema of the time, mainly because Brazilian cinematographers lacked technical expertise. The lack of infrastructure and up-to-date technology; the limitation of the public to the *carioca* upper and middle classes; the systematically aristocratic point of view portrayed in the films; and their unfavorable rating in comparison to foreign standards were all deficiencies that made themselves apparent very soon, having in a few years a lethal impact on this sprouting cinema. Moreover, the impossibility of building a steady production consolidated the flaws and limits of the already tiny market.

By 1911, Hollywood studios were international, and their films began to penetrate the Brazilian market. The *Bela Época* ended as Brazilian films were displaced by US and European films. From 1914 to 1929, US investments in Latin America increased from 17 to 40 percent of all investments, placing Brazil as Hollywood's fourth largest export market. The US industry implemented an aggressive commercial strategy, which enticed the

Brazilian audience through its flawless technical superiority and the glamour of the star system. *Cinearte*, the most influential film journal of the 1920s, celebrated the US model. The technical expertise and slick production values of Hollywood movies were regarded as the standard, and it served to discourage indigenous filmmaking.

Although the *Bela Época*'s industrial experiment faded, individual filmmakers continued making films in Rio, Sâo Paulo, Recife, or Porto Alegre, such as Luiz de Barros, who adapted José de Alencar's Indianist romantic novels, *Iracema* (1917) and *Ubirajara* (1919); Gilberto Rossi and José Medina, who made *Exemplo regenerador* (*Redeeming Example*, 1919), *Perversidade* (*Perversity*, 1921), *Carlitinhos* (1921), *A culpa dos outros* (*The Fault of Others*, 1922), and *Fragmentos da vida* (*Fragments of Life*, 1929); and Mario Peixoto, director of *Limite* (*The Boundary*, 1930), the first Brazilian experimental film. In 1925 Humberto Mauro (1897–1983), the most recognized auteur of this period, founded his own production company, Phebo Films, and directed *Valadião, o Cratera* (*Valadião, or the Crater*, 1925), *Na primavera da vida* (*In the Spring of Life*, 1926), and *Tesouro perdido* (*Lost Treasure*, 1927). With the advent of sound, Mauro teamed up with Cinédia to produce *Lábios sem beijos* (*Lips without Kisses*, 1930), *Sangue mineiro* (*Minas Blood*, 1930), and *Ganga bruta* (*Brutal Gang*, 1933), and with Brasil Vita Filmes to direct *Favela dos meus amores* (*Favela of My Loves*, 1934).

CHANCHADAS: A FILM INDUSTRY FOR A NATIONAL CINEMA

The introduction of sound in the 1930s was welcome in Latin America as a possible path to the autonomous development of a national film industry. Despite the devastating effects of the Great Depression in the United States, Hollywood had the upper hand, first by its experiments with foreign-language versions of its own films and later with its worldwide imposition of dubbing and subtitling. By 1934, Hollywood had regained its hegemony in the Latin American markets to the point that it became a propaganda machine for Franklin D. Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy.

Under Getúlio Vargas's Estado Novo (1937–1945), an authoritarian and populist regime that implemented a vast plan of national modernization, the cinema industry was funded by the state in order to help create hegemony around nationally shared cultural symbols. Rio de Janeiro became the center of film production during the 1930s and 1940s, establishing the imprint of the most popular Brazilian film genre, the *chanchada*, musical comedies inspired by Hollywood musicals but rooted in the Brazilian carnival and burlesque theater. The *carioca* flavor, composed of music, dance, carnival, and even Rio slang, constituted the ironic nucleus of the *chanchada*, which parodied Hollywood's "perfection."

As a budding though embryonic film production center, Rio facilitated the emergence of several film companies linked to specific directors and producers, such as Adhemar Gonzaga's Cinédia, Carmen Santos's Brasil Vita Filmes, and Alberto Byington Jr. and Wallace Downey's Sonofilmes. All of them sought to improve their films' quality, though they finally ended up exploiting the popular *chanchada* in order to collect money to finance other projects. As part of this strategy, Gonzaga's Cinédia Studios released *Alô, Alô Brasil* (*Hello, Hello Brazil*, 1935) and *Alô, Alô Carnaval* (*Hello, Hello Carnival*, 1936), featuring Carmen Miranda (1909–1955).

Although World War II slowed the production of Brazilian films, a new film company, Atlântida, was established in 1943. At the beginning, Atlântida tried to produce socially committed films by promoting a realist cinema dealing with popular themes. José Carlos Burle, Alinor Azevedo, and Moacyr Fenelon directed *Moleque Tião* (*Boy Tião*, 1943) and Burle and Ruy Costa directed *Tristezas não pagam dividas* (*Sadness Doesn't Pay Off Debts*, 1944). Nevertheless, Atlântida too had to resort to the *chanchadas*, this time teaming the two most popular comedians of all time, Grande Otelo (1915–1993) and Oscarito (1906–1970).

In 1949, the Vera Cruz Company was founded in São Paulo, actually displacing Rio as the center of film production. Alberto Cavalcânti (1897–1982), an Italo-Brazilian émigré, was hired to run the company. "A Brazilian Hollywood," as Maria Rita Galvão asserts, the Vera Cruz experiment would realize the "film industry myth" ("Vera Cruz," in Johnson and Stam, *Brazilian Cinema,* p. 271), a truly national culture industry with large amounts of capital invested in technology, in experienced and skilled European technicians, and in the construction of new studios, which were modeled on the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer studios, even when they were already in decline. For the first time, Brazilian cinema would be internationally distributed, with quality films and a consolidated internal market. The Vera Cruz Company produced eighteen feature films and many documentaries. *O cangaceiro* (*The Cangaceiro*, Lima Barreto, 1953) was the first Brazilian film to be successfully distributed internationally. The Vera Cruz project "was doomed to failure since it was too costly and ambitious" (King, *Magical Reels*, p. 59), but it was also condemned because it committed a crucial mistake that would haunt future filmmakers—leaving distribution in the hands of Columbia Pictures. This experience, which stimulated passionate reflection on the nature of producing, distributing, and exhibiting Brazilian cinema, left indelible though ambiguous lessons.

CINEMA NOVO

In the 1960s, Latin America was a contested field of struggle. From the Cuban Revolution in 1959 to the death of Che Guevara in 1967, from the massacre of Tlatelolco in 1968 to the Cordobazo uprising in 1969, from the landing of US Marines in the Dominican Republic in 1965 to the series of military coups that prepared the terrain for neoliberal policies in the Southern Cone countries, Latin American societies were shaken by social conflict, political revolt, and military intervention. The failure of developmental modernization showed the true face of neocolonialism, as unveiled by the formidable critique of the theories of dependency, internal colonialism, and cultural imperialism, which proved the coming of age of Latin American social thought, revealed in an astounding cultural movement, from theater to literature, from popular music to cinema, from the social sciences to philosophy and religion. Filmmakers were actively involved in this movement in order to invent alternative modes of distribution and exhibition, create different cinematographic languages, and intervene artistically in the modernizing, revolutionary, anti-colonial, and anti-imperialist politics of the times.

Cinema Novo (New Cinema) developed in Brazil in the early 1960s through the heterogeneous production of young filmmakers such as Nelson Pereira dos Santos (b. 1928), Glauber Rocha (1931–1981), Ruy Guerra (b. 1931), Carlos Diegues (b. 1940), and Joaquim Pedro de Andrade (1932–1988). "Cinema Novo is only part of a larger process transforming Brazilian society and reaching, at long last, the cinema," wrote Diegues in 1962 ("Cinema Novo," in Johnson and Stam, p. 65). Theirs was a political intervention against neocolonialism, bred by the revolutionary wave that shook Latin America under the spell of the Cuban Revolution (1959), the expectations generated by the developmental policies of President Juscelino Kubitschek (1955–1961) and the radical populism of Jânio Quadros and João Goulart (1961–1964), who, in alliance with the left intelligentsia, projected ambitious social reforms. (Under the pressure of traditional landowners and transnational corporations, Goulart was finally deposed by the military. The coup inaugurated the era of "authoritarian" regimes responsible for introducing the neoliberal adjustments that would convert the region's national economies to the demands of global capitalism.) But theirs was also a countercultural strategy in search of an alternative aesthetic to the mass consumption of genre films churned out in Hollywood, and an alternative mode of production to the industrialized studio system, whose high costs of production and dependence on large markets made it utterly inadequate for Brazil, as the failure of the Vera Cruz studios had dramatically demonstrated.

Film journals and *cine* clubs fostered a critique of Brazilian cinema and a debate about whether to build a strong film industry with state support or to pursue a low-cost production system that would encourage experimentation. The new strategy, based on location filming, intensive camera work, and nonprofessional actors, was part of Italian neorealism, whose bare aesthetic captured so vividly the complexity of social reality, and French Nouvelle Vague, whose avant-garde aesthetic and philosophical musings offered a seductive critique of Western modernity. Adapted to the Brazilian milieu through the lens of Third World anti-imperialism, European avant-garde ideas became a means for political antagonism. Differing from both Hollywood films, which were conceived as entertainment and instilled passivity in the consumer, and European auteur cinema, which was conceived as art and portrayed existential angst and social alienation, Brazilian cinema produced a social and political critique of colonialism and neocolonialism. It was, as Diegues alleged, a committed and critical cinema: "Brazilian filmmakers have taken their cameras and gone out into the streets, the country, and the beaches in search of the Brazilian people, the peasant, the worker, the fisherman, the slum dweller" ("Cinema Novo," in Johnson and Stam, p. 66). While Hollywood aestheticized politics and the Nouvelle Vague politicized aesthetics, Cinema Novo, alongside Cuban Imperfect Cinema and Argentinean Third Cinema, tried to forge a dialectics of avant-garde aesthetic and revolutionary politics.

Contrary to the soothing continuity of classical films, Cinema Novo assailed the spectator and her or his most unquestioned values, through the extensive employment of Brechtian and Eisenstenian techniques of distancing (such as discontinuous and vertical editing), jump-cuts and image saturation, and theatrical acting and social symbolism. The spectator was not allowed to remain passive or relaxed but instead was disturbed and interpellated by "films of discomfort" made out of "crude images and muffled dialogue, unwanted noise on the soundtrack, editing accidents, and unclear credits and titles" (Rocha, "The Tricontinental Filmmaker," in Johnson and Stam, p. 77). "Guerrilla" Cinema Novo demanded a noncontemplative, aesthetically active, and politically committed viewer.

Of course, this is the core of Cinema Novo's fundamental paradox: it attempted to become a popular art form and a tool for political liberation through a non-populist and nonpaternalistic strategy. However, despite the filmmakers' awareness that the basis for a revolutionary cinema is its capacity to build a sustainable public, their films were only popular among intellectuals, connoisseurs, and film critics worldwide. They rarely succeeded in attracting "the masses." Moreover, they naively overestimated their ability to penetrate foreign

CARLOS DIEGUES

b. Maceió, Alagoas, Brazil, 19 May 1940

Carlos "Cacá" Diegues is a leading figure of Brazilian cinema. One of the first filmmakers to define Cinema Novo in 1962 as part of a larger cultural movement transforming Brazilian society, he was also one of the first to declare its dilution into Brazilian cinema. A staunch supporter of auteur cinema, Diegues believed that Cinema Novo's social commitment and political criticism would be possible only through unqualified artistic freedom, cinematic heterodoxy, and cultural pluralism. This conception of Cinema Novo as a collective of individual artists more than as an aesthetic school led him to explore very different cinematic styles, from his neorealist, pseudo-ethnographical, and didactic films of the 1960s, unmistakably related to the first phase of Cinema Novo and its aesthetic of hunger, to his embrace in the 1970s of Tropicalism's spectacular aesthetics and his denunciation of the submission of art to party politics, or what was called the "ideological patrols."

His first professional films, *Escola de samba, alegria de viver* (*Samba School, Joy of Living*, 1962, a segment of *Cinco vezes favela*, or *The Slums Five Times*) and *Ganga Zumba* (1963), frame Diegues's thematic and aesthetic concerns: the recovery of the historical roots and the contemporary expressions of Afro-Brazilian culture, and its influence on popular music (samba), religion (candomblé), and carnival. In *Quilombo* (1984), he returned to these themes, this time in the form of a spectacular super-production that further stressed the mythical elements of the story. *Xica da Silva* (1976), a carnivalesque rendition of historical events in colonial Brazil, tells the story of a female slave who shapes politics and the economy through sex, fantasy, and eroticism. The film, which sparked a fertile national debate on the issue of "the popular," became a box-office hit. Its music, dances, eroticism, and carnivalization of traditions and reversal of history all fit into the commercial formula of Tropicalism.

Diegues's lengthy filmography also includes *A grande cidade* (*The Big City*, 1966), *Os herdeiros* (*The Heirs*, 1968), and *Joanna Francesa* (*Joanna the Frenchwoman*, 1973). *Bye Bye Brasil* (1980), his first film to be a commercial success abroad, is perhaps Diegues's most complex film, both thematically and theoretically. It tells the story of Salomé, Lorde Cigano, and Andorinha, three traveling artists who tour the Northeastern countryside with the Caravana Rolidei ("Circus Holiday"). Their shows attract an audience of peasants and Indians in isolated and impoverished towns where television has not yet arrived. Accompanied by an accordionist and his wife, the three artists try to find places still uncontaminated by modern technology and global culture. They head to the Amazonia, where they discover the most dramatic contradictions brought by globalization. Years later, they will meet again in Brasília to illustrate metaphorically two divergent paths toward modernization. The film shows a country caught between uneven and incomplete modernization and cornered by economic globalization. It is perhaps one of the funniest and saddest reflections on the cultural impact of globalization on Latin American culture, including its films.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Ganga Zumba (1964), *Quando o Carnaval Chegar* (1972), *Joanna Francesa* (*Joanna the Frenchwoman*, 1973), *Xica da Silva* (1976), *Bye Bye Brasil* (1980), *Quilombo* (1984), *Orfeu* (1999), *Deus é Brasileiro* (2002)

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markets beyond the festival circuit, and, because of their lack of resources, they paradoxically came to depend on distributors and exhibitors for postproduction financing, that is, on those agents who ultimately controlled the market (Johnson and Stam, *Brazilian Cinema*, p. 380). Theirs was, in a nutshell, a strategy of political awareness (Paulo Freire's "*concientizaçao*") and aesthetic modernization in which politics and aesthetics became one through radicalizing Western avant-gardism, while rejecting its direction.

Carlos Diegues. © FORESTIER YVES/CORBIS SYGMA.

THE AESTHETICS OF HUNGER

The history of Cinema Novo can be divided into three phases linked to major political events. The first phase lasted until the coup of 1964. It was a formative period dominated by a sense of political urgency aptly captured by neorealist, documentary-style narratives that went out to the streets to film popular subjects. Pereira dos Santos's *Rio 40 graus* (*Rio 40 Degrees*, 1955) and *Rio zona norte* (*Rio Northern Zone*, 1957) followed the daily life of peanut-seller boys and a samba composer in the slums of Rio, while Rocha's *Barravento* (*The Turning Wind*, 1962) laid bare the alienating function of religion and its clash with modern ideas in a traditional fishing community. Several seminal films were released in 1963, many of them located on the *sertão*, the mythical locus of uncontaminated Brazilianness in the Northeastern backland: dos Santos's *Vidas secas* (*Barren Lives*), Guerra's *Os fuzis* (*The Guns*), and Rocha's *Deus e o diabo na terra do sol* (*Black God, White Devil*). Although Carlos Diegues's *Ganga Zumba* retraces the roots of Afro-Brazilian culture, based as it is on the seventeenth-century maroon community of Palmares, it shares with the other films a similar concern with the socially and ethnically downtrodden and a similar optimism about the revolutionary creativity of the national-popular. As Rocha summed it up, these films "narrated, described, poeticized, discussed, analyzed, and stimulated the themes of hunger: characters eating dirt and roots, characters stealing to eat, characters killing to eat, characters fleeing to eat" ("Esthetic of Hunger," in Johnson and Stam, p. 54). These are the bases for his aesthetics of hunger: "Economic and political conditioning has led us to philosophical weakness and impotence.... It is for this reason that the hunger of Latin America is not simply an alarming symptom: it is the essence of our society" ("Esthetic of Hunger," in Johnson and Stam, p. 56).

Based on the homonymous novel by Graciliano Ramos and released amid widespread debates on land reform, *Vidas secas* tells the story of a family of landless peasants forced to migrate to the modern cities by cyclical droughts, endemic poverty, and quasi-feudal socioeconomic relations. *Os fuzis* tells the allegorical story of the conflicts that arise between the soldiers sent to a village in the *sertão* to protect the warehouse of the landowner and the starving peasants, whose initial passivity and fatalism seem to give way to some form of symbolic rebellion that will also change the soldiers' minds. *Deus e o diabo* is a condensed allegory whose narrator, the blind singer-poet of *cordel* literature (Northeastern broadsheets), traverses tradition and modernity to tell the story of a peasant couple torn between following the messianic call of a religious leader shaped after the historical figure of Antônio Conselheiro and adhering to the murderous rage of the last *cangaceiro* (a social bandit). Neither morality nor rationality prevails in this apocalyptic society shaped by colonial insanity. *Deus e o diabo*, its sequel, *Antônio das Mortes, matador de cangaceiros* (*Antonio das Mortes,* 1969), and *Terra em transe* (*Land in Anguish*, 1967), all by Rocha, show an avant-garde experimentalism at its peak.

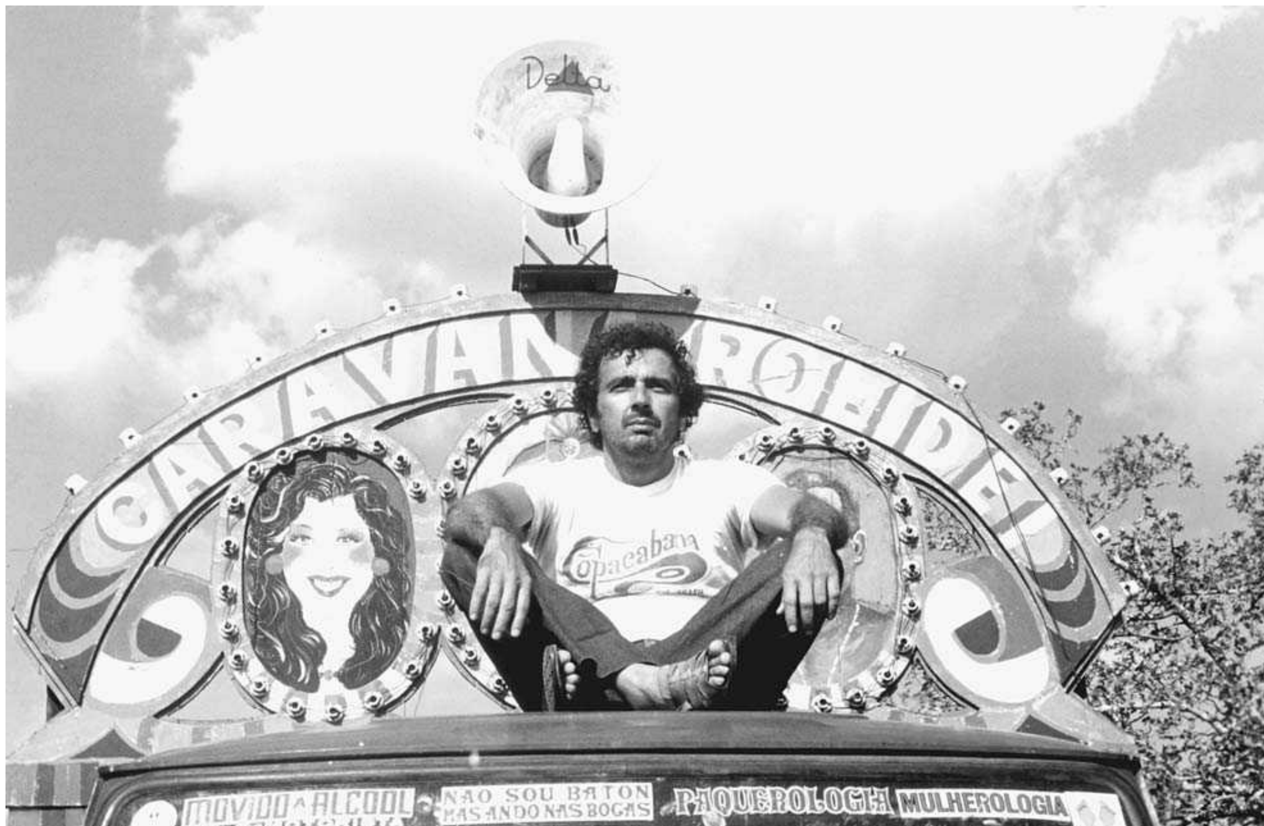
Cinema Novo's second phase lasted from 1964 to 1968, when the AI-5 (Fifth Institutional Act) radicalized the repressive nature of the military regime. Despite this, during those years the counterculture and Cinema Novo continued to flourish. This uneasy marriage of convenience was due to the growth of state funding through the Instituto Nacional do Cinema (National Film Institute), which was established after GEICINE (Executive Group of the Film Industry), which provided financial support for the importation of equipment and the production of films and established compulsory exhibition quotas for films. These nationalistic policies divided the field, and the improbable alliance inspired some films that directly addressed the role of middle-class intellectuals in social struggle, such as Rocha's *Terra em transe*, *O desafio* (*The*

Challenge, Paulo Saraceni, 1967), and *O bravo guerreiro* (*The Brave Warrior*, Gustavo Dahl, 1968).

CANNIBALISM AND TROPICALISM

The year 1968 fragmented the artistic milieu and nurtured the emergence of new aesthetic strategies of resistance: cannibalism, Tropicalism, and the aesthetics of garbage dominated the third phase of Cinema Novo. Cannibalism, inspired by the modernist movement of the 1920s, was a nationalist strategy of cultural anti-imperialism, according to which the culture imposed by the First World should be devoured, digested, and recycled according to local needs. "Cannibalism is an exemplary mode of consumerism adopted by underdeveloped peoples," wrote Joaquim Pedro de Andrade for the presentation of *Macunaíma* (1969), the film adaptation of the modernist novel by Mário de Andrade that became a box-office hit and a milestone in Cinema Novo ("Cannibalism and Self-Cannibalism," in Johnson and Stam, p. 68). Another splendid cannibal film is Pereira dos Santos's *Como era gostoso o meu francês* (*How Tasty Was My Little Frenchman*, 1971).

Tropicalism, though conceptually related to cannibalism, is a complex Brazilian variant of pop with which a growing number of avant-garde musicians, writers, artists, and theater and film directors identify themselves. Though clearly a reaction to the economically ultramodern but ideologically ultraconservative neoliberal modernization imposed by the military, Tropicalism rendered patriarchal, traditional cultures anachronistic using the most advanced or fashionable idioms and techniques in the world, thus producing an allegory of Brazil that exposed a real historical abyss, a junction of different stages of capitalist development. However, the Tropicalist message was at least ambiguous, since the line between covert criticism and overt commercialism is blurred, providing the stock for a genuine "snobbery for the masses" (Schwarz). In consequence, contrary to the aesthetic of hunger, Tropicalism's formula mixed reflection with entertainment, with fiesta, carnival, and *chanchada*, to entice the public, as in dos Santos's *Tenda dos milagros* (*Shop of Miracles*, 1977) and *Dona Flor e seus dois maridos* (*Dona Flor and Her Two Husbands*, 1976), arguably the most successful film in Brazilian filmmaking, and Diegues's works *Xica da Silva* (1976), *Bye Bye Brasil* (1980), and *Quilombo* (1984). This



Tropicalism in Carlos Diegues's *Bye Bye Brasil* (1980). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

explains the spectacular magnificence of Tropicalist films, and their inversion of the revolutionary strategy of the aesthetics of hunger for an ironic tactic of social reform, which tries to recover the carnivalesque underside of uneven development.

Tropicalism's ultimate goal, however, was to break its dependence on official patronage and ideological censorship, to get rid of its paradoxical alliance with the authoritarian regime, thus solving the intractable question of the popular: in a word, how to make films attractive to the public while still representing the interests of the people. After their return from exile in 1973, though Cinema Novo had largely disappeared as a cultural movement, Cinema Novo directors continued to dominate the scene under the auspices of the cultural policies of General Ernesto Geisel. In 1975, they revitalized Embrafilme and created Concine and Funarte, institutions dedicated to the promotion of the arts. Embrafilme's budget rose from $600,000 to $8 million; it distributed over 30 percent of Brazilian films and cofinanced up to 50 percent of the annual film production. The screen quota was increased from 42 days in 1959 to 140 days in 1980, and the share of Brazilian films went from 15 percent in 1974 to 30 percent in 1980 (Johnson, *Film Industry*). The dilemma for filmmakers was whether these tangible benefits could write off the political costs of accepting the support of a repressive regime, whose interest in the arts was part of its modernizing policies. Some filmmakers rejected Embrafilme as a co-opting device and a mechanism of cultural control; others, including Rocha, Pereira dos Santos, and Diegues, who became sub-director of Embrafilme under Roberto Farias, thought that Embrafilme was a way to confront the power of multinational corporations in Brazil.

Meanwhile, some filmmakers, known to be part of the Udigrudi (underground), rejected any form of state support as an ideological sellout and questioned the artistic hegemony of Cinema Novo directors. The Udigrudi filmmakers' aesthetic of garbage expressed a feeling of cynical despair that anticipated the postmodern dismissal of modern utopias. However, according to Rocha, they shared the same objectives of conquering the market and maintaining economic independence to sustain freedom of production (''From the Drought to the Palm Trees,'' in Johnson and Stam, p. 88). *O bandido da luz vermelha* (*The Red Light Bandit*, Rogerio Sganzerla, 1968), *Matou a familia e foi ao cinema* (*Killed the Family and Went to the Cinema,* Julio Bresanne, 1969), and *Bangue-Bangue* (*Bang Bang*, Andrea Tonacci, 1971) follow this line of breaking the codes, mixing genres, transgressing morals, and dumping Cinema Novo's revolutionary optimism within corrosive nihilism.

All this revealed a profound ideological and cultural crisis, but it also contributed to spark anew the debate on ''the popular'' and the social role of the intellectual, revealing that the national and the popular are not something hidden from everyday reality that artists and intellectuals should unearth, but that same everyday social reality in which people live, including, of course, religion and television. This notion is consciously examined in Pereira dos Santos's *O amuleto de Ogum* (*The Amulet of Ogum*, 1974) and *Memórias do cárcere* (*Prison Memories*, 1984), Guerra and Nelson Xavier's *A queda* (*The Fall*, 1977), and *O homen que virou suco* (*The Man Who Turned into Juice*, João Batista de Andrade, 1980).

THE GLOBALIZATION OF NATIONAL CINEMA

Although the modernization and globalization of Brazilian culture can be traced back to the 1960s, the full effects of globalization would not be noticeable until the 1980s, when the Brazilian ''economic miracle'' vanished amid the tremors of the Latin American ''lost decade,'' as the 1980s, dominated by neoliberal policies, have been called. While the crisis led to certain political democratization, it also shattered national cinema, unable to cope with the sharp decline in public attendance, the dwindling of state funding, and the television networks. Television was promoted by the military as a magnet for economic development and an apparatus of national security, and it had taken over the entertainment market and become the main shaper of the national imagination. Telenovelas, in fact, became the undisputed form of popular entertainment as well as an exportable commodity and symbol of modern Brazil. Therefore, the crisis was not just economic, but as Randal Johnson argues, it also represented the bankruptcy of the state-supported mode of film production, which, despite some remarkable success during the 1970s, did not lead to the consolidation of a self-sustaining industry (''Rise and Fall,'' pp. 366–373).

While the transitional government of José Sarney (1985–1989) offered tax incentives for film investment, the neoliberal administration of Fernando Collor de Mello (1990–1992), the first democratically elected president in thirty years, abolished all state film agencies and protectionist measures, which had long ceased to be effective anyway, given that pornography accounted in the 1980s for nearly 70 percent of total production (Johnson, ''Rise and Fall,'' p. 363). However, production fell to a historical low: thirteen films in 1990, three in 1993. The situation improved slightly during Fernando Henrique Cardoso's tenure (1995–2003); the government passed some tax incentives, authorized direct state funding, and reestablished a reduced exhibition quota. Nevertheless, the feeling that ''Brazilian cinema is dead,''

expressed by Arnaldo Jabor (b. 1940) and Hector Babenco (b. 1946), among others, was still in the air.

Is it possible to keep talking of a Brazilian national cinema in the age of economic globalization and postmodern cosmopolitanism? One thing is sure: behind the diverse strategies adopted by filmmakers to withstand the impact of globalization, there is always the trace of the national. The growing disillusionment with national models substituted the social didacticism and epic allegories of Cinema Novo with more intimate and testimonial narratives focusing on the daily life of subaltern and marginal subjects. In this line the following films are notable: de Andrade's *O homem que virou suco*; *Eles não usam black tie* (*They Don't Wear Black Tie*, Leon Hirszman, 1981), one of the most powerful films on workers' urban life; Héctor Babenco's *Pixote* (1981), a semi-documentary denunciation of street children's exploitation and murder; and *A hora da estrela* (*The Hour of the Star*, Suzana Amaral, 1985), which provides a somber depiction of the survival of Northeastern migrants, especially women, in the industrial cities. *Cidade oculta* (*Hidden City*, Chico Botelho, 1986) is a good example of the postmodern pseudo-realism practiced by the Vila Madalena group.

Several women filmmakers contributed to this change. The films of Ana Carolina (b. 1943), *Mar de rosas* (*Sea of Roses*, 1977), *Das tripas coração* (*Heart and Guts*, 1982), and *Sonho de valsa* (*Dream of a Waltz*, 1987), represent a fierce critique of sexist social institutions and a reclamation of women's sexual and social subjectivity from a feminist point of view. *Gaijin, caminhos da libertade* (*Gaijin, the Roads to Freedom*, 1980) by Tizuka Yamasaki (b. 1949) initiated a series of films that explored the history and lives of migrant communities. In *Parayba mulher macho* (*Parayba, a Strong Woman*, 1983) and *Patriamada* (*Beloved Brazil*, 1985), she focused on the social, professional, and sexual struggles of women journalists.

One of the most obvious strategies to confront the effects of globalization is to obtain financial support from abroad, either in the form of coproductions or by securing a film's international distribution. But often, in order to obtain those transnational funds, the filmmaker has to adapt the film to the tastes of a somewhat abstract global audience. Thus Brazilian films are often constrained: they are bilingual or entirely in English; deal with topics, characters, and plots that fit—or at least evoke—Hollywood classic genres; tell a "universal" story in a local context; and play the exoticism card, exploiting the typical and the stereotypical (carnival, music, exotic sex). Guerra tried the formula very early with *Eréndira* (1982), the best filmic rendition of magical realism and a Brazilian, Mexican, and German coproduction, and Babenco tried it with *Kiss of the Spider Woman* (1985), shot in English. Other examples are the films of Walter Salles Jr. (b. 1956), *Terra estrangeira* (*Foreign Land*, 1995), a Brazilian/Portuguese coproduction, and *Estacion central de Brasil* (*Central Station*, 1998), a national and international success funded by the Sundance Institute and distributed by Sony and Miramax. Bruno Barreto (b. 1955) made *O que é isso companheiro?* (*Four Days in September*, 1997), a bilingual political thriller coproduced by Columbia, widely distributed in the United States, and nominated for an Oscar®, and *Bossa Nova* (1999), another bilingual film seeking to exploit the global exoticism of Brazilian pop music. Other music-themed works include Diegues's earlier film *Veja esta canção* (*Rio's Love Songs*, 1994), and *Orfeu* (1999), a remake of the classic *Black Orpheus* by Marcel Camus (1959), with music by Caetano Veloso and the leading role played by Toni Garrido, a famous rapper.

The success of this globalist strategy did not stop filmmakers from pursuing more local topics, such as the role of intellectuals in *Não quero falar sobre isso agora* (*I Don't Want to Talk about That Now*, Mauro Farias, 1991) and Carlos Reichenbach's *Alma corsaria* (1993). The resurgence of Northeastern topics appears in *Matadeira* (*The Machine Gun*, Jorge Furtado, 1994) and *Guerra de Canudos* (*The War of Canudos*, Sergio Rezende, 1997), both on the same historical massacre; *O sertão das memórias* (*Landscape of Memories*, José Araújo, 1996); *Eu, tu, eles* (*Me, You, Them*, Andrucha Waddington, 2000), and *Abril despedaçado* (*Behind the Sun*, Walter Salles Jr., 2001). Films addressing urban violence include *Ilha das flores* (*Island of Flowers*, Jorge Furtado, 1989), *Boca de lixo* (*The Scavengers*, Eduardo Coutinho, 1992), *Um céu de estrelas* (*A Starry Sky*, Tata Amaral, 1996), *Os matadores* (*Belly Up*, Beto Brant, 1997), *Dos córregos* (*Two Streams*, Carlos Reichenbach, 1999), *Carandiru* (Hector Babenco, 2002), *Ônibus 174* (*Bus 174*, José Padilha and Felipe Lacerda, 2002), and *Madame Satã* (Karim Aïnouz, 2002). Among films directly concerned with the effects of globalization is *Capitalismo selvagem* (*Savage Capitalism*, André Klotzel, 1993).

SEE ALSO *National Cinema; Third Cinema*

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Ana Del Santo
Abril Trigo

CAMERA

The motion picture camera is the basic tool of the filmmaker, used to capture images on film. The word "camera" comes from *camera obscura*, a device developed during the Renaissance that was a precursor to modern-day photographic cameras. The *camera obscura* (which literally means "dark room") consisted of a darkened chamber or box with a small hole in one wall. Images from outside the *camera* passed through this hole, which acted as a lens, and appeared, inverted, on the opposite wall. Reduced in size, the *camera obscura* became the pinhole camera; lenses and photographic plates were added in the nineteenth century to create the photographic camera.

Several technological advances were necessary before it was possible for cameras to record moving images. The glass plates used in early photography needed to be replaced by flexible film stock, and a mechanism was required to pull the film through the camera. An intermittent device was needed to stop each frame briefly in front of the lens, and a shutter was added to block light between frames. Finally, the lengthy exposure times necessary for early photography—from several minutes to more than an hour—needed to be reduced significantly for moving pictures, which require a minimum rate of twelve frames exposed per second to successfully create the illusion of motion. Developments made throughout the nineteenth century by countless inventors around the world culminated in the introduction of the movie camera in the 1890s, and with it the birth of motion pictures.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE MOTION PICTURE CAMERA

The motion in motion pictures is created by an optical illusion. What is recorded by the camera and subsequently projected on the screen is actually a series of still images that the human brain interprets as continuous movement due to the perceptual features known as persistence of vision and the phi phenomenon. With persistence of vision, images are retained by the brain for a fraction of a second longer than they remain in the field of vision. In a projected film, still images alternate with dark spaces, but persistence of vision allows viewers to perceive motion rather than flickering images. Similarly, the phi phenomenon, or stroboscopic effect, creates an appearance of motion when like stimuli are shown close to each other and in quick succession (it is the phi phenomenon that makes individual spokes on a spinning bicycle wheel look like a solid form). These characteristics of perception are essential to viewing motion pictures.

Numerous optical devices and toys developed in the nineteenth century took advantage of these perceptual phenomena to create the illusion of motion. The Thaumatrope, developed in 1825 by Dr. John Ayrton Paris (1785–1856), was a small disk with images printed on either side. When the disk was spun the images appeared to blend together into one. Other devices, such as the Phenakistiscope (1832) and the Zoetrope (1834), used a series of drawings that appeared to be in motion when spun quickly and viewed through small slits in the apparatus. By mid-century photographs were used in these toys, but because of the lengthy exposure times required, the actions had to be staged and each movement photographed individually. With the development of series photography by Eadweard Muybridge (1830–1904) in 1877, events could, for the first time, be captured on film spontaneously as they happened.

Eadweard Muybridge's work on series photography grew out of a $25,000 bet. In 1872 a businessman and former governor of California, Leland Stanford, hired Muybridge, an English photographer and inventor, to show that at some point galloping horses lifted all four hooves off the ground. Muybridge proved this in 1877 when he set up a series of cameras along a Sacramento racetrack and attached the cameras' shutters to wires that were tripped by the horse as it passed by. The result of this experiment was a series of images of continuous motion broken down into individual photographic units. However, before this process could be applied toward motion picture photography, Muybridge's multiple cameras needed to be condensed into a single camera. This was accomplished by French scientist Étienne-Jules Marey (1830–1904), whose 1882 invention, the chronophotographic gun, could shoot pictures at a rate of twelve images per second. The chronophotographic gun originally used a circular, rotating glass plate on which the images were imprinted, but Marey soon began using paper roll film, which allowed for more exposures at a faster rate. Like Muybridge, Marey was primarily interested in series photography for the purpose of studying motion, and not in the tremendous entertainment potential of motion pictures.

By the late 1880s numerous scientists and inventors from around the world were working to develop a camera that could record motion. In 1891 American inventor Thomas A. Edison (1847–1931) applied for a patent for a motion picture system developed primarily by his laboratory assistant, William Kennedy Laurie (W. K. L.) Dickson (1860–1935). The system featured a camera called the Kinetograph (from the Greek for "motion recorder") and a viewer called the Kinetoscope (from the Greek for "motion viewer"). The Kinetograph used flexible celluloid film that had been introduced to the market in 1889 by American businessman and entrepreneur George Eastman (1854–1932). Dickson and Edison included an intermittent mechanism in the camera so that each frame would stop before the lens long enough for the shutter to open and expose the film, and perforations were added to the filmstrip to ensure that the film would be advanced by regular intervals. The intermittent, or stop-motion, device and the perforations in the filmstrip were essential components of the motion picture camera, because without the ability to stop the film the images would be blurred. An intermittent device was first used by Marey in 1888, and stop-motion mechanisms ultimately became a standard element in both cameras and projectors. The perforations in the film made it possible for a clawed gear to hook on to the film and pull it in front of the lens, one frame at a time, ensuring synchronization of the filmstrip and shutter. This technology is still used in modern motion picture cameras.

At first, Edison was not interested in moving pictures as an entertainment form in their own right. Instead, his intention was to use the Kinetograph to provide images to accompany his popular phonograph, although his efforts to synchronize sound and image on the two machines were ultimately unsuccessful. Edison felt that it would be more profitable to show his movies on individual viewing machines rather than projecting them before an audience, and with this in mind, he introduced the Kinetoscope, a machine that allowed individuals to watch short films of about fifty feet (approximately thirty seconds). Kinetoscope parlors, where people could pay around twenty-five cents to view these short films or listen to recorded sound on individual phonographs, began appearing around the country in 1894.

While Edison's laboratories were perfecting the Kinetograph and Kinetoscope, a pair of French brothers, Auguste Lumière (1862–1954) and Louis Lumière (1864–1948), were developing an apparatus that could be used as a camera, printer, and projector. This machine, called the Cinématographe, was completed in 1895. The Lumières' machine was technologically similar to Edison's Kinetograph in its use of intermittent motion and perforated film. The primary difference between the two machines was that along with the ability to record images, the Cinématographe could also print and project the film. Also, the Cinématographe was hand-cranked and lightweight, making it possible for the Lumières to take their camera on location and film short documentaries, or *actualités*, involving scenes from everyday life. Some of the popular *actualités* from 1895 include *La Sortie des ouvriers de l'usine Lumière* (*Workers Leaving the Lumière Factory*), *L'Arrivée d'un train à la Ciotat* (*Arrival of a Train*), *Le Déjeuner de bébé* (*Feeding the Baby*), and *L'Arroseur arrosé* (*The Sprinkler Sprinkled*). By contrast, the Kinetograph weighed several hundred pounds due to Edison's insistence that it run on electricity, necessitating a heavy battery. Because of this, Edison's early films were shot entirely in his studio, and generally consisted of staged scenes involving dancers, acrobats, strongmen, and popular actors and vaudevillians of the day. Also unlike Edison's films, which were meant to be viewed individually on Kinetoscopes, the films created on the Cinématographe were projected on a screen in front of an audience. On 28 December 1895 the Lumière brothers gave an exhibition of their *actualités* at the Grand Café on the Boulevard des Capucines in Paris, charging one franc admission; this was the first commercial exhibition of films projected for an audience. Edison responded to the success of the Cinématographe and other portable cameras in 1896, when he developed a

THOMAS ALVA EDISON

b. Milan, Ohio, 11 February 1847, d. 18 October 1931

In his early years Thomas Edison worked as a telegraph operator, and his first inventions were related to electrical telegraphy. By the time he introduced his motion picture camera, the Kinetograph, and viewer, the Kinetoscope, to the public in 1894, he had already achieved nearly mythic status. Several of his inventions, including the lightbulb (1879) and the phonograph (1877), were immensely successful and had firmly established him as the foremost American inventor of his time. The public, therefore, was more than willing to accept that Edison was the sole inventor of the new medium of motion pictures, and Edison himself gladly accepted the credit. Today there exists a great deal of debate over Edison's role in the invention of motion pictures, with some arguing that he was the primary creative force and others claiming that his assistants, particularly W. K. L. Dickson, did most of the work, and that Edison borrowed or even stole their ideas and efforts. The truth most likely lies somewhere in between.

Edison was initially interested in motion pictures as a complement to his phonograph. His efforts to combine moving images with synchronous sound were soon abandoned as impractical, but in the meantime Kinetoscope parlors began springing up around the country, featuring short films made in Edison's "Black Maria" studio. Films made at the Black Maria showcased performances by vaudevillians, dancers, acrobats and strongmen, as well as boxing matches and cockfights. Annie Oakley performed at the Black Maria with members of Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, and one of the most popular films of the day, *The Kiss* (1896), was made at the studio.

Because Edison's profits were primarily derived from the sale of the Kinetoscope machines, he was not interested in projecting films; however, the success of projected film exhibitions in Europe drove him to reconsider his stance, and in April 1896 Edison presented his first commercial exhibition of projected motion pictures using a projector called the Vitascope. After its introduction films, and not the machines, became his company's primary source of profit. Despite increasing concentration on filmmaking, however, Edison continued to develop new technologies. In the early 1910s, he subsidized the work of a number of inventors who were attempting to create color film, a venture that ultimately failed, as did several others. Although Edison's motion picture camera and projector were developed at the same time and used similar technology as numerous other cameras and projectors, Edison aggressively protected his patents on these devices. His Motion Picture Patents Company, founded in 1908, effectively suppressed competition until 1915, when it was found guilty of violating anti-trust laws. In 1918 Edison retired from the motion picture industry that he had helped to create.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Edison Kinetoscopic Record of a Sneeze, January 7, 1894 (Fred Ott's Sneeze) (1894), *Execution of Mary, Queen of Scots* (1895), *The Kiss* (1896), *Mr. Edison at Work in His Chemical Laboratory* (1897), *Execution of Czolgosz, with Panorama of Auburn Prison* (1901), *Uncle Josh at the Moving Picture Show* (1902), *Life of an American Fireman* (1903), *The Great Train Robbery* (1903), *Dream of a Rarebit Fiend* (1906), *What Happened to Jane?* (1912)

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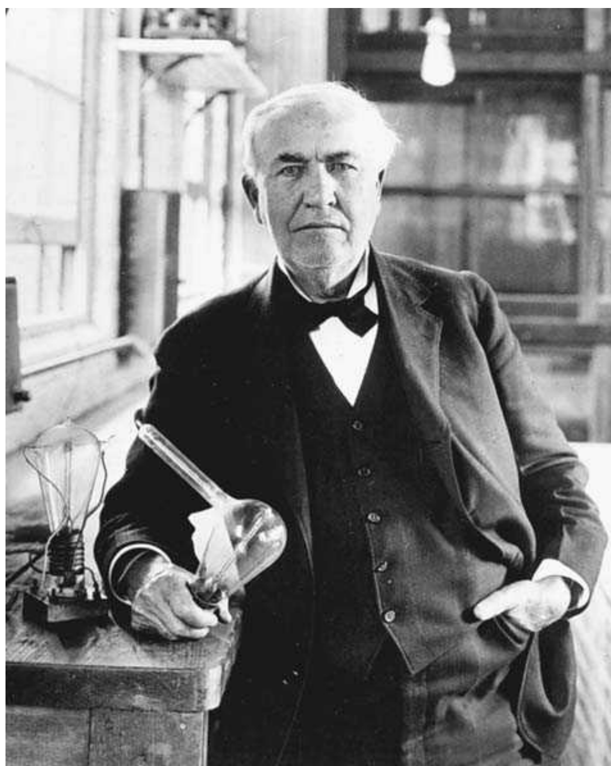
Kristen Anderson Wagner



Thomas Alva Edison. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

lightweight camera to film documentaries in New York City. That same year, he created a projecting version of his Kinetoscope, called the Vitascope.

Many features of modern motion picture cameras were present in the Kinetograph, the Cinématographe, and other early cameras. Both the Edison and Lumière cameras used 35mm film, which remains the industry standard. The Cinématographe, and eventually the Kinetograph as well, ran at a rate of sixteen frames per second, a rate that was used throughout the silent era. Other elements of the camera, such as the use of a flexible and transparent film base, an intermittent claw mechanism to move the film forward and stop on each frame, perforated film, and a shutter to block light in between frames were all developed by early motion picture camera pioneers.

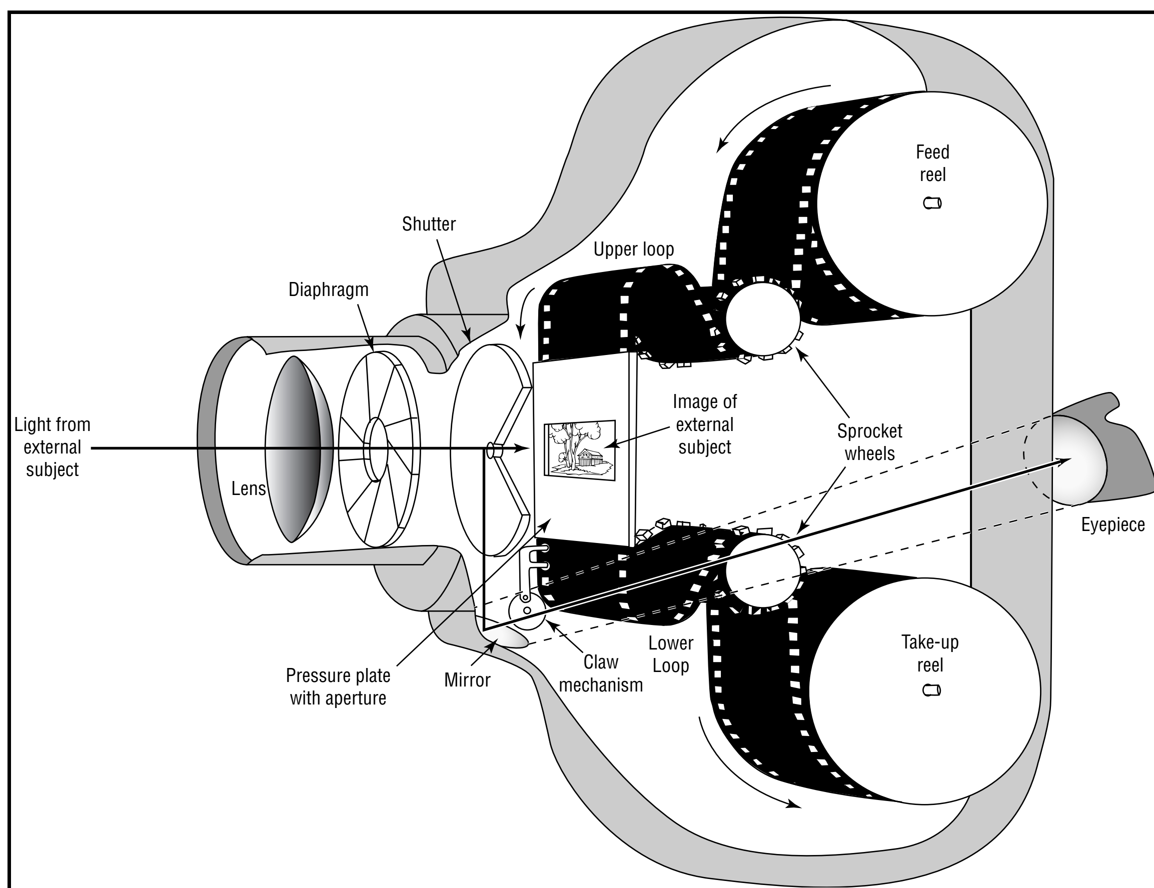
ANATOMY OF A CAMERA

There are many different types of motion picture cameras of varying sizes that serve a variety of purposes, but all cameras have the same basic structure. The basic components of a camera are photosensitive film, a light-proof body, a mechanism to move the film, a lens, and a shutter. Most cameras have a number of other features, ranging from viewfinders to detachable magazines to video assists, but the basic elements are the same in all cameras (save for those of the digital variety).

The film used in modern motion picture cameras is very much the same as the film that was developed in the 1880s and 1890s. It consists of an emulsion bound to a flexible, transparent base. Until 1951, the base was made of cellulose nitrate, a highly unstable substance that was prone to fire and decay. Since the 1950s, films have used a nonflammable safety base, usually of cellulose triacetate (acetate) or a thinner and more durable synthetic polyester base. Along with the emulsion, the filmstrip contains perforations on one or both sides, used to pull the film into place in front of the lens, and sound film has a strip along the edge containing the soundtrack.

The film is housed in the magazine (A), a detachable, light-tight unit that attaches to the camera. Unexposed film starts out on the supply reel (B), and after winding through the camera the now-exposed film ends up on the take-up reel (C) in a separate compartment of the magazine. There are different types of magazines for motion picture cameras. In the most common type, the displacement magazine, the supply reel sits directly in front of the take-up reel in an oval-shaped compartment on top of the camera. Coaxial magazines mount on the back of the camera and situate the two reels parallel to one another. Coaxial magazines are less widely used than the displacement type, but can be useful because their lower profile makes it possible to shoot in smaller spaces. Quick-change magazines contain parts of the camera mechanism in the magazine itself, making the magazine heavier and more expensive, but allowing for faster film changes. These magazines are generally the rear-mounted coaxial design. Magazines hold different amounts of film, depending on their size. Magazines for 35mm cameras most often hold 400-foot reels (four minutes at twenty-four frames per second [fps]), 1,000-foot reels (ten minutes) or 2,000-foot reels (twenty minutes). The standard reel size for 16mm cameras is 400 feet (eleven minutes at twenty-four fps), but other sizes are available.

A drive mechanism, or motor, pulls the film from the supply reel in the magazine and feeds it past the lens and aperture. With the exception of Edison's Kinetograph, which used a battery-operated motor, early cameras were cranked by hand. This practice resulted in irregular film speeds and potentially inconsistent exposure times, as frames were stopped in front of the lens for varying amounts of time. The introduction of electric motor drives meant that film could run through the camera at a consistent pace of twenty-four frames per second. Motor drives on modern cameras can also pro-

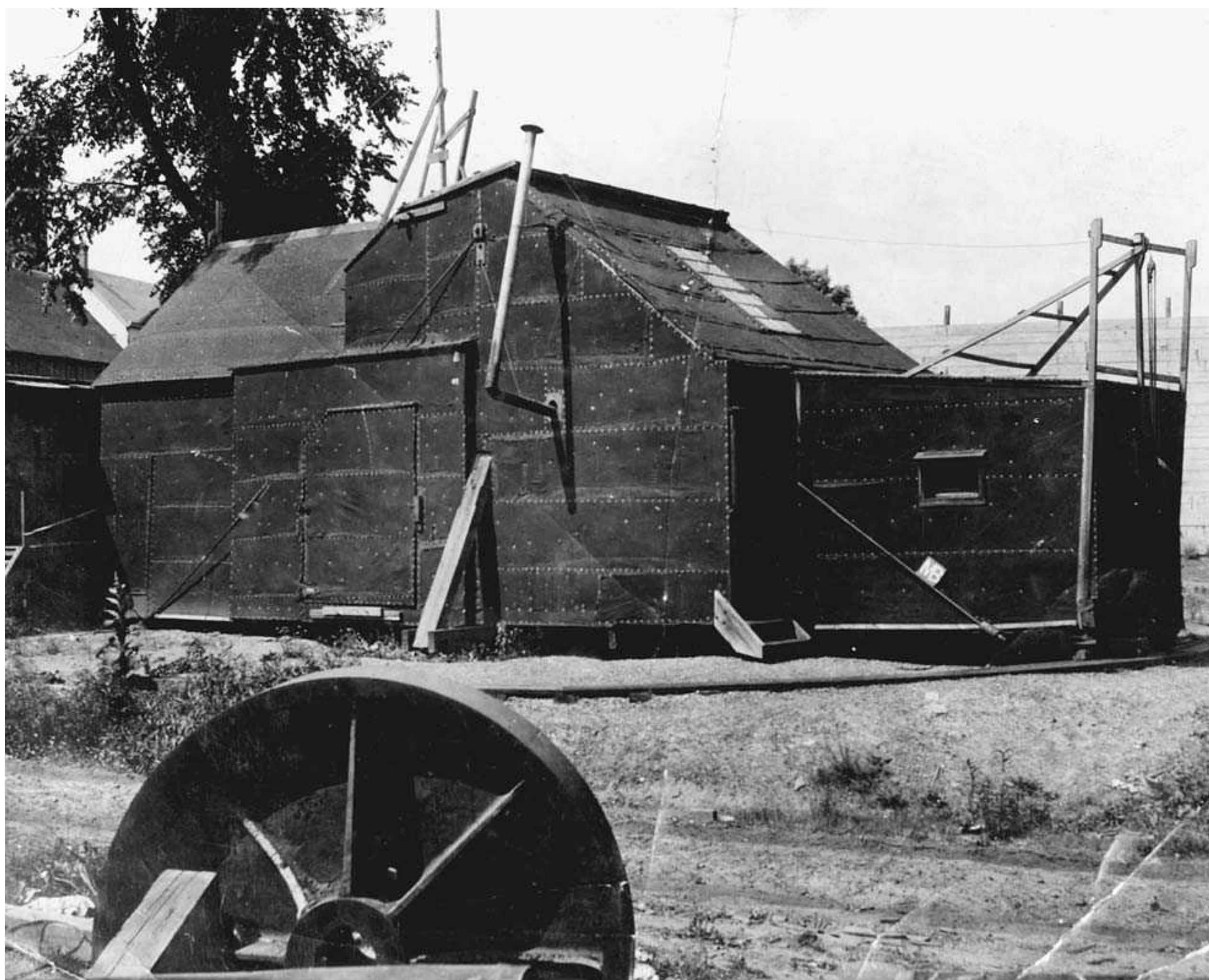


Cutaway view of a reflex movie camera. © THOMSON GALE. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

vide variations in speed, useful for producing the effects of fast motion (by reducing the film speed) or slow motion (by speeding up the film).

Just before the film reaches the area in front of the lens it makes a small loop, known as a Latham loop (D). The Latham loop was developed by the Latham family (Woodville Latham [1837–1911] and his sons Gray and Otway) around 1895 as a way to prevent film from breaking as it worked its way through the camera. By placing a loop above and below the lens, stress on the film is redistributed, allowing for longer films with less breakage. Once the film passes the Latham loop, it is pulled into place in the film gate by the claw. The claw advances the film using intermittent motion, and holds it in the film gate while the frame is exposed to light. The film gate (E) consists of two plates that help hold the film during exposure. The front plate, which has a rectangle cut into it to allow light onto the film, is called the aperture plate. The edges of the rectangle, called the aperture (F), form the border of the film. The rear plate, which holds the film flat, is called the pressure plate.

For the fraction of a second that the film is stopped in the film gate, the shutter opens to allow light to pass through the lens (G) and aperture and onto the film. The purpose of the lens is to focus the light rays from the scene in front of the camera onto the film. There are two basic kinds of lenses: prime lenses, which have a fixed focal length, and zoom lenses, which can change focal lengths. The focal length refers to the size of the lens, and affects how the image will appear on film. Lenses with focal lengths of less than 25mm, called wide-angle lenses, take in a wider area than telephoto lenses (lenses longer than 50mm), which can shoot objects at greater distances but provide a narrower shot. Camera lenses are also classified according to how much light they let in, also known as the lens speed. Lens speed is described in terms of f-stop or t-stop ("t" for "true" or "transmission"), with the smaller number f-stop or t-stop letting in the greatest amount of light, and therefore signifying faster lenses. The lens is attached to the camera on the lens mount; some older cameras use turret mounts, which feature three or four prime lenses of varying focal lengths that can be rotated into place.



Thomas Edison's studio, the Black Maria in West Orange, New Jersey. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

While the film is stopped in front of the lens, the shutter (H) opens to allow light to enter through the aperture. After the film has been exposed to light, the shutter closes and the film advances to the next frame. If the shutter is not completely closed before the film starts moving, the image will be blurred. The most basic shutter is in the form of a rotating disc, and the standard shutter speed, or exposure time, when shooting at 24 fps is 1/50 second. Some shutters are variable, and can be adjusted to allow longer or shorter exposure times. Once the shutter closes, the exposed film advances, continuing past another loop beneath the film gate, and finally ending up on the take-up reel in the magazine.

The camera operator is able to see what is being recorded by looking through the camera's viewfinder. Most cameras today use a reflex viewfinder, which allows the operator to see through the camera's lens, also known as the taking lens. Older cameras employed a nonreflex viewfinder, which used a separate lens and was therefore less accurate. Viewfinders work by using a series of mirrors to divert light from the lens to a viewing screen, which displays information crucial to the camera operator, such as the outline of the frame. An alternative to the viewfinder is the video assist, or video tap, a device that allows more than one person to view the image from the camera. The video assist is similar to the viewfinder in that it diverts light from the taking lens and sends the picture to a screen, in this case a video monitor that can be set up near the camera. The quality of the images and color on the video assist monitor are inferior to what is actually being recorded by the camera, and therefore the video assist is not used to gauge what the final product

will look like. Because it is not attached to the camera, an important use of the video assist is for crane or Steadicam shots, or any other shots for which the camera operator is unable to look through the viewfinder.

While all cameras operate in essentially the same way, the size of the filmstrip varies depending on the camera type, which affects the size and shape of the projected image. There are four film gauges, or widths, that are standard worldwide: 8mm, 16mm, 35mm, and 70mm (the numbers refer to the actual width of the filmstrip, in millimeters). These gauges are used for different purposes and yield different image types and quality. The larger film widths provide better quality images because they offer larger frame sizes that afford more room for detail. However, as film formats increase in size, they become progressively more expensive to use, and the equipment becomes heavier and more cumbersome. The standard professional film gauge, used in most feature films, commercials, and television movies, is 35mm. This is approximately the size that was used in Edison's Kinetograph and the Lumière brothers' Cinématographe, and it has been the most commonly used size throughout cinema's history. In most movie theaters projectors require 35mm film.

In the 1920s 16mm film was introduced, with the goal of providing a less expensive alternative to 35mm film. Because the size of the frame of 16mm film is about a quarter the size of 35mm film, the image is not as sharp. However, 16mm cameras are significantly smaller and lighter than 35mm cameras, and their portability makes them ideal for documentary filmmakers, news reporting, and amateur filmmaking. The 16mm camera is also frequently used by avant-garde and experimental filmmakers, who appreciate the format's portability, low cost, and overall flexibility. The size and weight of 16mm and 8mm cameras allow freedom of camera movement and eliminate many of the constraints involved with 35mm shooting, and the grainy quality of 16mm and 8mm film stocks can be manipulated by experimental filmmakers to create interesting effects. Because of their versatility and ease of use, then, both the 16mm and 8mm formats have long been favored by filmmakers working outside the mainstream.

Long popular with amateur filmmakers, 8mm film was originally introduced in 1932. Because it was created from 16mm film split down the middle, 8mm film has sprocket holes along only one side of the filmstrip. Super 8 film was created by Kodak in 1965, and, like the Super 16 film developed in the 1970s, is able to record a larger image on each frame. Due to their low cost and easy to operate handheld cameras, 8mm and Super 8 were, for many years, the formats most commonly used in home and amateur movies, although their popularity has since been eclipsed by video and digital video.

The largest gauge in use is 70mm, which offers beautiful details and clarity, but is extremely expensive to shoot. Film that is described as 70mm uses 65mm for the image and perforations and 5mm for the soundtrack. Frequently, films that are projected in 70mm today are shot using anamorphic lenses, which compress the image to fit on 35mm film, and then decompress the image during projection to restore it to its original size. The 70mm format can increasingly be found in amusement parks, as part of 3-D attractions such as Walt Disney World's *Honey, I Shrunk the Audience* or rides such as Disneyland's *Star Tours*. IMAX films, the largest format in use today, make use of 65mm film, but position the frames horizontally on the filmstrip, rather than vertically.

A wide variety of cameras are available to filmmakers, depending on their needs. Bolex offers student, independent, and amateur filmmakers low-cost, high-quality 16mm and Super 16 cameras known for their versatility. In 1937, Arri introduced the first 35mm camera with a reflex mirror shutter, which allowed the camera operator to focus and frame a shot using the viewfinder. Arri produced a professional 16mm camera with the same reflex mirror shutter in 1952, and Arri cameras have since become the industry standard for 16mm filmmaking. The French Éclair 16mm camera is quiet enough to allow for synchronous audio recording, and light enough to allow for easy handheld operation; it was used frequently by *cinéma vérité* and New Wave filmmakers in the 1950s and 1960s. Mitchell cameras, introduced in the 1910s, were known for their steadiness and reliability, as well as their special effects abilities. Mitchell cameras were also used extensively in 65/70mm widescreen production. Panavision provides 16mm, 35mm, 65/70mm and digital cameras and lenses that have been widely used in Hollywood feature filmmaking since the 1950s.

TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS

While the basic elements of the camera have remained essentially the same over the years, there have been numerous technological developments that have had a significant impact on motion picture style and aesthetics. The advent of sound in the late 1920s created problems for filmmakers because the cameras used during the silent era were too noisy to be used on sound productions. The sensitive microphones used in early sound films picked up even the slightest noise from the cameras, and so it was necessary to place the camera in a soundproof box. The soundproof camera booths could be moved, but they significantly limited mobility, although filmmakers were

RICHARD LEACOCK
b. London, England, 18 July 1921

Richard Leacock was raised on his father's banana plantation in the Canary Islands. When he started attending boarding school in England, he wanted to find a way to let his schoolmates know what life was like on the plantation, and so at the age of fourteen he made his first film, *Canary Island Bananas* (1935), to show them what it was like to be there. For the bulk of his professional life, Leacock has been motivated by the desire to let people know what it is like "to be there." He has long felt that the purpose of the documentary filmmaker is to observe, rather than direct, the action, and has worked to develop portable cameras with synchronous sound systems to serve this purpose, allowing maximum flexibility in filmmaking with minimum intrusion.

Leacock served in the US Army as a combat camera operator during World War II, and later did freelance camera work for various government agencies and for a number of directors, including the pioneer documentary filmmaker Robert Flaherty on *Louisiana Story* (1948). He was continually frustrated by the way the cumbersome cameras and sound equipment made it nearly impossible to capture events spontaneously. Although he found some creative ways around this problem, such as shooting with a handheld camera and later adding non-synchronized sound over the image, he found these solutions to be ultimately unsatisfactory.

In the 1950s Leacock began a collaboration with photojournalist Robert Drew, and by 1960 they had developed a portable 16mm sync-sound camera and recording equipment. Synchronizing sound to image involves linking the camera and audio recorder together, enabling the two devices to run at exactly the same speed. Leacock and Drew felt that the documentary filmmaker should be a neutral observer, getting close to the action but not becoming involved—a style their new equipment allowed and which later became known as direct cinema. The first film made with this equipment was *Primary* (1960), which followed John F. Kennedy and Hubert Humphrey during the 1960 Wisconsin presidential primary. Leacock formed his own production company in the mid-1960s, and continued to make films that enable viewers to see what it is like "to be there." In 1969 Leacock and Edward Pincus joined together to create the Visual Studies department at MIT. There, he worked with a small group of talented students, many of whom have made names for themselves as filmmakers. Leacock remained at MIT as the department chair until 1988. In the late 1980s, he began using digital video, the low cost and flexibility of which are ideally suited to Leacock's style of filmmaking, allowing him the freedom to shoot quickly and easily, as well as to edit his own work at home.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Primary (1960), *The Children Were Watching* (1960), *The Chair* (1963), *Crisis: Behind a Presidential Commitment* (1963), *A Happy Mother's Day* (1963), *Chiefs* (1968), *Community of Praise* (1982), *Lulu in Berlin* (1984), *Les Oeufs a la Coque* (1991), *A Musical Adventure in Siberia* (2000)

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often creative in finding ways to move the camera. Some studios used other methods besides camera booths to quiet their cameras, including the use of blimps, or sound-proof casings, and even horse blankets. Another problem of early sound film had to do with the filmstrip itself. Silent films could use the entire width of the film to record the image, but the addition of the soundtrack on the edge of the sound filmstrip meant that the aspect ratio (the proportion of height to width on the film frame) was changed. This problem was solved by reducing the top and bottom of each frame on the filmstrip to achieve a standardized aspect ratio of 1:1.37.

The introduction of portable, lightweight 16mm cameras featuring synchronous sound recording devices

Richard Leacock (center) with Robert Flaherty and his wife Frances during filming of* Louisiana Story *(1948). HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES.

had a tremendous effect on documentary filmmaking, especially in the documentary styles known as *cinéma vérité* and direct cinema. In the 1940s manufacturers developed portable 16mm systems to meet the demands of two important users: the military, who was using the format for training films, and the burgeoning television industry. Documentary filmmakers in the 1950s and 1960s began to use these cameras to capture events as they happened. The new lightweight, handheld 16mm cameras were essential to this type of filmmaking, as they allowed the director to record activities as they happened without being restricted by cumbersome equipment or large film crews—with synchronized sound recording, the necessary crew was reduced to two people. Examples of films made in this way include *Primary* (1960), which followed John F. Kennedy and Hubert Humphrey during the 1960 presidential primary in Wisconsin, *Dont Look Back* (1967), which detailed Bob Dylan's 1965 British concert tour, and *High School* (1968), which recorded students' daily activities at a high school in Philadelphia.

The biggest change to motion picture cameras is the advent of digital technology. Digital movie cameras were first used by the industry in the 1990s, and since that time have had a major impact on the way that movies are made. Using digital technology can save time and money during a production in a number of ways. With digital video, the director and cinematographer are able to see what they have shot immediately, without waiting for film dailies to be developed. Digital technology also eliminates the cost of processing film and is easier than film to work with when editing or creating

special effects. Unlike film, digital media can be duplicated countless times without loss of quality, and the videos do not degrade over time. Because digital cameras are smaller and weigh less than 35mm cameras, they allow the use of *cinéma vérité* and direct cinema techniques previously reserved for 16mm cameras. More and more movies have been produced on digital video since the turn of the century, including *Collateral* (2004), *Star Wars: Episode II—Attack of the Clones* (2002) and *Star Wars: Episode III—Revenge of the Sith* (2005). Despite its many advantages, however, there are some drawbacks to using digital technology. Because films are still overwhelmingly projected from 35mm, digital videos must be transferred to film for distribution. Furthermore, some filmmakers maintain that the mathematically precise digital image cannot compare with the imperfect, ethereal quality of traditional film.

SEE ALSO *Cinematography; Documentary; Film Stock; Technology*

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CAMERA MOVEMENT

Camera movement is one of the most expressive tools available to a filmmaker. It alters the relationship between the subject and the camera frame, shaping the viewer's perspective of space and time and controlling the delivery of narrative information. As the camera frame orients the viewer within the *mise-en-scène*, movement of the frame provides the illusion of the viewer journeying through the world of the narrative. The camera height and angle, the distance to a subject, and the composition of a shot may change during camera movement, as the framing travels above, below, around, into, and out of space. Types of camera movement are distinguished by their direction and the equipment used to achieve motion. Although the basic forms of camera movement were in place by the 1920s, the equipment that facilitates camera motion continues to evolve.

The moving camera can function in a variety of ways and, when used in a long take, is uniquely able to depict uninterrupted stretches of time and space. Camera movement may follow objects in transit within the frame, or may act independently; it may reveal offscreen space, or deliberately suppress access to space; it may objectively witness events, or suggest the subjective perspective of a character; it may advance the narrative, develop themes, or create patterns; and it may contribute to kinetic or rhythmic effects. Fluid camera movement within shots sustained for unusually long periods of time can not only serve as an alternative to editing, but can also punctuate changes in narrative action within the shot and participate in formal patterning across the entirety of a film. The film critic André Bazin was one of the great champions of camera movement within long takes, believing that such shots had the potential to record the reality of the world in front of the camera more accurately than sequences constructed through editing.

TYPES OF CAMERA MOVEMENT

The two most basic forms of camera movement are panning and tilting; both involve the rotation of the camera while it is attached to a fixed stand. A pan (from "panorama") moves the camera from side to side on a horizontal axis, providing the sense of looking to the left or the right. A tilt moves the camera up and down on a vertical axis. During panning and tilting, the camera is typically attached to a tripod, a three-legged stand topped with a camera mount and an arm to direct the rotation of the camera. The location of the tripod or other camera support does not change when panning or tilting; rather, the camera rotates on the mount attached to the support.

Because most early motion picture tripods had fixed camera mounts, panning and tilting were extremely rare before 1900, when more camera operators began using rotating tripod heads. Panning was initially established as a cinematic device after the turn of the century with the emergence of panoramas, documentary films that contained a slow pan providing an extended view of a single location. During the first decade of the 1900s, narrative films also began featuring pans to reveal offscreen space, while tilts were used in conjunction with pans to follow characters in motion. An example of an early pan occurs in *The Great Train Robbery* (1903), when the camera moves to the left to follow the bandits as they flee the train.

A tracking shot (also known as a dolly or trucking shot) propels the camera through space parallel to the

KENJI MIZOGUCHI

b. Tokyo, Japan, 16 May 1898, d. 24 August 1956

One of the most acclaimed directors of world cinema, Kenji Mizoguchi created elegant, precisely staged long takes in films that examined the circumscribed choices of women in Japanese society. His tightly controlled camera movement, recessed foregrounds, and depth staging served to subordinate characters to the overall composition, positioning the viewer as an observer to highly emotional yet distanced subject matter.

Having directed more than forty silent-era films, during the 1930s Mizoguchi began to develop a visual style of systematic long-shot long takes. *Naniwa erejî* (*Naniwa Elegy*, 1936), considered his first masterpiece, selectively incorporates camera movement to shape the viewer's understanding of the protagonist, a young woman pressured into a series of ruinous indiscretions. When the heroine runs into her former boyfriend in a department store, other customers and objects in the foreground frequently block the couple from view during a long tracking shot, preventing the viewer from scanning their faces for emotion. Without direct access to the heroine's subjectivity, the viewer is forced to imagine her shame, embarrassment, and fear of discovery.

Throughout the rest of Mizoguchi's career, camera movement was a favored tool to define the rhythm of his scenes and the viewer's response to the narrative. The mobile camera is dominant in *Zangiku monogatari* (*The Story of the Last Chrysanthemums*, 1939) and participates in segmenting narrative action. Camera movement is typically motivated by character movement, revealing new space and connecting static tableaux within the long take. Mizoguchi's use of camera movement within long takes has been linked to the rhythmic structure of other Japanese arts.

Although Mizoguchi's aesthetic of long-shot long takes tends to de-center characters within the frame and de-dramatize action, his use of camera movement encourages more active participation by the viewer. Denied direct access to his characters' subjectivities, we can only witness their suffering, and in witnessing it, imagine their pain. *Saikaku ichidai onna* (*The Life of Oharu*, 1952) provides a key example of how Mizoguchi's camera offers viewers a perspective of narrative action that is objective yet at the same time full of emotion. When Oharu and her family cross a bridge on their way into exile, the camera looks up at them from a low-angle long shot below the bridge, panning to follow their progress and pausing as they bid their friends farewell. As the family turns out of sight behind the bridge, the camera tilts down and tracks in, revealing a glimpse of the family walking into the horizon through the arch of the bridge. The movement of the camera situates the viewer as an observer within the scene, initially content to watch the family retreat but ultimately so sorrowful as to be unwilling to relinquish sight of them.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Naniwa Elegy (1936), *Gion no shimai* (*Sisters of the Gion*, 1936), *The Story of the Last Chrysanthemums* (1939), *Genroku chushingura* (*The Loyal 47 Ronin, Parts 1 and 2*, 1941–1942), *Utamaro o meguru gonin no onna* (*Utamaro and His Five Women*, 1946), *The Life of Oharu* (1952), *Ugetsu Monogatari* (*Tales of Ugetsu*, 1953), *Sanshô dayû* (*Sansho the Bailiff*, 1954)

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Lisa Dombrowski

ground and can travel forward, backward, from side to side, diagonally, or in a circle. Whereas a pan or a tilt reveals what one might see when standing still and rotating one's head, a track provides the impression of actually advancing into space. Tracking shots are often produced with the camera mounted on a dolly, a small, steerable platform with rubber tires. Tracking shots receive their name from the railroad-like tracks that are frequently laid on the ground to guide the dolly during long camera movements.

Kenji Mizoguchi. **THE KOBAL COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

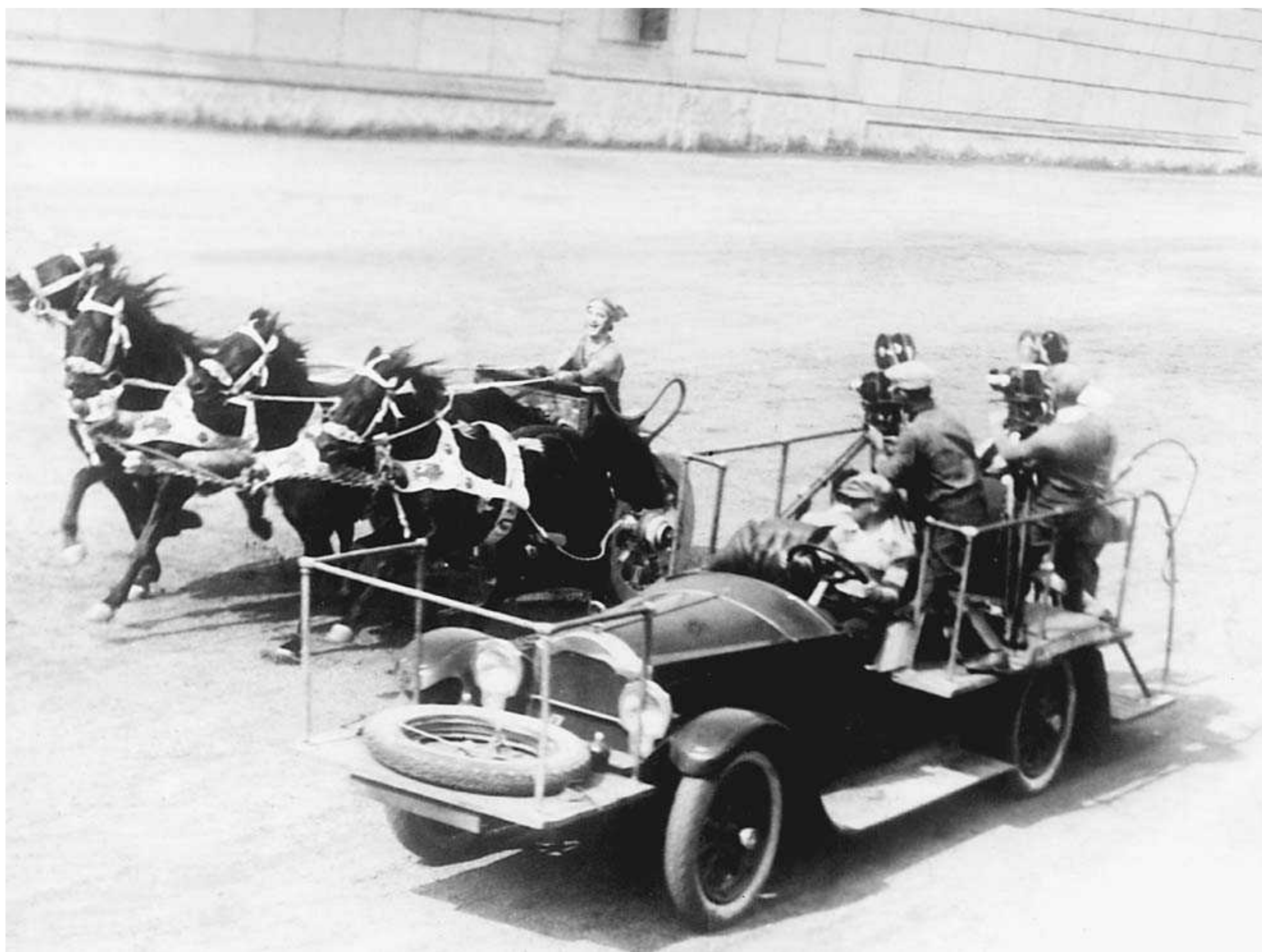
Tracking shots came into use at the end of the 1890s when filmmakers mounted cameras onto moving vehicles for "phantom rides" through actual locations. By 1903 narrative films started to incorporate parallel tracking shots, in which the camera moves at a fixed distance from and the same rate of speed as objects advancing in the same direction. During the next decade, a few films exhibited tracks into and out of a scene independent of movement within the frame, but nonparallel tracking shots did not become popular until after they were used to flaunt the sumptuous sets of the Italian epic *Cabiria* (1914). By the 1920s filmmakers expanded their use of the tracking shot and began exploring more adventurous means of moving the camera, including strapping it to the cinematographer's chest for *Der Letzte Mann* (*The Last Laugh*, 1924) and swinging it on a pendulum for *Napoléon* (1927).

Although holding the camera allows for much greater freedom of movement than mounting it on a dolly, handheld shots were difficult to achieve during the first half of the twentieth century owing to the tremendous bulk and weight of professional 35mm cameras. After World War II, however, compact, lightweight 16mm cameras originally designed for training and combat use entered the market, leading a variety of filmmakers to embrace handheld shooting. Television news cameramen and direct cinema documentary filmmakers took advantage of the smaller, lighter cameras to record material spontaneously in close quarters. When shooting *Primary* (1960), the cinematographer Richard Leacock (b. 1921) held his camera above and behind John F. Kennedy while following him through a crowd at a campaign stop, providing the viewer with an intimate sense of actually "being there" and rubbing shoulders with the candidate.

Handheld shots often appear shakier and blurrier than those produced by a camera mounted on a support, and thus lack the level of perfection found in high-quality commercial cinema. Some young filmmakers of the 1960s "new cinemas" considered this visual distinction an advantage, however, as handheld camera movement challenged staid orthodoxy. The cinematographer Raoul Coutard (b. 1924) shot several scenes in *À bout de souffle* (*Breathless*, 1960) while sitting in a moving wheelchair and one in *Jules et Jim* (*Jules and Jim*, 1962) while running across a bridge; his unfettered camerawork identified the French New Wave with a spirit of freedom and vitality. Because of its early adoption by nonfiction filmmakers and its absence of visual polish, handheld camera movement is often associated with increased authenticity. Later use of the handheld camera, in movies such as *Festen* (*The Celebration*, 1998) and *The Blair Witch Project* (1999) reinforce the suggestion of an unmediated filmed experience.

In the early 1970s the cameraman Garrett Brown, with engineers from Cinema Products, Inc., developed the Steadicam system to integrate the responsiveness of handheld camera movement with the smoothness of a dolly. The Steadicam features a camera mounted on a movable, spring-loaded arm that is attached to a weight-bearing harness worn on the upper body of the operator. A handgrip moves the camera up and down and side to side in front of the operator's body, while the camera itself can tilt and pan in any direction. An attached video monitor allows the operator to view the image without looking through the camera eyepiece, while zooming and focusing are remote-controlled. The Steadicam arm absorbs the shock of sudden movements, enabling operators to walk, run, jump, and climb stairs while still producing the level, bounce-free camera movements previously exclusive to dolly-mounted shots. Although Steadicam shots tend to act as tracking shots, they may also involve other support structures that carry the operator into the air.

The primary means of moving the camera above ground is with a crane. During crane shots, the camera



A tracking shot being filmed for the chariot race sequence in* Ben-Hur *(Fred Niblo, 1925). **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

rises and lowers on a platform connected to a mechanical arm, much like utility company cherry-pickers. A crane enables the camera to traverse great distances up and down, as well as forward and backward and from side to side. Although in use as early as *Intolerance* (1916), crane shots became a signature of the 1930s musicals of Busby Berkeley (1895–1976) and multiplied following technological improvements after World War II. In the late 1970s the introduction of the Louma crane further increased shooting options. The Louma operates like an oversized microphone boom, with a rotating arm and a remote-control camera mount at the end. The Louma transmits the image from the camera to the operator in another location, enabling the camera to move through very tight, narrow spaces that were previously inaccessible.

Aerial shots taken from a plane or helicopter are a variation of crane shots. A camera mounted on an aerial support can move into space in all directions while achieving much greater heights than can a crane. Filmmakers began exploring ways to mount a camera on a plane during the 1910s, and in the 1950s helicopter mounts created additional shooting possibilities. An aerial shot may frame another flying object, as during the Huey helicopter battle sequences of *Apocalypse Now* (1979), or it may provide a ''bird's eye view'' of the landscape, as in the swooping helicopter shot of Julie Andrews in the Alps at the opening of *The Sound of Music* (1965).

A cinematographic technique that is frequently mistaken for a form of camera movement is the zoom. Zooms are produced by a zoom lens, which can vary focal length during a single shot from wide angle to telephoto and back. Although rudimentary zoom lenses were available in the late 1920s, technological advances and increased location shooting encouraged filmmakers

to use zooms more frequently beginning in the 1950s and 1960s.

Audiences often confuse a zoom shot with a track or crane shot, but careful viewing reveals distinct differences. A zoom in to an object will magnify it and decrease the apparent distance between the object and surrounding planes, whereas a zoom out from an object will demagnify it and increase the apparent distance between planes. As with zooming, tracking and craning can alter the size of objects within the frame, but the latter two will also affect spatial relationships; a zoom merely magnifies or demagnifies a portion of the image. For example, during the party sequence in *Notorious* (1946), a crane propels the camera down from the second-floor balcony and into the lobby for a close-up of the key in Alicia's (Ingrid Bergman) hand; in the opening of *The Conversation* (1974), a zoom slowly isolates Harry Caul (Gene Hackman) and enlarges him within the frame as he tries to escape a mime in the park. Both the crane shot and the zoom highlight a detail within the image, but where the crane physically moves the camera through space, the zoom creates only the illusion of movement.

FUNCTIONS OF CAMERA MOVEMENT

Camera movement has the potential to function in many different ways, such as to direct the viewer's attention, reveal offscreen space, provide narrative information, or create expressive effects. The camera most frequently moves when an object moves within the frame, initiating reframing or a following shot. Reframing involves slight pans or tilts designed to maintain the balance of a composition during figure movement. A camera operator will reframe when a sitting person stands up, for instance, so as to keep the person in the frame and allow for appropriate head room. Reframing helps to fix the viewer's eye on the most important figures within the frame and is so common it is often unnoticed.

The camera itself accompanies the movement of an object during a following shot. A track, crane, or handheld shot can lead a moving figure into space, pursue a figure from behind, or float above, below, or alongside. Intricate following shots may be motivated by the movements of more than one figure, such as during the ball sequence of *The Magnificent Ambersons* (1942): as the last guests say goodbye, the camera pans and tracks to follow characters from the stairs to the foyer to the front door, producing a series of deep space compositions that foreshadow the rekindling of an old romance and the development of a new one.

Not all camera movement responds to motion within the frame; the filmmaker may direct the camera away from the dominant action for other purposes. Such camera movement draws attention to itself and is typically used sparingly to emphasize significant narrative details. For example, when Judy (Natalie Wood) stands up to exit the police station in *Rebel Without a Cause* (1955), the camera pans and tilts down to frame the compact she left behind, highlighting an important motif that will bring the protagonists together.

Because of its ability to reveal or conceal space, camera movement often participates in the creation of suspense and surprise. In *Strangers on a Train* (1951), a point-of-view editing pattern places the viewer in the optical perspective of Guy (Farley Granger) as he approaches a dark staircase to warn a father of his son's murderous intentions. The director Alfred Hitchcock (1899–1980) then varies the editing pattern by craning up from Guy to disclose a menacing dog waiting on the landing above. The independent camera movement informs the viewer of an obstacle unknown to Guy, raising the question of whether he will be able to reach the father—thus heightening suspense. Later in the same scene, Hitchcock alters his use of camera movement to conceal offscreen space and suppress narrative information. As Guy enters the bedroom to wake the sleeping father, the camera tracks to Guy's side and keeps the father offscreen. By delaying an onscreen image of the father's bed, Hitchcock surprises viewers when a subsequent shot reveals the treacherous son in his father's place.

Sometimes camera movement positions the viewer as an objective witness to unfolding events. In *Mia aioniotita kai mia mera* (*Eternity and a Day*, Theo Angelopoulos, 1998), a four-and-a-half-minute take turns away from the primary plotline to gaze at secondary activities. As the dying protagonist gets out of his car to find a home for his dog, the sound of an accordion prompts the camera to track left, revealing a wedding parade turning into the street. When the parade passes the protagonist's car, the camera pans left, relegating him to offscreen space and instead fixing on the bride at the head of the parade; the camera then slowly follows the parade down the street, until the groom emerges from a building, joins his bride in dance, and the two lead the procession into a nearby fenced courtyard, the camera settling next to a row of children watching the dancing over the top of the fence. Finally, the protagonist walks into the right side of the frame, halting the dancing, and asks the groom's mother—his nurse—to take care of his dog. As in this example, very slow camera movements within long takes focus the viewer on the passage of time and build narrative expectation. Here the camera movement situates the viewer as a curious inhabitant of the narrative world, linking simultaneous events in adjacent spaces and integrating the protagonist's preparations for death with a joyous celebration of life.

Camera movement can also be used to illustrate a character's subjective experience. In the documentary

Sandrine Bonnaire (left) as Mona, on the move in Agnes Varda's* Vagabond *(1985). © GRANGE/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Sherman's March (1986), Ross McElwee (b. 1947) frequently records his daily life with his camera mounted on his shoulder. As he walks through the woods or interacts with his family and various girlfriends, the moving camera captures images from his optical perspective—the viewer literally sees the world through his eyes. Camera movement at the end of *Detour* (1945) provides more indirect access to a character's subjectivity. A voice-over of the protagonist reflecting on the consequences of his companion's accidental death is accompanied by a close-up that begins on his face, then tracks, pans, and tilts around the room, going in and out of focus to reveal potentially incriminating evidence, and eventually circles back to his face. Although the camera movement does not imitate the protagonist's optical perspective, it nevertheless illustrates what he is thinking. The moving camera can also suggest what a character is feeling, as in *GoodFellas* (1990), when a combination zoom in and track out marks Henry Hill's (Ray Liotta) realization that his best friend is going to betray him. During the shot, Henry and his friend remain sitting in a diner booth in the same place within the frame, yet the zoom in and track out distort the spatial relationship between them and the background; the world around them literally shifts while they talk, visually expressing Henry's disorientation and fear.

Through its ability to locate the actions of a character within a given environment, camera movement may directly advance the plot. For example, at the end of an evening of costumed skits in *La Règle du jeu* (*The Rules of the Game*, 1939), a series of quick pans and tracks follow and reveal characters as their secret romantic pairings are hidden from, searched for, and discovered by other characters. At times the camera will be guided by a character's movement; at other times it will move independently, always uncovering the betrayals at the heart of the film's romantic game of hide-and-seek.

Alternatively, camera movement can function to develop narrative themes. In *Gone with the Wind* (1939), a dramatic crane shot situates the private anxiety of Scarlett O'Hara (Vivien Leigh) against the misery suffered by the Confederacy as a whole. When Scarlett arrives at the train depot searching for Ashley Wilkes (Leslie Howard), the camera tracks back from her and

cranes up to a great height, revealing row upon row of wounded men around her and the tattered Confederate flag flying above. Similarly, a high-angle panning shot of Harry's gutted apartment at the end of *The Conversation* illustrates the film's surveillance theme. The camera's angle, location at the top of a wall, and back-and-forth 180-degree motion mimic the type of image produced by a security camera, an ironic reminder of the threat to privacy that fuels Harry's paranoid fears.

The moving camera may also serve a structural purpose within a film, as shots with similar camera movements create patterns of repetition and variation. In *Letter from an Unknown Woman* (1948), two high-angle shots from the second floor landing pan right and tilt up as a man and his female companion climb a circular staircase to his apartment. In the first shot, a young girl on the landing watches the couple; in the second shot, the landing stands empty, and the girl is now the man's companion. The parallel established between the two shots depicts the fulfillment of the young girl's desires, while also marking her as just one in a series of women enjoyed by the man. A more expanded pattern of tracking shots in *Sans toit ni loi* (*Vagabond*, Agnès Varda, 1985) helps to unify the episodic narrative and indicate the continuity of the protagonist's journey. As Mona (Sandrine Bonnaire) travels the countryside on foot and interacts with a series of characters, leftward tracking shots follow her from one episode to the next, each ending on a random object that is either the same or similar to the object that begins the next tracking shot. The pattern suggests the one constant in Mona's life is her movement, and as the camera never exactly parallels her motion, it underscores her ultimate independence.

At times, camera movement primarily operates to create a visceral sensation. For example, in *This Is Cinerama* (1952), the attachment of the camera to a roller coaster car offers the viewer the giddy sensation of actually being on the ride, while in Wai Ka-fai's *Too Many Ways to Be No. 1* (1997), a handheld camera positioned above a crowd suddenly flips over as a fight breaks out, providing a jarring sense of the physical confusion within the scene. A series of repeated camera movements can also create a rhythmic pattern. In *Ballet mécanique* (Fernand Léger and Dudley Murphy, 1924), brief pans in an upside-down shot of a woman on a swing create a visual rhythm that is then repeated and varied later in the film. Similarly, a series of panning shots of car crashes in *A Movie* (Bruce Connor, 1958) initiates a rhythmic pattern of accidents and disasters. In these instances, speed, direction, and length of camera movement are controlled to produce kinetic and rhythmic effects.

Avant-garde filmmakers have been at the forefront of experiments using camera movement to interrogate the act of seeing. In *Wavelength* (1967), *Back and Forth* (1968–1969), and *Breakfast* (1976), Michael Snow (b. 1929) explored how the movement of the frame and the camera affected perceptions of time and space. For *La Region Centrale* (1971), Snow and Pierre Abaloos invented a new camera mount that could move along different axes at variable speeds, transforming the recorded landscape into abstracted lines and swirls of color. Stan Brakhage (1933–2003) embraced the potential of the handheld camera to capture a new mode of vision. In films such as *Anticipation of the Night* (1958) and *Dog Star Man* (1961–1964), Brakhage's "first person" camera expresses his subjective experience of what he was shooting. In these experimental works, the filmmakers encourage the viewer to consider the unique effects of camera movement that are often taken for granted when watching mainstream films.

CAMERA MOVEMENT AND THE LONG TAKE

Long takes are continuous shots that last considerably longer than the typical shot in a given historical period. (Although it is easy to confuse long takes with long shots, the terms refer to two different relationships: long takes suggest the duration of a shot, while long shots specify the distance between a figure and the camera.) During the studio era, the average shot in a Hollywood release lasted approximately eight to eleven seconds; since the 1960s faster cutting rates have resulted in shot lengths averaging less than half the studio-era norm. In the absence of editing, long takes tend to use camera movement in combination with sound and *mise-en-scène* to direct the viewer's attention toward important narrative elements. Tilting, panning, tracking, and craning can create a series of new compositions during a long take in much the same way as editing, but without breaking from a continuous recording of space and time. During the 1940s and 1950s, mainstream directors such as Otto Preminger (1906–1986), Vincente Minnelli (1903–1986), Max Ophüls (1902–1957), and Samuel Fuller (1912–1997) incorporated long takes with camera movement into their visual aesthetic, but since the 1960s extended shot lengths have predominantly been embraced by art cinema directors, such as Theo Angelopoulos (b. 1935), Hou Hsiao-hsien (b. 1947), and Tsai Ming-liang (b. 1957).

A long take can comprise one shot within a scene, the entirety of a scene, or even an entire movie. Long takes with camera movement alter the rhythm of a scene and the presentation of space within it. Most often, directors will vary the lengths of shots within scenes, integrating a lengthy take with close-ups or shot-reverse

MAX OPHÜLS

b. Max Oppenheimer, Saarbrücken, Germany, 6 May 1902, d. 26 March 1957

From the 1930s through the 1950s, Max Ophüls directed over twenty films in five countries, establishing himself as one of the preeminent visual stylists of his generation. His films are marked by the systematic use of a continuously moving camera that emphasizes the fleeting nature of his characters' romantic dreams.

Although *Die Verkaufte Braut* (*The Bartered Bride*, 1932) contains Ophüls's initial use of elaborate camera movements and deep-space staging, *Liebelei* (Flirtation, 1933) is commonly recognized as the first fully developed example of his signature style. A tale of a womanizing young officer in turn-of-the-century Vienna who briefly finds true love, the film uses sweeping camera movements and parallel sequences to develop the excitement of courtship and the couple's tragic fate.

After Hitler came to power in 1933, Ophüls fled Germany and began a nomadic existence, eventually landing in Hollywood in 1941. Although he enjoyed working with the skilled technicians and state-of-the-art dollies and cranes available at the studios, Ophüls's fluid long takes challenged classical methods of production when consistently used in place of traditional coverage and close-ups. His wrangling with Columbia executives during the production of *The Reckless Moment* (1949) inspired the actor James Mason to rhyme:

> I think I know the reason why
> Producers tend to make him cry.
> Inevitably they demand
> Some stationary set-ups, and
> A shot that does not call for tracks
> Is agony for poor dear Max
> Who, separated from his dolly,
> Is wrapped in deepest melancholy.
> Once, when they took away his crane,
> I thought he'd never smile again.

In 1949 Ophüls returned to France, where he made his final four films—*La Ronde* (Roundabout, 1950), *Le Plaisir* (Pleasure, 1952), *Madame de...* (*The Earrings of Madame de...*, 1953), and *Lola Montès* (1955)—with a core group of artistic collaborators. Ophüls's intricate use of camera movement and symmetry to develop the short-lived euphoria of love is illustrated in a waltzing scene during *Madame de...*, when the camera pans and tracks with the heroine and her lover as they dance around columns, statues, and extravagant decor over a series of five nights, each night a new location and orchestra, but the same couple, and the same waltz. The symmetry of action and music and the swirling movement of the camera express the overwhelming joy of the couple, oblivious to all around them. The camera dances with them until, on news of her husband's imminent arrival, it abandons the couple, trailing off to follow a servant who extinguishes the chandelier, foreshadowing their doomed romance. Andrew Sarris and other critics have argued that Ophüls's style visualizes the effects of the inevitable passage of time. As they capture his characters' ill-fated efforts to preserve love, Ophüls's graceful camera movements, long shot lengths, and parallel sequences imbue his films with a defiant romantic spirit and exquisite poignancy.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Die Verkaufte Braut (*The Bartered Bride*, 1932), *Liebelei* (1933), *Letter from an Unknown Woman* (1948), *The Reckless Moment* (1949), *La Ronde* (Roundabout, 1950), *Le Plaisir* (Pleasure, 1952), *Madame de...* (*The Earrings of Madame de...*, 1953), *Lola Montès* (1955)

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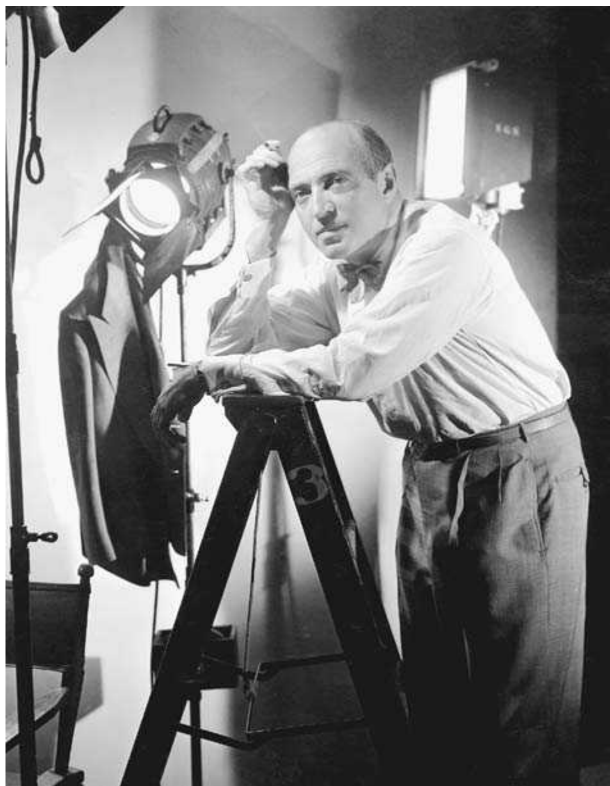

Max Ophüls. MAX OPHÜLS/THE KOBAL COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

shot sequences. In *East of Eden* (1955), Elia Kazan (1909–2003) uses camera movement to emphasize the gulf between a father and his unloved son during an intricately choreographed long take. Lasting five times as long as the previous shots, the long take tracks and pans backward as the father walks in the foreground away from the son, leaving the son diminished in the rear of the frame; the father's favored son then enters in the open space between the two men. The camera movement, in combination with the blocking of the actors, creates a physical distance between the father and his unloved son, punctuating their emotional distance and visually expressing the son's isolation.

Camera movement frequently breaks the narrative within a long take into discrete units, distinguishing the various phases of action by creating a series of framings, much like edited shots. In Fuller's *Forty Guns* (1957), the camera follows the blocking of the actors during a five-minute, forty-six-second shot as they position themselves in successive areas of the set, tracking and reframing to produce twelve distinct compositions in different shot scales. At the beginning of the shot, the camera establishes the space and tracks to frame a couple, Griff (Barry Sullivan) and Jessica (Barbara Stanwyck), sitting at a piano discussing the conflict that divides them; an offscreen crash prompts a fast track forward, marking a narrative shift as the sheriff who loves Jessica barges through the door and brawls with Griff. Subsequent phases of the shot feature the sheriff confessing his love to Jessica, Griff exiting offscreen, and Jessica paying the sheriff to leave. The camera then tracks back to reveal Griff again at the piano; he is subsequently joined by Jessica, who suggests they can forget about the sheriff. As the two begin to kiss, it appears the narrative has come full circle, but an offscreen sound of knocking interrupts their moment of passion. A cut reveals the payoff: the swinging legs of the sheriff, who has hung himself. The extended duration of the long take, the circularity of the camera movement and blocking, and the apparent narrative closure within the shot all make the sudden revelation of the dead sheriff that much more shocking. Camera movement helps to articulate each phase of the narrative action, highlighting the development and resolution of conflict within the scene.

Long takes can also serve a formal function, initiating a pattern at the beginning of a film that is then repeated and varied. Directors may reserve long takes for certain types of scenes or locations, producing an identifiable stylistic motif; examples include the transitional tracking shots in *Sans toit ni loi* and the slow, unmotivated crane shots that advance from the beach house to the sea throughout *Mia aioniotita kai mia mera*. A *plan-séquence*, or sequence shot, is a scene made entirely of one long take. Sequence shots may be varied with scenes that rely heavily on editing so as to encourage comparison and contrast between scenes. Alternatively, sequence shots may form the foundation of the film. Hou Hsiao-hsien organizes *Shanghai Hua* (*Flowers of Shanghai*, 1998) according to sequence shots lasting approximately three minutes each and separated by fades to black; in the sequence shots, the camera roams around a single room, following first one character and then another, positioning the viewer as a distant, objective witness to all that unfolds. When the pattern of fluid, long-take long shots is broken through the use of a quick point-of-view close-up, the close-up carries additional weight. After watching events from a distance, for a moment the viewer is allowed access to a character's direct experience; the significance of the shot then resonates more strongly within the narrative.

Until the end of the twentieth century, constructing an entire feature-length film out of one extended long take was an impossibility, as a 35mm camera could typically hold only about eleven minutes of film. As a result, while Hitchcock sought to give the illusion of filming *Rope* (1948) in only one shot, he was forced to

Camera movement is used to express the giddiness of love in Max Ophüls's* La Ronde (Roundabout, *1950). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

use deceptive visual strategies to hide the film's seven cuts. The advent of digital video, however, has opened up new opportunities for filmmakers interested in the extreme long take, as videotapes can record over two hours of material. An eighty-six-minute Steadicam shot forms the entirety of *Russian Ark* (Aleksandr Sokurov, 2002), tracking through thousands of actors depicting a series of moments in Russian history. The choreography of the camera and actors as they move through St. Petersburg's Hermitage Museum produces a constantly changing array of compositions that operate in lieu of editing. *Timecode* (Mike Figgis, 2000) uses digital technology to experiment with duration and simultaneity; four discrete long takes unspool in quadrants of the frame, each revealing the simultaneous action of different characters who eventually meet.

The ability of digital video to produce extended shot lengths would very likely have appealed to André Bazin, the first film critic to champion the long take. He celebrated the photographic properties of cinema and the film camera's unique ability to record continuous space and time, thereby revealing the reality of the world in front of the lens. Although he recognized that film could never completely reproduce reality, Bazin argued that technological and stylistic developments could advance the medium closer to that goal. In particular, he embraced the ability of long takes with camera movement, deep space staging, and deep focus cinematography to maintain the spatial and temporal unity of recorded events and make ambiguous the most significant action within the frame. Bazin thus elevated the work of Jean Renoir (1894–1979), William Wyler (1902–1981), and others, who frequently used long takes and attempted to capture the spontaneity, ambiguity, and specificity of reality as it unfolds over time.

SEE ALSO *Cinematography; Shots; Technology*

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CANADA

Canada produces approximately forty feature films annually. But while the country, like many others, has had to deal with Hollywood's dominance of its film industry, Canada's geographical proximity to the United States exacerbates the problem. This fact has been the most defining influence on the development of Canadian cinema. The two countries share the longest undefended border in the world, creating serious problems for many aspects of Canadian culture, including cinema.

Geographically, Canada is larger than the United States but has only one-tenth its population. Over ninety percent of Canadians live within 100 miles of its border with the United States, within easy reach of American radio and television signals, as well as its magazines and newspapers. As a result, advance publicity for American films is readily accessible to Canadian consumers and builds audience expectations, making these movies more attractive than homegrown ones. Canadian filmmakers are unable to compete with either Hollywood's scale of production and its vast, well-oiled publicity machine. Domestically, it is almost impossible for a Canadian film to recoup its costs.

BEGINNINGS

Feature filmmaking began in Canada with *Evangeline* (1914), made by Canadian Bioscope Company in Halifax, Nova Scotia, but after only six more films, the company failed financially. For the next fifty years, feature filmmaking in Canada was only intermittent. *Carry On Sergeant* (1928), an expensive World War I epic, was a commercial flop and did not provide the stimulus needed for renewed production. The introduction of sound to cinema around the same time eliminated the few fledgling film companies that did exist because they could not afford the cost of converting to sound.

American financial interests have consistently worked to hinder the development of an indigenous feature film industry in Canada. In the late 1920s, when several other countries moved to establish quota systems to combat the dominance of American films, American companies moved into Canada to take advantage of Britain's quota system, which allowed for films made anywhere in the British Empire to enter Britain duty free. In Canada, they produced a wave of "quota quickies"—low-budget exploitation movies—most of which were imitation Hollywood films with no relation to Canada. By the time the British quota laws were amended in 1938 to exclude films produced outside of Britain, a true Canadian film industry had ceased to exist.

For ten years beginning in 1948, Canada acceded to the infamous Canadian Cooperation Agreement, an initiative of the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA). In essence, Canada agreed to refrain from encouraging feature film production, thus allowing for continued American control of the industry, in return for which American studios would shoot some films on location in Canada and make occasional favorable references to Canada in movie dialogue for the purpose of promoting tourism. As if the obvious disadvantages of this arrangement for Canada were not enough, the occasional references to Canada tended to stereotype the country as a frozen wilderness. In the epic western *Red River* (Howard Hawks, 1948), for example, one cowboy on the cattle drive complains that if they keep heading

north, they'll soon be driving the cattle "up and down the icebergs in Canada."

AMERICAN INFLUENCE

Although adjacent to the US, Canada was for many years treated in American cinema as an exotic place, a mythical landscape vaguely referred to as "the Northwoods" or "God's Country"—the latter phrase popularized in the novels of the phenomenally popular American writer James Oliver Curwood (1878–1927)—as if it were a mere extension of American wilderness. In more recent, runaway productions, Canada has been represented as nondescript; American producers have taken advantage of the favorable rate of exchange and lower labor rates to film in Canada while making Canadian locations look vaguely American. For example, *The Dead Zone* (1983), a thriller by David Cronenberg (b. 1943), based on the novel by Stephen King, was shot in Niagara-on-the-Lake and other places in Ontario, while set in Maine. *Rumble in the Bronx* (1996), a US-Hong Kong co-production with Jackie Chan, although ostensibly set in New York City, makes no attempt to hide the mountains of British Columbia, plainly visible outside Vancouver. Its indifference to Canada seems like an unintentional expression of many Americans' attitude toward Canada.

Canadian cinema has also suffered from the fact that so much Canadian talent leaves home for the greater allure of Hollywood and the larger American market. The long list of actors who became American movie stars includes Dan Ackroyd, Geneviève Bujold, Raymond Burr, John Candy, Jim Carrey, Yvonne De Carlo, Deanna Durbin, Chief Dan George, Glenn Ford, Michael J. Fox, Walter Huston, John Ireland, Margot Kidder, Raymond Massey, Mike Myers, Leslie Nielsen, Christopher Plummer, William Shatner, Norma Shearer, Jay Silverheels (the Lone Ranger's faithful Indian companion in the US's long-running TV western), Donald Sutherland, and Fay Wray (the screaming heroine of *King Kong* [1933]). The Toronto-born Mary Pickford (1892–1979), one of Hollywood's first stars in the silent era and one of the founders of United Artists (along with Charles Chaplin, Douglas Fairbanks, and D. W. Griffith), was known, ironically, as "America's Sweetheart" because of her roles in such films as *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm* (1917) and *Pollyanna* (1920).

Among the directors who have left Canada for Hollywood are Edward Dmytryk, whose credits include the classic films noir *Cornered* (1945), *Murder, My Sweet* (1944), and *Crossfire* (1947); Hollywood stalwart Allan Dwan, who directed everything from *Heidi* (1937) to *Sands of Iwo Jima* (1949); Arthur Hiller (*The Out-of-Towners* [1970] and *Silver Streak* [1976]); Ted Kotcheff (*The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz* [1974] and *First Blood* [1982]); Del Lord, the forgotten director of many Three Stooges shorts; Ivan Reitman (*Meatballs* [1979] and *Ghostbusters* [1984]); and Mack Sennett, the driving force behind the slapstick comedies of the Keystone Studio. In contrast, Norman Jewison (b. 1926), director of numerous Hollywood hits and Oscar®-winning films, including *In the Heat of the Night* (1967) and *Fiddler on the Roof* (1971), returned to Canada to establish the Canadian Film Center, a production facility for developing Canadian film talent, is a singular exception.

The largest film exhibition chain in Canada today, Cineplex-Odeon and Famous Players, are controlled by American interests and show mostly mainstream American movies. Canadian films, which rarely feature major American stars, seldom find their way onto Canadian cinema screens outside the few big cities (Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver), and in the rare instances when they do, they receive little publicity since Canadian distributors cannot hope to compete with the saturated publicity of the American studios. In 2002, a rare attempt at a major national publicity campaign and release strategy was devoted to the Canadian romantic comedy *Men with Brooms*, a film about curling (still the most popular sport in Canada, exceeding even hockey) which, although only moderately successful, may be the beginning of a new phrase for the Canadian film industry, since the film performed well at the box-office domestically.

THE NATIONAL FILM BOARD

Despite the lack of feature film production in Canada many short films have been made by various government agencies for educational, information, and propaganda purposes. The Scotsman John Grierson (1898–1972), documentary film producer and advocate, who developed an important government documentary film unit in Great Britain, was invited by the Canadian government in 1938 to help centralize and develop a national film unit. Based on his recommendations, the National Film Board of Canada (NFB) was officially established in May 1939, just three months before Canada officially entered World War II, with Grierson as its first commissioner. With strong government support, Grierson joined experienced filmmakers from Britain with Canadian talent, and the NFB quickly moved to fulfill its mandate to "interpret Canada to Canadians and the rest of the world." *Churchill's Island* (1942), a documentary about the Battle of Britain, and one of the films in the early NFB series *Canada Carries On* (1940–1959), won the first Oscar® for Best Documentary Short in 1942, the

first American Academy Award® given to a Canadian film.

Beginning in 1942, a system of traveling projectionists was created to bring NFB films to small communities throughout rural Canada, showing films in libraries, church halls, and schools. When television was introduced to Canada in 1952, the CBC (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation) regularly showed NFB productions as part of its programming. During the war and into the 1950s, the NFB expanded significantly. While other countries closed down their national film units, the NFB established itself as a central part of Canadian culture. All Canadian citizens had free access to NFB films, which were frequently shown in schools and as short subjects before American features in theaters.

For decades the characteristic style of the NFB was shaped by Grierson, who emphasized documentary's social utility, its ability to provide public information, and its ability to shape public opinion regarding the nation and national policy. Many NFB films featured the traditional expository structures that offered solutions or conclusions, and a voice-of-God narrator (in the early NFB films, typically the commanding voice of Canadian actor Lorne Greene [1915–1987]), who later became famous in the United States for his role as the benevolent patriarch Ben Cartwright on one of the longest-running American TV westerns, *Bonanza*).

According to Grierson, the NFB's mandate was to make films "designed to help Canadians in all parts of Canada to understand the ways of living and the problems in other parts." Yet despite strong regionalism in Canada, for propaganda purposes the NFB's wartime documentaries necessarily showed Canadians all working together to win the war. This myth of pan-Canadianism, the representation of a unified Canadian identity, emphasized common values over ethnic and political differences.

For many years the NFB was organized as a system of units, each devoted to making films about particular subjects. Unit B was responsible for both animation and films on cultural topics. The broadness of the category allowed the filmmakers in Unit B, under the encouraging leadership of executive producer Tom Daly, to experiment with the newly introduced portable 16mm sync-sound equipment, resulting in a series of pioneering direct cinema documentaries. The group included Wolf Koenig, Roman Kroitor, Colin Low (b. 1926), Don Owen (b. 1935), and Terence MacCartney-Filgate, who had been a cameraman on the Drew Associates' pioneering direct cinema documentary *Primary* (1960). Their films, such as *Paul Tomkowicz: Street-Railway Switchman* (1954), about a Polish immigrant who sweeps the snow from the streetcar rails on wintry Winnipeg streets, anticipated the work that Unit B would produce as part of its *Candid Eye* (1958–1959) series. One of the most famous of Unit B's documentaries, *Lonely Boy* (1962), examines the rapid success of the Ottawa-born singer Paul Anka as a pop music idol; rather than merely celebrating Anka's success in the American music industry, the film offers a trenchant commentary on the constructed artificiality of pop stardom itself.

In the 1970s and 1980s, the most interesting work at the National Film Board was done in Studio D, which made films by and about women. Under the leadership of the producer Kathleen Shannon, Studio D produced such important and controversial films as *Not a Love Story* (1981), a powerful antipornography tract, and *If You Love This Planet* (1982), featuring a speech by the peace activist Dr. Helen Caldicott that was condemned as "propaganda" by then-US President Ronald Reagan. During the same period the NFB also produced important documentaries about First Nations peoples by the First Nations filmmaker Alanis Obomsawin (b. 1932), including *Kanehsatake: 270 Years of Resistance* (1993), about the dramatic 1990 armed standoff between Mohawks and the Canadian army that held the nation's attention for weeks, and a number of co-productions with the private sector, including the CBC miniseries *The Boys of St. Vincent* (1992), about a case of sexual abuse by the Catholic church that shocked Canada years before similar scandals grabbed the attention of the media in the United States.

A FEATURE FILM INDUSTRY BEGINS

The NFB has been drastically downsized since the 1980s, the result of a series of government funding cutbacks, to the point that it has little presence in Canadian culture. Nevertheless, the board's documentary emphasis has left an indelible influence on feature filmmaking in Canada. In the absence of a commercial film industry, the NFB has allowed many filmmakers who would later become the country's most important directors to hone their craft on government-sponsored films. The two films that are generally acknowledged as marking the beginning of the Canadian feature film industry, *Nobody Waved Good-bye* (1964) by Don Owen and *La vie heureuse de Léopold Z* (*The Merry World of Leopold Z* [1965]) by Gilles Carle (b. 1929), in English Canada and Quebec respectively, began as NFB documentaries. Carle's film, about a Montreal snowplow driver working on Christmas Eve, began as a documentary about snow removal in Montreal. Similarly, *Nobody Waved Good-bye* was initially intended to be a half-hour docudrama about juvenile delinquency in Toronto, but the director Owen, who earlier in his career had worked as a cameraman on some of the NFB's direct cinema films, improvised most of the

DAVID CRONENBERG

b. Toronto, Ontario, Canada, 15 March 1943

The Canadian director, screenwriter, and actor David Cronenberg has been one of the most important directors of the horror film renaissance that began in the 1970s. His explorations of biological terror and sexual dread have provided a strikingly original approach to the genre.

Beginning his career with a series of effectively creepy horror films, Cronenberg moved from exploitation to art cinema and achieved international acclaim with several challenging and unconventional films (*Dead Ringers* [1988], *Naked Lunch* [1991], *M. Butterfly*, 1993), which culminated in his daring adaptation of J. G. Ballard's novel *Crash* (1996), a movie condemned by reviewers as "beyond the bounds of depravity" and awarded a Special Jury Prize at the Cannes Film Festival.

Cronenberg's first feature, *Shivers* (aka *They Came from Within* and *The Parasite Murders*, 1975), featured a compellingly repulsive parasite that releases uncontrollable sexual desire in its human hosts. The film, partially funded by the Canadian Film Development Corporation, was a wry commentary on the contemporary ideology of sexual liberation. But in Canada it was perceived as so offensive that members of Parliament protested against government support for such "disgusting" movies. Cronenberg's later horror films took the same visceral approach, emphasizing bodily terror and scenes of gross physical violation. In *Rabid (Rage,* 1977), actress Marilyn Chambers (a former Ivory Snow Girl and porn star), develops a murderous phallic spike that protrudes from her armpit, killing the men she embraces; in *The Brood* (1979) the metaphor of bodily mutation is literalized as an external manifestation of repressed emotional rage. Cronenberg's 1986 remake of *The Fly* (1958), which depicts in horrific detail the protagonist's gradual physical disintegration after his DNA is accidentally fused with that of a common housefly, has been read as a metaphor for the bodily ravages of AIDS.

Videodrome (1983) is perhaps Cronenberg's most accomplished horror film. Its story of an opportunistic TV producer (James Woods) who becomes obsessed with a sadistic-erotic program emanating from a mysterious American pirate station is a postmodern parable about the seductive effects of television and media. *Videodrome* is a stylistic tour-de-force in which fantasy merges with reality, and neither character nor viewer can tell the difference. Cronenberg would later use the same technique in his cyberpunk film about computer games and virtual reality, *eXistenZ* (1999).

Cronenberg's emphasis on bodily horror has been the subject of considerable critical debate. Some critics have argued that Cronenberg's work is motivated by a sense of sexual disgust that bespeaks a conservative, repressive ideology, while others have argued for Cronenberg as a progressive director who exposes the contradictions of western culture's concepts of sexuality. However one interprets Cronenberg's films, their fantastical nature freed Canadian cinema from the realist model that had dominated it previously.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Shivers (aka *They Came from within* and *The Parasite Murders*, 1975), *Scanners* (1981), *Videodrome* (1983), *The Fly* (1986), *Dead Ringers* (1988), *Naked Lunch* (1992), *M. Butterfly* (1993), *Crash* (1996), *eXistenZ* (1999), *A History of Violence* (2005)

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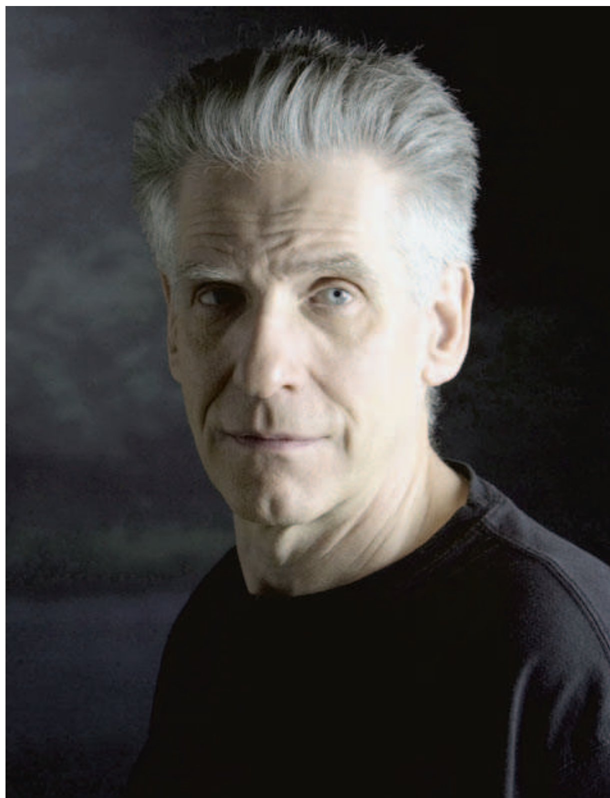
dialogue and script, shooting each scene in chronological order, often using a handheld camera and lapel microphones. The film's teenage protagonist (Peter Kastner), rebelling against authority and the Establishment, is, like the film itself, an act of rebellion against the established norms of production at the NFB.

The tax-shelter years (1974–1982), when investors were able to write off 100 percent of their investment in



David Cronenberg. © NEW LINE/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Canadian films (Capital Cost Allowance), witnessed a second wave of mostly mediocre movies. Intended to stimulate production of Canadian films, the tax shelter produced mostly B movies with second-rate Hollywood actors, although a few quality films, such as the effective crime thriller *The Silent Partner* (1978) and *Atlantic City* (1980) by French director Louis Malle, also were made. One of the least pretentious movies of this era, *Porky's* (1982), a raucous, American-style teen film about a group of frat boys trying to lose their virginity in South Florida in the 1950s, remains as of 2006 the most commercially successful Canadian film ever made.

Given an audience formed largely by Hollywood genre movies, many Canadian feature films of the 1960s and 1970s deliberately played off American film genres in an attempt to establish a distinctive approach to popular cinema while finding success at the box-office. American genre movies have impossible heroes who overcome enormous obstacles and succeed in their goals; Canadian movies often feature fallible protagonists, antiheroes who are less mythical in stature. Some of these films use the conventions of American genre movies to comment on American cultural colonization. In *Paperback Hero* (1973), the American actor Keir Dullea plays a hockey player in a small Canadian prairie town who causes his own death as a result of clinging to fantasies of American westerns. Canadian genre films also tend to emphasize character and situation over action and spectacle, as in *Goin' Down the Road* (1970) by Donald Shebib (b. 1938), a road movie about two naive hicks from Nova Scotia who come to Toronto to realize their dreams but fail miserably, and *Between Friends* (1973), a caper film with a bunch of inept amateurs whose robbery plan collapses even before it begins. This downbeat tendency in Canadian movies of the 1960s and 1970s also reflects the country's earlier emphasis on the somber quality of traditional documentary filmmaking.

FILMMAKING IN QUEBEC

Canada is officially a bilingual country and recognizes the province of Quebec as a "distinct society." Quebecois cinema faced some of the same obstacles as English-Canadian cinema, but its development was also hindered by the Catholic Church, which through the 1950s was the major cultural force in Quebec culture. Although separated from the rest of Canada by language and culture, Quebec eventually developed its own distinctive cinema as part of a belated embrace of modernity.

In the 1920s and 1930s, ninety percent of the province's movie screens showed American films. In the 1930s, a number of French film companies, most notably France Film, distributed French movies in Quebec. The Catholic Church was strongly opposed to film, identifying Hollywood with immorality and English domination. Strong censorship laws were enacted, movies were condemned as exerting a corrupting influence, and for years movies were not allowed to be shown on Sundays.

By the 1940s, however, the Catholic Church became more conciliatory and was itself involved in Quebec's feature film productions. The first independent feature films produced in Quebec were by priests, Father Maurice Proulx (1902–1988) and Father Albert Tessier. Proulx produced thirty-seven 16mm films about French-Canadian life between 1934 and 1961. These films typically emphasized the importance of the church in daily life and featured a noble priest or nun as the central character.

In 1956, the National Film Board moved its head office from Ottawa, the nation's capital, to Montreal. The NFB's French Unit grew more active and included such filmmakers as Michel Brault (b. 1928), Gilles Carle, Fernand Dansereau (b. 1928), Jacques Godbout (b. 1933), Gilles Groulx (1931–1994), Claude Jutra (1930–1986), and Jean-Pierre Lefebvre (b. 1941), all of whom would emerge as important *auteurs* during the blossoming of Quebecois cinema in the 1960s. In earlier

Typical Canadian losers Doug McGrath (left) and Paul Bradley in* Goin' Down the Road *(Don Shebib, 1970). **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

NFB films such as *Terre de nois aïeux* (*Alexis Tremblay, Habitant* [1943]), French Canadians were depicted as happy, picturesque farmers working contentedly in pastoral beauty—an image that by the 1960s Quebecois filmmakers would rebel against in favor of more authentic images of themselves. Quebecois filmmakers at the NFB seized upon the accessibility of the new portable equipment to make films about Quebec's distinctive culture. For example, Carle and Brault (who had worked on Jean Rouch's seminal *cinéma vérité* documentary *Chronique d' un été* (*Chronicle of a Summer* [1961]), made *Les Raquetteurs* (1958), about the annual snowshoe competition in the town of Sherbrooke. The film abandons entirely the traditional Griersonian voice-of-God technique previously characteristic of the NFB and instead focuses on the authentic voices and music of the participants themselves.

The 1960s, the period known as The Quiet Revolution, witnessed the rapid modernization of Quebec, including a growing demand for cultural autonomy and political self-determination that hardened into an intense separatist movement that almost carried a provincial referendum for secession from Canada. French-Canadian identity transformed into the more militant Quebecois. Jutra's *Mon Oncle, Antoine* (1974), widely regarded as the best Canadian film ever made, uses its coming-of-age story about a small town boy who loses his idealism and innocence as a metaphor for the maturation of Quebec culture. Since then, many Quebecois filmmakers have produced important films that have achieved substantial success not only within Quebec but also across Canada and abroad. Among the most notable are *Le Déclin de l' empire américain* (*Decline of the American Empire* [1986]) by Denys Arcand (b. 1941) and *Jésus de Montreal* (1989), *Léolo* (1992) by Jean-Claude Lauzon (1953–1997), and *Le Confessional* (1995) by Robert Lepage (b. 1957). *The Red Violin* (1998), an international co-production directed by Quebec director François Girard (b. 1963), is the most successful Canadian art film to date.

Over time, Quebec has developed its own film distribution, exhibition, and production systems. The province's cinema has its own star system, and some of the actors—Geneviève Bujold, Lothaire Bluteau, Monique Mercure—have successfully made the transition to Hollywood. In addition to the many distinguished art and auteur films, Quebecois cinema also produces its own popular cinema. Films such as *Cruising Bar* (1989), *Ding and Dong le Film* (1990), and *Les Boys* (1997) are broad and bawdy comedies that have been enormously popular with filmgoers in Quebec.

EXPERIMENTAL AND ANIMATED FILMS

John Grierson's famous definition of documentary as "the creative treatment of actuality" would seem also to express the two traditions of filmmaking at the National Film Board. For along with documentaries, the NFB also produced many experimental and animated films that hardly seemed to fit into the Board's mandate. Some created films that combined a documentary impulse with the stylistic strategies of experimental film. Arthur Lipsett (1936–1986), for example, in such films as *Very Nice, Very Nice* (1961) and *Free Fall* (1964), used a collage style of found footage—frequently outtakes from other NFB films—to create bleak statements about contemporary alienation. The interest in using documentary footage unconventionally informs Canadian experimental film from *Circle* (Jack Chambers, 1967–1968), which consists of shots of four seconds taken each day for a year from the same camera position, to *Moosejaw* (Rick Hancox, 1992), which is a documentary of the filmmaker's prairie hometown in Saskatchewan and a poetic meditation on memory, home, and the process of documenting the past.

Outside the NFB, experimental filmmakers such as Joyce Wieland (1931–1998) and Bruce Elder, who is also an important film critic, have been influential in the development of an experimental film culture in Canada. But the country's most well-known experimental filmmaker is Michael Snow (b. 1929). Some of Snow's films reveal the influence of documentary, as in *La Région centrale* (1971), which is shot by a camera positioned on a hilltop and attached to a machine with preprogrammed movements. Snow's somewhat infamous structural film *Wavelength* (1967) is a 45-minute zoom shot across a room. Despite the challenging nature of his non-narrative films, Snow is known popularly for his installation of Canada geese in the Eaton Centre, Toronto's first urban mall (and home of Cineplex's first multiplex) and the sculptural facade of the Rodgers Center (formerly Skydome), home stadium of the Toronto Blue Jays baseball team.

The NFB also produced many important short animated films by artists such as Richard Conde, George Dunning (1920–1979) (who went on to head the international team of animators that produced the Beatles' animated feature *Yellow Submarine* [1968]), Co Hoedeman (b. 1940), Derek Lamb (1936–2005), and Gerald Potterton. At the NFB, a number of artists experimented with unusual and innovative animation techniques. In *The Street* (1976), an adaptation of the Canadian author Mordecai Richler's story, Caroline Leaf (b. 1946) animated drawings composed of sand on a glass slide, lit from below; the German-born Lotte Reiniger (1899–1981) used silhouette cutouts in *Aucassin et Nicolette* (1975); and the Russian expatriate Alexandre Alexeieff (1901–1982) used his unique pinscreen method in *En Passant* (1943), a wartime sing-along film. Norman McLaren (1914–1987), both an animator and an experimental filmmaker, was the NFB's most acclaimed artist. In many of his abstract films, McLaren painted directly onto the filmstrip, as in *Begone Dull Care* (1949), which is set to the jazz music of Canadian pianist Oscar Peterson. But McLaren's work could also draw inspiration from the real world: the pixillated *Neighbours* (1952) is a powerful antiwar fable that won an Oscar® for Best Short Documentary in 1953.

THE CANADIAN NEW WAVE

Since the 1980s, a generation of new filmmakers has emerged in Canada who together have taken Canadian films in different directions from the downbeat realism that characterized the first wave of Canadian feature films in the 1960s and 1970s. Many of these directors, including Jerry Cicoretti (b. 1956), David Cronenberg, Atom Egoyan (b. 1960), Bruce MacDonald (b. 1959), Don McKellar (b. 1963), Kevin McMahon, Jeremy Podeswa (b. 1962), and Patricia Rozema (b. 1958), are located in Toronto. The city is home to the annual Toronto International Film Festival (TIFF), which, since its inception in 1975, has grown to become one of the largest and most important film festivals in the world. A major part of the festival each year from 1984 to 2004 was the *Perspective Canada* series, a program of new Canadian features. The series provided the highest international profile anywhere for new Canadian films, and all of these filmmakers had their work featured within it. As of 2004, TIFF altered its programming format so that only first-time directors are featured in the *Canada First* series, while work by other Canadian directors is integrated into the other programs. As of 2006, TIFF has screened an astonishing 1,500 Canadian feature films.

David Cronenberg's international success as a Toronto-based filmmaker, moving from low-budget

ATOM EGOYAN
b. Cairo, Egypt, 19 July 1960

Born in Egypt to Armenian parents and raised in Victoria, British Columbia, Atom Egoyan began making short films while a student at the University of Toronto. Along with his fellow Torontonian David Cronenberg, Egoyan has emerged as an internationally successful auteur. He has won numerous awards, including four at the prestigious Cannes Film Festival and seven at the Toronto International Film Festival. The German director Wim Wenders was so impressed with Egoyan's *Family Viewing* (1987) that, when awarded the Prix Alcan for *Wings of Desire* at the 1987 Montreal New Cinema Festival, he publicly turned the prize over to Egoyan.

Egoyan's films deal with themes of alienation, ennui, and voyeurism and the connections among them. Communications technology such as television sets, telephones, and video cameras often figure in Egoyan's imagery, while his characters, often surrounded by this technology, are emotionally stunted and unable to communicate meaningfully with each other. In *Speaking Parts* (1989), Egoyan envisions a video mausoleum where television monitors showing footage of departed loved ones help people cope with their grief; *Exotica* (1991) creates a dance club that establishes an enveloping environment in which men stave off loneliness. The cultural estrangement that appears in Egoyan's films is in part attributable to his being relocated as a child to Canada. Commonly considered a quintessential postmodern filmmaker whose work shows how mass-mediated simulacra have dulled our response to the real world, Egoyan's *mise-en-scène* also is often very formally composed, suggestive of the closed, cold world that his protagonists inhabit.

Next of Kin (1984), Egoyan's first feature, premiered at the high-profile Toronto International Film Festival, where it was well received critically, as were his subsequent films in the 1990s. *The Sweet Hereafter* (1997), based on Russell Banks's novel, marked Egoyan's first screenplay based on someone else's work and his rise to widespread international attention. Since then, however, Egoyan's career has wavered. *Ararat* (2002), ostensibly about the 1915 Armenian genocide by Turks (which the Turks have long disputed), is a bold reflexive examination of the representation of history in cinema that introduces a new political dimension into Egoyan's work. But *Felicia's Journey* (1999) was neither a notable box-office nor critical success, and *Where the Truth Lies* (2005), a high-concept film about a mysterious murder involving a comedy duo resembling Jerry Lewis and Dean Martin, elicited strong negative reaction when it premiered along with Cronenberg's *A History of Violence*, which critics embraced, at the 2005 Toronto International Film Festival.

Egoyan also has produced several films by other directors and directed several episodes for such television shows as *The Twilight Zone* and *Alfred Hitchcock Presents*, as well as a highly regarded made-for-TV movie, *Gross Misconduct* (1993), about the troubled life of the hockey player Brian Spencer.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Next of Kin (1984), *Family Viewing* (1987), *Speaking Parts* (1989), *The Adjuster* (1991), *Exotica* (1994), *The Sweet Hereafter* (1997), *Ararat* (2002)

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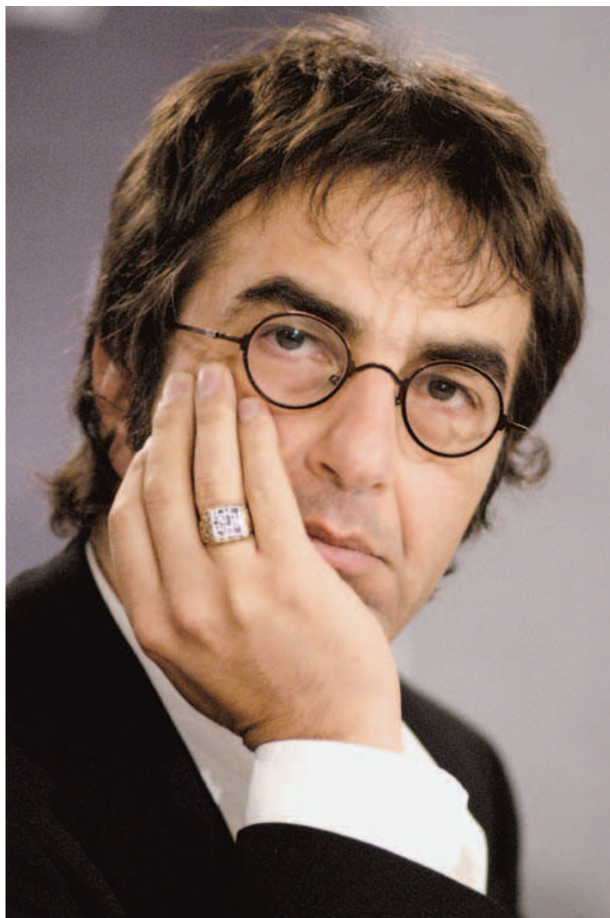
horror movies to internationally acclaimed art films, was the inspiration for many of these other directors. After Cronenberg, Rozema gained international recognition with *I've Heard the Mermaids Singing* (1987), a comedy about a nerdy young woman, which became a surprise hit at both the Cannes and Toronto film festivals. Atom



Atom Egoyan. © MARKO SHARK/CORBIS.

Egoyan has successfully combined the formalist mannerisms of his early films (*Next of Kin* [1984], *Family Viewing* [1987], and *Speaking Parts* [1989]), with mainstream accessibility in *The Sweet Hereafter* (1997) and *Felicia's Journey* (1999). Born in Egypt and raised in an Armenian family in Victoria, British Columbia, Egoyan emphasized issues of ethnic identity in his early films. His success has prompted other young Canadian filmmakers to explore their own ethnicity in relation to the nation. Films such as *Masala* (Srinivas Krishna, 1991), in which the Hindu god Krishna appears wearing a Toronto Maple Leaf hockey jersey; *Double Happiness* (Mina Shum, 1994), an exploration of the filmmaker's own cultural identity as a Chinese Canadian in Vancouver starring Sandra Oh, who has since gained wider attention in the American independent breakthrough hit *Sideways* (2004); and *Rude* (Clement Virgo, 1995), a film about black life in urban Toronto, provide a more accurate reflection of Canada's actual ethnic diversity than earlier Canadian cinema did. Deepa Mehta (b. 1950) is an Indo-Canadian filmmaker whose films *Fire* (1996), *Earth* (1998), and *Water* (2005) were filmed and set in India. At the same time, directors who have established international reputations seem to be moving away from Canadian concerns and making more mainstream movies. Rozema's adaptation of Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park* (1999) was a bigger budget film made in the United Kingdom; Cronenberg's *A History of Violence* (2005) is a crime film set in Anytown, USA, and stars actors Ed Harris, William Hurt, and Viggo Mortenson; and Egoyan's *Where the Truth Lies* (2005) features his most conventional narrative structure, a murder mystery involving a Lewis-and-Martin-like comedy duo starring Colin Firth and Kevin Bacon.

Although English-Canadian feature filmmaking is centered in Toronto, films are also produced in other regions of Canada. In the East, the Newfoundland director William D. MacGillivray has produced a series of intelligent dramas (*Stations* [1983] and *Life Classes* [1987]), while in the West, the Calgary-based filmmaker Gary Burns (*The Suburbanators* [1995] and *Kitchen Party* [1997]) has gained attention with his hip comedy *waydowntown* (2000). The Winnipeg Film Group has developed a distinct style known as "prairie postmodernism," its most significant practitioner being Guy Maddin (b. 1956), whose films, such as *Tales from the Gimli Hospital* (1988), *Careful* (1992), and the brilliant short *The Heart of the World* (2000), hark back to the classic styles of silent cinema.

SEE ALSO *National Cinema*

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CANON AND CANONICITY

Canon formation involves making choices based on assessments of value, a process that highlights both the utility of evaluating and re-evaluating past artistic accomplishments as well as the pitfalls associated with championing some artists' work at the expense of others. The formation of a canon is directly influenced by the education, taste, and viewing habits of those who participate, the range of films they have seen, and the vision of cinema they champion. In film studies, the canon has typically been created by theorists, historians, and critics; perpetuated and reassessed by academics, archivists, and programmers; and influenced by the members and machinery of the film industry itself. The shape of the orthodox canon has evolved over time as outlets for viewing and writing about films have multiplied and opinions regarding artistic significance have changed.

Through its selective nature, the canon suggests which films merit recognition, exhibition, and analysis. It influences decisions regarding the titles chosen for preservation and restoration, as well as those directors who are worthy of retrospectives. The canon plays a role in determining which films will appear on television, be distributed in print form, be released on video and digital video disc (DVD), and be purchased for inclusion in stores and libraries, thereby remaining in the public consciousness. Availability from distributors, in archives, and on television, video, and DVD in turn enables a film to be discussed in classes and scholarly publications, further contributing to its critical reputation. Canonical status thus helps to ensure the continued circulation of a film, affecting how directors, national cinemas, and genres are described and impacting the writing of film history. Because of the likelihood for the canon to influence which films are preserved, shown, and analyzed, the process of canon formation has been heavily debated over the years. While a core group of films and filmmakers remains consistently recognized as canonical, challenges to the orthodox canon continually interrogate and expand the criteria for determining motion pictures of significance.

EARLY CANON FORMATION

The history of canon formation is a history of changing attitudes toward what is valuable in cinema. Early film theorists and historians who sought to establish cinema as a legitimate and unique art form had a vested interest in crowning the medium's masterpieces. Rudolph Arnheim and other theorists of the silent era argued that the most accomplished films moved beyond the recording capabilities of the medium, utilizing those tools specific to cinema, such as editing and cinematography, to represent the diegetic world in a stylized fashion. The drive to distinguish cinema from other art forms by emphasizing its transformative properties encouraged writers to describe film history as a journey toward artistic maturity marked by the development of expressive narrative and stylistic techniques. For example, in *The Film Till Now* (1930), the most influential of the early English-language film histories, Paul Rotha (1907–1984) identifies the 1920s as the height of film artistry, particularly championing the work of Charlie Chaplin (1889–1977), D. W. Griffith (1875–1948), Abel Gance (1889–1981), Jean Epstein (1897–1953), F. W. Murnau (1888–1931), G. W. Pabst (1885–1967), and the Soviet montage school. Rotha's appendix of 114 "outstanding" films

served as a reference point for the orthodox film canon until after World War II.

Along with the writing of early film theorists and historians, the blossoming of international film culture during the 1920s played a particularly important role in the formation of the film canon, advancing the identification, promotion, exhibition, and preservation of those titles that were considered to expand the boundaries of the medium. Within national film industries, studio publicity and trade publications trumpeted directors according to the new methods in their work, offering critics and audiences overt cues to their significance. Art theaters and cinéclubs in Paris, New York, London, Berlin, Amsterdam, and other major cities provided specialized venues for film screenings, nurturing the tastes of individuals who were key to the creation of archives, such as the Cinématheque Française, the Museum of Modern Art's Film Library, and the Belgian Cinématheque. Simultaneously, film journals sprouted across Europe and the United States, featuring ongoing discussions of films by acclaimed directors.

As access to film titles was limited during the first half of the twentieth century, the critical opinions of those who programmed cinéclubs and purchased films for archives exerted a powerful influence on canon formation. Historians, critics, and teachers relied on repertory exhibition, film archives, and circulating libraries for research, restricting their ability to "discover" previously unrecognized work. While tens of thousands of movies were lost to history, titles such as *The Great Train Robbery* (Edwin S. Porter, 1903), *The Birth of a Nation* (Griffith, 1915), *Das Kabinett des Doktor Caligari* (*The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*, Robert Wiene, 1920), *Der Letzte Mann* (*The Last Laugh*, Murnau, 1924), and *Bronenosts Potyomkin* (*Battleship Potemkin*, Sergei Eisenstein, 1925) were more likely to be screened and written about once anointed as films of significance, thus perpetuating their status as masterpieces.

THE INFLUENCE OF BAZIN AND AUTEURISM

Following World War II, a new generation of critics challenged the definition of film artistry posited by early theorists and historians, embracing cinematic realism and expanding the orthodox canon. Such writers as André Bazin (1918–1958) and Roger Leenhardt (1903–1985) located the essence of cinema in its capacity to record, preferring an aesthetic that respected the specificity, continuity, and ambiguity of the world in front of the camera rather than one that transformed it. Where earlier critics attempted to define cinema as a unique art form, Bazin described it as an impure art, acknowledging its links with theater and literature. Bazin celebrated the cinema of the 1930s and 1940s, elevated the reputation of commercial Hollywood films, and together with Alexandre Astruc (b. 1923), laid the foundation for the rise of auteurism. Bazin's influence canonized *La Règle du jeu* (*The Rules of the Game*, Jean Renoir, 1939) and *Ladri di biciclette* (*Bicycle Thieves*, Vittorio De Sica, 1948), while his praise for *Citizen Kane* (1941)—as well as the self-promotion of director Orson Welles (1915–1985) and cinematographer Gregg Toland (1904–1948)—established the film's reputation as one of cinema's greatest achievements. *Citizen Kane* has subsequently topped *Sight and Sound*'s critics poll of cinema's top ten movies every decade since 1962.

New outlets emerged in the postwar years for the promotion and exhibition of cinema, reinforcing the reputations of some directors while introducing others to critical tastemakers. Film publications and cinéclubs expanded, while the Venice Film Festival was revived in 1946 and international festivals began in Berlin, Germany; Cannes, France; Karlovy Vary, Czech Republic; and Locarno, Switzerland. Screenings at Venice of *Rashomon* (Akira Kurosawa, 1950) and *Ugetsu monogatari* (*Tales of Ugetsu*, Kenji Mizoguchi, 1953) entranced Western critics and initiated the entry of Japanese films into the established canon.

The rise of auteurism in France, Britain, and the United States in the 1950s and 1960s hastened the comparative evaluation of films and filmmakers at the same time as a growing number of young people embraced international film culture. Proponents of the auteur policy argued that although cinema is a collaborative medium, its most significant works are the expression of the director, in whose films appear original thematic and stylistic consistencies that transcend production circumstances and assigned screenplays. Auteur critics utilized its principles to attack mainstream critics and celebrate the work of previously unheralded filmmakers. As auteurism became the dominant critical approach to cinema in the 1960s, film journals, ciné-clubs, and university film societies multiplied, while film studies programs were widely instituted across American college campuses. Steeped in auteurist principles from their youth, some members of this generation would later carry auteur principles into mainstream film criticism, while others eventually championed filmmaking practices that challenged classical conventions.

The missionary zeal of many auteur devotees invariably led to new canon formation. The young writers at *Cahiers du cinéma* formed the vanguard of auteur criticism, elevating Max Ophüls (1902–1957), Jacques Tati (1909–1982), Alfred Hitchcock (1899–1980), and Howard Hawks (1896–1977) over the Tradition of Quality directors favored by the contemporary French press. The critics writing in *Cahiers du cinéma* reassessed

the significant works of directors previously canonized, rating Welles's *Mr. Arkadin* (1955) higher than *Citizen Kane* and Murnau's *Sunrise: A Song of Two Humans* (1927) above *The Last Laugh*, while also embracing Mizoguchi's *Saikaku ichidai onna* (*The Life of Oharu*, 1952) and *Tales of Ugetsu* for their long-shot, long-take aesthetic.

In the United States, Andrew Sarris (b. 1928) railed against native critics who favored foreign, experimental, and documentary films over commercial Hollywood productions. In *The American Cinema* (1968), he offered a reassessment of American film history based on auteurist principles, analyzing the work of over a hundred directors and sorting them into hierarchical categories ranging from "The Pantheon" to "Less Than Meets the Eye" to "Subjects for Further Research"; the result was a personal canon that served as both a model for critical assessment and a lightning rod for debate. The values underlying auteurism revolutionized the way critics conceived of artistic significance, opening the door for more low-budget, transgressive, and idiosyncratic directors to be endorsed by the critical mainstream.

CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES TO THE CANON

By the end of the 1960s, some theorists and academics began questioning the tendency of auteur critics to consider the aesthetic value of films outside of any economic, historical, or ideological context. The adoption within film scholarship of theories drawn from structuralism, semiotics, Marxism, and psychoanalysis made problematic notions of authorship and conventional critical assessments. The rise of a modernist European art cinema and a vibrant American avant-garde encouraged some scholars and critics to embrace alternative filmmaking practices. At the same time in academia, feminism, race and ethnic studies, and queer studies led to a re-evaluation of orthodox canons in literature, art, and film.

In cinema studies, scholars critiqued the canon from a number of angles. They noted that organizing film history around "great men" who produce masterpieces ignores other important aspects of the field, including film style, technology, genre, industry, national film schools, and spectatorship. Some highlighted the exclusionary nature of the orthodox canon, including the paucity of female, non-western, and non-white directors, and the neglect of documentaries, avant-garde, and animated films. Others argued that not all viewers value the same films, and those films that are valued can be significant to viewers for different reasons; thus, the personal canons of critics, filmmakers, and audience members will likely differ, as will those of individuals in different countries and age groups. A new approach to canon formation appeared necessary.

Janet Staiger summarizes four common approaches adopted in the 1970s and 1980s to address perceived problems in canon formation. First, some scholars analyzed acknowledged film classics against the grain, seeking to reveal new meanings and significance through alternative readings. Others revised the criteria that determined the nature of film art in an effort to include previously marginalized work within the established canon. Many called for the creation of new canons of oppositional work that challenged dominant modes of representation. Finally, still others argued for the abolition of the canon itself, as the process of canon formation inevitably elevates selected films at the expense of others. Rather than a complete abandonment of the canon, the primary result of several decades of debate within film studies discourse has been a greater awareness of the varied criteria used to form canons and their implications for film culture and history.

As academia grappled with the relative merits of canon formation, the evaluative impulse of auteurism became enshrined within mainstream film culture, leading to an embrace of the masterpiece tradition and an ever-growing number of "best of" lists. Individual critics at daily newspapers, magazines, and specialized film publications as well as critics' groups around the world now annually rate each year's releases, while the Library of Congress has its National Treasures list, and on the Internet thousands of personal web sites offer their own idiosyncratic canons. The urge to define cinema's masterpieces reached its apex with the wave of national cinema centenaries celebrated during the late 1990s and early 2000s, as organizations in country after country conducted polls to select their top one hundred film productions. Meanwhile, growing popular interest in box-office grosses and ancillary sales has led to the promotion of a different kind of canon, one formed by consumer taste rather than critical opinion. In the United States, *Gone with the Wind* (1939) has achieved canonical status as the all-time highest box-office performer, reflecting not its critical clout but its firm hold on the popular imagination.

While some academics and critics continue to favor a core canon dominated by art cinema and select Hollywood auteurs, the boundaries of the canon are continually expanding. Early tastemakers were able to see movies only via theatrical release, a few major film festivals, and specialized exhibition, yet modern scholars and critics enjoy dramatically increased access to titles through a diverse array of additional media: cable, video, VCD/DVD, and the Internet. Institutions such as the American Film Institute (AFI) and British Film Institute (BFI) mount programs of film screenings and publications that aid in redefining the canon. At the

same time, growing scholarly interest in commercial, cult, and previously marginalized cinemas has expanded the criteria applied to canon selection. These shifts have enlarged the fringes of the canon, such that *Tokyo nagaremono* (*Tokyo Drifter*, Seijun Suzuki, 1966), a campy, pop art genre picture, is as likely to be featured in today's film magazine or college cinema course as the venerated classic *Tokyo monogatari* (*Tokyo Story*, Yasujiro Ozu, 1953). As individuals are encouraged to compare their "top tens" to those of critics, and access to films and film scholarship expands, the re-evaluation, expansion, and renewal of the canon will continue.

SEE ALSO *Auteur Theory and Authorship; Criticism; Film History*

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Lisa Dombrowski

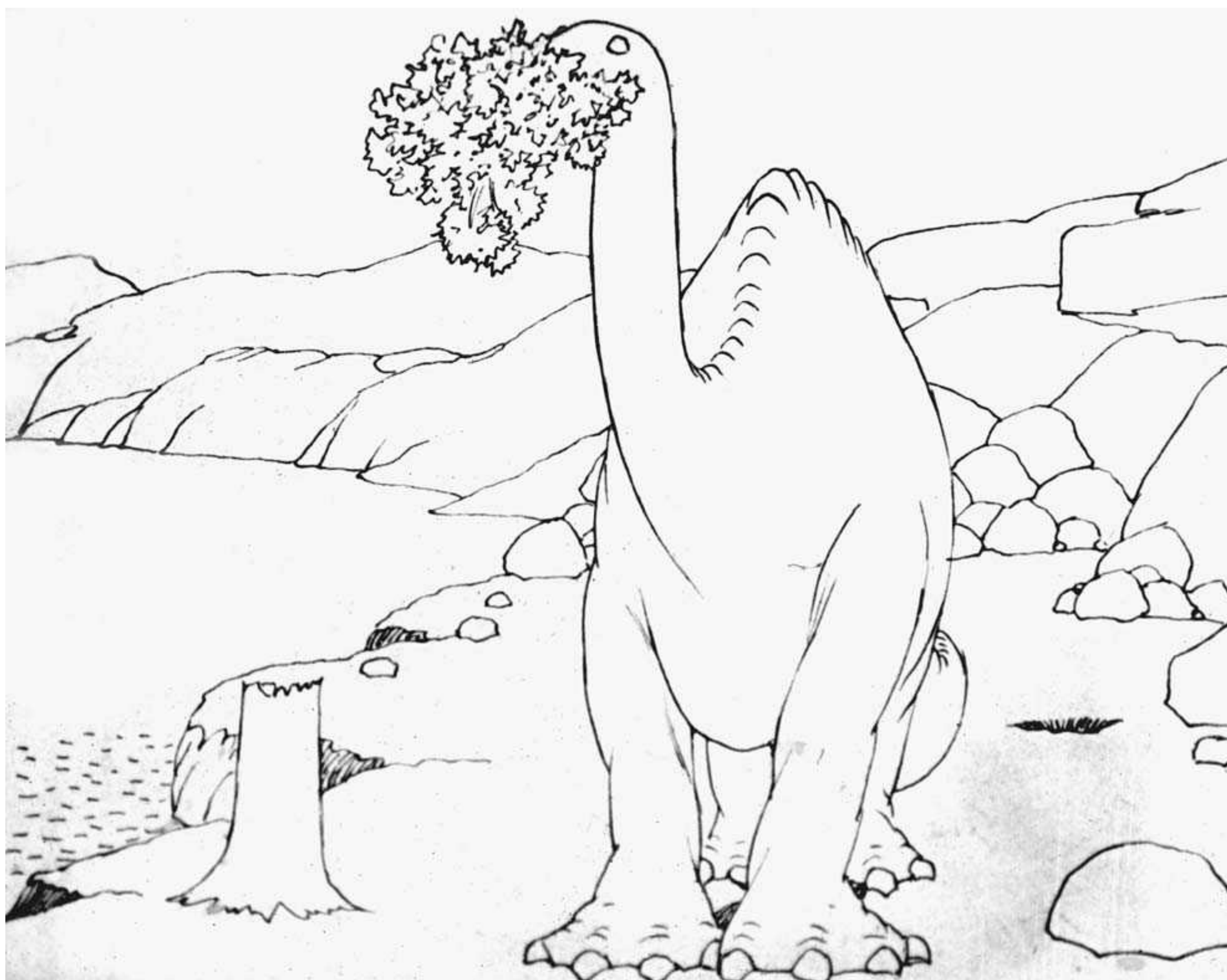
CARTOONS

Cartoons both amuse and engage; they are able to point out the foibles and complexities of humankind in direct, illuminating, and original ways. From humble beginnings, the cartoon has progressed to address social, cultural, and religious taboos in provocative and amusing ways. It is the most subversive of mainstream arts. Though often intrinsically bound up with the Disney tradition, the cartoon has a variety of histories worldwide, and diverse practices reflecting the cultures of the nations in which it has been produced.

The animated cartoon emerged out of the early experiments in the creation of the cinematic moving image. As early as 1798, Etienne Robertson constructed the Phantasmagoria, a sophisticated magic lantern to project images. It was followed by Joseph Ferdinand Plateau's Phenakistascope in 1833, William Horner's Zoetrope in 1834, Franz Von Uchatius's Kinetoscope in 1853, Henry Heyl's Phasmatrope in 1870, and Émil Reynaud's Praxinoscope in 1877, devices that in some way projected drawn or painted moving images. With the development of the cinematic apparatus came the first intimations of animation, at first accidents or trick effects in the work of figures like Georges Méliès (1861–1938), and the emergence of lightning cartooning—the accelerated movement of drawings by manipulating camera speeds—particularly in the British context, where Harry Furniss, Max Martin, Tom Merry, and Lancelot Speed defined an indigenous model of expression related to British pictorial traditions in caricature and portraiture. It was also the Britons J. Stuart Blackton and Albert E. Smith, working in the United States, who saw the potential of a specific kind of animation filmmaking in *The Enchanted Drawing* (1900) and *Humourous Phases of Funny Faces* (1906), though these were essentially little more than developments in lightning cartooning.

While stop motion 3-D animation progressed in a number of countries, it was only with the creation of Émile Cohl's (1857–1938) *Fantasmagorie* (1908), a line-drawn animation influenced by French surrealism, that the 2-D animated film was seen as a distinctive form. Cohl was later to work in the United States, animating George McManus's comic strip *The Newlyweds* (1913), one of a number of popular comic strips that characterized early American cartoon animation, others being *Krazy Kat*, *The Katzenjammer Kids*, and *Mutt and Jeff*. Winsor McCay (1871–1934), an illustrator and graphic artist, made *Little Nemo in Slumberland* (1911), based on his own *New York Herald* comic strip, and one of the first self-reflexive cartoons, the aptly titled *Winsor McCay Makes His Cartoons Move* (1911). McCay's influence on the history of animation cannot be overstated. He created one of the first instances of the horror genre in *The Story of the Mosquito* (1912); "personality" animation in the figure of *Gertie the Dinosaur* (1914), which was featured in an interactive routine with McCay in his Vaudeville show; and "documentary" in an imitative newsreel-style depiction of *The Sinking of the Lusitania* (1918).

As early as 1913, Raoul Barré and John R. Bray were developing systematic, "industrial" methods for the production of animated cartoons using variations of what was to become the "cel" animation process, where individual drawings (later, cels) were made, each with a slight change in a character's position, and then aligned with backgrounds that remained the same, using a peg-bar system. By replacing each drawing in a sequence of movement and photographing it frame by frame, the



Winsor McCay's* Gertie the Dinosaur *(1914). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

illusion of continuous movement occurred. As well, a production system was emerging that echoed the hierarchical organization of the Taylorist production processes characteristic of industrial America, as in the production of Model T Fords. Though the Fleischer brothers (Max [1883–1972] and Dave [1894–1979]), Paul Terry (1887–1971), and Pat Sullivan (1887–1933) with Otto Messmer all emerged as viable producers of cartoons, it was Walt Disney (1901–1966) who effectively took the Ford model and created an animation "industry." Disney's dominance has meant that Terry's *Aesop's Film Fables* of the 1920s, Sullivan and Messmer's hugely successful and graphically inventive *Felix the Cat* cartoons (1919–1928), and the Fleischer brothers' work in sound synchronization and the use of rotoscoping—the tracing of live action figure movement to achieve animated characters drawn frame by frame—have been largely forgotten. In his initial work in the early 1920s, Disney created *Laugh-O-Grams*, which were distinctive in featuring his own animation, and *Alice* comedies, which reversed the conceit of the Fleischer brothers' "Out of the Inkwell" series. The latter featured a cartoon clown in a live-action environment, while Disney placed a live-action Alice in a cartoon world.

THE GOLDEN ERA

In 1923 the Fleischers made the groundbreaking four-reel educational film, *Einstein's Theory of Relativity*. In the face of increased competition from the technically adept Fleischer Studio, Disney created the first fully synchronized sound cartoon, *Steamboat Willie* (1928), introducing animation's first cartoon superstar, Mickey Mouse. Nine years later, Disney made *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937), the first full-length, sound-synchronized, Technicolor animated film, along the way making the

seminal Silly Symphonies, including *Flowers and Trees* (1932), the first cartoon made in three-strip Technicolor; *Three Little Pigs* (1933), famous for its Depression-era rallying cry of "Who's Afraid of the Big Bad Wolf?"; *The Country Cousin* (1936), which established a definitive design for cartoon mice; and *The Old Mill* (1937), using the multiplane camera. All of these made aesthetic, technical, and narrative strides in the field. Many of early Silly Symphonies were drawn by Ub Iwerks and based on a "rope" aesthetic of elongated faces and limbs. Fred Moore's use of the "circle"-based "squash 'n' stretch" animation in *Three Little Pigs*, however, essentially prompted the change in Disney's aesthetic that led to an advance in "personality" animation and an increased realism in the films that was to characterize the studio's signature style. The multiplane camera, which made its debut in *The Old Mill*, facilitated this style further by ensuring that all the moving figures and changing environments stayed in perspective and maintained a depth of field. At this point, Disney effectively defined animation and created a legacy that all other producers have sought to imitate or challenge.

As Disney continued its development with what were arguably the studio's two masterpieces, *Pinocchio* (1940) and *Fantasia* (1940)—films that consciously strove to define the "art" of animation in aesthetic and cultural terms—the Warner Bros. studio established itself through the work of Hugh Harman (1903–1982) and Rudolf Ising (1903–1992) and the presence of Bosko, the studio's first animated star. Much of the Warner output was based on music already owned by the studio, and the early cartoons—the *Looney Tunes* series and, later, the *Merrie Melodies*—may be seen as prototypical music promos, as these films reinvigorated the market in sheet music and recordings. Following the Disney strike of 1941 (which essentially ended the first Golden Era of animation) and the purchase in 1944 of Leon Schlesinger Productions by Warner Bros., a new house style emerged, first under director Friz Freleng (1905–1995), then through the major creative impact of Tex Avery (1908–1980), which saw Chuck Jones (1912–2002), Frank Tashlin (1913–1972), Bob Clampett (1913–1984), and Robert McKimson (1911–1977) become the new heirs to the animated short. Altogether more urban and adult, the Warner Bros. cartoons were highly inventive, redefining the situational gags in Disney films through a higher degree of surreal, self-reflexive, and taboo-breaking humor.

The Fleischers had the highly sexualized Betty Boop, with her cartoons' strong embrace of African American culture and underground social mores; the blue-collar hero, Popeye; and the outstanding *Superman* cartoons of the 1940s. Hanna-Barbera had the enduring Tom and Jerry; Walter Lantz (1899–1994) had created Woody Woodpecker; and *Terrytoons* had debuted Mighty Mouse, parodying Mickey Mouse and Superman. But Warners had the zany Daffy Duck, the laconic wise guy, Bugs Bunny, and gullible dupes Porky Pig and Elmer Fudd, who became popular and morale-raising figures during the war-torn 1940s and its aftermath. The cartoons continued to be innovative and developmental. Their soundtracks also progressed to enhance the dynamics of the more surreal narratives. Former Disney stalwart Carl Stalling (1891–1972) and effects man Treg Brown combined short pieces of music and a bizarre range of inventive sounds to "mickey mouse" the movement (follow the action on screen with exactly matching sound) or to create comic counterpoint to the dramatic events. And Mel Blanc (1908–1989) continued to supply the vocalizations for all the Warners' cartoon characters.

Chuck Jones and Tex Avery, in particular, revised the aesthetics of the cartoon, changing its pace and subject matter, relying less on the "full animation" of Disney and more on different design strategies and thematic concerns such as sex and sexuality, injustice, and the inhibiting expectations of social etiquette. In many senses, the innovation in cartoons as various as Jones's *The Dover Boys of Pimento University or the Rivals of Roquefort Hall* (1942), Avery's *Red Hot Riding Hood* (1943), and Bob Clampett's *Coal Black and de Sebben Dwarfs* (1943) anticipate the more formal experimentation of the United Productions of America (UPA) studio, a breakaway group of Disney animators (Steve Bosustow, Dave Hilberman, John Hubley, and Zack Schwartz) wishing to work more independently and more in the style of modernist art (actually pioneered at the Halas and Batchelor and Larkins Studios in England during the war) than in comedy. Though now remembered for popular characters like the short-sighted Mr. Magoo, UPA made *Gerald McBoing Boing* (1951) and *The Tell-Tale Heart* (1953), which used minimalist backgrounds and limited animation and was clearly embracing a European modernist art sensibility that was emerging in the "reduced animation" of the Zagreb Studios in then-Yugoslavia, and particularly in the work of its leading artist, Dušan Vukotic (1927–1998).

In this work, as in work by studios in Shanghai, the National Film Board of Canada, and even at the short-lived GB Animation Unit, a desire existed to embrace the art and technique of Disney while ultimately rejecting its aesthetic and industrial model in order to privilege different notions of the cartoon. It is pertinent to remember that progressive conceptions of the cartoon had occurred in Britain as early as 1934, when Anthony Gross and Hector Hoppin had lyricized the form in *Joie de Vivre*, and later, when Halas and Batchelor made their short Poet and Painter films for the Festival of Britain in 1951,

CHUCK JONES

b. Spokane, Washington, 12 September 1912, d. 22 February 2002

Chuck Jones has become rightly revered as one of the true masters of animation. While Tex Avery sought to extend the art and language of animation by interrogating its boundaries and possibilities, Jones was responsible for fully integrating animation with other disciplines, in particular by drawing upon classical music and literature as touchstones to structure his cartoons and to extend their thematic concerns.

A high school dropout, Jones attended Chouinard Art Institute in Los Angeles. In 1931 he became a cel washer (cleaning the transparent cels the animated characters were painted on) at Pat Powers's Celebrity Pictures, but soon became an in-betweener (drawing the "in-between" movements between two key positions of the character action chosen by the lead animator) under the supervision of Grim Natwick, later the designer of Disney's *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937). In 1933 Jones joined Leon Schlesinger Productions, which made shorts for Warner Bros. He thereby became part of the legendary unit employed by Schlesinger after Hugh Harman and Rudolf Ising left his studio, taking with them Bosko, Warner's first cartoon "star." With Friz Freleng as their initial director—followed by the more experimental Tex Avery— Bob Clampett, Robert McKimson, and Chuck Jones all defined the Warner Bros. cartoon, each enjoying the collaborative inventiveness of the unit but also defining his own distinctive vision.

Jones's first cartoon was *The Night Watchman* in 1938, followed quickly by his first series (ultimately twelve cartoons) featuring the mouse, Sniffles, who debuted in *Naughty But Nice* (1939). These gentle, Harman-Ising-style cartoons would be a far cry from his dozen *Snafu* (Situation Normal, All Fouled Up) cartoons for the *Army-Navy Screen Magazine*, made during World War II and featuring Private Snafu, an inept recruit who implicitly taught young servicemen how to do everything right by constantly getting everything wrong. The more knowing, adult, urbane approach to such cartoons was to be the staple of the Warner's output. But it was a cartoon like *The Dover Boys of Pimento University or the Rivals of Roquefort Hall* (1942) that properly signaled Jones's interest in aesthetics with his innovative use of smeared, "jump cut"-like, pose-to-pose movements for his characters.

Jones was instrumental in developing all the studio's major stars, including Bugs Bunny, Daffy Duck, and Porky Pig, but several of his own creations, Pepe Le Pew and Roadrunner and Coyote, have become enduring figures, each characterized by Jones's thematic concerns with compulsion, obsession, and failure. His three late masterpieces, *One Froggy Evening* (1955), *Duck Amuck* (1953), and *What's Opera, Doc?* (1957), all extended the parameters of the cartoon before the closing of Warner's Animation division in 1962. Jones enjoyed further success as head of MGM's Animation Department from 1963 to 1971, revising Hanna-Barbera's *Tom and Jerry* cartoons to be more literate and lyrical adventures and making the perennially popular *How the Grinch Stole Christmas!* (1966). As CEO of Chuck Jones Enterprises from 1962, he continued to make highly successful cartoons until his death.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

The Dover Boys of Pimento University or the Rivals of Roquefort Hall (1942), *The Rabbit of Seville* (1950), *Duck Amuck* (1953), *One Froggy Evening* (1955), *What's Opera, Doc?* (1957), *The Dot and the Line* (1965), *How the Grinch Stole Christmas!* (1966)

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Paul Wells

Chuck Jones at work in the 1960s. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

and in their adaptation of George Orwell's novel in *Animal Farm* (1954), which addressed serious subject matter and represented animals in a more realistic and less Disneyfied way. There is some irony to the fact that Halas and Batchelor recalled the "animal" to the animal cartoon by going beyond the standardization of cartoon technique, the caricatured rather than realistic representation of animals, and the comic imperatives of the short film. *Animal Farm* had to be more realistic, given the seriousness of Orwell's theme and its allegory of the Russian Revolution.

As the Disney studio entered a period of decline, Chuck Jones created three masterpieces: *Duck Amuck* (1953), deconstructing the codes and conventions of the cartoon and filmmaking in general; *One Froggy Evening* (1956), satirizing the idea of celebrity and commercial exploitation in the figure of a performing frog who refuses to demonstrate his unique talents for its owner in front of potential entrepreneurs and audiences; and *What's Opera, Doc ?* (1957), a seven-minute compression of Wagner's Ring cycle. All three exhibited Jones's ability to reinvent the cartoon, work with literate and complex themes, and create what can only be called art. Also significant was the contribution of designer Maurice Noble, whose backgrounds, color scheme, and lighting all add to the sense of operatic grandeur. Jones's cartoons were the last great works of the theatrical era in the United States as the major studios closed their short cartoon units—Disney (1954), Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (1956), Warner Bros. (1962), and Terrytoons (1967)—and the television era began. Jones was to be highly critical of what was to follow, arguing that at best it was "illustrated radio," but nevertheless that period of cartoon history is an important one for the form.

THE TELEVISION ERA

Many critics see the Saturday morning cartoon era (1957–present) as the true demise of the American cartoon tradition, but arguably, especially in the pioneering efforts of the Hanna-Barbera studio, it was the very versatility of animation as an expressive vocabulary that made its continuation possible at a time when its cost might have caused its demise. Though predicated on "reduced animation"—limited and repeated movement cycles—and prioritizing witty scripts and vocal performances by key figures like Daws Butler and June Foray, working in the tradition of Mel Blanc, Hanna-Barbera's output, including *The Huckleberry Hound Show* (1958–1962), *Yogi Bear* (1958–1961), and the first prime-time cartoon sitcom, *The Flintstones* (1960–1966), saved and advanced the American cartoon.

In many senses, too, it liberated other cartoon traditions elsewhere from the shadow of American animation and its standards. No longer did animation studios have to aspire to the "full animation" aesthetic of the Disney style, but could call upon their own indigenous graphic design and illustration traditions to create new kinds of work, expressed in different ways and with more progressive subject matter. Consequently, new animators emerged with fresh approaches. The hand-drawn cartoons of Frédérick Back (b. 1924) in Canada, for example, with their impressionist styling and ecological themes (e.g. *Tout Rien*, 1979); the cartoons of Bruno Bozzetto (b. 1933) in Italy, featuring Mr. Rossi, a little everyman figure, (e.g. *Mr Rossi Buys a Car*, 1966), and the surreal indictments of totalitarianism, created by Alexsandar Marks (1922–2002) and Vladimir Jutrisa (1923–1984) in Zagreb, Croatia (e.g. *The Fly*, 1966), all deserve mention as progressive works breaking new ground in the cartoon short. Such work effectively responded to other kinds of tradition in the sense that Back, for example, drew upon the impressionist painting of Claude Monet and Edgar Degas, as well as the indigenous French-Canadian canvases of Horatio Walker and Cornelius Krieghoff, regional artists painting local and historically specific scenarios and events, in order to create a differ-

Chuck Jones parodied Wagnerian opera in* What's Opera, Doc? *(1957). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

ent, more culturally appropriate, aesthetic to his films. Marks and Jutrisa, though, like many artists working in Eastern Europe, looked to the spareness and clarity of modern graphic design, creating a maximum of suggestion with a minimum of lines and forms.

Also, during the 1960s the Japanese animation industry expanded its production specifically for the television market, and series like *Astro Boy* (1963–1966) debuted on US television. Echoing the popularity of *manga*—mass-produced Japanese comic books and graphic novels—animé of all kinds emerged in the postwar period. By the early 1980s Japanese studios were producing some four hundred series for the global TV market, and by the early 1990s over one hundred features were produced annually. Katsuhiro Ôtomo's *Akira* (1988) was the breakthrough animé, introducing Western audiences to the complex, multinarrative, apocalyptic agendas of much Japanese animation. The works of Hayao Miyazaki (b. 1941) (e.g., *Nausicaa, Valley of the Wind*, 1984, *Tonari no Totoro*, 1988 [*My Neighbor Totoro*], *Princess Mononoke*, 1999), Mamoru Oshii (e.g., *Mobile Police Patlabor*, 1989, and *Ghost in the Shell*, 1995), and Masamune Shiro (b. 1961) (e.g., *Dominion Tank Police*, 1988, and *Appleseed*, 1988) that followed competed with Disney, Dreamworks, and Pixar in the global feature marketplace. The work of Miyazaki and Studio Ghibli has been particularly lauded for privileging female heroines, complex mythic and supernatural storylines, and moments of spectacular emotional epiphany while still remaining accessible and engaging to the popular audience. Japanese television animation, though cruder in style and execution, has nevertheless had a great impact. *Pokemon*, *Digimon* and *Yu-Gi-Oh!* have all proved popular, and their attendant collectibles, including computer games and trading cards, have prompted near moral panic, as children have invested considerable time, energy, and money in them.

Animation production houses Filmation and Hanna-Barbera continued to produce cartoons for American television, and Disney, perhaps inevitably, initially consolidated its place in the new medium with *Disneyland* (1954–1958) and later variations like *Walt Disney's Wonderful World of Color* (1961–1972), which recycled Disney cartoons, showing them on television for

the first time. In the United States, where the television cartoon became increasingly characterized by its relationship to other forms of popular culture—for example, series about pop stars like the Jackson Five or the Osmonds, or sitcom spin-offs like *The Brady Kids* (1972–1974) and *My Favorite Martian* (1963–1966)—the cartoon lost its capacity to shock or innovate. A reinvigoration of the form came with Ralph Bakshi (b. 1938), who explored adult themes and the spirit of the late 1960s counterculture in his sexually explicit and racially charged feature films *Fritz the Cat* (1972), *Heavy Traffic* (1973), and *Coonskin* (1975). In effect, this was the first time that animation in America—with the possible exception of UPA's early effort, *Brotherhood of Man* (1946)—addressed adult issues. While Bakshi has been criticized for some aspects of racial and gender representation in these films, it is important to remember that they effectively recovered the subversive dimension of the cartoon so valued, for example, by the Fleischer brothers, and later by John Kricfalusi in *The Ren and Stimpy Show* (1991–1996), Mike Judge in *Beavis and Butthead* (1993–1997), and Trey Parker and Matt Stone in *South Park* (b. 1997), as well as in Spike and Mike's Festival of Animation.

Bakshi's influence may also be found in Sally Cruikshank's *Quasi at the Quackadero* (1976); Jane Aaron's *In Plain Sight* (1977); Suzan Pitt's extraordinary *Asparagus* (1979); and George Griffin's anti-cartoons. It was actually the departure of Don Bluth (b. 1937) and a number of his colleagues at the Disney Studio, in protest of declining standards, that properly represented where American cartoon animation had gone. Bluth's *The Secret of NIMH* (1982) did little to revise the fortunes of traditional 2-D cel animation, as it was clear that computer-generated imagery would eventually dominate.

Jimmy Murakami's adaptation of Raymond Briggs's *When the Wind Blows* (1986), like *Animal Farm*, *Yellow Submarine* (1968), and *Watership Down* (1978), represented attempts in Britain to innovate in the traditional 2-D cartoon, but it was Hayao Miyazaki's *Tenku no Shiro Laputa* (*Laputa, Castle in the Sky*, 1986), *My Neighbor Totoro*, and *Kurenai no buta* (*Porco Rosso*, 1992) that sustained and enhanced the quality of the animated feature, while the partnership of Ron Clements and John Musker for *The Little Mermaid* (1989), *Aladdin* (1992), and *Hercules* (1997) revived Disney's fortunes. *The Lion King* (1994), clearly drawing upon Osamu Tezuka's television series, *Janguru taitei* (1965–1967; *Kimba the White Lion*) and Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, proved to be phenomenally successful, showcasing songs by Elton John and a spectacular sequence of charging wildebeests. While the cartoon short enjoyed continuing innovation in the work of Paul Driessen (*Elbowing*, 1979), Richard Condie (*The Big Snit*, 1985), Cordell Barker (*The Cat Came Back*, 1988) at Canada NFB, it was clear that the impact of digital technologies would revise the animated feature and production for television.

Matt Groening's *The Simpsons* (1989–) has become a national institution, and feature animation essentially changed with the success of Pixar's *Toy Story* (1995), the first fully computer-generated animated feature. It is clear, though, that the "cartoon" remains the core language of the animation field. Joe Dante's films, *Twilight Zone: The Movie* (1983), *Gremlins* (1984), *Gremlins 2: The New Batch* (1990), *Small Soldiers* (1998), and *Looney Tunes: Back in Action* (2003), all reference the classic Disney and Warner Bros. cartoons. While Maurizio Nichetti's *Volere Volare* (1991) and Bakshi's *Cool World* (1992) also combined live action and cartoon figures, Robert Zemeckis's film *Who Framed Roger Rabbit* (1989), featuring the animation of Richard Williams, best epitomizes the respect for the American cartoon: it celebrates the major studios, and specifically recalls movies where cartoon stars guest with live action counterparts, like Tom and Jerry in *Anchors Aweigh* (1945) and *Dangerous When Wet* (1953).

SEE ALSO *Animation; Children's Films; Walt Disney Company; Warner Bros.*

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Paul Wells

CASTING

Casting is one of the least understood or appreciated behind-the-scenes processes in filmmaking. Indeed, casting decisions are made all the time that change the course of film history. How altered would the film landscape be if Inspector Harry Callahan in *Dirty Harry* (1971) had been played by John Wayne (1907–1979)? Or Frank Sinatra (1915–1998)? Or Steve McQueen (1930–1980), Walter Matthau (1920–2000), Paul Newman (b. 1925), or Robert Mitchum (1917–1997)? All were offered the role, and all turned it down. *Dirty Harry* made Clint Eastwood (b. 1930) into an American cultural icon and lightning rod. However, it is easy to imagine that the movie would have been dismissed as just another cop film with any of these actors in the title role.

Casting is usually characterized outside the film industry as something the director does. Director Elia Kazan (1909–2003) once said that three-fourths of directing is casting. However, no director alone can cast a film, television show, or stage play. The process is too time-consuming to be done by their directors amid many other preproduction duties. Furthermore, many maintain that casting involves as much creative collaboration as other aspects of filmmaking.

CASTING IN THE STUDIO ERA

During the Hollywood studio era, each company cast its films in-house, using mostly contract players. Sometimes, if the unit making the film felt that certain roles could not be cast with studio personnel, they looked outside for actors unattached to a studio, actors with nonexclusive studio contracts, or those whose home studio was willing to loan them out. The casting of the Hollywood-on-Hollywood classic *Sunset Boulevard* at Paramount in 1949 is instructive. For the role of the delusional former silent movie star, director Billy Wilder (1906–2002) and producer Charles Brackett (1892–1969) looked for someone who actually had been as big a star as the fictional Norma Desmond. After interviewing a number of 1920s movie queens, Wilder and Brackett cast Gloria Swanson (1899–1983), who had retired from the screen in 1934. For the role of Max, Norma's servant, ex-director, and ex-husband, Erich von Stroheim (1885–1957) was cast. The former director, who supported himself in the sound era as an actor and had acted for Wilder in Paramount's *Five Graves to Cairo* (1943), returned to play a role almost humiliatingly like himself. Most of the other parts were cast in-house. William Holden (1918–1981), a journeyman leading man in routine pictures who had joint contracts with Paramount and Columbia, took over the role of the gigolo writer Joe Gillis after Montgomery Clift (1920–1966), the hot young free-lance actor who had first been signed, backed out. *Sunset Boulevard*, released in 1950, made Holden a major star. Betty Schaefer was played by Nancy Olson (b. 1928), a contract ingenue. In a film that called for real-life Hollywood personalities to play themselves, the most important of these roles could be cast with a contract employee, namely Cecil B. DeMille (1881–1959), who helped found Paramount and nearly thirty years before had made Gloria Swanson a star at the studio. The result is as perfectly cast a film as one can find.

The studio with the largest stable of actors, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM), boasting of "More Stars Than

Erich von Stroheim and Gloria Swanson in Billy Wilder's* Sunset Boulevard *(1950). **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

There Are in Heaven," worked its contract stable like a self-contained stock company. The "major minors," Columbia and Universal, relied upon and benefited the most from other companies' contract players. James Stewart (1908–1997), an MGM contract player from 1935 until his induction into the US Army in 1941, was mostly ill-used by his home studio, which could not determine his "type"—comic actor or romantic lead. Frank Capra (1897–1991), the anomalous star director at Columbia, asked to borrow Stewart for the male lead opposite house star Jean Arthur (1900–1991) for *You Can't Take It with You* (1938). Capra and Columbia borrowed Stewart for *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* (1939), again opposite Arthur, in a film that turned out to be a star-maker for Stewart. Also in 1939, MGM loaned out Stewart to Universal for *Destry Rides Again*, a western comedy that launched the new career of Marlene Dietrich (1901–1992), the former Paramount star whom Universal had just signed. Both films clicked, confirming Stewart's comic gifts, his unique bashful magnetism, and his ability to project emotion, sincerity, and visionary passion. MGM, having been shown Stewart's value by the smaller studios, put his new stardom to proper use in *The Shop Around the Corner* and *The Philadelphia Story* (both 1940).

Sometimes, when seeking to duplicate the success of another studio, MGM was not above borrowing supporting actors whom a rival studio had made known in certain types of roles. Gene Lockhart (1891–1957) and Charles Coburn (1877–1961) played businessmen to whom the hero appeals for help in Twentieth Century Fox's *Story of Alexander Graham Bell* (1939), a major hit. MGM borrowed Coburn and Lockhart for its own biopic of an American inventor-industrialist, *Edison the Man* (1940).

During the studio era, and later on television, typecasting was the rule. Studio casting directors thought of

Charles Coburn when looking for a wise, gruff, and lovable (or a roguish, gruff, and lovable) old man; Gale Sondergaard (1899–1985) fit the bill for an exotic or sinister "foreign" woman; C. Aubrey Smith (1863–1948) was Hollywood's embodiment of Merrie Old England; and so on. Marion Dougherty, one of the first independent casting directors in the 1950s and 1960s, compared casting in the studio system to "ordering a Chinese meal: one from column A and one from column B. That's why you'd see the same actor in the same kind of roles" (Kurtes, "Casting Characters," p. 40).

CASTING IN THE CONTEMPORARY CINEMA

The prevalence today of the independent casting director is one of the results of the end of the studio system. In the 1950s fewer films each year were produced, as opposed to financed or distributed, by the studios. The number of actors under contract dwindled to insignificance by the early 1960s. Casts now had to be assembled from scratch. Independent casting directors who were hired on a film-by-film basis emerged to fill the need. The first to build lasting careers were Lynn Stalmaster and Marion Dougherty. While Dougherty, based in New York, learned her craft in the breakneck world of live television drama in the 1950s, Stalmaster worked out of Hollywood, casting TV episodes just as the film studios began to reconvert many of their soundstages for the production of television series. Stalmaster's first major theatrical film was *I Want to Live!* (1958), a realistic biopic of Barbara Graham, a convicted murderess executed in California in 1955. Its producer, Walter Wanger (1894–1968), and director, Robert Wise (1914–2005), specified that they wanted the film—beyond its star, Susan Hayward (1917–1975)—to be populated by unknowns, people who would look like ordinary cops, petty criminals, reporters, and prison guards. Stalmaster brought the director little-noticed TV actors, stage actors, and some nonprofessionals. *I Want to Live!* was one of the first films to give screen credit to a casting director.

Generally, in contemporary post-studio era cinema, prospective actors for a film's roles are brought to the director by the casting director, who has already auditioned actors, most often through auditions made known to agents and publicized in actors' trade papers. Casting directors also rely on résumés and head shots they have on file, as well as their memories of actors who recently made good impressions at auditions for other parts. Once the casting director has winnowed down a list of plausible players for each role, he or she brings in the director, who sometimes has actors come in for "call back" readings, with the casting director present. Some directors look at videos that the casting directors have made of actors reading the "sides," or scenes. Sometimes a director will use a combination of these. If the lead has already been cast, finalists for second or third lead and other supporting roles might read for the director with the lead actor; other times, candidates for a role read with professional audition readers.

This process, which has held sway in essence since the 1960s, grew along with the new Hollywood in which independent production, talent agencies, and freelance talent govern the way films are made. The job of the casting director is usually to find all the roles below that of the star whose participation is necessary to attract financing for the project in the first place. As casting director Jane Jenkins said in 2003, "We bring in the 100 people that Mel Gibson has to speak to over the course of the film. That's what we cast." (Gillespie, *Casting Qs*, p. 380).

Stalmaster maintains that he rarely sees a miscast role (Parisi, "Dialogue"), and at the level of the roles that he and his colleagues cast, that is largely true. A supporting role for which there is no pressure to choose a star can be cast by the actor who is best for the part. There are notable examples of star-making roles whose casting was influenced by casting directors. For example, Marion Dougherty convinced John Schlesinger (1926–2003) to meet the little-known Jon Voight (b. 1938) for the role of Joe Buck in *Midnight Cowboy* (1969), after Dustin Hoffman (b. 1937), a star coming off *The Graduate* (1967), had already been signed.

Casting directors have yet to win a union or guild and, as independent contractors, do not receive benefits or have retirement plans. A professional organization, the Casting Society of America (CSA), was founded in 1982 and boasts 350 members. CSA gives annual awards, the Artios (Greek for "perfectly fitted"). Casting directors have lobbied without success for a Best Casting Academy Award®. An Emmy for television casting, however, has been awarded since 1989.

STOCK COMPANIES

There is much in film folklore, if not in fact, about directors with informal "stock companies" of actors with whom they work again and again. The directors best known for utilizing a "family" of actors are John Ford (1894–1973), Ingmar Bergman (b. 1918), Mike Leigh (b. 1943), Robert Altman (b. 1925), and Spike Lee (b. 1957). Calling upon an established ensemble, both in front of and behind the camera, has enabled these directors, all of whom are very prolific, to put new projects together quickly. Altman, with his background in series television, learned his craft in "stock company" conditions. The stock companies of the non-Hollywood or post-studio Hollywood directors serve the purpose that production units had served in the studio system. Indeed,

LYNN STALMASTER
b. Omaha, Nebraska

A pioneer of the profession, Lynn Stalmaster is credited with helping cast 228 films and 150 television series and television movies in his fifty years as an independent casting director. A former actor and a graduate of the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA), he began by casting television episodes. The volume of work involved in casting weekly episodes with just a few days notice moved him to open his own casting office. Stalmaster convinced the producers of the hit western *Gunsmoke* (1955–1975) to spread a much wider casting net and fill their show with new faces not usually seen on westerns. Stalmaster soon became a magnet for new talent from all over the world for such prime-time network television series as *Have Gun, Will Travel* (1957–1964), *The Twilight Zone* (1959–1964), and *The Untouchables* (1959–1963).

With his partner James Lister (1926–1969), Stalmaster cast the compelling dramatic film *I Want to Live!* (1958), and his company became a valuable resource for independent film productions, particularly those with distribution deals through United Artists. Thus Stalmaster received credit (sometimes as "Lynn Stalmaster & Associates") on films of Billy Wilder (*The Fortune Cookie*, 1966), Stanley Kramer (*Inherit the Wind*, 1960; *Judgment at Nuremberg*, 1961) and Hal Ashby (*The Last Detail*, 1973; *Bound for Glory*, 1976; *Being There*, 1979). With six full-time casting associates at his company's peak, Stalmaster helped establish the dual purpose of the casting director—serving as an advocate for actors and as the link between the agent or manager and the film and TV director or producer—while bringing a filmmaker the most talented and interesting ensemble possible.

A man of great enthusiasm and energy, Stalmaster seemed to thrive on the task of seeing, keeping track of, and remembering for roles individual actors among the thousands who descend upon Los Angeles. Stalmaster has said that he has auditioned and videotaped thousands of actors and nonprofessionals all over the world. He claimed that he has the singular ability to spot a one-percent difference onscreen between one actor and another who might have been better for the role. One of Stalmaster's better known coups is *Superman: The Movie* (1978), the makers of which found themselves stumped in casting the all-important title role. Stalmaster recalled Christopher Reeve from past auditions and brought him in to test.

One of the oddities of the casting profession is that it has become an overwhelmingly female-dominated profession, making Stalmaster's achievement not only remarkable, but also generous in that it prepared the ground for the success of many young people, most of them women. Stalmaster was one of the founding members of the Casting Society of America and received the Hoyt Bowers Award for Outstanding Contribution to the Casting Profession at the 2003 Artios Ceremony.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

I Want to Live! (1958), *The Great Escape* (1963), *In the Heat of the Night* (1967), *Deliverance* (1972), *Sleeper* (1973), *The Last Detail* (1973), *New York, New York* (1977), *Roots* (TV, 1977), *Superman* (1978), *Being There* (1979), *Tootsie* (1982), *The Right Stuff* (1983), *The Untouchables* (1987), *Bonfire of the Vanities* (1990), "Making *Superman*: Filming the Legend" (DVD documentary, 2001)

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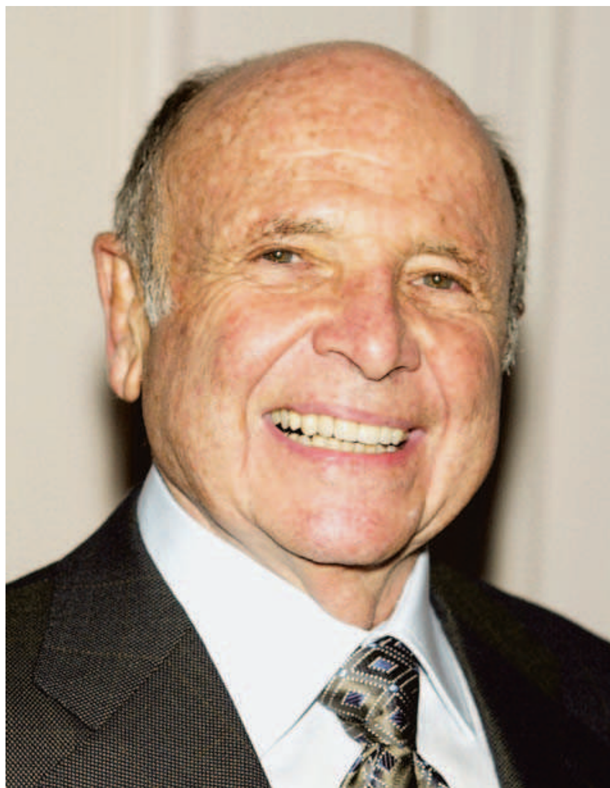
Dennis Bingham

the stock company may have allowed Ford, who made one independent film per year even during his studio contract days and went completely "off the reservation" in mid-career, to become in effect his own studio, carrying his own resources with him from film to film.

The director with a stock company in the truest sense was Bergman. Liv Ullmann (b. 1938), Max von Sydow (b. 1929), Erland Josephson (b. 1923), Gunnar Bjornstrand (1909–1986), Ingrid Thulin (1926–2004), Bibi Andersson (b. 1935), and Harriet Andersson (b. 1932) all got their start with Bergman, played the major roles in his small-scale, intimate films, and contributed in essential ways to the intensity for which Bergman's films are known. None of these actors is in



Lynn Stalmaster. **KEVIN WINTER/GETTY IMAGES.**

fewer than seven Bergman films. Moreover, von Sydow's nine-film collaboration with Bergman produced many of the director's signature films, from *The Seventh Seal* (*Det sjunde inseglet*, 1957) to *Shame* (*Shammen*, 1968), as did Liv Ullmann's appearance in *Persona* (1966), *Cries and Whispers* (*Viskningar och rop*, 1972), and *Face to Face* (*Ansikte mot ansikte*, 1976), as well as three Bergman films opposite von Sydow. When some of this company, especially Ullmann and von Sydow, became internationally known, they may have "graduated" from Bergman—von Sydow, for instance, last worked with him in 1971—but they owed much of their training and screen image to him.

Mike Leigh is a somewhat similar case; as an independent European artisan making small-scale films, Leigh has a unique relationship with his cast. He finds players for his characters, researches and improvises with them for an extended period, then goes off and writes the script, which the cast returns to perform. A number of actors, including Lesley Manville (b. 1956), Jim Broadbent (b. 1949), and Timothy Spall (b. 1957), first made their names in Leigh's films, then became in demand in the industry. Thus, while the names of Broadbent and Spall are generally connected to Leigh, they have each made only three films with him, and one of Broadbent's appearances, in *Vera Drake* (2004), was a cameo.

This leads to an essential point about stock companies. Many actors and directors closely associated with each other in the minds of filmgoers actually worked together on just a handful of films. Commercial filmmaking, with its myriad schedule conflicts, makes stock companies difficult to keep together; directors often find that a favorite actor is not available, even if he or she wants to be, "unavailability" being in general one of the most common reasons that one actor is cast and not another. Moreover, an actor's work with a given director often takes place during a limited period. For instance, Shelley Duvall (b. 1949) is among the actors most associated with Robert Altman, but their six-film collaboration ended in 1980. Ford is also interesting in this respect. John Carradine (1906–1988) appeared in iconic roles in eight Ford films. However, after *The Grapes of Wrath* (1940), Carradine and Ford did not work together for eighteen years; Carradine was then cast in *The Last Hurrah* (1958), *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance* (1962), and *Cheyenne Autumn* (1964). Ford, at the end of his career, recalled actors from his heyday, like Carradine, Andy Devine (1905–1977), and Olive Carey (1896–1988), wishing to include them in nostalgic but bitter films that revised his earlier, more upbeat renditions of American myths.

Often the aura of a director lingers with certain actors; they trail their associations with him into other projects. This is true of many of the actors who worked with Ford, as well as Martin Scorsese (b. 1942) veterans like Robert De Niro (b. 1943), Harvey Keitel (b. 1939), Joe Pesci (b. 1943), and Lorraine Bracco (b. 1955), and also of Spike Lee cast members such as Giancarlo Esposito (b. 1958), Roger Guenveur Smith (b. 1959), and Bill Nunn (b. 1953). Sometimes the associations amount to a form of typecasting. Michael Murphy (b. 1938) began his career playing weak, insincere organization men in Robert Altman films like *McCabe and Mrs. Miller* (1971) and *Nashville* (1975), then went on to play similar roles for other directors. Thus Murphy was ripe for a reunion with Altman, which occurred with the cinema-verité style TV miniseries *Tanner '88* (1988), with Murphy perfectly cast as a struggling presidential candidate.

Members of a director's "stock company," then, carry that director's work with them throughout their careers and are more often than not remembered as having done their best work under the director's auspices. John Wayne was often little more than a self-parody away from his mentor, John Ford. De Niro's many films

away from Scorsese have been largely undistinguished. Other close actor-director partnerships have included Johnny Depp (b. 1963) and Tim Burton (b. 1958), Toshiro Mifune (1920–1997) and Akira Kurosawa (1910–1998), Marcello Mastroianni (1924–1996) and Federico Fellini (1920–1993), Jean-Pierre Leaud (b. 1944) and François Truffaut (1932–1984), and one of the few in which the director floundered without the actor: Marlene Dietrich and Josef von Sternberg (1894–1969).

OFF-CASTING AND MISCASTING

One of the responses to the relative freedom brought about by the end of the studio system was an increase in the frequency of "off-casting" or "casting against type." As studio contracts expired and were not renewed, stars found themselves free to play a broader range of roles. Many of the roles taken by Humphrey Bogart (1899–1957) and James Stewart after 1949 typify successful off-casting. Bogart, whose tough cynicism was transformed into heroism in the films of his Warner Bros. star years, was drawn to roles like the grizzled sot in *The African Queen* (1951), a part originally intended for Charles Laughton (1899–1962); the urbane screenwriter with uncontrollable violent tendencies in *In a Lonely Place* (1950); and the paranoid Captain Queeg in *The Caine Mutiny* (1954). For James Stewart, playing driven, neurotic, possibly disturbed loners in the films of director Anthony Mann (1907–1967), such as *The Naked Spur* (1953) and *The Man from Laramie* (1955), moved the fortyish actor away from his "boyish" image and helped him deepen his emotional range. This change readied Stewart for the great roles Alfred Hitchcock (1899–1980) would offer him in *Rear Window* (1954) and *Vertigo* (1958).

For women as well, freedom from studio contracts meant new opportunities, but these were often traps, or perhaps respites from the traps in which actresses were usually caught. Susan Hayward escaped the insipid love interests she played in her Twentieth Century Fox contract movies (*David and Bathsheba*, 1951; *Demetrius and the Gladiators*, 1954), taking challenging and realistic roles in biopics like *I'll Cry Tomorrow* (1955) and *I Want to Live!*. Doris Day (b. 1924), severely typecast at Warner Bros. as the girl next door in nostalgic musicals, in her first role as a freelancer, played Ruth Etting (1897–1978) in the melodramatic musical biopic, *Love Me or Leave Me* (1955). The film brought her acclaim, but also letters from fans deeply offended at seeing Day as an alcoholic trapped in an abusive marriage; she never accepted such a role again. Less surprisingly, when wholesome actresses like Donna Reed (1922–1986) and Shirley Jones (b. 1934) played prostitutes, they won Oscars®. These did not keep Reed and Jones from receding later into TV sitcoms (*The Donna Reed Show*, 1958–1966, and *The Partridge Family*, 1970–1974), where their sunny personas were permanently etched.

Moreover, the rise of Method acting, as seen especially in the wide and lasting influence of Marlon Brando (1924–2004), encouraged versatility in acting and the assumption that a good actor should be able to play anything. This led to more adventurous casting but also to a good deal of miscasting; even Brando was capable of appearing ridiculous in the wrong role, as in *Desirée* (1954), in which he played a bored-looking Napoleon, and *The Teahouse of the August Moon* (1956), in which he impersonated a Japanese interpreter.

Off-casting works when it illuminates character by revealing aspects of an actor's talent that had been previously undiscovered, as Hitchcock knew when he cast boys-next-door Robert Walker (1918–1951) and Anthony Perkins (1932–1992) in *Strangers on a Train* (1951) and *Psycho* (1960), respectively. Perkins's case provides a cautionary tale, however, about how good off-casting can turn into typecasting if producers thereafter are unable to picture the actor in any other kind of role. Conversely, actors typecast as heavies have turned their careers around by playing a nice character or two. Ernest Borgnine (b. 1917) was known for brutal bullies in *From Here to Eternity* (1953) and *Bad Day at Black Rock* (1955) when he took the role of Marty Piletti, the good-hearted lonely butcher in *Marty* (1955). Borgnine projected ordinary humanity and decency and won the Academy Award® for Best Actor. This was off-casting that played as perfect casting.

The line between off-casting and miscasting can be thin. Gregory Peck (1916–2003) was so convincing playing earnest heroes of high moral rectitude that no one, including Peck, seemed to realize that he did not have the range to play much else. His attempts at ferocious characters like Captain Ahab in *Moby Dick* (1956) and evil villains like the Nazi doctor Josef Mengele in *The Boys from Brazil* (1978) are infamous embarrassments. These are cases in which the actor miscast himself, and the producer, the director, the studio, and Peck's fellow actors went along, hoping the gamble would work. Like other miscast calamities—from Oprah Winfrey (b. 1954) in *Beloved* (1998), whose rusty acting skills were not up to the demands of a very difficult role, to a fifty-year-old Roberto Benigni (b. 1952) as *Pinocchio* (2001)—these were the follies of a well-meaning, powerful star to whom no one wanted to say no.

Broadly speaking, most miscasting has occurred when a major star has been put in a role for which he or she is clearly unsuited in order to increase the film's box-office appeal. There is virtually a miscasting hall of

fame: John Wayne as Genghis Khan in *The Conquerer* (1956), Elizabeth Taylor (b. 1932) in *Cleopatra* (1963), Cybill Shepherd (b. 1950) in *Daisy Miller* (1974), Demi Moore (b. 1962) as Hester Prynne in *The Scarlet Letter* (1995), Tom Cruise (b. 1962) in *Interview with the Vampire* (1994), Anthony Hopkins (b. 1937) and Nicole Kidman (b. 1967) in *The Human Stain* (2003). As these examples indicate, literary adaptations and historical films are the most difficult to cast because critics and audiences bring a preconceived concept of the characters, one that can clash with the personae of well-known actors.

ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES TO CASTING

The most basic alternative to conventional casting is to use nonprofessionals. Some directors believe that only through untrained faces can social reality and human truth be captured on film. The Italian neorealist films of directors such as Vittorio De Sica (1901–1974) and Roberto Rossellini (1906–1977) are the best-known exemplars of this type of casting. Such approaches did not begin with neorealism, however. Soviet directors of the 1920s, such as Sergei Eisenstein (1898–1948) and Vsevolod Pudovkin (1893–1953), cast their films' collective protagonists along the principle of typage, a way of casting "faces in the crowd." Not quite stereotyping, typage is the depiction of sailors, officers, or factory workers in summary images that evoke every sailor or worker. The Soviet filmmakers wanted players who could perform actions simply and artlessly and would thus serve their functions as "cells" in the cinematic "organism."

This use of the actor as formalist material differs markedly from the humanism of a director like De Sica, a film actor himself, who thought that nonprofessionals could better convey a realism that would move audiences. De Sica and Rossellini, as had the Soviets, discovered their casts by announcing open casting calls, which drew members of the public to audition. They also instructed assistants to keep their eyes open for people who might have a look that the filmmakers were seeking. Interestingly, the casting of children in American movies today is done through a similar combination of open calls and happenstance. When casting children for major roles, Debra Zane says, "you have to do searches, you're looking at as many six-year-olds as you can find, and then you see a child in the mall and you ask the mom, 'Can I talk to you for a moment?'" (Gillespie, *Casting Qs*, p. 371).

Another kind of casting that employs nonprofessionals is the "acting as modeling" favored by Robert Bresson (1901–1999). Like other directors who prefer to use non-actors, Bresson sought to eliminate learned, practiced expressions and gestures. However, Bresson saw acting itself as belonging to the theater, not film. For such films as *Un condamné à mort éschappé* (*A Man Escaped*, 1956), *Pickpocket* (1959), and *Une femme douce* (*A Gentle Woman*, 1969), Bresson's models were trained to be themselves while saying words they have memorized by repetition, like automatons (another term Bresson often used), rather than learned by internalization, as an actor would do. Therefore the spectator projects emotion onto the models based on their words and actions, rather than sharing an emotion that the actor projects. Bresson's models were often brought to him by friends who believed the potential models had the presence and personality that the director would then paint onto film with his camera. This is not to say that anyone could be in a Bresson film. Indeed, most of his characters are young and attractive, but Bresson looked for a quality that the camera will pick up, rather than qualities that an actor can create for the camera to photograph.

SEE ALSO *Acting; Agents and Agencies; Production Process; Stars; Star System; Studio System*

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CENSORSHIP

Among the most debated aspects of film culture are issues of censorship and control. Many controversial films have been cut or banned by censorship bodies or local or state authorities. Yet it would be wrong to see film censorship as largely the removal and prohibition of whole movies or specific images. Film censors tend to see themselves as classifiers, administering certificates that aim to control the type of audience that sees a particular movie. If they lack such a certificate, some films' reception is restricted; studios or distributors can also act to prohibit a film by withdrawing it from circulation for contractual, legal, or political reasons. The controlling of the film image is most noticeable after production, but a significant amount of the regulation occurs during production moreover in the preproduction stages. In the classical period of film production (between the 1930s and the 1960s), films were often censored during the script stage, with studios removing content that could potentially run afoul of the censors. Studios were keen to comply with censors to avoid the expense of making cuts as well as delays in the film's release.

It is not just the content of film that is regulated, with all areas of film culture coming under scrutiny. This ranges from the granting of an exhibition license to permitted modes of promotion, publicity, and merchandising (the content and nature of posters and trailers and the suitability of associated toys). The pervasiveness of film culture also means that movies are more than just cinema screenings; the censorship and regulation of film is present in other areas of exhibition, where a particular production can experience an alternative reception. For instance, a film may be cut for language or scenes of an unsuitable nature when it is shown as in-flight entertainment, made available for DVD home rental, or broadcast later on television. In the United Kingdom, editing swear words for television is known as "funstering," allegedly after British television's first screening of *Lethal Weapon* (1987), when "Let's get the fuckers!" was replaced with "Let's get the funsters!" In terms of film content, though, the more common concerns are screen violence, sex, and sex crime.

AMERICAN FILM CENSORSHIP

A system of film censorship existed in the United States as early as 1907, when it was introduced in Chicago under pressure from social reformers. The rapid emergence of the nickelodeons gave rise to concerns not only about the fire hazards within them, but also the content of films being viewed by unaccompanied children in these darkened venues. In Chicago an ordinance decreed that all films within the city had to be screened first to the police for approval. Similar concerns existed wherever the nickelodeons emerged and, in New York one proprietor was arrested for projecting a film to children that showed a Chinese opium den. On Christmas Eve in 1908, the New York City police commissioner, as part of his tough stance on nickelodeons, revoked the licenses of 550 such film venues, requiring them to apply for a new entertainment license. The film industry, then based in New York, funded a Board of Censorship for the city in March 1909. As more states adopted a practice of film censorship, the US film industry formed its own national regulatory body, the National Association of the Motion Picture Industry, in 1916. This failed to satisfactorily control the content of film, and in 1921 the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America was

WILL H. HAYS

b. William Harrison Hays, Sullivan, Indiana, 5 November 1879, d. 7 March 1954

Dubbed by *Variety* as the "czar of all the Rushes," William Harrison Hays is best remembered for overseeing the creation of the Production Code that would informally bear his name. However, Hays's responsibilities and influence extended far beyond a censorial arena. His centrality in manufacturing positive public relations for the Hollywood film industry, maintaining political contacts through four presidential administrations, and consolidating control of international distribution channels cannot be overstated.

Following his early career as a church elder and small-town lawyer, Hays gained public prominence as chairman of the Republican National Committee in 1918. Demonstrating a gift for diplomacy and political machinations, he won the public support of several studios for Warren Harding's presidential campaign. In return, Harding appointed him Postmaster General shortly after coming to office in 1921. At this time, studio chiefs were facing a three-pronged threat: an onslaught of criticism in the popular press for their apparent celebration of vice and the scandalous offscreen behavior of their creative personnel, the hearing of pro-censorship bills in thirty-six states, and a looming federal antitrust suit instigated by the Federal Trade Commission. To combat these problems, the studios hired Hays in March 1922 to head a newly created trade organization, the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors Association of America (MPPDA).

Hays's first ambition for the MPPDA was to generate publicity for a "reformed," civically responsible Hollywood. Under Hays, beginning in 1925, the MPPDA's Committee on Public Relations labored intensively to mollify policy makers and shapers of public opinion. Such good relations would help quell the threat of government regulation and at the same time mute small exhibitors' complaints about the "smut" pushed upon them by the industry's block-booking practices. Second, Hays organized a system of voluntary self-regulation to ensure that propriety was maintained in the content of all studio productions. The Motion Picture Production Code was drafted in 1930, but its purpose was not only to regulate screen content; its implementation would also draw attention away from the industry's monopolistic trade practices and prevent lost revenues caused by the arbitrary proscriptions of state censor boards.

Finally, by nurturing local political alliances developed during the Coolidge administration, Hays helped prevent successful antitrust legislation from taking effect for almost twenty years after his appointment to the MPPDA. Indeed, the studios' efforts toward vertical integration were actually sanctioned under President Franklin Roosevelt's National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933 and spared from the Justice Department's investigation throughout World War II. Above all, Hays aimed to ensure that the international market remained open to Hollywood product. In 1926 he successfully lobbied Congress to allow the Departments of State and Commerce to financially support Hollywood exports overseas via a Motion Pictures Division. Through such efforts, American domination of international distribution channels is maintained to this day.

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created, an association fronted by Will Hays, formerly the US Postmaster General. This too failed to establish the desired control, and under pressure from the Roman Catholic Church, the Production Code, a list of guidelines and prohibitions developed from Hays's earlier unsuccessful thirty-six rules, was adopted on 31 March 1930. The code was prepared by a Catholic layman, Martin Quigley, and a Jesuit priest, Father Daniel

Will Hays c. 1934. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

Lord; supervised by Hays, it was referred to as the Hays Code. The Code operated as a guide to film companies as to what was allowed in a film; any film that contained prohibited images or dialogue was denied a Code Seal and was therefore unable to receive distribution or exhibition through the companies that were part of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America (MPPDA).

The years 1930 to 1934, which preceded the Code's effective enforcement, are known as the "pre-Code" period in US cinema. Censorship in this period was markedly lax, with films such as *Frankenstein* (1931), *The Sign of the Cross* (1932), *Blonde Venus* (1932), *Scarface* (1932), *She Done Him Wrong* (1933), and *Baby Face* (1933) pushing the boundaries of permissible film content with stories focused on horror, sex, gangsters, and religion. The Hays Code was ridiculed for its inability to enforce censorship; American Catholics began a crusade against Hollywood in 1933, and the newly formed Catholic Legion of Decency placed films on its own "banned" list. To appease such a powerful body, in July 1934 a tougher Code was applied under the new control of the Production Code Adminstration and its chief, Joseph Breen. Films such as *Blonde Venus* and *Baby Face* were categorized as Class I movies, which meant they were removed immediately from distribution and with the view they would never again be released.

A period of tightly regulated Hollywood production followed, with figures such as Mae West and the cartoon character Betty Boop losing their appeal as their overt sexuality was constrained or erased. Films were still capable of generating controversy: *Scarlet Street* (1945), *The Outlaw* (1943), and *Baby Doll* (1956) were condemned, and in places banned, for their immorality. *Baby Doll*, a story of lust, sexual repression, and seduction scripted by Tennessee Williams, was described in a *Time* magazine review as "the dirtiest American-made motion picture that has ever been legally exhibited." Cinemas exhibiting the film were picketed, while clergymen attempted to record the names of any parishioners who attended screenings. The city of Aurora, Illinois, complained that the film was "scandalous, indecent, immoral, lewd, and obscene," and successfully managed to bar its local exhibition. Clearly, state and municipal authorities were still able to exert their power to censor and prohibit the exhibition of particular films. In 1965 a Supreme Court decision, *Freedman v. The State of Maryland*, declared this practice unconstitutional, and by 1981 state and local film boards had disappeared.

In the 1960s an influx of foreign films with a stronger adult content, and the emergence of a postclassical Hollywood, with a new wave of directors drawn to a more aggressive and "truthful" cinema, rendered the old Code system unusable. The Production Code was dismantled in 1968, and a ratings system was introduced in its place. This system had four classifications ranging from "G" (Suggested for General Audiences) through "X" (Persons Under 16 Not Admitted; the age was increased to 17 in 1972). The "X"-rating was associated predominantly with films of a pornographic nature, and for some there was a stigma attached to receiving the classification. The art film *Henry & June* (1990) became the first film to receive the new "NC-17" rating, designed to distance certain films with explicit sexual content from any associations with pornography. Nevertheless, some "NC-17"–rated films, such as *Kids* (1995) and *Requiem for a Dream* (2000), retained the stigma, with the major video-rental chains, Blockbuster and Hollywood, refusing to carry such titles.

BRITISH FILM CENSORSHIP

Film censorship in the United Kingdom began initially with the aim of controlling flammable nitrate film stock. In 1909 the first Cinematograph Act was passed, giving local authorities the right to license buildings for the screening of film only if they met the required fire-prevention standards. However, the terms of the act were wide open and were very soon interpreted for other purposes. In 1910 the London County Council successfully

The suggestive image of Carroll Baker in* Baby Doll *(Elia Kazan, 1956) caused censorship concerns at the time of the film's release. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

applied the act to restrict the showing of films on Sundays. It was recognized that the act had also enabled local authorities to have legal powers of film censorship. Sensing the difficulties of allowing regional bodies to make their own regulation decisions, fearful of government intervention but also keen to polish its own image as a respectable form of entertainment, the film industry approached the Home Secretary in 1912 with a request to establish an independent and centralized board of censorship. In late 1912 the film industry established the British Board of Film Censors (BBFC, later the British Board of Film Classification) with approval from the Home Office.

The BBFC began viewing films on 1 January 1913 with the declared aim of being "a purely independent and impartial body, whose duty it will be to induce confidence in the minds of licensing authorities and of those who have in their charge the moral welfare of the community generally." The Board had a significant effect on the censorship of films, but it did not change its essential nature. The local authority remained the final court on whether a film should be screened, censored, or banned, even if it had been passed uncut by the BBFC. The local councils largely supported the BBFC's decisions, but there have been notable exceptions such as *Monty Python's Life of Brian* (1979), a film accused of blasphemy by pressure groups but which was classified "AA" (admission prohibited to anyone under 14). It was banned by eleven local authorities, with sixty-two enforcing the classification and twenty-eight reclassifying it "X" (admission prohibited to anyone under 18). In a rare instance, the film *Dawn* (1928), the World War I story of nurse Edith Cavell, was banned by the BBFC at the insistence of the Foreign Office, which did not wish to upset Germany. But, in opposition, it was passed by many local authorities.

From 1913 to 1932 the BBFC published in its annual reports a list of prohibited film content. Not a code, these lists became known after 1916 as O'Connor's rules (after the new BBFC president T. P. O'Connor, who presented a forty-three-point list). Subject to ridicule, the lists were discontinued in 1932, with films later judged on individual merits. In 1929, for instance, the list included the prohibition of "stories tinctured with salacious wit," "sensual exposition of Eugenic doctrines," "women fighting with knives," "libels on the British nursing profession," "provocative and sensuous exposure of girls' legs," and "abdominal contortions in dancing." From its beginning, the BBFC had an advisory two-point certification system—the "U" certificate, which indicated films especially suitable for children, and the "A" certificate, which indicated films generally suitable for public exhibition—and in 1921 these were formally adopted for the first time.

There had been repeated debates concerning an adults-only category, with proposals for an appropriate certificate being made as early as 1921. In response to the increasing number of American horror films, a new category of film classification was created in January 1933. The new "H" (for "Horrific") classification was purely advisory and did not alter the admission procedures that were already in place, still allowing children into the films if accompanied by a parent or bona fide guardian. This "horrific" category mixed horror films with non-horror films, such as Abel Gance's 1938 antiwar movie *J'accuse!* and a 1945 United Nations war crime film. The "H" became a film certificate only in June 1937, when it was made the first adults-only certificate in the United Kingdom (admission prohibited to anyone under 16). In January 1951 the "H" was subsumed into the newly created "X" certificate (admission prohibited to anyone under 16; increased to the age of 18 in 1970; in 1982 replaced by a new "18" certificate). Arthur Watkins, the secretary of the BBFC in 1951, described "X" films as not "merely sordid films dealing with unpleasant subjects but films which, while not being suitable for children, are good adult entertainment." The BBFC currently operates eight film and video classifications—from "Uc" (Universal, but especially suitable for very young children), to "R18" (for screenings in licensed sex cinemas, for sex videos that are available only in licensed sex shops, and to persons aged 18 and over).

PRESSURE GROUPS AND THE MEDIA

Although government and local authorities are most responsible for the regulation of movies, moral protest groups can exert enormous pressure on a film that they have deemed to be against their beliefs. National and local elected officials, television broadcasters, and cinema chains have been targeted by organized campaigners who write letters of complaint or form demonstrations outside specific venues. The many pressure groups who have targeted films have included the religious organization the Festival of Light, which in the United Kingdom argued that *The Devils* (1971) and *The Last Temptation of Christ* (1988) were blasphemous; and family protection groups such as mediawatch-uk (formerly the National Viewers' and Listeners' Association, founded in 1965, and led by Mary Whitehouse), which has campaigned against violent films such as *Baise-moi* (2000). In the United States, the gay rights group Queer Nation (formed in 1990) attacked *Basic Instinct* (1992) as homophobic; feminist groups such as Women Against Violence Against Women assailed *Dressed to Kill* (1980) as misogynistic; and ethnic protest groups have variously picketed against the racial representations of Native Americans in *A Man Called Horse* (1970), Italian Americans in *The Godfather* (1972), Puerto Ricans in *Fort Apache the Bronx* (1981), Cuban Americans in *Scarface* (1983), and Asian Americans in *The Year of Living Dangerously* (1982), *Black Rain* (1989), and *Rising Sun* (1993). The popular press can be the most effective tool in generating a moral campaign against a marked film. Thus pressure groups have taken out full-page newspaper ads condemning a production. For instance, the Catholic League advertised in the *New York Times* against Disney and Miramax for distributing *Priest* (1994), a film it considered blasphemous for its depiction of sexual acts among members of the clergy.

In the United Kingdom the British press was central to debates surrounding the cinema release of *Crash* (1996), which *The Standard* and its reviewer, Alexander Walker, pronounced as depraved. In the 1980s and 1990s, the main target in the United Kingdom was film on video, reflecting the concern that the age of the viewer within the home cannot be controlled (nor the power of the viewer to replay or pause an image). Originally, certification did not apply to video in the United Kingdom, with no age-related limitations. In the initial boom of the video age, from 1979 to 1982, many controversial films slipped out on release with sensational covers exploiting content in order to attract consumers among a mass of video shop choices. It was the covers for videos such as *Lager SSadis Kastrat Kommandantur* (*SS Experiment Camp*, 1976) and *Cannibal Holocaust* (1980) that drew attention to these films. This developed into a moral panic orchestrated by the press and newspapers such as the *Daily Mail*, with its "Ban the Sadist Videos" campaign; in response, the Director of Public Prosecutions drew up a list of sixty actionable titles, of which thirty-two were to become banned films, including the notorious titles—so-called "video nasties"—*I Spit on*

Peter Watkins's* The War Game *(1965) was banned by a nervous BBC because of its believable depiction of a nuclear attack on Great Britain. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Your Grave (also known as *Day of the Woman*, 1978), *The Driller Killer* (1979), and *The Evil Dead* (1981).

In 1982 a series of prosecutions took place against five films that had been charged under the Obscene Publications Act, with police seizing all tape copies. With the press fueling the moral panic by publishing stories of supposed criminal and delinquent behavior directly linked to the content of "video nasties," a new government bill was introduced, the Video Recordings Act (VRA) of 1984, which implemented video classification under the control of the BBFC. The number of examiners at the BBFC rapidly increased from four to fifty to address the quantity of videos that needed classifying. In 1994 the Criminal Justice Act extended the terms of the VRA, with an emphasis on the effect horrific videos may have on children. The act had been influenced by a section of British politicians, supported by the group Movement for Christian Democracy, that viewed the death of a two-year-old child, James Bulger, at the hands of two ten-year-old children, as the result of exposure to video violence. The film at the center of this panic, *Child's Play 3* (1991), became the scapegoat in a media witchhunt that lead to *The Sun* newspaper famously carrying a full front-page image of charred tape copies of the movie within the headline "For the sake of ALL our kids...BURN YOUR VIDEO NASTY."

EXHIBITION AND DISTRIBUTION

Central to decisions on the regulation and censorship of film are questions of audience suitability and maturity. Domestic reception of film has raised concerns over unregulated consumption, with video and television versions of films receiving greater censorship. But in one famous case, a film that had been made specifically for British television, Peter Watkins's *The War Game* (1965), was banned from being shown on the BBC following government intervention. Made to mark the twentieth anniversary of the dropping of the bomb on Hiroshima, this drama-documentary depicting the horrors of a nuclear attack on Britain was withdrawn, as the

government said it contained "inaccuracies." The struggle to have this important political film seen by the public began with a limited theatrical release at London's National Film Theatre in 1966. With an "X" certificate and cinema chains refusing to exhibit the film, its national release was mainly through church and community halls, where it was booked as an educational screening by groups opposed to nuclear weapons such as CND and the Quakers. Despite *The War Game*'s winning of an Academy Award® for Best Documentary in 1967, the BBC refused to lift its ban on the film until 1985.

Historically, the BBFC had refused to classify political films, waiting until 1954 to grant an "X" certificate to Sergei Eisenstein's 1925 film, *Bronenosets Potyomkin* (*Battleship Potemkin*). It had banned the film in 1926 famously declaring that cinema "is no place for politics." The recently introduced "X" certificate was designed to allow many of the foreign films of directors such as Akira Kurosawa, Ingmar Bergman, and Michelangelo Antonioni to be passed uncut. The censor was now prepared to view this new world cinema as art cinema, to take into account the film's artistic intentions and the maturity of its probable audience. The view of the BBFC was that a foreign film shown only in art cinemas and by a smaller audience was "less likely to produce criticism." Such a view allowed Vittorio De Sica's *La Ciociara* (*Two Women*, 1960), with its depiction of a double rape, to be passed uncut, though when the film went on general release and was shown to a wider audience, the scene was removed.

As an extreme example of controlled distribution, Stanley Kubrick's *A Clockwork Orange* (1971)—a film that had been banned in the Canadian provinces of Alberta and Nova Scotia, among other places—had been passed uncut by the BBFC but was unavailable for screening or broadcast in the United Kingdom for more than twenty-five years, after Kubrick requested that Warner Bros. withdraw all prints from circulation. British newspapers had begun reporting cases of copycat acts of violence, in which juveniles were apparently inspired by the content of the film; it was rumoured that Kubrick began receiving death threats, and in 1973 the film was withdrawn. Its removal was heavily enforced by lawyers, which resulted in the successful prosecution of the Scala, a cinema that dared to present a screening in 1992, and an injunction (later lifted) on British television's Channel 4 to prevent it from showing twelve extracts from the film in 1993. The film was released again in the United Kingdom only following Kubrick's death in 1999.

The cult that grew around *A Clockwork Orange* made the poster for the film an iconic image. Other posters and advertising material for films have been denied exposure, and though replacement images are found, the cultural impact of the movie is adjusted. In the United Kingdom, one of the most powerful poster-regulating authorities is London Transport, which owns the advertising sites on the underground and key billboards on its aboveground properties. In 1959 it banned a poster for a double bill of *The Alligator People* and *Return of the Fly*, for fear that it would frighten children who would be in central London in large numbers for Christmas shopping; in 1989 it removed part of a poster for Peter Jackson's film *Bad Taste*, which featured an alien with its middle finger raised, that was deemed offensive; and in 1994 it filled in a gap in the split skirt of Demi Moore displayed in the advertising for *Disclosure*, which it considered erotically charged.

SEX AND VIOLENCE

The sensational and exploitable elements of sex and violence have created the biggest debates in film censorship. Under the new "X" rating in the United States, a wave of 1970s "porno chic" or "middle-class porn" appeared on movie screens, exploiting the commercial possibilities of an adults-only rating. In films such as *Deep Throat* (1972) and *The Devil in Miss Jones* (1973), explicit, nonsimulated, penetrative sex was presented as part of a reasonable plot and with respectable production values. Some state authorities issued injunctions against such films to protect "local community standards"; in New York the print of *Deep Throat* was seized mid-run, and the film's exhibitors were found guilty of promoting obscenity. *Caligula* (1979), financed by *Penthouse* magazine, was one of the few of these films to make it to the United Kingdom but only after heavy cuts and initial seizure by British customs. In New Zealand *Deep Throat* was eventually passed in 1986, yet it remains to be shown; only one cinema tried to organize a screening but was thwarted by the city council that owned the building's lease. Such is the tight regulation of sex in the cinema that its history has been one of a series of certificated firsts. In the United Kingdom this has included the first film to show pubic hair (Antonioni's *Blowup*, 1966), the first film to depict full frontal nudity (the Swedish production *Puss Misterije organizma* [*W.R.—Mysteries of the Organism*], 1971), and the first theatrically distributed film to depict the act of fellatio (*Intimacy*, 2001). Definitions of sexual explicitness vary widely across national cinemas, with *Belle époque* (1992) and *The Piano* (1993) banned in the Philippines.

Sex crime has generated particular concern. In 1976 the BBFC claimed that, in that year, it had viewed fifty-eight films depicting "explicit rape," declaring scenes that glorified it as "obscene." As opposed to questions of

"indecency," which have been applied to sexual explicitness, films charged with being obscene have been viewed as having "a tendency to deprave and corrupt" and been liable to prosecution. The art-sex film *Ultimo tango a Parigi* (*Last Tango in Paris*, 1972), with its acts of sodomy and degradation, is one of the most notorious films to depict sexual violence. The film was banned by several UK and US local authorities. The film was also banned in Portugal (from 1972 to 1973) and in Italy (from 1972 to 1987), with federal authorities there filing five separate charges against named participants in the production, including lead actors Marlon Brando and Maria Schneider.

An explicit rape is part of the extreme horrors of *The Evil Dead*, with a woman assaulted by trees in a possessed forest. This scene was originally left uncut by the British censor but later removed: the chief censor, James Ferman, said "initially we did not think anybody would identify with a tree." In Germany the film was originally banned for having violated the "dignity of humankind." It was not until 1992 that the decision was overturned, with the German High Court ruling that the zombies in the film were not human and therefore their dignity had not been violated. Key guidelines exist within film censorship regarding screen violence. In the United Kingdom the censor is most concerned with what is known as the process shot, the point at which the weapon makes contact with the victim's body. The shots prior to this, showing the wielding of the weapon, are known as the "occasion"; the shots that follow, depicting the effect of the action, are known as the "price." The employment of "everyday implements" in violence is a concern, with the slasher film *The Burning* (1981) first receiving cuts for its explicit process shots and then later banned on video for its scenes of mutilation and harm using garden shears. Censors are also concerned by "overkill," or the repeated use of a weapon on a victim, and by its being tugged or twisted. There is also the issue of "personalized violence": in a film such as *Cliffhanger* (1993), attacks on Sylvester Stallone's character were subject to more cuts because of the audience's assumed empathy with the lead actor.

SEE ALSO *Horror Films; Pornography; Religion; Sexuality; Spectatorship and Audiences; Violence*

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Ian Conrich

CHARACTER ACTORS

In the casting hierarchy of most films leading men and leading ladies are at the top, followed by actors who populate the cast by colorfully but realistically embodying a range of characters. In films and television virtually all actors below the rank of star and above bit players are supporting actors, although not necessarily all are character actors. The term is ambiguous: to many it is an honor to be called a character actor, as it suggests fully developed skills that enable the actor to play almost any part within limits. It also suggests experience and seasoning, often on stage, film, and television, as in the phrase, "veteran character actor." But to others, it seems a slight, a designation of subordinate rank.

Moreover, the terms "character actor" and "supporting actor" are often confused with each other, although there are clear distinctions between them. A supporting actor plays a role subsidiary to the leads in terms of narrative centrality and screen time. Throughout film history many actors being groomed for stardom, or those who just miss out on the star rank, have played supporting parts, including Macdonald Carey (1913–1994) in *Shadow of a Doubt* (1943); Teresa Wright (1918–2005) in *Mrs. Miniver* (1942) and *Best Years of Our Lives* (1946); Gig Young (1913–1978) in *Teacher's Pet* (1958); Tony Randall (1920–2004) in *Pillow Talk* (1959); Colin Farrell (b. 1976) in *Minority Report* (2002); Alec Baldwin (b. 1958) in *Pearl Harbor* (2001) and *The Aviator* (2004). These are lead types in supporting roles. Yet within some films there is no question that the actors are character actors—Thelma Ritter (1905–1969) in *Pillow Talk*, and Patricia Collinge (1892–1974), Henry Travers (1874–1965), Hume Cronyn (1911–2003), and Wallace Ford (1898–1966) in *Shadow of a Doubt*. The actors are marked by the eccentricity of their appearances and voices and by the fact that compared to those in the first list they have played a wide range of characters in a great many films. The character actor usually possesses ordinary, though distinctive, looks and is marked by the ability to transform into such a variety of characters that the character in each film, not the actor (or the actor's own personality), predominates. This is why audiences often recognize character actors without being able to name them, a "problem" that Tony Randall probably never had. However, the film industry does need star character actors for lead roles in some films, such as Lon Chaney (1883–1930) or Charles Laughton (1899–1962) as Quasimodo in *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* (1923, 1939), David Strathairn (b. 1949) as Edward R. Murrow in *Good Night, and Good Luck* (2005), or Philip Seymour Hoffman (b. 1967) as Truman Capote in *Capote* (2005). The 2005 Academy Awards® played out a full role reversal, with George Clooney (b. 1961), a classic leading man type, winning Supporting Actor (for *Syriana*, 2005), and Philip Seymour Hoffman, a prototypical character actor, generally in supporting roles, winning Best Actor, for *Capote*.

THE CLASSICAL STUDIO ERA

The star system that developed in the early decades of the film industry prized certain highly photogenic men and women of great physical beauty and charisma. Yet early on, the public also took to its heart actors who were not so much personalities as chameleons capable of creating a range of characters. In the 1920s, Lon Chaney, "The Man with the Thousand Faces," intrigued audiences just as much as Greta Garbo or Rudolph Valentino. The

public also embraced actors who looked like people they might know in life, especially after the coming of sound brought scores of stage actors before the cameras and a more realistic aesthetic to the cinema. The top box-office star for two years in the early 1930s was Marie Dressler (1868–1934), an earthy and homely actress in her sixties. Also during the early talkie era, when acting experience seemed briefly to matter more than looks, the Academy Awards® for Best Actor went to the elderly thespian George Arliss (1868–1946) and to such expressive but physically ungainly talents as Wallace Beery (1885–1949) and Charles Laughton. Even the matinee idol Fredric March (1897–1975) tied with Beery for the 1931–1932 Best Actor award by playing leading man *and* character actor in a single film: *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*.

Therefore, when journalistic accounts of the late 1960s and early 1970s tried to describe such unglamorous lead actors as Dustin Hoffman (b. 1937), Gene Hackman (b. 1930), and Al Pacino (b. 1940) as examples of the "character actor as star," the idea was not new. Yet it always seems exceptional, especially after several decades of the studio system when glamorous stars were backed up by platoons of ordinary looking but prodigiously talented actors and actresses. Comparing the making of a film to the building of a table, director Frank Capra (1897–1991) said, "On the top of my table, which is bright and shiny, I have these lovely dolls that are my leading actors and actresses. But it is not a table until I put legs under it, and those are my character people. That's what holds my picture up" (Davis, *The Glamour Factory*, pp. 122–123).

During the studio era, the appearance of certain character actors was as much a mark of high-quality moviemaking as lavish production values or prestigious story properties. Some character players were as identified with a single studio as the stars were. Peter Lorre (1904–1964) or Sidney Greenstreet (1879–1954), inevitably meant that the movie they were in was from Warner Bros.; the appearance (except when they were loaned out) of Jane Darwell (1879–1967), Celeste Holm (b. 1919), or Charles Coburn (1877–1961) meant Twentieth Century Fox; Frank Morgan (1890–1949) or Louis Calhern (1895–1956) signaled an MGM picture. Others showed up in the films of any number of production companies in a single year. These were the actors like Porter Hall (1888–1953), Beulah Bondi (1888–1981), Gene Lockhart (1891–1957), and Henry Travers (1874–1965) who appeared in film after film in the studio period but were not tied to a particular studio. Other national cinemas had essential "character people" as well. The French films of the 1930s are as unimaginable without such stalwarts as Jules Berry (1883–1951) or Marcel Dalio (1900–1983) (who later worked extensively in Hollywood) as American films would be without Eve Arden (1908–1990) or Edward Everett Horton (1886–1970).

Examples of the value of character actors are legion. In 1939, when Hollywood produced an unparalleled number of classic films, half of them seemed to feature Thomas Mitchell (1892–1962), who played prominent roles that year in *Stagecoach*, *Gone with the Wind*, *Only Angels Have Wings*, *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington*, and *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*. Despite his seemingly ubiquitous presence in films throughout the 1930s and 1940s, Mitchell, like other Hollywood character actors, returned periodically to the stage; in the 1950s he also became a fixture of TV drama anthology programs, live or filmed, leading the parade of actors below the star-level who streamed from the fading movie studios to the opportunities offered by the new medium.

As an example of the importance of character actors to the texture, rhythm, and drama of a film, consider *High Noon* (1952), a movie made in the first days of independent production in the early 1950s but with a cast seasoned in the studios. Known for its elegance of design, this suspenseful western told in real time won a Best Actor Oscar® for Gary Cooper as Marshal Will Kane, and also offered opportunities for a range of character actors to show their stuff. These included not only Thomas Mitchell and other familiar faces such as Otto Kruger (1885–1974), Lon Chaney Jr. (1906–1973), and Harry Morgan (b. 1915), but young actors Lloyd Bridges (1913–1998) and Lee Van Cleef (1925–1989), who had been stuck in B movies; the Mexican-born actress Katy Jurado (1924–2002), typed in ethnic parts; a then-ingenue, Grace Kelly (1929–1982); and a young Jack Elam (1918–2003), who would put in a memorable turn years later in a *High Noon* pastiche, *C'era una volta il West* (*Once Upon a Time in the West*, 1968). The compulsory narrative economy that the film calls attention to by its very structure requires each of the actors to establish character briskly.

The ensemble of *High Noon* does what the casts of all films do, except that the limited place and time setting—a small frontier town between 10:32 and 12:00 on a Sunday morning in the early 1890s—throws the ensemble *as* an ensemble into unusually vivid relief. The way the characters, one by one, refuse the marshal's request for help turns the spotlight onto even the smallest speaking part. By a slight swagger, Lloyd Bridges establishes his character as brash, ambitious, and essentially selfish—"too young," as Kane tells him. Jurado needs to convey strength and intelligence, and she manages to do so, while not entirely succeeding in throwing off the "hot-blooded Latina" stereotype the film imposes upon her. In a scene in which she curtly and abruptly dismisses Harvey (Bridges), her current lover, she has to turn

Character actors Thomas Mitchell (right), along with John Carradine (left) and the appositely named Donald Meek (center) in* Stageocach *(John Ford, 1939). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

convincingly from mocking but affectionate laughter and humor to anger and indignation. A movie in which most of the characters except the hero and heroine become unsympathetic, *High Noon* creates a number of types familiar from westerns, and then works against their usual meanings. Costuming and makeup have a great deal to do with the performances. The saloon-keeper (Lucien Prival, 1900–1994), for instance, is typed as a dude, with slicked-back hair, a moustache, white shirt and bowtie, and a corset pulled over his bicep. This complements the character, who is written as a smooth, complacent loudmouth.

Authoritative actors like Kruger and Mitchell, as the judge and the mayor, respectively, play their accustomed roles, only in a place where authority is being abandoned, replaced by expediency and complacency. Mitchell, who frequently played bloviating orators and other long-winded types, is in the background through most of the film, but emerges at the climax of the long church scene to give a lengthy, prevaricating speech. The mayor's address starts out seemingly in support of the marshal but ends up naming Kane as the cause of the impending trouble. He urges Kane to flee in the hopes that if the killers do not find their target, they will quietly leave town. Mitchell speaks in a steady, practiced and confident rhythm and cadence that belies the mayor's cowardly, head-in-the-sand attitude. Moreover, Mitchell's speech enhances Gary Cooper's performance and increases the audience's identification with the character Cooper plays. Kane is waiting for his friend the mayor to begin urging the men to join him in confronting the threat to their town; reaction shots to Cooper emphasize his dismay at the failure of people he trusts to do what he, Kane, sees as obviously right. When Mitchell gets to the payoff of his speech, he intones the lines, "You better get out of town, Will,

ED HARRIS

b. Tenafly, New Jersey, 28 November 1950

Prominent American character actor, a frequent presence in films of the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s, Ed Harris is a slight, wiry fair-haired man with liquid grey eyes and a resonant baritone voice. He may be as well-known to moviegoers as the biggest stars, occasionally playing leads but usually taking well-chosen supporting parts. In many of his films Harris has but a handful of scenes, yet his character is the one viewers often remember.

Harris is a chameleon, convincing as a Nazi assassin in one film (*Enemy at the Gates*, 2001), a comically befuddled military base commander in another (*Buffalo Soldiers*, 2001), a hard-nosed CIA-type in a third (*A Beautiful Mind*, 2001), a kindly small town football coach in a fourth (*Radio*, 2003). However, he rarely alters his physical appearance, seldom covering his bald head with any kind of hairpiece except when he has to resemble an actual person (as, for example, head of NASA Mission Control Gene Kranz in *Apollo 13*, 1995). And while he may have become identified with authoritarian roles of a military and/or national security bent, he is equally convincing playing the rowdy husband of country singer Patsy Cline (*Sweet Dreams*, 1985), a poet dying of AIDS (*The Hours*, 2002), or one of the predatory salesmen in *Glengarry Glen Ross*, 1992). He is reminiscent of the best character actors of the Hollywood classical era. Like Thomas Mitchell, Claude Rains, and Arthur Kennedy, he can create a character who is villainous or sympathetic, authoritative or pitiful, seemingly by making a few slight adjustments to his gaze, posture, walk, and diction.

Harris studied theater at the University of Oklahoma and began his professional career in commercials and TV series guest spots before being cast in *Knightriders* (1981) and *Creepshow* (1982) by horror cult film director George Romero. Harris's breakthrough came in *The Right Stuff* (1983), in which he gave a spot-on portrayal of astronaut John Glenn, imbuing him with a touch of messianic self-delusion. Also in 1983, he made his New York stage debut in Sam Shepard's *Fool for Love*, for which he won an Obie.

Harris has received four Academy Award® nominations as of 2004, three of them for Best Supporting Actor. His career peak to date came in 2000 when he portrayed the painter Jackson Pollock in a dream project that also marked his directorial debut and brought him an Academy Award® nomination for Best Actor. As with many male character actors, advancing age has been good to Harris, with wrinkles and lines enhancing his aura of authority, and increased gravel in his already rich voice intensifying the sense of life experience.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

The Right Stuff (1983), *Under Fire* (1983), *Walker* (1987), *The Abyss* (1989), *State of Grace* (1990), *Glengarry Glen Ross* (1992), *Apollo 13* (1995), *Nixon* (1995), *The Truman Show* (1998), *Pollock* (2000), *A Beautiful Mind* (2001), *Radio* (2003), *A History of Violence* (2005)

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Dennis Bingham

while there's still time," with a "we care about you" empathy that proves false when he reaches the end: "It's better for you"—pause—"and it's better for us," the hardness and quickness of his delivery of the last line leaving no doubt as to the betrayal it signifies.

Mitchell usually played weary authority figures, flawed and alcoholic, like Doc Boone in *Stagecoach* or Diz, the hard-bitten newspaperman in *Mr. Smith*, or beloved and benign like Pa O'Hara in *Gone with the Wind* or the ineffectual Uncle Billy in *It's a Wonderful Life* (1946). While Mitchell could also infuse competent, efficient functionaries like Tumulty, Wilson's political aide and White House Chief of Staff in *Wilson* (1944), Darryl Zanuck's gargantuan biopic of Woodrow Wilson, with an air of blarney and drunken Irish charm, a stereotype was never far from any of Mitchell's portrayals. Like most character actors of his era, Mitchell played types, but in a system that counted on actors to invest their

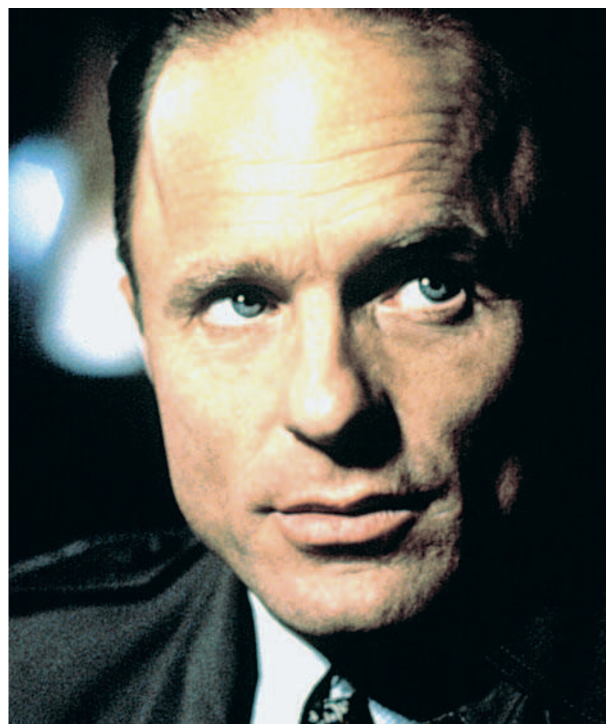
types with individuality and humanity, making them into differentiated characters.

CONTEMPORARY HOLLYWOOD

Although character actors as a group are associated with the studio period, they are also valued in the New Hollywood. In the more naturalistic context of film acting since the 1960s, the ordinariness of character actors is their stock in trade, belying though it does their idiosyncrasy and frequently their range. In one evening at the movies in September 1979 Charles Durning (b. 1923) was seen in *Starting Over*, a film then being sneak-previewed; in *North Dallas Forty*, the theater's regular feature; and in the coming-attractions trailer for yet a third movie, *When a Stranger Calls*. Continuing this cyclical, generational theme, in 2002 John C. Reilly (b. 1965), the kind of supporting actor, who, like Mitchell and Durning, is called "dependable" by reviewers, had featured roles in three of the five Academy Award® nominees for Best Picture: *Chicago*, *The Hours*, and *Gangs of New York*. The year before, Jim Broadbent (b. 1951), a "reliable" British character actor, had played key roles alongside three of the Best Actress nominees, Judi Dench (b. 1934) in *Iris*, Nicole Kidman (b. 1967) in *Moulin Rouge*, and Renee Zellweger (b. 1969) in *Bridget Jones's Diary*. After all this fine support, the least the Academy could do was name Broadbent the year's Best Supporting Actor, which it did, for *Iris*. After films made them known, Durning, Reilly, and Broadbent all found on the stage, where each of them started, a fount of lead roles. Furthermore, Durning, a veteran of D-Day who continued to maintain a full work schedule in his eighties, also found television to be a steadier source of meaty roles than the movies, just as Thomas Mitchell had five decades before.

Very occasionally, actors have broken through to lead roles and stardom after years of character parts: examples are Walter Matthau (1920–2000), Lee Marvin (1924–1987), Tommy Lee Jones (b. 1946), Morgan Freeman (b. 1937), and Paul Giamatti (b. 1967). Others, such as Claude Rains (1899–1967), Kathy Bates (b. 1948), Mary Steenburgen (b. 1953), John Heard (b. 1946), Alfre Woodard (b. 1952), Ed Harris (b. 1950), and Jon Voight (b. 1938), receded into character roles after taking a run at stardom. Women, in the gender caste system of Hollywood, are more likely than men to fall from lead roles to character parts after age forty, and are much more likely to find work on television than in films.

Character actors, unlike some stars, are usually equally adept at drama and comedy. The same qualities that make these actors effective as menacing heavies or pathetic victims can render them comic as well. For example, Durning, a skilled farceur, started in films playing tough cops and other gruff professionals in *The Sting* (1973), *The Front Page* (1974), *The Hindenburg* (1975), *Dog Day Afternoon* (1975), and others. A former hoofer, Durning was nominated for Best Supporting Actor, the only nomination accorded the musical comedy *Best Little Whorehouse in Texas* (1982), in which he appeared in a single scene as a prevaricating singing governor in a show-stopping number, "Sidestep." The same year he conveyed ardor, hurt feelings, and embarrassment, all with delicate comic timing, as a would-be suitor to Dustin Hoffman-in-drag in *Tootsie*. Years later he played broad comedy in two Joel and Ethan Coen pastiches, *The Hudsucker Proxy* (1994) and *O Brother, Where Art Thou?* (2000) (as another dancing governor), which pay homage to the breakneck comedies of Capra and Preston Sturges (1898–1959) with their large retinues of character actors (often the same ones shared between them). Short, overweight, with a bulbous nose, Durning was probably born to play W. C. Fields in some never-to-be-made biopic, but will have to settle instead for the anti-Fields, Santa Claus, whom Durning has portrayed five times to date in TV films or movies made for the children's video market, such as *Elmo Saves Christmas* (1996).



Ed Harris in* Glengarry Glen Ross *(James Foley, 1992).
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SEE ALSO *Acting; Casting; Star System; Stars; Studio System; Supporting Actors*

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Dennis Bingham

CHILD ACTORS

Child performers have had important roles in cinema history, from the baby daughter of Auguste Lumière being fed by her pioneering father in an 1895 actuality film to eleven-year-old Haley Joel Osment earning an Oscar® nomination for his dynamic acting in *The Sixth Sense* (1999). Sometimes children are showcased in films that are directed toward child audiences, but their most notable appearances tend to be in films for adults—films that reflect on childhood from an older and wiser view or that explore the relationships between children and adults. Curiously, however, very few child actors are able to maintain their success and visibility as they grow into adulthood, quite possibly because audiences have difficulty accepting child stars' physical and mental changes when they grow into adults themselves. This has resulted in many child actors gaining fame at a young age, only to fade into obscurity as they mature.

EARLY CHILD STARS

Throughout early film history, children were central to some movies, such as the title characters in *Jack and the Beanstalk* (Edwin S. Porter, 1902) and *The Adventures of Dollie* (D.W. Griffith, 1908), and in such parables as *The Land Beyond the Sunset* (1912). Yet as the Hollywood star system developed in the 1910s, many children's roles were filled by established adult actors like Mary Pickford (1892–1979), who played the title role of a ten-year-old in *The Poor Little Rich Girl* (1917) at the age of twenty-four. In 1919, Lillian Gish (1893–1993) played the role of a childlike waif in *Broken Blossoms* (1919) at twenty-three, and her adult co-star in that film, Richard Barthelmess (1895–1963), played the role of a boy in *Tol'able David* (1921) at twenty-six. This convention, which may have been due to Hollywood's grueling work schedule in those days and would have been prohibitive for real children, made the emergence of authentic child stars seem unlikely.

Yet in 1921, an adult performer, Charlie Chaplin (1889–1977), introduced the first actor to become famous in films as a child—Jackie Coogan (1914–1984). Chaplin cast Coogan as a seven-year-old in *The Kid* (1921), a tender story in which Chaplin's popular tramp character adopts an orphaned boy. Coogan's performance was remarkably emotional and assured, quickly earning him further roles in films like *Oliver Twist* (1922), *Daddy* (1923), and *A Boy of Flanders* (1924). His success soon made him the youngest person in history to earn a million dollars, most of which his parents squandered over the course of his youth. Such exploitation of child actors led to the California legislature passing the Coogan Act in 1939, which was intended to protect acting children's assets.

Following Coogan's lead, many child stars emerged in the 1920s, and like Coogan, few of them retained their stardom beyond the decade. One of the youngest and most popular was an actress billed as Baby Peggy (b. 1918), who started making short comedies at only twenty months old. Peggy thrived in features like *Captain January* (1923) and *The Darling of New York* (1924), but she gave up film acting, and her screen name, in 1926. When she returned for a few movie roles as a teenager in the 1930s, she went by her real name, Peggy Montgomery, and retired from the business altogether in 1938.

Jackie Cooper with Wallace Beery in* The Champ *(King Vidor, 1931). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Less remembered child stars of the time included Ben Alexander (1911–1969), a popular juvenile performer of the 1910s and 1920s, who hit the high point of his career with a prominent role in *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1930), when he was nineteen; his career went into sharp decline thereafter. Anne Shirley (1918–1993) also had an initially prolific career, having started acting in 1922 at the age of five, and later making such classics as *Anne of Green Gables* (1934) and *Stella Dallas* (1937), for which she was nominated for a Best Supporting Actress Oscar®. Yet she too left show biz not long thereafter, retiring at the age of twenty-six.

Perhaps the most surprising decline befell Jackie Cooper (b. 1922), who got his start in the late 1920s as a member of the enduring *Our Gang* series and achieved widespread fame by the age of nine in *Skippy* (1931), for which he was the first child ever nominated for a Best Actor Oscar®. His next film, *The Champ* (1931), showed his tear-jerking skills to even greater effect, but by the time he made *The Devil Is a Sissy* (1936) as an adolescent, his notability was waning. Even though he began an auspicious series of films about teenager Henry Aldrich with *What a Life* (1939) and *Life with Henry* (1941), the series continued without him in 1942, when Cooper left to fight in World War II. When he returned, he was greeted with indifference, never regaining the fame he had as a child.

The most popular child star of the 1930s, and perhaps the most popular ever, was Shirley Temple (b. 1928). Temple's success obviously motivated Hollywood to promote child stars even more. Unlike Temple, some managed to hang onto their fame, or at least their careers, as adults. For example, Frankie Darro (1917–1976) started in child roles in the 1920s and gained greater visibility as an adolescent performer in such films as *Wild Boys of the Road* (1933). While he never became a

major star, he did make many films as an adult, his small frame and boyish looks allowing him to continue playing teenage roles in films like *Junior Prom* (1946), when he was almost thirty. In fact, teenage movie characters slowly became more common than their younger counterparts during the 1930s, with performers like Deanna Durbin (b. 1921), Judy Garland (1922–1969), and Mickey Rooney (b. 1920) making a significant impact.

While not as popular as Temple, Jane Withers (b. 1926) was another eminent child star in the pre-World War II era, and actually had her breakthrough role starring opposite Temple in *Bright Eyes* (1934). Withers showcased a wit and range that made her stand out from her peers, yet she too had difficulty moving beyond youthful roles and was rarely seen in movies after her teens. And as if the lessons of Baby Peggy had not been learned, the studios introduced two more characters with similar nicknames in the 1930s: Baby LeRoy (1932–2001) and Baby Sandy (b. 1938). LeRoy really was a baby, starring with W. C. Fields in many films starting at the age of one, and retiring from the screen at the uniquely young age of three. Sandy was highlighted in films as an infant just before World War II, but took the cue from her predecessor and retired in 1942, at four.

THE WORLD WAR II ERA

The war changed many cultural attitudes, both in the United States and abroad, and afterward children were viewed as less carefree and more conflicted. Perhaps the actor best exemplifying this change was Roddy McDowall (1928–1998), who started making films in Britain at the age of eight and became a star with his first Hollywood film, *How Green Was My Valley* (1941), when he was thirteen. McDowall's performance as a boy in a Welsh mining town was imbued with tender torment, and he brought that same sensitivity to his subsequent films, such as *My Friend Flicka* (1943). Another impressive actor of the war years was Margaret O'Brien (b. 1937), who began acting when she was four and found stardom the next year as the title character of *Journey for Margaret* (1942), a film about an English girl orphaned during the war. O'Brien appeared in eight films over the next two years, including *Lost Angel* (1943) and *Meet Me in St. Louis* (1944), earning her a special Academy Award® as the "outstanding child actress of 1944." Her output nonetheless slowed thereafter, although she won praise in the prominent role of Beth in *Little Women* (1949). Unlike McDowall, whose further acting work was prodigious, O'Brien had few notable roles after the early 1950s.

The child actor who can best make the claim for avoiding the curse of obscurity is Elizabeth Taylor (b. 1932), whose fame only increased as she aged beyond adolescence. Taylor started in movies in 1942 at the age of ten, with a striking beauty and endearing pathos that made her a sensation in *Lassie Come Home* (1943) and *National Velvet* (1944). She moved into teenage roles with ease, and unlike most other child stars, Taylor moved into adult roles while still in her teens, getting married at eighteen in *Father of the Bride* (1950) and having a child the next year in the sequel, *Father's Little Dividend* (1951). Her success grew even greater over the next two decades, making her one of the biggest stars in Hollywood history.

Another success story is that of Natalie Wood (1938–1981), whose performance as a skeptical child doubting the existence of Santa Claus in *Miracle on 34th Street* (1947) was further evidence of the hardening attitudes behind children's roles after the war. She continued in many minor films through the rest of her childhood and found her foremost roles later playing teenagers. Still, for every Elizabeth Taylor and Natalie Wood, there were numerous fading child stars like Bobby Driscoll (1937–1968), notable in *Song of the South* (1946) and *Treasure Island* (1950) but out of work by his early twenties, then dead at thirty-one, and Claude Jarman, Jr. (b. 1934), who won a special Academy Award® at the age of twelve for his very first film, *The Yearling* (1946), made a few movies as a teen, and finished acting for the big screen at twenty-two.

CHILD STARS AFTER THE 1950s

Children's roles in American movies over the following decades became less prominent as cultural attention shifted to teenagers, and Hollywood followed accordingly. Only a handful of significant child performers emerged in these years, and most enjoyed only one significant role as a child. Patty McCormack (b. 1945) was one such case: she was astonishing as the evil little girl in *The Bad Seed* (1956), then drifted into hipster teen roles in the 1960s.

Similar cases in this period included Brandon de Wilde (1942–1972), who won acclaim as an eleven-year-old in *Shane* (1953), one of the rare westerns with a meaningful child's role, then struggled to regain his stature as a teenager, with only one further hit, *Hud* (1963). At the age of sixteen, Patty Duke (b. 1946) played Helen Keller as a child in *The Miracle Worker* (1962), earning her the first Oscar® won in competition by a minor. Despite the successful television show she starred in afterward, her subsequent career was inconsistent and troubled. Linda Blair (b. 1959) startled audiences at the age of twelve in *The Exorcist* (1973), in a performance that was unimaginably demanding and disturbing and for which she was nominated for an Academy Award®. Thereafter, her roles and her movies

SHIRLEY TEMPLE

b. Santa Monica, California, 23 April 1928

Shirley Temple was an inspiring presence in American cinema of the 1930s. She first appeared on screen in 1932 as a three-year-old toddler in the risqué "Baby Burlesks" short subjects and continued acting in over fifty films thereafter. Her ability to warm audiences with her charismatic and ambitious spirit during the Depression set a standard for child performers that has never been equaled.

At first she appeared in many features and shorts with minor or uncredited roles. She then found sudden fame in 1934, when she was just six. Her first significant appearance that year was in *Stand Up and Cheer!*, which was followed by features where she took a central role: *Little Miss Marker*, *Baby Take a Bow*, *Now and Forever*, and *Bright Eyes*. By the end of the year, Temple had demonstrated acting, singing, and dancing skills that were remarkable for a youngster. She not only worked well with some of the biggest adult stars of the era, but could carry a picture on her own.

The film industry quickly capitalized on Temple's talent. Twentieth Century Fox signed her to a long-term contract, and she was given a special Academy Award® in 1935 for "her outstanding contribution to screen entertainment during the year 1934," becoming the youngest person ever to win an Oscar®. In many ways the award was premature, because Temple went on to become the number-one box-office draw in 1935 and remained at the top through 1938. In her film roles she exhibited not only an impressive vitality but also an insight into people and society that was unprecedented for children in film. Her four screen pairings with the African American actor Bill "Bojangles" Robinson crossed implicit racial boundaries of the era. Her major films during this time included *The Little Colonel*, *Curly Top*, *The Littlest Rebel* (all 1935), *Poor Little Rich Girl*, *Captain January* (both 1936), *Heidi* (1937), *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm* (1938), and *The Little Princess* (1939).

The level of fame that Temple attained as a child would nonetheless ebb as she entered her adolescence. She finished her last film under her Fox contract at the age of twelve (*Young People*, 1940) and made her teenage debut in *Miss Annie Rooney* in 1942, which showed that Temple could acceptably play roles beyond her childish charms. Still, her star faded, and she became a supporting player in movies like *I'll Be Seeing You* (1944), *The Bachelor and the Bobby-Soxer* (1947), and *Fort Apache* (1948). She regained brief prominence as teen heroine Corliss Archer, but in 1949 *A Kiss for Corliss* was her final film.

Temple was then twenty-one, divorced from her first husband, and clearly unable to maintain the stardom she had once enjoyed. As a new generation of child performers attempted to follow her lead, Temple left the film business and later became a diplomat, working for the US State Department and becoming a United Nations ambassador. She once again gained great public support as a breast cancer survivor in the 1970s and in 1988 achieved publishing success with her autobiography.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Little Miss Marker (1934), *Bright Eyes* (1934), *The Little Colonel* (1935), *The Littlest Rebel* (1935), *Dimples* (1936), *Heidi* (1937), *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm* (1938), *The Little Princess* (1939)

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were of little interest. Surprisingly, Tatum O'Neal (b. 1963) beat out Blair for the Best Supporting Actress Oscar® in 1973 at only the age of ten, having starred with her father in *Paper Moon* (1973), thereby becoming the youngest person ever to win an Oscar® in competition. Despite this enormous vote of confidence for her, O'Neal did not do another film until she was a teenager, when she had some success in *The Bad News Bears* (1976) and *Little Darlings* (1980). Her roles since then have been few and far between.

Shirley Temple in **Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm** *(Allan Dwan, 1938).* EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

At least two child stars of this era did maintain their pre-adult notoriety over multiple films. One was British starlet Hayley Mills (b. 1946), who began acting in movies at thirteen, often playing characters younger than herself and winning raves in her first three films: *Tiger Bay* (1959), made in her homeland, and *Pollyanna* (1960) and *The Parent Trap* (1961), her first US features. She continued with child and teen roles that were generally less memorable, although she acts occasionally in film and television roles to this day. Even more fortunate in the long run was Ron Howard (b. 1954), a five-year-old at the time of his film debut, *The Journey* (1959), and a star as a result of playing Opie on television's *The Andy Griffith Show* in the 1960s. Despite his duties for television, he continued in films like *The Music Man* (1962) and *The Courtship of Eddie's Father* (1963), then found even greater fame as a teenager in *American Graffiti* (1973) and on the television series *Happy Days*. His career was further advanced as a film director, and he has primarily focused on directing since the 1980s.

Yet the most major child star of the 1970s, and one whose prominence only grew with time, was Jodie Foster (b. 1962). After numerous appearances in film and television starting at the age of seven, her breakthrough came in the 1974 hit *Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore* when she was eleven. She continued in roles that showcased her acting skills, as was most evident in the films she made in 1976 alone. First she was a disarming child prostitute in *Taxi Driver*, earning her first Academy Award® nomination; next she played a gangster's moll in a film with an all-juvenile cast, *Bugsy Malone*; then she returned to a more typical child's role in Disney's *Freaky Friday*. Foster dropped out of films for the next few years and resisted acting in movies as a high schooler, save her ensemble role in *Foxes* (1980). After a few more films, she won her first of two Oscars® for *The Accused* (1988), and later turned to producing and directing in her own right.

The 1980s offered a minimal assortment of roles for child actors, because teen films once again took on a prominence that had not been seen since the 1950s.

Most young actors in the 1980s actually debuted in features as teens, such as Brooke Shields, Tom Cruise, Kristy McNichol, Molly Ringwald, and Winona Ryder. The few prominent child actors tended to have only one or two films to call their own, such as nine-year-old Ricky Schroder in *The Champ* (1979), who then moved on to television roles as an adolescent, and eleven-year-old Henry Thomas, who was unforgettable in *E.T. the Extra-Terrestrial* (1982) and then could not find another strong role for over a decade. One of Thomas's co-stars in *E.T.*, Drew Barrymore, had some success in her subsequent children's roles in *Firestarter* (1984) and *Cat's Eye* (1985), but her greater fame came with her later adult roles.

INTERNATIONAL CHILD ACTORS

Meanwhile, child actors in a number of international films after the war were becoming well known, even if they did not enjoy the ongoing publicity that the Hollywood studio system provided. Italian neorealist films, for instance, utilized nonprofessional child performers in films such as *Roma, città aperta* (*Rome, Open City*, 1945), *Ladri di biciclette* (*Bicycle Thieves*, 1948), *Germania anno zero* (*Germany Year Zero*, 1948), and *Sciuscià* (*Shoeshine*, 1946), in which Franco Interlenghi (b. 1931) made his debut and began his lengthy film career. Another nonprofessional, Subir Bannerjee, was extraordinary as the child protagonist in *Pather Panchali* (*Song of the Road*, 1955), made by Indian director Satyajit Ray (1921–1992), although he did not appear in any notable films thereafter. François Truffaut (1932–1984) was so taken with Jean-Pierre Léaud (b. 1944), who played the French director's childhood doppelgänger Antoine Doinel in *Les Quatre cent coups* (*The 400 Blows*, 1959), that he cast him again in four more films as the same character growing up through the years. Andrei Tarkovsky also found a persuasive child actor, Nikolai Burlyayev, to play the lead in his Russian debut feature, *Ivanovo detstvo* (*Ivan's Childhood*, 1962), and the Swedish director Ingmar Bergman made effective use of Jörgen Lindström in *Tystnaden* (*The Silence*, 1963). Yet most of these films gained their recognition because of the influence of the auteur theory in the 1960s, and few child actors gained any lasting attention outside of US films.

This marginalizing began to change for international child actors starting in the 1980s, when many films about juvenile issues reached wide audiences. *Pixote* (1981) was one such example from Brazil, in which Fernando Ramos Da Silva played the tragic title character. Oscar® nominations propelled the popularity of other films like the Swedish *Mitt liv som hund* (*My Life as a Dog*, 1985), featuring Anton Glanzelius; the French *Au revoir les enfants* (1987), starring Gaspard Manesse; the Danish film *Pelle erobreren* (*Pelle the Conqueror*, 1987), with Pelle Hvenegaard in the title role; and the Italian film *Cinema Paradiso* (1989), in which Salvatore Cascio plays the boyhood role of the adult protagonist. With her impressive performance in *The Piano* (New Zealand, 1993), Canadian Anna Paquin (b. 1982) became the youngest non-American ever to win an Oscar® for a supporting role. Fame came to other international child stars thereafter, such as Sarah Polley in *The Sweet Hereafter* (Canada, 1997), Juan José Ballesta in *El Bola* (Spain, 2000), Jamie Bell in *Billy Elliot* (Great Britain, 2000), and Marina Golbahari in *Osama* (Afghanistan, 2003). Then in 2004, another New Zealand film made Academy Awards® history when its star, Keisha Castle-Hughes (b. 1990), became the first child ever nominated for the Best Actress Oscar®, after she commanded global acclaim for her lead role in *Whale Rider* (2002).

RECENT YEARS

To be sure, the American film industry's promotion of child stars in recent years has relied upon their abilities to act within adult contexts, rather than in the child-centered vehicles more common before the 1950s. The same hit-or-miss trends continued for child actors through the 1990s and thereafter, as witnessed by the forgettable lead performances of Michael Oliver in *Problem Child* (1990), Mason Gamble in *Dennis the Menace* (1993), Cameron Finley in *Leave It to Beaver* (1997), and the juvenile casts of *Newsies* (1992) and *The Little Rascals* (1994). Meanwhile, some kids did have breakout roles, like Christina Ricci in *Mermaids* (1990), Jason James Richter in *Free Willy* (1993), Kirsten Dunst in *Interview with the Vampire* (1994), and Haley Joel Osment in *The Sixth Sense*. Nonetheless, most of these films relied upon the presence of major adult stars, which remains the typical scenario in which child actors continue to be featured.

The only child star of the 1990s who commanded attention on his own was Macaulay Culkin (b. 1980), who rose to immediate prominence as the ten-year-old with the one-boy-show *Home Alone* (1990), and continued to lure audiences with performances in *My Girl* (1991), *The Good Son* (1993), *Richie Rich* (1994), and the inevitable sequel to *Home Alone*, *Home Alone 2: Lost in New York* in 1992. Yet like so many before him, he burned out as an actor before his adolescence and only later returned to acting.

In the second century of cinema, child actors continue to rely upon the marquee value of adult stars in order to propel their careers. After Osment's continued visibility in films like *Pay It Forward* (2000) and *Artificial Intelligence: A.I.* (2001) with older co-stars, Dakota

Fanning emerged as a similar child lead, who enjoyed the luxury of starring with Oscar®-nominated adults in *I Am Sam* (2001), *Man on Fire* (2004), and *War of the Worlds* (2005), all before she turned twelve. Still, the film industry has rarely been able to build child actors into celebrities since the 1950s, and while charismatic and talented children will always be needed to fill important roles in cinema stories, the record shows that they face obstacles in maintaining their importance as well as their celebrity.

SEE ALSO *Acting; Casting; Children's Films*

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CHILDREN'S FILMS

Children's films may be divided into two categories: those made expressly for a child audience, and those made about children regardless of audience. This distinction is important, as many of the most popular films that feature child actors, like *The Exorcist* (1973) and *The Sixth Sense* (1999), are clearly not meant to be seen by children. Yet it is in such films that the film industry represents children, reflecting society's own notions of childhood. Quite often, the very definition of childhood is at stake in these films, changing as it does from one generation to the next and within different contexts.

FILMS FOR CHILDREN BEFORE DISNEY

The nickelodeons of the early movie industry showcased films that appealed to all ages and populations rather than specifically to children. Moral guardians of the early 1900s were concerned about children attending movies on their own because it could be an inducement to skip school or become familiar with unruly characters, both onscreen and in theaters. Although children did appear in many films of the early film era, their roles were almost exclusively as accessories to adult activities, such as the little girl who frees her father in *The Great Train Robbery* (1903) or the numerous children depicted as victims of kidnappings in films like *The Adventures of Dollie* (D. W. Griffith, 1908).

Yet, as Richard deCordova's research has shown, Hollywood had indeed become concerned with the child movie audience by the 1910s. Children's matinees became common in many movie houses by 1913, and groups like the National Board of Review's Committee on Films for Young People not only promoted matinees at the national level but encouraged studios to make more films suitable for children, despite the fact that children still often preferred films aimed at adults. Then in 1925 the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors Association under Will Hays (1879–1954) began an effort to identify films suitable for children. By the fall of 1925, the MPPDA had arranged fifty-two matinee programs, with many films reedited and retitled for youngsters. These programs were shipped as a special block to theaters, and exhibitors were contracted to show only the selected program films during Saturday matinees. The MPPDA used this approach to promote the studios' sense of responsibility and at the same time to encourage children to be loyal movie customers.

But no sooner had the MPPDA established this successful program than they abandoned it the next year, letting the task of staging children's matinees fall back into the hands of exhibitors. This brief foray into cultivating a child audience did not induce the Hollywood studios, which wanted to keep their audience as wide as possible, to produce a new genre of films aimed at children. Hollywood even cast established adult actors in children's roles, a practice that may seem preposterous by present standards but at the time fostered a diverse family audience. Stars such as Lillian Gish (1893–1993), Richard Barthelmess (1895–1963), and especially Mary Pickford (1893–1979) were exploited for their youthful looks in popular stories like *Pollyanna* (1920) and *Little Annie Rooney* (1925). Actual child actors of the 1920s who gained fame on their own, such as Jackie Coogan (1914–1984) and Baby Peggy (b. 1918), were cast alongside adult stars to further ensure that their movies were not exclusively focused on a childhood perspective.

Two genres of film were particularly appealing to children during this period, even though they did not gain the respect of features: short subjects (or serials) and cartoons, which were shown at the beginning of programs. Studios and exhibitors likely thought that children's attention spans were better suited to shorter fare, and that placing the shorter films early in a program would help ensure children's interest in the longer films that followed. One of the most famous short subject series that was clearly geared to children (although also appealing to adults) was *Our Gang*, which the producer Hal Roach (1892–1992) started in 1922. This series used actual child actors to play children who tended to be of the working class, curious, and funny. The series of over two hundred short films was quite successful, running into the 1940s. Other short-subject series, such as the slapstick antics of the Three Stooges, though not featuring children were nonetheless of enormous appeal to them.

Cartoons were quite a different market. Animation, though effective in telling fantastic stories of unusual, often nonhuman, characters, was slow to start in early cinema. By the 1920s a handful of animators had made short films, with the most popular series being Felix the Cat, and by the end of the decade an ambitious artist, Walt Disney (1901–1966), introduced a character who grew into the sound era: Mickey Mouse. Disney's success paved the way for a generation of new cartoon characters, and by the 1930s all of the major and minor Hollywood studios had developed their own cartoon series to appeal to entire families. When Disney made the first American animated feature in 1937, *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*, a new approach to making films for children began.

FILMS FOR CHILDREN AFTER DISNEY

The remarkable success of *Snow White*—one of the highest-grossing films of its era—demonstrated that films with a particular appeal to children were a viable source of revenue for the studios. Animated features continued for some time to be the primary genre aimed at children. Thus followed further Disney productions such as *Pinocchio* (1940), *Dumbo* (1941), and *Bambi* (1942), all of which dealt specifically with issues of childhood development. Meanwhile, MGM had initiated a live-action series of films that gained unexpected and widespread success among young audiences. The Andy Hardy series featured an adolescent protagonist and his primarily adolescent friends. As had been the case since the 1910s, a key component in targeting the child audience was not so much the content of the films as the time of their exhibition; weekend matinees continued to be common in most American communities after World War II, and by the late 1950s the studios reaffirmed their effort to tap the burgeoning baby-boom market with films catering to the interests of the young (a trend even more evident in films for teenagers).

Beginning in 1950 the Disney studio gravitated toward more live-action films featuring youngsters. It had great success with *Treasure Island* (1950), an appealing adventure with a boy in a lead role, and with features about youth such as *Johnny Tremain* (1957), *Old Yeller* (1957), *Pollyanna* (1960), *Big Red* (1962), and *Mary Poppins* (1964). With the establishment of the ratings system in 1968, studios were under new pressure to produce G-rated movies that could appeal to all ages. Again Disney led the way with a number of comedies and adventures, such as *The Love Bug* (1968), *The Million Dollar Duck* (1971), *The Island at the Top of the World* (1974), *The Apple Dumpling Gang* (1975), and *Gus* (1976). Other studios joined in the family film genre with *The Phantom Tollbooth* (1970), *Pufnstuf* (1970), *Tom Sawyer* (1973), *The Little Prince* (1974), *The Black Stallion* (1979), and *Mountain Family Robinson* (1979). For decades films featuring young people and animals continued to have a special appeal to children, from the numerous films about Lassie the dog (beginning with *Lassie Come Home* in 1943) to a series based on the scrappy dog Benji (beginning with *Benji* in 1974). Science fiction also took on new significance for children in the 1970s and 1980s, with the release of the *Star Wars* and *Star Trek* series (beginning in 1977 and 1979, respectively) and fables like *The Cat from Outer Space* (1978) and *The Black Hole* (1979).

In the 1980s, however, the Hollywood studios again seemed to lose interest in the child audience, as a new wave of PG–13 teen films offered greater profit potential. Once more, the Disney studio seemed single-handedly to revive interest in the child market when it released two animated musical features at the end of the decade, *Oliver & Company* (1988) and *The Little Mermaid* (1989). These films inaugurated a new kid-friendly atmosphere in American cinema, which was also beginning to flourish in the home-video market. Thus followed more Disney and non-Disney titles, many of which did not feature actual children, intended to draw children to theaters and televisions. Examples include *Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles* (1990), *Beauty and the Beast* (1991), *Aladdin* (1992), *The Mighty Ducks* (1992), *3 Ninjas* (1992), *The Flintstones* (1994), *Casper* (1995), *Pocahontas* (1995), *Toy Story* (1995), *Space Jam* (1996), *Mousehunt* (1997), *George of the Jungle* (1997), *A Bug's Life* (1998), *The Prince of Egypt* (1998), *Tarzan* (1999), and *Stuart Little* (1999).

In the twenty-first century the studios have maintained a consistent output of similar films for children,

most in the realm of animated features such as *Shrek* (2001) and *The Incredibles* (2004), but with some live-action films making a splash, such as *How the Grinch Stole Christmas* (2000), *The Cat in the Hat* (2003), *Holes* (2003), and the very popular series based on the *Harry Potter* novels (beginning in 2001). Many of these films were criticized for their open marketing of toys and other products to children and their promotion through product tie-ins with various fast-food chains. The media industry is targeting children more than ever before, linking the supposed pleasures of consumption with those of entertainment.

AMERICAN FILMS ABOUT CHILDREN BEFORE WORLD WAR II

As Kathy Merlock Jackson pointed out in her pioneering study of children in film, movies have tended to present two divergent images of children: the wild ones who need to be tamed, and the innocents who need to be protected. In Hollywood movies before World War II, and especially before the 1930s, the prevalent image of children tended toward the innocents. However, child actors did not receive star billing before Jackie Coogan appeared in *The Kid* in 1921, and thus films were rarely centered around child characters, except those featuring adults in children's roles. With the rise of Coogan's career, a few other child stars emerged, and the studios began making films that gave a more persistent image of children: they were precious and precocious, eager to fix problems in the small world around them, and wise beyond their years. Such qualities were on display in the films of Baby Peggy (*The Darling of New York*, 1923; *Captain January*, 1924), Virginia Grey (1917–2004) (*Uncle Tom's Cabin*, 1927; *Heart to Heart*, 1928), and Jackie Cooper (b. 1922) (*Skippy*, 1931; *The Champ*, 1931). Cooper became the first child nominated for an Academy Award® for his performance in *Skippy*, and thus lent further legitimacy to films built around a central child character.

America in the 1930s was of course reeling from the effects of the Great Depression, so initially the films that focused on children tended to celebrate their plucky nature in dealing with poverty and adversity—hence the disproportionately high number of films about orphans and kidnapping victims. Depression-era movies like *Let's Sing Again* (1936), *One Hundred Men and a Girl* (1937), and *Babes in Arms* (1939) suggested to audiences that children, by being more focused on their families and simple pursuits of happiness, were an antidote to the darker troubles typical of films about adults at the time. Nowhere was this aspect more evident than in the films of Shirley Temple (b. 1928), who burst onto the Hollywood scene with cherubic energy in 1934 at the age of six. After a big scene in *Stand Up and Cheer!* (1934), Temple was cast as the title character in *Little Miss Marker* (1934) and then achieved greater recognition in *Bright Eyes* (1934), further solidifying her role as a taskmaster and problem solver within a family crisis. As Jackson points out, however, for all of their resilience and capabilities in 1930s movies, children remained innocents deeply in need of the love and affection of adults around them. In that way, Hollywood preserved the dominant notion of the nuclear family, and gave children the clear message that they could not make it in the world on their own.

Temple continued fixing things in movies designed for her throughout the 1930s, and the studios had begun making more movies based on prominent children's characters. A contemporary of Temple's in this regard was Jane Withers (b. 1926), who acted alongside Temple in *Bright Eyes* and became a star in her own right with films like *Ginger* (1935) and *Pepper* (1936), showcasing her energetic persona. Films about children became increasingly popular, resulting in a ludicrous but brief run of films built around actual infant stars such as Baby LeRoy (1932–2001), who was made to upstage his adult costars in films during 1933, and Baby Sandy (b. 1938), whose phenomenon lasted from 1939 to 1941.

By the end of the 1930s, the most prominent roles of young characters, like child actors themselves, had aged toward adolescence, and Mickey Rooney's (b. 1920) teenage characters replaced Shirley Temple's little girls in terms of screen visibility. One of Rooney's recurring costars, Judy Garland (1922–1969), brought further visibility to roles about young people and as a teenager played the much younger lead character in one of the most popular children's films of the era, *The Wizard of Oz* (1939). Still, adolescent performances by Rooney, Garland, Deanna Durbin (b. 1921), and the ensemble known as the Dead End Kids constituted the primary representations of youth in Hollywood throughout the late 1930s and early 1940s, and thereafter films built around stories about children would be only occasionally noticed. To be sure, movies like *Journey for Margaret* (1942), *National Velvet* (1944), and *Miracle on 34th Street* (1947) were popular, but they did not offer a sustained or consistent representation of children during this era. With the rise of the even more dominant genre of teen films in the 1950s, American films presented only sporadic and inconsistent images of children.

INTERNATIONAL FILMS ABOUT CHILDREN

Hollywood has often presented an image of children that international audiences could easily appreciate, with an emphasis on universal themes such as the thrill of mischief, the hilarity of misadventure, and the need for love.

Films about children made outside the United States have not usually enjoyed the same exposure, since other film markets have not maintained stables of child actors and have rarely been able to produce series of films for their respective child audiences.

With the exception of some British films such as *Goodbye, Mr. Chips* (1939) and *The Thief of Bagdad* (1940), international films about children before the 1950s are especially difficult to research because of the low number of extant prints. Little is known about many children's films from around the world except for their plot lines listed in catalogues. Foreign films concerning children include *Kono Vank?* (Whose fault?, India, 1929), *Dann schon lieber Lebertran* (Germany, 1931; known in Britain as *I'd Rather Have Cod Liver Oil*), *Mädchen in Uniform* (Germany, 1931), *La Maternelle* (France, 1933; also known as *Children of Montmartre*), *Zéro de conduite* (*Zero for Conduct*, France, 1933), *Bhakta Dhruva* (India, 1934), *Fétiche* (*The Mascot*, France, 1934), *De Big van het regiment* (Netherlands, 1935), *Durga* (India, 1939), *Sciuscià* (*Shoe-Shine*, Italy, 1946), and *Nagaya shinshiroku* (*The Record of a Tenement Gentleman*, Japan, 1947). Alas, many of these films have faded into obscurity, and are now difficult to find.

In the 1950s, however, with the further exchange of international films in the global market, many movies about children achieved widespread recognition. *Los Olvidados* (*The Forgotten Ones*, Mexico, 1950) was one of the first films to explicitly confront poverty and crime among children in the Third World. *Jeux interdits* (*Forbidden Games*, France, 1952) tells the story of a boy and a girl creatively coping with the effects of World War II. *Pather Panchali* (India, 1954) was the first film of a trilogy that followed a character, Apu, from his resilient childhood in an impoverished family to his eventual adjustment to fatherhood. *Les quatres cents coups* (*The 400 Blows*, France, 1959) was as significant for its portrait of a young delinquent as it was for its visual style, which inspired the French New Wave. All of these films, despite their different countries of origin, tended to emphasize the same universal themes about children: they are born innocent yet enter a world that systematically corrupts them, so they must learn to persevere in the face of conflict and rise above the conditions around them.

Ivanovo detstvo (*Ivan's Childhood*, Soviet Union, 1962) tells the story of a child spy who is exploited by the military for his ability to evade detection, and thus confronts his value as a tool for adults engaged in warfare. *L'Enfant sauvage* (*The Wild Child*, France, 1970) is François Truffaut's (1932–1984) clinical examination of the primal states in children that he had dramatized in *The 400 Blows*. *Cría cuervos* (*Cría!*, Spain, 1975) tells the story of a girl dealing with the deaths of her closest relatives. *Padre Padrone* (*My Father My Master*, Italy, 1977) follows a young boy through his literally torturous relationship with his father to his escape from him. *Wend Kuuni* (*God's Gift*, Burkina Faso, 1982) tells the story of an abandoned child who is adopted by a family and later confronts the repressed secrets of his tragic past. With only slight variation, international films about children continue to explore the theme of childhood innocence challenged by adult circumstances.

Even with Hollywood's development of various teen subgenres that became increasingly popular in the 1980s—sex comedies, slasher horror, science fantasy—the international depiction of children in film remained focused primarily on their playful and yet profound discovery of encroaching adult life. *Alsino y el cóndor* (*Alsino and the Condor*, Nicaragua, 1982) presents a child who would rather engage in his youthful pleasures than the military conflict going on around him. *Kazoku gêmu* (*The Family Game*, Japan, 1983) depicts the pressure that Japanese children face in the competitive market of prestigious schools. *Skyggen af Emma* (*Emma's Shadow*, Denmark, 1988) features a girl who stages her own kidnapping to alert her family to their disregard for her, and then discovers she would rather live without them. *Badkonake sefid* (*The White Balloon*, Iran, 1995) illustrates the sexism and ageism of many cultures in its story of a little girl who is pushed around by the male adults and boys around her. *La Vita è bella* (*Life Is Beautiful*, Italy, 1997) shows the extreme efforts that a father goes through to keep his son sheltered from the terrors of the Holocaust in World War II. *About a Boy* (Britain, 2002) highlights the efforts of a boy to convince a man that he is worthy of being accepted as a surrogate son. Although some of these films have comic touches, they all explore serious and relevant issues for children around the world, which is in stark contrast to the majority of films about children that Hollywood has produced in the past generation.

AMERICAN FILMS ABOUT CHILDREN AFTER WORLD WAR II

The child star system that had worked so well for Hollywood before the war broke down soon thereafter. Very few child actors had more than a couple of popular films to their name after the 1950s, as the studio system was losing its coherence and power in controlling the American movie market. Although this meant that fewer films were made about children, those that were made offered a wider array of images. For example, *The Bad Seed* (1956) takes on the topic of a little girl's villainous nature by considering if her evil is in fact genetic. *The Miracle Worker* (1962) tells the story of Helen Keller's childhood development, raising awareness about

Emma Watson, Daniel Radcliffe (center), and Rupert Grint in* Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets *(Chris Columbus, 2002). © WARNER BROTHERS/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

disability issues. *Oliver!* (1968) brings the Oliver Twist tale to screen as a musical, offering a nostalgic celebration of orphanages. And the Disney studio continued to make some films about children as well.

Then in the 1970s Hollywood produced many films featuring children that drew critical attention for their coverage of serious issues. Two of the most notable were *Paper Moon* (1973), for which nine-year-old Tatum O'Neal (b. 1963) won an acting Oscar® as a hardened hoyden, and *The Exorcist*, in which a little girl endures the unfathomable tortures of demonic possession. With such films the studios were clearly changing their previous images of childhood innocence into tales of cynical children damaged by their surroundings. This was certainly the case with *Taxi Driver* (1976) and *Pretty Baby* (1978), two radical portraits of teenage prostitution; the topic of girls' sexuality had been wildly controversial even when addressed in *Lolita* (1962).

The studios also began making more films about children that were aimed at a child audience, as in *Escape to Witch Mountain* (1975), *The Bad News Bears* (1976), *My Bodyguard* (1980), *Annie* (1982), and the biggest film of the 1980s, *E.T. the Extra-Terrestrial* (1982). Many of these films were humorous and adventurous, although they continued to explore realistic conflicts for children, such as broken families, teamwork, bullying, poverty, drug use, and missing parents. Perhaps this realistic aspect is what then explains the studios' movement away from films about children in the later 1980s: addressing childhood was becoming an increasingly delicate enterprise.

After the diverse and often dark depictions of children that had emerged in the 1970s, and the rise of a dominant teen cinema in the 1980s, Hollywood only occasionally explored contemporary childhood thereafter, and almost always did so in relation to adult culture. A popular topic became kids who comically torment their parents and other adults, as in *Problem Child* (1990), *Home Alone* (1990), *Dennis the Menace* (1993), *Richie Rich* (1994), *First Kid* (1996), *Leave It to Beaver* (1997), and *The Parent Trap* (1998). Still, few films took seriously the role that children play in the lives of adults and

the culture at large; exceptions included *Little Man Tate* (1991), *Free Willy* (1993), *Pay It Forward* (2000), and *I Am Sam* (2001). Hollywood products nonetheless continue the trend of featuring children in fanciful or even absurd stories, as in the *Harry Potter* series, the *Spy Kids* series (2001–2003), *Tuck Everlasting* (2002), *The Cat in the Hat* (2003), *Catch That Kid* (2004), *Lemony Snicket's A Series of Unfortunate Events* (2004), and *Hide and Seek* (2005). For whatever reason, the American film industry remains largely reluctant to address real issues and aspects of children's lives.

SEE ALSO *Cartoons; Child Actors; Fantasy Films; Teen Films; Walt Disney Company*

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CHILE

Chilean cinema emerged at the turn of the twentieth century, mainly at the initiative of European immigrants who were interested in documenting local events. The first known Chilean film, *Un ejercicio general de bomberos* (*General Drill of the Fire Brigade*), was shot and screened in the coastal city of Valparaiso in 1902. Celluloid evidence of this and other periods has been lost owing to lack of preservation and, occasionally, active destruction by a hostile government. Similar issues have existed in Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico, but Chile is distinguished from these major filmmaking countries in its chronic difficulty in achieving an industrial scale of production (in spite of the high level of industrialization in other economic sectors); a precocious disposition in favor of international co-productions (dating to the 1940s); an unusually strong preference for realism and feature-length documentary; and the fact that a major portion of Chilean cinema has been produced in exile. However, with the staging of the First International Festival of New Latin American Cinema at Viña del Mar in 1967, Chile became a crucible for that emerging body of film. Chilean cinema must, then, be considered in light of the distinct periods of its development as well as the evolving definition of the "national."

INDUSTRIAL EXPERIMENTS

Following early artisanal efforts based mainly in Santiago, a period of intense filmmaking activity in the silent 1920s, in ten cities, resulted in more than fifty films up to 1930. These films included documentary and fictional portrayals of historical figures, such as communist leader Luis Emilio Recabarren (whose funeral was filmed by Carlos Pellegrini and Luis Pizarro in 1924) and independence guerrilla fighter Manuel Rodríguez (in *El Húsar de la muerte*, [*The Deadly Hussar*, Pedro Sienna, 1925), alongside fictional genre films ranging from patriotic reconstructions and melodramas to urban comedies. The transition to sound, inaugurated in 1934 by US-trained Jorge Délano (b. 1895) with *Norte y sur* (North and South), did not lead to an industrial boom but rather a decline in production (about one feature per year up to 1940). The creation of the Corporación de Fomento a la Producción (CORFO) in 1938 by the Popular Front government briefly reversed the downward trend by providing 50 percent of the development capital for Chile Films, a studio complex built in 1942 and inspired by the import-substitution model then thriving in Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico. In contrast to the current pattern of export-based industrialization in much of the developing world, this was a model of industrial development, popular in mid-twentieth century Latin America, that involved the substitution of costly imports by goods that could be produced locally. Thus, new production was based on the prior existence of a domestic market, rather than on external demand for products that were then protected by strong tariffs. Included in this category were basic industrial machinery, household supplies, oil, minerals, wood products, and non-durable goods such as shoes and textiles. The Chile Films studio folded in 1949, and its long-term effects on the development of Chilean cinema were mixed: it depended on Argentina Sono Films for technical expertise, and it welcomed Argentine directors at the helm of its genre-oriented productions, which have been generally described as "folklorist."

These challenges were overshadowed by the lack of interest in Chilean films in the Spanish-language market at large, where Argentina, Spain, and Mexico prevailed. The 1950s brought another dry spell, with only eight features by national directors (who had formed the production organization Diprocine to safeguard Chilean screens against Argentine hegemony) and five by foreign directors. By the early 1960s, 75 percent of film distribution was US-owned, and commercial screens were almost wholly devoted to non-Chilean product. Under these circumstances, it is difficult to speak of a "star system" along the lines established during the Mexican Golden Age; nevertheless, the popular theatrical comedians Lucho Córdoba and Olvido Leguía were featured in 1940s film comedies directed by Eugenio de Liguorio (1894–1952), followed by Ana González, Carlos Mondaca, Kika, Manolo González, and Chela Bon in musical comedies directed by José Bohr (1901–1994) and others. National composers found an outlet for their talent in commercial genre films, and *Ecran* magazine strove to provide honest critical assessments of national cinematic progress.

CHILEAN RENAISSANCE

In the 1950s and 1960s the film journals *Cine Foro* and *Ercilla* began to appear, and a new generation of filmmakers emerged, spurred by the founding of the Grupo de Cine Experimental at the University of Chile by Sergio Bravo and Pedro Chaskel (1957) and the Cine Club of Viña del Mar (1962). By the time the Dutch-born Joris Ivens (né George Henri Anton Ivens, 1898–1989)—who excelled at both poetic and political forms of documentary—arrived in Chile in 1962 he had documented political struggles in Europe (*Borinage*, 1934, about Belgian coal miners) and *The Spanish Earth*, 1936, co-produced with Ernest Hemingway on the Spanish Civil War); the United States (*Power and the Land*, 1941); Asia (*Before Spring*, 1958); and Cuba (*Carnet de Viaje/Travel Notebook*, 1961). After releasing short and medium-length works informed by documentary, Italian neorealism, and the French New Wave, the new filmmakers turned to feature-length production during the reformist Frei government (1964–1970), shaping the profile of Chilean cinema for years to come. Helvio Soto (1930–2001) made his most notable film, *Caliche sangriento* (*Bloody Nitrate*, 1969), on the Chilean-Peruvian war, prior to directing for national television during Salvador Allende's Popular Unity government (1970–1973). Miguel Littin (b. 1942), who collaborated with Soto and Ivens, became distinguished for his neorealist *El Chacal del Nahueltoro* (*The Jackal of Nahueltoro*, 1969) and *La Tierra prometida* (*The Promised Land*, 1971), which reconstructs a brief socialist experiment in the north of Chile in 1932. Raúl Ruiz (b. 1941) applied his experiences with avant-garde theater to film. After studying filmmaking in Spain, Patricio Guzmán (b. 1941) returned to Chile armed with screenplays, only to commit to documentary in response to the historical moment. He formed the Grupo Tercer Cine, which chronicled the events surrounding the victory and then the demise of Popular Unity, culminating in a three-part project, *Batalla de Chile* (*The Battle of Chile*). This groundbreaking project, released internationally in 1979, reflects the degree to which contemporary events and a conscious effort to reject commercial genre filmmaking led to a free-form shooting style and a collectivization of the production process, as expressed in the 1970 Manifesto of Popular Unity Filmmakers.

During this period there was a move toward nationalizing the film and television industries. Chile Films was reopened under realist director Patricio Kaulen (1921–1999) in 1965, launching a newsreel, *Chile en Marcha*. Under Miguel Littin, from 1971 to 1973, Chile Films became the means through which groups on the political left attempted to implement the democratization of film production and performance, although political differences and inefficiency led to the government's temporary withdrawal of material support for the studio in 1972.

The 1973 military coup d'état, led by General Augusto Pinochet and backed by the US government, had devastating effects on Chilean film practice, leading to a veritable cultural blackout in all areas of creative art. Chile Films was sacked by the military forces, and all films considered subversive were burned. Patricio Guzmán and his team continued to film the events of the coup as they unfolded on national television. The footage for *The Battle of Chile* was divided up among the crew members and smuggled out, reel by reel, as they left the country. Censorship, house searches, and imprisonment of film artists and workers considered to be subversive were rampant. As a response to the hostile creative environment and to political marginalization, many directors chose exile in Western and Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, Mexico and Venezuela, and Canada and the United States. Ruiz and Soto went to France, Guzmán and Chaskel fled to Spain, and Littín found refuge in Mexico and then Nicaragua, where he directed Nicaragua's first feature-length film, *Alsino y el condor* (*Alsino and the Condor*, 1982). Thus, national artistic production followed the divergent paths of two groups: those who remained and those who left.

EXILE AND BEYOND

The first films in exile were documentaries that concentrated on denouncing the human rights abuses perpetrated by the military regime, such as Raúl Ruiz's *Diálogo de exilados* (*Dialogue of Exiles*, 1974, France).

RAÚL RUIZ

b. Puerto Montt, Chile, 25 July 1941

Raúl Ruiz studied law and theology in Chile, then filmmaking at the Escuela de Santa Fe in Argentina in the late 1950s before joining the second wave of the New Latin American Cinema. He contributed substantially to the efflorescence of Chilean cinema in the late 1960s, yet most of his ninety-plus films have been written and produced in exile. Although he did not relocate to Chile following the end of military rule, Ruiz has remained resolutely Chilean in his views of modernity and cultural identity and in his improvisational approach to shooting. His collaborations with non-Spanish-speaking stars, such as Catherine Deneuve, John Malkovich, and Marcello Mastroianni, and his development of themes and *mise-en-scène* attuned to European cultural sensibilities, as in *Hypothèse du tableau volé* (*The Hypothesis of the Stolen Painting*, 1978), have allowed Ruiz to cultivate an international audience while referencing Chile. Inside Chile he is best known for his first feature, *Tres tristes tigres* (*Three Sad Tigers*, 1968), a free-form exploration of social ritual involving unsympathetic characters in ordinary urban settings, and *La Colonia penal* (*The Penal Colony*, 1970); both films were made in association with the Grupo de Cine Experimental. Several of Ruiz's films commented directly on social conditions and reforms during the Popular Unity government.

Ruiz's activity as cinema adviser to President Salvador Allende prompted his exile prior to the aborted release of *Palomita Blanca* (*White Dove*, 1973). Upon resuming his career in France, Ruiz confronted the devastating effects of Pinochet's dictatorship back home. Two of his films made in connection with the Institut Nationale de la Communication Audiovisuelle (INA) have an autobiographical flavor: *La Vocation suspendue* (*The Suspended Vocation*, in French, 1977), in which he unravels his relationship to Catholicism, and *Les trois couronnes du matelot* (*Three Crowns of the Sailor*, in French, 1983), an homage to his sea captain father. His *Het Dak van de Walvis* (*On Top of the Whale*, in Dutch, 1982) explores cultural identity and remembrance through the double lens of exile and the colonial experience. His desire to speak to audiences on both sides of the Atlantic gave rise to a new, personal language that enlarged the ideological and aesthetic parameters of his work beyond a strictly national and militantly political perspective. Much of Ruiz's professional success is due to his willingness to embrace genres and formats from the television serial to the CD-ROM to the art film, and to his skill in drawing effective performances from actors schooled in diverse methods. In 1969 Ruiz insisted at the Viña del Mar Film Festival that artistic innovation should not be in thrall to overtly propagandistic messages, and indeed his is a recalcitrant cinema that resists classification and commodification.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Tres tristes tigres (*Three Sad Tigers*, 1968), *La Colonia penal* (*The Penal Colony*, 1970), *Palomita Blanca* (*White Dove*, 1973), *La Vocation suspendue* (*The Suspended Vocation*, in French, 1977), *Hypothèse du tableau volé* (*The Hypothesis of the Stolen Painting*, 1978), *Het Dak van de Walvis* (*On Top of the Whale*, in Dutch, 1982), *Les trois couronnes du matelot* (*Three Crowns of the Sailor*, in French, 1983), *Mémoire des apparences* (*Life Is a Dream*, 1986), *Généalogies d'un crime* (*Genealogies of a Crime*, 1997), *Le Temps retrouvé* (*Time Regained*, 1999), *Cofralandes, rapsodia chilena* (*Chilean Rhapsody*, 2002), *Días de campo* (*Days in the Country*, 2004)

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Raúl Ruiz. © NICOLAS GUERIN/AZIMUTS PRODUCTION/ CORBIS.

Sebastián Alarcón's (b. 1949) resistance to the regime found visual expression in *Noch nad Chile* (*Night over Chile*, 1977, Soviet Union), a film about the first days of the dictatorship, denouncing the atrocities it committed in the National Stadium. Later, Miguel Littin's *Acta general de Chile* (*General Proclamation of Chile*), edited in Spain, offered a clandestine portrayal of the social reality under the dictatorship in 1986.

One of the achievements of filmmaking under the Popular Unity government, with its emphasis on women's political participation and the use of 16mm, was the emergence of women behind the camera. Marta Harnecker, a member of Guzmán's Grupo Tercer Cine, helped to edit *The Battle of Chile* in Cuba. Angelina Vásquez shared her reflections on torture, rape, and pregnancy in *Thanks to Life*, or *The Story of a Mistreated Woman* (Finland, 1980). Valeria Sarmiento (b. 1948), who has edited many of Raúl Ruiz's films, directed her own documentary on the culture of machismo in Costa Rica, *El Hombre cuando es hombre* (*A Man, When He Is a Man*, 1982), followed by the parodic feature *Notre Mariage* (Our marriage, France, 1984), and other works. In Canada, Marilú Mallet (b. 1944) produced an autobiographical reflection on exile, *Journal inachevé* (Unfinished diary, 1982); after returning to Chile in 2003, she made a documentary on women who were "widowed" by Pinochet's coup, *La Cueca sola* (*To Dance Alone)*.

The national film industry and supportive arts organizations in Chile, once highly dependent on state funding during Popular Unity, were severely damaged by its elimination. Many filmmakers took refuge in the alternative media of video and television, sponsored by universities, religious groups, and nongovernmental organizations. Videotapes became instruments of political and cultural resistance and circulated widely, even if distribution was prohibited. By means of symbolism, allegory, and other indirect methods, the theater group Ictus transmitted political messages on video. Another group, Teleanalysis, produced news programs documenting important political and historical events as an alternative to the military government's mass media coverage. The television director Tatiana Gaviola (b. 1956) managed to make a testimonial documentary, *Tantas vidas, una historia* (*So Many Lives, One Story*, 1983), on poor women in the Ochagavia slum, which circulated internationally on video. Silvio Caiozzi (b. 1944) was among the few directors to consistently produce feature-length films after the coup. In 1977 Caiozzi directed *Julio comienza en Julio* (*Julio Begins in July*), voted "the Chilean movie of the century," which focuses on the decline of the Chilean aristocracy in the early 1900s to make a subtle critique of the contemporary oppressive regime. His *Coronación* (*Coronation*, 2000) brought him the Best Director award at the 2002 Montreal World Film Festival.

Others who chose to remain in Chile fought against the cultural blackout and the amnesia that reigned in Chile, both during and after the dictatorship. They strove to end the so-called "internal exile" by giving meaning to the lives of Chileans who had been alienated from participating in the national project. Representative films include *Imagen latente* (*Latent Image*, 1988), by Pablo Perelman, and *La Frontera* (*The Frontier*, 1991), by Ricardo P. Larrain, shown at the Museum of Modern Art in New York as part of the exhibition Internal Exile: New Films and Videos from Chile, curated by Coco Fusco in May 1990. This touring exhibit was instrumental in providing international exposure to the cultural resurgence that prefigured the fall of the Pinochet regime.

Following the end of the dictatorship in 1989, the film industry began recovering through a very slow and irregular process, aided by subventions from government organizations such as Fondo Nacional para el Desarrollo de las Artes (FONDART) and CORFO. Many filmmakers returned from exile and faced the complexities of reintegration. Littin's *Los náufragos* (*The Shipwrecked*, 1994) examines the experience of an exile who returns to Chile after twenty years and attempts to assimilate himself back into a society divided by the trauma of the

dictatorship; *Gringuito* (Sergio Castilla, 1998) explores the strangeness of return through the eyes of a young boy; Alarcón's *Tsikatriz* (*The Scar*, 1996) follows the story of two brothers who struggle to overcome their ideological discrepancies after one of them returns from Moscow.

Following his return to Chile, Guzmán wished to confront the fact that, during the first years of the transition to democracy, the government had encouraged a policy of forgetting rather than addressing the violence of the dictatorship. His documentary *Chile, la memoria obstinada* (*Chile, the Obstinate Memory*, 1997) comments on how historical memory has been avoided at all costs. Around the turn of the twenty-first century, thanks to the political leadership of La Concertación, an alliance of centrist and moderate left-wing parties, the memory of the coup is becoming an accessible topic on a large scale.

Some returnees insist on themes of return and memory, in part so that the new generation of filmmakers, who did not experience either exile or dictatorship, can understand the national trauma. One of the few films to comment on torture during the military regime, as well as on the way the past haunts the present, *Amnesia* (1994) by Gonzalo Justiniano (b. 1955), received critical praise at international film festivals (Havana, among others). Gaviola's *Mi último hombre* (*My Last Man*, 1996) is a story of repression and betrayal that addresses the manipulation of information on all levels of society. Belonging to a new generation of filmmakers, Cecilia Cornejo reconstructs the 1973 coup through her family's history in the documentary short *I Wonder What You Will Remember of September* (2004). Other films provide a critical outlook on the negative consequences of the economic policies put forward by the military government. Ignacio Agüero's documentary *Cien niños esperando un tren* (*One Hundred Children Waiting for a Train*, 1988) and Gonzalo Justiniano's feature film *Caluga o Menta* (*Candy or Mint*, 1990) explore the theme of poverty and marginalized youth in Santiago.

Chilean filmmakers, while striving to produce box-office hits in Chile, have also sought a place on the international film circuit. A complex interaction has developed between the creation of a new kind of national narrative based on pop culture and the production of Hollywood-style features that can be exported around the world. This new "Chileanness" is meant both to lure national audiences to the theaters and to present a local specificity that will attract the international public. Notable success stories are *Chacotero Sentimental* (*The Sentimental Teaser*, 1999), by Cristián Galaz; *Sexo con amor* (*Sex with Love*, 2003), by Boris Quercia; and *Machuca* (2004), by Andrés Wood.

In the absence of a star system, the most popular actors have become known through a combination of performances in TV series, theater, and feature films. Among them are Tamara Acosta (*Machuca*), Daniel Muñoz (*El fotógrafo* [*The Photographer*], *Historias de fútbol* [*Football Stories*]), Boris Quercia (*Sex with Love*, *Coronation*), Héctor Noguera (*Sub terra*), and Claudia di Girolamo (*My Last Man*). One of the most important screen figures is Patricio Contreras (b. 1947), the protagonist of *The Frontier*. After receiving Best Actor award at the Havana Film Festival in 1987, he has distinguished himself in features produced in Argentina and the United States.

SEE ALSO *National Cinema; Third Cinema*

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CHINA

China is one of the world's leading producers of feature films, yet, except for a handful of recent works by Zhang Yimou (b. 1951) and Chen Kaige (b. 1952), Chinese cinema is virtually unknown in the rest of the world. Language has restricted Chinese movies' mobility, especially since most of them are not subtitled, but so have the country's longtime planned economy and socialist politics, and government censorship of works deemed critical and not suitable for foreign screening.

In 2004 the government body State Administration of Radio, Film, and Television (SARFT) reported 212 films made and 1.5 billion yuan (US$182 million) earned at the box office, with Chinese films making up 55 percent of the market. To achieve that comfortable state the industry traversed a tortuous road potholed by civil wars, World War II, transition from a capitalist to socialist system, the devastating Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), and the United States' aggrandizement policy since the 1990s.

The century of Chinese cinema is generally organized into six generations of filmmakers and their works, each period having certain characteristics. Although qualms occasionally surface concerning this categorization scheme—such as the overlapping of generations and the lack of clear-cut delineations—nevertheless, it has held fast.

BEGINNINGS AND FIRST GENERATION

The phenomenon of film was introduced to China in 1896, but the Chinese did not shoot their first film, *Ding jun shan* (*Dingjun Mountain*) until 1905. What followed in the next couple of decades, termed the "First Generation," was film approached from an operatic stage perspective, with fixed-camera shooting, step-by-step descriptions of ordinary plots, and dominance of story over the performances of actors and actresses. Although by the end of the period (late 1920s) about one hundred directors were making films, two dominated (Zhang Shichuan [1890–1954] and Zheng Zhengqiu [1889–1935]), with a few others such as Ren Pengnian, Dan Duyü, Cheng Bugao, Bu Wanchang, Li Pingqian, Hong Shen, Yang Xiaozhong, Shao Zuiweng, and Sun Yu also in the limelight.

These filmmakers made the biggest contributions with the first short feature *Nan fu nan qi* (*Husband and Wife in Misfortune*, 1913), directed by Zheng Zhengqiu and Zhang Shichuan; first full-length feature, *Yan ruisheng* (1921), directed by Ren Pengnian; first sword-fight film, *Huo shao hong lian si* (*Burning of the Red Lotus Temple*, 1928), directed by Zhang Shichuan; and first sound feature, *Ge nü hong mudan* (*The Sing-Song Girl*, 1931), directed by Zhang Shichuan. These works were created under difficult circumstances, with simple and crude equipment and without training and experience.

Family-oriented films that drew on the lives of urban residents in the lower social strata were popular until the late 1920s, when audiences tired of their unrealistic, shallow plots. Most dealt with love affairs, marriages, household situations, and ethical issues. Gradually, they were supplemented with films that exposed the grim and pressing issues facing China; the first of these were Sun Yu's *Ye cao xian hua* (*Wild Flower*, 1930) and *Gu du chun meng* (*Spring Dream in an Ancient Capital*, 1930). Others followed, such as Zheng Zhengqiu's *Zi mei hua* (*Twin Sisters*, 1934) and Wu Yonggang's *Shen nü* (*The Goddess*,

1934), both depicting the plight of suffering women, and those that resulted when the Left-wing Writers' League took an interest in film in 1931, such as Cheng Bugao's *Kuang liu* (*Torrent*, 1933), and *Chun can* (*Spring Silkworms*, 1933), and Cai Chusheng's *Yu guang qü* (*The Life of Fishermen*, 1934). The latter three films dealt with the bitter lives of peasants.

SECOND GENERATION

With the advent of the 1930s, film changed from functioning solely as entertainment to reflecting social life realistically. Chinese filmmakers also began to grasp the basic law of film, to move beyond the limits of the stage, and began producing modern dramatic films with suspenseful plots and performances that favored realism over stylization.

This progressive period lasted until the late 1940s, nourishing important directors such as Cai Chusheng, Wu Yonggang, Fei Mu, Sun Yu, and Zheng Junli, and actors and actresses such as Ruan Lingyu, Hu Die, Jin Yan, and Zhao Dan. Responsible for the biggest box-office draws of both the 1930s (*The Life of Fishermen*) and the 1940s *Yi jiang chun shui xiang dong liu* (*The Spring River Flows East*, 1947), Cai Chusheng made films that were well knit, rich in connotation, and broad in social background. Among Wu Yonggang's (1910–1935) twenty-seven films was *The Goddess,* a classic that starred Ruan Lingyu, the first film actress to win extensive public praise, who performed in twenty-nine movies in her short twenty-five-year lifetime. Hu Die was known for her leading role in the first sound movie and for playing dual roles in *Twin Sisters*, while Jin Yan, called the emperor of Chinese cinema in the 1930s, usually portrayed intellectuals.

The Second Generation came into prominence when the Japanese invaded China in 1937, and many of their films were associated with resistance and the fight against imperialism. From 1931 to 1937 films often reflected disasters brought about by the Japanese invasion, such as Sun Yu's *Da lu* (*The Great Road*, 1934) and Xu Xingzhi's *Feng yun er nü* (*Sons and Daughters in Stormy Years*, 1935); a second stage (July 1937–August 1945) portrayed the heroism of the Chinese against Japanese aggression, as in Shi Dongshan's *Bao wei wo men de tu di* (*Defend Our Nation*, 1938), Ying Yunwei's *Ba bai zhuang shi* (Eight hundred heroes, 1938), and films of the Yan'an Cinema Troupe under the Chinese Communist Party leadership.

Postwar movies until Mao's coming to power in 1949 both analyzed and reviewed the war and the reasons for victory and focused on the strife in ordinary people's lives as the Communist Party and Kuomintang battled for control of the government. *The Spring River Flows East* depicted wartime struggles of the people and the humiliations they faced in the postwar period, while other films such as Tang Xiaodan's *Tian tang chun meng* (*Transient Joy in Heaven*, 1947), Shen Fu's *Wan jia deng huo* (*Lights of Myriad Families*, 1948), and Zheng Junli's *Wuya yu ma que* (*Crows and Sparrows*, 1949) exposed other dark sides of society at the time.

THIRD GENERATION

Third Generation filmmakers shaped the aesthetics of Communist cinema, creating works that showed the tortuousness of the Chinese revolutionary wars leading up to 1949 and the sacrifices made by the people; life and reality in old China, denouncing its social darkness and praising laborers who rose up in resistance; and changes made after 1949, reflected in new persons and phenomena that appeared in the socialist revolution. This filmmaking period lasted until 1966, after which, during the decade of the dreaded Cultural Revolution, the industry almost came to a standstill, save for a few praiseworthy films such as *Shan shan de hong xing* (*Sparkling Red Star*, 1974), *Chuang ye* (Pioneers, 1974), and *Haixia* (1975).

Among the films about revolutionary forerunners, Cheng Yin's *Gang tie zhan shi* (*Iron-Willed Fighter*, 1950) and, with codirector Tang Xiaodan, *Nan zheng bei zhan* (*From Victory to Victory*, 1952), stood out; Su Li's *Ping yuan you ji dui* (*Guerrillas on the Plain*, 1955) and Guo Wei's *Dong cunrui* (1955) were also warmly received. The latter, along with *Xiao bing zhang ga* (*Zhang Ga a Little Soldier*, 1963) and *Sparkling Red Star*, led in the children-as-revolutionary category, and Xie Jin's *Hong se niang zi juan* (*Red Detachment of Women*, 1961) topped the list of women's films. The most successful films of the modern Chinese anti-invasion wars were Zheng Junli's *Lin Zexu* (1959), about the Opium War of 1838 to 1841, and Lin Nong's *Jia wu feng yun* (*Battle of 1894*, 1962).

Films that denounced pre-1949 China often possessed a moving ideological and artistic spirit and were adapted from literary works of masters such as Lu Xun, Mao Dun, and Rou Shi. Perhaps the best were Shui Hua and Wang Bin's *Bai mao nü* (*The White-haired Girl*, 1950) and Sang Hu's *Zhu fu* (*New Year Sacrifice*, 1956), which was adapted from Lu Xun's novel of the same name. Others were Shui Hua's *Lin jia pu zi* (Lin family shop, 1959), from Mao Dun's novel; Shi Hui's *Wo zhe yi bei zi* (*This Life of Mine*, 1950), Xie Jin's *Wutai jiemei* (*Stage Sisters*, 1965), and Li Jun's *Nong nu* (*Serfdom*, 1963). The oppression suffered by intellectuals in old China was featured in works such as Xie Tieli's *Zao chun er yue* (*On the Threshold of Spring*, 1963), based on a Rou Shi novel.

Many Third Generation directors focused on life in the new China, showing it as a time of new persons and

new worlds united enthusiastically to serve the socialist revolution. Their films included *Qiao* (Bridge, 1949), directed by Wang Bin, and *Chuang ye* (Pioneers, 1974), by Yu Yanfu; both these works held the selflessness of the working class in high regard. Other films showed the new life in rural areas or depicted the role of Chinese People's Volunteers who fought in the Korean War in the early 1950s, such as *Shang gan ling* (Battle of Sangkumryung, 1956) and *Ying xiong er nü* (*Heroic Sons and Daughters*, 1964).

FOURTH GENERATION

Fourth Generation filmmakers were trained in film schools in the 1950s, and then their careers were sidelined by the Cultural Revolution until they were about forty years old. (They found a short time in the 1980s to make films.) Because they experienced the Cultural Revolution, when intellectuals and others were beaten and otherwise tortured and banished to the countryside to do menial work, Fourth Generation filmmakers told stories about disastrous experiences in Chinese history, the havoc caused by the ultra-left, and the lifestyles and mindsets of rural folk. Armed with theory and practice, they were able to explore the laws of art to reshape film, using a realistic, simple, and natural style. Typical was *Bashan yeyu* (*Evening Rain*, 1980), by Wu Yonggang and Wu Yigong, about the Cultural Revolution years.

Fourth Generation directors stressed the meaning of life, focusing on an idealistic view of human nature. Characterization was important, and they attributed to their characters traits based on the common philosophy of ordinary people. For example, they changed military films to depict ordinary people and not just heroes, and to show the brutality of war from a humanistic approach. The Fourth Generation also expanded the varieties of characters and forms of artistic expression in biographical films. Previously, historical figures and soldiers were the main subjects, but after the Cultural Revolution, films glorified state and party leaders such as Zhou Enlai (1898–1976), Sun Yat-sen (1866–1925), and Mao Zedong (1893–1976) and showed the lives of both intellectuals and common people, as in *Cheng nan jiu shi* (*My Memories of Old Beijing*, 1983), directed by Wu Yigong; *Wo men de tian ye* (*Our Farm Land*, 1983), directed by Xie Fei (b. 1942) and Zheng Dongtian; *Liang jia fu nü* (*A Good Woman*, 1985), directed by Huang Jianzhong; *Ye shan* (*Wild Mountains*, 1986), directed by Yan Xueshu; *Lao jing* (*Old Well*, 1986), directed by Wu Tianming (b. 1939); and *Beijing ni zao* (*Good Morning, Beijing*, 1991), directed by Zhang Nuanxin.

The representation of social issues—housing in *Lin ju* (*Neighbor*, 1981), by Zheng Dongtian and Xu Guming, and malpractice in *Fa ting nei wai* (*In and Outside the Court*, 1980) by Cong Lianwen and Lu Xiaoya—was an important theme. The Fourth Generation also was concerned with China's reform, as exemplified in *Ren sheng* (Significance of life, 1984) by Wu Tianming (b. 1939), *Xiang yin* (*Country Couple*, 1983) by Hu Bingliu, and later, *Guo nian* (*Celebrating the New Year*, 1991) by Huang Jianzhong and *Xiang hun nü* (*Women from the Lake of Scented Souls*, 1993) by Xie Fei (b. 1942).

Other contributions of the Fourth Generation were changes made in methods of storytelling and cinematographic expression. For example, in *Sheng huo de chan yin* (*Reverberations of Life*, 1979) Wu Tianming and Teng Wenji developed the plot by combining it with a violin concerto, allowing the music to help carry the story. *Ku nao ren de xiao* (Smile of the distressed, 1979) by Yang Yanjin used the inner conflicts and insanity of the lead character as the narrative thread. To realistically record scenes, filmmakers used creative techniques such as long takes, location shooting, and natural lighting (the latter two especially in Xie Fei's films). True-to-life and unadorned performances were also necessary in this generation's films, and were supplied by new actors and actresses such as Pan Hong, Li Zhiyu, Zhang Yu, Chen Chong, Tang Guoqiang, Liu Xiaoqing, Siqin Gaowa, and Li Ling.

Like their male counterparts, Fourth Generation women filmmakers graduated from film schools in the 1960s, but had their careers delayed because of the Cultural Revolution. Among them were Zhang Nuanxin (1941–1995), who directed *Sha ou* (1981) and *Qing chun ji* (*Sacrificed Youth*, 1985); Huang Shuqin, known for *Qing chun wan sui* (Forever young, 1983) and *Ren gui qing* (*Woman, Demon, Human*, 1987); Shi Shujun, director of *Nü da xue sheng zhi si* (*Death of a College Girl*, 1992), which helped reveal a hospital malpractice cover-up in the death of a student; Wang Haowei, who made *Qiao zhe yi jiazi* (What a family!, 1979) and *Xizhao jie* (*Sunset Street*, 1983); Wang Junzheng, director of *Miao Miao* (1980); and Lu Xiaoya, director of *Hong yi shao nü* (*Girl in Red*, 1985).

FIFTH GENERATION

Best known outside China are Fifth Generation films, which have won major international awards and in some cases have been box-office successes abroad. Much heralded among Fifth Generation directors are the 1982 Beijing Film Academy graduates Zhang Yimou, Chen Kaige, Tian Zhuangzhuang (b. 1952), and Wu Ziniu and Huang Jianxin (b. 1954), who graduated a year later.

In the first decade of their filmmaking (until the mid-1990s), Fifth Generation directors used common themes and styles, which was understandable since they were all born in the early 1950s, experienced similar

Gong Li in Zhang Yimou's* Raise the Red Lantern *(1991). © MGM/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

hardships during the Cultural Revolution, entered the film academy as older students with ample social experiences, and felt an urgency to catch up and fulfill tasks expected of them. All felt a strong sense of history, which was reflected in the films they made. The first of this generation's works was Zhang Junzhao's *Yi ge he ba ge* (*One and Eight*, 1983), set in northern China during World War II. Other early Fifth Generation films were also historical, such as Chen Kaige's *Huang tu di* (*Yellow Earth*, 1984), about relationships between the Chinese Communist Party and northern Shaanxi peasants in the 1940s, and Zhang Yimou's *Hong gao liang* (*Red Sorghum*, 1987), concerning the civil war era and the war of resistance. Wu Ziniu's films often dealt with war, as in *Die xue hei gu* (Secret decree, 1985), *Wan zhong* (*Evening Bell*, 1988) and *Nanjing 1937* (*Don't Cry, Nanjing*, 1995); Huang Jianxin explored political commitment, a prime example being his satire on the Chinese bureaucracy, *Hei pao shi jian* (*The Black Cannon Incident*, 1986); and Tian Zhuangzhuang examined themes about marginal cultures of the border areas of Inner Mongolia and Tibet in *Lie chang zha sha* (*On the Hunting Ground*, 1984) and *Dao ma zei* (*Horse Thief*, 1986).

The Fifth Generation was credited with creating a new film language, the most prominent feature of which was cinematography—use of the visual image to build narrative with unconventional camera movement, vivid contrast between light and dark, unusual framing, and montages. They employed allegory and ritual and emphasized ambiguity in telling stories; generally, they moved away from theatricality and melodrama, preferring a minimalist style of acting. Zhang Yimou, in particular, paid much attention to shot composition and color symbolism, reflecting his early career as cinematographer on both *One and Eight* and *Yellow Earth*. In

ZHANG YIMOU

b. Xi'an, Shaanxi, China, 14 November 1951

Zhang Yimou is a director, screenwriter, producer, actor, and cinematographer who, along with Chen Kaige, took China's cinema to an esteemed international level. A graduate of Beijing Film Academy, Zhang began his career as a cinematographer, drawing attention for his work on *Yi ge he ba ge* (*One and Eight*, 1984). He also was cinematographer for *Huang tu di* (*Yellow Earth*, 1984), which is regarded as the signature work of China's "Fifth Generation" of filmmakers. He also won three best actor awards from various groups for his role in *Lao jing* (*Old Well*, 1987).

Zhang's directing started with *Hong gao liang* (*Red Sorghum*, 1987), and by 2004 he had completed at least fifteen other movies, a number of which have been released abroad to critical acclaim. *Ying xiong* (*Hero*, 2002) and *Shi mian mai fu* (*House of Flying Daggers*, 2004) were nominated for Academy Awards® for best foreign-language film.

Zhang's films are distinguished by rich cinematography and an emphasis on imagery and metaphors to convey messages, and until recently, they have featured dark, mournful, folkloric stories of rural life. They often deal with the perseverance of Chinese commoners, whether it is the family in *Huo zhe* (*To Live*, 1994) trying to survive the unpredictable reality of the 1940s to 1980s; the wife in *Qiu Ju da guan si* (*Qiu Ju Goes to Court*, 1992), who repeatedly goes back to court to seek justice for her abused husband; Wei Minzhi in *Yi ge dou bu neng shao* (*Not One Less*, 1999), who doggedly fulfills her assignment to keep a class of students together; or the mother in *Wo de fu qin mu qin* (*The Road Home*, 1999), who stubbornly insists that her deceased husband be returned home against formidable odds to be given a traditional burial. Color also plays a key role in Zhang's films: in *Da hong deng long gao gao gua* (*Raise the Red Lantern*, 1991), the dominance of the wedding color red, which represents which wife is chosen for the conjugal bed; the bright colored cloth hanging in the dye house in *Ju Dou* (1990), which contrasts with the dull unhappiness of the young, unfaithful wife; and the colorful countryside in *The Road Home*, which hints at the happiness of the parents when they were young and in love.

Zhang changed his style on occasion, becoming a master of the happy-sad ending, as in *Xingfu shiguang* (*Happy Time*, 2001) and *The Road Home*, and later, moving to the action-filled, martial-arts genre with peculiar twists that differed from the traditional Hong Kong kung fu films. Critics in China have panned his latest works, writing that they have illogical plots and weak characters and were designed specifically for North American audiences. *Hero* broke box-office records in China for domestic movies, and *House of Flying Daggers* was a financial success in both China and the United States.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Hong gao liang (*Red Sorghum*, 1987), *Ju Dou* (1990), *Da hong deng long gao gao gua* (*Raise the Red Lantern*, 1991), *Qiu Ju da guan si* (*Qiu Ju Goes to Court*, 1992), *Huo zhe* (*To Live*, 1994), *Yi ge dou bu neng shao* (*Not One Less*, 1999), *Wo de fu qin mu qin* (*The Road Home*, 1999), *Xingfu shiguang* (*Happy Time*, 2001), *Ying xiong* (*Hero*, 2002), *Shi mian mai fu* (*House of Flying Daggers*, 2004)

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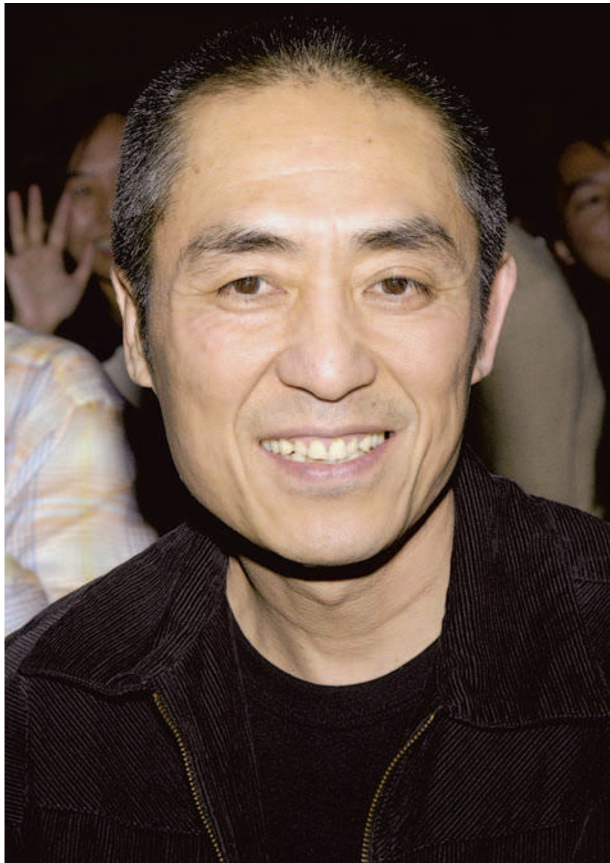
recent years, Zhang Yimou's films have changed considerably, moving to the action-packed martial-arts genre so appealing to Western audiences with *Ying xiong* (*Hero*, 2002) and *Shi mian mai fu* (*House of Flying Daggers*, 2004). These works have generated much adverse criticism in China, while enjoying huge box-office success both at home and abroad.

SIXTH GENERATION

As one of its directors, Lou Ye (b. 1965), said, the Sixth Generation may be only a label, its definition open-ended because of the lack of a commonly shared manifesto or school of thought. Sixth Generation directors have their distinct individual tastes and their films all look different. They tend to move away from the



Zhang Yimou. PHOTO BY S. SARAC/EVERETT COLLECTION.

traditional roles of political dissident, illustrator of Chinese history, and reflector of the countryside, focusing instead on their own artistic visions. The locale of most of their films is the city in all its bleakness and rawness, since unlike the previous two generations, they have had little experience with rural China. Their protagonists are today's marginal people living outside the mainstream—rock stars, homosexuals, drifters.

Sixth Generation filmmakers themselves were marginalized. Born in the 1960s and 1970s, they grew up in a transitional period when Communist ideology deteriorated in the face of the rapid marketization of the Chinese economy. Thus, they do not allegorize their narratives; instead, they express their (and other urbanites') sense of loss, anxiety, and frustration in the face of China's quickly changing cityscape. An example is Wang Xiaoshuai's *Shi qi sui de dan che* (*Beijing Bicycle*, 2000), the story of a country bumpkin's relentless struggle to obtain and retain his bicycle in the exploitative and violent urban environment. Sixth Generation films explore in depth individual identities, penetrating the inner psychology of their characters. Some works are gloomily realistic, such as Jia Zhangke's *Zhantai* (*Platform*, 2000) and Zhang Yuan's *Guo nian hui jia* (*Seventeen Years*, 1999), or daring and restless, such as Wang Quanan's *Yue shi* (*Lunar Eclipse*, 1999) and Lou Ye's *Suzhou he* (*Suzhou River*, 2000).

At times working underground, Sixth Generation directors know censorship firsthand and have grown to live with it; at times, their works have been cut, banned, or relegated to limited release. Lou, for example, was not allowed to make films for three years, and his *Suzhou River* was banned. Sixth Generation directors' filmmaking has often been precarious because of government censorship and financial difficulties, yet many of their films have won awards at international film festivals.

PLANNED ECONOMY ERA

The Sixth Generation is likely to be the last group of filmmakers to be so identified, for in a planned economy environment it makes less sense to categorize by generations, when all types of filmmaking arrangements occur and all producers must scramble to find capital and audiences. One scholar, Shaoyi Sun, has identified four types of filmmaking at the beginning of the twenty-first century: the internationally known directors, such as Zhang Yimou and Chen Kaige, who have few problems financing their work; the state-financed directors who make major "melody" films that are likely to reinforce party policy and present a positive image of China; the Sixth Generation, hit hard by augmented commercialization and struggling to find money; and the relatively new group of commercial filmmakers who strive solely for box-office success. Epitomizing the commercial type is Feng Xiaogang (b. 1958), whose New Year–celebration movies such as *Jia fang yi fang* (*The Dream Factory*, 1997), *Bu jian bu san* (*Be There or Be Square*, 1998), *Mei wan mei liao* (*Sorry Baby*, 2000), and *Da wan* (*Big Shot's Funeral*, 2001) since 1997 have grossed more money than any films except the imported *Titanic* (1997). Feng is candid about his "fast-food filmmaking," gleefully admitting to a goal of entertaining the largest audience while succeeding at the box office.

The trend toward commercialized film has left women filmmakers uncomfortable, as many have been shy about seeking funding from entrepreneurs. Nevertheless, as they have since the 1980s, they continue to direct movies about women from a female perspective, avoiding completely the stereotype of wretched, weak women dependent upon men to solve their problems. Notable in recent years have been Li Hong's *Ban ni gao fei* (*Tutor*, 1999) and *Hei bai she ying shi sha ren shi jian* (*Murder in Black and White*, 2001), Emily Tang's *Dong ci bian wei* (*Conjugation*, 2002), and Ma Xiaoying's *Shi jie shang zui teng wo de na ge ren zou le* (*Gone Is the One Who Held Me Dearest in the World*, 2002).

China's film industry has had a number of major shakeups since the mid-1990s that have substantially changed its infrastructure. By the early 1990s the studio system was already disintegrating, but it was hit even harder when state funds were cut sharply in 1996. Replacing the studio system are a number of independent production companies that are owned privately, either jointly with foreign investors or collectively. Also having an impact on the industry was the breaking up of the China Film Group's monopoly on distribution in 2003. In its place is Hua Xia, made up of Shanghai Film Group and provincial studios, China Film Group, and SARFT. A third factor that transformed Chinese cinema was the reopening in January 1995 of China's film market to Hollywood after a lapse of nearly half a century. Initially, ten "excellent" foreign films were to be imported yearly, but as the United States pressed for a wider opening up of the market, holding China's anticipated entry into the World Trade Organization as a bargaining chip, the number was increased to fifty and is expected to rise further.

Other significant changes came about soon after 1995. In production, restrictions on foreign investment have been considerably loosened, the result being that the number of international coproductions has grown at an accelerated pace. An overhaul of the exhibition infrastructure was implemented by SARFT after 2002, with goals of upgrading the sorry state of rundown theaters and remedying the numerous prohibitive restrictions exhibitors face. China pushed forward with multiplexes and digitalization, bypassing more conventional means of exhibition. Because of the enormous profits to be realized, US companies, particularly Warner Bros., became prominently involved in the Chinese exhibition circuit.

Censorship is still strictly enforced, although modifications of the censoring process (especially of script approval) have been made and a ratings system considered. Previously banned films can now be shown, and filmmakers have been encouraged to participate in international festivals. Government authorities and film personnel have tried to contend with the industry's problems by encouraging foreign producers to use China as a place to make movies, and by upgrading technologies, changing promotional strategies, and advancing the profession through the creation of more film schools and festivals.

These film reforms resuscitated an industry that was in dire straits after 1995, with the result that the number of films made has increased to more than two hundred, some attracting international attention and success at the box offices. But many problems remain, including loss of audiences to other media and other activities, the high prices of tickets, and rampant pirating. As China's film industry panders to Hollywood and commercialization, the biggest concerns are what kinds of films will be made and what about them will be Chinese.

SEE ALSO *Hong Kong; National Cinema*

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CHOREOGRAPHY

The job of choreographer or dance director for a musical is to develop dances and production numbers that highlight the abilities of the stars and specialty dancers in the slots that the director and writers assign. Some of these dances advance the plot, but many dance sequences appear in performance settings, such as a nightclub, theater, or social event.

CINEMATIC CONTEXTS

Some choreographed sequences involve the characters and the roles they play in the story, and others present performers whose sole function in the film is to dance. *Down Argentine Way* (1940), a romance with horses that takes place on a hacienda, has dances credited to Nick Castle (1910–1968) and Geneva Sawyer. At various points in the film, the characters attend fiestas that feature group "ethnic" dances and a plot-related vocal and movement specialty by Charlotte Greenwood (1893–1978), a veteran character actress known for her high kicks. The film also features spectacular duets by the tuxedo-clad Nicholas Brothers (Fayard [1914–2006] and Harold [1921–2000]), who just happen to be there, tap dancing and leaping over each other in full split. Most appearances by African American dancers (and musicians) are similarly "accidental," so that they could be deleted for distribution in southern states without marring the plot.

The MGM backstage musical *Easter Parade* (1948), set in pre–World War I New York, is a good example of how dance sequences could be fit into movies. Choreographed by Charles Walters (1911–1982) and with songs by Irving Berlin (1888–1989), ranging from vaudeville hits of the 1910s and 1920s to new ballads from the 1940s, the film stars Fred Astaire (1899–1987), with Ann Miller (1923–2004) and Judy Garland (1922–1969) as his partners in exhibition ballroom dancing. Astaire and Garland adopt the period style in plot-related exhibition ballroom dances that the viewer sees both in rehearsal and performance. The anachronistic "It Only Happens When I Dance with You" is pure 1940s adagio for Astaire and Miller. The film, which also features dance specialties suited to the stars, opens with a prop-manipulation solo for Astaire, this time dancing with a drum set. The onstage scenes include a special effect act for Astaire, tapping in real time in front of a chorus filmed in slow-motion, and the comic "Walk Down the Avenue" duet for Astaire and Garland dressed as tramps. Miller performs "Shaking the Blues Away," a surrealist solo in which she shows off her signature tap fouettés, surrounded by detached arms playing instruments through holes in the stage floor.

In the late 1940s and 1950s, Hollywood extended invitations to star choreographers from Broadway, such as Agnes de Mille (1905–1993) and Michael Kidd (b. 1919). De Mille's *Oklahoma!* finally reached the screen in 1955, with the influential dream ballet intact. Kidd restaged some of his Broadway successes, such as *Guys and Dolls* (1955), but also choreographed new musicals written directly for film. *The Band Wagon* (1953) includes a fake ballet, some overdone dances on a fragmenting set for the musical comedy of *Faust*, and two "improvised" dance-for-the-fun-of-it numbers. It ends in the glorious "Girl Hunt" sequence, a parody of Mike Hammer detective *film noir* and musical film clichés for Fred Astaire and a slinky Cyd Charisse (b. 1921), who, as

Astaire's character remarked at her entrance, "came at me in sections." The barn-raising dance in *Seven Brides for Seven Brothers* (1954) was the surprise hit of the MGM compilation film *That's Entertainment* (1974). Kidd used social dance and stylized acrobatics with construction props to develop a set piece for the "brides" and their rival gangs of townies and frontiersmen lined up on distant sides of the sound stage. The women, lined up in the center, alternate dancing with the two sets of male partners. Kidd's grasp of the dance possibilities for the wide-screen format was so great that the sequence is used in *That's Entertainment* to demonstrate the necessity of letter-boxing.

RECOGNIZABLE CHOREOGRAPHERS

Although many early films featured dance, the sequences were generally preexisting acts or social dances. Choreographers or dance directors were not credited, but as narrative film developed in the silent era, choreographers began to fulfill two functions. Films with plots that centered on goings-on backstage, especially those filmed in the New York studios, often showed celebrities and rehearsals led by Broadway choreographers. Cosmopolitan's *The Great White Way* (1924) showed a *Ziegfeld Follies* rehearsal with the real dance director Ned Wayburn (1874–1942) setting choreography on Anita Stewart (1895–1961) as Mabel. In Hollywood, directors hired Los Angeles–area concert dance troupes or schools to provide atmosphere. Occasionally they were identified and even publicized for their contributions to the film. The always media-savvy Ruth St. Denis (1878–1968) and Ted Shawn (1891–1972) led their Denishawn dancers on the steps of Babylon in D. W. Griffith's (1875–1948) 1916 masterpiece *Intolerance*. The concert dancer Marion Morgan provided appropriate period dances for the multiple flashbacks in *Man-Woman-Marriage* (1921), and Ernest Belcher (1882–1973), whose Los Angeles studio rivaled Denishawn in popularity, provided dancers for backstage sequences in many films, among them *Heroes of the Street* (1922). Cecil B. DeMille (1881–1959) worked with the former Ballets Russes dancer Theodore Kosloff (1882–1956) in most of his 1920s films, culminating most memorably in the Ballet Mechanique on the dirigible sequence in *Madame Satan* (1930).

When the studios committed to sound technology after 1927 and began to churn out revues to exploit the new technology, they brought Broadway, Prolog, and vaudeville choreographers west for consultancies or employment. The many women choreographers in these fields were given few feature-length assignments and soon returned to Broadway, although Fanchon, a choreographer and musical sequence director, remained in Los Angeles to take over the West Coast Prolog circuit and worked on more than a dozen films. Albertina Rasch (1895–1967) (who was married to the composer Dmitri Tiomkin [1894–1979]) commuted between Broadway and MGM. She provided period dance for the sound film *Devil-May-Care* (1929), starring Ramon Novarro (1899–1968), and *Marie Antoinette* (1938), starring Norma Shearer (1902–1983), and collaborated with the director Ernst Lubitsch (1892–1947) on the 1934 version of *The Merry Widow*. One of the most memorable moments from this highly successful version of the operetta is the spiral of waltzing couples as the camera slowly zooms outward. Film stars who were former members of the Albertina Rasch Dancers promoted her for projects in the 1930s, among them Eleanor Powell (1912–1982), for *Broadway Melody of 1936* and *Rosalie* (1937), and Jeanette MacDonald (1903–1965), who requested her for MGM's popular operetta series, including *The Girl of the Golden West* (1938).

The so-called Broadway Big Four—Dave Gould (1899–1969), Seymour Felix (1892–1961), Sammy Lee (1890–1968), and Busby Berkeley (1895–1976)—all found studio niches. Gould won the first Oscar® for dance for his contributions to *Flying Down to Rio* (1933), the film that first paired Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers (1911–1995). Felix had a long career at Twentieth Century Fox, specializing in period backstage musicals, including the biographies of *The Dolly Sisters* (1945), *Oh, You Beautiful Doll* (1949), about the songwriter Fred Fisher (1875–1942), and *Golden Girl* (1951), about the mid-nineteenth-century actress Lotta Crabtree (1847–1924). Lee spent most of his career at United Artists, staging dances in melodramas and westerns, and he also worked on Abbott and Costello (Bud Abbott [1895–1974] and Lou Costello [1906–1959]) comedies for Universal. Berkeley's films for Warner Bros. earned him the most lasting acclaim. His grasp of art direction and the possibilities of the camera allowed him to develop a style so suited to black-and-white that it epitomized Art Deco. His production numbers open up from their ostensible stage settings, adding depth and mass movement to the core dances.

Each studio had staff dance directors, mostly performer-choreographers from Broadway or popular entertainment. Gould's assistant, Hermes Pan (1909–1990), throughout his long career worked with Fred Astaire, primarily as the credited choreographer. He developed both the celebrated duets with Ginger Rogers and the repertory of solos. Nick Castle specialized in modern dress musicals, primarily for Twentieth Century Fox, among them vehicles for Sonja Henie (1912–1969). He was also known for comedies, among them Abbott and Costello films for Universal and, later, Jerry Lewis (b. 1926) comedies for Paramount. Castle shared credits

Roy Scheider as choreographer Joe Gideon in* All That Jazz *(Bob Fosse, 1979). ® ™ AND COPYRIGHT © 20TH CENTURY FOX FILM CORP./COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

for many films, such as Fox's Shirley Temple (b. 1928) musicals, with Geneva Sawyer, who reached Hollywood after being the dance director for the Cotton Club, the famed Harlem nightclub.

In the history of film, choreographers from ballet or modern dance have been offered only occasional work. The most successful transition from ballet (without the intermediate step of a career on Broadway) was made by Eugene Loring (1914–1982), best known for the Ballet Caravan company's *Billy the Kid*. His film work includes spectacular numbers for Cyd Charisse in the musical *Silk Stockings* (1957) and the biopic *Deep in My Heart* (1954), about the American composer Sigmund Romberg (1887–1951), most notably her sultry "One Alone" duet with James Mitchell (b. 1920). The Dr. Seuss fantasy *The 5,000 Fingers of Dr. T.* (1953) brilliantly represents his creativity and ability to fit movement to visual style, especially in the dungeon ballet for the jailed musicians of banned instruments.

Fame (1980) focused on adolescent dancers at New York City's High School for the Performing Arts. Louis Falco (1942–1993), a modern dancer, choreographed classes, performances, and the film's spectacular "improvised" numbers. The modern dance choreographer Twyla Tharp (b. 1941) adapted her stylized movements to different periods for collaborations with director Milos Forman (b. 1932) on *Hair* (1979), *Ragtime* (1981), and *Amadeus* (1984). Lester Wilson (1942–1993), whose dance career encompasses modern dance and Broadway, found success as a choreographer for films focusing on contemporary social dance, from disco for *Saturday Night Fever* (1977) to hip-hop for *Beat Street* (1984). He has also worked on comedies, among them the *Hot Shots!* parody series (1991, 1993).

George Balanchine (1904–1983), the Russian-born choreographer who brought ballet to the United States, was also known in the 1930s for his Broadway work. He created ballets for Vera Zorina (1917–2003) that were interpolated into *The Goldwyn Follies* (1938), *On Your Toes* (1939), and *I Was an Adventuress* (1940). His most successful work for film, the gangster ballet *Slaughter on Tenth Avenue*, had been created for the stage version of *On Your Toes* (by Rodgers and Hart), and then expanded for the screen. The World War II Paramount all-star 1942 revue *Star Spangled Rhythm* featured a Zorina ballet by Balanchine set to "That Old Black Magic" and a specialty dance by the African American choreographer and anthropologist Katherine Dunham for her troupe and a zoot-suited Eddie Anderson (1905–1977).

For Jerome Robbins (1918–1998), a Broadway choreographer who then became a ballet choreographer for Balanchine's New York City Ballet, the transition to film was more difficult. The "Little House of Uncle Thomas" sequence in *The King and I* (1956) is stage-bound and distant, as if it were filmed from the audience's perspective. He brought camera movement to the gang warfare in *West Side Story* (1961) with the long opening sequence of alternating skirmishes between the Jets and Sharks, the dance at the gym, and the rumble. But the dream ballets from the stage musical were eliminated.

Bob Fosse (1927–1987), who had danced in film for Jack Cole (1911–1974), opened up stage choreography well in *The Pajama Game* (1957) and *Damn Yankees!* (1958), especially in the "Once a Year Day" picnic and "Shoeless Joe" baseball practice sequences. The classic dance with hats, "Steam Heat" from *Pajama Game*, was presented in a show-within-a-show setting—in this case, a union rally—and was replicated from the stage. His most acclaimed film was the 1972 *Cabaret* (which he had not staged or directed on Broadway), which epitomizes the slow, sexual, and confrontational dance style of his later work.

BOB FOSSE

b. Robert Fosse, Chicago, Illinois, 23 June 1927, d. 23 September 1987

Recognized as an auteur late in his career, Bob Fosse was one of the few choreographers whose moves and poses were popularly recognized. After a successful but conventional career as a choreographer and director for stage and screen, Bob Fosse gained his reputation as an innovative stylist in the 1970s and 1980s. The Fosse signature style was a jazz dance made more angular by emphasizing the back and hips.

Fosse performed in national companies and on Broadway before a contract with MGM brought him to Hollywood as a dancer. Young looking, he was cast as chorus boys and college students in B musicals such as *Give the Girl a Break* (1953) and *The Affairs of Dobie Gillis* (1953). These films gave him the opportunity to learn about film and movement from colleagues and future choreographers like Gower Champion, Tommy Rall, Joan McCracken, and Carol Haney. His most memorable appearance was with Rall, Haney, McCracken, and Ann Miller in "From This Moment On" in *Kiss Me Kate* (1953). He returned to New York to choreograph *The Pajama Game*, which opened in 1954. The show was a huge success, and the way Haney and two male dancers manipulated black hats in the sultry "Steam Heat" number brought Fosse fame. He won six Tony awards for choreography for, among others, *Damn Yankees!* (1955) and *Sweet Charity* (1966), starring his then-wife Gwen Verdon. Fosse returned to Hollywood to choreograph the film versions of *The Pajama Game* (1957), *Damn Yankees* (1958), and *Sweet Charity* (1969), which he also directed.

Fosse's breakthrough was the film of *Cabaret* (1972), in which, as director-choreographer, he shifted the musical's focus to its young adult characters in 1930s Germany. As played by Liza Minnelli, Sally Bowles was changed from an untalented wannabee into a vibrant star with such memorable scenes as "Mein Herr," danced on, around, and through a chair, with fishnet-stockinged legs extended. He also staged Minnelli's television special, *Liza with a Z* (1972), and the stage show *Liza* (1974).

His stylization of dancers' bodies continued in the musical *Chicago* (1975), starring Verdon, which was later revived on Broadway and turned into a 2002 film. Fosse's only nondance film was *Lenny* (1974), a semi-abstract study of the controversial comedian Lenny Bruce. He continued his experiments with musical genres with the stage revue *Dancin'* (1978), which he developed, directed, and choreographed, and the film *All That Jazz* (1979), which he directed, choreographed, and co-wrote. Widely believed to be semi-autobiographical, it is a backstage musical interrupted by the health crisis of the director. Although there had been stage experiments with this conventional plot line before, Fosse's stylistic approach earned comparisons to Federico Fellini. Like his version of *Cabaret*, *All That Jazz* meshes reality and stage performance while playing games with chronology and audience expectation.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

As Choreographer: *The Pajama Game* (1957), *Damn Yankees!* (1958), *How to Succeed in Business Without Really Trying* (1967); As Director and Choreographer: *Sweet Charity* (1969), *Cabaret* (1972); As Writer, Director, and Choreographer: *All That Jazz* (1979); As Director: *Lenny* (1974)

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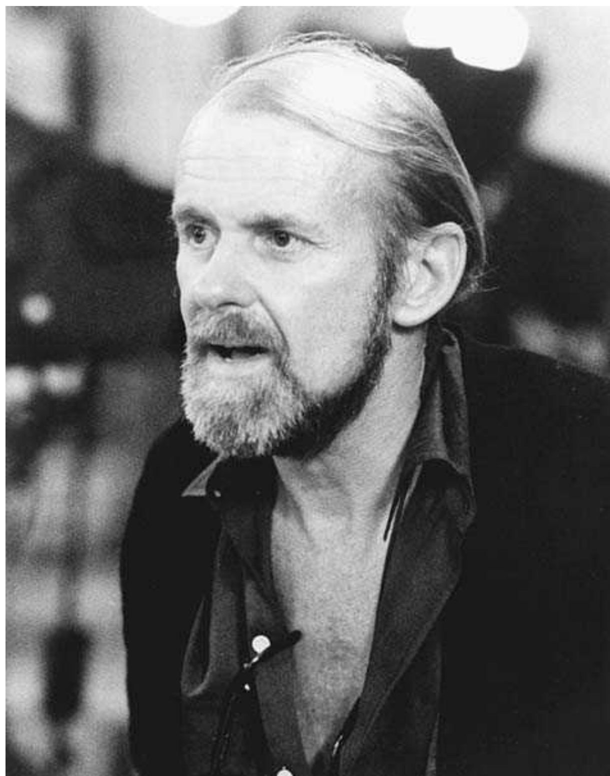
Barbara Cohen-Stratyner

Most of the remaining musicals filmed after the 1960s were restaged for vast choruses by Onna White (1922–2005) (*The Music Man*, 1962; *Oliver!*, 1968; *Mame*, 1974) or the team of Mark Breaux and Dee Dee Wood (*The Sound of Music*, 1965). The latter team also choreographed many new projects aimed at family audiences, among them the hugely popular Disney films *Mary Poppins* (1964) and *Chitty Chitty Bang Bang* (1968).

A slew of pop-music musicals were produced in the disco era, following the popularity of *Saturday Night Fever*. The best of these were *Grease* (1978) and *Grease 2* (1982), both staged by Patricia Birch, which updated the early 1960s dances without losing the period flavor. Birch also contributed social dances to the Teatro Campesino's study of Los Angeles race riots, *Zoot Suit* (1981), and to many comedies, such as *Big* (1988) and



Bob Fosse on the set of* All That Jazz *(1979). **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

The First Wives Club (1996). Fosse's Broadway musical *Chicago* finally reached the screen in 2002, directed and choreographed by Rob Marshall (b. 1960).

NONMUSICAL FILMS

For a dramatic film, a dance director's task is to develop period-appropriate movement, most often for social settings. For example, in costume dramas characters might be seen meeting each other at balls, and in *film noir* in nightclubs. In the studio era credit for work was not consistent, even when crucial elements of the plot occur in a dance setting. Agnes de Mille was named as choreographer of George Cukor's (1899–1983) *Romeo and Juliet* (1936), but no one is credited for the 1938 *Jezebel.*

In action films the responsibilities of dance directors, fight directors, stunt coordinators, and special-effects staff often overlap. According to contemporary press for *The Warriors* (1979), each group of actors developed signature movements to distinguish it from the rival gangs. The monumental impact of Hong Kong filmmaking on Hollywood has elevated the role of the fight choreographer, who stages stunts but maintains each character's individuality. The most influential fight choreographer is Yuen Woo Ping (b. 1945), a veteran whose Hong Kong credits go back to the 1970s. His period work has been seen in Ang Lee's *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* (2000), both volumes of *Kill Bill* (2003, 2004), and the *Matrix* trilogy (1999–2003). In the latter films he created spectacular hand-to-hand combat, leaps into nowhere, and fights with "cloned" copies of actors that were then computer manipulated for pace. Corey Yuen performed similar tasks in the *X-Men* films in 2000 and 2004, developing individual movement styles for each character's personality and mutation. *The House of Flying Daggers* (2004) credited action directors, a martial arts coordinator, and the choreographer Zhang Jianming.

SEE ALSO *Dance; Musicals; Theater*

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Barbara Cohen-Stratyner

CINEMATOGRAPHY

In the earliest days of cinema, before the dominance of the narrative mode, movies were made almost wholly by cameramen. *Le Repas de bébé* (*Feeding the Baby* or *Baby's Dinner*, 1895) by Auguste (1862–1954) and Louis Lumière (1864–1948) is a stunning example of composition with movement. As early as the second shot of *The Great Train Robbery* (1903), filmed for Edison by Edwin S. Porter (1869–1941), one can see, in the depiction of the train moving past a water tower where the desperadoes are hiding, the influence of the finely trained cameraman's eye, sensitive to subtle modulations of light and shadow and adept at composing a well-balanced and beautiful cinematographic frame. This is an exquisite example of black-and-white photography of motion, with a sumptuous range of mid-tone grays, a rich and textured black, and pearly highlights in the sunny spots. Later, Porter was teamed with director J. Searle Dawley (1877–1949) at the Edison studio, and at the American Mutoscope and Biograph Company, Billy Bitzer (1872–1944) was teamed with D. W. Griffith (1875–1948), who began directing around 1908. Both Porter and Bitzer claimed that they had alone been responsible for all of the camera work, negative processing, site selection, and actor directing.

After the age of the director had begun, the cinematographer (in the United Kingdom, the "lighting cameraman" and often, in the United States, the "director of photography" or "D.O.P.") came to have exclusive responsibility for the representation of narrative scenes on film. Beyond the actual powering of first the hand-cranked and later the electric camera, this responsibility included designing lighting for each shot; selecting the film stock and camera equipment; operating and maintaining this equipment (later in conjunction with the camera department of the studio), selecting exposure settings and camera movements, and printing the exposed film. When the division of labor at Hollywood studios increased during the 1930s, cinematographers were working with loaders and camera operators, grips and gaffers, juicers, spotmen, and focus pullers. The teaming of cinematographers and directors evident during this era continues to this day, as evinced in such longtime pairings as: cinematographer Bert Glennon (1893–1967) with director John Ford (1894–1973), Joseph Walker (1892–1985) with Frank Capra (1897–1991), Russell Metty (1906–1978) with Douglas Sirk (1900–1987), Robert Burks (1910–1968) with Alfred Hitchcock (1899–1980), Sven Nykvist (b. 1922) with Ingmar Bergman (b. 1918), Allen Daviau (b. 1942) and then Janusz Kaminski (b. 1959) with Steven Spielberg (b. 1946), and Ernest Dickerson (b. 1951) with Spike Lee (b. 1957). Such teaming provides opportunities for directors to involve themselves intensively with the cinematographer's style and craft; and many directors, including Hitchcock and Jerry Lewis (b. 1926), operated on the set with a thorough knowledge of lenses, filters, camera movements, and lighting. Some directors were themselves once cinematographers, including Josef von Sternberg (1894–1969), Nicholas Roeg (b. 1928), Haskell Wexler (b. 1926), Robert Rodriguez (b. 1968), Ernest Dickerson, and Jan de Bont (b. 1943), for example.

The American Society of Cinematographers (ASC, the three letters that have followed the cinematographer's name in screen credits since Mary Pickford [1893–1979] had them inscribed after Charles Rosher's [1885–1974]

Gregg Toland's deep focus cinematography in* Citizen Kane *(Orson Welles, 1941). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

name in her films) was formed in 1919 through a union of the Cinema Camera Club (from New York) and the Static Club (from Los Angeles). The British Society of Cinematographers (BSC) was formed in 1949 by Bert Easey and fifty-four colleagues, and the Canadian Society of Cinematographers (CSC) was founded in 1957.

THE CINEMATOGRAPHER'S TECHNIQUE

It is often difficult for technically naive viewers to grasp that although in everyday situations the eye typically adapts to variations in light and produces a credible "image" of reality under most lighting conditions, the camera—even an extremely expensive and elaborate one such as the Mitchell BNC 35mm or the Éclair, Arriflex, or Aaton 16mm—can "see" only what the film stock with which it is loaded is sensitive enough to record within a field that has been adequately lit. Onscreen, even darkness, shadow, gloom, and mist need to be properly lit in order to show up visually as such. Simply withholding light from part of a scene will produce a completely underexposed patch in the negative, not an area that will seem to be rich with the characteristic texture of darkness. The dark sequence in *Touch of Evil* (1958), for example, wherein Joe Grandi (Akim Tamiroff) is tortured and killed by Hank Quinlan (Orson Welles), shows exemplary achievement in cinematography, since even in the gloom of the seedy hotel room where the action is set, cinematographer Russell Metty produces a full and rounded range of mid-tone grays and a gritty, textured objectivity.

Also often taken for granted are the delicate screen compositions with light that can move the eye systematically through the editing. To sit back with the sound off and watch Allen Daviau's bicycle chase sequence in Spielberg's *E.T. the Extra-Terrestrial* (1982), for instance, is to be astonished by the exquisitely framed screen compositions and the use of highlighting and camera movement to move the eye seamlessly from shot to shot.

Very often in a more casually photographed film, the soundtrack is utilized to smooth cuts between poorly matched shots. Since the earliest days of narrative film in a rudimentary way, and since the 1930s with more sophistication, one of the functions of film lighting has been to guide viewers in pinpointing the narratively central material and details in a scene. From a uniformly accessible visual field, particular material is selected in this way for dramatic emphasis. For example, in the conclusion of Orson Welles's (1915–1985) celebrated *Citizen Kane* (1941), a child's sled is picked up from a pile of objects and thrown into a blast furnace. Gregg Toland's (1904–1948) camera zooms into the furnace door to pick up the sled being consumed by the flames. Because of the overall darkness of the surrounding area, and the intensity of the light produced by the flames, special key lighting had to be used on the sled in order for the viewer's eye to discover it as a special object in the already bright visual field.

In addition to planning with the director and the designer of a film before shooting, cinematographers work collaboratively during the principal photography stage. Sets must be built or locations selected with the cinematographer's needs at least partially in mind. For example, a "wild" wall is a part of a set that can be removed easily so that a shot can be taken from that point of view; for Hitchcock's *Rope* (1948) virtually all the walls of the single penthouse set were wild, since the film was to be shot (by Joseph Valentine [1900–1949] and William V. Skall [1897–1976]) in eleven-minute masters, with continuous camera movement and no discernible cuts. Conversely, Clint Eastwood (b. 1930) prefers to eliminate wild walls, so that the cinematographer is always placed—like the characters—inside the situation where he will have to find a "natural" point of view. Cinematographers do not always work with sets fixed inside buildings or locations; for Spike Lee's *Get on the Bus* (1996), for example, Elliot Davis had a specially rigged bus, with light boxes fixed behind the seats and a camera track mounted on the luggage racks.

As well as set architecture, the colors of sets and costumes will affect lighting and film stock selection. Since the concluding ballet sequence of *An American in Paris* (1951) required bizarre and theatrical transitions with extreme, colored light, and since no work was going to be done optically in the lab, all the transitions had to be effected through set lighting. To get stark and saturated color effects, John Alton (1901–1996) used color film stock with lighting typical of black-and-white movies. In addition, the cinematographer's team requires time to set up for shots. Both the director and assistant director, one of whose tasks it is to plan shooting schedules efficiently, must collaborate closely to ensure that complicated setups are practical from the budgetary point of view.

A team of grips is under the cinematographer's direction, in order to unload pieces of the camera and dolly, set up the photography equipment, and move the camera and dolly during shots: the chief member of this team is called the "key grip" and has principal responsibility for camera movement. A particularly spectacular case of prodigious grip technique is to be found in the party scene of Hitchcock's *Marnie* (1964), in which Robert Burks shoots from a vantage point on the balcony overlooking the spacious foyer of an estate house, where dozens of well-dressed socialites are mingling. As the doorbell repeatedly sounds and a uniformed butler opens the door to various guests, the camera moves, in one fluid crane shot with perfectly modulated focus, twenty feet down to floor level and forty feet forward to swoop into the face of Sidney Strutt (Martin Gabel), the very last person anyone wants to see appearing at this soiree, as he stands stiffly on the doorstep.

Another team, the gaffers, of whom the chief is given the special title, "best boy," handles unpacking, wiring, setting up, filtering, adjusting, and moving all of the lights. A particularly fascinating challenge for gaffers was the "wake-up" scene of Jerry Lewis's *The Ladies Man* (1961). In it Wallace Kelley's camera shows coeds waking up bedroom by bedroom in a huge boardinghouse; then it pulls back to observe them marching out of their rooms, down the hallways to the stairs, and downstairs to the breakfast room; then it pulls farther back to show this happening on many floors simultaneously, then farther back to show the entire structure like a giant dollhouse, then even farther back to show the entire sound stage. All of the areas, from the stage to the individual rooms, had to be lit for optical coherence. The rooms had to have lighting for Technicolor unaffected by the very high lights that would ultimately show the entire set.

The camera operator works under the cinematographer to operate the camera during shots. He or she is assisted by one or more focus pullers, who must measure the lens-to-performer distances the shot will require, establish a schedule of focuses for the shot, and achieve consistent focus as the scene continues. It is solely within the province of the cinematographer and his team to peer through the viewfinder of the camera, although in the United States union regulations forbid cinematographers from actually operating cameras.

THE CINEMATOGRAPHER'S TOOLS

Collaborating with the director in terms of the vision sought for a given scene, the cinematographer will direct the lighting, select from a variety of film stocks, and

GREGG TOLAND

b. Charleston, Illinois, 29 May 1904, d. 26 September 1948

Although he shot more than sixty films, including *Kidnapped* (1938) and *The Grapes of Wrath* (1940) for Darryl F. Zanuck, *Wuthering Heights* (1939, for which he won an Academy Award®), *The Little Foxes* (1941), *The Best Years of Our Lives* (1946), and *The Bishop's Wife* (1947) for Samuel Goldwyn, *The Outlaw* (1943) for Howard Hughes, and *Intermezzo* (1939) for David O. Selznick, it is for a single effort, in collaboration with a newcomer to Hollywood, that Gregg Toland's name is most frequently associated with extraordinary achievement in cinematography: Orson Welles's *Citizen Kane* (1941). Toland asked Welles to use him on the picture, since he wanted to learn by working with a man who did not know anything about cinematography.

With deep-focus, high-keyed illumination technique specially adapted for this project, Toland provided Welles with stunningly sharp images. Especially notable are the election speech scene (with its exceptionally high contrast and provocative shooting angles), Kane stumbling past the mirrors at Xanadu (with tautly controlled lighting that produces explosive mirror effects), and the warehouse finale (reprised by Steven Spielberg in *Raiders of the Lost Ark*, 1981), shot with great depth of field and a moving camera. With its simultaneous dramatic action in front, middle, and rear planes of focus, *Citizen Kane* became a landmark of cinematographic vision in Hollywood film. Welles also wanted "lateral depth of focus" and so Toland used wide-angle lenses with very small apertures; all of this required very intense illumination and led to high-contrast images.

Toland entered the motion picture industry as an office boy and became a lighting cameraman before he was twenty. He worked intensively with William Cameron Menzies but avoided being trapped in a studio contract; then he became invaluable to Goldwyn, who because he wanted Toland free for *The Bishop's Wife* refused to loan him to Howard Hawks for *Red River* (1949). The extraordinary intensity of Toland's collaborations with John Ford on *The Long Voyage Home* (1940) and *The Grapes of Wrath* stemmed from the men's shared alcoholism and Ford's admiration for Toland's ability to work with great decisiveness. On *Citizen Kane*, Toland was continually offering Welles what he had learned with Ford—unnecessary editing could be avoided by playing scenes, wherever possible, in a single shot.

Just before his death, Toland had perfected an f.64 lens that could provide depth of field to infinity with "perfect" focus. He is memorialized in the American Film Institute's documentary, *Visions of Light: The Art of Cinematography* (1992).

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

The Grapes of Wrath (1940), *The Long Voyage Home* (1940), *Citizen Kane* (1941), *The Little Foxes* (1941), *The Best Years of Our Lives* (1946)

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Murray Pomerance

choose a lens. Lenses range between the very short focus wide-angle type (for instance, 8mm through 30mm) through the mid-range "normal" (50mm), to the very long focus telephoto. The longer the lens, the more the focused image is collapsed into a single plane. In the climactic scene of *The Graduate* (1967), Benjamin (Dustin Hoffman) runs down a suburban sidewalk toward the camera, turning at the last moment to race off-camera into a church to stop a wedding. Shot here with a very long lens, Benjamin seems to float in the frame. Although we see his legs pumping and his face picking up an expression of agonized exhaustion, he does not seem to approach us, as he would if photographed with a normal lens. The aesthetic effect is that, race as he

Gregg Toland (right) with director Orson Welles on the set of* Citizen Kane *(1941). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

might, his chance of coming closer (to us, and to the church) seems slight. When suddenly he turns to run off screen, the viewer is surprised (pleasantly) to discover in the pan that follows him that he made it, after all. Since a few moments later he will in fact succeed in thwarting the wedding of his beloved to another man, this telephoto shot has the effect of sharing with the viewer the agonizing frustration Benjamin feels at this moment, while also preparing the viewer to be relieved of that anxiety.

Short lenses have three effects on motion picture photography. First, shots taken in wide angle require more light than shots taken with a 50mm lens, and the wider the angle (the smaller the focal range) the more additional light is required. Second, in wide-angle photography, the actual camera apparatus must be relatively close to its subject, since space appears to expand outward from the center of the frame. Third, the wide angle produces distortion from the center to the periphery of the frame. A face photographed in wide angle seems plumper, the nose more prominent, the eyes slightly farther apart than one shot in 50mm. Much of Stanley Kubrick's (1928–1999) *A Clockwork Orange* (1971) is done in wide angle, with the effect that the characters seem caricatured and the action bizarre and circus-like.

A choice of film stock is yet another means whereby a cinematographer can create a filmic effect. Motion picture film is a strip of cellulose acetate coated with an emulsion of halides that are sensitive to light. The light-sensitive emulsion rests on the acetate base in particles relatively small or large: that is, in finer or larger "grain." The finer the grain of the film, the more sensitive it is to light—for color work, this sensitivity registers light in various ranges of the visible spectrum, specifically magenta, yellow, and cyan light (which ultimately produce green, blue, and red in the final picture). The magenta registration is most sensitive to contrast, and through the use of filtration, this color layer can be manipulated separately in printing (through a technique called "color timing") to affect the contrast and, to some degree, the darkness of the image. Fine grain black-and-white film, which came into use for the first time with the French New Wave in the early 1960s, permitted street photography at night and under restricted lighting conditions. For *Barry Lyndon* (1975), Stanley Kubrick wanted cinematographer John Alcott (1931–1986) to simulate seventeenth-century candlelight, so no electric lighting was used on the shoot at all. Thousands of candles were used for indoor scenes, and maximal use was made of available light for exteriors, all in conjunction with very sensitive color film stock.

The finer the grain of the film, the more light that registers upon it (or the more swiftly light registers), and therefore the greater the available depth of field in the image. Still another mechanism exists for increasing the depth of field—a vital component of cinematic realism, lending to the viewer the belief that a three-dimensional world is being reproduced onscreen. This is the camera's aperture, which can be stopped up or down to permit more or less light, respectively, to enter the camera and strike the surface of the film. Depth perception is aided by stopping the aperture down, and with a very high aperture number (a tiny aperture) the apparent extension of the picture away from the front plane of focus is profound. For David Brisbin's long "face at the end of the road" shots in Gus Van Sant's (b. 1952) *My Own Private Idaho* (1991), for example, shot during mid-day in unclouded light on an empty highway in the American West, the lens is closed down to a very high f-stop and the viewer can see all the way from the front of the shot to the point where the road meets the horizon in clear, sharp focus. Much of *Wait Until Dark* (1967), on the other hand—a film depicting the perils of a blind woman trapped in her apartment with malevolent thieves—was shot by Charles Lang (1902–1998) in the f-4 to f-8 range, with little depth of field yet with enough aperture to allow as much light as possible to enter the camera since the scenes are relatively dark. When a film shot is made at f-2 or lower, only the foremost plane of the shot

will appear in crisp focus, and everything behind that will be blurry—for example, the pistol that dominates the frame in the finale of Hitchcock's *Spellbound* (1945).

Cinematographers must have a broad knowledge of film stocks and development processes. Color stock can be balanced for (blue) daylight or (yellow) tungsten (incandescent) illumination. Further, film stock of any sensitivity can be processed by the laboratory either normally or overexposed at the cinematographer's order. Overexposure, called "pushing," makes the shot look grainier and in higher contrast, as well as saturating the colors, and is especially useful when light is at a minimum. A technique widely used until extremely sensitive film stocks were developed and computer animation took the place of much in-camera special effects was the day-for-night shot, in which a scene meant to take place at night was shot in broad daylight using a combination of pushed exposure, tungsten-based (indoor) color film without compensating filtration (so that the color would shift toward moonlight blue), avoidance of sky in composition, and short focus (since the ability to see depth of field is related to the natural response of squinting in bright daylight). When the cinematographer must shoot in shadows with insufficient light to compensate, he can order the film to be post-flashed, that is, exposed very briefly to light at the laboratory to add exposure to the shot.

Two other factors complicate matters in cinematographic work, action speed (motion) and camera speed. First, objects move in cinema, and the camera can itself move (in dollies, pans, tracks, and tilts). The more motion there is, the less light from any particular source will reach the film. This is especially true in pan shots, in flash pans or whip pans (when the visual field swoops laterally with great speed), or in zoom outs, when peripheral material must be realized optically for the viewer under conditions where very little time is given for seeing it. For moving camera shots, or shots including considerable movement onscreen, cinematographers will aim for a wider aperture and for a film stock that is especially sensitive, as well as for the opportunity to use as much light as possible. Whenever considerable lighting is required, shooting can become both unpleasant and demanding for actors, since the focal requirements in a moving shot require that individuals place themselves in the visual field with great precision, often repeatedly for take after take.

A second matter is the camera speed (not to be confused with the "film speed," which is an index of the film's sensitivity to light, as discussed above). The conventional 24 frames-per-second (fps) speed at which film passes in front of the aperture is susceptible to adjustment by the cameraman. When the film is moved through the camera faster than 24 fps but the resulting footage is projected at a normal 24 fps, the result for the viewer is what is usually termed "slow motion." By contrast, winding the camera down produces in projection a jerky mechanical feeling. In the case of contemporary projection of silent films, such as Mack Sennett's (1884–1960) Keystone Cops chases, the "jerkiness" we often see does not result from the original filmmaker's intentionally winding down the camera but has a different origin. Silent film was shot, typically, at 18 fps (although with hand-cranked cameras, this speed was not absolutely consistent). When sound was introduced in the late 1920s, it became necessary, in order to avoid problems in synchronization, to standardize film projection speed and 24 fps came to be the accepted rate. When we see film shot at 18 fps projected at 24 fps, it seems to be in fast motion and jerky.

In using lighting on the set, the cinematographer moves among many possible choices. Ambient light gives general diffuse illumination to an entire scene. Scrims with gauze or other semitransparent material and colored filters can be attached to the front of lights. Lighting can be carbon based (arc lighting), producing an intense blue daylight quality (through the use of lamps called brutes and molarcs [or moles]); or incandescent, producing a yellow indoor-quality lighting (through the use of various-sized Fresnel lamps). Very tiny key-lights can be used to give extra illumination to very small portions of an image—for instance, the cheekbones or eyes of the star, as with Bela Lugosi (1882–1956) in *Dracula* (1931). Greta Garbo (1905–1990) insisted on working with William Daniels (1901–1970), who was especially adept at modulating key lighting to accentuate her cheekbones and sculpt the tonalities of her face. Backlighting gives a sense of roundness to objects and people. Clothes lights fill in the bodies of actors whose faces are keylit. "Kickers" give an angled backlit fill. Robert Burks, working for Hitchcock, softened the focus on female stars by stretching a gauze or nylon stocking over the lens (a technique that had been introduced by Hendrik Sartov [1885–1970] around 1919, when he photographed Lillian Gish [1893–1993]) and then piercing a tiny hole in it with a lit cigarette (or by coating the lens with Vaseline). Fill light is used from beneath the star, typically on the side of the head or face, to round out the head and body and lift the star's level of illumination slightly higher than anyone else in the scene—thus directing attention specifically in that person's direction. In more modern photography, fill lighting is most frequently accomplished by reflection with mylar.

The cinematographers of the New Wave, such as Henri Decaë (1915–1987), Sacha Vierny (1919–2001), Raoul Coutard (1924–1993), and Néstor Almendros (1930–1992), frequently used reflection techniques,

NÉSTOR ALMENDROS

b. Barcelona, Spain, 30 October 1930, d. New York, New York, 4 March 1992

Eventually to become the cinematographer of more than sixty films, including works by Barbet Schroeder, Jean Eustache, Jean-Claude Brialy, Maurice Pialat, Monte Hellman, Marguerite Duras, Alan J. Pakula, and Moshe Mizrahi, Néstor Almendros moved to Cuba after World War II, attending Havana University for a brief time. He traveled to Rome, enrolling in the Centro Sperimentale di Cinematografia, a school he found too academic for his tastes, then taught Spanish at Vassar College before returning to Cuba after Fidel Castro rose to power in 1959. He was drawn to Paris by the French New Wave and began work there on *La Collectionneuse* (*The Collector*, Eric Rohmer, 1967).

He worked repeatedly with two directors, shooting *Ma nuit chez Maud* (*My Night at Maud's*, 1969), *Le genou de Claire* (*Claire's Knee*, 1970), *L'Amour l'après-midi* (*Chloe in the Afternoon*, 1972), *The Marquise of O* (1976), *Perceval le Gallois* (1978), and *Pauline à la plage* (*Pauline at the Beach*, 1983) with Rohmer; and *Domicile conjugal* (*Bed and Board*, 1970), *Les Deux anglaises et le continent* (*Two English Girls and the Continent*, 1971), *L'Histoire d'Adèle H.* (*The Story of Adèle H.*, 1975), *L'Homme qui aimait les femmes* (*The Man Who Loved Women*, 1977), *La Chambre verte* (*The Green Room*, 1978), *L'Amour en fuite* (*Love on the Run*, 1979), *Le Dernier métro* (*The Last Metro*, 1980), and *Confidentially Yours* (1982) with François Truffaut. For *Days of Heaven* (Terrence Malick, 1976), he won an Academy Award®; and he was nominated for *Kramer vs. Kramer* (Robert Benton, 1979) and *The Blue Lagoon* (Randal Kleiser, 1980). Thanks to his color images, frequently shot at night with actors wearing black-and-white costumes and lit so as to produce artificial moonlight, *Still of the Night* (Benton, 1982) remains one of the most chilling thrillers since *Psycho* (Alfred Hitchcock, 1960), and Almendros's sensual imagery in Martin Scorsese's "Life Lessons" segment of *New York Stories* (1989) makes it a masterpiece.

Convinced that the use of technical devices could adversely affect cinematography, Almendros became an early pioneer of impressionistic reflected light as an antidote to the harsh effects of cinema noir. Using reflective cards or foam sheets, linen, and mirroring material (for example, the plastic fabric Gryflon), he achieved startling, soft painterly color. For example, in sequences of *Days of Heaven*, he used firelight without additional illumination. Painters' works often inspired his approach to a film: Paul Gauguin for *Claire's Knee*, Frederic Remington for *Goin' South* (Jack Nicholson, 1978), and Piero della Francesca for *Kramer vs. Kramer*.

His autobiography, *A Man with a Camera*, is not only a witty study of contemporary cinema rich with intriguing comments (such as his reflection that the western is a kind of American *commedia dell'arte*), but also a treasure trove of insights about the cinematographer's art and condition.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Le genou (*Claire's Knee*, 1970), *The Marquise of O* (1976), *Days of Heaven* (1976), *La Chambre verte* (*The Green Room*, 1978), *Kramer vs. Kramer* (1979), *The Blue Lagoon* (1980), *Still of the Night* (1982), *Pauline à la plage* (*Pauline at the Beach*, 1983), "Life Lessons" segment in *New York Stories* (1989)

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sometimes even lighting by bouncing light with mirrors. When direct studio lighting is reflected off a brilliant surface back onto a subject, the reflected light is softer than the direct light, produces no shadows, and is ideal for giving a gentle filling effect to the scene. The reflector is held by a gaffer under the camera and below the object or person to be lit. The films of Eric Rohmer (b. 1920) are especially noteworthy for the softness, suppleness, and sweetness of the lighting. His *Pauline à la plage* (*Pauline at the Beach*, 1983) is a remarkable example of intensive reflected (or bounced) light being used to fill in the available light of the natural exteriors. With reflected light, the skins of the characters, virtually always in bathing suits in this film, take on a soft fruity color.

In *film noir* and other cinema of the 1940s, cinematographers very frequently used cookies—pieces of plywood or cardboard cut into specific shapes and held

Néstor Almendros with director Eric Rohmer on the set of* The Marquise of O *(1976). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

up by stagehands or mounted onto stands between the key-lights and the scene being filmed. The cookies would create very specifically shaped shadows (for example, tree branches, newel posts, heads, animals, and so on) that could be magnified upon a wall at will depending on the distance between the off-camera cookie and the light striking it. Very fine examples are provided by the west wing bedroom scene in *Rebecca* (1940), Christopher Cross's attempted hotel-room suicide in *Scarlet Street* (1945) and Jeff Bailey's (Robert Mitchum) nocturnal visit to Leonard Eels's apartment in *Out of the Past* (1947). Also used for specific focus and shadowing of light are "goboes" (wooden screens that block light), flags (tiny goboes), teasers (black cloth or wooden flags for blocking backlight), plain and scrim dots and argets (round pieces of card or wood, or gauze), scrims (translucent flags), blades (flags for cutting light into sharp lines), and clips (tiny flags that can be attached to cameras or lights). In *film noir*, along with shaped lighting, the cinematographer normally shot with a slightly wide-angle lens in order to distort the scene (in all dimensions) and often used a slightly grainy stock and a low-placed camera tilting upward so that the narrative world would seem to loom precariously above the theater audience.

"GOOD" CINEMATOGRAPHY

While an intrinsic part of the viewer's evaluation of a film is often an assessment of the cinematography—"Good cinematography!"—it is actually very difficult to tell when a cinematographer has made an astounding accomplishment in his or her work. This is so largely because cinematographic results generally look wonderful to the untrained eye. In most situations, the professional cinematographer and gaffers, using a full range of lighting equipment, dollies and cranes, and camera mounts, can make a beautiful image with ease. In short, a pretty shot is not necessarily "good cinematography" in and of itself. Furthermore, film actors are trained to model nicely before a lens—and with precise repetition—and the wide range of available stunt persons, dancers, and movement specialists of all kinds makes it possible with relative ease to execute a fluid, focused, well-composed, harmonious, and professionally efficient picture that shows off exciting, dramatically engaging subject matter.

A full appreciation of cinematography requires some knowledge of the circumstances in which a difficult shot is made. One of many celebrated sequences in the history of film practice—all of them certainly handsome on the screen but also remarkable for their very existence—is the redwood forest visit in Hitchcock's *Vertigo* (1958). Here, shooting on location in the Muir Woods National Monument in Marin County and Big Basin Redwood State Park near Santa Cruz, California, a second unit team including William N. Williams, Wallace Kelley, and Irmin Roberts was faced with the stunning problem of redwood trees so old, and therefore so tall, that their massed upper branches literally blocked the sky. Available light was therefore out of the question. A large generator unit had to be brought in, and the blue-colored carbon arc lighting that would simulate daylight had to come from this portable power source, with the lights being hidden behind some of the trees. However, in order to realize the modulated greens and browns, as well as the subtle penetrating shadows of the sequence, immense quantities of light were needed. Also produced by arc light were the long diagonal shafts of "sunlight," shining down through the trees. In order to protect the trees, the lights could not be turned on for exceedingly long periods of time.

Sometimes a shot is an achievement because of the extraordinary concentration of material or ingenuity required to make it. For the lengthy highway chase

sequences of *Terminator 2: Judgment Day* (James Cameron, 1991) and *Crash* (David Cronenberg, 1996), entire stretches of closed-off highway had to be illuminated with hidden arc lamps. *Suspicion* (Hitchcock, 1941) required a glowing glass of milk, which had to be lit from within with a battery-operated mini-lamp. For scenes near the Seine in *An American in Paris*, John Alton put lights inside a water tank to create the ''reflections from other lights suspended above.'' For the exceptionally difficult *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* (1977), John A. Alonzo (1934–2001) had to shoot ''real''-scene cinematography that could perfectly match the special effects material, so that a unified visual field could contain a fluid story involving material unrealizable under everyday circumstances. For an example of extremely obtrusive matching, where footage from one location fails to blend believably with footage from another in a shot/countershot edit, see the ''wild animal'' inserts in W. S. Van Dyke's (1889–1943) *Tarzan the Ape Man* (1932), where blurry and relatively old wild animal footage is matched against crisply focused shots of Tarzan, apparently watching those animals, taken in the studio.

Cinematographic problems are virtually always idiosyncratic to a particular film and director's intent. Sometimes what is required in cinematography is a harsh sense of realism, a lack of poise and control, and even an occasional out-of-focus moment. For *Body and Soul* (1947) cinematographer James Wong Howe (1899–1976) donned a pair of roller skates and took a handheld camera into a boxing ring, his grip grasping him by the waist from behind and guiding him around while he swerved into and out of the boxing action. Michael Chapman's (b. 1935) photography for *Raging Bull* (Scorsese, 1980) makes reference to this, as does Salvatore Totino's (b. 1964) for *Cinderella Man* (Ron Howard, 2005). For *Memoirs of an Invisible Man* (1992) William A. Fraker (b. 1923) had to photograph empty space with supple, eerie light, so that viewers would believe they were staring at an invisible Chevy Chase. In *The Day of the Locust* (1975), Conrad Hall (1926–2003) used diffusion filtering to give a hazy, unreal effect to the sound stages and locations in Los Angeles where the film's unreal Hollywood is set. In *Fahrenheit 451* (1966) by François Truffaut's (1932–1984), Nicholas Roeg used harsh lighting to bleach the environment and intensify the coloration of the firemen sequences, then contrasting diffused light and grainier stock in the concluding utopian sequence with the book people in the forest while the first snows of winter fall. László Kovács (b. 1933) shot numerous films in the 1970s (including *Five Easy Pieces* [1970] and *New York, New York* [1977]), the later with its trademark jazzy, large-grain, poetic, softly lit style.

Similarly accomplished yet insufficiently heralded is the work of, among many others, John Alcott in *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968) and *A Clockwork Orange* (1971), Lucien Ballard (1908–1988) in *Prince Valiant* (1954) and *The Wild Bunch* (1969), Michael Ballhaus (b. 1935) in *GoodFellas* (1990) and *What About Bob?* (1991), Andrzej Bartkowiak (b. 1950) in *Prince of the City* (1981) with its super-macro-close-up of Carmine Caridi committing suicide and *Q & A* (1990), Stanley Cortez (1908–1997) in *The Night of the Hunter* (1955), and *The Magnificent Ambersons* (1942), Gabriel Figueroa (1907–1997) in *Los Olvidados* (*The Young and the Damned*, 1950), and *The Night of the Iguana*, Lee Garmes (1898–1978) in *Shanghai Express* (1932), Haskell Wexler (b. 1926) in *The Thomas Crown Affair* (1968) and *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* (1975), and Gordon Willis (b. 1931) in *The Godfather* (1972) and *Zelig* (1983). Similarly great figures of European and Asian cinema include such masters as Henri Alekan (b. 1909) in *L'Atalante* (1934), Yuharu Atsuta (1905–1993) in *Tokyo monogatari* (*Tokyo Story*, 1953), Coutard in *Le Mépris* (*Contempt*, 1963), Decaë in *The Strange Ones* (*Les Enfants terribles*, 1950]), Pasqualino De Santis (1927–1996) in *Lancelot du Lac* (*Lancelot of the Lake*, 1974), Freddie Francis (b. 1917) in *Room at the Top* (1959) and *Cape Fear* (1991), Karl Freund (1890–1969) in *Metropolis* (1927), Robert Krasker (1913–1981) in *The Third Man* (1949), Asaichi Nakai (1901–1988) in *Shichinin no samurai* (*The Seven Samurai*, 1954), Nykvist in *Le Locataire* (*The Tenant*, 1976), Carlo Di Palma (1925–2004) in *Blowup*, 1966), Gianni Di Venanzo (1920–1966) in *8½* (1963), and Fritz Arno Wagner (1891–1958) in *Das Testament des Dr. Mabuse* (*The Testament of Dr. Mabuse*, 1933).

Of notable importance in cinematographic history are Ray Rennahan (1896–1980), who shot the first simultaneously exposed three-strip Technicolor production, *Becky Sharp* (1935); Leon Shamroy (1901–1974) for *The Robe* (1953), the first film shot in CinemaScope; Loyal Griggs (1906–1978) for *White Christmas* (1954), the first film shot in VistaVision; Harry Squire for the celebrated *This Is Cinerama* (1952); Tony Palmer for Frank Zappa's *200 Motels* (1971), an early experiment with video transfer blown up to 16mm for theatrical projection; and Garrett Brown, for the Steadicam system first used on *Rocky* (1976).

Photographing the classic Hollywood musicals of the 1940s and 1950s was a particularly demanding task, since big production numbers were the most complicated stagings ever filmed by a camera in Hollywood. Demanding extravagant investments of energy from the singers and dancers, these shots could not be repeated over and over if they did not work. Almost always, the big dance number required considerable rehearsal,

James Wong Howe's handheld camera work in* Body and Soul *(Robert Rossen, 1947). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

complicated camera moves, brilliant lighting, and very high fidelity color reproduction (therefore, stable relations between aperture, film stock, and lighting). The cameraman had to frame interesting shots while adhering to the stipulation of stars' contracts: Fred Astaire (1899–1987), for example, required that his entire body be visible throughout any dance routine: that body was always in motion and had to be perfectly lit as well. In the "Dancing in the Dark" routine from *The Band Wagon* (1953), Harry Jackson (1896–1953) manages a lighting design that lifts Astaire and Cyd Charisse (b. 1921) out of the everyday, while the never obtrusive camera dances with them, and at the same time the scene, a nook in Central Park, lingers in a perfectly balanced ambiguous, real-yet-not-real state. The color timing of a musical, affected in the printing stage, could easily ruin a very expensive sequence, if the color values fell off; and the light could very easily prove to be insufficient when a

number of dancers were moving quickly before the lens, or obtrusive if not perfectly placed to catch all of the moves. In *On the Town* (1949) Harold Rosson (1895–1988) had to achieve color balance and sufficient lighting in location shots made where both lighting and shooting were challenged by tight space, for example, at the top of the Empire State Building.

The camera itself, and therefore the cinematographer's pivotal position on the movie set, has radically changed since the invention of sound in 1927. At that time, to minimize camera noise, the camera and the cameraman were enclosed in a soundproof booth on the sound stage (the "bungalow"), and later the camera was "blimped" using an envelope of sound-absorbing material. After 1939, with the full development of the three-strip Technicolor process, the camera was enormous and cumbersome, carrying three large film packs and shooting a trio of black-and-white "records" simultaneously through a single lens (under tiring and exhausting high illumination). With the French New Wave, inroads were made not only into higher speed film, but also toward the handheld 16mm cameras, which could make possible an exodus from the studio. By the late 1970s, the Steadicam system was in place. This camera was strapped to a complex, gyroscopically equipped harness worn by an athletic cameraman who could race through a scene, obtaining images of great stability and focus from, as it were, inside the action. A magnificent example of Steadicam usage is Pierre-William Glenn's (b. 1943) work in the market chase sequence of *La Mort en direct* (*Death Watch*, Bertrand Tavernier, 1980). Similarly, Panavision's competing system, the Panaglide, was used to great effect by Almendros in *Days of Heaven* (1978).

REAR-PROJECTION AND OTHER CHALLENGES

Few problems confront cinematography more vexingly than the rear-projection plate. The plate, a strip of film projected onto a screen behind actors in a soundstage (alternately called a stereo when it contains nothing but a landscape), is shot by a special effects team, almost always in advance of principal cinematography. During the 1950s at Paramount, where the rear-projection process was worked out most intensively by Farciot Edouart (1895–1980), special cinematographic techniques were developed for making the plates. In more modern filmmaking, companies that specialize in plate photography are hired to accomplish specific shots or sequences for a production. All motion in the final narrative scene where the plate is to be used has to be replicated backwards and inverted in the plate for in the actual process of studio composite photography, the projection screen remains rigidly fixed in a position perpendicular to the soundstage camera. Because neither the plate nor the screen onto which it is projected can be moved in relation to this perpendicularity, all the "motion" and "angle" in the rear-projected image has to be shot into the plate by the rear-projection photography team. This work is often done months in advance of the studio shot into which the plate is to be integrated. The lighting has to replicate the desired "outside" scene, yet match perfectly with the soundstage lighting that will fill in the front portion of the image, and actors in the plate have to be in proper focus for the background positions they will ultimately occupy in the finished shot.

Yet more problematic in the early days of rear projection was producing a projection of sufficient brilliance that it could be believably projected in a soundstage as a "real" background. Early rear-projection plates are noticeably dark and disconnected from the front action. Rear-projection screens had to be developed with maximal translucence and minimal fall-off of illumination from the hot spot created by the projection. In addition, distortion in the plate projection had to be reduced, the screen and projection system had to provide for very sharp focus, and the soundstage camera had to be aligned in perfect synchronization with the projecting device. Both the soundstage camera and the rear-projecting device had to operate in perfect synchrony at 24 fps, so that no fringing or haloing occurred in the background plate (as would occur if one of the apertures was open while the other was closed). In order to make the plates sufficiently bright, Edouart invented in 1933 a triple-head projector, in which three perfectly registered identical background plates were projected simultaneously using a gold mirror system in a water-cooled machine with an intense beam—all of this synchronized with the front camera through an interlocking electrical motor system that ran camera and projector together as one unit. The results are visible in the Marrakech marketplace sequences of Hitchcock's *The Man Who Knew Too Much* (1956), where 123 degree Fahrenheit midday Moroccan sunlight is faithfully replicated behind James Stewart and Doris Day as they perform on a Paramount soundstage. To further accentuate the realism of Paramount's background plates in the 1950s, they were typically shot in the VistaVision process, which made special use of 35mm film in order to capture an image almost twice the normal size, yet with exceptionally fine grain. The cinematography of this film, by Robert Burks, elegantly matching Edouart's background plates throughout, is "good cinematography" indeed.

In the twenty-first century, composite shots can be handled on the soundstage through front projection background images, frequently on slides. This process is enabled by highly reflective 3M Scotchlite screens and a

Néstor Almendros's color cinematography for Terrence Malick's* Days of Heaven *(1978). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

mirror system of projection that allows the projected image to be aligned with the camera's focal angle.

Beginning in the 1970s, with the advent of new, smaller cameras and lighting units, as well as more flexible camera mounts and cranes, it became possible for cinematographers such as Vilmos Zsigmond (b. 1930) to produce in American film artistic visual effects that would effectively simulate the European art film that had been capturing attention in American theaters since the 1950s. Zsigmond found a way to produce a simultaneous zoom and pan, which, marking his work in such films as *McCabe & Mrs. Miller* (1971), *Deliverance* (1972), *The Long Goodbye* (1973), *The Sugarland Express* (1974), *The Last Waltz* (1978), *The Deer Hunter* (1978), and *Blow Out* (1981) played a significant role in establishing the reputations of a cohort of Hollywood *auteurs* including, respectively, Robert Altman (b. 1925), John Boorman (b. 1933), Mark Rydell (b. 1934), Steven Spielberg (b. 1946), Martin Scorsese (b. 1942), Michael Cimino (b. 1943), and Brian De Palma (b. 1940).

It is often necessary for cinematographers to devise unique methods for making narratively crucial shots that are unrepeatable for technical reasons. For *Professione: Reporter* (*The Passenger*, 1975) by Michelangelo Antonioni (b. 1912), it was required that the film end with a lengthy sequence shot involving extraordinary camera movement: through the length of a hotel room in which a man is sleeping, through the grating at his window, out into the plaza outside—where numerous activities are taking place—then around the plaza in a pan of more than 180 degrees (now revealing that the grating at the window is still in position), back to the window, through which we can now see that the sleeping man is dead. Luciano Tovoli's (b. 1936) camera was placed on a specially constructed ceiling-mounted track, moved forward by grips toward the window; a team outside slowly pulled the two halves of the window grille apart as the camera remained stationary (thus creating the illusion that it was approaching the window). Then the grips continued to move it forward until the outside team hooked it to a cable hung from a construction crane hidden off-camera. From there it could be manipulated around the plaza. But during the shooting a severe storm wind was blowing, so that maintaining fluid motion and clear focus was immensely challenging.

For the same director's *Zabriskie Point* (1970), a lavish mountaintop house in the California desert was to explode in one character's imagination. To produce the explosion, the director had a second residence built identical to the house that was being used for the location. Seventeen 35mm cameras were set up, many of them overcranked, so that at the moment of the detonation seventeen different angles could be covered, many in slow motion. The cinematographer, Alfio Contini (b. 1927), used a walkie-talkie system to direct the work of his seventeen camera operators. In the screen sequence, the house is seen to blow up again and again and again and again, from every imaginable angle, from a distance and in closeup.

Contemporary cinema is making new cinematographic demands. Very fast film stocks are used with computer-controlled camera mounts and remote-control focus systems, making it possible for the cinematographer to be at a greater distance from the camera. Shooting Francis Ford Coppola's (b. 1939) *One from the Heart* (1982) from a trailer off-set, for example, Vittorio Storaro (b. 1940) could make use of an offshoot of the video assist system invented in the early 1960s by Jerry Lewis in order to obtain excellent control of lighting and camera movement while at the same time intensively economizing on printing expense (since it was not necessary to wait until the screening of dailies in order to determine the best shots). Also, with more lightweight, more mobile, and more intensive lighting systems, it was possible to systematically produce the effect of being inside the action of a fast-paced dramatic event: this is typified in the large-grain contraband-video-style opening sequence by Matthew F. Leonetti (b. 1941) for *Strange Days* (1995).

To shoot live-action footage so that it will blend with computer-animated effects is often a challenge in itself. For *Minority Report* (2002) Spielberg's cinematographer Janusz Kaminski managed the problem by overexposing the live footage so that when projected onscreen it is overly bright and hazy. The special effects seem to float out of a dream reality. The early requirement of cinema for restricted space in which the actors and camera crew could gain precise control of behavior and lighting is virtually obviated by the technical development of small and lightweight camera units, high-powered but portable lighting, and high-speed film stocks. Increasingly, cinematographers are experimenting with high-definition video, a format which is so light sensitive that it is possible to pick up richly colored details of wallpaper from twenty-five or thirty feet away with no direct lighting at all.

SEE ALSO *Camera; Camera Movement; Collaboration; Color; Crew; Film Stock; Lighting; Production Process; Technology*

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CINEPHILIA

The first filmgoers who referred to themselves as cinephiles were the French artists and intellectuals in the 1920s associated with the avant-garde: Louis Delluc (1890–1924), Jean Epstein (1897–1953), Germain Dulac (1882–1942), and Ève Francis (1886–1980). For these filmmaker-critics, *photogénie* referred to a very specific experience produced by cinema. Moments of revelation, or recognition, constituted a "viewer's aesthetic" for those most sensitive to the affective, emotional intensity of the medium (Willemen, *Looks and Frictions*, p. 126). While Willemen is critical of the elitism implied in this version of the concept, he himself has defined cinephilia as a term that "doesn't do anything other than designate something which resists [or] escapes existing networks of critical discourse and theoretical frameworks" (ibid., p. 231).

The love of cinema that inspired French intellectuals from the 1920s, brought about the establishment of the Cinémathèque Française in 1935, and motivated the *Cahiers du cinéma* film critics in the 1950s was referred to informally, but enthusiastically, as "cinephilia." In 1977 the film theorist Christian Metz defined and theorized the term in his book, *The Imaginary Signifier*, formally introducing it into film studies discourse. Since that time "cinephilia" has taken on a range of meanings and associations above and beyond the psychoanalytic definition that Metz gave it as "love of cinema." In a more colloquial sense, "cinephilia" refers to the passion with which people go to, and write about, movies. As a passion, or a desire, it embraces the subjective aspect of film studies as a discipline and filmgoing as a (pre)occupation. At the same time, it indicates the excesses of the medium and its champions. With the ongoing emergence of new electronic technologies—video, DVD, multimedia, and the Internet—cinephilia has become subject to intense debate. Is it a term of nostalgia for a lost medium, or can it be applied to new forms of film viewing? There may be little consensus as to the scope of the term, but there is also little doubt that cinephilia endures as a particular attachment to movies and film culture. A term riddled with contradictions and ambiguity, "cinephilia" points to some key questions associated with the study of film. When expertise is conflated with subjective pleasures, can there be an objective knowledge of the cinema?

FRENCH CINEPHILIA

In developing his psychoanalytic-semiotic film theory, Metz began by thinking about his own relationship to the cinema, as a theorist and as a spectator. He argued that the person who loves the cinema, but also writes about it, is like a child who breaks his or her toy. The cinephile, for Metz, is precariously balanced between the "imaginary" pleasure of losing oneself in the image and the "symbolic" knowledge of its machinery and its codes. Writing about cinema is a sadistic practice, he argues, because it can only be grasped "against the grain," like the analysis of a dream or a countercurrent. (*Imaginary*, p. 15). And yet, insofar as the machinery—the mechanics, the form, the appreciation of the "well-made film"—becomes part of the cinephile's pleasure in filmgoing, the cinephile is also, quite clearly, a fetishist. "The fetish is the cinema in its *physical* state," says Metz, adding that when the love for the cinema is extended from a fascination with technique to a critical study of its codes and processes of signification, the disavowal attached to the

fetish becomes a form of knowledge (ibid., p. 75). Cinephilia, in other words, enables the semiotician to love the cinema while gaining a critical distance from its lure.

The limitations of Metz's film theory, such as its universalizing thrust and restriction to a certain kind of "classical" narrative cinema, are extensive and well-known. However, his theorization of cinephilia as a complex form of desire is a useful definition to retain. Metz's reference to the French New Wave locates his understanding of cinephilia within film-historical terms and contextualizes his psychoanalytic-semiotic paradigm. The filmmaker-critics associated with *Cahiers du cinéma* in the late 1950s and early 1960s embodied the notion of cinephilia and may even be said to have turned from writing film criticism to filmmaking precisely to overcome the kind of contradictions that Metz identifies at the heart of the fascination and obsession with cinema.

The love of cinema to which the *Cahiers* critics were dedicated can in fact be traced even further back to their shared mentor, André Bazin. "The cinema," said Bazin, "is an idealistic phenomenon" (*What*, p. 17). In his seminal essay, "The Myth of Total Cinema," he argued that film history is guided by the passions of men for an "integral realism, a recreation of the world in its own image," and he proceeded to develop a style of film criticism that privileged those filmmakers who, he felt, came closest to realizing the ideal of a "total cinema"—Jean Renoir (1894–1979), Roberto Rossellini (1906–1977), Orson Welles (1915–1985), and Kenji Mizoguchi (1898–1956) (ibid., p. 21). He loved their long takes and deep focus strategies by which the world seemed to offer itself up to the viewer. Moreover, he wrote about films with an unmitigated enthusiasm for stylistic achievements alongside an appreciation for the emotional weight of a film's effect on its viewer. Bazin may not have been the first cinephile, but his essays on cinema initiated a critical discourse on cinema that was stimulated by an acknowledged desire for the seduction of the image and at the same time was tempered by a rigorous understanding of film style, language, technique, and form.

In the pages of *Cahiers du cinéma* during the 1950s, Bazin's realist aesthetics were embraced by François Truffaut (1932–1984), Eric Rohmer (b. 1920), Jean-Luc Godard (b. 1930), Jacques Rivette (b. 1928), Claude Chabrol (b. 1930), and others as a discourse of film authorship, *mise-en-scène,* and Hollywood. They invested themselves in the cinema by means of a highly personalized style of writing, praising films and directors that, as Metz puts it, were designated as "good objects." Other films, such as those of the French cinema, were derided as poor excuses for filmmaking. The real *auteurs* were those who expressed themselves in terms of images. The *Cahiers* critics articulated their excessive cinephilia in phrases such as "tracking shots are a question of morality" to refer to both *Hiroshima, mon amour* (1959) and the cinema of Sam Fuller (1912–1997) (Hillier, ed. *Cahiers*, p. 62). Rossellini's cinema constituted "a state of mind" (ibid., p. 203); Nicholas Ray (1911–1979), according to Godard, "is *morally* a director, first and foremost," "one cannot but feel that here is something which exists only in the cinema" (ibid., p. 116). Rivette claimed that "what justifies CinemaScope in the first place is our desire for it" (ibid., p. 276).

The cinephilia of the *Cahiers* critics set in motion some of the key paradigms of film studies scholarship, including, most crucially, auteurist criticism and the canon of masterpieces on which the discipline was founded. While their project was, on one level, to supply the cinema with a critical vocabulary and pantheon that would align it with the other arts, it was a project that also recognized the specificity of the cinema as a commercial medium. Their embrace of the American cinema, through the key figures of Nicholas Ray, Anthony Mann (1907–1967), Sam Fuller, and Fritz Lang (1890–1976)—alongside Orson Welles and Alfred Hitchcock (1899–1980)—entailed a reading of Hollywood as a modernist enterprise. The *Cahiers* critics were, in many instances, writing about cinema "against the grain" of its studio-based generic formulas.

While there is little agreement or consensus within the film-critical community about what "cinephilia" really means, a recurring theme is the idea of excess. More specifically, cinephilia may be a kind of excess that resides on the level of detail, which is "caught" by a viewer for whom it opens up a subjective relation to the text. In fact, this notion of cinematic experience can be linked to a variety of critical discourses and theoretical frameworks, including some of the theories developed by Roland Barthes (1915–1980) (the *punctum* and the "third meaning") and Walter Benjamin (1892–1940) ("unconscious optics" and flânerie). The cinephile in this sense is the viewer who is slightly distracted from the filmic text and yet entranced by moments that exceed the text and take him or her elsewhere.

AMERICAN CINEPHILIA

While the terminology and aesthetics of cinephilia may be most closely associated with French film criticism, a similar critical passion for cinema developed in North America during the same period. In the 1940s critics such as James Agee (1909–1955) and Robert Warshow (1917–1955) were writing about cinema with a passionate investment akin to that of the French critics. In their case, they were engaging even more directly in the culture

wars of high and low categories of taste, a mantle taken up by critics such as Pauline Kael (1919–2001) and Andrew Sarris (b. 1928) in the 1960s. These critics may not have espoused a consistent aesthetic theory, yet their writing did begin from the premise that good filmmaking had merit not only from an aesthetic point of view, but also as a politics of taste. Allowing the cinema into the canons of "art" entailed a challenge to traditional cultural institutions and authorities for whom cinema was a "mass medium." In this sense, cinephilia was closely linked to anti-establishment, leftist—or at least liberal—politics, although the affinities between cinephilia and cultural politics have always been difficult to sustain.

In the late 1960s Godard may have been pushing his cinephilia into an activist, politicized cinema, but in the United States another kind of avant-garde had formed around a quite different manifestation of cinephilia. The New American Cinema investigated the specific properties of film, stripping it of its industrial components such as (in its most extreme forms) actors, stories, and scripts, to produce a purified experience of watching movies in the dark. The Invisible Cinema constructed in New York City at Anthology Film Archives in 1970 was designed to block out the viewer's peripheral vision that might detract from the pure and completely fixed gaze at the screen. The "perverse cinephilia" of the New American Cinema was no less fetishistic than the cinephilia described by Metz in its fascination with the image, projection, and darkness, coupled with the knowledge of the mechanics behind the experience of watching articulated as aesthetic form. The proponents of this alternative cinema—Stan Brakhage (1933–2003), Michael Snow (b. 1929), Andy Warhol (1927–1987), Hollis Frampton (1936–1984), and many others—espoused a love for cinema so intense that they attempted to redeem it from the corrupted entertainment culture that had come to dominate the medium.

Linking these very different cinephiles is a shared passion for the rituals of moviegoing, of entering the darkness and giving oneself over to the power of the image. Before the Invisible Cinema, experimental films were screened alongside Hollywood films and the international art cinema at film societies such as Cinema 16. This New York–based institution, under the direction of Amos Vogel (b. 1921), programmed an eclectic mix of films, including documentaries and silent cinema from 1947 to 1963. Vogel's mantra was that film viewing was in itself a subversive act, and for him the "good film" is one that fascinates the viewer, liberating him or her from the repressive tendencies of everyday life. Henri Langlois's (1914–1977) Cinémathèque Française in Paris incarnated a similar cultural politics during roughly the same period. Established in 1935, the Cinémathèque provided the formative education of the *Cahiers* critics and New Wave filmmakers. Cinephilia is very much responsible for the archival activities of the international association of cinematheques that remain dedicated to the preservation and exhibition of the wealth of film history.

THE FUTURE OF CINEPHILIA

Since the 1970s cinephilia has come to be associated with a depoliticized, purely aesthetic understanding of the cinema as an artform. An approach to the medium that privileges *auteurs* and canons of great works tends to be opposed to an approach shaped by political and cultural concerns, including feminism, Marxism, and postcolonial theory. And yet, as this brief history of the term should suggest, the love of cinema can, and has, included its own critique all along. Film theory and criticism that is motivated by the concerns of critical theory does not necessarily abandon the love of cinema or the subjective investment of the cinephile. Even Laura Mulvey's famous essay, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" (1975), one of the foundational texts of feminist film theory, advocates a critical detachment that is nonetheless "passionate."

With the centenary of cinema in 1995 came a lament for the "death of cinephilia." Susan Sontag (1933–2004) argued that "the sheer ubiquity of moving images has steadily undermined the standards people once had both for cinema as art and for cinema as popular entertainment." She pointed to the faster and faster cutting that has produced a cinema that "doesn't demand anyone's full attention" ("The Decay"). Alongside Sontag's complaint about the quantity and quality of film production is the slow but inevitable slide of cinema into new electronic media. The rituals of moviegoing are threatened by home viewing, and the film image is itself threatened by digital technologies of shooting, editing, and projection.

However, we need to ask whether cinephilia is dead or is being reinvented. Sontag's lament came precisely at the moment when the cinemas of western and eastern Asia were gaining international recognition. The films of directors such as Abbas Kiarostami (b. 1940), Hou Hsiao-hsien (b. 1946), and Wong Kar Wai (b. 1958) are nothing if not films for cinephiles, their realist aesthetics in many ways recalling the critical priorities favored by Bazin. One could also argue that with video distribution, cinephilia has become a more democratic pastime. No longer enthralled by the definitions of the "good film" promoted by custodial curators, the cinephile is free to collect and view multitudes of titles according to his or her own taste.

One of the key figures in the debates around the fate of cinephilia is Quentin Tarantino (b. 1963), who famously had his formative education as a video store

clerk. His own filmmaking is very much indebted to the Blaxploitation genre of American cinema, which by revisiting, he has helped to redeem from the dustbin of history. Is this videophilia? Or is it the cinephilia of the collector, whose obsessive and passionate movie watching is yet another foray into the politics of good taste? At the other end of the taste spectrum one can point to visual artists such as Bill Viola (b. 1951), Cindy Sherman (b. 1954), Stan Douglas (b. 1960), and Jeff Wall (b. 1946), who are unambiguously driven by cinephilia, even if they do not make movies or write about them. Their photographic and video works engage directly with the fullness of the cinematic experience and explore its seductive properties in important and innovative ways.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of twenty-first-century cinephilia is the release of restored film titles on DVD. Not only is the wealth of film history—once hidden away in dusty archives—becoming widely available, but in addition, digital technologies have in many instances improved the image quality, thus bringing us even closer to the myth of total cinema. The digital image is supposedly free of scratches and blemishes, taking us into a new dimension of transparency and awe-inspiring, trance-inspiring film viewing. The enhancement of the soundtrack through new technologies likewise extends the power of the film to absorb its viewer. Meanwhile, the stylishly packaged DVD is yet another version of the cinephiliac fetish, collectible, like the video before it, by the obsessive cinephile. If cinephilia refers to the "knowledge" of cinema alongside a "loving" relationship, then digital technologies are also responsible for a renewed intellectual engagement with movies in the various forms of online journals, voice-over commentaries, fan Web sites, and interactive DVD features.

Thomas Elsaesser makes a distinction between two phases of cinephilia: where "take one" involved the total immersion in the image, "take two" refers to the "fan cult" cinephilia of the collector aided by new technologies. Both forms, though, involve a "crisis of memory" for Elsaesser, for whom the love affair with cinema is always an anxious love (p. 40). Cinephilia in this formulation refers to the way that modern memory is mediated by technologies of recording, storage, and retrieval. In trying to get closer to the cinema, it inevitably becomes more distant, more mediated, and more fractured; if this was the lesson of *Screen* theory in the 1970s, inspired in no small part by Christian Metz, the cinephile's anxiety has been revived through the infinite archive of cinema history (p. 41).

Cinephilia is in many ways alive and well, continuing to flourish in the hundreds of film festivals that take place every year around the world. There may no longer be a consensus about the category of the "good film," but film culture continues to thrive nonetheless. Celluloid is a material medium, subject to decay, but the love of movies is not likely to disappear any time soon. Nor are the debates around cinephilia and its significance. As a critical enterprise, it will always entail a cultural politics of taste, but as an affliction, it signifies the desire for the cinematic "good object," a desire that stimulates the study of film alongside its production.

SEE ALSO *Archives; Art Cinema; Criticism; Journals and Magazines; Technology*

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Catherine Russell

CLASS

"Class" is a term used to categorize people according to their economic status. It frequently involves a consideration of income level, type of profession, inherited wealth and family lineage, and a diffusely understood idea of "social standing." Historically, most societies have made distinctions among their members according to some kind of class division—although capitalist cultures promote the idea of being "classless" societies (as in the concept of the "American Dream" that individuals can rise in station based on their ability alone). Motion pictures have been intricately involved in issues of class and modern capitalism, emerging as both a technology and as a form of entertainment at the height of the Industrial Revolution in Europe and the United States, and subsequently becoming one of the most powerful market-driven businesses of the twentieth century. Representations of class division on screen have been joined with the history of labor negotiations in the industry, and even attitudes toward the class identities of filmgoers over time. While the dominant Hollywood film industry has largely attempted (whether consciously or not) to soft-pedal its messages about class, various historical eras and film movements across the globe have attempted not only to raise class consciousness but also to encourage social change.

Often discussion of class is caught up within a film's discussion of more manifest social concerns. For example, issues of class disparity tend to be threaded through examinations of gender and sexuality. Hollywood screwball comedies like *It Happened One Night* (1934) and *Easy Living* (1937) often frame antagonism between the classes as a rocky (but ultimately resolvable) heterosexual romance between a person of wealth and an average worker. *Gion no shimai* (*Sisters of the Gion*, Kenji Mizoguchi, 1936) details the economic power relations of the geisha system in 1930s Japan, but is often regarded as a film about gender oppression. Similarly, depictions of the working class or the poor are also often depictions of a country's ethnic or racial minorities—thus (whether intentionally or not) obscuring the discussion of the economic system with a discussion of racial discrimination (or conversely, an assertion that such people are inferior and thus deserving of—and perhaps even content—being poor).

Such obfuscations seem to reinforce Marxist ideas of base and superstructure—that the economic imperative forms the base of both a society and its ideology, with various other systems (such as concepts of gender and of race/ethnicity) built like a superstructure upon that base. The development of cinema as a capitalist enterprise has tended to lead to the production of films that repeatedly construct superstructural representations that uphold and celebrate capitalism, and any potential downsides to capitalism must be reworked and redirected.

WORKING-CLASS ENTERTAINMENT

Many of the early motion picture pioneers were influenced by the great strides of invention occurring during the Industrial Revolution. While such inventions were touted as bringing easier and more comfortable lives to humankind, profit potential also helped drive many of these developments. New machines helped streamline production, churning out more items in less time for less cost (unless one counts the loss of hearing, limbs, and/or lives in factories that had no safety codes). Inventors with

patents could corner the market on their invention and make a fortune. Certainly, such potential economic gain drew Thomas Edison (1847–1931) to research motion pictures and then ruthlessly try to control all the major patents of the technology.

The presumed audience for motion pictures became a matter of contention in the early decades. Edison's Kinetoscope parlors were often situated near boardwalks or amusement parks, low-cost entertainment for the new industrial urban working class. These early films seem geared toward what was thought to be popular with the working class: cockfights, boxing matches, female "cooch" dancers. On the other side of the Atlantic, though, the Lumière Brothers (Auguste [1862–1954] and Louis [1864–1948]) seemed to hypothesize a middle-class audience by making short films depicting the life of the French bourgeoisie: respectable men and women in their homes or their gardens or in town. Similarly, the British gentlemen that became known as "the Brighton school" also centered their films on middle-class lives—even to the extent of imaging the poor as vagrants intent on stealing babies from bourgeois families, as in *Rescued by Rover* (1905).

Cinema in the United States, though, became associated with immigrants and the working class. A number of early short narratives even sided with the poor, with films such as *The Kleptomaniac* (1905) and *A Corner in Wheat* (1909) comparing the suffering of the working class to the mendacity and privilege of the wealthy. Increasingly, middle-class reformers attempted to shut down nickelodeons as dens of iniquity filled with lowlifes and illegal activity. As a consequence, the 1910s saw the industry concertedly wooing middle-class customers, especially since they had more potential spending money. Penny-ante nickelodeons gave rise to motion picture palaces that spoke of luxury and refinement. Filmmakers aimed at legitimacy by adapting great novels or plays, spending more money on costumes and sets, and hiring major theatrical stars. The rise of narrative filmmaking during this time also tended to favor plots that reinforced middle-class morality. In particular, popular American cinema began invoking the Horatio Alger narrative of "rags to riches," supporting the idea that democracy meant a free-market economy that would reward anyone with enough energy and determination. The success of such silent comedians as Buster Keaton (1895–1966), Harold Lloyd (1893–1971), and Harry Langdon (1884–1944) were predicated on little guys succeeding against all odds. Cinderella stories of shopgirls finding love and marriage with a millionaire also became popular. The Horatio Alger narrative works to obscure the existence of class division by suggesting the ease in which someone of meager means can rise in society (even if statistics may indicate otherwise in the actual world).

The success of Hollywood cinema, both in the United States and then around the world, guaranteed that its Horatio Alger formula would be widely imitated. Yet films in other countries subtly worked to reinforce a more established class system during the first half of the century. British cinema, for example, often reinforced the barriers between the working class and the gentry by associating national identity with upper-class culture: fox hunting, the manor-born, and gentility. Working-class people were often depicted as slightly foolish, yet happy with their lot in life serving their betters. (Perhaps the greater awareness of class disparity in British culture made the US films of British-born Charles Chaplin [1889–1977] in his Tramp persona a rare exception to the Horatio Alger plots that dominated Hollywood cinema.) Similarly, early Indian cinema consistently reinforced the lines between classes, offering cautionary melodramas of individuals who dared to consider stepping outside their proscribed positions. Since the underclasses still made up the majority of the filmgoing public in these countries, such narratives worked to keep them reconciled to their place in the social structure.

Mainstream film narratives in many countries also emphasized glamour and wealth, reveling in high production values as men and women wearing high fashion lived in glorious mansions or penthouses. Such films, whether consciously or not, made the lives of the well-to-do seem more important and more desirable—and, by omission, made the lives of the poor or working class seem unimportant and inferior.

The efforts by the industry to move into middle-class respectability was also mirrored in the shift from a penny-ante concern to a thriving big business with a factory-like system. Most obviously in Hollywood, but also in countries such as Great Britain, China, India, and Japan, studios were established that placed workers on a hierarchy as a film went through a virtual conveyor belt of production. Studio executives worked strenuously to maintain total control over their workforce, and used every means at their disposal to keep workers from unionizing. At the same time, though, Hollywood public relations promoted the American film industry as itself an example of the Horatio Alger myth—a tale of immigrants rising to become the heads of major studios, or little nobodies being discovered for stardom on the silver screen.

CHALLENGES TO THE CLASS STRUCTURE

While various national cinemas strove to shed their reputation as "working-class" entertainment, Soviet cinema of the 1920s strove to strengthen and deepen the connection between cinema and the workers. The Soviet leader Vladimir Ilich Lenin himself considered cinema

to be the most important art form—specifically because of its ability to attract and speak to the proletariat. As a consequence, Soviet cinema focused directly on drawing audiences out of "false consciousness" in order to make them class conscious, and to energize the socialist revolution. Filmmaker Dziga Vertov's (1896–1954) concept of the kino-eye theorized how the technology and aesthetics of cinema could expand human perception and consciousness. Director Sergei Eisenstein's (1898–1948) ideas of dialectical montage were also founded on attempting to broaden the mind's comprehension of the social order instead of simply acquiescing to the ideological precepts of either monarchy's "divine right" or the demands of capitalism. Unlike the typical Horatio Alger story that focused on individual heroes, Soviet films tended to focus on group protagonists—the crew of the *Bronenosets Potyomkin* (*Battleship Potemkin*, 1925), or the villagers in *Zemlya* (*Earth*, 1930). Unfortunately, by the 1930s, the regime of Josef Stalin (1924–1953) mandated a shift from a cinema that consistently challenged audiences to think for themselves to a cinema of "Socialist Realism" that championed the working class but attempted to keep workers docile and obedient.

Although Soviet silent cinema was the most obvious counter-argument to Hollywood's celebration of capitalist materialism, a number of German *kammerspiel* films in the 1920s, such as *Der Letzte Mann* (*The Last Laugh*, 1924) and *Die Freudlose Gasse* (*The Joyless Street*, 1925), acknowledged the disparity between the haves and the have-nots in a country dealing with rampant inflation and poverty after World War I. The rest of Europe and the United States was hit with economic hard times when the Depression began as the decade came to a close. The sudden collapse of stocks, credit, and jobs shook many people's faith in capitalism. Although the Hollywood studios usually support the status quo that helps keep them empowered, Hollywood films of the early 1930s were at times shockingly critical of capitalism. Exposés like *Wild Boys of the Road* (1933) and *I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang* (1932) depicted the failure of the American Dream, usually showing the system of law and government working for big business and against the common citizen. The rise of gangster films glorifying life outside the law also had audiences empathizing with rebellion against the establishment.

Such criticisms in Hollywood films waned by the mid-1930s and the start of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal (1933). A limited expansion of socialist ideas (social security, farm subsidies, work programs) created a new sense of optimism in the United States, and Hollywood films capitulated by reviving the Horatio Alger narrative. Most prominently, the films of director Frank Capra (1897–1991)—notably *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town* (1936), *You Can't Take It with You* (1938), and *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* (1939)—have become iconic in their upholding of the American Dream. Even the film adaptation of John Steinbeck's (1902–1968) *The Grapes of Wrath* (1940) shifted from a depiction of the failure of American capitalism to a story that glorified the determination of the American family. Late 1930s Hollywood films were a return to escapist fantasy—literally, in films like *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937) and *The Wizard of Oz* (1939)—helping audiences forget their woes. A similar pattern emerged in Europe. Alexander Korda (1893–1956) produced high-class costume epics in Britain. A "cinema of distraction," with sophisticated ladies and their white telephones, became prominent in Italian, German, and French cinema. One of the few trends in 1930s European cinema that regularly depicted the underclass was French Poetic Realism, although many of these films tended to tell stories with an air of romanticized fatalism rather than incisive analysis.

Documentaries in the latter half of the Depression also worked to support the opinion that the established system could solve economic hardship without needing a revolution. US documentaries such as *The Plow That Broke the Plains* (1936) and *The River* (1938) acknowledge the crisis, but end with a rousing tribute to American know-how. The British documentaries of John Grierson's (1898–1972) GPO Film Unit also tended to support the strength and success of the Empire and its industries in films like *Song of Ceylon* (1934), *Housing Problems* (1935), and *Night Mail* (1936). In their own way, Nazi German newsreels and documentaries, such as *Triumph des Willens* (*Triumph of the Will*, 1935), also asserted that national strength would overcome economic suffering, even as they also blamed such hardship on Jews and communists.

To a certain extent, the outbreak of war throughout Europe and Asia diminished the discussion of class issues, as diverse strata came together to fight the enemy. Films about the war in a number of countries often showed characters from various backgrounds working side by side in shared cause. *Maiagaru Jonetsu* (*Soaring Passion*, Japan, 1941), *In Which We Serve* (UK, 1942), and *Bataan* (US, 1943) are representative of this trend. After the war, though, awareness of economic disparity grew in many countries. Italian filmmakers in particular began documenting the hardships in recovering from the war through a series of fictional films shot in an almost-documentary style that was soon referred to as neorealism. Throughout the late 1940s and into the 1950s, Italian neorealist films like *Ladri di biciclette* (*Bicycle Thieves*, 1948) and *Umberto D* (1952) covered the struggles of the disenfranchised. By emphasizing long takes, long shots, and depth of focus, everything on-screen in a

MIKE LEIGH
b. Salford, England, 20 February 1943

Mike Leigh's films consistently focus on the British class system, particularly the working class. Often, issues of class are intertwined with concepts of gender, sexuality, and race/ethnicity as well. Many critics link his work back to the "kitchen-sink realism" of British cinema in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Others, though, point out how Leigh emphasizes the performativity of life (possibly due to his background in theater), often by exposing the *Secrets & Lies* (1996) that people hide behind their public facades. In this way, concepts of class identity (as well as other forms of identity) are exposed as social constructions. Most particularly, this is expressed through the characterization of individuals who have forsaken their working-class backgrounds—as in *High Hopes* (1988), *Secrets & Lies*, and *Career Girls* (1997).

After his first theatrical film, *Bleak Moments* (1971), Leigh worked almost exclusively in television for the next fifteen years. Films such as *High Hopes* and *Life Is Sweet* (1990) reintroduced him to film audiences. His films match his TV work in following the everyday events and actions of ordinary or marginalized people. The sense of realism is often accomplished through a lack of fancy camerawork or editing, and through sudden swings from comedy to trauma and back again. Also, protagonists are not always likable—particularly in *Naked* (1993), about a truly Angry Young Man railing at all of society—and often are shown displaying contradictory reactions.

Rather than pontificating on the ideological implications of the average worker's plight, Leigh's films dramatize the efficacy of socialism through stories of communities learning to support each other (or of the tragedy of individuals cast adrift). Leigh's working method also emphasizes group effort; he develops scripts with his cast in an improvisational atmosphere before setting the dialogue down in stone (a technique that also helps the sense of realism). As microcosms of working-class communities, families figure strongly in Leigh's films, as in *Life Is Sweet*, *Secrets & Lies*, *All or Nothing* (2002) and *Vera Drake* (2004). Familial relationships create much of the friction within these narratives as gender roles, generational viewpoints, and economic aspirations collide. Yet the families are shown working to overcome those disputes—and they often come together to withstand oppression from outside forces. Even Leigh's high-gloss biography of musical theater songwriters Gilbert and Sullivan, *Topsy-Turvy* (1999), pictures the duo as a professional family that alternately squabbled with and cared for each other. Leigh's use of family dynamics makes it easy for most viewers to sympathize with the characters, even when they display unlikable qualities. Combining such dynamics with moments of laughter and tears, Leigh's films use emotion rather than rhetoric to portray the lives of the working class.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

High Hopes (1988), *Life Is Sweet* (1990), *Naked* (1993), *Secrets & Lies* (1996), *All or Nothing* (2002), *Vera Drake* (2004)

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neorealist film seemed equally important, instead of Hollywood's use of close-ups and shallow focus to force attention on the glamorous lead actors. The international acclaim that these films received led to strains of neo-realism in other countries, such as West Germany (*Die Mörder sind unter uns* [*Murderers Among Us*, 1946],) Mexico (*Los Olvidados* [*The Young and the Damned*, 1950]), and Spain (*Muerte de un ciclista* [*Death of a Cyclist*, 1955]). In the United States, social problem films such as *Force of Evil* (1948) or *film noir* such as *Double Indemnity* (1944) also critiqued the greed and desperation of individuals trapped by their social standing. By the end of the 1950s, British film (as well as theater and literature) moved away from stories of the posh upper-crust to tales of the working class. The "kitchen sink realism" of films like *Look Back in Anger* (1958) and

Mike Leigh. PHOTO BY CJ CONTINO/EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

The Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner (1962) depicted the hardships and frustrations of working class youth.

DISCUSSING CLASS DURING THE COLD WAR

The post–World War II period also saw discussion of class reframed by the simmering tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union. While the Soviet Union espoused socialist rhetoric criticizing the class divisions of Western capitalism, life in the USSR and its sphere of influence was itself often severely stratified between the haves and the have-nots. Anyone who dared to acknowledge such economic disparity was in danger of investigation, imprisonment, torture, and/or death. Such threats did not stop some filmmakers in eastern European countries, such as Jiri Menzel (b. 1938) in Czechoslovakia and Andrzej Wajda (b. 1926) in Poland, from presenting Soviet-dominated society as one that suppressed individual liberty more than it eradicated power hierarchies. These efforts usually led to crackdowns. Soviet-style communism was not alone in such censorship. In the late 1960s, China's Cultural Revolution effectively shut down the film industry entirely because it was considered too Western-influenced, and many filmmakers were imprisoned or went missing.

It is important to recognize, though, that in the United States attempts to discuss capitalism critically were often met with similar suspicions of treason. Many filmmakers who had made social problem films about economic injustice found themselves investigated by the federal government as communist spies or sympathizers. Throughout the 1950s, an era of paranoia reigned within the film industry as studio executives agreed to blacklist any worker suspected of having communist ties. While potentially imperiling Hollywood as a whole, the Red Scare affected the power of the industry's labor unions most of all, weakening the ability for collective bargaining that had been hard-won during the Depression.

Social problem films in Hollywood ebbed in favor of mega-budget spectaculars that promoted happiness and fulfillment through consumerism. Bigger was better in Hollywood in the 1950s—bigger sets, bigger crowds of extras, even bigger screens with the advent of CinemaScope. Such a drift to escapist celebrations of conspicuous materialism occurred throughout most of Europe by the end of the 1950s. With US support behind the scenes, the Socialist Party in Italy was voted out of power, and an "Economic Miracle" began. The new government was outspoken in its criticism of how neorealism portrayed Italian society, and by the end of the decade neorealism had been replaced by high-gloss sex comedies and big-budget peplum (sword and sandal) films. The United Kingdom also saw the rise of an affluent society during the 1960s, and the image of the "angry young man" was succeeded by the icon of James Bond, who reveled in high-tech gadgets, casinos, and "shaken, not stirred" martinis.

Yet, even as much of "First World" cinema seemed to manifestly promote what capitalism had to offer, some films also suggested problems that lay beneath such effusiveness. Hollywood melodramas of the 1950s sometimes hinted at a simmering dissatisfaction—a feeling that money and material goods were not bringing happiness. Italian directors such as Federico Fellini (1920–1993) (*La Dolce Vita* [1960]) and Michelangelo Antonioni (b. 1912) (*L'Avventura* [1960]) portrayed the Economic Miracle as having created a shallow, soulless society. The films of the French New Wave also seemed to rebel against what was portrayed as the stifling values of bourgeois society.

Such attitudes toward First World capitalism became even more attenuated in the various national cinemas that emerged in newly postcolonial Third World countries. As many in these officially independent countries realized their continued psychological, cultural, and

Barbara Valentin and El Hedi ben Salem in Rainer Werner Fassbinder's Angst essen seele auf (**Ali: Fear Eats the Soul,** ***1974).*** EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

economic dependency on the West, they began to call for strategies of resistance. Throughout the 1960s, various film movements matched the growing radical political ideas of the Third World. Brazil's Cinema Novo described itself as an "aesthetics of hunger," for example, attempting to provide a voice for the peasant underclass against growing modernization and Western imperialism. Calls for an "imperfect cinema" in Cuba after the 1959 revolution, or for a type of guerrilla cinema termed "Third Cinema" by the Argentine filmmakers Fernando E. Solanas (b. 1936) and Octavio Getino (b. 1935), similarly attempted to divest themselves from dependence on Hollywood imperialist techniques. Many revolutionary filmmakers also sought to develop alternative or underground systems of production, distribution, and exhibition that were not motivated by the potential for profit.

Radical cinema began to make its presence felt in the United States and western Europe by the late 1960s, as countercultural factions began to swell within the population. Occurrences across the globe in 1968—the events of May in Paris and the riots during the Democratic Party Convention in Chicago, as well as uprisings in Germany, Italy, Spain, and Japan—showed a widespread resistance to the establishment. Many individuals "dropped out" of the economy, creating communes and protesting government policies and business practices. A number of underground and leftist filmmakers began producing experimental films and documentaries that challenged and critiqued what often was referred to at the time as the West's "military-industrial complex." Collectives such as Newsreel in the United States and the Dziga Vertov Group in France sought not only to provide alternative content but also alternative stylistics, production methods, and exhibition practices. Much like Soviet cinema of the 1920s or revolutionary Third World cinema of the 1960s, such films used alienation devices to snap viewers out of "false consciousness" and to make them aware and critical of both class division and its attendant ideologies (such as

racism, sexism, and militarism). Going to an underground screening itself could feel like a radical act of resistance.

With younger audiences opting for underground or foreign films and older audiences often staying home to watch television, the Hollywood studios suffered major economic setbacks by the end of the 1960s. Desperate to find an audience, the studios began to address the concerns of the counterculture. Films like *Easy Rider* (1969), *Five Easy Pieces* (1970), *The Last Picture Show* (1971), and *Mean Streets* (1973) attempted to show the emptiness of the American Dream and the drama of the working class. Studios also began distributing low-budget blaxploitation films that exposed the trials and tribulations that faced America's inner-city African American population (albeit with extensive violence and sex included). Such attempts were not exclusive to US cinema, however. Japanese New Wave directors of the 1960s often voiced the aggravations of a younger generation in the midst of rapid modernization and Westernization. *Nihon No Yoru To Kiri* (*Night and Fog in Japan*, Nagisa Oshima, 1960) and *Buta To Gunkan* (*Pigs and Battleships*, Shohei Imamura, 1961) are examples of such Japanese New Wave films. New German Cinema (such as *Angst essen Seele auf* [*Ali: Fear Eats the Soul*, 1974], *Stroszek* [1977] and *Die Ehe der Maria Braun* [*The Marriage of Maria Braun*, 1979]) often critiqued the effects of modern capitalism on West Germany. The German director Rainer Werner Fassbinder (1945–1982) in particular commonly invoked Hollywood melodramas and "white telephone films" but in an overly stylized manner in order to lay bare their issues of class (as well as race, gender, and sexuality issues).

CINEMA IN THE AGE OF LATE CAPITALISM

While the politically engaged cinema of the late 1960s and early 1970s attempted to address social issues such as economic oppression, it turned out that most of those who could be defined as "oppressed" preferred to watch escapist films that helped them forget their hardships. By the mid-1970s, the Hollywood film industry had resurrected itself with a number of blockbuster films that revived old formulas and genres. Audiences flocked to pictures such as *The Godfather* (1972), *Jaws* (1975), and *Star Wars* (1977) not for their political critiques (which

(From left), Timothy Spall, Jim Broadbent, and Alison Steadman in* Life Is Sweet *(Mike Leigh, 1990). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

some analysts have pointed out) but for their ability to provide simple entertainment. Among the formulas dusted off and repackaged was the Horatio Alger narrative. In *Rocky* (1976) and *Saturday Night Fever* (1977), working-class men make better lives for themselves through sheer determination and hard work, with little-to-no discussion of the institutionalized forces that, in the real world, work to inhibit such mobility. Such optimistic messages would continue in popular American film for the rest of the century, from teen comedies such as *Risky Business* (1983) or *Pretty in Pink* (1986) to biopics such as *Erin Brockovich* (2000) or *Ray* (2004).

Certain trends in European cinema also began celebrating old-fashioned ideas of glamorous wealth and happy workers. Most particularly, the rise of British "heritage films" exuded nostalgia for the era before World War I, reveling in well-groomed manor grounds, lavishly appointed drawing rooms, and tuxedos and satin ball gowns. A number of similarly glossy films from other countries, such as *Nuovo cinema Paradiso* (*Cinema Paradiso*, Italy, 1989), *Mediterraneo* (Italy, 1991), *Como agua para chocolate* (*Like Water for Chocolate*, Mexico, 1992), and *Belle Epoque* (Spain, 1993) portrayed peasant life in a golden hue of romanticism. Such films often seemed like cinematic postcards, packaging the country (and its quaint working-class customs) for tourists to purchase.

By the start of the twenty-first century, the communist government of the Soviet Union had collapsed, and China had begun integrating itself into the international economy. A new era of triumphant capitalism (dubbed "late capitalism" by philosopher Herbert Marcuse [1898–1979]) seemed to have dawned. Much of contemporary cinema (and mass media generally) reflects the increased commodification of life. From Hollywood summer blockbusters to Japanese anime, modern cinema functions simultaneously as a product and as an advertisement for related products—the video, the soundtrack CD, the computer game, the collectible figures, the theme park ride. Hollywood studios (and many media companies worldwide) were subsumed into larger international corporate identities toward the end of the twentieth century. Thus, many films were meant to keep the profits flowing from all the various arms of a conglomerate rather than to expose how the rich were getting richer and the poor were getting poorer.

Yet some filmmakers wished to expose the class struggles that remained. Often focusing on groups rather than Horatio Alger protagonists, directors like Mike Leigh (b. 1943) (*Life Is Sweet*, 1990) in Britain, Denys Arcand (b. 1941) (*Les Invasions Barbares* [*The Barbarian Invasions*], 2003) in Canada, John Sayles (b. 1950) (*Matewan*, 1987) in the United States, and Hou Hsaio-Hsien (b. 1947) (*Beiqing Chengshi* [*City of Sadness*], 1990) in Taiwan depicted the complex nature of economics and class, and how they interrelate with issues such as gender and sexuality, national identity, history, and religious belief. While their work was often overlooked by audiences, such efforts kept the spirit of such early cinema as *The Kleptomaniac* alive as the new millennium began.

SEE ALSO *Ideology; Marxism; Neorealism; Populism; Propaganda*

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COLD WAR

The science fiction film *Strange Invaders* (Michael Laughlin, 1983), which trades in acid-tinged nostalgia, opens with a caption that describes the 1950s as an era in which ''the only things we had to worry about were the Communists and rock 'n' roll.'' The joke, of course, is that these multipronged threats still managed to turn a decade otherwise characterized by increasing affluence, technological and social progress, and an absence of world war into a time of deep-seated fear, doubt, and paranoia.

The word ''worry'' recurs often in the context of this period in cinema—a less extreme emotion than the commingled joy and terror of World War II, when Hollywood wore the fixed grin of James Cagney's (1899–1986) Yankee Doodle Dandy or Errol Flynn's (1909–1959) battlefield heroes, but the anxieties of the 1950s were longer lasting, with broader and stranger effects. The jolly nuclear awareness training films (*Duck and Cover*) and ghastly novelty songs (''If Jin'ral McArthur Drops a Atomic Bomb'') exhumed in the documentary *The Atomic Cafe* (Kevin Rafferty, Jayne Loader, and Pierce Rafferty, 1982) are freakish in their obviousness. The pervasiveness of the Cold War, with its ''atomic cocktail'' of political and apocalyptic anxieties, is evident from almost every film made in Hollywood between 1948 and 1962.

THE RED MENACE

An endless parade of alien invaders and mutants, often radioactive, frequently from a ''red'' planet, embodies the stereotypes of the Communist enemy: emotionless, brutal, godless, logical collectives, hungry for our planet's resources (and women). The pettiness of this approach can be gauged from *The Thing from Another World* (1951), in which Dr. Carrington (Robert Cornthwaite), the (American) scientist who argues for cultural and scientific exchange rather than prompt military action when faced with a vampiric humanoid vegetable from outer space, is given a beard and a fur hat to make him *look* Russian. Less obvious is a futile grumble about McCarthyism, equivalent to flashing the finger unnoticed in the class photograph, that underlies a boom in westerns in which mobs persecute innocent men. *Silver Lode* (Allan Dwan, 1954) gives the chief accuser (Dan Duryea) of the upright sheriff (John Payne) the character name ''McCarty''' but includes several takes in which the actors say ''McCarthy'' by mistake. *Johnny Guitar* (Nicholas Ray, 1954) and *A Man Alone* (Ray Milland, 1955) simply cast Ward Bond (1903–1960), a vocal pillar of the pro-blacklist Motion Picture Alliance for the Preservation of American Ideals, as a bullying lynch mob leader whose scripted ''string 'em up'' dialogue sounds much like Bond's offscreen anti-Communist remarks.

For America and the Soviet Union, Cold War was the natural condition of the twentieth century. Throughout the existence of the Soviet Union, both superpowers defined themselves, and incidentally justified their military budgets, by invoking the threat of the other, not merely as a geographic enemy or competitor but as an embodiment of an utterly antithetical way of life. American persecution of its homegrown (or immigrant) Communists got into high gear with the Palmer Raids of 1919 and became a long-lasting national pastime in the 1920s as J. Edgar Hoover (1895–1972)

solidified his power base in what would become the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). Throughout the New Deal and World War II, Hoover and others maintained a policy of demonizing American dissent by suggesting that all Communists were agents of an unfriendly foreign power. Until Hitler's invasion of Russia, America saw Nazi Germany as less of a threat than its fellow "dictator nation," the Soviet Union. World War II put the US-Soviet conflict on hold, as President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945) and Joseph Stalin (1879–1953) led their countries in an alliance against fascism. An irony of the blacklist era is that screenwriters later upbraided as Soviet dupes or puppets were in fact guilty of working on embarrassingly fervent exercises in sadistic, propagandist Americanism. Raoul Walsh's *Objective, Burma!* (1945), cowritten by future blacklistees Alvah Bessie (1904–1985) and Lester Cole (1904–1985), indulges in racist depictions of the Japanese as subhuman creatures, and is far more extreme than even 1950s representations of evil Communists as sexually degenerate gangsters (the film incidentally rewrote the history of the Burma campaign to credit Americans with Allied victories primarily won by the British).

More frequently cited during the hearings into Communist influence in Hollywood were the comparatively few American films made to celebrate Russia's contribution to the war effort: *Mission to Moscow* (1943) by Michael Curtiz (1888–1962), *The North Star* (1943) by Lewis Milestone (1895–1980), *Song of Russia* (1943) by Gregory Ratoff (1893–1960), and *Days of Glory* (1944) by Jacques Tourneur (1904–1977). There were certainly many more Hollywood celebrations of the British cause (*Mrs. Miniver*, 1942) or the French Resistance (*Casablanca*, 1942), and Jack Warner (1916–1995) would make the futile excuse to the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) that *Mission to Moscow* had been made at the express request of President Roosevelt, a political figure scarcely less demonized by McCarthyites than Stalin. The wartime alliance between America and Russia, often characterized as a personal accord between Roosevelt and Stalin, was so brief that there was no time to commit fully to celebratory films. None of the pro-Soviet films of 1943 and 1944 achieved anything like the commercial or critical success of comparable pro-British or pro–Free French films (*Mrs. Miniver* and *Casablanca* both won Best Picture Oscars®). The dominant Hollywood depiction of the Soviet Union was in the caricature killjoys seduced by silk stockings in *Ninotchka* (Ernst Lubitsch, 1939), promoted as "the picture that kids the commissars." When the mood changed, it was a simple matter to backpedal by snipping out shots that included Russians in the international array of Allies depicted in a musical like *Hollywood Canteen* (1944). *The North Star* was reedited for postwar release as *Armored Attack*, with heroic Russians played down; there were even hints that the former Nazi villains were equally likely to be aligned with Stalinism. As late as *The Whip Hand* (William Cameron Menzies, 1951), Nazis were being turned into Communists: in this case, literally, since a film (*The Man I Found*) about a surviving Hitler playing with germ warfare was reworked to make an ex-Nazi mad scientist into a fervent tool of Communist forces.

The Cold War properly began in the late 1940s, with a freeze in relations between East and West fueled by paranoia, to an extent justified, on both sides. The lesson of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, not lost on Moscow, was that the United States not only had the atom bomb but was also prepared to drop it, while half of Europe turned out to have been saved not for democracy but as a buffer of "satellite states" almost as oppressed as they had been under Hitler. Though it lasted at least until the dismantling of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the peak of the Cold War is usually reckoned from Winston Churchill's (1874–1965) "Iron Curtain" speech in 1948 to the Cuban missile crisis of 1962. This was an eventful period: nuclear buildup in both camps, with a procession of A- and H-bomb tests by both superpowers; an actual skirmish between the sides in Korea, later replayed on a larger scale in Vietnam; Communist insurgencies against old colonial powers Britain and France in Malaya and Indonesia; the "loss" of China to Communism, which created an equally fractious relationship between Red China and the Soviet Union; the extensive persecution of comparatively few American Communists and far more merely left-leaning or liberal Americans, many of whom had been associated with the New Deal or had spoken for the Russian ally during the war; and the beginnings of the space race, sparked by Russia's initial triumphs in launching Sputnik and putting a cosmonaut in orbit—all this, and a wave of juvenile delinquency fanned by rock and roll, horror comics, and hot rods.

THE BLACKLIST

In Hollywood, the wave of anti-Communist investigation that was later termed "McCarthyism" actually began in 1947, three years before Senator Joseph McCarthy (1908–1957) embarked on his personal crusade (eventually becoming chair of the Subcommittee on Investigations in the US Senate). The House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) had convened before the war to investigate allegations of Communist influence in the movie industry but suspended its activities for the duration of the war. In 1947 Chairman J. Parnell Thomas (1895–1970), replacing the late Martin Dies, interrogated the "unfriendly" witnesses who became known as the Hollywood Ten. For refusing to

answer questions that would have involved implicating others, the Ten were convicted of "contempt of Congress" and mostly served short prison sentences before emerging to face unemployability. The Ten would have been Eleven, but Bertolt Brecht (1898–1956)—whose latest work, significantly, was a play about Galileo—pretended not to understand English well enough to answer questions in his first session, then fled the country. After years of appeals, two of the Hollywood Ten, Lester Cole and Ring Lardner Jr. (1915–2000), arrived in Danbury Prison to serve their terms, only to find Congressman Thomas, convicted in the interim of embezzling from the federal purse, among their fellow inmates.

The Hollywood Communists suffered for slipping "subversive" dialogue into scripts: the line "hare and share alike, that's democracy" in Edward Dmytryk's (1908–1999) *Tender Comrade* (1943) tipped off Ginger Rogers's (1911–1995) mother that the writer Dalton Trumbo (1905–1976) was a Red. Yet it is hard to detect traces of anything that might count as Communist or even socialist propaganda in any of the films, good or bad, made by the Ten. The Ten were mostly talented journeymen: Cole, writer of *The Invisible Man Returns* (1939), which has a miners' strike subplot; Lardner, who later wrote *M*A*S*H* (1970); Trumbo, who wrote *A Guy Named Joe* (1943) and *Spartacus* (1960); Dmytryk, director of *Captive Wild Woman* (1943) and *Murder, My Sweet* (1944); John Howard Lawson (1895–1977), writer of *Terror in a Texas Town* (1958); Herbert Biberman (1900–1971), director of *Meet Nero Wolfe* (1936), writer of *King of Chinatown* (1939); Adrian Scott (1912–1973), producer of *Murder, My Sweet* and *Crossfire* (1947); Alvah Bessie, writer of *Northern Pursuit* (1943) and *Hotel Berlin* (1945); Albert Maltz, writer of *This Gun for Hire* (1942) and *The Man in Half Moon Street* (1944); and Samuel Ornitz (1890–1957), writer of *Hit Parade of 1937* (1937) and *Little Orphan Annie* (1939).

Other "unfriendlies," former or current radicals eventually blacklisted, included actors Gale Sondergaard (1899–1985), John Garfield (1913–1952), Kim Hunter (1922–2002), Zero Mostel (1915–1977), and Lionel Stander (1909–1994), writers Dashiell Hammett (1894–1961) (who went stubbornly to jail), Carl Foreman (1914–1984), and Walter Bernstein (b. 1919) (who dealt with the period in his autobiographical script *The Front*, 1976), and directors Joseph Losey (1909–1984), Jules Dassin (b. 1911), and Cy Endfield (1914–1995). Most of these had, at one time or another, been "card-carrying" Communists, that is, members of the American Communist Party (CPUSA). Some directors (Losey, Endfield) went to Europe and eventually became successful there; some writers used pseudonyms or fronts until it was safe to be credited again. Many endured long periods of forced inactivity. Abraham Polonsky (1910–1999) did not direct between *Force of Evil* (1948) and *Tell Them Willie Boy Is Here* (1969), managing only one further feature in the remaining thirty years of his life. On the strength of his debut feature, it seems obvious that without the blacklist he would have had a career at least on a level with Edward Dmytryk (who eventually named names) and possibly on a level with Elia Kazan (1909–2003) (who famously became a "friendly"). Actors, of course, were hardest hit of all: some (Sam Wanamaker [1919–1993]) became refugees, but others cracked and informed (Lee J. Cobb [1911–1976], Sterling Hayden [1916–1986], Lloyd Bridges [1913–1998]) to resume their careers.

Under Thomas, HUAC obsessively alleged that "Red writers" insidiously worked the Party Line into Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer musicals or Fox thrillers, polluting the minds of American audiences. Investigations failed to turn up *any* concrete incidences of subversion beyond Lionel Stander whistling "Internationale" while waiting for an elevator in *No Time to Marry* (1938). Subtly, the thrust of the crusade changed: as in later investigations into the civil services, universities, and other spheres, including dentistry and the US mail, the purpose of the Hollywood hearings was to render unemployed and unemployable anyone who was or had been a Communist or "fellow traveler." Liberals like John Huston (1906–1987) or Kirk Douglas (b. 1916) survived only through canniness—a combination of undoubted box office track record, token anti-Red statements (or films), and an independent streak that would lead to work outside the troubled studio system (other federal committees were breaking up monopolies on exhibition and production), eventually becoming free of the powers who could actually draw up and enforce blacklists.

There was, of course, no formal blacklist. It operated on threat and innuendo, with a complex system of extortion, blackmail, and intimidation, even including approved methods for getting off the list through strategic self-abasement (cooperation with the FBI) or actual bribery. Initially, the blacklisted were names compiled by HUAC for their hearings, but the work was taken up enthusiastically by the American Legion and a private firm called American Business Consultants, who "exposed" subversives in their publications (*Firing Line*, *Counterattack*, *Red Channels*). If studios continued to hire those named, the studios would become the victims of organized boycott campaigns. In television, pressure was brought not on the broadcast companies but on the sponsors who underwrote their programs. Mistakes were made—actress Martha Scott (1914–2003) was confused with singer Hazel Scott (1920–1981) and was blacklisted.

Studio heads, their power eroded by other factors (television, antitrust legislation, impatient heirs), embraced the blacklist as a "bolting the stable door after the horse

EDWARD DMYTRYK

b. Grand Forks, British Columbia, Canada, 4 September 1908, d. 1 July 1999

When his film *Cornered* (1945) was targeted by the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) in 1951 as an instance of the director (and producer Adrian Scott, another of the Hollywood Ten) sneaking Communist propaganda into an entertainment thriller, Edward Dmytryk listed all the objections that his comrades had raised to the film. "This is the thing," he said, "which actually got me out of the Party."

The only one of the Ten to work primarily as a director, Dmytryk had served a long Hollywood apprenticeship, beginning with B pictures like *Television Spy* (1939), *The Devil Commands* (1941), *Confessions of Boston Blackie* (1941), *Captive Wild Woman* (1943), and *The Falcon Strikes Back* (1943). Then, as now, the B movie "quickies" were sometimes made by young directors with ambition, and a solidly made, imaginatively shot cheap horror film or series thriller might lead to healthier budgets and more challenging projects. At RKO, Dmytryk was awarded some plums: the Ginger Rogers wartime comedy drama *Tender Comrade* (1943), scripted by another of the Hollywood Ten, Dalton Trumbo; and the Raymond Chandler thriller *Murder, My Sweet* (1944). The *film noir* style, just then becoming popular, could obviously be turned to social issues—which prompted Dmytryk to have Dick Powell track Nazi war criminals in *Cornered* and to expose Robert Ryan as an anti-Semitic murderer in *Crossfire* (1947).

Unique among the Ten, Dmytryk served his jail sentence for contempt of Congress, then cooperated with the Committee and resumed his career as a director. Among the penitent activities required of him was cooperating with journalist Richard English on a 1951 *Saturday Evening Post* article, "What Makes a Hollywood Communist?" In it, he claimed "I believed that I was being forced to sacrifice my family and my career in defense of the Communist Party, from which I had long been separated and which I had grown to dislike and distrust." In his testimony, he cited the invasion of South Korea and the trials of State Department officials presumed to be Soviet spies as the reasons for his change of mind and stated "I don't say all members of the Communist Party are guilty of treason, but I think a party that encourages them to act in this capacity is treasonable."

In the 1950s and beyond, Dmytryk made a few solid films, often concerned with issues of leadership, oppression and rebellion: *The Caine Mutiny* (1954), *Broken Lance* (1954), and *Warlock* (1959). Sadly, his credit was more often found on dull, troubled, conventional soap material like the first version of *The End of the Affair* (1955), *Raintree County* (1957), or *The Carpetbaggers* (1964), and his career petered out with stodgy international genre films like *Shalako* (1968) and *Bluebeard* (1972), starring Richard Burton.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Tender Comrade (1943), *Murder, My Sweet* (1944), *Crossfire* (1947), *The Caine Mutiny* (1954), *Broken Lance* (1954), *Warlock* (1959)

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has gone" measure. Few of the men who had founded the studio system in the 1920s were in office by the end of the decade, but they tended to be eased into extraordinarily monied retirement, whereas a great many of their former employees were ostracized, persecuted, denied their professions, and forced into poverty.

THE COLD WAR COMES TO HOLLYWOOD

Anthony Mann's (1907–1967) *Strategic Air Command* (1955) opens with Dutch Holland (James Stewart), a professional baseball player, being approached by his former commanding officer and asked to reenlist in the peacetime air force. "Where's the fire?" asks Dutch, who has done "his share" in two wars, seconded by a 1950s wife (June Allyson) who wants him at their home in the suburbs, not off on some far-flung base. But the thrust of the film is that it is Dutch's duty to get back in harness and maintain the peace against the ever-present (if rarely specified) Russian threat. The fetishist treatment of weapons of mass destruction, central to Stanley Kubrick's

Edward Dmytryk on location directing* Anzio *(1968).
EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

(1928–1999) *Dr. Strangelove, or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb* (1964), begins here. Mann's camera ogles the lines and curves of the B-47 that Stewart (a real-life bomber pilot) gets to fly (with the new family of nuclear weapons, a B-47 with a crew of three carries the destructive power of the entire B-29 forces used in World War II). Dutch's eventual commitment to the Strategic Air Command seems to suggest that his plane is sexier than the starched, maternal Allyson.

At first, Hollywood reacted to the Cold War much like Dutch, when he was asked to stop playing ball and start practicing bomb runs. After years of turning out war propaganda, a policy the movies embraced before the government (e.g., *Confessions of a Nazi Spy*, Anatole Litvak, 1939), the studios felt they had done their "share" and believed that audiences wanted Technicolor musical escapism or *film noir* romantic agonies rather than more gray, grim, depressing privation-leads-to-victory stories. If anything, Hollywood needed to mop up after World War II, tracking down Nazi war criminals who might be infiltrating America (*The Stranger*, Orson Welles, 1946) or reflecting on the situations of returning veterans who found their homeland not quite the paradise they thought they were fighting for. A wave of films, many made by people who would soon be facing HUAC, dealt with heroic black, Jewish, or even Nisei soldiers suffering from bigotry or racial assault, including murder: *Crossfire* (Edward Dmytryk, 1947), *Gentleman's Agreement* (Elia Kazan, 1947), *Home of the Brave* (Mark Robson, 1949), and *Bad Day at Black Rock* (1955) by John Sturges (1911–1993). A decade before *Strategic Air Command*, Dana Andrews found his war record suited him for no peacetime employment and rendered him as obsolete as the fields of junked bombers in *The Best Years of Our Lives* (1946) by William Wyler (1902–1981). Within a few years, films like this (another Oscar® winner) would be seen as either suspect or anti-American.

The studios made anti-Nazi films from genuine conviction (in the case of Warner Bros.) and a patriotic urge to aid a national war effort; they made anti-Communist films at first because they were afraid not to. When HUAC resumed its hearings, Hollywood put into production a run of low-budget anti-Red quickies. A few odd films—*My Son John* (Leo McCarey, 1952) and *Big Jim McLain* (Edward Ludwig, 1952)—are sincere in their anti-Communism, if so bizarre in approach as to undermine their overt message. In the former, John (Robert Walker), a fey intellectual who drifts into Red circles, is so smothered by his mother (Helen Hayes) and literally Bible-bashed by his super-patriot father (Dean Jagger) that he seems as much a victim of all-American parentage as Jim Stark (James Dean) of *Rebel Without a Cause* (1955) or Norman Bates (Anthony Perkins) of *Psycho* (1960). Jim McLain, an avatar of producer John Wayne (1907–1979), is a rare instance of blacklister as two-fisted action hero, an investigator out to round up a Red ring in Hawaii. The film's conclusion is that too many enemies of freedom are protected by the Fifth Amendment and that the Constitution ought to be changed—a proposal not even Joseph McCarthy dared to make.

These are films Hollywood needed to produce, but audiences were not that interested in seeing them then, and even social historians find them hard to see (let alone sit through) now. Some tackled the "problem" of making anti-Red propaganda by making the same old movies, but with notionally Communist villains. The espionage aspect of *Pickup on South Street* (1953) by Samuel Fuller (1912–1997) is so thin that the film could be redubbed for release in France (where there was a respectable, active Communist Party) with the bad guys turned into drug smugglers. Smooth Van Zandt (James Mason), "importer-exporter of government secrets" in *North by Northwest* (1959) by Alfred Hitchcock (1899–1980), is an epicene mastermind exactly like the traitor-for-an-unspecified-cause of *The 39*

DALTON TRUMBO

b. Montrose, Colorado, 9 December 1905, d. 10 September 1976

Dalton Trumbo had what might be considered the usual background for a studio writer in the 1930s and 1940s: a spell as a journalist, employment as a script reader for Warner Bros., critical success as an author (with the perhaps ill-timed antiwar novel *Johnny Got His Gun*, 1939), a "good war record" of patriotic movies (*A Guy Named Joe*, 1943; *Thirty Seconds over Tokyo*, 1944), a spell in the Pacific Theater as war correspondent, and a position as chairman of "Writers for Roosevelt." He was a founding member and sometime director of the Screen Writers Guild and a somewhat fractious sometime Communist (the CPUSA insisted that Trumbo's thirty-page memo on its failings in Hollywood be ignored and burned).

As the most successful and prolific of the Hollywood Ten, Trumbo's credits were the most scrutinized for the taint of propaganda—which HUAC claimed to find in *Tender Comrade* (1943), a film about the wartime housing shortage in which the heroines' apartment sharing was deemed suspiciously collectivist, alerting star Ginger Rogers's mother (a prominent "friendly" witness) to Trumbo's hidden agenda. After serving his ten-month jail term for contempt of Congress, Trumbo was blacklisted in the industry but continued to write under pseudonyms. In 1956 the Academy Award® for Best Motion Picture Story went to Robert Rich for *The Brave One*; Rich did not collect the Oscar® because he was merely a front for Trumbo. At the time, the King Brothers, the film's producers, hotly denied the rumor that Trumbo was the author, but the truth was generally known; in 1975 the Academy presented the statuette to the correct recipient.

Though Trumbo's fronted or pseudonymous credits still have not all been confirmed, he was active throughout his internal exile, often on interesting low-budget films like Joseph L. Lewis's *Gun Crazy* (1949) and *Terror in a Texas Town* (1958). Oddly, he worked on Otto Preminger's decidedly hawkish Cold War allegory *The Court-Martial of Billy Mitchell* (1955) in which Gary Cooper's pioneer of aviation warfare claims "one day, half the world will be in ruins through bombing from the air; I want this country to be in the other half." Trumbo always credited Kirk Douglas—producer-star of *Spartacus* (1960)—with breaking the blacklist by giving him credit, though there seems to have been a race between Douglas and Preminger, who had Trumbo working on *Exodus* (1960), as to who would name him first.

When he came out of the cold, Trumbo worked less often, mixing expensive tosh like *The Sandpiper* (1965) and *Hawaii* (1966) with more interesting, smaller projects like *Lonely Are the Brave* (1962). He directed and wrote a 1971 film of *Johnny Got His Gun*, better timed for the anti-Vietnam mood but awkward where the book was precise, and he had a final "big" credit on *Papillon* (1973).

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Tender Comrade (1943), *Thirty Seconds over Tokyo* (1944), *Gun Crazy* (1949), *Spartacus* (1960), *Lonely Are the Brave* (1962), *Johnny Got His Gun* (1971)

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Steps (1935). Other pictures, far more disposable, traded in trenchcoated sleaze and *avant-la-lettre* camp, and could as easily be coded attacks on homosexuality (a persistent theme), devil worship, big-time crime, seedpods from space, or child abuse rings: *The Iron Curtain* (William Wellman, 1948), *The Red Menace* (R. G. Springsteen, 1949), *I Married a Communist* (Robert Stevenson, 1949), *I Was a Communist for the FBI* (Gordon Douglas, 1951), *Red Planet Mars* (Harry Horner, 1952), and *Invasion USA* (Alfred E. Green, 1952).

With the Communist screenwriters, directors, and actors blacklisted, there was a real problem in making films *about* Communism. Those, like Elia Kazan and Budd Schulberg (b. 1914), who had recanted former beliefs, "named names," or espoused the anti-Communist cause were still conflicted enough to want to avoid making films like *My Son John*. Kazan and Schulberg's *On the Waterfront* (1954) can be read as a personal validation: longshoreman Terry Molloy (Marlon Brando) is convinced by an investigator for a government committee that turning informer

Dalton Trumbo. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

is sometimes the only honorable American course of action, even if it means being stigmatized in his community ("a pigeon for a pigeon," sobs a child as he tosses the murdered corpse of one of Terry's beloved pet birds at him). But *On the Waterfront* is about apolitical racketeering, and there is no suggestion that corrupt union boss Johnny Friendly (Lee J. Cobb) has any Red affiliations. Those with long memories might recall that American Communists had devoted careers in labor activism to rooting out villains like Johnny, and that blacklisted director Jules Dassin had cast Cobb as a similar crook in the proletarian-themed truck-driving drama *Thieves' Highway* (1949).

This left the anti-Red films to no-name directors who took what they were given and knew no more about Communism than the average maker of two-week westerns knew about Indians. The Hollywood Red was liable to be a shifty-looking foreign character actor with beady eyes, a heavy accent, a grubby wardrobe, and a closeted but evident perverse sexuality (Thomas Gomez in *I Married a Communist*). In this, he was hard to differentiate from the gangsters, psychopaths, and general troublemakers who appeared in everyday crime films like *The Big Heat* (1953) by Fritz Lang (1890–1976) or *The Big Combo* (1955) by Joseph H. Lewis (1907–2000). It is easy to rate the anti-Red cycle as a subgenre of a larger 1950s trend for films in which individuals find themselves targeted by vast, all-powerful conspiracies, which seem to be impossible to escape and are even inextricably intertwined with the power structure of normal society. Whether the villians are outlaws backed by corrupt politicians or the railroads in westerns, alien invaders in science fiction, adults in juvenile delinquency dramas (and even children's films like Roy Rowland's *The 5,000 Fingers of Dr. T*, 1953), or all-powerful crime cartels in gangster films, the menace feels the same; it could as easily represent an Americanism characterized by blacklisting and persecution as an external enemy intent on subverting and wrecking the capitalist way of life.

Some of the most memorable, effective films of the Cold War are open to interpretations from opposite ends of the political spectrum. *High Noon* (1952) by Fred Zinnemann (1907–1997), scripted by soon-to-be-blacklisted Carl Foreman and starring Motion Picture Alliance mainstay Gary Cooper (1901–1961), follows Sheriff Will Kane's attempts to rally the townsfolk against the outlaw coming in on the noon train to kill him and resume a reign of terror. Liberals can read this as an indictment of McCarthyism, with the disgusted and excluded hero finally tossing his badge of authority (a tin star) in the dirt and walking away (a gesture that especially angered John Wayne). But Will Kane could as easily represent Senator McCarthy's self-image: a lone voice against subversives whom the complacent, docile populace would rather ignore. Similarly, *Invasion of the Body Snatchers* (1956) by Don Siegel (1912–1991) features a town taken over by aliens who fit some of the Communist stereotypes (emotionless, subtle, single-minded) but who also act a lot like all-American blacklisters (small-town conformists, forming a lynch mob, pressuring folks to come over to their side).

The ultimate expression of this free-form paranoia is *Kiss Me Deadly* (1955) by Robert Aldrich (1918–1983), a deconstruction of Mickey Spillane's (b. 1918) anti-Red novel, in which "the mysterious they" who will do anything to possess "the great whatsit" could be anyone—Russian spies, American (or, worse, naturalized American) organized crime, bizarre sexual perverts, eternally duplicitous females, even mythological beings like Medusa and Cerberus. Aldrich's nebulous menace only serves to highlight his ambiguous hero, Spillane's Mike Hammer (Ralph Meeker), whose brutality, sadism, paranoia, and misogyny are faithfully transplanted from the page, with an added gloss of illiteracy, philistinism, car and pin-up fetishism ("va-va-voom!"), glowering humorlessness, and "little boy lost" infantilism, making him a caricature of Cold Warrior masculinity. The film ends with

Van Heflin and Helen Hayes in* My Son John *(Leo McCarey, 1952). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Pandora's Box, containing fissionable material, opened and a mushroom cloud rising over southern California.

NON-AMERICAN PERSPECTIVES

In 1953 a reporter from *Life* magazine—who presumably believed Wellman's *The Iron Curtain* to be an accurate depiction of life in the Soviet Union—saw *Serebristaya pyl* (*Silver Dust*) by Abram Room (1894–1976) and labeled it "Red propaganda" and a libel on the United States. One of comparatively few Soviet Cold War films, it features an enterprising American researcher who wishes to test his radioactive dust on human guinea pigs, while a scheming big businessman and an ex-Nazi compete for control of the weapon. In the end, the capitalist's hired guns kill the scientist; incidental features that represent the typical American life include a false arrest, a lynch mob, and the kicking of a black maid. Though ostensibly more committed than Hollywood to the peddling of "government propaganda," Soviet cinema was rarely so blatant in its specific anti-Americanism.

On the whole, the most active film industries outside America in the 1950s were still too concerned with World War II to pay real attention to the current conflict. Whereas Hollywood made films about the Korean War (*Fixed Bayonets*, 1951; *Men in War*, 1957; and *Pork Chop Hill*, 1959), Britain and the Soviet Union—even France, Italy, Poland, and Japan—were more likely to dwell on the 1939–1945 conflict. War films of the 1950s from these countries perhaps evince a subtle nostalgia for the certainties of the previous decade as opposed to the intricacies of the Cold War. However, an increasing realism, ambiguity, and violence, even in the simplest re-creations of wartime exploits, certainly had added relevance in the years of Suez, the Hungarian uprising, economic miracles, and the "Fortunate Dragon" incident (whereby the crew of a Japanese fishing boat died after exposure to fallout from a bomb test).

Outside the United States, Cold War themes were often treated allegorically or satirically—as in the British *The Mouse That Roared* (1959) or the Japanese *Gojira* (1954, later released in America in a reworked version as *Godzilla King of Monsters*, 1956), which reflect deeply mixed feelings about the use of atomic weapons. By the end of the 1950s, there was no longer a "Hollywood" in the previously accepted sense of the term; the political-cultural tenor of popular cinema began to be shaped by East Coast sensibilities emerging from the young television industry and even by a growing internationalism, whereby American movies might easily be made in England or Italy and would necessarily incorporate aspects of their locations' native cinemas and sensibilities.

THE HIP COLD WAR

Ian Fleming's (1908–1964) early James Bond novels, published in the 1950s, often pit the British superspy against SMERSH, a division ("Death to Spies") of Soviet intelligence. When Bond (Sean Connery) emerged in film, from *Dr. No* (1962) on, SMERSH was downplayed in favor of SPECTRE, a fantastical, apolitical criminal organization along the lines of those once run by Dr. Mabuse or Fu Manchu. In the novel *From Russia with Love*, plans are laid against Bond by SMERSH, but in the 1964 film, the Soviets subcontract the job to SPECTRE. Though theoretically a Cold Warrior, Bond has in later films as often allied with Russians as clashed with them. Even the title *From Russia with Love* suggests a thaw in relations.

In the Kennedy-Krushchev period, when the Cold War chess game (a recurrent image) seemed to become more deadly over missiles in Cuba (and Turkey), popular culture was inclined to take a more cynical, callous attitude to the superpower face-off. The key film is *The Manchurian Candidate* (1962) by John Frankenheimer (1930–2002), scripted by George Axelrod (1922–2003) from Richard Condon's (1915–1996) novel, which caricatures McCarthy as the know-nothing Senator John Yerkes Iselin (James Gregory), who picks the easy-to-remember

The war room in **Dr. Strangelove or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb** *(Stanley Kubrick, 1964).*
EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

number (57) of Communists he claims to have identified in the State Department off a ketchup bottle, and partners him with a monstrous wife (Angela Lansbury) who wants him swept into the White House with "powers which will make martial law look like anarchy." This indictment of the blacklist mind-set coexists with plot developments that suggest McCarthy was not paranoid *enough*. The Iselins are actually Communist tools out to undermine America (the inspiration is the suggestion that McCarthy could not have hurt the United States more if he were a paid Soviet agent); Mrs. Iselin has collaborated with the transformation of her own son, Raymond (Laurence Harvey), through brainwashing by Sino-Soviet villains into a zombie assassin.

The Manchurian Candidate is as much sick comedy as thriller, signified by the splattering of blood and brains over a poster of Stalin during a demonstration of Raymond's killing abilities. It has a certain "plague on both your houses" tone, far more vicious in its attack than Peter Ustinov's (1921–2004) across-the-curtain romantic comedy *Romanoff and Juliet* (1961), and it is as much remembered for its prescience in the matter of presidential assassination and conspiracy theory as its acute dissection of the paranoia of both West and East. A stark, black-and-white nightmare, with stylish bursts of martial arts action and walking political cartoons, its zero-degree cool bled into the highly colored cynicism of the Bond films. These wallow in luxury and voluptuousness, brush off murders with flip remarks ("shocking!"), and routinely climax with an intricate world-threatening scheme, foiled by individual heroism and the prompt arrival of an Anglo-American assault team to overwhelm the diabolical mastermind's secret base. These tactics failed in the real world at the Bay of Pigs, an operation badly fumbled by Bond fan Kennedy, just as the Cuban missile crisis led to closer scrutiny of the mechanics of the balance of terror.

Dr. Strangelove, like Sidney Lumet's (b. 1924) more serious *Fail-Safe* (1964), is a brink-of-doom thriller, a

possible prequel to all those "life-in-the-radioactive-ruins" quickies of the 1950s (*Five*, 1951; *The Day the World Ended*, 1956; *The World, the Flesh and the Devil*, 1959). Here, the world is not imperiled by aggressive ideologies but by neuroses—a US Air Force general (Sterling Hayden), driven by impotence to rail against the Communist threat to his "precious bodily fluids," and a Soviet regime that invests in a cheap Doomsday Machine because the people are clamoring for washing machines. In a way, Kubrick's film—a satire adapted from a dead-straight novel, *Red Alert* (1958) by Peter George (1924–1966)—is a sigh of relief that the world has come through Korea and Cuba without self-annihilation, but it is also an awful warning and a declaration that a third world war cannot be won. *Invasion USA* (1952) is the only American atomic war film to suggest that after nuclear attack, the Communist enemy would attempt to occupy the United States like stereotypical conquerors. Later films (including the Yugoslav *Rat*, 1960) blame both sides equally, with war as likely to result from accident or a failure of diplomacy. The ultimate message of *The War Game* (1967) by Peter Watkins (b. 1935) is that governments should not be trusted with nuclear weapons, while *Ladybug Ladybug* (Frank Perry, 1963)—echoing an outstanding *Twilight Zone* episode, "The Shelter"—goes so far as to suggest that civil preparedness contributes to a breakdown of society, as shelter-owners arm themselves not against the military enemy but their own neighbors.

The 1960s saw many fantastical Bondian superspies (the Flint and Matt Helm adventures), Strangelovian satires (*The Russians Are Coming! The Russians Are Coming!*, Norman Jewison, 1966; *The President's Analyst*, Theodore J. Flicker, 1967), and "realistic" espionage dramas (*The Spy Who Came In from the Cold*, Martin Ritt, 1965; *The Ipcress File*, Sidney J. Furie, 1965) riffing on the Cold War. Taking their cue from *The Manchurian Candidate*, all these films tend to suggest that "our side" is as bad (or, less often, good) as "their side"—the mission of the *Spy Who Came In from the Cold* is to discredit a clever and idealistic Jewish East German counterintelligence agent to save a former Nazi working as a double agent for the West—and, eventually, that the power elites of both sides are so dependent on the Cold War to retain their positions that they have become interchangeable.

As in so much later twentieth-century history, events suggest George Orwell's (1903–1950) novel *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (1949), in which a permanent state of hostilities is an excuse for the real war, waged by rulers against the populace. From the mid-1960s, popular culture shifted from worrying about the Communists to that other deadly prong of the 1950s, rock and roll (representing youth, rebellion, and even unrestrained capitalist consumerism)—but was unsure whether to worry or celebrate. With *Bonnie and Clyde* (Arthur Penn, 1967), *Easy Rider* (Dennis Hopper, 1969), and *Night of the Living Dead* (George A. Romero, 1968) offering counterarguments to increasingly uncomfortable Americanist crusades like John Wayne's *The Green Berets* (1968), battle lines were drawn for new wars, between young and old, powerful and powerless, black and white, hip and square. Old-style patriotism would resurge in the Reagan years (1980–1988), but even the red-bashing Rambo is by no means simplistic, as he grapples with masculinity, the legacy of Vietnam, and America's self-image. When the Berlin Wall came down in 1989, few victory parades were held in America. The movies were not there—round-the-clock news footage had told the story so quickly that it was stale by the time a film (e.g., Frankenheimer's *The Fourth War*, 1990) could be made.

SEE ALSO *Censorship; Ideology; War Films; World War II*

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COLLABORATION

A Hollywood myth has it that the composer Arnold Schoenberg once wrote a film score on the mistaken presumption that a motion picture would subsequently be made to match his music. The story suggests that misconceptions about the nature of the collaborative process have quite likely always cropped up among the creative forces involved in filmmaking. With rare exceptions, such as the work of fiercely independent experimentalists like Maya Deren, Stan Brakhage, and Jonas Mekas, filmmaking is decidedly not, as the popular director Frank Capra (1897–1991) once put it and the *auteurs* of the French New Wave insisted, a "one man/one film" proposition. Even Capra's own best work in the 1930s involved a fruitful collaboration with the producer Harry Cohn, the playwright-screenwriter Robert Riskin, and the lovable stars and character actors, including James Stewart, Jean Arthur, and James Gleason, with whom he was long associated. Then of course there was Capra's audience, whose tastes and expectations were always crucial factors in the "creative" process. By contrast, the writer-director Preston Sturges (1898–1959), Capra's contemporary, openly celebrated his partnerships with cast and crew in his notable series of comic masterpieces from the 1940s.

Collaboration is the very essence of the art of filmmaking. The challenge of uniting word and image involves close collaboration between the writer, director, and cinematographer. Beyond this, the production of motion pictures involves ongoing collaboration among producers, directors, actors, writers, cameramen, editors, composers, sound technicians, art directors, and production designers. A presiding vision is needed, of course, but it takes an army of creative and technical specialists to produce the end result, whether a work of art or an entertaining commodity. Subsequent distribution and exhibition, moreover, involves a highly complex partnership of publicists, marketing analysts, and theater owners. The studio period in "classical" Hollywood, roughly from 1925 to 1960, affords the clearest demonstration of this collaborative process. Counterbalancing the auteurist notion of the creative individual is the collective aspect of Hollywood filmmaking—what the film critic André Bazin (1918–1958) in 1957 termed "the genius of the system."

PARTNERSHIPS IN EARLY CINEMA AND THE STUDIO ERA

From the very inception of the film industry, from the ranks of relatively anonymous individuals plying their respective trades, certain creative collectives emerged that represent film history's most exemplary partnerships. Beginning in the mid-1890s, groundbreaking entrepreneurial inventors—Auguste (1862–1954) and Louis Lumière (1864–1948) in France, and William K. L. Dickson (1860–1935) and Thomas Edison (1847–1931) in America—formed partnerships to develop and exploit a system for photographing and exhibiting motion pictures. The Vitagraph Company, the most important of the pre-1910 American studios, was the first to build up a stock company of players and directors, including Florence Turner, Maurice Costello, and John Bunny. In 1911 Gaston Méliès (1843–1915) emigrated from France to Texas to form his Star Ranch stock company for the production of westerns, including *The Immortal Alamo* (1911), the first film ever made on that subject. D. W. Griffith (1875–1948) formed his own

stock company of actors and technicians for the more than four hundred one- and two-reelers he directed for the Biograph Studio from 1909 to 1913. Late in 1911 in Los Angeles, Thomas Ince (1882–1924) established Inceville, a self-contained facility for the production of westerns and dramas that systematized standard studio working procedures under one roof, featuring backlots, stages, dressing rooms, prop storage, a power house, and administration offices. The founders of United Artists, Mary Pickford (1892–1979), Douglas Fairbanks (1883–1939), Charlie Chaplin (1889–1977), and Griffith, worked throughout the 1920s with their own respective production companies, each a collective consisting of hand-picked artists and craftsmen. In the 1920s and 1930s producers such as Adolph Zukor (1873–1976) established factory systems that manufactured, distributed, and exhibited films in the assembly-line fashion pioneered by the automobile industrialist Henry Ford and which was soon to become the dominant production paradigm throughout the world. The so-called Big Five studios—RKO, Twentieth Century Fox, Paramount, Warner Bros., and MGM—were small cities, combining soundstages, backlots, carpentry shops, and administrative offices.

In the studio era, genre films, in particular, demanded systematic efficiency. In the 1930s no studio surpassed Warner Bros. in its flood of Depression-era gangster and social-problem films, crafted with machine-like efficiency by a stable of producers, contract directors, technicians, and performers, including the producer Darryl F. Zanuck (1902–1979), director Michael Curtiz, and actors James Cagney and Bette Davis. At MGM the producer Arthur Freed worked systematically with directors (Vincente Minnelli, George Sidney, and Stanley Donen), choreographers (Hermes Pan), and performers (Fred Astaire, Judy Garland, Gene Kelly, Cyd Charisse, Donald O'Connor) in a celebrated series of musical comedies. RKO made use of the talents of the set designer Van Nest Polglase, the storyboard artist Perry Ferguson, and the directors George Stevens and Lloyd Bacon for the elegant Astaire-Rogers musicals. At Fox, Zanuck gathered around him a team of writers (including Dudley Nichols), directors (Henry King, H. Bruce Humberstone), and a stable of "Fox Blondes" (Alice Faye, Betty Grable, and June Haver) for a series of literary adaptations (such as *The Grapes of Wrath* in 1940) and splashily nostalgic backstage Technicolor musicals (*Down Argentine Way* in 1940 and *Hello Frisco, Hello* in 1943). Meanwhile, maverick Orson Welles (1915–1985) brought his Mercury Theatre team from Broadway to Hollywood and produced a masterpiece, *Citizen Kane* (1941); but when the creative lights were no longer able to work harmoniously with RKO executives, the partnership deteriorated, and what followed was the unfinished *The Magnificent Ambersons* (1942) and a host of flawed (albeit memorable) productions. Significantly, Welles's later work without his Mercury colleagues was never as productive. The same might be said about Stanley Kubrick (1928–1999) in the 1970s and later. Kubrick enjoyed a much-vaunted independence with Warner Bros., but his idiosyncratic *Barry Lyndon* (1975) and *Eyes Wide Shut* (1999) hardly matched the standards set by *Paths of Glory* (1957) and *Dr. Strangelove or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb* (1964).

Within the studio system, headlining actors like Mary Pickford and Frances Marion depended on collaborations with writers to obtain scripts tailored to their special talents. Comedians such as Chaplin did their best work when cameramen such as Rollie Totheroh adapted their techniques appropriately. Directors leaned on the talents of sympathetic scenarists, as Billy Wilder did with Charles Brackett; on composers (Alfred Hitchcock and Bernard Herrmann, Michael Curtiz and Max Steiner); on editors (Orson Welles and Robert Wise); and on stars (John Ford and John Wayne, Clarence Brown and Greta Garbo, Woody Allen and Diane Keaton). Animators such as Walt Disney (1901–1966) and the Fleischer Brothers (Max [1883–1972] and Dave [1894–1979]) relied on a creative stable of artists, story men, inkers, and sound technicians. Despite the appearance of Walt Disney's name above the title of every product released from his studio, he practiced what he called "committee" art, dependent on the contributions of his associates, particularly those top animation producers affectionately known as the Nine Old Men.

Meanwhile, foreign filmmakers were making similar collaborative advances. In Sweden the directors Mauritz Stiller (1883–1928) and Victor Sjöström (1879–1960) worked closely with the Svenska Filmindustri entrepreneur Charles Magnusson and with cinematographers such as Julius Jaenzon and writers such as the novelist Selma Lagerlöf to produce notable comedies and dramas before 1925, including *Berg-Ejvind och hans hustru* (*The Outlaw and His Wife*, Sjöström, 1918), *Erotikon* (Stiller, 1920), and *Gösta Berlings saga* (*The Saga of Gosta Berling*, Stiller, 1924). Sweden again came into prominence after World War II, when the existentialist director Ingmar Bergman (b. 1918) turned from theater to cinema. Bergman's allegorical fable of faith, *Det Sjunde inseglet* (*The Seventh Seal*, 1957), for example, perfectly captured the concerns of what has been called the postwar Age of Anxiety. Bergman's governing conception begins with the image of a knight returning from the Crusades, surviving by his wits in a plague-ridden country. Creating the black-and-white starkness of his vision required an effective collaboration between the director

Citizen Kane ***(1941) was the product of many collaborators. (From left) Everett Sloane, Orson Welles, and Joseph Cotten.*** EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

and his gifted cameraman Gunnar Fischer, who worked on many early Bergman films (Sven Nykvist shot most of the later ones).

Using the full resources of the German studio combine known as UFA, Fritz Lang (1890–1976) worked with his wife, the scenarist Thea von Harbou, on his spectacular 1920s successes, *Die Nibelungen* (1924), *Metropolis* (1927), and *Frau im Mond* (*Woman in the Moon*, 1929). Jean Renoir (1894–1979) and Marcel Carné (1909–1996) reached the full flowering of their careers in the 1930s in their collaborations with Popular Front and "poetic realist" artists like the writer and actor Jacques Prévert, the designer Eugène Lourié, and actors Jean Gabin and Arletty. In Russia in the 1920s the triumvirate of director Sergei Eisenstein (1898–1948), cinematographer Eduard Tisse, and scenarist Grigori Aleksandrov produced several of Soviet Russia's most esteemed films, including *Bronenosets Potyomkin* (*Battleship Potemkin*, 1925), *Oktyabr* (*Ten Days That Shook the World* and *October*, 1927), and *Staroye i novoye* (*Old and New*, 1929). The Japanese master Akira Kurosawa (1910–1998) was associated with the performances of Toshiro Mifune, a director-actor pairing no less significant than the John Ford–John Wayne association. Moreover, Kurosawa consistently worked with the cinematographer Asakazu Nakai and composer Fumio Hayasaka within a studio system that enforced ensemble collaboration. The postwar Italian cinema came to global prominence in the collaboration of the neorealist director Vittorio De Sica (1902–1975) with scenarist Cesare Zavattini (1902–1989) on *Ladri di biciclette* (*Bicycle Thieves*, 1948) and *Umberto D* (1952). De Sica translated the economic desolation of postwar Europe into human terms through his work with Zavattini, who laid out the groundwork for neorealist cinema, the purpose of which was to find significance in the everyday lives of ordinary citizens.

FROM AUTEURS TO AMATEURS

In the late twentieth century, traditional concepts and practices in the collaborative nature of filmmaking began to be challenged. On the one hand, the proliferation of camcorder and digital technologies has taken filmmaking out of the studio and away from its cadres of artists and craftspeople, placing the whole endeavor in the hands of amateurs. As if to fulfill the prophecy of Alexandre Astruc's 1946 theoretical formulation of the *caméra-stylo*, or "camera pen," even the most unpracticed among them can now capture image and sound with mobility and ease, working in relative solitude, relieved of the need for sound engineers, camera operators, focus pullers, editors, special effects technicians, and most of the rest of the elaborate apparatus of the film studio (Astruc in Graham). First-time filmmaker Robert Rodriguez (b. 1968), for example, made *El Mariachi* (1992) for a comparative pittance and with minimal dependence on a technical crew. At first glance, such a film and such wide-open filmmaking possibilities seem to bear out the *auteur* theory, which grew out of Astruc's pronouncements and subsequent writings by Bazin in *Cahiers du cinéma* in the 1950s, and which was imported to the United States in the early 1960s by the critic Andrew Sarris (b. 1928). Over time, the auteurist position that the director is the prime creative force has been countermanded by assertions that the true *auteur* is, variously, the writer, screenwriter, producer, editor, or cameraman. All of which proves, ironically, that not just one but all the participants in the filmmaking process deserve a measure of responsibility for the final product.

Filmmakers from the Danish movement known as Dogma 95 have in fact affirmed the primacy not of the director or any other individual but of the collaborative. The first Dogma Manifesto, delivered by Lars von Trier (b. 1956) in 1995, proclaimed that no credit for "Director" would be permitted on their films. Their movies were the result of partnership and interchange among cast and crew. The semi-improvised, location-shot films of the period from 1995 to 2000, including *Festen* (*The Celebration*, Thomas Vinterberg, 1998), *Mifunes sidste sang* (*Mifune*, Søren Kragh-Jacobson, 1999), *Idioterne* (*The Idiots*, Lars von Trier, 1998), and *The King Is Alive* (Kristian Levring, 2000), stand as testaments to Dogma's collective ideals.

After a century of cinema, the Dogma collective seems to have turned the wheel of film history full circle. The idea of abolishing the identity of the director hark back to the days of the silents, when viewers were kept guessing about the identities of the personnel behind and on the screen. Viewers of *The Great Train Robbery* in 1903, for example, were not told (and perhaps did not care to know) the identities of its director, players, and cinematographer. This film became famous for what it was, not for who was in it or who made it. The idea that individual authorship should be subordinated to the work has a long and vibrant history. In Elizabethan theater, as performed by the Lord Chamberlain's Men or at London's Royal Court Theatre, the play was the thing (according to no less an authority than Shakespeare). The primacy of the work itself was also a hallmark of the ensembles of Stanislavsky and Meyerhold's Moscow Art Theatre and of Bertolt Brecht's Berliner Ensemble. Like the theater, cinema is an arena for both individual and collaborative genius.

SEE ALSO *Acting; Auteur Theory and Authorship; Crew; Direction; Production Process*

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COLONIALISM AND POSTCOLONIALISM

Among the films that Auguste (1862–1954) and Louis Lumière (1864–1948) screened for rapt audiences at the Paris World's Fair of 1900 was *Indochina: Namo Village, Panorama Taken from a Rickshaw*. Shot by Gabriel Veyre (1871–1936) from the back of a rickshaw as it made its way through an Indochinese village, the film captured what the vehicle left in its wake: a dirt road, thatched structures of varying sizes, and a crowd of gleeful children who, in their erratic pursuit of the rickshaw, run in and out of frame repeatedly. As an advertisement for the technology of light and shadows that the Lumière Brothers had first made public over four years earlier, *Indochina* could not have been more effective. By representing its dynamic subject matter in a likewise dynamic manner, the film allowed audiences not only to witness, but also to participate in the seemingly spontaneous yet perfectly choreographed activity on screen. In the process, it produced a colonial encounter of the most reassuring kind. Presenting a slice of life from a distant land that most French citizens knew only by reputation, *Indochina* allowed its viewers to assume the role of colonial adventurers without ever losing their bearings and to come into contact with a culture different enough to have exotic appeal, but fluent in a language understood universally: a smile. In short, being promoted with this film was not only the developing art and science of motion pictures, but also the fully entrenched institution of colonialism.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

The fact that cinema was invented during the height of Western imperialist expansion and developed most aggressively in those countries with the greatest political reach, such as France, Britain, and Germany, makes it impossible to discuss the development of the medium without taking into account its ties to the age of empire. Thus a number of film historians and film theorists have dedicated themselves to exploring several key issues: on the one hand, how film has functioned in the past as a forum for colonial propaganda and continues to be both symptom and agent of the West's continued economic and cultural hegemony and, on the other, how it has also emerged as a site of resistance throughout its history, with filmmakers from various national and transnational contexts using it to lay bare the instabilities of colonial discourse and/or to articulate a powerful anti-imperialist vision. Before exploring the fruits of such labor, however, and thereby tracing the historically dynamic relationship between cinema and imperialism, it is necessary to take stock of one of the most salient terms to emerge from such lines of inquiry: postcolonialism.

While "colonialism" can be defined in a fairly straight-forward manner—that is, as a political, economic, and social formation involving the conquest and control of foreign territories by various European powers from the mid-eighteenth through the mid-twentieth century—"postcolonialism" is another matter. In some ways "postcolonialism" is as simple as it sounds; it is a term coined to describe that which follows colonialism. Thus it has come to denote the historical era characterized by the dissolution of European empires, which occurred in a piecemeal fashion beginning in 1947 when colonized populations, either through armed struggle (for example,

Algeria, Angola) or diplomatic means (for example, Cameroon, Sri Lanka), won for themselves the status of self-governing nation-states. At the same time, because the term "postcolonialism" has proven to be a lightning rod for rigorous and ongoing debate, it, unlike colonialism, cannot be divorced from the context of its coinage. Thus it has come to refer as much to the largely academic discourse from whence it emerged as to the historical era it purportedly describes.

With the publication of his landmark text *Orientalism* in 1978, Edward W. Said set the stage both thematically and methodologically for the critical and theoretical corpus that would subsequently take shape under the rubric of postcolonial studies. In this foundational work, Said, inspired by the writings of the French philosopher Michel Foucault (1926–1984), examined the means by which "the West," principally Britain, France, and North America, produces knowledge about and thereby exerts power over "the East." The resulting mode of discourse, which Said dubbed Orientalism, locks East and West into a mutually exclusive and oppositional relationship by producing "the Orient" as the sensual, emotional, inscrutable, and fundamentalist Other to "the Occident," defined by comparison as cerebral, rational, transparent, and secular. Since the late 1970s, a vast array of scholars have built upon Said's interest in the protean form and enduring legacy of colonial relations, thereby expanding the boundaries of his seminal project considerably. The first wave of such scholars, who gained prominence in the 1980s, were typically either literary critics with an interest in work produced during the age of empire or by post-independence Third World writers (such as Homi Bhabha); politically engaged in tracing the emergence of the nation as a distinctly modern formation (such as Benedict Anderson); or members of the Subaltern Studies Group, which took as its charge the rewriting of India's history so as to account for the political agency of the socially disadvantaged (such as Gayatri Spivak). Beginning in the last decade of the twentieth century, the field became even more multidisciplinary, inciting interest from and exerting influence on academics across the humanities and social sciences, including a good many devoted to the study of visual culture in general and cinema more specifically.

Despite the fact that postcolonial studies is characterized by a diversity of perspectives and plurality of approaches, certain generalizations about it can be made. What unifies the field first and foremost is its object of study, which includes both the colonial and postcolonial periods, with an emphasis on the various ways power is exercised, resistance is mounted, and identity is constructed therein. Second, insofar as postcolonial theory has been profoundly influenced by poststructuralist thought, with its deconstructionist methodologies and anti-essentialist premises, it tends to regard its favored subject matter—power, resistance, and identity—as necessarily contingent, unstable, contradictory, and/or in process. Finally, postcolonial studies tends to be highly self-critical and thus continually engaged in an active questioning of its own assumptions and assertions, even problematizing its very name.

While the term "postcolonialism" has proven to be troubling to theorists for a number of reasons, the most noteworthy of these is the fact that the prefix "post" posits a relationship of succession and thus a definitive break with that which it precedes syntactically. Yet there is, in fact, a great deal of continuity between those eras designated as colonial on the one hand and postcolonial on the other due to the effects of a neocolonialism wherein power is consolidated not through conquest and annexation, but through control of the international marketplace and culture industries. Thus, as problematic as the terms "First World" and "Third World" are due to their purchase on Eurocentric notions of progress, they capture a differential that is as relevant today as it was when they were first coined in the 1950s; that is, many formerly colonized nations, despite their political independence, remain economically dependent on Western superpowers due to the international division of labor and circulation of goods that has emerged in the era of globalization. Moreover, for settler societies like the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, the label "postcolonial" is an outright misnomer. While all of these countries have been self-governing for at least a century, they nonetheless continue to assert sovereignty over those aboriginal populations whose ancestors were regularly rounded up, shuttled about, or killed off by European settlers pursuing a policy of manifest destiny. In order to draw attention to such populations and foreground the specificity of their situation, the World Council of Indigenous People, under the leadership of George Manuel in the 1970s, popularized the notion of a "Fourth World" and thereby staked out the conceptual, if not geographical, territory for a nascent pan-indigenous movement.

EUROPEAN COLONIAL CINEMA

By the time cinema was invented, well over half of the world's land mass was under the control of a handful of European powers, and a complex network of trade and travel routes traversing the globe had already been established in order to ensure the transnational flow of populations, capital, raw materials, and consumer goods. As a result, the equipment needed to make and view film moved fairly freely between the European metropolises and various colonial outposts, enabling cinema to assume

TRACEY MOFFATT

b. Brisbane, Australia, 12 November 1960

Although the visual artist Tracey Moffatt is far more prolific as a photographer than a filmmaker, the singularity of her vision has won over many moviegoers both in and outside of her native Australia. Her cinematic corpus is characterized formally by a hyperrealist aesthetic, while thematically it examines the ways Australia's colonial past informs the present, particularly that of various individuals who attempt to relate to one another despite their differences. This is an issue in which Moffat herself has a profound stake for she was born of mixed parentage (Aboriginal and Euro-Australian) and subsequently forced by law to be adopted into a white family.

Two of Moffatt's earliest films, the experimental shorts *Nice Coloured Girls* (1987) and *Night Cries: A Rural Tragedy* (1989), break with tradition by featuring Aboriginal women in roles other than that of ethnographic object or passive victim. *Nice Coloured Girls* follows the exploits of three young women who take advantage of a predatory white man by enjoying a night on the town at his expense, while *Night Cries* takes as its subject an Aboriginal woman whose ambivalence for her adoptive white mother is made manifest when she performs as dutiful daughter and nursemaid with a combination of compassion and contempt. Yet it is not only her female characters whom Moffatt defines in unconventional ways with these works—it is also herself. Boldly refusing the role of native informant that most "ethnic" artists are expected to fulfill, she claims "the right to be avant-garde like any white artist" and employs a variety of antirealist strategies. By doing so, she imbues her narratives with a historical and political dimension. With their blatantly artificial sets, which amplify the dramatic effect of the scenarios depicted, and discontinuous editing, which creates provocative associations between image and sound as well as past and present, *Nice Coloured Girls* and *Night Cries* place the experiences of Aboriginal women firmly within the context of a colonial history characterized by economic exploitation, sexual coercion, and state-mandated assimilation.

The relationship between past and present forged through narration in Moffatt's shorts is absorbed by the narrative itself in her one feature-length movie, *Bedevil* (1993). A film about ghosts and the multicultural communities they haunt, *Bedevil* presents a wide variety of characters who relate, either through direct address or dramatization, their brushes with the supernatural and thus allow for a sustained meditation on the haunting nature of historical memory. Moreover, by presenting a plurality of perspectives, Moffatt broadens the scope of her previous work both aesthetically and politically, endowing with discursive authority a plurality of characters whose voices have traditionally been silenced.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Nice Coloured Girls (1987), *Night Cries: A Rural Tragedy* (1989), *Bedevil* (1993)

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Corinn Columpar

an important role in the expansion and consolidation of individual empires. While films like *Indochina* produced "armchair conqistadores" (Stam and Spence, p. 4) by providing viewers in Europe with an opportunity to visit virtually those territories captured first by conquest and then on celluloid, screenings of European films at public venues in the colonies were occasions for settlers to convene and thereby affirm ties with each other as well as the distant homeland on screen.

While the fact of film's global reach served colonialism by creating a sense of familiarity and cohesion among the disparate populations affected by it, the images

Tracey Moffatt. TIM WIMBORNE/REUTERS/LANDOV.

propagated and stories told in such widely circulated texts did so by perpetuating its logic. Initially, the European colonies were featured prominently in two related varieties of primitive cinema: travelogues and ethnographic films, which offered representations of cultural differences in the name of tourism and science, respectively. Once film was pressed into the service of fictional storytelling, however, the colonies came to play a role in narrative cinema as well, occasionally as dramatic subject but more frequently as colorful backdrop to stories revolving around characters who were European by birth. Despite differences of form, content, address, and intent, these three types of film—travel, ethnographic, and fictional narrative—typically represented the colonial *mise-en-scène* and, in particular, its non-white inhabitants, in similar ways for they were all informed by the narratives of racial difference being produced by the discipline of anthropology.

It is impossible to untangle the histories of anthropology and colonialism since it was precisely European encounters with native peoples in Asia, Africa, the Americas, and the Pacific during the exploration and subsequent settlement of those lands that inspired certain individuals to forge a systematic study of human diversity. At its outset, anthropology was propelled by a positivist impulse, and its earliest practitioners conceived of it as an unbiased evaluation and classification of cultures other than that of the white Westerner; in practice, however, it often devolved into a version of "race science," which posited the white male as the crowning achievement of historical progress and the non-white native as the embodiment of his evolutionary past. For this reason it can be argued that while colonialism was the modus operandi of the "white man's burden" (that is, the imperative to civilize "savages"), anthropology, with its racial typologies, provided its rationale.

As a medium capable of documenting those superficial phenomena with which racial identity was associated, such as skin color, hair texture, and head shape, and saving for posterity visual records of those races considered to be already vanishing, film (like photography before it) was pressed in the service of anthropology very early in its history. In fact, ethnographic (pre-) cinema got its start as early as 1895, when a student of Étienne-Jules Marey (1830–1904), Félix-Louis Regnault, produced a variety of chronophotographic studies of West African performers at the Paris Ethnographic Exposition of 1895 in the hopes of describing human evolution in terms of physical locomotion. Subsequent anthropologists, some of the earliest and most pioneering of which were Alfred Cort Haddon (1855–1940) and Walter Baldwin Spencer (1858–1940), both of whom shot footage of indigenous Australians around the turn of the twentieth century, continued working in this vein by incorporating not only images of movement, but also moving images into their methodology. In doing so, they institutionalized observational practices forged in other contexts (such as museums, world's fairs, laboratories, and the anthropological "field"), offering up a non-white body as scientific spectacle for mass consumption by white scientists and laypeople alike. One of the most profound effects of this representational practice has been the production of a gaze that, à la Said, positions its bearer and object in oppositional and mutually exclusive ways. On the one hand, deprived of historical agency, individual voice, and psychological complexity, the native is reduced to a racial type and, moreover, a sign of that which exists outside of or, more accurately, prior to (white) history; on the other, the viewer, while exercising the power to scrutinize, is reassured of his/her superiority as the civilized and modern norm against which difference is measured.

The fact that so many films have inherited the racialized iconography produced by anthropological discourse and codified in films made for the explicit purposes of scientific research has led critics such as Fatimah Rony to expand the definition of ethnographic cinema to include not only documentaries like *Nanook of the North*

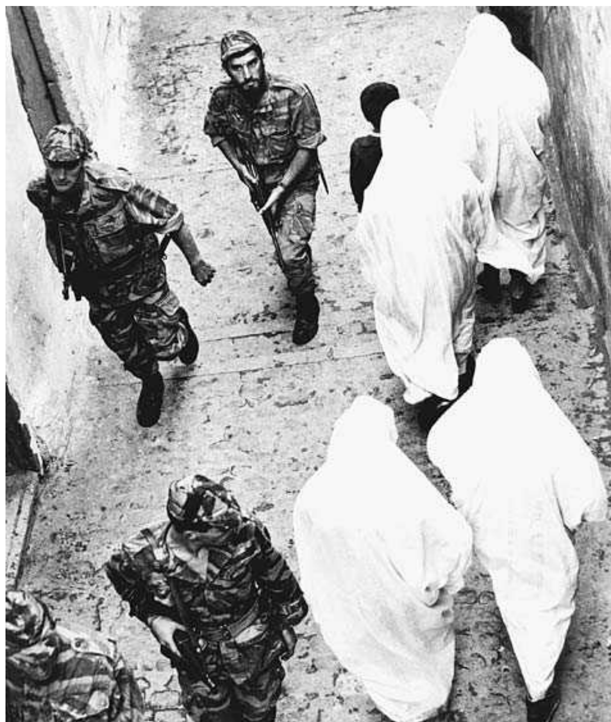
(Robert Flaherty, 1922), but also certain fictional narrative films, such as *King Kong* (Merian C. Cooper and Ernest B. Schoedsack, 1933). While such a rhetorical move may cloud distinctions that can prove useful, there is good reason nonetheless to consider traditional ethnographic films, particularly those made in the colonial era, as tutor texts. Indeed, many fictions likewise construct non-white characters as Other to a white, Western self, be that self a hypothetical spectator, film director, and/or fictional character. The group of narrative films that most capitalizes on colonial fantasies of the primitive Other includes films that were made by European adventurer-cum-filmmakers who sought to deliver engaging dramas about non-European characters as well as a measure of "the real" in the form of on-location shooting, the use of non-professional actors, and the inclusion of purportedly authentic customs and activities. Exemplary of this mode of filmmaking are certain works by Gaston Méliès (1843–1915), brother to the more well-known Georges, and Flaherty. While Méliès traveled to New Zealand in 1913 to make three films that featured exclusively Maori casts (*Loved by a Maori Chieftess*, *Hinemoa*, and *How Chief Te Ponga Won His Bride*), Flaherty had a hand in the creation of two stories set in the South Seas: *Moana* (1926), which he both wrote and directed, and *Tabu* (1931), co-written with the film's director, the celebrated German filmmaker F. W. Murnau (1888–1931).

While these hybrid films were popular among European audiences because they packaged ethnographic material in a conventional narrative form and thus made the foreign accessible, more conventional genre films that reify the self-other dynamic proved compelling for different reasons. More specifically, they foreground that which was familiar, European stars and Eurocentric stories, while also capitalizing upon the exotic cachet of the colonial *mise-en-scène*; thus they relegate the colonized to the edges of the film narrative and frame, and engage with colonialism from the perspective of the colonizer, who is typically constructed as a benevolent emissary for European civilization. The result is a series of texts that glorifies empire, thereby fulfilling an ideological function that had become quite pressing by the 1930s, when these types of films crested in popularity in both Britain and France. From the former country came, among others, *The Drum* (1938) and *The Four Feathers* (1939) by Zoltan Korda, as well as *King Solomon's Mines* (Robert Stevenson, 1937), and from the latter country, *L'Atlantide* (*Lost Atlantis*, Jacques Feyder, 1920), *L'Appel du silence* (*The Call*, Léon Poirier, 1936), and *Pépé le Moko* (Julien Duvivier, 1937). The last of these films, which stars Jean Gabin as a legendary French thief on the lam in Morocco, is particularly noteworthy because it exemplifies the key attributes of colonial fiction films with such flair: it exploits its setting abroad for all its exotic appeal, visual vitality, and narrative possibilities by constructing the Casbah as a "teeming anthill," with sensual pleasures around every corner and a "jumble of mazes" that neither the local law enforcement officers nor outsiders can navigate, while simultaneously characterizing France as the apex of cultural sophistication to which Pépé seeks return.

POSTCOLONIAL CINEMA WORLDWIDE

Just as there is a great degree of continuity both economically and culturally between the colonial and postcolonial periods, so have certain industrial precedents and representational conventions persisted, even in the wake of the myriad decolonization struggles and countercultural political movements of the mid- and late-twentieth century. First, Hollywood's domination of the international film market, the origins of which can be traced to World War I, became more pronounced after 1947, when India's achievement of independence set the postcolonial era in motion. As a result, contemporary American blockbusters can be assured a captive audience in all corners of the globe. Yet even in the face of such competition, which limits severely the number of screens, both domestic and international, available to directors working in other national (or transnational) contexts, many alternatives to Hollywood exist; in fact, such alternatives seem increasingly more viable given the proliferation of digital technologies that greatly reduce the costs of film production; film festivals and specialty television networks, which supplement traditional exhibition venues; and international co-productions, which allow for input, both financial and aesthetic, from a variety of sources.

Second, while films made in the postcolonial era are typically critical of colonialism to varying degrees, they also quite frequently bear traces of a colonial legacy insofar as they capitulate to certain imperialist tropes and racialized fantasies. For example, since the 1950s the native of ethnographic cinema has become an object of idealization and yearning more than derision and aggression; at the same time, however, the tendency to relegate indigenous cultures to a temporal space outside of history and/or a textual space outside of narrative persists. A most instructive case in point is *Walkabout* (1971) by Nicolas Roeg (b. 1928), an Australian film by a British director that features a teenaged girl and her little brother who, stranded in the outback, meet an Aboriginal boy in the midst of a walkabout. While the film romanticizes the native boy, offering up his way of life as preferable to the mechanized, gray, and urban existence of its white characters, its trailer makes clear to what extent it is nonetheless invested in a racist model



La Battaglia di Algeria ***(*****The Battle of Algiers,** ***Gillo Pontecorvo, 1965), a powerfully realist depiction of colonialist oppression.*** EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

of evolutionary progress when the story is summarized via voice-over: "The Aborigine and the girl—30,000 years apart—together." A concomitant cinematic trend in the postcolonial era has been the representation of the imperialist past in epic films suffused with colonial nostalgia and dedicated, at least in part, to the restitution of colonialism's reputation. Commenting on this trend in 1984, Salman Rushdie described a spate of British productions, including *A Passage to India* (David Lean, 1984) and *Gandhi* (Richard Attenborough, 1984), as "the phantom twitchings of an amputated limb" (p. 92). In many late twentieth-century films that met with overwhelming critical and popular success, the tendency to romanticize the native and to offer up a kinder, gentler version of colonialism worked in tandem. For example, it is precisely their association with a colonized culture that is closer to nature and thus less corrupted and inhibited than that of their white counterparts that redeems certain white characters as well as the colonizing culture with which they are associated in *Out of Africa* (Sydney Pollack, 1985), *Indochine* (*Indochina*, Régis Wargnier, 1992), and *The Piano* (Jane Campion, 1993).

Indeed, film plays a significant role in neocolonialism just as it did in colonialism decades ago; at the same time, however, the postcolonial era has produced many powerful films, filmmakers, national cinemas, and film movements, which creatively confront the past, ponder the present, and give voice to perspectives that are under-represented in the cinema discussed thus far. A pivotal film in this regard is *La Battaglia di Algeria* (*The Battle of Algiers*, 1965), a film about the Algerian War (1954–1962) by Italian director Gillo Pontecorvo (b. 1919). While the film is remarkable for its even-handed approach to the conflict, its gritty realist aesthetic, and its representation of women as active revolutionaries, what is most striking is how singular it was at the time of its release. Despite the fact that a large percentage of the French population did not support the response of its government to Algerian insurgency, films made in France during the conflict did not prove a site of significant dissent or critique. Only the occasional film even acknowledged the war by making oblique reference to it, and the one film that did attempt to represent the event directly in order to explore the amorality of torture, *Le Petit soldat* (*The Little Soldier*, Jean-Luc Godard, 1963), was banned from French screens for several years. It took an outsider to provide a frank account of the watershed events that ultimately led to Algeria's political autonomy and thus to produce what has come to be regarded, despite the number of subsequent films with the same narrative agenda, as the definitive anticolonial film.

The Battle of Algiers is an exemplary representation of resistance made in the postcolonial era, but equally revolutionary are the many resistant representations that have been produced by "Third," "Fourth," and "First" World filmmakers alike during the later half of the twentieth century and the turn of the twenty-first. These representations are extremely varied in form, encompassing everything from the "aesthetics of hunger" promoted by the Brazilian Cinema Novo movement in the 1960s to the high production values and lavish spectacles of Bollywood musicals, from the Brechtian-infused realism of Ousmane Sembene (b. 1923; Senegal) and Cheick Oumar Sissoko (b. 1945; Mali) to the genre-defying experimentation of Trinh T. Minh-ha Trinh (b. 1953; Vietnamese American), and Tracey Moffatt (b. 1960; Australian Aboriginal). Furthermore, these filmmakers examine a wide array of subjects. While films like *Como Era Gostoso Meu Francêes* (*How Tasty Was My Little Frenchman*, Nelson Pereira dos Santos, 1971) and *Surviving Columbus* (George Burdeau, 1990) engage with the colonial past by revisiting its primal scene in order to rewrite the "discovery" narrative, others do so by focusing on the possibilities and pitfalls that emerge in its aftermath, such as *Chinese Box* (Wayne Wang, 1997). Still others, particularly the output of Fourth World filmmakers, reveal a colonial present that often escapes

notice, such as in *Once Were Warriors* (Lee Tamahori, 1994).

It is impossible to account for the diversity of postcolonial cinema in short form. Nonetheless, as varied as these resistant representations are, one quality unites them: the potential to provide an experience contrary to that described by Franz Fanon (1925–1961) in his book *Black Skin, White Masks* (1967). Explaining the means by which imperialism impacts the psychological as well as the political life of the colonized in Africa, thereby producing a society of self-alienated subjects, he offers the example of a black schoolboy who, upon attending a Tarzan film with his friends, readily identifies with the only character whom both colonial society at large and that text in particular empower: the white hero. In other words, what these films have in common is an investment in a diversity of celluloid heroes and a propensity to imbue with depth characters that have historically been rendered in superficial fashion. They create a vision at odds with that reproduced in and through the type of dominant cinema that Fanon invoked and that allowed for the emergence of what Robert Stam and Ella Shohat define as "polycentric multiculturalism," a political ideal wherein "no single community or part of the world, whatever its economic or political power, should be epistemologically privileged" (*Unthinking Eurocentricism*, p. 48).

SEE ALSO *Third Cinema*

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COLOR

Toward the beginning of *The Wizard of Oz* (1939), as she discovers that her house has landed on the Wicked Witch of the East, the heroine Dorothy (Judy Garland) dons a pair of ruby slippers. Sparkling and unforgettable in their redness, these shoes constitute the center of an important filmic moment: not only do they signal the beginning of the Technicolor era in perhaps the most popular film of all time, they also remain for viewers of all ages among the most memorable objects in twentieth-century screen history. Perhaps their centrality in pop iconography stems from the superior redness of Technicolor red—a red more elusive and more beckoning, more jewel-like and of a denser and greater purity than any other red we can see on the screen, and indeed more saturated and intense than reds we can see in everyday life.

To appreciate the long struggle to infuse color into moving images, one must first understand that in some respects the human eye is more sensitive to color than is film, and that in some respects film is more discerning than the human eye. The subtlest gradations of color and variations in saturation and hue that characterize objects are often beyond what film can record. But at the same time film does record, and intensively, the color temperature of illumination falling on those objects: the characteristic blue of daylight, for example, or the yellow of tungsten light, in either case something that we do not typically perceive with our eyes. Effecting color cinematography has therefore never been an easy task. Color in special effects cinematography is a persistent and vexing problem, especially in the combinations of positive and negative prints used in matte and rear-projection work. But the ability to infuse consistent color into the moving image has itself posed challenges throughout the history of the medium.

TINTING, TONING, AND EARLY COLOR SYSTEMS

Coloration of moving images goes back to Athanasius Kircher's projection system of 1646, in which sunlight reflected against painted mirrors cast an image on a wall. This was a harbinger of many of the early efforts at tinting films in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In tinting, color was applied by hand to individual frames of a film; in toning, entire shots were bathed in a colored solution. The French company Pathé used a stencil process for hand-tinting, which reduced the variability that was characteristic of American tinted films; prints rented from Pathé tended to be more similar to each other than those rented from, say, Edison. Two of the films on the first program at Koster and Bial's Music Hall in New York on 23 April 1896, made use of hand-tinted color. The impresario Siegmund Lubin (1851–1923) premiered mono-tinting around 1904, offering films in which various scenes had been tinted different colors; this same technique, used within the context of a narrative strategy, characterized D. W. Griffith's *The Lonedale Operator* (D. W. Griffith, 1911), where blue and red cast shots were alternated with untinted black-and-white to striking effect.

Hand-tinting can be found in *The Great Train Robbery* (1903), the most celebrated moment being the reddish gun blast we see when the principal robber fires his gun into the camera. (Depending on the whim of the entrepreneur who rented one of two different versions for

The Wizard of Oz ***(Victor Fleming, 1939) signalled the triumph of Technicolor.*** **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

showing at his nickelodeon, this shot could have been seen either at the beginning or at the end of the film.) Alfred Hitchcock (1899–1980) pays homage to that moment in the tinted gunshot at the finale of *Spellbound* (1945), a film otherwise shot in black and white. Numerous examples of hand-tinted color earlier in *The Great Train Robbery* include the acidic yellow explosion of the strong-box on the train; the yellow marks made by dancers as their shoes touch the floor; the lavender cloak of the stationmaster's daughter; and the orange explosions of gunfire that are produced by the advancing posse riding toward the camera as they pursue the robbers through the woods. In this film, color has a punctuating effect, enhancing certain moments or features of moments and making them seem hyperreal, exceptionally vivid, penetrating.

Through toning, one obtains a wash of color in a black-and-white image. In *Un homme et une femme* (*A Man and a Woman*, Claude Lelouch, 1966), various black-and-white scenes are colored in this way, one royal blue, one burnt tangerine orange, one sepia. Much of the narrative unfolds in high-contrast black and white (a car ride from Normandy to Paris in the rain, for example, in which the couple, lost in thought about one another, hear on the background radio that "a man and a woman have been killed" in an automobile accident), with these tinted scenes interposed to suggest the subjective, even transcendental, emotional filter through which the two lovers experience their reality together. For other scenes involving memory, untoned color film was shot and slightly overexposed to wash out the color. The filmmaker's desire to mix directly seen action with remembered action and emotionally desired action determines his use of both the presence and absence, and the type, of color.

One of the earliest additive color systems was Kinemacolor, developed in 1906 by G. A. Smith (1864–1959). Successive frames of the film were tinted alternately red-orange or green-blue, then finally projected through a rotating double-color filter at thirty-two frames per second. Through persistence of vision the eye of the spectator conjured the color onscreen, but not without developing eyestrain and seeing color migrating across the screen from scene to scene. In 1912 two students at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Herbert Kalmus (1881–1963) and Daniel Comstock, went into partnership with W. Burton Wescott (along with Kalmus's wife, the former Natalie Dunfee [1878–1965]). Kalmus, Comstock, and Wescott wanted to go beyond tinting or toning black-and-white frames, and beyond the crude filtration system of Kinemacolor, to develop a viable independent color process for film. The company called Technicolor was born in 1915, and two years later premiered the first "color film," *The Gulf Between* (1917). A camera was designed that would take duplicate frames of every image, one through a green filter and one through a red filter. Whereas the Kinemacolor process had projected these different frames sequentially, Kalmus and Comstock developed a pair of identical black-and-white release prints that could be projected simultaneously through different filters with the images combined by means of a prism.

By 1922 Kalmus and Comstock had moved on to Technicolor Process No. 2: rather than adding the color through projection, it would be recorded for the first time as information coded directly on the film, in this case, on black-and-white film that was filtered during shooting. Two color records were made on filtered black-and-white stock, red and green-blue, each showing through highlights and shadows the relative amount of the respective color in the photographed scene. These were transferred to what came to be known as a color matrix, a strip of film half as thick as normal film and coated with a gelatin that could harden. The hardened gelatin had something of the quality of a rubber stamp, with intensively colored areas showing up as troughs and lighter areas as peaks. Each record having been imprinted onto its matrix and the two matrices having hardened, the red and green-blue matrices were dyed either green-blue or red respectively and cemented together for projection. The first feature to exhibit this process was *The Toll of the Sea* (1922), followed by *The Ten Commandments* (Cecil B. DeMille, 1923). Before the process was superseded in 1927, twenty-four feature films were released, shot all or in part in Technicolor Process No. 2.

Process No. 3 improved on the method by using the two color matrices not for direct projection but as the basis for printing onto blank stock. In a machine that impressed the dyed matrix against the blank stock between pressurized rollers, the stock became colored after it was passed through twice, once for each matrix. This process of pressing dye against a blank, receptive stock is called imbibation. Process No. 3, conceived in 1928, became the basis for all of what Technicolor achieved from that time until, for some years beginning in the 1970s, it went out of business (the company later revived). Between 1928 and 1929, thirty-one silent or part-talkie films were made through this process, culminating in Warner Bros.' *The Show of Shows* (1929); forty-nine color talkies were made between 1929 and 1933, ending with Warner Bros.' *Mystery of the Wax Museum* (1933).

THREE-STRIP TECHNICOLOR

Through connection with Walt Disney (1901–1966), the three-strip Technicolor process that achieved worldwide fame was brought into being. In a process of "successive exposure," animated material was filmed three times through a red, a blue, and a green filter to produce three black-and-white records that were transposed onto three

HERBERT THOMAS KALMUS

b. Boston, Massachusetts, 9 November 1881, d. 11 July 1963

Herbert Thomas Kalmus, principal founder of Technicolor, remains one of the most important contributors to the development of motion pictures. Like only a handful of technological innovators, Kalmus deftly blended a shrewd but charming business sense—which was instrumental in attracting investors and Hollywood studios—with a probing and imaginative scientific mind. Were it not for Kalmus's persistence and vision, not to mention his business acumen, the industry-wide adoption of three-color processes for shooting films in full color would have occurred indefinitely later. The man who became synonymous with Technicolor thus changed the course of film history. Like synchronized sound, color required an industrial overhaul of every phase of movie making, but what tested the resolve of Dr. Kalmus and his company was the need to enhance and improve the process until Hollywood would start making the switch to color movies—a period lasting some three decades.

Orphaned at a young age, Kalmus worked his way into and through Massachusetts Institute of Technology (then called Boston Tech). There he met the school's only other physics major at the time, Daniel F. Comstock, who would become his business partner. After graduating from M.I.T. and then, in 1906, receiving their doctorates in Europe, the pair of young physicists returned to the United States. Between 1910 and 1915, Kalmus worked at Queen's University in Canada, where he performed his first research on the Technicolor process. In 1912, when they teamed up with W. Burton Wescott, an "engineering genius" in Kalmus's estimation, the trio started a patent company called Kalmus, Comstock, and Wescott (KCW). The young firm made several profitable inventions, but it was not long before Technicolor was its exclusive focus.

As early as 1915 KCW took out patents (mainly on special equipment for color cinematography and projection) for the first Technicolor process. Within two years they were shooting their first color film, *The Gulf Between* (1917), with a special Technicolor camera that used a beam splitter to simultaneously expose two different strips of film, one sensitive to the green spectrum and the other to the red spectrum. However, the procedure was imperfect and costly, and it was not until the fourth Technicolor process, patented in 1935, that they were successful. The first of Technicolor's three-strip processes, it was used with enormous success in films such as *The Wizard of Oz* (1939) and *Gone with the Wind* (1939). Later, after inventing a mono-pack color process, which could be shot with a standard one-strip, black-and-white motion picture camera, Technicolor briefly cornered the market and initiated the industry's full conversion to color.

Of the three original founders, Kalmus was the only one to see Technicolor through to its most successful and profitable period, in spite of a series of highly publicized and scrutinized lawsuits by his ex-wife, Natalie Kalmus, who held a stake in Technicolor for decades.

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Drew Todd

dyeable matrices. Important here was the use of panchromatic—rather than orthochromatic—black-and-white stock: this responded not only to blue and violet light but also to yellow and red light, thus making possible a fulsome and richly accurate record in black and white of the full range of color in a scene. The blank stock was rolled three times in order to pick up the three vital color dyes—magenta, cyan, and yellow. In this way twenty-six animated features were made between *Flowers and Trees* (1932) and *Robin Hood* (1973), including all of the most celebrated full-length Disney features: *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937), *Fantasia* (1940), *Pinocchio* (1940), *Dumbo* (1941), *Bambi* (1942), *Cinderella* (1950), *Alice in Wonderland* (1951), and *Peter Pan* (1953).

Technicolor features were remarkable for the sharpness and saturation of the colors to be seen. No other process before or since has matched the quality of the Technicolor red, for example, or has produced a screen black so intense. There is a potent sense of color contrast that produces at once clarity, saturation, depth and roundness of color, and vivacity. This effect is largely due to the quality of the long-lasting dyes that are used

Herbert T. Kalmus (left) on the set of* Belle of the Yukon *(William A. Seiter, 1944) with William Goetz (President of International Pictures). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

in the imbibation process. In general in color photography, color effects fade when film is projected repeatedly, or exposed to heat or the air, and the most long-lasting and saturated color effects are possible through dye-transfer printing. Whereas animated cels, themselves quite motionless, could be photographed any number of times through different filters to produce film color, in order to achieve this startling screen effect with live action a new technology was required: actors moving on a soundstage presented a new challenge altogether, as became evident in the first three-strip production, *Becky Sharp* (Rouben Mamoulian, 1935). With this film, produced by Technicolor shareholder John Hay (Jock) Whitney (1904–1982), it became clear how the increased production cost of Technicolor could make sense in the overall economy of filmmaking. In *Becky Sharp* the color blue, not present in the earlier two-strip process, was emphasized. Technicolor's investment in motion pictures was literally the startling and enriched color effect it could contribute to the process, luring audiences to see something they could not see anywhere else.

The film historian Tino Balio notes that to guarantee this effect, because Kalmus refused to trust studio cameramen and lab facilities, the company's contract with producers stipulated that they rent camera equipment as well as film stock from Technicolor, arrange all processing through the company, and use a company-approved cinematographer. A special color consultant had to be on set at all times, to consult with, and advise, the director and the cinematographer as to lighting, set design, costuming, and makeup so as to achieve the best possible color effects. Natalie Kalmus favored the dark background as ideal for showing facial tones clearly and strongly. In 1937 Max Factor developed a special makeup called Pan-Cake, yellow in hue, that would allow skin tones to be recorded "naturally" under the intense (bluish) studio light required for the process. All cameras, lenses, and stock had to be procured directly from Technicolor, which took responsibility for the upkeep and repair of the camera and the quality of the black-and-white stock used on set and the matrix and printing stock used in its own lab. A minimum print order of three hundred was typical in the Technicolor contract. Through a process called color timing, it was possible in the laboratory to achieve the precise printing of each black-and-white color record so that once it was dyed and printed an exact coloration could be obtained, shot by shot.

The three-strip Technicolor camera, a monstrous, noisy, and bulky machine that required special dollies and cranes, as well as a "blimp" to cover and dampen it acoustically, was originally designed by J. Arthur Ball, George Mitchell, and Henry Prouch. The camera was fed with three threaded black-and-white reels of negative stock—with a very low speed rating, thus requiring immense quantities of studio light—and admitted light through a gold-coated prism that would split the incoming beam into two equal parts. One beam was sent directly to the back of the camera, where it was recorded through a green filter on a single piece of film. Because of the directness of the passage of this beam, and the fact that green filtering always produces the highest-quality contrast, this "green record" was the one used later on to control for the contrast of the entire picture. The remaining light went at 90 degrees toward two strips of film laid back to back, hitting them after passing through a magenta filter (that would allow blue and red light to go through). The "blue record" was made on top and the "red record" at the back. As time went by, the coating of the prism was changed to permit more and more specifically controlled light to reach each piece of film. The three black-and-white film records were subsequently converted to matrices, which were dyed and printed directly onto a piece of blank stock. Well over one thousand features were made in the three-strip Technicolor process from 1934 onward.

Monica Vitti in* Il Deserto rosso *(*The Red Desert*, Michelangelo Antonioni, 1964). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

COLOR STOCK

No consistent and true color film stock was available until the end of the 1940s, at which time Kodak introduced its Eastmancolor negative stock. With this product, a number of changes became possible in shooting technique, all of which decreased production cost and made spontaneity and mobility in shooting easier. Here the color was not printed in by dye-transfer, but was contained in an emulsion layer on the original negative stock in the form of dye couplers—chemicals that would be changed by the effect of color illumination. Eastmancolor prints were actually somewhat sharper than Technicolor prints, although the naked eye of the viewer did not detect this because of the "sharpening" effect of the color saturation of Technicolor. Cameras could now be considerably lighter and more mobile. Intense illumination was no longer required for shooting, and, in fact, it was possible to shoot color film in available light—as, famously, Néstor Almendros (1930–1992) did for Eric Rohmer (b. 1920) in *Le Genou de Claire* (*Claire's Knee*, 1970); much of the extensive constraint as to costuming, makeup, set decoration, and lighting was removed. Unless it was exposed meticulously, however, and processed with great care, Eastmancolor gave inferior screen effects when compared with Technicolor. So poor were some of the results, owing to the money-saving casualness of treatment provided at the studios, that Kodak insisted the studios apply their own name to the process, and thus were born Pathécolor and WarnerColor. Most important for later film audiences, films shot in Eastmancolor (principally in the 1970s and onward) had a very short shelf life. Negatives were good for only around one hundred prints, and because these final prints were themselves degraded through projection their color was substantially lost. But the process was cheap, and thus attractive to producers who had to contend with higher above-the-line costs for stars and scripts. By contrast, the original Technicolor negatives were black and white and were used only for the production of the printing matrices. Thus, new Technicolor prints made from original negatives remain as crisp and brilliant as they were originally. DVDs printed from original Eastmancolor negatives make it possible to see films digitally that have, in their original form, hopelessly degraded.

THE COLOR EFFECT AND COLOR FILM

By the late 1940s Hollywood was confronting several threats to box office sales: the new medium of television,

the effects of the Paramount Decree (the popular name for the Supreme Court antitrust decision that led to the dismantling of the studio system), and the House Un-American Activities Committee hearings into an alleged Communist Party presence in Hollywood. Technicolor and other color technologies became vital selling tools, providing viewers with an optical experience that could not be obtained outside the movie theater. Beyond Dorothy's ruby slippers, one can name countless unforgettable objects of color on the screen: Gene Kelly's red carnation in the ballet in *An American in Paris* (1951) or the one Gael García Bernal grips in his teeth in Pedro Almodóvar's *Bad Education* (*La Mala Educación*, 2004); Ripley's orange cat in *Alien* (1979); the sunset into which Luke Skywalker gazes as he resolves to go forward to meet his future in *Star Wars* (1977); the yellow fumes coming out of the smokestack at the end of Antonioni's *Il Deserto rosso* (*The Red Desert*, 1964); the Emerald City; Peter O'Toole's famous blue eyes in *Lawrence of Arabia* (1962); the purple flowers Rock Hudson buys for Jane Wyman in *Magnificent Obsession* (Douglas Sirk, 1954), or the brilliant fuchsia walls of the Miami Beach hotel in *Written on the Wind* (Sirk, 1956); the pink panther; the Blue Meanies. Color also described people, scenes, and moments as objects: the swarthy brownness of Natalie Wood when pallid John Wayne and not-so-pallid Jeffrey Hunter discover her at the end of *The Searchers* (1956); avocado green Jim Carrey in *The Mask* (1994); the mauve atmosphere of Wyoming in *Shane* (1953); the subtle and rich palette of browns and beiges that describe the desert love dream of *Zabriskie Point* (1970); the intoxicating green apartment in Bertolucci's *The Dreamers* (2003).

Although the history of cinema has been inscribed by numerous exceptionally talented cinematographers (working with brilliant designers, costume designers, makeup artists, and lighting technicians—all of whom necessarily collaborate in the production of screen color), nevertheless the decision to use a color stock for the purpose of shooting a motion picture does not guarantee that the color onscreen will play a significant role in the film. A color film can fail to function in, even if it is shot in, color. Color film stock guarantees that there will be color onscreen, technically speaking, but nothing more. When we come away from the film and think back on it, very often we remember no object or scene or point of concentration in which color is the determining variable. In *Blood Simple* (Joel and Ethan Coen, 1984), for example, there is one moment when a large amount of viscous and extremely dark red—almost plum red—blood oozes across a floor. That is a true color moment in a color film, but it is the only such moment in that film, all of which is shot in color. Nicholas Ray (1911–1979) was an architect before he was a filmmaker, a man who saw the world as form-in-space; in *Party Girl* (1958), for example, he dresses Cyd Charisse in a spangling red dress and has her extend herself anxiously but beautifully along the length of an orange velvet sofa. The tension between the color values of that dress and that sofa creates an electricity that energizes the entire film.

A similar, albeit considerably more expensive, application of this same process is to be seen in a long sequence in the black-and-white film, *Schindler's List* (Steven Spielberg, 1993). A little girl in a red overcoat wanders through the streets in the face of an augmenting chain of Nazi atrocity, marching soldiers, and an overall atmosphere of bleak despair. Finally, she is seen dead, her red overcoat a pungent reminder that she was once a discriminable, sovereign person. Here, the effect is obtained through frame-by-frame computerized tinting—photoshopping the coat while leaving all other aspects of the sequence, and the film, in what now appears to be stark and passionless black and white. When a computer process rather than an artist's hand technique is used to color frames, consistency between frames is obtained mechanically and thus a quality of continuous color is achievable. In *Pleasantville* (1998) computer colorization and optical printing together make possible the gradual infusion of color into specific parts of a black-and-white environment. The effect of mixing color and black and white in that film might appear to reflect what was done in *The Wizard of Oz* as Dorothy opened the door of her little house and stepped out into a fully Technicolored Oz, but in *Wizard* a sequence of sepia-tinted black-and-white film was joined to a sequence of full-color film to produce the startling effect.

At the end of *Schindler's List*, the narrative leaps forward to the present day in Israel, as remaining survivors of the Holocaust saved by Schindler gather in Jerusalem to remember him. This sequence is shot in full color, rendering everything that preceded it as neutral in retrospect as a desiccated historical record, certainly important factually and yet bleached of the thrilling color of "present" reality. In the black and white *The Solid Gold Cadillac* (1956), a radically different effect is produced by shooting the culminating parade sequence in full color. All through the film a "solid gold Cadillac" has been invoked in the dialogue, but we have been denied the opportunity of seeing it directly; now, at the end, Judy Holliday and Paul Douglas are seen riding in this vehicle while crowds cheer all around. The goldness of the car is made especially intense by virtue of being visible directly in color; it is an especially "golden" golden car, because in comparison to the black and white by means of which we have been learning about it, it is seen now in the relatively "golden"—that is, valuable—medium of Technicolor.

The Band Wagon ***(Vincente Minnelli, 1953) offers a bold use of color.*** EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

SOME IMPORTANT COLOR FILMS

Notable uses of color in film include Sven Nykvist's (b. 1922) symphony of red and green in *Viskningar och rop* (*Cries and Whispers*, Ingmar Bergman, 1972, in Eastmancolor) and the sunset-lit palette Nykvist utilized in *What's Eating Gilbert Grape* (Lasse Hallström, 1993); Jean-Luc Godard's (b. 1930) primary-colored text blocks as part of the rhythmic design of *Weekend* (shot by Raoul Coutard in Eastmancolor, 1967); and the effects produced by the cinematographer Gordon Willis (working with designer Mel Bourne, decorators Mario Mazzola and Daniel Robert, costume designer Joel Schumacher, and makeup artist Fern Buchner) for *Interiors* (Woody Allen, 1978), in which a perfectly coordinated, subdued, even shackled bourgeois environment set out in a range of beige tones—costumes, walls, curtains, vases, complexions, shadows, everything—is suddenly disrupted after a matriarch's suicide by the appearance of the father's new girlfriend, dressed in explosive scarlet.

Les Parapluies de Cherbourg (*The Umbrellas of Cherbourg*, Jacques Demy, 1964), was shot on Eastmancolor by Jean Rabier (b. 1927), with design by Bernard Evein. The little village of Cherbourg is configured as a grouping of tiny shops and apartments, alleys, corridors, and a garage. In virtually every setting, the walls are decorated with bizarre and supersaturated patterns and designs, often mixing brilliant red and yellow with brilliant lime green, purple, orange, and turquoise. There is a candy-shop quality to the images that perfectly matches the fairytale quality of the story and the lyrical quality of the dialogue, every word of which is sung to orchestral accompaniment. In the final sequence, which takes place in a winter snowfall and at night, red, blue, and yellow framed against the nocturnal blackness are the only colors that remain—as the former lovers discover one another again after many years and realize that their past is irretrievable. The boy, in fact, has become the owner of an Esso station, which is photographed to look

like a giant toy garage. For *The Ladies Man* (Jerry Lewis, 1961), the set design of Ross Bellah and Hal Pereira, decorated by Sam Comer and James Payne, and shot in Technicolor by W. Wallace Kelley, features a giant boardinghouse in which nubile girls dressed by Edith Head in pastel pajamas wake up in variously colored rooms.

The Band Wagon (Vincente Minnelli, 1953) has a number of startling color sequences, in particular Fred Astaire's "Put a Smile on Your Face" dance routine. On a set designed by Preston Ames, Harry Jackson's Technicolor camera shoots a kaleidoscopic arcade with Astaire, in a light gray suit with royal blue socks, dancing his troubles away with a shoeshine man in a green Hawaiian shirt and hot fuchsia socks. In the celebrated "Dancing in the Dark" duet, Astaire and Cyd Charisse, both in elegant white against a vivid green-and-blue background of Central Park at twilight, move to Arthur Schwartz's music as the color of the set—not quite real, not quite fake—suspends and lulls us into a trance of engagement. In a stunning moment we see the horse that has pulled their carriage to this location pausing to drink from a fountain in which the water is sapphire blue—the blue of dreams, of pure wonder.

SEE ALSO *Cinematography; Lighting; Technology*

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COLUMBIA

The rise of Columbia Pictures to Hollywood prominence is as unlikely as the plot of a Frank Capra (1897–1991) film, and in fact it was a run of Capra-directed hits that fueled Columbia's ascent. No other studio relied so heavily in its formative years on the talent and output of a single filmmaker, as Capra's early hits put Columbia on the industry map in the late 1920s, and then his Depression-era comedies like *It Happened One Night* (1934) and *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* (1939) defined its house style and secured its stature among the studio powers. Columbia continued to thrive after Capra's departure in 1939, thanks largely to the equally singular talents of Harry Cohn (1891–1958). Reviled by Capra and widely dismissed as a tight-fisted philistine, Cohn in fact was unique among Hollywood's movie moguls in that he served as president of a studio he owned and operated while overseeing production in its decidedly substandard Hollywood plant.

Cohn guided the studio's steady growth and shaped its collective output from its founding until his death in 1958, turning a profit every year—a phenomenal accomplishment in light of Hollywood's Depression-era and postwar travails. In fact, Columbia enjoyed its greatest success in the postwar era, complementing its trademark screwball comedies with superior dramas like *All the King's Men* (1949), *From Here to Eternity* (1953), *On the Waterfront* (1954), and *Bridge on the River Kwai* (1957)—solid hits that brought Columbia four Best Picture Oscars® in less than a decade. Columbia's postwar success was due to its quick and canny response to a range of industry challenges—the rise of independent production, freelance talent, and location shooting, for instance, and the concurrent rise of commercial television. That openness to industry change continued after Cohn's death, as Columbia took even greater risks than it had under Cohn and rose to unprecedented heights—and experienced more severe declines as well. Its distinctive house style steadily dissipated with the rise of the New Hollywood, but Columbia did maintain its corporate autonomy longer than most of the other studios, finally succumbing to conglomeration in the 1980s—first in an ill-fated merger with Coca-Cola, and then in a historic "hardware-software" alliance with Sony that stands as a watershed in modern Hollywood history.

THE RISE OF COLUMBIA PICTURES

Columbia Pictures began its corporate life in 1920 as the CBC Film Sales Company, a modest production operation specializing in "short subjects" created by Jack Cohn, Joe Brandt, and Harry Cohn. Before launching CBC, all three had worked for Universal Pictures—Brandt and Jack Cohn in the New York office, and Jack's younger brother Harry on the West Coast at the massive Universal City plant. The three young men created CBC (Cohn-Brandt-Cohn) with seed money of $100,000 from the Bank of Italy, a California-based concern run by A. H. and A. P. Giannini that was vital to Columbia's development. Brandt and Jack Cohn ran CBC and handled sales out of New York, while Harry set up production on Hollywood's legendary Poverty Row, a block-long stretch of low-rent offices and makeshift studios on Beechwood Drive between Sunset Boulevard and Fountain Avenue.

CBC's one- and two-reel productions sold well, and in 1922 the company began producing low-budget

feature films that were sold through states-rights distributors. These cut-rate programmers also sold well, convincing Brandt and the Cohns to upgrade their operation. In January 1924 they incorporated CBC as Columbia Pictures, moving into new offices in New York while expanding their Hollywood plant. Brandt and Jack Cohn remained in New York as president and vice president in charge of sales, respectively, with Harry running the studio as vice president in charge of production. Columbia continued to expand in the following years, developing a national distribution setup and steadily absorbing its Poverty Row environs until it encompassed most of the city block bordered by Sunset, Beechwood, Fountain, and Gower Street—thus the appellation "Gower Gulch." Columbia churned out low-grade programmers at an impressive rate during the late silent era, many of them directed by Reeves ("Breezy") Eason (1886–1956) and George B. Seitz (1888–1944), but none was of any real note or suitable for first-run release.

Columbia's fortunes began to change in late 1927 with the arrival of Frank Capra, who was recruited by the studio manager, Sam Briskin (1896–1968), to write and direct a typically modest feature, *That Certain Thing* (1928). At age thirty (six years younger than Harry Cohn), Capra had considerable experience as a writer and director, notably on several Harry Langdon silent comedies for producer Mack Sennett (1880–1960). Capra quickly caught on at Columbia, directing five pictures in less than a year, and Cohn assigned him to the studio's most ambitious project to date, *Submarine* (1928), an action drama co-starring Jack Holt (1888–1951) and Ralph Graves (1900–1977). The film involved underwater photography and visual effects and was Columbia's first to utilize sound effects and a musical score. Launched with a Broadway premier, a rarity for Columbia, *Submarine* was a modest hit and solidified Capra's status as Columbia's top director. He then directed another hit "service picture" with Holt and Graves, *Flight* (1929), as well as Columbia's first all-talkie, *The Donovan Affair* (1929). By then Cohn was actively touting his star director to the trade press, announcing that "Capra will make nothing but 'specials' for Columbia from now on."

Columbia also issued its first successful stock offering in 1929, edging closer to the established Hollywood powers—although still a minor-league studio. In 1930, at the height of the talkie boom and one year after its first issue on the New York Stock Exchange, Columbia's assets of $5.8 million were dwarfed by those of integrated majors like Paramount ($306 million), Warner Bros. ($230 million), and MGM ($128 million). Even Universal, which like Columbia did not own a theater chain, had far greater assets of $17 million due to the value of its Universal City plant. Moreover, the quality and quantity of Columbia's productions were scarcely on a par with the other studios' output; they produced from fifty to sixty pictures per year in 1929 and 1930, with at least a dozen budgeted at $500,000 or more. Even Universal, with its relatively meager assets, was producing about forty films per year, including a few prestige pictures like *Broadway* (1929) and *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1930), each budgeted at over $1 million. Columbia, meanwhile, produced some two dozen features per year in 1929 and 1930, budgeted between $50,000 and $150,000, with an occasional project in the $200,000 range.

When the Depression hit the industry in 1931, however, Columbia was suddenly in a more favorable position than its competitors for three basic reasons. First, it owned no theaters and thus was not saddled with debilitating mortgage payments. Second, Harry Cohn's autocratic, tight-fisted management style ideally suited the depressed economic climate. And third, the efficient output of B-grade programmers, serials, and shorts, along with the occasional A-class picture and Capra-directed "special," jibed perfectly with the Depression-era penchant for double bills and evening-long programs. Thus, Columbia's production and market strategy paid dividends during the 1930s as the studio turned a profit year after year and saw its assets increase to $15.9 million in 1940—a phenomenal achievement matched only by MGM.

CAPRA, COHN, AND THE COLUMBIA HOUSE STYLE

The key factor in Columbia Picture's Depression-era climb and its development of a distinctive house style was, without question, its remarkable run of Capra-directed hits—notably *Platinum Blonde* (1931), *Miracle Woman* (1931), *American Madness* (1932), *Lady for a Day* (1933), *It Happened One Night* (1934), *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town* (1936), *You Can't Take It with You* (1938), and *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* (1939). All were huge moneymakers for Columbia Pictures, which finally shed its Poverty Row stigma during the 1930s, and they brought critical recognition as well. Capra's films scored six Academy Award® nominations for Best Picture and five nominations for Best Director. *It Happened One Night* and *You Can't Take It with You* both won the Best Picture Oscar®, and Capra won Best Director three times in a five-year span (1934, 1936, and 1938), a feat unmatched in industry history.

Equally important to Columbia's surge was Harry Cohn, whose authority over the studio—and Columbia Pictures at large—increased dramatically in 1932, when he prevailed in a struggle with Joe Brandt and his older brother Jack for control of the company, thanks to the unexpected backing by A. H. Giannini of the (renamed) Bank of America. Consequently, Brandt sold his stake in Columbia and Harry Cohn assumed the presidency,

HARRY COHN

b. New York, New York, 23 July 1891, d. 27 February 1958

Harry Cohn, who co-founded Columbia and ran the company until his death in 1958, is among the most distinctive and paradoxical of Hollywood moguls and studio bosses. As both the president of Columbia Pictures and the head of the studio, he was the only individual in classical-era Hollywood to occupy both the "home office" and "front office" of a Big Eight producer-distributor. And despite his well-deserved reputation for being a brutal, vulgar tyrant who ruthlessly abused and exploited his employees, Cohn maintained a production operation that not only turned a profit year after year for over three decades, but also turned out scores of canonized Hollywood classics.

Cohn evinced his tight-fisted, lowbrow temperament early on, as personal secretary to Universal Studios head Carl Laemmle, but his more tyrannical and abusive traits seemed to develop later, along with the studio's rise to power and his own ascent to the presidency in the early 1930s. This may have been fueled by Cohn's naive infatuation with Italian dictator Benito Mussolini, who was the subject of a flattering (and commercially successful) Columbia documentary, *Mussolini Speaks* (1933), and whose offices in Italy so inspired Cohn that he replicated them at his own studio headquarters. Cohn also prowled the lot incessantly and was notorious for spying on as well as bullying and humiliating his employees. He was scarcely a creative production executive, yet he was more closely involved in day-to-day operations than any other studio boss.

Like his counterpart, Jack Warner, at Hollywood's other family-owned and operated studio, Harry Cohn quarreled with his top talent, overworked and ruthlessly typecast his contract players, and routinely suspended those who failed to cooperate. Cohn also had a tendency to hire left-leaning writers, due in part to Columbia's renegade status as well as the topical, socially conscious nature of its output. In fact, Columbia and Warner Bros. were home to far more blacklisted writers (and members of the infamous Hollywood Ten) than any other studio. The two sets of brothers (both named Jack and Harry, coincidentally) also were fierce rivals professionally. Cohn, like studio boss Jack Warner, constantly battled his brother Jack Cohn in the New York office for larger operating budgets and more authority over sales and marketing. Harry Cohn's status as company president gave him far more leverage over his New York-based brother than Jack Warner enjoyed, however, but it scarcely diminished the frequency or the ferocity of their fraternal battles.

By the 1950s Cohn had won the grudging respect of his peers and even his adversaries as Columbia enjoyed a run of hits that matched its halcyon Capra era and as the studio's pioneering and truly visionary foray into television series production paved the way for the other studios. The death of Jack Cohn in 1956 was a devastating blow, however, and the reviled "White Fang" lost much of his bite during the last two years of his life.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Lady for a Day (1933), *It Happened One Night* (1934), *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town* (1936), *The Awful Truth* (1937), *You Can't Take It with You* (1938), *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* (1939), *Here Comes Mr. Jordan* (1941), *The Talk of the Town* (1942), *The More the Merrier* (1943), *All the King's Men* (1949), *Born Yesterday* (1950), *From Here to Eternity* (1953), *On the Waterfront* (1954), *The Caine Mutiny* (1954), *Picnic* (1955), *The Bridge on the River Kwai* (1957)

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appointing Jack Cohn vice president and treasurer. Harry opted to remain in Hollywood, thus becoming the only president of a major motion picture firm to run the company while overseeing production in the Hollywood factory. Cohn was among the least "creative" of Hollywood's studio bosses, but he was among the most heavily involved in day-to-day operations. Moreover, he opted to keep Columbia in the ramshackle

Harry Cohn. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Gower Gulch plant not only to cut costs, but also to maintain personal proximity to all phases of production.

One exception to Cohn's hands-on supervisory role was the so-called Capra unit. Here Cohn relied on Sam Briskin, Columbia's vice president and studio manager, whom Capra considered his own "unit manager," the one responsible for "all the production details." Capra's key creative collaborator was writer Robert Riskin (1897–1955), who signed with Columbia in 1931 and, after contributing to both *Miracle Woman* and *Platinum Blonde*, was Capra's sole collaborator on *American Madness*—and on seven of the next eight Capra-directed pictures as well. Theirs was an ideal melding of talents: Riskin's glib, rapid-fire dialogue, Runyonesque characters, tightly constructed plots; and Capra's deft pacing, genius for integrating verbal, visual, and physical humor, and skill with actors. Other key members of the Capra unit were the cinematographer, Joe Walker (1892–1985), who lit and shot all of Capra's 1930s pictures, as well as the editor, Gene Havlick (1894–1959), and the art director, Stephen Goosson (1889–1973).

Casting Capra's films—and all of Columbia's A-class pictures, for that matter—was a more complicated issue, given Columbia's relatively meager star stable. Capra's films generally co-starred a freelance star or loan-out from another studio playing opposite a Columbia semi-regular. From the mid-1930s onward, Capra worked most frequently with the "outside" stars Gary Cooper (1901–1961) or James Stewart (1908–1997) playing opposite either Jean Arthur (1900–1991) or Barbara Stanwyck (1907–1990), who had nonexclusive contracts with Columbia. In whatever pairing, these co-stars represented what became the essential Capra screen types: the aggressive, fast-talking, quick-witted career woman and the deliberate, low-key, tongue-tied male, out of his element among city slickers but ultimately capable of timely, heroic action. Capra's comedies usually centered on the male hero, whose common sense and homespun values put him at odds with the hustling heroine and with some malevolent political or industrial forces as well. The hero prevails, of course, thus projecting a world in which sexual antagonism and deep-seated ideological conflicts might be resolved.

To ensure an adequate supply of first-run product, Cohn also developed a cycle of operatic romances starring soprano Grace Moore (1898–1947), a former Broadway and Metropolitan Opera star who had a breakthrough hit with *One Night of Love* (1934). It established a pattern of first-run engagements in the United States and Europe that would be repeated in *Love Me Forever* (1935), *The King Steps Out* (1936), and *When You're in Love* (1937). Even more important to Columbia's Depression-era fortunes was Cohn's decision to increase and upgrade Columbia's overall comedy output as the Capra-directed screwball comedies caught on. This trend coalesced with *Twentieth Century* (1934), a madcap comedy directed by Howard Hawks (1896–1977) and co-scripted by Ben Hecht and Charles MacArthur. It starred John Barrymore (1882–1942) as an overbearing, over-the-hill Broadway director and Carole Lombard (1908–1942) as his former protégé, who is en route to Hollywood and a movie career despite his ardent protestations. This film hit led to two 1935 comedies—*The Whole Town's Talking*, directed by John Ford (1894–1973) and co-starring Edward G. Robinson (1893–1973) and Jean Arthur; and *She Married Her Boss*, directed by Gregory La Cava (1892–1952), with Melvyn Douglas (1901–1981) and Claudette Colbert (1903–1996)—that solidified the trend toward romantic comedies with a top outside director and outside star teamed with a rising Columbia ingénue.

The trend continued with *Theodora Goes Wild* (1936), *The Awful Truth* (1937), *Holiday* (1938), and *Only Angels Have Wings* (1939), all of which were written, like the Ford and La Cava hits, by one of Columbia's top staff writers—that is, Jo Swerling (1893–1964), Robert Riskin, or Sidney Buchman (1902–1975)—who

Claudette Colbert and Clark Gable in **It Happened One Night** ***(Frank Capra, 1934).*** EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

not only scripted but also informally supervised production. These writer-supervisors proved far more effective than the brutish Harry Cohn in dealing with outside talent, and they also understood how to reformulate the basic ingredients of the "Capra touch"—the distinctive blend of screwball romance and contemporary, socially astute, comedy—for filmmakers like Hawks, George Cukor (1899–1983), and Leo McCarey (1898–1969). These comedies were commercial and critical hits, and in fact *The Awful Truth* scored more major Oscar® nominations—five, including Best Picture, Best Director (McCarey), and Best Actress (Irene Dunne)—and did far better at the box office than *Lost Horizon* (1937), Capra's most ambitious production to date.

In 1939 Capra decided to leave Columbia in the wake of his back-to-back hits, *You Can't Take It with You* and *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington*, eager to try his luck as an independent producer-director (with Riskin as a partner) and to end his battles with Harry Cohn. Capra signed a lucrative one-picture deal with Warner Bros. for *Meet John Doe* (1941), which gave him enormous authority and creative control. The film was a disappointment, starting a tailspin that would end Capra's career by the late 1940s and indicating that Capra was a consummate "studio *auteur*" whose talents ideally suited the resources and constraints afforded by Harry Cohn and Columbia Pictures.

THE WARTIME AND POSTWAR ERAS

Columbia scarcely noticed Capra's departure due to the imminent war boom. Like Universal and UA, Columbia's wartime surge was less dramatic than that of the theater-owning Big Five studios, but Columbia was able to sustain profits on a par with its Capra-era peak and to increase its revenues considerably. That enabled Cohn to increase A-class output and upgrade the production values on top releases (particularly with the use of Technicolor) and to expand his roster of top talent. Columbia continued to produce its signature romantic comedies, punctuating Capra's departure with two Hawks-directed hits, *Only Angels Have Wings* and *His Girl Friday* (1940), both of which paired Cary Grant

RITA HAYWORTH

b. Margarita Carmen Cansino, New York, New York, 17 October 1918, d. 14 May 1987

Dubbed "the studio's first superstar," Rita Hayworth was without question Columbia's most important contract star and thus the object of studio boss Harry Cohn's obsessive attention during the 1940s. She appeared in a total of seven films in 1941 and 1942 but only six for the remainder of the decade—and none from 1948 until 1952, during her ill-fated escapades with playboy Prince Aly Khan. Her half-dozen films from 1942 to 1947 included several of Columbia's biggest hits, however, and they trace Hayworth's evolution from the wholesome beauty of romantic comedies and upbeat musicals to erotic siren and consummate femme fatale. By decade's end her movie career was in limbo and her movie stardom eclipsed by her international celebrity status.

Hayworth's rise to stardom was circuitous, and it involved a radical transformation of her screen persona. The daughter of Eduardo Cansino, a Spanish-born dancer, and Volga Hayworth, a Ziegfeld Follies performer, she danced professionally before signing with Fox while still in her teens, but her early film career as dark-haired beauty Rita Cansino floundered. She was seemingly washed up before age twenty when the first of her many husbands revived her career and landed her a long-term contract with Columbia. Thus began her transformation into Rita Hayworth, whose second chance at stardom was jump-started by a supporting role in Columbia's *Only Angels Have Wings* in 1939.

Cohn exploited Hayworth's sudden value via loanouts while casting her in a few near-A comedies, and he then secured her full-fledged stardom by casting her in two musicals opposite Fred Astaire, *You'll Never Get Rich* (1941) and *You Were Never Lovelier* (1942), which gave her a chance to display her considerable dancing talents (if not her singing, which was dubbed). Hayworth partnered with Gene Kelly in two musicals, *Cover Girl* (1944) and *Tonight and Every Night* (1945), and then her star persona underwent another alteration with her role as sultry, potentially deadly siren in *Gilda* (1946), in which Hayworth created an instantly memorable moment singing "Put the Blame on Mame" while provocatively removing her long black satin gloves. Next Hayworth played a quintessential black widow in *The Lady from Shanghai* (1947), a disastrous project for Cohn and Columbia despite its eventual cult status. Written and directed by Hayworth's second husband, Orson Welles, who co-starred, the film was made in 1946 as their marriage was collapsing, then re-cut and shelved before Columbia finally released it in Europe late the following year and in the United States in mid-1948—just as Hayworth hooked up with playboy Prince Aly Khan, whom she wed in 1949 and divorced in 1953.

Hayworth returned to Columbia in 1951 and begged Cohn to reinstate her contract. He complied and cast her in top productions like *Miss Sadie Thompson* (1953) and *Pal Joey* (1957), but her career failed to reignite.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Only Angels Have Wings (1939), *You'll Never Get Rich* (1941), *You Were Never Lovelier* (1942), *Gilda* (1946), *The Lady from Shanghai* (1947), *Miss Sadie Thompson* (1953), *Pal Joey* (1957)

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(1904–1986) with a contract star—Jean Arthur and Rosalind Russell (1907–1976), respectively. A supporting role in the former went to Rita Hayworth (1918–1987), who emerged as a top star in a cycle of musical hits, teaming with Fred Astaire (1899–1987) in *You'll Never Get Rich* (1941) and *You Were Never Lovelier* (1942) and with Gene Kelly in *Cover Girl* (1944). Columbia also produced a steady supply of war films—both home-front and combat dramas—including a few A-class films like *Sahara* (1943), starring Humphrey Bogart (1899–1957) (on loan from Warners), but mainly composed of low-budget fare.

Columbia's B-movie operation flourished during the war, cranking out *Lone Wolf*, *Blondie*, and *Boston Blackie*

Rita Hayworth in* Gilda *(Charles Vidor, 1946). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

series; serials adapted from radio and comic strips including *The Shadow*, *Brenda Starr*, and *Terry and the Pirates*; and comedy shorts featuring the Three Stooges, Buster Keaton, Charlie Chase, and Harry Langdon. Western programmers composed roughly half of the studio's wartime B-movie output—and fully thirty percent of Columbia's total wartime releases (159 of 503 films). Most of these were subpar features that ran from fifty-five to fifty-seven minutes and featured Charles Starrett (1903–1986). He did seven or eight B westerns per year from the mid-1930s to the early 1950s, including some sixty-seven Durango Kid films. Columbia also produced an occasional A-class western—*Arizona* (1940), with rising star William Holden (1918–1981), for example, and *The Desperadoes* (1943), a Glenn Ford (b. 1916) vehicle that marked the studio's first Technicolor release.

By the end of the war, Columbia had built up a solid roster of contract talent in all departments, including stars like Hayworth, Russell, Holden, and Glenn Ford; cinematographers Rudolph Maté (1898–1964) and Burnett Guffey (1905–1983); art directors Stephen Goosson, Cary Odell (1910–1988), and Rudolph Sternad; editors Gene Havlick and Viola Lawrence (1894–1973); musical director Morris Stoloff (1898–1980); and writers Sidney Buchman and Virginia Van Upp (1902–1970). Cohn continued to rely heavily on outside directors in A-class productions, with contract directors Charles Vidor (1900–1959), Alfred Green (1889–1960), and Henry Levin (1909–1980) handling top projects as well. Columbia's expanded talent pool meant more A-films and more homegrown hits like *Gilda*, a noir classic co-starring Hayworth and Glenn Ford, and *The Jolson Story*, a biopic starring little-known character actor Larry Parks (1914–1975). Those two 1946 releases set the tone for the postwar era's continued success, and after record years in 1946 and 1947, Columbia managed to hold on as Hollywood's fortunes plummeted—thanks largely to two huge 1949 hits, *Jolson Sings Again*, a sequel to the 1946 biopic and *All the King's Men*, directed by Robert Rossen (1908–1966), a stunning, hyper-realistic portrait of political corruption,

Burt Lancaster and Deborah Kerr in* From Here to Eternity *(Fred Zinnemann, 1953). **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

whose myriad awards included Oscars® for Best Picture and Best Actor (Broderick Crawford).

Columbia's continued success in the 1950s was due in part to Cohn's experience in dealing with freelance talent and independent production, and also to Columbia's ready acceptance of television when the other studios were either dismissing or disparaging the upstart medium. Columbia was the first studio to undertake TV series production, via its Screen Gems division, which under the supervision of Ralph Cohn, Jack's son, produced hit series in multiple genres, from daytime variety (*House Party*, 1952) and syndicated children's and family programming (*Captain Midnight*, 1954; *Jungle Jim*, 1955; *Circus Boy*, 1956) to network prime-time sitcoms (*Father Knows Best*, 1954; *The Donna Reed Show*, 1958), anthology dramas (*The Ford Television Theatre*, 1952; *Playhouse 90*, 1956; *Goodyear Theatre*, 1957), and crime dramas (*Naked City*, 1958; *Tightrope*, 1959). TV series production absorbed much of Columbia's B-movie operation, as Cohn reduced feature film output from around sixty per year in 1950 and 1951 to less than forty by the mid-1950s. B-western programmers were phased out altogether, although Columbia still produced occasional A-class westerns like *The Man from Laramie* (1955), starring James Stewart, and a good many near-A's with contract stars Glenn Ford and Randolph Scott (1898–1987).

In terms of top feature production, Columbia's greatest strength during the 1950s was its dual output of weighty male-dominant dramas and hit romantic comedies. The dramas included *film noir* classics like *In a Lonely Place* (1950), directed by Nicholas Ray (1911–1979), and *The Big Heat* (1953), directed by Fritz Lang (1890–1976), as well as stage adaptations like *Death of a Salesman* (1951), *The Member of the Wedding* (1952), *The Caine Mutiny* (1954), and *Picnic* (1955). While these films clearly signaled their lineage and thus were of a somewhat derivative quality, Columbia also produced hit dramas in the 1950s that, like *All the King's Men*, remain inconceivable as anything but films, whatever their medium of origin, and stand among the very best films of that era. The most notable of these were

From Here to Eternity (1953), *On the Waterfront* (1954), and *The Bridge on the River Kwai* (1957), which were solid commercial hits and multiple Academy Award® winners, taking Oscars® for Best Picture and Best Director (Fred Zinnemann, Elia Kazan, and David Lean, respectively)—and thus giving Columbia its best Oscar® run since the Capra era. Columbia also sustained its trademark romantic comedy line, fueled by the talents of the emerging star Judy Holliday (1921–1965) and the director-writer duo of George Cukor and Garson Kanin (1912–1999), who teamed for *Born Yesterday* (1950), *The Marrying Kind* (1952), and *It Should Happen to You* (1954). The latter co-starred the fast-rising Jack Lemmon (1925–2001), who teamed with Holliday and newcomer Kim Novak (b. 1933) in *Phffft!* (1954), thus adding two more contract stars to Columbia's comedy mix.

POST-COHN COLUMBIA: INTO THE NEW HOLLYWOOD

Columbia's run of profitable years, which extended back to its founding in 1924, finally ended in 1958, the year of Harry Cohn's death. By then Columbia had sustained its contract system, centralized management, and studio production setup (still at Gower Gulch) longer than most of its competitors, but its recent success had been primarily a function of Cohn's willingness to take risks and embrace change. At the time of Harry Cohn's death, which came two years after the demise of his brother Jack, Columbia's annual revenues exceeded $100 million, putting it on a par with once-indomitable Paramount, Fox, and MGM and well ahead of the other studios. After Cohn's death the penchant for innovation and risk taking actually increased, which was scarcely avoidable given the changes and challenges facing the industry and which steadily dissolved Columbia's on-screen personality, since Columbia's boldest ventures in the 1960s and 1970s involved partnerships with overseas producers and with a new generation of independent *auteurs*, all of whom required creative control over their pictures. Thus, Columbia was relegated increasingly to the role of a financing and distribution company, and it experienced far wider swings in its economic fortunes than it had under Cohn.

Columbia's Screen Gems operation continued to produce hit TV series in the 1960s, most notably (and profitably) prime-time sitcoms like *The Flintstones* (1960), *Bewitched* (1964), *I Dream of Jeannie* (1965), and *The Partridge Family* (1970). While these kept the studio machinery running, feature film production declined dramatically. During the 1950s, Columbia released 450 films, with its output steadily falling from about 60 per year in 1950 to less than 40 by decade's end. The decline continued in the 1960s, when Columbia released 252 films and its annual output declined to about 20 per annum—a pace that would continue through the 1970s.

Most of Columbia's releases in the 1960s and 1970s were independent productions or co-productions, many of them packaged and produced overseas without the participation of top studio executives Abe Schneider and Leo Jaffe. Columbia's long-standing relationships with top independent Sam Spiegel (1901–1985) (*On the Waterfront*, *The Bridge on the River Kwai*) continued into the 1970s, most notably with the monumental 1962 hit, *Lawrence of Arabia*. Another important relationship involved Ray Stark, who partnered with Columbia on several Barbra Streisand (b. 1942) hits: *Funny Girl* (1968), *The Owl and the Pussycat* (1970), *The Way We Were* (1973), and *Funny Lady* (1975). In 1965, as the "British invasion" spread from music to film, Columbia opened offices in London that delivered *A Man for All Seasons* (1966), *Georgy Girl* (1966), *To Sir, with Love* (1967), and *Oliver!* (1968). An independent company owned by producer-director Stanley Kramer (1913–2001) gave Columbia its biggest commercial hit of the era, *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner* (1967), a then-daring treatment of interracial romance—but equally an exercise in nostalgia, considering its co-stars Spencer Tracy (1900–1967) and Katharine Hepburn (1907–2003).

Far more daring—and in many cases far more profitable—was Columbia's output of "youth pictures," art films, and *auteur* projects. In fact, no other studio championed the director-driven Hollywood New Wave to the degree that Columbia did with pictures like *Dr. Strangelove or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb* (Stanley Kubrick, 1964), *Mickey One* (Arthur Penn, 1965), *In Cold Blood* (Richard Brooks, 1967), *The Swimmer* (Frank Perry, 1968), *Bob & Carol & Ted & Alice* (Paul Mazursky, 1969), *Easy Rider* (Dennis Hopper, 1969), *Five Easy Pieces* (Bob Rafelson, 1970), *Husbands* (John Cassavetes, 1970), *The Last Picture Show* (Peter Bogdanovich, 1971), *Images* (Robert Altman, 1972), *The Last Detail* (Hal Ashby, 1974), *Shampoo* (Ashby, 1975), and *Taxi Driver* (Martin Scorsese, 1976). But despite this truly phenomenal output of low-cost, high-quality films, Columbia suffered record losses from 1971 to 1973 due to a run of big-budget flops like *McKenna's Gold* (1969), *Cromwell* (1970), *Nicholas and Alexandra* (1971), and *Lost Horizon* (1973) as well as a costly relocation. After a half-century on Gower Street, Columbia executed a move between 1970 and 1972 to lavish new facilities in Burbank, north of Hollywood.

Columbia survived this deepening financial crisis with the help of the investment firm Allen and Co., which in 1973 purchased controlling interest in the studio (for a paltry $1.5 million). That put the company

under the command of Herbert Allen Jr., the son of Allen and Co.'s co-founder, who installed a new management team of Alan Hirschfield, David Begelman, and Peter Guber. Columbia's finances rebounded, propelled by the 1977 megahit, *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* directed by Steven Spielberg (b. 1946), but the new team's tenure was cut short by a forgery scandal involving Begelman. The resurgence continued under the new studio head, Frank Price, whose five-year stint (1978–1983) was highlighted by two huge Dustin Hoffman (b. 1937) hits, *Kramer vs. Kramer* (1979), Columbia's first US-produced multiple Oscar® winner in twenty-five years, and *Tootsie* (1982).

The Price regime, while financially successful, marked the end of Columbia Pictures' control of its destiny—or even of its production operations. By then it was releasing only a dozen or so films per year, most of them produced by independents, and many were "packaged" by talent agencies—most notably Mike Ovitz of Creative Artists Agency (CAA), who certainly had more to do with *Tootsie*, for example, than anyone at Columbia Pictures. Columbia's control of its destiny was further compromised when Price engineered the studio's acquisition by Coca-Cola, which bought the studio in 1982 for roughly $750 million. The new parent company attempted to expand its "filmed entertainment" operations on various fronts, including the buyout of partners HBO and CBS in TriStar Pictures, a new production venture geared to the exploding pay cable and home video markets. The Coca-Cola era brought huge hits like *Ghostbusters* (1984) and costly flops like *Ishtar* (1987) as well as considerable turnover in the studio executive ranks after Price's 1983 departure, culminating in the disastrous stint of the British independent producer David Puttnam in 1986 and 1987.

By the late 1980s Columbia Picture's fortunes had again reached a low point; in fact, its share of the motion picture market fell to 4.5 percent in 1988 and, incredibly, to 3 percent in 1989 (versus TriStar's 6 percent share). At that point Coca-Cola decided to sell the studio to Sony, the Japanese electronics manufacturing giant that had purchased CBS Records a year earlier and now was looking for a film "software" company to complement its production of "hardware" (TVs, VCRs, and so on). In a deal brokered by Mike Ovitz, Sony bought Columbia Pictures Industries and all its assets, including TriStar, in late 1989 for $3.4 billion. A year later Sony bought the MGM Studio in Culver City, where it housed the Columbia and TriStar operations. Sony also became embroiled with Time Warner over the hiring of producers Peter Guber and Jon Peters to run Columbia-TriStar, which led to several years of management turmoil and subpar production results.

The Sony-Columbia alliance eventually coalesced under the leadership of studio veteran John Calley, who took over Sony's Motion Picture Group in 1996. In 2002 Columbia was back to the top of the industry, thanks largely to its blockbuster hits of that year, *Spider-Man* and *Men in Black II*. Calley handed off the top executive position in 2003 to another veteran studio boss, Amy Pascal, whose portfolio expanded a year later when a Sony-led media consortium acquired MGM (the producer-distributor, not the MGM studio facility, which Sony already owned) for $5 billion. Thus, Sony's Motion Picture Group, which already included Columbia, TriStar, and two indie subdivisions, Sony Pictures Classics and Screen Gems, now owned the largest film and television library in the industry, as well as the lucrative James Bond and Pink Panther franchises.

The acquisition of MGM further diminished the stature and importance of Columbia Pictures within the Sony media empire. In fact, Sony seemed far less interested in sustaining and exploiting Columbia's brand-name value than in promoting its own, and thus the emphasis in recent years has been on Sony Pictures Entertainment (SPE) rather than on Columbia Pictures. And because all of the Hollywood studios have become little more than brand names and libraries, Columbia Pictures seems to be an increasingly endangered studio.

SEE ALSO *Academy Awards®; B Movies; MGM (Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer); Paramount; RKO Radio Pictures; Star System; Stars; Studio System; Television; Twentieth Century Fox (20th Century Fox); United Artists; Universal*

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Thomas Schatz

COMEDY

In a valuable insight on the nature of comedy as a genre, Jim Leach suggests that any genre that included the comic visions of both Jerry Lewis (b. 1926) and Ernest Lubitsch (1892–1947) was already headed for trouble (Leach, 1977). Leach was encouraging a more ambitious look at multiple comedy genres, noting what most disciples of laughter have long believed—that if a genre such as comedy is classified too loosely, it loses any critical value. In the years since Leach's prophetic observations, the study of comedy has broken away from this tendency to jam everything into one generic category. Indeed, movie comedy can best be examined as six distinct genres: personality or clown comedy, populism, dark comedy, parody, romantic comedy, and screwball comedy. Additionally, individual film comedies occasionally embrace more than one type of humor, further complicating their generic categorization.

CLOWN COMEDY

Having changed the least since the beginning of cinema, the clown genre is both the most basic and the most obvious of comedy types. Unlike other, more thematic-oriented comedy approaches, the clown model is dependent upon a central comic figure or figures, such as Charlie Chaplin (1889–1977) or the Marx Brothers (Chico [1887–1961], Harpo [1888–1964], Groucho [1890–1977], and Zeppo [1901–1979]). Around them is fashioned the loosest of storylines, for clown comedy is character-driven. The story line merely provides the pretext upon which the comedian can hang his comic "shtick"—specific routines and/or variations of them, which lend themselves to the establishing of the all-important screen comedy persona. This has been so since the pioneering days of Max Linder (1883–1925) in France and John Bunny (1863–1915) in the United States. For example, Chaplin invariably showcased his underdog Tramp's ability to work a comic metamorphosis on inanimate objects. In *The Pawnshop* (1916) an alarm clock in his examination becomes everything from a medical patient to a can of beans. Chaplin himself becomes a lamp in *The Adventurer* (1917), a tree in *Shoulder Arms* (1918), and a laughing mechanical figure in *The Circus* (1928). In discussing Chaplin's use of pathos, Gerald Mast points out Chaplin's poignant use of flowers as metaphors—surrogates for beautiful heroines Charlie cannot possess, and as fragile and transitory as love. While these memorable sequences may serve a metaphoric or thematic function, they do little to advance the plot.

Other classic shtick associated with a specific comic persona includes the surrealist sight gags of Harpo Marx, such as when he pulls a blowtorch from a magic coat in *Duck Soup* (1933); Stan Laurel (1890–1965) and Oliver Hardy's (1892–1957) tit-for-tat exchanges of comic violence with any number of antagonists, as when they destroy the house of frequent nemesis James Finlayson in *Big Business* (1929); and Bob Hope's (1903–2003) spoofing romantic banter with Dorothy Lamour (1914–1996) in the *Road* pictures: "Do you want me to kiss you now, or should I tease you for a while?" (*Road to Rio*, 1947). The comic word games of Danny Kaye (1913–1987) are a key to his comedy shtick, especially in the delightful *The Court Jester* (1956), one of the best comic films ever made, in which he must remember, "the pellet with the poison's in the vessel with the pestle." In contrast, essential to Harold Lloyd's (1893–1971) persona is visual "thrill comedy," exemplified by his hanging from

Charlie makes a meal of his shoes in* The Gold Rush *(Chaplin, 1925). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

the clock in *Safety Last* (1923) and the skyscraper ledge scenes in *The Sin of Harold Diddlebock* (1947), neither of which involved trick photography. Of central importance to more modern comedy is Bob Hope's groundbreaking ability to move between the most incompetent of comic antiheroes and the cool, egotistical wise guy who purrs with satisfaction upon seeing himself in a mirror. Hope's comic duality complements modern humor's frequent fascination with the schizophrenic, especially for Hope's disciple Woody Allen (b. 1935). In contrast, Robin Williams's (b. 1951) shtick is dependent upon "saturation comedy," with seemingly improvisational-like standup material crammed with cultural references used to render his screen character, such as his comically crazed disc jockey in *Good Morning, Vietnam* (1987), where his manic radio monologues are both funny and somehow pertinent to the insanity that was the Vietnam War.

Besides the clown's specific shtick, there are three basic components to the personality-comedian approach. First, there is a penchant for physical comedy, which Walter Kerr (1967) succinctly defines as being a prisoner of one's body. Thus, besides the obvious pratfalls or sight gags one associates with Chaplin's Tramp or Jacques Tati's (1909–1982) Monsieur Hulot, personality comedians often simply look funny. Through costume, makeup, shape, or fluid contortions of face and body (best showcased today by Jerry Lewis's successor, Jim Carrey [b. 1962]), clowns telegraph their comedy. Their funny appearances are a key in the clown genre, even when the comic personality might be linked more closely to verbal humor as opposed to physical comedy. For instance, while the rapid-fire delivery of Groucho Marx is famous, it is more than a little dependent upon that mustache, hydraulic eyebrows, and distinctive stoop. Second, cinema clowns generally are underdogs who frequently exhibit comically incompetent behavior, such as when Laurel and Hardy try to put a radio on a less than user-friendly roof in *Hog Wild* (1930), or when Will

Ferrell (b. 1967) fails as a toymaker in the title role of *Elf* (2003). Even the normally dominating Groucho becomes an underdog when dealing with Harpo and Chico, as in their tour-de-force silly phone-answering sequence in *Duck Soup*. And third, outsider clowns frequently are nomadic. Fittingly, cinema's greatest clown, Chaplin, is linked closely to the picaresque through his alter ego, the wandering Tramp shuffling down life's highways. Not coincidentally, the inspired teaming of Bob Hope and Bing Crosby (1903–1977) reached its zenith in a series of *Road* pictures in which the duo comically roam the globe. The clown finds humor in new places and people through travel situations, from Harry Langdon's (1884–1944) cross-country walkathon in *Tramp, Tramp, Tramp* (1926) to Pee-Wee Herman's (Paul Reubens [b. 1952]) trip to the Alamo in *Pee-Wee's Big Adventure* (1985) and Steve Martin (b. 1945) and John Candy's (1950–1994) quest to get home in *Planes, Trains, and Automobiles* (1987). As the last title suggests, the mode of transportation itself sometimes can become joke: the machine-oriented Buster Keaton (1895–1966) led the way in this regard with his own ocean liner in *The Navigator* (1924) and in the ultimate nonstop train picture, *The General* (1927).

Most studios at some time have featured a prominent personality comedian. During the pioneering days of silent comedy, the pivotal fun factories were those of Mack Sennett (1880–1960) and Hal Roach (1892–1992), both of which released their films through Pathé, which was also the distributor for Max Linder's neglected early shorts. During the studio era, Paramount allowed its comedians more artistic freedom than other studios did, and because of this the Marx Brothers, Mae West (1893–1980), Hope and Crosby, and Martin and Lewis all did their best work there. While women have tended to be "straight" for male comics (Margaret Dumont [1882–1965] for the Marx Brothers, Paulette Goddard [1910–1990] for Charlie Chaplin), some female comics in addition to Mae West have had movie careers, including Martha Raye (1916–1994) and Lucille Ball (1911–1989), both of whom successfully carried their comedy over to television. In recent years there has been more opportunity for black comedians like Eddie Murphy (b. 1961), Cedrick the Entertainer (b. 1964), Queen Latifah (b. 1970), and Bernie Mac (b. 1958) to develop their comic persona in film.

POPULIST COMEDY

While clown comedy is the most traditional of the comic genres, dating from the beginning of cinema, populism came to the forefront during the Depression in the 1930s. The exemplar of populism is director Frank Capra (1897–1991), especially in his pivotal pictures *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town* (1936), *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* (1939), *Meet John Doe* (1941), and *It's a Wonderful Life* (1946). This underdog genre embraces the belief that the superior and majority will of the common man is forever threatened by the usurping sophisticated evil few. Consequently, populist films frequently feature politician characters, including James Stewart's title character, a senator, in *Mr. Smith*, Loretta Young's congressional candidate in *The Farmer's Daughter* (1947), Kevin Kline as the president (and the president's double) in *Dave* (1993), and Chris Rock's presidential candidate in *Head of State* (2003).

Politics notwithstanding, Capra's *It's a Wonderful Life* represents the broadest microcosm of populist basics, from its celebration of family and traditional values to its embrace of personal sacrifice for the common good. Capra added a fantasy wrinkle by giving George Bailey (James Stewart) a guardian angel when he turns suicidal. The fantasy element is important because it makes the film's populist ideology more palatable to the viewers who otherwise might find the films too sentimental. Indeed, even when fantastic events do not take place, most populist interactions are so positive that the genre has been described as a fantasy of goodwill. Many classic sports comedies are populist in nature, including *The Natural* (1984), *Major League* (1989), and *The Rookie* (2001). Central to these and all populist underdog victories is the notion of a second chance, whether it is George Bailey getting his life back (and knowing its worth) in *It's a Wonderful Life*, or a man reconnecting with his lost father in *Field of Dreams* (1989)—a movie conceived as a baseball version of the Bailey story. Baseball also allows the modern populist film to keep alive the genre's celebration of America's pastoral roots.

Though Capra and populism owe a great deal to an American cracker-barrel humor that stretches from Ben Franklin (1706–1790) to Will Rogers (1879–1935), there is much about the genre that is international in nature. At its most fundamental, populism embraces unlikely victories and revitalized families, and especially the ties between fathers and children. Also, populists ultimately do the right thing. Therefore, such recent British comedies as *Billy Elliot* (2000) and *Bend It Like Beckham* (2002) may be considered as populist comedies, and even the offbeat French film *Amelie* (*Le Fabuleux destin d'Amélie Poulain*, 2001), in which the title character (Audrey Tautou) so inventively assists others that her efforts ultimately lead to her own special rewards, is populist in spirit.

DARK COMEDY

It might be said that populism's mirror opposite is dark or black humor. This always provocative form of comedy emphasizes three interrelated themes: man as beast, the

CHARLIE CHAPLIN

b. Charles Spencer Chaplin, London, England, 16 April 1889, d. 25 December 1977

Coming from roots in the music hall tradition, Charlie Chaplin is easily the most significant of all screen comedians. Indeed, he is often called cinema's greatest figure, comic or otherwise, by film scholars and the general public alike. Because of both the everyman universality of his Tramp character and the range of Chaplin's pantomime, he remains the standard against which all cinema clowns are measured. His ability to balance comedy and pathos, as at the close of *City Lights* (1931) when the blind girl finally sees but finds the benefactor Tramp wanting, is unparalleled. This blend has become an elusive goal for other comedians from Harry Langdon to Jerry Lewis. Chaplin wrote, directed, scored, starred in, and produced his own films. Many film comedians have since failed in their attempts to equal this accomplishment, from Langdon in the silent era to Eddie Murphy in *Harlem Nights* (1989).

Chaplin's art is clearest when contrasted with his contemporary comic rival, Buster Keaton. While Keaton's world often involves doing battle with machines and/or nature, Chaplin's comic wars are with other men and society. For instance, in *The Pilgrim* (1923) Chaplin pantomimes the story of David and Goliath—a situation that informs all of Charlie's stories. Also, the epic quality of Keaton's comedy contrasts sharply with the intimacy of Chaplin's metamorphosis of small, inanimate objects, the most brilliant example of this being the fanciful forked dinner rolls that suddenly become dancing feet in *The Gold Rush* (1925). While Keaton's world is often about a cerebral take on twentieth-century absurdity, Chaplin's oeuvre is all about heartfelt nineteenth-century romanticism, from the films with perennial short-subject actress Edna Purviance such as *The Immigrant* (1917) to the plucky gamin played by Paulette Goddard in *Modern Times* (1936) to Claire Bloom in *Limelight* (1952).

Chaplin's legacy keys upon the genre of personality comedy, but he was also a pivotal architect of dark comedy. There was always an undercurrent of black humor in Charlie's pictures, as in his thoughts of pitching the baby down the sewer in *The Kid* (1921). But with *The Great Dictator* (1940) and *Monsieur Verdoux* (1947), Chaplin produced two pioneering classics of dark comedy. In *Verdoux*, his first complete break with the Charlie-the-Tramp persona, Chaplin plays a character who makes a business of marrying and then murdering little old ladies.

Chaplin also cofounded United Artists, a distribution company for independent productions, with film pioneers Douglas Fairbanks, Mary Pickford, and D. W. Griffith. But, his shocking persona in *Monsieur Verdoux* alienated many fans, and in the midst of Cold War hysteria Chaplin, who had never become a US citizen, was barred in 1952 from re-entering the country. Of his last few films, *Limelight* is noteworthy as his summary statement on the power of comedy.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

The Immigrant (1917), *Shoulder Arms* (1918), *The Kid* (1921), *The Pilgrim* (1923), *The Gold Rush* (1925), *The Circus* (1928), *City Lights* (1931), *Modern Times* (1936), *The Great Dictator* (1940), *Monsieur Verdoux* (1947), *Limelight* (1952)

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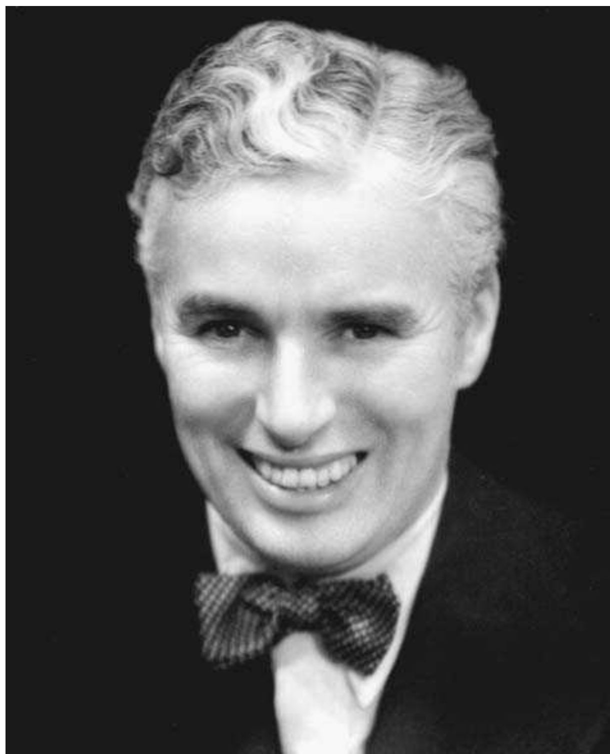
Wes D. Gehring

absurdity of the world, and the omnipresence of death. While populism views human nature as inherently good and the world as rational, with life after death, the blackly comic worlds of *Dr. Strangelove or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb* (1964) and *Catch-22* (1970) typically make life out to be a cosmic joke. At its essence, dark humor skewers society's most sacred serious subjects—especially death. For instance, what could be more seemingly tasteless than comedy based on teen suicide, as in *Harold and Maude* (1971) and *Heathers* (1989)? Both



***Charlie Chaplin in 1936, the year of* Modern Times.**
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films depict a dysfunctional family, which is typical of the genre; *Igby Goes Down* (2002) features teenage brothers assisting in the suicide of their mother, in a more recent variation on this theme.

In black comedies randomness is as prevalent in suicides as in the frustrating lives that drive characters to desperation. *Reuben, Reuben* (1983) documents an accidental suicide (an overwhelmed writer dies by accidental hanging after he decides to abort the suicide attempt), and in *Crimes of the Heart* (1986) Sissy Spacek's off-center child of the South fails at many attempts at suicide, then decides against it, only to accidentally knock herself out trying to remove her head from the oven. Unlike populism, which preaches hope even in death, the message of dark comedy is that there is no message. The genre has been described as "beyond a joke" or "anticomedy" because it fights the new beginnings associated with most types of laughter. Black humor further keeps its audience on edge ("Am I supposed to be laughing here?") by often fragmenting its narrative, as in *Slaughterhouse-Five* (1972) and *Pulp Fiction* (1994).

Dark humor was fueled by the writings of Charles Darwin (1809–1882) and Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), whose works helped accelerate the decentralization of the individual in the grand scheme of things. Darwin's then-revolutionary claims about evolution and Freud's emphasis on the once-taboo subject of sexuality and the unconscious provide a solid foundation for black comedy. Freud was fascinated by this genre, as in the tale of the fellow heading for the gallows who asked for a neckerchief to guard against catching a cold. For Freud, dark comedy was a defense mechanism against the inevitability of death.

Like life, dark comedy is disjointed. It keeps the viewer off balance with shock effects that are visual, such as the leg protruding from the wood shredder in *Fargo* (1996) by Joel (b. 1954) and Ethan Coen (b. 1957), and/or auditory, as in Malcolm McDowell's warbling of Gene Kelly's beloved standard "Singin' in the Rain" as he stomps people to death in *A Clockwork Orange* (1971). Indeed, black humor is the only film genre (comic or otherwise) that uses a musical score at cross purposes to the visual, as in the *Harold and Maude* funeral scene where the removal of a coffin runs into a John Philip Sousa–playing marching band that just happens to be passing the church. This edgy genre offers conflicting cues to the viewer instead of simply reinforcing the status quo (as for example, violin music would in a romantic comedy).

More controversial is how black humor treats institutions of the establishment such as psychiatry, religion, and the military, which routinely insist that this is a rational world. *Harold and Maude* effectively skewers each one when the troubled teen Harold (Bud Cort) repeatedly says that a counseling trio (a priest, a psychiatrist, and an uncle in the army) do not have a clue about life. The damaging "guidance" they offer recalls Raymond Durgnat's suggestion that whenever sanctimonious society suggests how sacred life is to us, we are drawn to dark comedies that showcase death and destruction (*The Crazy Mirror*).

While there have always been cinematic dark comedies, *Dr. Strangelove* brought the genre to center stage. Throughout the 1960s, America's interest in black humor was further fueled by growing social disillusionment, and there were dark-humor movements in both 1960s stand-up comedy (Lenny Bruce, George Carlin) and literature (Joseph Heller, Kurt Vonnegut). But there was a long tradition to draw upon, given the horrors of World War II. Chaplin produced two watershed dark comedies at this time—*The Great Dictator* (1940), his take on Hitler, followed by the urbane Bluebeard tale *Monsieur Verdoux* (1947). The latter picture was the catalyst for a series of black-comedy gems from the genre's most honored studio—England's Ealing. From *Kind Hearts and Coronets* (1949) to *The Ladykillers* (1955), Ealing specialized in amiable dark humor. England has long had a proclivity for this genre, from

M. Hulot (Jacques Tati) in the center of **Trafic** ***(*****Traffic*****, Tati, 1971).*** EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

the casual killing of royal wives in *The Private Life of Henry VIII* (1933) to the inspired mayhem of the Monty Python movies—especially *Life of Brian* (1979), the irreverent religious parable that parallels the story of Christ. Quentin Tarantino (*Pulp Fiction*), the Coen brothers (*Fargo*), and Paul Thomas Anderson (*Boogie Nights*, 1997, and *Magnolia*, 1999) are the new American *auteurs* of dark comedy, and Guy Ritchie (*Lock, Stock, and Two Smoking Barrels*, 1998, and *Snatch*, 2000) has continued the tradition in England.

PARODY

Parodies replicate the familiar elements of a given genre, *auteur*, or specific work, and at the same time subject it to a fresh comic twist. These spoofing variations are demonstrated best by Mel Brooks (b. 1926): his *Blazing Saddles* (1974) is a takeoff on westerns; *High Anxiety* (1977) tweaks the mystery-thrillers of Alfred Hitchcock (1899–1980); and *Young Frankenstein* (1974) warmly kids Universal's horror films of the 1930s. Parody is often confused with satire, which aggressively attacks the flaws and follies of society, as in *Wag the Dog* (1997), a biting examination of a Clintonesque president using a nonexistent (staged) war to distract the public from a sex scandal. Parody is essentially *affectionate* in nature, without satire's goal of offering a corrective to behavior.

Parody has been around since cinema's beginning. The comic pioneer Mack Sennett was at his best when spoofing the melodramatic adventure pictures of his mentor, D. W. Griffith (1875–1948). Sennett's *Teddy at the Throttle* (1916) poked fun at Griffith's penchant for the last-minute rescue, as in the close of the controversial classic *The Birth of a Nation* (1915). While it usually has a specific target, the spoof film is peppered with eclectic references to other ''texts.'' Although *Airplane!* (1980) makes parodic mincemeat of the *Airport* movies of the 1970s, it also pricks films from other genres, as in the opening credit, which deflates *Jaws* (1977), and the lovers' beach scene, which skewers *From Here to Eternity* (1953).

Parody is often enhanced by various direct links to earlier films. For example, Brooks was able to locate and use the original laboratory sets from the 1931 *Frankenstein* in his *Young Frankenstein*. Moreover, he further replicated the look of the period by shooting his spoof in black and white and using 1930s techniques such as the iris-out and the wipe. Sometimes casting also adds to the parody interest. The Bob Hope spoof of what would become known as *film noir*, *My Favorite Brunette* (1947) casts celebrated *noir* performer Alan Ladd in a key scene. Similarly, Hope's western spoof *Alias Jesse James* (1959) closes with a corral full of sagebrush cameos ranging from Jay Silverheels (Tonto of *Lone Ranger* fame) to Gary Cooper, an actor often associated with the genre. Spoofing artists also recycle old film footage, as in *Dead Men Don't Wear Plaid* (Carl Reiner, 1982), which inserts extensive footage from numerous 1940s *noir* masterworks so that Steve Martin seems to interact with a who's who of the genre, including Humphrey Bogart and Alan Ladd. Similarly, Marty Feldman's *The Last Remake of Beau Geste* (1977) had the comedian interacting, via old footage from *Beau Geste* (1939), with Gary Cooper.

Beyond mainstream parody is an edgier type that fluctuates between spoofing deflation and reaffirmation of the genre under attack; ironically, these parodies are often grouped into the genres they target. A perfect example is *An American Werewolf in London* (John Landis, 1981), in which broad parody (such as the use of the songs "Bad Moon Rising" and several versions of "Blue Moon") alternates with shocking horror (graphic violence and painfully realistic werewolf transformations). This produces a fascinating tension between genre expectations (in this case, horror genre expectations) and parody that is comic without generic deflation. The *Scream* trilogy (Wes Craven, 1996, 1997, 2000) works in a similar way but adds an increasingly popular parodic component, referential self-consciousness, with its characters talking about horror film characters.

ROMANTIC COMEDY

Whereas romantic and screwball comedy both have fun with the courtship process, romantic comedy is serious about love itself, and screwball comedy treats it as a joke. Consequently, at the heart of many romantic comedies are the painful realities that come from opening one's self to love. The men (Tom Hanks and David Duchovny) are devastated by the deaths of their beloved wives at the beginnings of *Sleepless in Seattle* (1993) and *Return to Me* (2000), respectively. In *Love Affair* (1939) and its two remakes, *An Affair to Remember* (1957) and *Love Affair* (1994), a nearly fatal automobile accident causes a misunderstanding that almost sabotages a fragile chance for love.

Although romantic comedy is usually traditional in its take on courtship, both romantic partners tend to be hesitant in their maneuvering toward couplehood. Although the man typically plays the catalyst, he often simply has to grow up. This is the scenario in such staples of the genre as *10* (1979), *The Sure Thing* (1985), *When Henry Met Sally . . .* (1989), and *High Fidelity* (2000). In some stories the man has to work through other issues, such as mental illness in *As Good as It Gets* (1997), and the discovery that one's lover received a heart transplant from his late wife in *Return to Me*.

Romantic comedy's predisposition for serious or melodramatic overtones need not go beyond the pain associated with the search for love. The title character of *Sabrina* (1954) attempts suicide when the hurt over romance becomes more than she can stand. Sometimes the genre's quiet desperation has overtones of Cyrano de Bergerac, where concerns about appearance derail romance, as with the low self-esteem of Abby in *The Truth About Cats and Dogs* (1996), or in the modern *Cyrano* story, *Roxanne* (1987), in which Steve Martin sports a beak that would have impressed Jimmy Durante (1893–1980). *Never Been Kissed* (2000) provides a quick-witted crash course in romantic pain as the heroine revisits an assortment of failed relationships.

A pivotal component of romantic comedy is the affectionate celebration of love by older couples; an example is the romantic testimonials that pepper *When Harry Met Sally. . . .* Not surprisingly, these older players sometimes double as matchmakers, as in *I.Q.* (1994) and *Return to Me*. Sometimes these figures become poignant agents in unexpected ways. For instance, in *Love Affair* and its two remakes, the close relationship between the male lead and his grandmother is central to the love story. In each film the heroine falls for a playboy, but it is not until she sees him through the eyes of this adoring grandmother that he becomes relationship material.

Ultimately, Jack Nicholson's line from *As Good as It Gets*, "You make me want to be a better person," could be a mantra for the genre. Unlike screwball comedy, which puts up a funny be yourself fight to and avoids comic rigidity, romantic comedy is about changing and embracing a broader humanity. In *Woman of the Year* (1942) and *Adam's Rib* (1949), the best of the Katharine Hepburn (1907–2003) Spencer Tracy (1900–1967) classic teamings in the genre, the heroine has to rectify behavior that threatens her marriage. In both stories her career drive and her patently regal manner have gotten in the way of being a good spouse. This defrosting of the ice-goddess persona, which became a Tracy-Hepburn theme, had its start in the memorable romantic comedy *The Philadelphia Story* (1940).

WOODY ALLEN

b. Allen Stewart Konigsberg, Brooklyn, New York, 1 December 1935

After Charlie Chaplin, Woody Allen is the most significant comedy *auteur* in American film history. For more than thirty years Allen, like Chaplin, has written, directed, and starred in groundbreaking comedies at the rate of nearly a film a year since his first movie, *What's New, Pussycat?* (1965). Allen also has demonstrated a gift for literary humor, and his writing for *The New Yorker* magazine resulted in three well-received books: *Getting Even* (1971), *Without Feathers* (1975), and *Side Effects* (1980). He started his career as a gag writer for Sid Caesar and in 1961 began to perform his own material as a stand-up comic in clubs, on records, and on college campuses.

After having been disappointed at the treatment of his script for *Pussycat*, Allen assumed the role of director for the first time with *Take the Money and Run* (1969). Similar to Chaplin's tramp in *Modern Times* (1936), Allen's screen persona is the urban antihero derailed by modern life. But for all his admiration of Chaplin, Allen's screen character borrows more from Bob Hope, who in the 1940s helped to usher in a new breed of personality comedian, one who fluctuated between the most incompetent of comic antiheroes and the cool, egotistical wise guy. In *Sleeper* (1973) Allen even sounds like Hope, with comic lines such as "We're here to see the nose. We hear it's running."

While Allen's greatest legacy is as a personality comedian who flirts with art-house issues, especially the topics showcased in *Love and Death*, Allen is also a pivotal auteur of modern romantic comedy. His multiple-Oscar®-winning film *Annie Hall* (which won awards for Best Picture, Direction, and Writing) is perhaps the most influential romantic comedy in the second half of the twentieth century. The increasingly intellectual angst of Allen's urban misfit initially showcased a great deal of visual comedy, whether trying to play a cello in a marching band (*Take the Money and Run*, 1969); weathering the delightfully nervous meeting of a blind date (*Play It Again, Sam*, 1972); or trying to catch runaway lobsters and kill spiders (*Annie Hall*, 1977).

Although clowning and romantic comedy are his greatest strengths, he is equally capable of such diverse pictures as *Interiors* (1978), a Bergmaneque chamber drama, the Buster Keaton–like fantasy *The Purple Rose of Cairo* (1985), and *Crimes and Misdemeanors* (1989), a darkly comic work on the nature of morality and conscience reminiscent of Chaplin's pioneering black comedy *Monsieur Verdoux* (1947). Still, Allen's importance to American comedy cannot be emphasized strongly enough. Like another of Allen's heroes, Robert Benchley, Allen could juggle writing for *The New Yorker* and create inspired film comedy; but not even Benchley wrote and directed his own features. Unfortunately, again like Chaplin, scandals in Allen's personal life have distracted audiences from his art and diminished his fan base.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Take the Money and Run (1969), *Bananas* (1971), *Play It Again, Sam* (1972), *Sleeper* (1973), *Love and Death* (1975), *Annie Hall* (1977), *Manhattan* (1979), *Stardust Memories* (1980), *Broadway Danny Rose* (1984), *The Purple Rose of Cairo* (1985), *Hannah and Her Sisters* (1986), *Radio Days* (1987), *Crimes and Misdemeanors* (1989), *Bullets Over Broadway* (1994), *Everyone Says I Love You* (1996), *Deconstructing Harry* (1997), *Match Point* (2005)

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Wes D. Gehring

SCREWBALL COMEDY

Screwball comedy is perhaps the most misunderstood of the comic genres. More than merely outrageous comedy, screwball comedy is essentially a spoof of romantic comedy. A second cousin to farce, screwball comedy flowered during the Great Depression, when the new censorship code (1934) necessitated sex comedies without sex. In the topsy-turvy Depression era the old

Woody Allen as the jester in* Everything You Always Wanted to Know About Sex but Were Afraid to Ask *(Allen, 1972).
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"boy-meets-girl" formula was turned on its ear, with screwball comedy presenting a zany, woman-dominated courtship of a male who often is unaware that open season has arrived.

A popular screwball formula has an antiheroic male who is under the thumb of a dominating fiancée, only to be liberated by a free-spirited female. A signature example of this is Howard Hawks's *Bringing Up Baby* (1938), in which a paleontologist played by Cary Grant is henpecked by the fittingly named fiancée, Miss Swallow (Virginia Walker), then romantically rescued from deadly rigidity by the livewire, Susan Vance (Katharine Hepburn). That film was inventively remade by director Peter Bogdanovich as *What's Up, Doc?* (1972), and there have been countless variations on the story—the most brilliant being *Arthur* (1981) by writer-director Steve Gordon, with Dudley Moore as a lovable lush.

The genre's free-spirited heroine exercises her own control over the screwball male. Stanley Cavell (1981) likens her power position to that of a director within the picture. An example is Jean Harrington's (Barbara Stanwyck) running commentary on the progress of the handsome but awkward and naïve Charles Pike (Henry Fonda), reflected in her makeup mirror, as he enters the ship's dining room in *The Lady Eve* (1941). She ultimately asserts control by tripping her prey and dazzling him with sex appeal. The year before, in *My Favorite Wife* (1940), Ellen Wagstaff Arden (Irene Dunne) directs her husband (Grant) on what to say and do when telling his second wife that spouse number one (Dunne) has returned from the grave.

Laughter (1900), the landmark theory of comic superiority by the French philosopher Henri Bergson (1859–1941), anticipates screwball comedy in typing comic character development as "absentmindedness," "inversion," and role-switching (pp. 68, 174–175). Bergson all but describes the absent-minded professor, a central male figure in screwball comedy from Grant's roles in *Bringing Up Baby* and *Monkey Business* (1952) to similar characters played by James Stewart in *Vivacious Lady* (1938), Henry Fonda in *The Lady Eve*, Gary Cooper in *Ball on Fire* (1941), and Ryan O'Neal in *What's Up, Doc?*

Diane Keaton and Woody Allen search for love in **Annie Hall** ***(Allen, 1977).*** EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

But even without a sheepskin, screwball males tend to be absent-minded antiheroes who add to their own (comic) frustration by trying to be rational in an irrational world. Bergson's "inversion" is apparent in the screwball formula's dominant woman, instead of the demure heroine normally associated with romance. The male is first victimized and then rescued by this strong, free-spirited woman. Appropriately, the birth and initial success of screwball comedy was tied to a period of transition in American humor when the antihero was in ascendancy over the capable cracker-barrel figure. Coincidentally, early literary proponents of the antihero, such as James Thurber (1894–1961), also showcased this phenomenon in the "battle of sexes," which provided more fodder for screwball comedy.

Other themes that carried over from the Depression era include screwball comedy's fascination with the idle rich, and with the eccentric romantic couplings of members of different social classes, as with the characters played by Claudette Colbert and Clark Gable in *It Happened One Night* (1934) and Dudley Moore and Liza Minnelli in *Arthur*. As the title of *Nothing Sacred* (1937) suggests, while these films love to spoof romance, they do often end happily, ultimately endorsing love. Cavell refers to a number of these films as "comedies of remarriage," a genre in which the woman is married and the thrust of the plot is not to bring the central pair together but reunite them after separation and divorce (Cavell, 1981). Other subjects satirized by screwball comedy range from the aforementioned academics to professions such as journalism (*His Girl Friday*, 1940, and *Runaway Bride*, 1999), the law (*The Awful Truth*, 1937, *All of Me*, 1984), and even cinema itself (*The Princess Comes Across*, 1936, and *America's Sweethearts*, 2001).

For many the comedy genres are not as impressive as the self-conscious angst of serious drama. But in the final analysis, comic art seems so much more honest and universally pertinent to the various hurts we all quietly (and sometimes not so quietly) suffer. And by topping it off with a comedy-produced smile of recognition, these various formulas for funny gift us with a minor victory we might not otherwise have known.

SEE ALSO *Genre; Parody; Populism; Romantic Comedy; Screwball Comedy; Slapstick Comedy*

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Wes D. Gehring

COMICS AND COMIC BOOKS

Both comics and cinema had important forebears in the mid-nineteenth century, but they emerged roughly contemporaneously in the 1890s. Each medium was quickly adopted as a mode of popular visual narrative, sharing a common history of being perceived as inferior aspects of early-twentieth-century mass culture. While many filmmakers sought to cast off these low associations through the construction of middle-class movie palaces and adaptations of classic works of literature, for the most part comics maintained their association with children's media. Thus, film underwent a thorough modernizing process, but comics, for the most part, did not. The history of these popular forms in the twentieth century can be read as film's rise from suspect technology to prominence as the most important art form of the age while comics retained their original degraded status and have rarely, albeit increasingly, been accorded the status of art.

COMIC STRIPS ON FILM

The forerunners of comic books in the United States were newspaper comic strips, and filmmakers were quick to capitalize on many of their successes. Appearing nationally in the pages of hundreds of daily newspapers, the best-known comic strips were an integral part of the everyday culture of millions of Americans. Moving the antics of these characters to the screen was an obvious way to launch successful film franchises. Starting in 1902, for example, Biograph created a series of film versions of Frederick Burr Opper's *Alphonse and Gaston* comic strip. In 1904, Edwin S. Porter (1870–1941) directed an adaptation of Richard F. Outcault's *Buster Brown*, and in 1915 Larry Semon (1889–1928) directed a version of George McManus's popular strip about Irish immigrants, *Bringing Up Father*. Based on the comic strip by Chic Young, Columbia released twenty-eight *Blondie* films starring Penny Singleton (1908–2003) and Arthur Lake (1905–1987) between 1938 and 1950, making it the most successful film series that originated from golden-age comic strips. These films demonstrated the extent to which popular comic strips could be successfully adapted to the screen in the studio era.

Not all strips, however, were the subject of their own features. The ongoing nature of many newspaper comic strips, particularly action-adventure strips, were strongly suggestive of weekly film serials. Among the most notable strip that was adapted to the screen in this way was *Ace Drummond*, which became a thirteen-part Columbia live-action serial (1935–1940) based on the strip by Eddie Rickenbacker. Chester Gould's extremely popular strip, *Dick Tracy*, was the source for three Republic serials in the 1930s and 1940s, as Alex Raymond's *Flash Gordon* was for five Universal serials starring Buster Crabbe.

Serials also drew on the newly emergent comic book format. The first popular comic book characters, Superman and Batman, were created in 1938 and 1939 respectively, in the midst of the serial era. Batman was the subject of a relatively unsuccessful Columbia serial in 1943 and remained neglected until the 1966 television show and its spin-off feature. Superman, portrayed by Kirk Alyn (1910–1999) in a 1948 serial, was a larger transmedia success after the comic book had already spun off a newspaper comic strip, a radio show, and a series of animated short films. These Fleischer Studios *Superman* shorts were not the only animated films based on popular comic strips of the period. Beginning in 1913, Bud Fisher's strip *Mutt and Jeff* became the subject of more

than three hundred animated shorts, some of which were directed by the cartoonist himself. A similarly enduring series of animated films was derived from the Popeye characters created by Elzie C. Segar. Fleischer Studios created 234 *Popeye* shorts between 1933 and 1957, making Popeye one of the most enduring characters in animation history. It is likely that the animated versions of the Popeye characters are now far better known than the original source material.

The adaptation of comic strip characters has continued despite the demise of the serial form and the cinematic animated short. Since the 1990s, many adaptations have sought to expand the typical three-panel daily gag into a full-length feature. This is often accomplished by filmmakers who attempt to capture the spirit of the source material without being faithful to the short's formal structure. *Dennis the Menace* (Nick Castle, 1993) strings together a plot from a variety of stock situations featured in Hank Ketcham's long-running single-panel daily strip. Similarly, *Garfield* (Peter Hewitt, 2004) expands on the primary themes of Jim Davis's extremely popular gag strip. Arguably, the most successful films of this type were the *Addams Family* films (1991 and 1993) directed by Barry Sonnenfeld (b. 1953), which were based on *The New Yorker* cartoons of Charles Addams. The success of these films, however, may be more dependent on the sensibility of the television show (1964–1967) that was also derived from Addams's work.

Strips with stronger continuities have also been the subject of feature films, often with palpable nostalgic feelings about them that are derived not only from the strips themselves but also from the derivative media. It is striking, for example, that three golden-age comic strips that were adapted as serials or shorts later became features. In 1980, Mike Hodges (b. 1932) directed *Flash Gordon*, an homage to both the Alex Raymond strip and the famous serials that it had inspired. That same year Robert Altman (b. 1925) directed an adaptation of *Popeye* using a screenplay by *Village Voice* cartoonist Jules Feiffer (b. 1929) that stayed closer to the sensibility of the Segar comic strip than to the better-known Fleischer cartoons. In 1990, Warren Beatty (b. 1937) directed and starred in a hyperstylized version of *Dick Tracy* that paid close attention to the unique visual styling of Gould's comic strip.

AMERICAN COMIC BOOKS ON FILM

The relationship between comics and film has been explored further by filmmakers inspired not by newspaper strips but by comic books. Since the end of World War II, American comic books have been dominated by the superhero genre, and the last decades of the twentieth century saw an explosion of superhero-related movies as major summer releases, beginning in 1978 with the version of *Superman* by Richard Donner (b. 1930), starring Christoper Reeve, and its assorted sequels. The superhero blockbuster was elevated to another level in 1989 with the version of *Batman* by Tim Burton and its three sequels in the 1990s and a fourth in 2005. Both film series were financed by Warner Bros., a division of TimeWarner, and based on characters published by DC Comics, another division of TimeWarner. These synergistic films set the standards for future superhero movies and were followed by a host of imitators, many of which were inspired by lesser-known characters published by smaller comic book companies. These included *The Crow* (1994), *Tank Girl* (1995), *Judge Dredd* (1995), *Barb Wire* (1996), *Men in Black* (1997), *Spawn* (1997), *The League of Extraordinary Gentlemen* (2003), and *Hellboy* (2004).

During the superhero film explosion of the 1990s, the rights to many popular characters published by Marvel Comics were tied up with small, independent film companies that were unable to bring the characters to the screen. By the end of the decade, however, Marvel had regained these rights and began to license its characters in a wide array of films. The most popular of these were *X-Men* (Bryan Singer, 2000 and 2003) and *Spider-Man* (Sam Raimi, 2002 and 2004). Less successful were *Daredevil* (2003), *The Punisher* (2004), and the adaptation of *Hulk* (2003) directed by Ang Lee (b. 1954).

Despite the centrality of the superhero in postwar American comic book production, a number of other genres have been fruitfully explored, and many nonsuperhero comic books have been adapted to film. Children's comics, for example, have been the basis of several works, often nostalgically reviving classic comic book characters long after they had ceased to be published. Harvey Comics published the long-running *Richie Rich*, which was the source for a 1994 film by the same name, and in 2001 Archie Comics's *Josie and the Pussycats* was adapted to the screen.

In a very different tradition, the underground comics revolution of the 1960s resulted in a spate of adult-themed films rooted in their subversive style. Among the best-known of these works is *Fritz the Cat* (1972) and its sequel, *The Nine Lives of Fritz the Cat* (1974), by Ralph Bakshi (b. 1938). These were based on the character created by the cartoonist Robert Crumb (b. 1943), who was so appalled by Bakshi's films that he killed off the comic book form of the character in an attempt to distance himself from Bakshi's version. Post-underground comics were also the source material for films, including Altman's *O. C. and Stiggs* (1987), based on the *National Lampoon*–published comic strip, and *American Splendor* (2003), based on Harvey Pekar's autobiographical comic

Christopher Reeve leaps tall buildings in a single bound in* Superman *(1978). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

book series. Other adult-targeted works based on comics in nontraditional genres include the Jack the Ripper story, *From Hell* (Hughes Brothers, 2001), based on the comic book by Alan Moore and Eddie Campbell, and *Ghost World* (2000), adapted for the screen by Daniel Clowes (b. 1961) from his own graphic novel.

COMIC BOOK FILMS IN EUROPE AND ASIA

While the United States is a global leader in the production of films based on comic strips and books, it is hardly the only player on the field. In Europe, for example, while not as widely respected as cinema, comics are more widely celebrated than they are in America. Despite this fact, fewer comic book series have been adapted to film. In the 1960s, Belgium's most celebrated comic book hero, Tintin, became the star of two live-action films starring Jean-Pierre Talbot (b. 1943) as the intrepid boy reporter. Tintin was later the subject of a series of animated films. Neither series was particularly successful, especially in relation to the overwhelming global popularity of the comic books. Perhaps the most famous comic-book-to-film transformation in Europe is *Barbarella* (Roger Vadim, 1968), with Jane Fonda (b. 1937) as Jean-Claude Forest's queen of the galaxy, now celebrated as a camp classic. At the turn of the century, the highly popular *Astérix* comic books by René Goscinny and Albert Uderzo were made into three French blockbusters: *Astérix et Obélix contre César* (*Asterix and Obelix vs. Caesar*, 1999), *Astérix et Obélix: Mission Cléopâtre* (*Asterix and Obelix: Mission Cleopatra*, 2002, and *Astérix et les Vikings* (*Asterix and the Vikings*, 2006). Similarly, Jean-Michel Charlier and Jean Giraud's revisionist western comic series, *Blueberry*, became a big-budget international coproduction starring Vincent Cassel (b. 1966) in 2004.

Another nation whose film culture is inextricably linked to its comics culture is Japan. The relationship between *manga* (Japanese comic books) and *anime* (Japanese animation) is very close, with popular comic books regularly transformed into animated series made for film and television, and popular films often re-created as comic book series. Exemplary in this area is the work of Osamu Tezuka, the most celebrated cartoonist in Japan, whose many works to have been adapted to film include *Hi No Tori* (*The Phoenix*, 1978), *Shin Tetsuwan Atom* (*Astroboy*, 1980), and *Kimba the White Lion* (1966).

Among the most popular of Japanese transmedia hits are *Akira* (1988) and the *Crying Freeman*, *Dragon Ball Z*, *Maison Ikkoku*, and *Silent Möbius* films of the 1980s and 1990s, among hundreds of other examples. Hayao Miyazaki (b. 1941) is one of the most famous filmmakers whose works, including *Kaze no tani no Naushika* (*Nausicaä of the Valley of the Winds*, 1984), are available as both comics and films. Manga series are also produced as live-action adaptations, though less often. One example is Kazuo Koike and Goseki Kojima's 9,000 page samurai epic, *Kozure Ôkami* (*Lone Wolf and Cub*), which was partially adapted as a series of six films between 1972 and 1974.

THE CARTOONIST-FILMMAKER CONNECTION

Artists like Miyazaki highlight the considerable overlap that exists between the realms of cinema and comics. A number of cartoonists have moved from the production of comic books to the creation of films in various capacities. As early as 1911, for example, Winsor McCay (1871–1934), creator of the comic strip *Little Nemo in Slumberland*, was experimenting with animation in films like *Little Nemo* and then *Gertie the Dinosaur* (1914). Other artists have taken on specialized roles in film production. One obvious example of overlap is the area of storyboarding, a specialization pursued by comic book artists like Paul Chadwick and Howard Chaykin at various points in their careers. A large number of cartoonists and comic book writers have written screenplays, including Jules Feiffer and Frank Miller (b. 1957). Cartoonists have also become film directors, though less frequently. The celebrated Yugoslavian cartoonist Enki Bilal (b. 1951), for example, wrote and directed three feature films: *Bunker Palace Hôtel* (1989), *Tykho Moon* (1996), and *Immortel (ad vitam)* (2004), based on his comics *La Foire aux Immortels* (*The Carnival of Immortals*) and *La Femme Piège* (*The Woman Trap*). Similarly, Sylvain Chomet (b. 1963) moved from comics to directing animated films, including the Academy Award®–nominated short *La Vieille Dame et les Pigeons* (*The Old Lady and the Pigeons*, 1998) and *Les Triplettes de Belleville* (*The Triplets of Belleville*, 2003).

While it is less common for filmmakers to move from film to comics, it is not unheard of. Significantly, Kevin Smith (b. 1970) used his fame as an independent filmmaker to establish a side career as the writer of the superhero comic book series *Daredevil* and *The Green Arrow*, and Joss Whedon (b. 1964) created his own comic book, *Fray*, based on his *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* film and television series. Perhaps the best-known filmmaker to work in comics was Federico Fellini (1920–1993), who authored two graphic novels with the artist Milo Manara (b. 1945): *Viaggio a Tulum* (1989) and *Il Viaggio di G. Mastorna* (1992).

The extent of the exchange between film and comics suggests the shared ancestry of the two media and the elements that bind them as visual narrative forms. While film has greatly outpaced comics in terms of developing material for audiences beyond children, recent comics-to-film adaptations, particularly in the superhero genre, indicate that much of the appeal for filmmakers in comics is precisely this affiliation with children's culture. At the same time, it is clear that the stage is only now set technologically for a vast explosion of films based on comic books. Advances in computer-generated animation and special effects since the mid-1990s have allowed filmmakers to capture the sense of the fantastic that is a hallmark of many successful comic book series. New developments such as the digital backlot promise to push this ability even further. Interestingly, two of the first four films created entirely on digital backlots were based on comic books and directed by the creators of those comics: *Immortel (ad vitam)* and *Sin City* (2005), which was directed by Frank Miller and Robert Rodriguez (b. 1968) and based on Miller's comic book series by the same name. As film technology changes, the distinctions between comics and film will continue to decrease.

SEE ALSO *Adaptation; Animation; Cartoons; Children's Films*

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Bart Beaty

CO-PRODUCTIONS

"Co-production" is a broad term that may apply to any form of co-financing or financial, creative, and technical collaboration involved in the production of a film. Co-productions have been notable at various points throughout cinema history and have proven to be a crucial means of feature film production in the world. European countries especially have used co-production as a strategy for making films with relatively high budgets and greater access to more markets, but there is no nation that does not now engage in co-production of one sort or another. Co-productions thus represent a dominant trend in film production that is increasingly global in orientation—to the detriment, some argue, of nationally or locally relevant cinematic traditions and cultures.

Manjunath Pendakur has usefully identified four categories of co-production: (1) public- and private-sector co-productions in a given country; (2) public- and private-sector co-productions of different countries; (3) private capital from different countries; and (4) treaty co-productions (1990). While co-productions, then, need not involve the participation of more than one country, the majority of films made under this rubric are understood to do so; in this sense, most films that are considered co-productions are in fact international co-productions. While the factors that have given rise to this type of filmmaking are varied, the presence of Hollywood cinema—as a threat and competitor, or as a facilitator and mutually beneficial collaborator—is a common thread that weaves its way through the history of and debates concerning co-productions.

"FILM EUROPE" AND THE EARLY SOUND FILM

Co-productions arose as a means to enhance collaboration between countries with small, struggling, or ambitious production industries so as to pool resources and compete in an international market with Hollywood cinema. The so-called Film Europe movement in the latter half of the 1920s was the first concerted effort in this regard. By guaranteeing to import each other's films, European film industries could expect higher box-office revenues, which could then be used to increase the production budgets of their films and potentially compete with American films. The German producer Erich Pommer (1889–1966) was at the forefront of the Film Europe movement. As head of Universum Film Aktiengesellschaft (Ufa), the single strongest film firm in Europe, Pommer encouraged the production of big-budget films (e.g. *Die Nibelungen* [*Siegfried/Kriemhild's Revenge*, 1924], *Tartüff* [*Tartuffe*, 1926], *Metropolis* [1927]), but Germany's market was too limited to recoup the high production costs. His negotiations in 1924 with one of the major French distributors yielded the first bilateral film import deal between two European countries. Over the next four years others followed, and the European film industries, with Germany, France, and Great Britain at the forefront, built the base for a cooperative continental market that slowly reduced the number of American imports and replaced them with European product.

The coming of sound to Europe in 1929 cut Film Europe short, but it also made possible the first wave of international co-productions. National import quotas or bans on foreign-language films in several countries marked sound films from the beginning as a potential threat to national culture and a problem for both the European and American film industries. The latter found it necessary to produce films adapted to national markets in order to satisfy the requirement for films in

other languages as well as to avoid import quotas, and it did so by producing multiple language versions, or MLVs. In 1930 American studios began to invest heavily in the European film industry to make MLVs, either by importing Europeans (or, in the case of the Latin American markets, Latin Americans) to Hollywood or by setting up production centers in Europe. The building by Paramount of a studio complex in Joinville near Paris is the most famous of these, in 1930 and 1931 turning out a total of 150 films in as many as 14 languages. Quickly, all the major American studios established similar facilities in Paris, London, and Berlin. The first MLV—*Atlantic* (*Titanic: Disaster in the Atlantic* in the United States)—was not, however, Hollywood produced, but European, a 1929 Anglo-German co-production directed by E. A. Dupont (1891–1956) in English and German at Elstree in England. European MLVs continued to be made throughout the early 1930s (*Die Dreigroschenoper/L'Opéra de quat'sous* [*The Threepenny Opera*, 1930] and *Der Kongreß tanzt/Le Congrès s'amuse* [*The Congress Dances*, 1931] most notably), though the vast majority were produced under the auspices of Hollywood studios. While MLV production was dropped in the mid-1930s for the cheaper solutions of dubbing or subtitling, it is noteworthy as the first concerted period of international co-production in cinema history.

THE POSTWAR ERA

The next major period of co-productions extended from the end of the 1940s to the mid-1970s. With the direct assistance of the US government, Hollywood corporations formed the Motion Picture Export Association of America (MPEAA) in September 1945 to expand markets and lobby for international free trade of American films. A series of agreements between the United States and the western European nations at first allowed for the almost unchecked flow of American films onto the screens of a reconstructing Europe. But protests by many national film industries brought about a wave of protectionist legislation in the form of quota and subsidy systems, as well as the limiting of American earnings that could be removed from certain countries. Hollywood responded by making "runaway productions": films shot abroad on cheaper locations with cheaper crews and facilities, financed with the large revenues earned by American exports but blocked from removal. Many of the elaborate and expensive epics of this period—*Quo Vadis?* (1951), *The Ten Commandments* (1956), *Ben-Hur* (1959), *Cleopatra* (1964)—are examples of this mode of international production, which continues to this day (especially in Australia and Canada, though without the frozen earnings factor).

American firms also established studio subsidiaries in almost every western European territory so as to be eligible for government subsidies, with the bulk of American overseas participation in the European film industry in the 1960s centered in Great Britain, Italy, and France. These and other European countries inaugurated treaty co-productions as a means for facing the Hollywood threat head-on. On the one hand, the threat was perceived as cultural, and so several European governments sought to protect national cinematic expression through subsidies for quality or artistic films. On the other hand, the threat was economic, so other subsidies were created to support the more commercial side of filmmaking. Co-production treaties between nations were thus established as a means for maintaining standards of financing and participation for each nation's film industry (in order to qualify for state subsidies) while at the same time allowing for increased resources and budgets available for film production (in order to expand potential markets). The treaties specified how the financing would be handled, the nations and original languages in which the films were shot, and the percentage of actors and technical crew that must come from each participating nation. Treaty co-productions quickly became common practice in Europe beginning in the 1950s, though the tension between the cultural and commercial needs they were created to serve has continued to bedevil their existence.

The first treaty was signed in October 1949 by France and Italy, and it marks the beginning of a trend in Franco-Italo co-production that hit its stride in the late 1950s and peaked in the early- to mid-1960s. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, bilateral and trilateral co-production treaties proliferated among more and more national partners, extending beyond Europe to include Canada, Latin America, and North Africa. The films produced in this manner were broadly of three types: art films, genre films, and quality entertainment films. They constituted a sliding scale as regards budgets and identifiable national characteristics, though all allowed for financing increases of between one-and-one-half and three times those of national productions. One key factor for commercial success involved finding formulae with the widest potential appeal across national borders, and the most lucrative European co-productions in the 1950s were those in the costume melodrama and comedy genres. In the 1960s films were made across a range of cycles, including *pepla* (muscleman mythological epics), "spaghetti westerns," "swashbuckler" movies, sex comedies, horror films, and spy thrillers.

The rise of art cinema in this period highlights the contradictions inherent in the co-production treaty strategy. Whereas European "quality" filmmaking represented the attempt to fight Hollywood cinema on its

own terms (big budgets, star-studded casts, elaborate sets and costumes), art cinema proceeded from the opposite direction, and one connected to long-standing anti-American sentiment: that the strength of European culture lies in its specific national artistic cultures. While usually considered as exceptional examples of auteurist films that represent their respective national new waves, a high proportion of European art films in this period were in fact international co-productions: *L'Année dernière à Marienbad* (*Last Year at Marienbad*, Alain Resnais, 1961); *La Nuit Américaine* (*Day for Night*, François Truffaut, 1973); all of the films of Michelangelo Antonioni's (b. 1912) tetralogy starring Monica Vitti (1960–1964); all of Federico Fellini's (1920–1993) films from *La Strada* (The road, 1954) through *Satyricon* (*Fellini Satyricon*, 1969); all of Luchino Visconti's (1906–1976) films from 1967 on; and most of the 1960s films directed by Jean-Luc Godard (b. 1930), Claude Chabrol (b. 1930), Vittorio De Sica (1902–1974), and Bernardo Bertolucci (b. 1940), among many others. Some art film co-productions at times acknowledge their status as such, and Godard is particularly noteworthy in this respect—his 1963 film *Le Mépris* (*Contempt*) takes as its subject the making of an Anglo-Italo-French co-production, which it itself is.

Several prominent film actors were in perpetual migration across national borders to make co-productions of all sorts: Burt Lancaster and Charles Bronson of the United States; Dirk Bogarde and Terence Stamp of Great Britain; Anita Ekberg and Britt Ekland of Sweden; Klaus Kinski and Elke Sommer of Germany; Oskar Werner and Romy Schneider of Austria; Gina Lollobrigida and Claudia Cardinale of Italy; and Catherine Deneuve, Alain Delon, and Gérard Depardieu of France. Their personal filmographies are one register of the degree to which co-productions became so important to international filmmaking in the postwar era. Another, more direct, register is the national filmographies of the nations that established co-production treaties in this period, though these are contradictory and often difficult to decipher. Of the major film-producing European nations—Great Britain, France, Italy, Spain, and West Germany—all but Great Britain engaged consistently in treaty co-productions after 1950, and all made more co-productions in given years in the mid-1960s than wholly national productions. France's co-productions between 1960 and 1972 exceeded completely French films by as a much as one-third.

As for Great Britain, its high production figures obscure the degree to which US investment underwrote the nation's cinematic output in the 1960s, making it difficult to define any part of the film industry as British rather than Anglo-American. One of the key films of the era, *Blow-Up* (Michelangelo Antonioni, 1966), was produced by Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, the first of a three-picture deal the famed Italian director made with the Hollywood studio. *Blow-Up* is considered by film scholar Peter Lev to be an example of the many "Euro-American art films" made from the early 1960s on that combine American and European approaches to filmmaking in terms of film form, budgeting, finance, and language. Such hybrid films evidence the balancing act engaged by the international film industries in a postwar market characterized by increased competition and innovation. International co-productions thus represent in this period, as they had in the interwar era and continue to do so today, a series of complex actions and reactions to Hollywood's global ambitions.

CO-PRODUCTION TODAY

The basic strategies for co-productions have changed little in more recent decades; what has changed are the increasingly complicated subsidy and funding structures initiated and drawn upon and the scale of international players now engaged in the business. A decline in treaty co-productions in the 1970s was due not to deliberate strategy but to the intrusion of television onto the scene. In the 1980s television became an important financier of co-productions, both nationally and internationally. Since then, several broadcasters have consistently been involved in co-financing short and feature films, especially Channel 4, the BBC, and FilmFour in Britain; RAI in Italy; Antenne 2 and Canal Plus in France; ADR and ZDF in Germany; and the combined PBS stations in the United States. Co-production with cable television companies is on the increase in the United States, where HBO is an especially important partner. Among European broadcasters, the Franco-German cultural channel ARTE has co-produced since 1990 more than two hundred films, many of which have involved the participation of several countries. (*Dancer in the Dark* [Lars von Trier, 2000] currently holds the record of eleven nations.)

The co-financing model has proven an increasingly attractive option, as it bypasses the various laws or bilateral legal frameworks that historically have often rendered treaty co-productions of more than two countries difficult to navigate. Treaties ensure that the resulting product qualifies as "domestic," a category crucial for assuring that co-produced material is eligible for government financing or investor tax credits in terms of national policies. Canada, one of the most proficient co-producers, has more than fifty-five co-production treaties worldwide. The United States, by comparison, has no treaties whatsoever, but works collaboratively with several countries (especially Canada) to make films and televi-

sion programs through equity partnerships and other forms of private-sector financing. Part of the problem with treaties is that they tend to be one-to-one. Eurimages, established in 1989 by the Council of Europe, tackled the problem head-on by offering funding to its member states for multilateral co-productions, thus eliminating the cumbersome negotiation of several bilateral agreements. The European Convention on Cinematographic Co-production was ratified in 1992 to simplify existing co-production treaties, but producers did not rush to sign it because Eurimages already allowed for multilateral co-production funding without needing to meet the terms for "European elements" outlined by the Convention. Still, the Convention serves the needs of smaller European countries lacking bilateral agreements with larger nations, including territories of the former Eastern Bloc. Whether through co-financing or co-production, most European films made today involve the participation of more than one nation.

The same holds true for the African film industries, whose output is much smaller than that of Europe but nevertheless demonstrates consistent co-production and co-financing of feature films since the 1970s within not only Africa itself but also nations and funding agencies worldwide, especially France, Germany, and Switzerland from the 1980s on. The extensive cinemas of Asia are equally engaged in this practice of filmmaking. Hong Kong and the Philippines were early starters. Hong Kong has co-produced with Taiwan since the 1960s, and it sparked a kung fu craze in the early 1970s through co-production deals with American producers. The Philippines promoted Filipino locations for foreign producers (usually American) to make inexpensive action and exploitation films in the 1970s, as well as more spectacular Vietnam War films such as *Apocalypse Now* (1979) and *Platoon* (1986). In India, the National Film Development Corporation was organized in 1980 to develop "quality cinema," becoming involved in the international co-production of features such as *Gandhi* (1982) and *Salaam Bombay!* (1988). And co-productions with mainland China, many of them brokered by the China Film Co-production Corporation, became particularly attractive for Hong Kong and Taiwan producers in the 1990s (and American ones in the 2000s) because of the country's natural resources, acting talents, and inexpensive manpower—the Oscar®-winning *The Last Emperor* (Bernardo Bertolucci, 1987) being an early example. A scan of the award-winning films of major international film festivals since 1990 reveals not only an extremely high proportion of co-productions—between 60 percent and 70 percent—but also a remarkable geographic range of national partnerships. Even though the Academy Awards® continues to categorize its nominees for Best Foreign Language Film as deriving from one nation, most of the winners since 1990 have in fact been co-productions—*Wo hu cang long* (*Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*, 2000) most obviously (although attributed to Taiwan only by the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, the film in fact represents co-financing and production interests of this country as well as those of Hong Kong, Mainland China, and the United States).

Despite their ubiquity, co-productions continue to be a cause of concern for many in the film industry, particularly in Europe. The category of the "Euro-film," whose mixing of performers from various countries and cultural traditions often yields a so-called "Euro-pudding"—that is, an international co-production that lacks any distinctive national or aesthetic qualities—has sparked considerable debate in recent decades and encapsulates contemporary fears of American cultural and economic imperialism and of the erosion of national cultures in the wake of globalization. "Every film must declare its nationality and its own cultural identity," pronounced French filmmaker Bertrand Tavernier (b. 1941) in 1982 (quoted in Elsaesser, p. 321), and the crisis that marked the 1993 Uruguay round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), during which film and audiovisual material were eventually excepted from its terms, demonstrates that the tensions that initiated co-productions in the first place have not gone away but, rather, have become magnified. Partnership with international capital through co-financing may lead to blockbusters that reach millions of people worldwide, but they may also come at a heavy price. Although *The Fifth Element* (*Le Cinquième élément*, Luc Besson, 1997), for example, was produced by a French firm (Gaumont), its language, stars, and co-financing are those of Hollywood, and its status as a French film thereby negligible. A fact and a necessity in contemporary filmmaking, co-production remains a practice wherein the benefits and the losses require equal consideration.

SEE ALSO *National Cinema*

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Mark Betz

COSTUME

Costume design is as crucial to the creation of a film as direction, acting, art design, and cinematography. The audience, if it notes costume design at all, sees "fashion" or "period" dress, not realizing that a costume is never "fashion," "period" or even "clothes" and that the designer must achieve these categories without revealing any tricks. The costume itself is a trick, crafted for a single film moment, and despite its brief appearance, can have taken twenty people two weeks to prepare. It may be built for a special purpose: to bring light to the actor's face, show color, act as a symbol, or hide a body flaw. It may have to conform to a novel or an era, suit an *auteur's mise-en-scène*, endure strenuous stunts, function in extreme weather, or appear worn out or pristine. Equally, the clothes must satisfy the public's lust for hyperrealism and glamour, something Cecil B. DeMille recognized when he said that a film's success was made from "sex, sets and costume."

THE COSTUME'S CONSTRUCTION AND PURPOSE

A costume can be "built" (made), purchased, altered, or rented. Often a designer will employ all four methods. A designer always uses a crew. Some crew members, such as pattern cutters, seamstresses, and tailors, are essential to any project. Others are film-specific, such as specialists in beads, embroidery, lace, feathers, leather, plastic, rubber, straw, elastic, or netting; shirt, shoe, hat, and accessory makers; as well as blacksmiths, armorers, jewelers, weavers, knitters, dyers, or furriers. Cloth may even have to be made from scratch. A designer decides whether to use vintage material, re-create the look, or blend old and new fabrics. For example, Marilyn Vance, for *The Untouchables* (1987), re-tailored 1980s leather clothing into a 1930s style. A garment might be burned, beaten, stained, washed, or cut to make it look genuine. Designers must know how to achieve authenticity and have observed everyday wear appropriate to period fabric (which may stress differently than contemporary material). They must know how a hem frays on a floor, how weight wears on a shirt's shoulder, how sweat affects Lycra™, or a how a sword cuts brocade.

Attention at every level of detail is essential; a loose thread will ruin a close-up. The gun holster shine rubbed on trousers such as Colleen Atwood (b. 1950) made for *Wyatt Earp* (1994), for example, will convey realism. As importantly, the designer must make the costume unobtrusive even in movies like *Working Girl* (1988), *Jungle Fever* (1991), or *Spider-Man* (2002) that rely on dress explicitly to reveal the character's sense of self. Gabriella Pescucci, whose work ranges from the riotous imagination of *The Adventures of Baron Munchausen* (1988) to the historical accuracy of *The Age of Innocence* (1993, Academy Award®) and who trained with the great Italian costume designer Piero Tosi (b. 1927) (who worked primarily with Luchino Visconti) throughout the 1970s, declared this plainly: "My greatest satisfaction comes from having my work disappear in the film" (Landis, p. 91). But the costume is a subliminal vehicle and it is the designer's job, as Albert Wolsky (b. 1930), Academy Award®–winner for *All That Jazz* (1979), said, to "identify, through elimination and simplification, who somebody is" (Landis, p. 168). Years before, Adrian (1903–1959), Head of Costume at Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM) from 1928 to 1942, revealed

this interior structure of costume design with his statement that "one could line up all the gowns and tell the screen story."

THE COSTUME DESIGNER'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE FILM CREW AND CAST

The costume designer liaises with the actor, director, cinematographer, art director, hair and make-up stylists, and even the writer and stunt coordinator. On the set daily and/or nightly, until shooting wraps, for fittings, alterations, accidents, or additions, the costume designer is involved from a film's earliest pre-production and must do exhaustive research, even for a modern movie, regarding location, climate, class, age, taste, and fads. But, the designer must be always inventive. Historical clothing must be both accurate and believable for today's eyes. Truth, at times, must be sacrificed to ensure that an actor will *look* correct and the designer must determine how to make departures from strict historical accuracy appropriate both to the period and to the actor's physique. For example, the narrow shoulder lines of a nineteenth-century cowboy jacket could make a twenty-first-century actor look pinched, and so must be adjusted. This is a difficult and intuitive process because the designer must know the history well enough to tweak it, if necessary, without losing an accurate feel for the time. After research, a designer will usually make sketches, some quite artistic, and attach swatches of cloth to the paper. This becomes the prototype of the final costume.

The ingenuity of costume designers is legendary. For the Italian neorealist film *Bellissima* (1951), Piero Tosi asked people in the street to give him the clothes they were wearing, which, once told it was for "cinema" and "Anna Magnani," they eagerly did. For the Mafia film *Casino* (1995), Rita Ryack looked through the closets of Brooklyn gangsters in their homes. For the little-documented slave incident dramatized in *Amistad* (1997), Ruth Carter examined period American and European paintings and African cloth. For *Lagaan* (2001), a nineteenth-century Indian story, Bhanu Athaiya studied the climate and landscape of Bhuj, the film's locale. To bring evocative movements to the flying or fighting characters in *Ying xiong* (*Hero*, Zhang Yimou, 2002), Emi Wada followed ancient Chinese dance costumes' cutting patterns. And to dress a cast of 10,000 in clothes from 1903 to 1969 for *The Last Emperor* (1987, Academy Award®), James Acheson studied the history of twentieth-century China for six months.

The costume designer's primary relationship is with the actor, who often feels in character once in costume but also expects the designer to exalt good features and diminish bad ones. To do this, the designer will ingeniously pad, tailor, dye, and cut minutia such as sleeves,

Tom Ewell takes note of William Travilla's memorable dress for Marilyn Monroe in* The Seven Year Itch *(Billy Wilder, 1955). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

waists, buttons, collars, and hems. During Hollywood's studio era, costume designers often built an enduring collaboration with the actors they dressed and were associated with a "look": Adrian with Greta Garbo and Joan Crawford, Travis Banton (1894–1958) with Marlene Dietrich and Mae West, Jean Louis (1907–1997) with Rita Hayworth, Orry-Kelly (1897–1964) with Bette Davis, William Travilla (1920–1990) with Marilyn Monroe, Howard Greer (1896–1974) with Jane Russell, Irene Sharaff (1910–1993) with Elizabeth Taylor. Widely copied film outfits became, in some cases, a signature such as Rita Hayworth's infamous strapless *Gilda* gown (1946, Jean Louis), Elizabeth Taylor's slip in *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof* (1958, Helen Rose), the tight cap-sleeved undershirt Lucinda Ballard (1906–1993) provided for Marlon Brando in *A Streetcar Named Desire* (1951) and Marilyn Monroe's pleated halter-top dress in *The Seven Year Itch* (1955, William Travilla). The designer dresses actors of every type and shape in films of every genre and must work

out contradictions such as Walter Plunkett's (1902–1982) task in making a twenty-two year old, pregnant Joan Bennett look ten in *Little Women* (1933), Irene Sharaff's in dressing sex siren Elizabeth Taylor in *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* (1966) as a desirable frump, or Lizzie Gardiner's in turning cool bad boy Terence Stamp in *The Adventures of Priscilla, Queen of the Desert* (1994) into a dowdy transsexual. The American Edith Head (1897–1981) and the Italian Piero Tosi, two of cinema's best-known, most prolific and most admired designers, well exemplify these abilities.

For over sixty years, Edith Head dressed actors from Montgomery Clift and Elvis Presley to Sophia Loren and Doris Day. She started working at Paramount in 1923 under Howard Greer, took over from Travis Banton in 1938, and ran the department until 1967 when she went to Universal for ten years. Nominated thirty-three times and winner of eight Oscars®, Head costumed films as various as *Wings* (William Wellman, 1927) and *Sweet Charity* (Bob Fosse, 1969). Her costumes consistently sparked lasting fashion trends including the T-shirt and jeans look she established for Paul Newman in *Hud* (1963).

Piero Tosi describes the "essence of costume design" as "the willingness and humility to accept each project as a new venture" (Landis, p. 149). Known for his thoroughness and acute aesthetic sense, Tosi's ability to bring realism to the narrative, no matter what the epoch, is almost unparalleled, even for working class, post–World War II Italian life (*Rocco and His Brothers*, 1960), nineteenth-century German royalty (*Ludwig*, 1972), or Sicilian aristocrats (*Il Gattopardo* [*The Leopard*, 1963, Academy Award® nomination]). For the mythic *Medea* (Pier Palo Pasolini, 1969), Tosi took inspiration from North African, Micronesian, Greek, and Bedouin fabrics and headdresses. Terence Stamp praised Tosi's designs for him in the surreal "Toby Dammit" sequence in *Histoires extraordinaires* (*Spirits of the Dead*, Federico Fellini, 1968) as vital in helping him play the part. Tosi's versatility has extended to creating hair, makeup or sets for some films, including the dreamlike makeup for Fellini's ancient Rome extravaganza, *Satyricon* (*Fellini Satyricon*, 1969).

The costume designer must work closely with the cinematographer's needs. To handle a dark nocturnal fight scene in *Rocco e i suoi fratelli* (*Rocco and His Brothers*, 1960), Tosi used a white line in Alain Delon's sweater to highlight his head. In *Shanghai Express* (1932), the milliner John Frederics (d. 1964) similarly buoyed Marlene Dietrich's face in a night shot by using egret feathers formed into a V. Film stock itself also posed obstacles. Until color was introduced into features in the late 1930s, it was conveyed by shading and designers had to use whatever fabrics best suggested it. A famous example is Bette Davis's dress in *Jezebel* (1938), which had to be perceived as red. After many experiments with blacks, blues, and reds, Warner Bros. designer Orry-Kelly used a reddish brown, high-sheen satin, which, in monochrome, gave an illusion of scarlet. More complex problems occurred with color film. Designers had to work with the color spectrum as it appeared on celluloid, not as it really was. A gorgeous blue might translate to poor gray on film, requiring the designer to screen-test every garment. Other technical advancements necessitated adaptations: the talkies exaggerated the sound of noisy fabrics like taffeta or beaded materials, and Cinemascope's vast detail showed machine stitching, forcing some clothes to be hand-sewn. These difficulties were so notable that the Academy Award® for costume, begun in 1948, was originally divided into two awards, one for black and white and one for color. Starting in 1967 the category incorporated both. New color problems have arisen for the costume designer with the green screen backdrop necessary for digital projection.

Production design or art direction and costume often contain such an essential aesthetic link that many designers, such as Piero Gherardi (1909–1971), Mitchell Leisen (1898–1972), Natacha Rambova (1897–1966), Carlo Simi, Piero Tosi, Patrizia von Brandenstein, and Tony Walton (b. 1934) have done both. Rambova's sets and costumes were especially attuned and her interpretations of Aubrey Beardsley's drawing for *Salome* (1923) are some of cinema's most extraordinary examples of this homogeneity.

Directors can assign great importance to costume. The designer Anthony Powell (b. 1935) revealed that George Cukor, with whom he worked on *Travels with My Aunt* (1972), often would re-block or re-light a scene to accommodate an unexpectedly striking outfit. Many designers work continually, or for a cycle of films, with one director, creating well-known partnerships, some through choice, others through the serendipity of a studio-formed relationship. Some key ones have been between Natacha Rambova and Alla Nazimova, Travis Banton and Josef von Sternberg (through Paramount), Edith Head and Alfred Hitchcock (through Paramount), Bill Thomas (1921–2000) and Douglas Sirk (through Universal), Piero Tosi and Luchino Visconti, Piero Gherardi and Federico Fellini, Shirley Russell and Ken Russell, Carlo Simi and Sergio Leone, Emi Wada and Peter Greenaway, Jeffery Kurland and Woody Allen, Ruth Carter and Spike Lee. These collaborations often orchestrate a total look that can promote an auteurist agenda. In *Jungle Fever* (1991), for example, Lee and Carter made unusual use of such a collaboration when he and Carter conceived an overall color scheme through the costumes' vivid colors and a persistent bath of golden

light, trying to effect a harmonious tonality as a counterbalance to the story's racist-inspired anger.

Another collaborator is the costume house. Western Costume Company in Los Angeles (founded in 1912, originally for cowboy films) and Sartoria Tirelli in Rome (established in 1964) are two of the most notable. These businesses typically have huge stocks of period costume as well as research libraries and facilities for making accessories or clothes.

INTERNATIONAL HISTORY OF COSTUME DESIGN

While it is sometimes difficult to be sure of costume design information because the silent-film period gave designers no screen credits and, during the 1950s, the studios disposed of many records, four elements can be said to form the foundation of film costume design as it is in the early twenty-first century: the establishment of its own studio department; the freedom given to designers to create extravagantly; the influx of, and competition with, international influence; and the recognition of design as a force on fashion. Though built by émigrés who had worked in the garment business (Carl Laemmle was a haberdasher, Adolph Zukor a furrier, Samuel Goldwyn a glover, and Louis B. Mayer a shoemaker), early Hollywood put little emphasis on costume. Actors used their own clothing and a woman with a better closet would get a better part. This continued well into the 1930s for men like Fred Astaire and Cary Grant who often wore their own, custom-made wardrobe. However, an initial office of costume design was inaugurated in 1915 by designer Clare West who, with two years' work on *Intolerance* (D. W. Griffith, 1916), attained the unprecedented credential of "studio designer," raising the status of what was formerly known as "head of wardrobe." At that time, "wardrobe" was a division of the "drapery department," which bought or rented clothes or basted them together because, during the quick film productions of the 1910s, a movie outfit could be discarded after a day. As early as 1921 *The Woman's Home Companion* cited the "studio designer" as an important asset and urged stars, who still regularly wore their own clothes on screen, to tap into it. A design contract was also probably given to Peggy Hamilton who, by 1918, costumed at Triangle (D. W. Griffith's studio) and was the first to outfit Gloria Swanson. But, as with many designers of the era, she moved on within a year or so.

Cecil B. DeMille was one of the first to realize that audiences wanted extreme couture and would pay to see their fantasies on a sexy star. In 1918, knowing that her talent would "make people gasp," he hired West to oversee Famous Players-Lasky's costumes. She stayed until 1925, through at least ten DeMille pictures. He encouraged lavish creativity and West's work, which fans and stars adored, helped film costume to gain greater artistic stature and to shift away from the pervading European sensibility. In the teens, dazzled producers brought in foreign artistes such as Paul Iribe (1883–1935) and Erté (1892–1990) to work with in-studio designers like Rambova, West, and Adrian, once the French couturier Paul Poiret's (1879–1944) outfits for France's production of *Queen Elizabeth* (1912) with Sarah Bernhardt, which was distributed by Paramount, opened the floodgates for "art" in Hollywood design. But by the 1920s, as costume design became a major component of the film industry with an expanding department and huge budgets, the Parisians lost out to the success of artistically wild, barely wearable, or eminently practical, super-styled clothing made by American costume designers, marking the beginning of an American fashion autonomy. The "costume department" was not truly established until the late 1920s, after which all studios had one, inevitably headed—often for decades—by a legendary designer. Some departments had different designers for female or male roles; others had a single overseer. After the 1950s' costume design renaissance with musicals, especially at MGM, the design department disappeared with the demise of the studio system, taking with it many in-house craftspeople.

Other film industries, such as those of Latin America and Asia, built their costume design on regional outfits and elaborate textile traditions. The musicals made during Mexican cinema's Golden Age (1930–1950) and the Brazilian *chanchada* films (1935–1959) took excessive liberties with traditional dress, which fans loved. The costumes of India's Bollywood musicals are similarly steeped in ancient tradition and equally known for adaptations. Some films are even famous for breakthrough deviations, such as *Mughal-e-Azam*'s (1960) invention of a Rajput queen's bra-cup blouse. Typically, famous master costumers for Indian dance construct film outfits, but there are many Indian costume designers who are specific to the film industry, some of whom work internationally.

Japan's and China's costume design also emerge out of a fabric history involving high-toned color and ornate weaves and embroideries, and their films have capitalized on this tradition. From its inception, Japan's film industry has produced popular period films. The country's first color film, *Jigokumon* (*Gate of Hell*, Teinosuke Kinugasa, 1953, Academy Award®), set in feudal Japan, was exceptionally costumed by Sanzo Wada, who also acted as color consultant. Kusune Kainosho made the costumes for the classic ghost story, *Ugetsu Monogatari* (*Tales of Ugetsu*, Kenji Mizoguchi, 1953; 1955 Academy Award® nomination). *Ran* (1985, Academy Award®), Akira Kurosowa's epic *King Lear* adaptation, was costumed to

ADRIAN

b. Adrian Adolph Greenburg, Naugatuck, Connecticut, 3 March 1903, d. 13 September 1959

Adrian, head of MGM's costume department from 1928 to 1941, was one of the greatest influences on costume design, tailoring, and international couture that America has produced. Born in 1903 in Connecticut, of German parents, Adrian studied at Parsons in New York City and spent 1922 as a student in Paris. There he met Irving Berlin, who asked him to design special artwork for his Broadway production *Music Box Revue*. This brought Adrian back to New York and gave him the experience of working with legendary director Hassard Short. By 1923, Adrian had taken on the show's overall design. In 1924 production and costume designer Natacha Rambova and her husband Rudolph Valentino hired him as costume designer for *A Sainted Devil* (1924). Adrian accompanied them to Hollywood to costume *The Hooded Falcon* (never completed) and other films, including Rambova's lush *What Price Beauty* (1925). When Valentino signed with United Artists, Adrian costumed *The Eagle* (1925) for him and then accepted an offer to work for Cecil B. DeMille's studio, where he made twenty-six films.

In 1928, Adrian became MGM's Head of Costume, often working on fifteen films a year. Described by Oleg Cassini as "perhaps the only member of our profession powerful enough to impose his taste on a director," he was equally adept in every kind of fashion, be it flamboyant (*Madame Satan*, 1930), haute couture (*Dinner at Eight*, 1933), historical (*Marie Antoinette,* 1938) or fantastic (*The Wizard of Oz*, 1939). Responsible for the unique silhouettes of Greta Garbo, Joan Crawford, and Jean Harlow, he never lost sight of the person within. He said, "I must know what an individual thinks about, what she likes or doesn't like before I can get personality into her clothes."

Through both his tailoring expertise and his business enterprise, Adrian played a vital role in making American couture the force it is today. He was credited with inventing padded shoulders and many "firsts," and his ideas launched more trends than any other United States designer, helping to establish a quintessential "American look." He further challenged France's domination of couture by vocally championing American over European fashion, noting the former's cleaner line and riskier extravagances. The financial success of his initiation of the mass production of cinema clothes in the early 1930s (with his puff-sleeved, layered, white organza gown for Joan Crawford in *Letty Lynton*, 1932) made American fashion an important economic contender.

In 1948, Adrian opened salons in Los Angeles and New York, producing fashion shows as opulent as Broadway musicals. After a heart attack, he moved with his wife, the actress Janet Gaynor, to their Brazilian ranch, although he returned to costume the Broadway hit *Camelot* with Tony Duquette in 1957.

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enormous acclaim by Emi Wada, who later worked with the English director Peter Greenaway on his color-drenched *8 ½ Women* (1999), *The Pillow Book* (1996) and *Prospero's Books* (1991). Hanae Mori (b. 1926), originally a couturieré, worked for years with Yasujiro Ozu and Nagisa Oshima, both directors with strong *mise-en-scène*. Hanako Kurosu designed for many of Japan's Shochiku company films. Japan's samurai and yakuza (gangster) films have also mutated over the decades, with costumes changing from the 1950s realism to the late 1990s cyber-fashion.

Hong Kong's *wuxia* (martial arts) films show a similar mix. China's rich textile history has produced equally strikingly visual dramas, notably those of Zhang Yimou, who made *Qiu Ju da guan si* (*The Story of Qiu Ju*, 1992); *Yao a yao yao dao waipo qiao* (*Shanghai Triad*, 1995), and *Wo de fu qin mu qin* (*The Road Home*, 1999) with the designer Huamiao Tong. An unusual period look, with stylized color schemes of black, white, and red, was adapted for Yimou by designer Zhi-an Zhang in *Da hong deng long gao gao gua* (*Raise the Red Lantern*, 1991). In the late twentieth century Asian styles considerably

Adrian. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

influenced Western costume design and fashion, as seen in films such as *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy (2001, 2002, 2003), designed by New Zealander Ngila Dickson and by Richard Taylor, who devised the armor. Eiko Ishioka, who created fabrics for Issey Miyake in the 1970s and costumed Cirque du Soleil in the early 2000s, showed international blends in the science-fiction film *The Cell* (Tarsem Singh, 2000), *Bram Stoker's Dracula* (Francis Ford Coppola, 1992, Academy Award®), and the Noh-like *Mishima* (Paul Schrader, 1985).

TREND SETTING

Early costume designers, such as West and Adrian, recognized design as a great force in twentieth-century haute couture. Their work, crucial in the establishment of American style as a world competitor, was the first to outstrip the French, who dominated fashion commercially and artistically. By the 1910s, stars were photographed in cinema clothes for fashion magazines and Sears-Roebuck catalogues, and the word "film" was used as an advertising lure. But the public's desire for these clothes is ironic, as many are impossible to wear. Jean Harlow's form-fitting satin gowns were glued to her body and steamed off. Mae West was sewn into two identical garments for a scene, one for sitting, one for standing, because each was so tight she could not do both in either of them. Glenn Close also was unable to sit in Anthony Powell's sexy costumes for her in *101 Dalmations* (1996). The pink gown Marilyn Monroe wore to sing "Diamonds Are a Girl's Best Friend" in *How to Marry a Millionaire* (1953) was made from upholstery satin and lined with felt. Given this, it is astounding how many fashion firsts emerged from the bizarre necessities of a film set: padded shoulders (Adrian in the 1930s for Joan Crawford), the cling dress (Rambova for *Salome*), the strapless bodice (Jean Louis in 1946 for *Gilda*, anticipating Christian Dior's New Look of 1947), the pillbox hat (John Frederics and Adrian for Greta Garbo in 1932) and many others.

The provenance of style setting was debated between Europe and America but, by the mid 1930s, the couturieré Elsa Schiaparelli (1890–1973) acceded, "What Hollywood designs today, you will be wearing tomorrow" (Mulvagh, p. 123). Though some of these firsts appeared simultaneously (Schiaparelli and Adrian both introduced padded shoulders), a film spreads a "look" faster than any other medium and credit usually sits with the costume designer. In 1918, the simple black velvet suit, white blouse, ribbon tie, and beret designed by the director Louis Gasnier and worn by Pearl White in *The Mysteries of New York* (1914, aka *The Exploits of Elaine*) became de rigueur among working women. In 1932, Adrian's ruffled gown for Joan Crawford in *Letty Lynton* was the first to be mass marketed and Head's evening dress with flowered bustiere for Elizabeth Taylor in *A Place in the Sun* (1951) became a 1950s prototype. Even fabrics, such as Adrian's gingham dress for Katharine Hepburn in *The Philadelphia Story* (1940) and Head's tropically patterned sarongs for Dorothy Lamour in *Jungle Princess* (1936), have started trends. Styles have been effected by war and censorship. The censorial 1930 Hays Code forced designers into ingenious uses of glamour to substitute for sheer sex and the 1930s' glamour ended with World War II's cutbacks on costume budgets.

The mid-1960s, with the lifting of censorship laws, saw design return to extremes. Some costumes, such as Piero Gherardi's for *Juliet of the Spirits* (1965, Academy Award® nomination), Milena Canonero's for *A Clockwork Orange* (1971) and Danilo Donati's (1926–2001) for *Il Casanova di Federico Fellini* (*Fellini's Casanova*, 1977), were exercises in artfully wild imagination. Many generated important fashions. Theadora Van Runckle's (b. 1929) clothes for *Bonnie and Clyde* (1967, Academy Award® nomination) initiated 1930s gangster glamour (including a braless look). Ann Roth's (b. 1931) designs for Jane Fonda in *Klute* (1971) brought maxi-coats with mini-skirts into vogue. Phyllis Dalton's *Dr. Zhivago*

Piero Gherardi's extreme costumes for Federico Fellini's **Giulietta Degli Spiriti** *(***Juliet of the Spirits***, 1965), starring Giulietta Masina (center).* EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

(1965, Academy Award®), Piero Tosi's *Death in Venice* (1971, Academy Award® nomination), Theoni V. Aldredge's (b. 1932) *The Great Gatsby* (1974, Academy Award®), Anthea Sylbert's (b. 1939) *Chinatown* (1974, Academy Award® nomination), Milena Canonero's *Barry Lyndon* (1975, Academy Award®) and her *Out of Africa* (1985, Academy Award® nomination) started romantic trends. New looks appeared with Ruth Morley's (1925–1991) louche outfits for Diane Keaton in *Annie Hall* (1977), Betsey Heimann's white shirt and cigarette pants for Uma Thurman in *Pulp Fiction* (1994), Rita Ryack's matching, hot pastel suits and ties for *Casino* (1995) and Kym Barrett's floor-length leather coats for *The Matrix* (1999). After Janty Yates's designs for *Gladiator* (2000, Academy Award®), a "warrior look" appeared in couture, as did elements of Ngila Dickson's Euro-Asian blends for *The Last Samurai* (2003).

Despite their enormously different goals, a relationship between costume design and couture has always existed. Modern audiences are accustomed to seeing stars on screen dressed by Giorgio Armani (b. 1934) or John Galliano (b. 1961) just as earlier audiences were accustomed to screen designs by Elsa Schiaparelli or Christian Dior (1905–1957). These couture outfits were made not for characterization but rather for show and served retail purposes, as exemplified by Armani's designs for Richard Gere in *American Gigolo* (1980), which made him a household name. But some couturiers have produced suitable costumes for narratives such as Hubert de Givenchy's (b. 1927) creation of virtually all of Audrey Hepburn's contemporary film outfits, Lilly Daché's (1898–1989) Carmen Miranda fruit turbans, and John Frederics' hats for Dietrich in her von Sternberg pictures, or his period hats for *Gone with the Wind* (1939).

Though many costume designers started in vaudeville and revues—such as Adrian, Bernard Newman, Charles LeMaire, and Max Ree, who worked for George White's *Scandals*, *Greenwich Village Follies*, *Ziegfeld Follies*, and Irving Berlin's *Music Box Revue* or Irene Sharaff, who built her career on Broadway—some began in couture houses. Hattie Carnegie's fostered designers Banton, Greer, Jean Louis, and Howard Shoup (1903–1987). During Hollywood's Studio era, fashion and film were linked popularly. Costume

designers had large followings and many, such as Adrian, Irene, Greer, Shoup, and Banton, ran their own labels, typically designing personal clothes for stars and clients while working on as many as ten films a year. By the 1950s, with the exception of Head, who remained publicly known, this fame disappeared. Though costume design continues to initiate sweeping trends, the costume designer's name is rarely recognized. Iconic outfits such as Liza Minnelli's black halter-top, shorts, and gartered black stockings in *Cabaret* (1972) designed by Charlotte Flemming (1920–1993), Indiana Jones's fedora, leather jacket, and khaki pants for *Raiders of the Lost Ark* (1981) conceived by Deborah Nandoolman (b. 1952), and Patrizia Von Brandenstein's white, three-piece suit (off the rack) for John Travolta in *Saturday Night Fever* (1977) are rarely connected to their originators.

But in the twenty-first century, the retailing of cinematic couture has come back. Some Japanese costume designers have their own clothing lines, as do some American designers such as Patricia Field. Bollywood (Indian film industry) designers regularly dress the public. But the ingenuity of the costume designer in film remains paramount. In the face of restrictions from lighting requirements to the actor's shape, it continues to revolutionize tailoring and set groundbreaking trends while addressing complex cinematic needs.

SEE ALSO *Fashion; Production Process*

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CREDITS

The word "credits" refers to a display of the film's title and the names of persons involved in making a film. Restricted in the earliest days of cinema to a card showing only the film title and the production company, credits have grown substantially in complexity and length.

Front credits (or *main title*) typically appear at, or near, the beginning of the film. Dramatic screen action preceding the credits is referred to as a "pre-credit sequence." *Closing credits* (or *end title*) is typically printed on a large roll and unwound at a constant speed from the bottom of the screen to the top, almost always over exit music, after the narrative is over. It has become fashionable among some filmmakers to include sequences during the end credits or after them, perhaps to entice audiences to sit patiently and acknowledge the many workers who made the film: an early example of this technique is *Being There* (Hal Ashby, 1979), in which the end credit sequence is accompanied by hilarious outtakes from the film. *Rush Hour* (1998) includes outtakes of flubbed Jackie Chan (b. 1954) stunts. In *28 Days Later* (2002), an alternate ending is given after the end credit roll is completed.

While the end credits tend usually to be printed in a standard typeface (such as Times Roman) and to lack distinctive orthographic design, opening title sequences are typically created by a title designer, a graphic artist specializing in movie title sequences. The most celebrated title designer in film history is Saul Bass (1920–1996). Other notable designers are Randy Balsmeyer and Mimi Everett, Maurice Binder (1925–1991), who did the James Bond films until his death in 1991 (for the main title of which he used a white circular gummed label and a macrophotograph of a gun barrel matted with a shot of an actor firing a gun at the camera), Kyle Cooper (*Se7en* [1995]), Pablo Ferro (b. 1935) who manipulated existing US Air Force stock footage of B-52s in flight in order to make the planes appear to be copulating in *Dr. Strangelove* (1964), Stephen Frankfurt (b. 1931) (*To Kill a Mockingbird* [1962]), Richard Greenberg (*The World According to Garp* [1982]), and Dan Perri (*Star Wars* [1977]). The credits coordinator functions to collect all title information and make the necessary legal submissions to register titles for copyright and with the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences. Typically accompanying main title sequences is a main title theme, such as Dimitri Tiomkin's (1894–1979) for *I Confess* (1953), Elmer Bernstein's (1922–2004) for *The Magnificent Seven* (1960) and *To Kill a Mockingbird*, Miklós Rózsa's (1907–1995) for *Spartacus* (1960), and John Williams's (b. 1932) for any *Star Wars* and Steven Spielberg film to date.

MAIN TITLES AND END TITLES

The main credit sequence in a film performs three principal functions, all of which are complex. First, the audience must be given vital information about the nature and content of the film. As narrative tools, the credits must negotiate between the demands of the story and the audience's information state on coming to the theater. For example, in *Good Will Hunting* (1997), Ferro wanted credits that would introduce and focus on Will (Matt Damon) and show his literacy. Second, the main title must attest to the strengths and powers of the filmmakers (during the studio era, the studio whose logo preceded the title sequence; since the 1980s, the era of

SAUL BASS

b. New York, New York, 8 May 1920, d. Los Angeles, California, 25 April 1996

Educated at Brooklyn College and the Art Students League, Saul Bass gained a reputation as the man who revolutionized film titles, with stark graphic animations deeply evocative of the sensibility of the films that unspooled after them. His first efforts included *Carmen Jones* (1954), *The Seven Year Itch* (1955) and *The Big Knife* (1955) but it was with *The Man with the Golden Arm* (1955), Otto Preminger's voyage to the seedy world of heroin addiction (and the first film on which a director received proprietary credit), that Bass found a style of boldly angular, semirepresentational graphics—in this case, an addict's outstretched arm—that could fragment musically into pieces that formed symbols or parts of words. Before this film, credits had been little more, as Bass once put it, than "words, badly lettered." After *The Man with the Golden Arm*, they became aesthetic unities in themselves.

Bass designed credits for more than fifty films, including *Trapeze*, *Johnny Concho*, *Around the World in 80 Days* (all 1956), *Bonjour Tristesse* and *The Big Country* (both 1958), *Anatomy of a Murder* (1959), *Exodus*, *Ocean's Eleven*, and *Spartacus* (all 1960), *Bunny Lake Is Missing* (1965), *Seconds* (1966), *Alien* (1979), *Broadcast News* (1987), *GoodFellas* (1990), *Cape Fear* (1991), *The Age of Innocence* (1993), and *Higher Learning* and *Casino* (both 1995). But Bass's most celebrated collaborations were with Alfred Hitchcock, for whom he designed the swirling, multicolored, shape-shifting vortex superimposed over a macro-close shot of a red-filtered human eye in *Vertigo* (1958), a sequence that disoriented audiences even before the story began; the black-and-white schizoid words that morphed, split, and shuffled like playing cards in *Psycho* (1960); and the skittering emerald green lines that raced down the screen in *North by Northwest* (1959) to form the main title, then transformed themselves into the skyscrapers of Madison Avenue. For *Psycho*, Bass is reported to have storyboarded a number of scenes, including Marion's shower, which required seventy-eight camera setups.

In 1974 Bass directed and titled *Phase IV*, a film about desert ants going to war with humans. After 1987, his main titles were designed with the assistance of his wife, Elaine, who also codirected a number of films with him, including the short *Why Man Creates* (1968), for which he won an Academy Award®.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

The Man with the Golden Arm (1955), *Vertigo* (1958), *Exodus* (1960), *Psycho* (1960), *Why Man Creates* (1968), *Phase IV* (1974)

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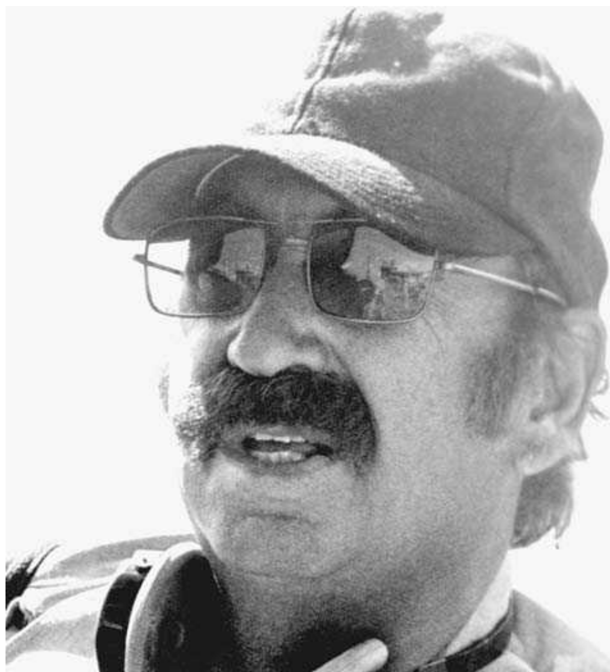
independent production, it typically touts the principal cast and director). A well-designed and ostentatious title sequence acts as an advertisement for the producer and filmmakers, touting not only the film but other films made by the same people; it suggests technical know-how and a concern for audience engagement, thus constituting a basis for audience investment in other film products. Third, the main title is a kind of display board for the film workers' specific talents. In general, and at least in well-received films, the better one's card in the main title sequence (the larger the type, the better the placement), the higher can be one's asking price for future endeavors. The title is an economic asset for the filmmakers and their cast and crew, and often payment for services rendered on a project is deferred in exchange for increased visibility of one's name in the titles.

Front credits are nowadays invariably briefer than end credit rolls. Aside from the title of the film, the main credits typically name the principal cast; the writer(s) of the screenplay; the author(s) of the material from which the screenplay has been adapted, if any; the cinematographer; the composer; the designer (or art director); the costumer; the editor; the producers; the director. In the studio era—roughly 1930 to 1960—each of these aspects of filmmaking was handled by a specific studio department, and the head of each of these departments was



Saul Bass. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

named in the credits, no matter who did the actual work. At Paramount in the 1950s, for example, the name of Hal Pereira (1905–1983) appears as art director on virtually every front credit the studio produced; at MGM in the 1940s, the name of Cedric Gibbons (1893–1960); at Twentieth Century Fox in the same decade, the name of Lyle Wheeler (1905–1990). Contemporary main title sequences are sometimes strikingly abbreviated for dramatic effect. Steven Spielberg (b. 1946), for example, typically runs his credits only at the end of his films, retaining the actual film title card—if that—at the beginning. Because audiences are somewhat less likely to read titles at the end of a film, this practice, while modestly withholding the director's credit until the first position after the finale, also reduces the billing of actors and crew (an effect somewhat mitigated by the intensive advertising that all new blockbusters receive). The end credit roll, which originally repeated only the names of the principal cast (''A Good Cast Is Worth Repeating,'' end credits at Universal Pictures uniformly began, starting in the early 1930s), now tends to contain all of the members of the cinematographer's gaffing crew and the grip crew that handles the camera; all of the carpenters and painters who work for the art director; everyone involved with sound, dialogue, and foley track recording, as well as those who cater, chauffeur, assist, insure, negotiate, supply, and in any other way are connected with the film. At the end of *Titanic* (1997), the extensive end credits include ''inferno artists,'' ''water systems engineer,'' ''etiquette coach'' and a ''thanks'' to the Mexican Minister of Tourism.

In 1942, an attempt to do away with full end credits proved unsuccessful. By law, copyright acknowledgments for all songs and musical tracks used must be included by producers in the end credits. With productions becoming increasingly more complex and involving more and more workers, end credit sequences have become notoriously extensive. For *Superman* (1978), 457 end credits roll for twelve minutes, about one-tenth of the entire film's length. In *Once Upon a Time in the West* (Sergio Leone, 1968), the end credits take up more than twelve minutes. The end credits of *Jurassic Park* (1993) list 519 names.

BILLING

The *billing* in a motion picture is a set of hotly negotiated and legally contracted formulae that dictate the size in points of a screened name relative to the size of the name of the film. The names of actors and technical personnel must appear on posters and all other advertising for the film and in the opening credits. Other considerations include the individuality of a credit—that is, whether the worker's name appears alone onscreen or along with others'—and the placement of the contributor's credit within the syntax of the credit sequence, relative to the name of the film. Writers' credits—awarded onscreen since 1941—are interesting in this regard. A film ''Written by Joseph Jones *and* James Smith'' is one in which the principal writing, the bulk of the writing, or the dominant writing was done by Mr. Jones; however, a film ''Written by Joseph Jones & James Smith'' is one in which the two writers equally shared in the creative process. Regardless of its point size—and this usually matches that of the principal stars—the director's screen credit has been mandated by the Directors Guild since its 1939 agreement with motion picture producers as the final credit to appear before the action begins. As of 1972, without a specific waiver from the Directors Guild, no film could credit more than one director. Sometimes a director wishes in the end to dissociate himself from a film; traditionally, the credit ''Directed by Alan Smithee'' has been used to signify this. Actors have also employed this credit.

Since the mid-1990s, directors and writers have been wrangling over what is known as the ''possessory'' screen credit, one frequently received by directors like Rob Reiner (b. 1947) and Ridley Scott (b. 1937): ''a film by Rob Reiner''; ''a Ridley Scott film.'' Screenwriters have argued that the director's possessory credit reinvigorates the notion of the *auteur*, in a production era in which no one person can reasonably take credit for all of what is onscreen. Stanley Kubrick's (1928–1999) credit in *2001:*

A Space Odyssey (1968) as not only writer and director but also special effects designer caused some dissension in the film world. By the 1990s, however, four out of five films had some kind of possessory credit, even though fewer than a fifth of these were directed and written by the same person. On the other hand, some filmmakers are multi-talented and can reasonably take credit for more than direction. The director of *Once Upon a Time in Mexico* (2003) received a main credit that reads, "Shot, Chopped, and Scored by Robert Rodriguez." Rodriguez (b. 1968) also produced and designed the film, as well as designing its special effects.

A celebrated star with considerable box-office draw often negotiates for billing "above the title"—that is, an explicit reference to the position of the performer's name in print or poster advertising; in main titles, it signifies that the name is to precede the film title on the screen. The process of billing competition has been described by Danae Clark (1995) as labor fragmentation: above-the-title billing emphasizes not what screen actors have in common with one another but how they can be seen as different, thus isolating them in the bargaining process. Stars, for example, have large credit billings or names above the title, while character actors and extras emphatically do not. Credit billings are negotiated by the casting director in the producer's stead, and agents representing actors and technical personnel exercise considerable emotion and energy in securing advantageous ones—this because billing can be tied to future earning capacity. Occasionally, pressure may be mounted by technical personnel or actors themselves to lobby for a colleague's screen credit: in *49th Parallel* (Michael Powell, 1941), for example, the British actor Eric Portman (1903–1969) was to receive second billing, but his screen partners—Leslie Howard (1893–1943), Raymond Massey (1896–1983), Laurence Olivier (1907–1989), and Anton Walbrook (1896–1967)—insisted that he share main title billing with them.

TITLES IN FILM HISTORY

The main title was originally produced as a lantern slide for vaudeville theaters and the nickelodeon that showed the first films. Such slides named the film (framing audience response), filled in gaps in the narrative and dialogue, and addressed the audience directly about film-watching etiquette. As Charles Musser (1990) points out, the main title card frequently identified a pro-filmic event familiar to audiences, thus instantly aligning their orientation to the screen narrative. Biograph films from 1896 on relied on lantern slides to effect continuities between shots, sometimes bridging ellipses and pointing to the unfolding character of the story. In July 1903, Edison's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* introduced the filmed title card (as opposed to a title on a slide provided by the exhibitor), which appeared between and labeled each scene. Around 1905, Musser notes, Edwin S. Porter (1870–1941) used animated, filmic intertitles, with swirling or moving letters that formed words against a black ground. Some "head titles" for early films were supplied by the film exchanges (early distribution facilities), not by the producers.

Early titles were made on a copy stand, and, in a 1911 encyclopedia, a tabletop method is given with illustrations. During World War I, Barry Salt (1983) notes, the practice of carrying the narrative action through dialogue titles became established in American cinema. D. W. Griffith (1875–1948) continued it into the 1920s. Some lines of dialogue were not carded, prompting the audience to participate in forming an understanding of what the characters were saying. Title cards containing illustrations or designs began in 1916.

In the 1930s and 1940s, cinema frequently was marketed on the basis of its attachment to popular and high-brow literature; a main title sequence for such films could establish the prestige-bearing literary connection in more ways than by simply listing the book from which the movie had come. For example, in *The Fountainhead* (King Vidor, 1949), the names of Gary Cooper (1901–1961) and Patricia Neal (b. 1926) appear on what appears to be a title card with a sketch of skyscrapers in the background; one of the buildings suddenly rotates to reveal itself as the spine of a gigantic book, *The Fountainhead*, the "pages" of which systematically open to reveal the principal credits—prominently featured among which is a card of attribution to Ayn Rand (1905–1982), the author. The central character in *Leave Her to Heaven* (John M. Stahl, 1946) is an author, and the main title is an artist's rendering of his book cover. By contrast, the main credits for *There's No Business like Show Business* (Walter Lang, 1954), aim to reflect vaudeville as a principal source of twentieth-century show business: here, flamboyant gold lettering is superimposed on plush red velvet theater curtains.

From the 1940s to the 1980s, main titles often showed filmic background action or scenery under the title cards. One example among thousands is *Out of the Past* (1947), in which the main credits are backed by stationary and panning background shots of bucolic countryside. Titles of this sort were produced early on through matte photography, with optically printed split-screen technique debuting in the 1960s. Relatively elaborate main title sequences began in the 1950s to add attraction to motion pictures, largely in response to the rise of television and the Paramount Decree, which curbed the big studios' ability to succeed in exhibiting their own films.

Saul Bass's credits for Otto Preminger's* The Man with the Golden Arm *(1955) are echoed in his design for the poster art. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Saul Bass was the principal agent of this first design wave, especially, although not exclusively, for the films of Alfred Hitchcock (1899–1980) and Otto Preminger (1906–1986). In the 1960s, Stephen Frankfurt's (b. 1931) eerie and elegiac sequence for *Mockingbird* was the first main title in which loving attention was paid to the details of objects (through macrophotography). Blake Edwards (b. 1922) commissioned Warner Bros. cartoonist Fritz Freleng (1905–1995) to design the cartoon opening sequence for *The Pink Panther* (1963), a sequence audiences adored because of its goofy animated pink cat and Henry Mancini's (1924–1994) sophisticated and bouncy theme. The split-screen technique is masterfully shown in the title sequence of *The Thomas Crown Affair* (1968), where color still frames appear against, and move around on, a black screen.

TITLING TECHNIQUES

In elementary matte titling over a pictorial background, two identical mattes of the printed and designed title cards were produced, one printed black on white and the second white on black. When the first was exposed in an optical printer against the background footage the director or producer wanted used under the titles, what resulted was an image of the background with the text initially represented as a blank area in the image corresponding to the precise shape of the lettering on the title card. The second matte was then printed optically over the picture, with its white (or sometimes colored) text now perfectly registered with the blank areas of the picture. This second optical pass printed or colored in the words of the title, frame by frame. The main title of Hitchcock's *Rear Window* (1954), for example, unfolds over a screen-sized matchstick blind slowly being raised on picture windows that look out on a Greenwich Village courtyard (the largest and most complex set ever constructed on a soundstage to date, dramatically revealed to an eager audience when the matchstick curtain "goes up"). Matte titling was a laborious process demanding extremely precise registration of mattes and background plates.

Nowadays, virtually all feature film titles are produced on the graphic designer's computer, using a graphics or animation program, and then transferred directly to 35mm film. This procedure has made possible the design of increasingly dazzling and optically challenging main title sequences, such as Gary Hebert's main title for *The Bourne Identity* (2002), with its superimposed, horizontally racing type. Ironically, it is possible to design title sequences in such a way that viewers become so stunned and incapacitated by what they see that they cannot read the credits.

Main credits need not be legible or even visible. In *The Magnificent Ambersons* (Orson Welles, 1942), *Fahrenheit 451* (François Truffaut, 1966), and *M*A*S*H* (Robert Altman, 1970), the opening credits are read by an offscreen voice; in *Uccellacci e uccellini* (*Hawks and Sparrows*, Pier Paolo Pasolini, 1966), they are sung. Nor is credit information invariably superimposed upon a graphic background in what appears to be a simple textual overlay. In *One from the Heart* (1982), Francis Ford Coppola (b. 1939) re-creates the fabled casinos of Las Vegas in miniature, placing the opening credits on their neon marquées as the camera gently glides past. In *Ed Wood* (Tim Burton, 1994), the camera lovingly pans over a decrepit environment containing refuse and old signposts on which the main credits have been painted as a part of the scene. A similar technique is used with main titles embossed on road signs that float above tinted aerial shots of New York in *Jungle Fever* (Spike Lee, 1991) and on urban signage in *Hollywood Homicide* (2003). In *West Side Story* (1961), Saul Bass's main title, involving considerable aerial photography as well as tracking shots on the street, is designed with the use of graffiti on neighborhood walls. The main title of

Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom (1984) is choreographed as a dance routine. Credits can zoom forward on the screen (the main title for *Superman* [1978]) or backward (the receding signatures of the principal cast in the end credit of *Star Trek VI: The Undiscovered Country* [1991], and the receding text in the main title crawl for *Star Wars* [1977]). An interesting variant on the movement of text is the top-to-bottom front credit roll of *Kiss Me Deadly* (1955).

Not every mainstream fictional feature film has an elaborate and optically stunning main title. Since *Annie Hall* (1977), Woody Allen (b. 1935) has insisted on the same credit sequence for every one of his films: title information printed in white on a plain black ground. Credits often imitate the style, tone, symbolism, or precise imagery of a film; in spoof films, the credits are often spoofs themselves—for example, in the end credits of the *Airplane* films (1980, 1982), viewers can spot "Worst Boy: Adolf Hitler" (a parody of the Best Boy credit, which goes to the cinematographer's chief lighting assistant). End credits in *Class of Nuke 'Em High* (1986) acknowledge not only a gaffer (a cameraman's lighting assistant) but also a goofer and a guffer; and not only a key grip (the person responsible for handling the camera) but also a key grope. The end credits of *Hot Shots!* (1991) contain a brownie recipe.

In experimental films, such as those of Stan Brakhage (1933–2003) or Bruce Elder, it is the norm for the filmmaker to accomplish, or at least be intensively involved with, most technical aspects of production and thus to have what may be termed a "personal" relation to the film. This is nicely exemplified by the scratched or hand-painted credits used by Brakhage. In *Normal Love* (1963), Jack Smith uses title cards that seem homemade, even embodied: the credits are composed of awkward squiggles of dark fluid, possibly blood, intertwined with various grasses on a pale background.

The *title name credit* of a film is the producer's to determine. When film distribution rights are sold internationally, as is normally the case in the twenty-first century, a film name may be changed to facilitate distribution abroad. A few significant examples: *Les Deux anglaises et le continent* (Truffaut, 1971) became, for release in the United States, *Two English Girls*, thus omitting reference to a young man from France (nicknamed "le continent") for an audience who think of a "continent" not as a person but as a place. Antonioni's *Professione: Reporter* became *The Passenger* (1975). The British film, *A Matter of Life and Death* (Michael Powell, 1946) was imported to America as *Stairway to Heaven*; *Du Rififi chez les hommes* (Jules Dassin, 1955) became, simply, *Rififi*. American film titles crossing the Atlantic in the opposite direction are equally changeable: *The Errand Boy* (Jerry Lewis, 1961) in France became *Le Zinzin de Hollywood*.

Main title design typically aims to be eye-catching, enigmatic (and therefore alluring), graphically exciting, and allusive, if not part of the story itself. In *Walk on the Wild Side* (Edward Dmytryk, 1962), to the sound of Brook Benton (1931–1988) crooning the title song, the camera shows a sleek and streetwise black cat striding across the frame in linked slow-motion shots, symbolizing the tough, no-nonsense femininity of Capucine (1931–1990) and Jane Fonda (b. 1937) and positioning the story in the vulgar "gutter of life." By contrast, for the main title of *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968), the opening credits appear in plain, stark white letters against a cosmic scenario in which the sun, the moon, and the earth align at the moment of an eclipse. This is animated as if seen from an extraterrestrial perspective of shocking proximity, while the galvanizing opening bars of Richard Strauss's *Also Sprach Zarathustra* are performed by the Berliner Philharmoniker. The credit sequence for *2001* became both legend and the stuff of considerable affectionate parody. A similarly cosmic theme is struck in the main title of *25th Hour* (Spike Lee, 2002), in which various graphic shots of the twin towers of light that shone nightly in New York in tribute to the victims of September 11, 2001, become background for the modestly sized principal credits. This chilling sequence prepares us for a stark tale of a sad and troubled city filled with sad and troubled characters.

Kyle Cooper's title for *Se7en*, produced with rapidly shifting type and several layers of integrated design superimposed upon one another, as well as large-grain photography and image fragmentation, has come to symbolize the new wave of screen titling that began in 1990. Hard to decipher and tensely poetic, the title projects a dark foreboding to the audience. In an economical pre-title sequence, we encounter Detective Somerset (Morgan Freeman) dressing himself for work in the morning, attending the scene of a murder, and meeting his new partner, Mills (Brad Pitt), a slightly contentious younger man. "I want you to look, and I want you to listen," Somerset tells him. We then see him preparing to sleep, a metronome clicking beside his bed as the background fills with sounds of offscreen, argumentative voices. A clap of thunder cuts to the main title sequence, which is composed of shots glimpsed only briefly so that reading the overlaid text and the image behind it presents a challenge. A notebook, a razor blade held in fingers, blood in water are shot in macro close-up and held onscreen far too briefly to be thoroughly "read." The text is composed in what appears to be handmade scribbles whose letters sometimes jiggle and shift. Photographs are cut and pasted into a notebook, apparently badly spliced film is mixed with hand-scratched film and

multiple exposures, and the musical track vibrates rhythmically with sounds that occasionally seem artificially speeded up. All of this gives us much to see and much to hear, yet at the same makes it difficult to sort out the fragments and to establish meaning. Since the film is about detectives decoding the signals left by a particularly elusive and brutal serial killer, the opening sequence functions to prepare the ground for the narrative and to establish the dark modality of the story.

Often, main titles are so fanciful that they stand alone as films-within-films. Spielberg's *Catch Me if You Can* (2002) opens with a charming animated main title sequence recalling both the 1950s graphic titling designs of Saul Bass and the 1960s animated main titles used for Jerry Lewis's *The Family Jewels* (1965), here set to the accompaniment of John Williams's jazzy tarantella. For *Daredevil* (Mark Steven Johnson, 2002), the film treatment of a comic book saga of a blind superhero, the main title is designed to resemble the dark and highly saturated color printing of comic book art: skyscrapers are seen at night, their various windows suddenly lit up with the principal credits in simulated Braille.

Touch of Evil (1958) opened in its first commercial release with main title cards superimposed by the studio over a much-celebrated four-minute-long sequence: a detective (Charlton Heston) and his new wife (Janet Leigh) walk through the streets of Juarez toward the US border station, while street traffic slowly swirls around them. One car is a flashy convertible, in the trunk of which a man hid a bomb in the film's first moment. The couple trades pleasantries with the border guards as the car purrs beside them. They circle the car nonchalantly. "There's the sound of a clock ticking in my head," says a woman riding in the front seat. Nobody listens to her. The car glides on. Just as the titles end, the newlyweds' romantic conversation reaches its peak, and they kiss. *Boom!*—there is an explosion as their lips touch. We cut to see that the car has blown up. The director Orson Welles himself regretted that the studio put titles over this sequence, because it was meant to stand independently, and the titles were to appear at the end of the movie. In 1999, on the instigation of Jonathan Rosenbaum, the restored film was released according to the director's intentions.

SEE ALSO *Crew; Guilds and Unions; Production Process*

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Murray Pomerance

CREW

The large crews that are associated with modern big budget Hollywood films reflect not only the scale and scope of the production but also a sophisticated division of labor. Early films were smaller and thus far simpler in this regard. It was not uncommon in early films for one individual to act as cameraman and director, performing all the necessary duties: selecting the subject, shooting, developing, printing, editing, and exhibiting the movie. As films became more complex and increasingly relied on staged rather than documentary subjects, a division of labor appeared between camera operator and director. This task specialization, which eventually gave rise to distinct occupational categories, set the stage for further specialization as production companies discovered the economic advantages of simultaneously producing a range of longer films. The key to realizing these advantages was the accumulation and management of personnel and resources on a large scale. However, making efficient use of resources and personnel on this scale depended on achieving labor economies. Influenced by Frederick W. Taylor's concept of "scientific management," producers sought and promoted greater efficiency by increasing task specialization in film production, which by its nature is the most labor intensive, and thus most costly, part of their business.

The rise of the studio system in the United States in the early twentieth century reinforced the link between economies of multipicture production and greater division of labor. The studios were instrumental in creating the system of labor division that has continued to characterize most feature productions. The hallmark of this system is the way that film crews are organized into departments, each of which has distinct responsibilities in the filmmaking process. Each of these departments employs a range of individuals with specialized expertise, who work as a team to create the finished product.

Technical innovations have altered filmmaking practice and led to the creation of new roles while reducing the need for others. For example, the introduction of synchronized sound in the late 1920s required a whole string of crew members to set up and operate recording equipment and to edit the sound during post-production. Conversely, the development of high-quality digital cameras means that a professional looking film can now be made without some of the crew previously required to handle the more wieldy 35mm camera and the substantial lighting it demands. The division of labor and occupational structure of modern film crews are therefore subject to changes in technology, expertise, and professional regulations.

The involvement of some members of the team may be confined to either the beginning or the end of the production process. For example, the involvement of scriptwriters often ends before filming starts, whereas the visual effects team is usually not involved until the shoot is over. In general, however, the stage at which specialists become involved varies from film to film. Title sequence designers, for instance, may work with the director from a very early stage in the production, as they did for *Fight Club* (1999), or may be brought in during postproduction, when a less ambitious title sequence may be one of the last elements to be added. There are some crew members, most notably the producer and usually the director, who tend to remain with the production throughout the process, largely because they are essential for the cohesion and continuity of the project.

The size and diversity of modern film crews has led to an extraordinary proliferation of job categories. Most of these categories are in any case variations on the basic division of labor that operates in a film crew. This division of labor is well accounted for in the job descriptions of department heads who are employed on most contemporary films, as well as some of the more prominent roles in each department. The following descriptions are arranged in an order roughly chronological to the film production process, beginning with the producers' team, and progressing through preproduction, production, and postproduction.

PRODUCERS AND THE PRODUCTION OFFICE

The producer initiates and supervises all the processes involved in making a film. Core responsibilities include selecting or commissioning the script, securing finance, hiring the director and other departmental heads, monitoring the expenditure and progress of the production to try to ensure that the film is completed on time and within budget, and negotiating the sale of the film to distribution companies. Films often have more than one producer, and the producers are sometimes given specific job titles according to the division of duties between them. An executive producer, in contrast to a producer, does not have a hands-on involvement in the production process. He or she focuses on business rather than creative issues, and often supervises other producers. An associate producer performs tasks delegated by a producer or executive producer. Coproducers work as a team so that between them they are involved in all the different producer functions, including both creative and managerial roles. A line producer is a manager who is intimately involved in the day-to-day production processes.

Various supervisory staff oversee the different stages of filmmaking to ensure that they are completed on time and budget. The production manager works in a similar way to the line producer to ensure the smooth running of the production process, supervising both staff and expenditure. The production accountant handles the finances for the film, dealing with invoices and financial reporting requirements. The postproduction supervisor is responsible for overseeing the tasks that need to be completed after the shoot has ended. A dedicated postproduction accountant may also be employed.

The publicity department is in charge of promoting the film. Although the most intensive marketing activity occurs in the immediate run-up to the film's release, gaining exposure for the film is an ongoing process that begins before production even starts. The publicity director designs and oversees the publicity campaign and is based at the studio or head office. If the production company is also distributing the film, they will take responsibility for commissioning and approving materials such as posters and trailers. The unit publicist is often present on the set and is responsible for arranging media interviews, collecting information for press notes, and selecting photographs to be issued to the press. The stills photographer is present on the set to take publicity pictures and may also take still pictures for use in the film, or photographs that act as records to assist continuity.

THE DIRECTOR AND TEAM

The director has the main creative responsibility for the film. He or she is normally involved in the project from an early stage and participates in hiring the heads of departments, the casting process, and working with one or more writers to perfect the script. During filming, directors direct the actors, supervise the activities of the crew, and decide which takes to print. Directors often remain involved after shooting ends, working with the editor and other postproduction personnel to ensure that the film is completed in accordance with their design.

Because the director's scope of responsibility is wide and diverse, he or she normally has several assistants, each with designated roles. During preproduction, the first assistant director breaks the script down into shots and prepares the shooting schedule. During production, he or she conveys the director's instructions to the cast and crew, coordinating their performance in order to keep pace with the schedule. The second assistant director is responsible to the first assistant director. His or her many duties may involve the preparation of call sheets and the distribution of scripts. The second second assistant director, or third assistant director, focuses on such floor duties as managing the movement of extras. This can be an enormous task, as in *Gandhi* (1982), which used an estimated 300,000 extras.

The script supervisor, or continuity girl, keeps track of the progress of filming and any deviations from the written script. He or she also helps the director remember the details of shots that have already been made, ensuring that details such as hair and makeup remain the same from one shot or scene to the next. In order to do this, a detailed continuity report is maintained.

Specialized crew members may be employed to assist the director in eliciting the desired performances from the actors. They include the choreographer, who designs any dance sequences, the dialogue coach, who trains the actors in the creation of appropriate accents or dialects, an animal trainer, who coaches the animal actors, and a wrangler, who handles babies, animals, or other participants, such as vehicles, that do not respond to verbal instruction. A stunt coordinator is responsible for designing stunt work and ensuring that

Cast and crew (director John Sturges pointing) on the set of **The Magnificent Seven** *(1960).* EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

it is conducted safely. An action vehicles coordinator or fight director may also be employed. A creative consultant or technical adviser may offer specialized advice about a range of topics.

Many films use a second unit, headed by a second unit director. This self-contained subsidiary crew comes complete with all the personnel required for filming. It is normally used for shooting such material as street scenes that do not feature the main actors.

PRE-PRODUCTION: THE SCRIPT, CASTING, AND LOCATIONS

The first draft of a script is produced by a screenwriter, who may create original material or adapt existing material, such as a novel or a play. A script invariably goes through many drafts before its final version, and other writers are often brought in to assist with this process. Additional writers are sometimes known as script editors, or script doctors, and may specialize in polishing a particular element of the script, such as the dialogue. A storyboard artist may work with the director to translate all or part of the script into a series of still pictures to be used as a template for shooting.

The casting director is responsible for auditioning and selecting the actors, as agreed with the director and producer, and for negotiating their contracts. Sometimes one casting director auditions major roles, while one or more local casting directors hire supporting actors for location filming. Extras casting may be performed by yet another person or agency.

If any parts of a film need to be shot outside the studio, sites are selected by a location manager, whose research is often aided by a location scout. The location manager obtains permission to film from authorities or private owners and negotiates any fees that must be paid. Throughout the shoot the location manager is responsible for liaison with area film councils or other relevant authorities.

VISUAL DESIGN

The production designer deals with one of the most important jobs in a film. He or she is responsible for planning its entire look, from individual sets to overall color schemes. Normally one of the first to be involved in the production, the designer delegates specific tasks to other members of the crew, who are in turn responsible for creating designs on a more detailed level or for supervising or executing the work needed to transform the designs into reality.

Set building is the responsibility of the construction department. Plans are produced by a draftsperson for the guidance of the construction manager. The construction department includes a range of workers, including carpenters, plasterers, painters, sculptors, drapers, and sign writers, who all work with materials purchased by the construction buyer. Standby painters and standby carpenters remain after the set has been built to handle any alterations required during filming.

Once the basic sets are constructed, the art department takes over. Supervisory responsibility is normally assumed by the art director, although sometimes the roles of production designer and art director are combined. A set designer has the duty of planning in detail the sets suggested by the head of the department. A production buyer is responsible for purchasing the required materials.

If large, two-dimensional pictures are used at the rear of the set to create the illusion of a space that does not exist, they are the responsibility of the scenic artist. Sometimes the background paintings are not physically incorporated into the set but are combined through optical effects. These images are created by a matte artist; they were traditionally painted on glass, but techniques are changing with the growing sophistication of digital effects.

The set decorator is responsible for transforming a basic set into the illusion of a complete environment, with all the details needed to make it look convincing. He or she is normally assisted by a lead person, who is in charge of the swing gang, which comprises miscellaneous personnel handling set dressing and props, who ready the set for the next day's filming, often by working overnight. The set dresser physically places the set dressing items, such as chairs and tables. A greensperson places and maintains any necessary foliage. The property master provides mobile objects, such as books or kitchenware, which may be handled by actors. These are maintained by a property assistant. Certain types of props that call for more detailed knowledge may be supplied or supervised by a specialist such as an armorer, who is responsible for weaponry.

The wardrobe department is headed by the costume designer, who works with the director and the production designer to ensure the film has the desired "look." The role of the wardrobe supervisor is to ensure that the outfits specified by the costume designer are created, hired, or purchased within the budget. If costumes must be made, they are created by a seamstress and cutter/fitter. The wardrobe master or mistress and wardrobe assistants maintain the costumes during production, supervising washing and mending as well as ensuring that the costumes are available when and where they are required. A dresser may be employed to help the performers get in and out of their outfits.

The hairstylist is responsible for designing and maintaining hair and wigs. Makeup artists design and create the facial and body makeup effects required for the performers (sometimes animal as well as human). The special makeup effects credit belongs to artists who create major alterations in appearance. These may include the simulation of serious injuries or disfigurements, or the transformation of an actor into a monster. Prosthetic makeup is a specialized task that generates radical transformations by attaching latex or other materials to an actor's skin, using prosthetic appliances created by a foam technician.

CAMERA, LIGHTING, ELECTRICAL, AND PRODUCTION SOUND DEPARTMENTS

The camera crew is headed by the director of photography, who works closely with the director. Together they select the camera(s) and film stock and plan the camera angles and movements. The director of photography also takes responsibility for selecting camera lenses and designing the lighting.

The director of photography may also operate the camera, but normally this task is delegated to a camera operator. For multicamera shooting, several operators are needed, and these may be credited with such titles as "B camera" or "additional camera." The camera operator may be supported by an assistant cameraman, who is responsible for the care of the equipment, as well as preparing the camera report, or dope sheet. The clapper loader has various duties, including loading the camera with film and operating the clapperboard at the start of each take. This board displays the film title, scene number, and take number. The clapper loader stands before the camera and reads these details out loud before closing the hinged clapsticks. This device allows the sound and image tracks to be accurately synchronized during post-production while identifying the contents of a filmstrip or sound recording. Although the traditional board is still in use, more sophisticated electronic versions are now available. The focus puller ensures that the image remains

in focus, making adjustments when either the camera or the actors move. To allow instant evaluation of takes, video footage may be recorded and played back by the video assist operator.

If a camera is required to move during the take, additional crew members are needed. The dolly grip takes responsibility for the camera dolly, a wheeled support that allows the camera to be moved along tracks. A 1973 invention now allows a Steadicam operator to move the camera in a special device attached to his or her body, which minimizes the shakiness of the operator's movements. A crane operator may be employed when a camera (and sometimes its operator) needs to be elevated for very high angled shots.

The electrical department is headed by the gaffer, who is responsible for delivering the lighting effects required by the director of photography. The gaffer's first assistant is the best boy electric (a title used irrespective of actual gender), and the department also employs electricians, or "sparks." A generator operator may be needed when extra power is required, especially common when shooting on location.

Since the demands of lighting placement are often complex, the gaffer relies heavily on the grips, physical laborers who handle and maintain a range of equipment used on the set, and who are particularly associated with the lighting and camera departments. The key grip works closely with the director of photography, the camera operator, and the gaffer in order to plan ways to meet the physical requirements of lighting and camera movement. The key grip's first assistant is known as the best boy grip. Construction grips, or riggers, erect any scaffolding required for the camera or lighting and help to disassemble and reassemble sets.

Some sound is normally recorded during filming, although much of the soundtrack is created during postproduction. On set, the production sound mixer is responsible for selecting microphones and supervising their placement. Several different types may be used. These include microphones concealed around the set—behind furniture, for instance—and radio microphones worn under the performers' clothing. A boom, or long rod, is often used to suspend a microphone above the action and out of the camera's range. This is handled by the boom operator. The cable puller handles the masses of wiring that the microphones require. The sound recordist operates the tape recording equipment on the set.

PERFORMERS

The stars and supporting actors are rarely the only performers in a film. Most films also use extras, who perform small non-speaking roles, often as part of a crowd. Many films also require stunt performers to execute potentially dangerous physical actions, such as catching fire. Some performers work as doubles, imitating an actor who is unavailable, and are often filmed in long shot or from a rear view. Stunt doubles can be used to create the illusion that an actor is performing his or her own stunts. Body doubles are used when an actor does not possess the required physical attributes or when a star refuses to appear naked. Other performers are not seen physically but are featured on the soundtrack. They include voice-over artists, who are used for spoken narration, and voice actors, who create the character voices in cartoons. Sometimes the voice of a live actor is replaced, a practice especially common when singing is required. The Hollywood star Rita Hayworth (1918–1987) had her "singing voice" recorded by other artists, including Nan Wynn (1915–1971), Martha Mears (1908–1986), Anita Ellis (b. 1920), and Jo Ann Greer (d. 2001).

Stand-ins do not appear in the final film, but have a very important function. During the preparation of a shot, when lighting is set up and camera movements are rehearsed, they replace the actors in order to allow the actors time for other preparations, such as makeup.

OTHER PRODUCTION CREW

Most films require some special effects. This term normally refers to illusions created on the film set, rather than in postproduction. (Digital effects and other effects created off-set are discussed in depth below.) The department is headed by the special effects supervisor, and its members may include such crew as a pyrotechnician, who is an expert in creating fires and explosions, a model maker, a puppeteer, and a projectionist, who operates the equipment needed for back projection. The special effects crew normally works closely with other departments, such as makeup or stunts, so there may be no clear division between them.

Some other crew members commonly employed include runners or production assistants, security guards, a maintenance engineer, a health and safety adviser, and a unit nurse. Additional services are required for location work. The transportation captain organizes the movement of actors, crew members, and equipment between sets and locations. A transport coordinator may also be employed to supervise the availability of drivers and vehicles. Catering, a crucial service during a shoot is provided by a company or group of individuals who supply the main meals to cast and crew. The craft service maintains the availability of drinks and snacks throughout the day.

POSTPRODUCTION SOUND

Music, sound effects, and even some of the dialogue are recorded as well as edited during postproduction. The

musical score is designed by a composer, who writes the main themes but may not provide detailed designs for each moment of the film. A music arranger or orchestrator may also be employed to adapt the composition for each part of the film for which music needs to be recorded. If the score includes songs, then a lyricist and one or more singers may be required. A conductor may be employed during the process of recording the musicians. If the soundtrack uses nonoriginal music, then the duty of obtaining rights clearance falls to the music supervisor.

Sound effects are created by a Foley artist, who re-creates noises such as slamming doors and jangling keys, using a variety of everyday items that are often quite different from the objects they mimic. Dialogue re-recording is known as ADR, or automatic dialogue replacement. An ADR editor is responsible for recording the dialogue and matching it to the filmed lip movements.

Synthesizing these different tracks normally involves an array of specialized editors. These may include a dialogue editor, a sound effects editor, and a music editor, who are all responsible to the supervising sound editor. The sound re-recording mixer combines the dialogue, sound effects, and music to create the final soundtrack.

EDITING, VISUAL EFFECTS, ANIMATION, AND TITLING

Processing and printing of the film is performed by laboratories, rather than members of the film crew. The editor is responsible for selecting shots from the raw footage and arranging them into the order specified in the shooting script. Further reworking is often supervised by the director. The editing process may be done by physically cutting sections of the printed filmstrip, or may now be done on a computer, using systems such as Final Cut Pro or Avid (a high proportion of editing work is now done digitally). Much of the technical and administrative work is performed by an assistant film editor.

The photographed images may still require additions or modifications. Whereas special effects are created in front of the camera, visual effects are added in postproduction under the direction of the visual effects supervisor. Alterations to the image may include erasing a boom or a light that has accidentally got into the frame, integrating digitally created characters with live action, or changing the color of the sky so that shots filmed at different times match up when edited together. Most visual effects work is now done using computer technology. Some common crew members include modelers and animators, who create the components that need to be integrated with live footage, and digital compositors, who combine various visual elements.

An animator creates a series of individual frames that produce the illusion of movement when filmed sequentially. Animation may sometimes be incorporated into live action films, but is often designed not to be noticed as such. This kind of work normally falls to the visual effects department. Some of the main roles include the key animator, who creates strategic frames, such as the poses a character takes at the start and end of a movement, and "in-betweeners," who create the intermediate frames, guided by the "dope sheet" on which the appointed timings are detailed. In cel animation, an opaquer colors in the outlines drawn onto each frame. Now that much animation is done digitally, new roles have emerged, such as rendering, which involves applying texture, color, and detail to the three-dimensional "wireframe" contour of a character or object, and that of software engineer, who designs and programs the computer systems.

The title designer is responsible for the placement of cast and crew credits and may also design the title sequence in its entirety. Much of the work is now done digitally, as motion graphics have eroded the separation between pictures and text. Sometimes an entire department is needed to create the title sequence, if live action footage needs to be shot, animation must be created, or complex visual effects are required. For this reason, the work is often outsourced to dedicated title houses.

CREW SIZE AND ONSCREEN CREDITS

Most films require a wide range of expertise and thus call for fairly extensive crews. The size of a film crew varies according to the budget, just as its composition depends on the requirements of the specific film. For example, an action thriller may require a large number of stuntmen, whereas an intimate drama would need few if any. Historical blockbusters depend on sizable camera crews and extensive wardrobe departments. For instance, the historical saga *Ben-Hur* (1925) called for forty-eight cameras to shoot its sea battle scene, and the wardrobe department of *Quo Vadis?* (1951) had to prepare and manage 32,000 costumes.

The crews of low budget and short films are likely to be far smaller than those of major Hollywood productions, with people often doubling up to perform more than one task. Such labor-saving practices are usually not possible on big-budget productions, which tend to employ unionized film crews. To protect the interests of their members, unions insist that the crew members work within the strict limits of their job descriptions and that an appropriately qualified union member is hired to perform each duty. This restriction may extend all the way to the director. For instance, when the British director Ridley Scott (b. 1937) went to Hollywood to make

Blade Runner (1982), he was not allowed to act as his own camera operator and had to work through the director of photography Jordan Cronenweth (1935–1996) and his unionized team instead.

Some short films and experimental films, as well as certain types of documentary such as direct cinema, are made with incredibly tiny crews. There are even films that have been made entirely by one person, which has normally happened when the film is composed of animation or found footage. One of the most impressive single-handed achievements is surely José Antonio Sistiaga's feature length abstract animation, *Ere erera baleibu icik subua aruaren* (1970), for which he painted each frame directly onto the film stock. Because he did not use a camera, he did not need a cameraman, lighting crew, actors, or anyone else to create this film. Similarly, Bruce Conner's (b. 1933) compilation films, such as *A Movie* (1957), relied on the re-editing of "found footage," thereby eliminating the need for a conventional filmmaking crew. Even films entailing purpose-shot cinematography have sometimes been made single-handedly. For *Notebook* (1963), Marie Menken (1909–1970) took her camera out into the street to film interesting images, such as reflections in a puddle, and cut them together to create a short non-narrative film.

Although the occupational categories described above have remained relatively stable since the advent of synchronized sound in the late 1920s, a cursory comparison of twenty-first century films, based on onscreen credits, compared to those of the late 1920s or even the early 1970s would suggest that crews are not only becoming larger but also more diversified. One recent example will suffice to illustrate this trend: *The Matrix Revolutions* (2003) credits over 700 participants. This observation, however, may not accurately reflect reality. Screen credits may provide a guide to the main participants in creating a film, but they are not necessarily a reliable guide to the exact makeup of film crews. In particular, they are a poor index of the way in which crews have changed over time. A lengthening credit list does not necessarily mean that films now employ larger crews than before, but rather that a higher proportion of workers are named, whereas in earlier years many remained anonymous. Unions have been a powerful force in this regard, working hard to ensure that their members receive onscreen credit. In an era in which most film workers freelance, rather than work under studio contract, it is especially important for their career that they receive credit, since this may affect their remuneration as well as their future employment prospects.

SEE ALSO *Guilds and Unions; Production Process*

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CRIME FILMS

Crime films rule the world from East to West—from *Shanghai Triad* to *Kalifornia*—because they allow audiences to indulge two logically incompatible desires: the desire to enter a criminal world most of them would take pains to avoid in real life, and the desire to walk away from that world with none of its traumatic or fatal consequences. Whether they focus on criminals, convicts, avengers, detectives, police officers, attorneys, or victims, crime films depend on a nearly universal fear of crime and an equally strong attraction to the criminal world. They play on a powerful desire for a modern-day version of the catharsis that Aristotle contended should evoke and purge pity and terror. Crime films from every nation help establish that nation's identity even as criminals seem to be trying their hardest to undermine it.

This sense of contested national identity is especially strong in the United States, whose crime films, constantly synthesizing such disparate influences as German expressionism (*Dr. Mabuse, der Spieler* [Dr. Mabuse: The Gambler], 1922), French poetic realism (*Le Quai des brumes* [*Port of Shadows*], 1938), and the Hong Kong action film (*Lashou shentan* [*Hard-Boiled*], 1992), have been the acknowledged model for international entries as different as *Tirez sur la pianiste* (*Shoot the Piano Player*; France, 1960), *Tengoku to jigoku* (*High and Low*; Japan, 1963), and *L'Uccello dalle piume di cristallo* (*The Bird with the Crystal Plumage*; Italy, 1970). A Martian visiting Hollywood might well conclude from its products that crime was the predominant economic activity in America, and the one that best dramatized the collision course between American ideology, which promises freedom and equal opportunity to all citizens, and American capitalism, in which money protects the secure and successful from their criminal competitors. Crime does not pay, insists the self-censoring 1930 Production Code that shaped the content of all Hollywood movies from 1934 to 1956 and left shadows long after it lapsed. Yet movies consistently show crime paying, at least for an intoxicatingly long moment.

The crime film is by far the most popular of all Hollywood genres—or would be if it were widely acknowledged as a genre. Many specific kinds of crime films have been more readily recognized and closely analyzed than crime films in general. Viewers familiar with private-eye films like *The Maltese Falcon* (1941), police films like *The French Connection* (1971), prison films like *The Shawshank Redemption* (1994), caper films like *The Asphalt Jungle* (1950), man-on-the-run films like *North by Northwest* (1959), outlaw films like *The Adventures of Robin Hood* (1938), films about lawyers like *To Kill a Mockingbird* (1962), or the extensive film series presenting the exploits of detectives from the saturnine Sherlock Holmes (*The Hound of the Baskervilles*, 1939) to the slapstick cast of *Police Academy* and its sequels (1984–2006) would have a hard time defining the crime film. So would commentators who have written on gangster films (*Scarface*, 1931/1983) and *film noir* (*Double Indemnity*, 1944), the two kinds of crime films that have inspired the most extensive critical discussion. Everyone can recognize a private-eye film by its hard-boiled hero's wisecracks, a caper film by its atmosphere of professional fatalism, and a *film noir* by the distinctive high-contrast visuals that break the physical world into a series of romantically dehumanized objects and gestures. But the crime film, like crime itself, seems so pervasive a social reality that it is hard to step outside it and pin it down.

(From left) Humphrey Bogart, James Cagney, and Jeffrey Lynn in the classic gangster film **The Roaring Twenties** *(Raoul Walsh, 1939).* EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF MOVIE CRIME

Most popular genres have a history. The crime film has none—or rather, it has so many that it is impossible to give a straightforward account of the genre's evolution without getting lost in innumerable byways as different crime formulas arise, evolve, compete, mutate, and cross-pollinate. Crime films arise from a radical ambivalence toward the romance of crime. That romance gave heroic detectives like Sherlock Holmes—burlesqued onscreen as early as 1900 or 1903 (the exact date is uncertain), in the thirty-second *Sherlock Holmes Baffled*—a matchless opportunity to make the life of the mind melodramatic and glamorous, and it made silent criminals like Fantômas (*Fantômas* and four sequels, France, 1913–1914) and Bull Weed (*Underworld*, 1927) both villain and hero. The arrival of synchronized sound in 1927 and the Great Depression in 1929 created an enormous appetite for escapist entertainment and a form of mass entertainment, the talkies, capable of reaching even the most unsophisticated audiences, including the millions of lower-class immigrants who had flocked to America. The great gangster films of the 1930s and the long series of detective films that flourished alongside them, their detectives now increasingly ethnic (*Charlie Chan Carries On*, 1931, and forty-one sequels; *Think Fast, Mr. Moto*, 1937, and seven sequels; *Mr. Wong, Detective*, 1938, and four sequels), were nominally based on novels. But crime films did not seek anything like the literary cachet of establishment culture until the rise of *film noir*—atmospheric tales of heroes most often doomed by passion—named and analyzed by French journalists but produced in America throughout the decade beginning in 1944.

Postwar crime films, whatever formula they adopted, were shaped in America by cultural anxiety about the nuclear bomb (*Kiss Me Deadly*, 1955) and the nuclear family (*The Desperate Hours*, 1955). The decline of *film noir* after *Touch of Evil* (1958) was offset by a notable

series of crime comedies at England's Ealing Studios (such as *The Lavender Hill Mob*, 1951) and a masterly series of psychological thrillers directed by Alfred Hitchcock (*Strangers on a Train*, 1951; *Rear Window*, 1954; *Vertigo*, 1958; *North by Northwest*, 1959; *Psycho*, 1960). The 1960s was the decade of the international spy hero James Bond, who headlined history's most lucrative movie franchise in a long series beginning with *Dr. No* (1962). But it was left to a quartet of ironic valentines to retro genres, *Bonnie and Clyde* (1967), *The Godfather* (1972), *The Godfather: Part II* (1974), and *Chinatown* (1974), to reinvent the crime film for a hip young audience. The replacement of the 1930 Production Code by the 1969 ratings system allowed niche films to be successfully marketed even if they were as graphically violent as *Henry: Portrait of a Serial Killer* (1990) or as bleak in their view of American politics as *The Parallax View* (1974) or *JFK* (1991). The closing years of the century, marked by a heightened public fear of crime, a fascination with the public-justice system, and a deep ambivalence toward lawyers, allowed a thousand poisoned flowers to bloom around the globe, from the sociological sweep of the British television miniseries *Traffik* (1989), remade and softened for American audiences as *Traffic* (2000), to the ritualistic Hong Kong crime films of John Woo (*Die xue shuang xiong* [The Killer], 1989) and Johnny To (*Dung fong saam hap* [The Heroic Trio], 1993) and their American progeny (*Pulp Fiction*, 1994), to the steamy eroticism of the all-American *Basic Instinct* (1992) and its direct-to-video cousins. Perhaps the most distinctive new strain in the genre has been the deadpan crime comedy of Joel (b. 1954) and Ethan (b. 1957) Coen, whose films, from *Blood Simple* (1985) to *The Ladykillers* (2004), left some viewers laughing and others bewildered or disgusted.

THE STRUCTURE OF CRIME FORMULAS

Crime films, like most popular formulas, are defined by a relatively small number of consistent plots and plot transformations. The one common feature all crime films share is a crime; they differ in what sort of crime it is (though murder, the most serious and irreversible of crimes, disproportionately predominates), how they stage that crime, what attitude they take toward it, and how they present the people who are involved in it.

Although they all agree that crime is the defining feature of crime films, critics have taken two different approaches to the profusion of crime formulas. Jack Shadoian and Carlos Clarens, following the lead of Robert Warshow's influential essay "The Gangster as Tragic Hero" (1962), make criminals as central to the genre as crime. In their accounts, the gangster film, the film focusing on the lives and deaths of professional criminals, is the central crime formula to which all other sorts of crime films are subordinate. Gangster films, according to these commentators, present urban heroes whose law-breaking behavior is the quintessential expression of the American Dream and its ultimate bankruptcy. The big-city gangster, born in silent shorts like *The Musketeers of Pig Alley* (1912) and given definitive shape in the Depression-era triptych of *Little Caesar* (1930), *Public Enemy* (1931), and *Scarface* (1932), licenses its criminal hero to follow his dreams of wealth at the price of ensuring his destruction. Crime becomes for these commentators a rich metaphor for the extravagant promises and tragic contradictions of American capitalism, social equality, and unlimited upward mobility. Other crime formulas—especially, in Shadoian's case, the *film noir*—are important to the extent that they participate in the economic and social critique of American culture that makes the gangster film quintessentially American.

Instead of locating the gangster film at the heart of the American crime film, theorists like Gary Hoppenstand and Charles Derry have mapped out a broad range of crime-related fiction and films without giving any one kind priority over the others. Hoppenstand surveys a spectrum of mystery fiction from supernatural horror tales like *Psycho* (1959, filmed 1960), which places the greatest emphasis on forces of evil and chaos beyond the heroes' ability to understand or control, through a series of formulas that show evil gradually receding before the power of rational thought: fiction *noir* like *The Postman Always Rings Twice* (1934, filmed 1946 and 1981), gangster stories like *The Godfather* (1969, filmed 1972), stories of professional thieves like A. J. Raffles (*The Amateur Cracksman*, 1899, filmed 1930), spy thrillers like *Dr. No* (1958, filmed 1962), and detective stories like "The Murders in the Rue Morgue" (1841, filmed 1914, 1932, 1971, and 1986), in which the detective hero's analytical intelligence triumphs over the forces of darkness.

Derry begins instead with a triangular model of crime films, in which the films are distinguished by their emphasis on one of three parties involved in every crime: the victim, the criminal, and the avenging detective. He then arranges one series of crime films along the line from detective to criminal: classical detective films like *The Thin Man* (1934), hard-boiled private-eye films like *Murder, My Sweet* (1944), police procedurals like *Serpico* (1974), gangster films like *Mean Streets* (1973), bandit films about romantic lovers on the lam like *Bonnie and Clyde*, and caper films like *The Anderson Tapes* (1971). He arranges a second series along the line from criminal to victim: thrillers about murderous passions like *Body Heat* (1981), political thrillers like *The Manchurian Candidate* (1962), films of assumed identity like *The Talented Mr. Ripley* (1999), psychotraumatic thrillers like *Vertigo*, films of moral confrontation like *Blue Velvet*

(1986), and innocent-on-the-run films like *The Fugitive* (1993). Whereas Warshow's analysis emphasizes the criminal hero's mythopoetic power, in Derry's schema the films focus on the varied relations mystery and thriller formulas have established between good and evil, the known and the unknown, the controlled and the uncontrollable.

By considering a range of stories that regard evil as omnipotent, eminently resolvable, or somewhere in between, Hoppenstand implicitly poses rationality and detection as a counterweight to mystery. Making mystery central to the crime film emphasizes questions of knowledge. Where will Jack the Ripper strike next in *From Hell* (2001)? How will a gang of thieves proceed if they plan to rob the racetrack in *The Killing* (1956)? What is the best way to handle the appeal of a socialite convicted of attempted murder in *Reversal of Fortune* (1990)? In a world of treacherous women, whom can private eye Philip Marlowe trust in *The Big Sleep* (1946/1978)? Or, in the question most closely associated with the mystery: Whodunit? These questions are brought into focus by the publicity line for the release of *The Silence of the Lambs* (1991): "To enter the mind of a killer she must challenge the mind of a madman."

Important as the battle of wits between FBI trainee Clarice Starling and cannibalistic serial killer Hannibal Lecter is, however, *The Silence of the Lambs* is less about knowledge than about power, especially the power to pry or trick knowledge from someone who does not want to share it. It is in this connection that Derry's schema of crime films in terms of the three figures they necessarily involve—victims, criminals, and detectives or avengers—is most useful. For it allows a primary distinction between crime formulas like the detective story that are mainly about knowledge and formulas like the *film noir* and police story that are mainly about power. And it indicates some of the relations between crime stories that focus on the power of promethean individuals and the power of governmental institutions. Here the gangster, the lawbreaking individual whose fortune and whose very life depends on the criminal organization he heads, turns out to be pivotal after all. In addition to exemplifying the tragic contradictions of American capitalism, his gang, a microcosm of a doomed society, illustrates the limits of all social organization.

AN ENDURING AMBIVALENCE

Structural analyses of crime fiction also shed light on the interrelations among other popular film formulas. Commentators from Herbert Ruhm to John McCarty trace the crime film's lineage to the western, but Ruhm considers the hard-boiled dick and McCarty the gangster to be the gunslinger's heir. Both are correct; their disagreement indicates the extent to which gangsters and private eyes resemble each other, just as heroic police officers, whose loyalty to their organization ought to make them the antithesis of hard-boiled gumshoes, act like private eyes in *Dirty Harry* (1971) and like gangsters in *'G' Men* (1935), even though these figures are their nominal opposites.

More than any one single crime formula, the interrelations among the several formulas indicate an ambivalence toward crime, criminals, the justice system, and the official culture that the crime film defines. Stock figures that one formula borrows from another invariably assume a new role and provoke a new and more nuanced reaction. The professional criminal hero of the gangster film mutates in the 1940s into the reluctant amateur criminal hero of *film noir*; *film noir* in turn replaces the greed of movie gangsters with the passion for forbidden bliss as embodied by sirens like Lana Turner (*The Postman Always Rings Twice*) and Jane Greer (*Out of the Past*, 1947). A still later mutation is the story of white-collar criminals like *Glengarry Glen Ross* (1992), in which a desperate sales force—a legal gang whose members are eternally at war with one another—reveals the thin line between skillfulness and lawbreaking, between capitalistic competition and crime, inside established corporate culture. Attorneys-at-law, because of the adversarial nature of their practice, become their own opposites in films from *Anatomy of a Murder* (1959) to *A Civil Action* (1998), in which every heroic lawyer is defined in contradistinction to a villainous lawyer. Crime comedies like *Fargo* (1996) show unexpected sides of both their harried criminals and their stolid police officers in order to raise questions as to why some criminal outrages are horrifying while others are funny. A figure as apparently simple as the uniformed police officer becomes a hero in police films, an enemy in private-eye films, a nemesis or nuisance in gangster films, an obstacle in lawyer films, and a figure of fun in crime comedies, each version faithfully reflecting part of viewers' more complex attitude toward the institutions of law.

It is easier to note the enduring ambivalence that characterizes crime films, whatever their formula, than to analyze it definitively. But a few patterns are clear. For Hoppenstand, the formal detective story becomes something like the antithesis and resolution to the tale of supernatural horror at the opposite end of the spectrum, and professional criminals, as organized in their way as detectives, occupy a surprising middle ground between the extremes. Derry's emphasis on the three figures on which all crime stories depend, which ought to reveal a symmetrical relationship among victims, criminals, and avenging detectives, reveals instead a crucial asymmetry. There are many crime formulas emphasizing criminals: gangster films like *The Roaring Twenties* (1939) that

HUMPHREY BOGART

b. New York, New York, 25 December 1899, d. 14 January 1957

Humphrey Bogart is the greatest and most versatile of all crime stars, the only one equally at home as a gangster (*Dead End*, 1937), a hard-boiled detective (*The Big Sleep*, 1946), *a noir* hero (*Dead Reckoning*, 1947), a crusading lawyer (*The Enforcer*, 1951), an innocent on the run (*Dark Passage*, 1947), and a victim (*Key Largo*, 1948). After years of apprenticeship on Broadway and in Hollywood, Bogart first achieved fame as the gangster Duke Mantee in *The Petrified Forest* (1936). He soon added depth and heart to the gangster figure in roles from aging, betrayed Roy Earle (*High Sierra*, 1941) to vicious anti-father Glenn Griffin (*The Desperate Hours*, 1955). But he is better remembered for his performances as a series of tight-lipped heroes forever tarnished by their star's lingering criminal persona, from Sam Spade in *The Maltese Falcon* (1941) to Lieutenant Commander Queeg in *The Caine Mutiny* (1954). His unlikely romantic heroes from Rick Blaine in *Casablanca* (1942) to Charlie Allnut in *The African Queen* (1951) mark Bogart as universally available—*The Big Sleep* makes a running joke of women throwing themselves at his feet—but always withdrawn, the American icon females would find easiest to seduce and hardest to open emotionally.

Bogart's most distinctive gift was his ability to suggest a current of thought beneath each action, a consistent shadiness beneath his characters' heroism. Although he often played men of action like Army Captain Joe Gunn in *Sahara* (1943) and fishing skipper Harry Morgan in *To Have and Have Not* (1944), his finest performances constantly suggested thought without specifying it. Because his reserve always implied unexplored depths, he was especially useful as the hero without a past in *Casablanca* and as the lawyer or editor who could channel his passion into his job in *Knock on Any Door* (1949) and *Deadline U.S.A.* (1952). He brought complexity to attorneys and reporters who dealt regularly with criminals and to servicemen who had to face physical danger and internalize moral pressure. He rarely played criminals after achieving stardom but brought a special tough-guy edge to his performances under the direction of John Huston, who co-wrote the role of Roy Earle and directed *The Maltese Falcon*, *Across the Pacific* (1942), *Key Largo*, *The African Queen*, and *Beat the Devil* (1953). Although he won an Academy Award® for *The African Queen*, his finest performance was as Fred C. Dobbs, the prospector maddened by greed in *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre* (1948), again under Huston's direction.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

The Petrified Forest (1936), *Dead End* (1937), *High Sierra* (1941), *The Maltese Falcon* (1941), *Across the Pacific* (1942), *Casablanca* (1942), *Sahara* (1943), *To Have and Have Not* (1944), *The Big Sleep* (1946), *Dead Reckoning* (1947), *Dark Passage* (1947), *Key Largo* (1948), *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre* (1948), *Knock on Any Door* (1949), *In a Lonely Place* (1950), *The African Queen* (1951), *The Enforcer* (1951), *Deadline U.S.A.* (1952), *Beat the Devil* (1953), *The Caine Mutiny* (1954), *The Desperate Hours* (1955)

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focus on professional criminals, *film noir* like *Gun Crazy* (originally titled "Deadly Is the Female," 1949) that track amateur criminals to their doom, caper films like *The Score* (2001) that bring together a disparate group of mutually distrustful crooks for a single big job, studies of psychopathology like *Cape Fear* (1961/1991) and *To Die For* (1995), and white-collar crime films like *Wall Street* (1987). And there are plenty of crime stories about avenging detectives, from superhero films like *Batman* (1989) to formal detective stories like *Murder on the Orient Express* (1974) to amateur detective stories like *Blue Velvet* (1986) to *Benji* (1974), about a lovable dog who foils a kidnapping. But there are very few Hollywood movies focusing on victims, and those few, from *D.O.A.* (1950/1988) to *The Accused* (1988), almost always allow their protagonists to change from passive victims to heroic avengers in accord with a distinctively American glorification of individual initiative and action.

Crime films routinely downplay the sufferings of victims in favor of the heroic actions of their avengers. Not even the avenging detective, however, enjoys the prestige of the criminal hero viewers love to hate, and

Humphrey Bogart in the 1930s. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

often love to love as well. Because the possibility of criminal behavior by victims like Frank Bigelow in the 1950 *D.O.A.* and respected attorney George Simon in *Counsellor at Law* (1933) is what gives both innocent victims and pillars of institutional justice their dramatic possibilities, the label ''crime film'' rightly gives pride of place to the criminal.

The casting of key performers in the genre consistently reveals the remarkable affinities between movie victims and movie criminals, like the affinities Ruhm and McCarty establish between movie gangsters and movie detectives and indeed between criminals and characters outside the crime genre. In *M* (Germany, 1931), the murderous child molester Hans Beckert comes across as tormented and ultimately pitiable. This is partly because director Fritz Lang (1890–1976) keeps Beckert's heinous crimes off-camera, and partly because the plot focuses instead on his pursuit and entrapment by a criminal gang determined to get him off the streets so that a reduced police presence will allow more breathing room for their own activities. But it is the performance by Peter Lorre (1904–1964) that most brings out the anguish, and finally the agony, in every move the sweaty little killer makes toward a new hiding place or a new attempt to explain his crimes. In his first important film role, Lorre makes the killer both monstrously evil and monstrously banal. Similarly, the portrayal by the iconic French actor Jean Gabin (1904–1976)—who specialized in stoic Everymen in films such as *Les Bas-fonds* (*The Lower Depths*, 1936) and *La Grande Illusion* (*The Grand Illusion*, 1937)—of doomed killers in *Pépé le Moko* (1937), *La Bête humaine* (The Human Beast, 1938), and *Le Jour se lève* (*Daybreak*, 1939) imparts a weary sense of honor and decency to characters who might otherwise come across as simple criminals.

The Hollywood studios notoriously cast to type but recognize that typecasting inevitably expands and complicates the type. Although Paul Muni (1895–1967), who played Tony Camonte in *Scarface* (1931), resisted typecasting, two of the other preeminent screen gangsters, James Cagney (1899–1986) and Edward G. Robinson (1893–1973), played effectively within and against their menacing types even though neither was physically imposing. The appeal of Cagney and Robinson was elemental. Whether or not they were playing criminals, they were always riveting in their direct appeal to the camera and the audience. Yet the third great American star of crime films created a larger and more enduringly complex set of heroes than either of them. Humphrey Bogart (1899–1957) was a moody, world-weary figure hundreds of miles from a boyhood he could never remember. Robinson is the American immigrant on the make, Cagney the American innocent swept into crime by primitive urges he can neither understand nor control. Bogart is the American hero whose experience has left him with no illusions about anyone, least of all himself. His successors are the even more introverted Alan Ladd (1913–1964) and John Garfield (1913–1952). Ladd's performance in *This Gun for Hire* (1942) established him as the most noncommittal of all crime-film stars, the handsome hero whose dead eyes could conceal any emotion or none at all. Garfield, by contrast, specialized in wounded cubs, bruised boys who carried a deep vein of emotional vulnerability beneath their criminal portfolios in *The Postman Always Rings Twice* and *Force of Evil* (1948).

These stars incarnate the American dialectic between striving and disillusionment, limitless optimism and cynical worldly wisdom at the heart of all crime films. After the demise of the studio system, actors had a freer hand in shaping their own career, but many of them followed the same path of invoking a single powerful persona that developed and deepened from film to film. Marlon Brando (1924–2004), the Method actor who rose to fame playing sensitive brutes under Elia Kazan's direction (*A Streetcar Named Desire*, 1951; *On the Waterfront*, 1954), seemed to bring all his complicated past to bear on his performance as the honorable, aging gang lord Vito Corleone in *The Godfather*. Kevin Spacey's self-effacing monsters in *Se7en* (1995) and *The Usual Suspects* (1995) darkened and deepened his equivocal

victim in *Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil* (1997) as well as his equivocal hero in *American Beauty* (1999), culminating in his criminal/victim in *The Life of David Gale* (2003). Casting the cocky glamour-puss Tom Cruise as a contract killer in *Collateral* (2004) galvanized an otherwise commonplace story, and casting Tom Hanks against type as a mob killer in *Road to Perdition* (2002) leavened the film's obligatory doomy pathos with warmth, affection, and compassion.

The leading stars of late-twentieth-century crime films were, like Brando, Italian-American graduates of the Actors Studio who spent years perfecting a persona that carried through all their later work. Robert De Niro (b. 1943) and Al Pacino (b. 1940) shot to fame playing Hollywood gangsters, De Niro in *Mean Streets*, Pacino in *The Godfather*, the two of them together in *The Godfather: Part II*. De Niro's specialty was low-level crooks who were none too bright and often psychotic, like Travis Bickle in *Taxi Driver* (1976); Pacino's was grandly scaled criminals whose behavior ranged from witless (*Dog Day Afternoon*, 1975) to operatic (*Scarface*, 1983). Both communicated a fervid intensity unmatched by any other performer of their generation. Once he had established his no-limits persona, De Niro could create a gallery of criminal types, from the suave Louis Cyphre in *Angel Heart* (1987) to the gangster Jimmy Conway in *GoodFellas* (1990), who seemed all the more menacing for his underplaying. Pacino, who never underplayed, brought an equally edgy conviction to heroic gangsters (*Carlito's Way*, 1993), compromised cops (*Sea of Love*, 1989), and the Prince of Darkness himself (*The Devil's Advocate*, 1997). Frustrated by the fact that *The Godfather: Part II* had consigned De Niro and Pacino to story lines a generation apart, fans hailed their two scenes together in *Heat* (1995) as the perfect meeting of De Niro's iconic gangster and Pacino's equivocal cop. Both actors have fleshed out their personas by playing against them subtly (Pacino's honorably aging mobster in *Donnie Brasco*, 1997) or broadly (De Niro's farcical mobster in *Analyze This*, 1999, and *Analyze That*, 2002). As these performances show, the deepest conflicts within crime films are not between good guys and bad guys but within oversized antiheroes, heroic villains, and equivocal characters torn by their own histories and desires.

A MAN'S WORLD

The iconic stars who flesh out the formulaic characters of crime films by giving them personas, performance histories, and the all-important variations that distinguish one gangster from the next are not of course limited to men. Jean Harlow (1911–1937), Joan Blondell (1906–1979), and Glenda Farrell (1904–1971) all play memorable molls to Hollywood gangsters. The four female friends of *Set It Off* (1996) form a gang and rob banks themselves. The soiled screen persona of Gloria Grahame (1923–1981) (*In a Lonely Place*, 1950; *The Big Heat*, 1953; *Human Desire*, 1954) encapsulates the mystique of *film noir* as surely as the crassly eager vulnerability of John Garfield. And their roles as cops in *The Silence of the Lambs* and *Fargo* won Academy Awards® for Jodie Foster and Frances McDormand, respectively. On the whole, however, the world of the crime film is a man's world—an axiom that can readily be tested by a brief look at the *film noir*, the one kind of crime film frequently dominated by strong women.

The errant male heroes of *film noir* like *Double Indemnity*, *Scarlet Street*, *The Killers* (1946/1964), *The Postman Always Rings Twice*, *Criss Cross* (1948), *Gun Crazy*, and *Angel Face* (1953) are all destroyed by their love for the wrong woman. The femmes fatales of *film noir*, who lure unsuspecting men to their doom, return with a vengeance a generation later as the sirens of erotic thrillers like *Body Heat*, *Fatal Attraction* (1987), *Basic Instinct*, and *The Last Seduction* (1994). In the latter two films respectively, Sharon Stone and Linda Fiorentino dominate both their films and their male costars, yet their power is presented as something aberrant and menacing, a threat the men will pay for not containing. The unending conflict between men and women might seem all the more remarkable in crime films, which ought logically to subordinate it to the conflict between good and evil. But in fact Hollywood routinely subordinates the second conflict to the first by making the challenge of crime—whether the hero is a lawbreaker, a law enforcer, or a victim—a test of masculinity.

This test is most obvious in *film noir* and erotic thrillers, which ritualistically punish weak men for their sexual transgressions by unmanning or killing them. The sirens in these films incarnate temptation, but the moral agents with the power to choose wrongly are always men. Commentators from E. Ann Kaplan to Frank Krutnik have pointed out that hard-boiled detective movies like *The Maltese Falcon*, *Murder, My Sweet*, and *The Big Sleep* confront their heroes with a similar choice between a masculinity that requires them to act professionally and dispassionately and a set of taboo alternative sexualities ranging from feminization (the ineffectual consort Merwin Lockridge Grayle in *Murder, My Sweet*) to homosexuality (Joel Cairo and Wilmer the gunsel in *The Maltese Falcon*, Arthur Gwynn Geiger and Carol Lundgren in *The Big Sleep*). In *Chinatown*, this confrontation reaches a climax in J. J. Gittes's tragic inability to trust Evelyn Mulwray precisely because she consistently acts like a woman. The conflict in each case is not between masculinity and femininity but between masculinity and nonmasculine sexualities, all of them less than fully human in the hero's eyes. Gangster films like

(From left) Joe Pesci, Robert De Niro, and Ray Liotta in **GoodFellas** *(Martin Scorsese, 1990).* EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Scarface present women as just another prize for manly men to win; prison films like *Brute Force* (1947) ban women from the present-day setting and relegate them only to dreams and memories; police films like *Bullitt* (1968), *The French Connection*, and *Serpico* draw sharp conflicts between male teamwork and heroic male independence to the virtual exclusion of women; and even lawyer films like *A Few Good Men* (1992) and *Reversal of Fortune* use the courtroom as an arena for testing a masculinity threatened by the temptations of female or feminized behavior that can be exorcised only when the male heroes appeal to the justice system.

By associating masculinity with the institutional justice system, crime films can use either one to test the other. When a woman is the head criminal, as in *Lady Scarface* (1941) or *Bloody Mama* (1970), or the lead detective, as in *Blue Steel* (1990) or *Fargo*, the genre does not redefine itself in female terms but rather uses the dissonance of the female character in a stereotypically male role to multiply the temptations for her beset male costars and to explore the masculine possibilities available to women.

The crime film's investment in an institutional justice system that is gendered male is revealed most clearly by man-on-the-run films in which the one running is a woman. The founding premise of films like *The 39 Steps* (UK, 1935), *Three Days of the Condor* (1976), and *The Fugitive* is that the innocent hero, mistaken for a criminal, is pursued by both the real criminals and the police. But when women are put in a similar position, as in *Thelma and Louise* (1991), *Bad Girls* (1994), *Bound* (1996), and *Psycho* (whose first half might be described as a brutally foreshortened woman-on-the-run film), they are anything but innocent. Such films punish women for their transgressions against the institutional order, putting the masculinity of that order itself on trial. In the most uncompromising example of such films to date, *Boys Don't Cry* (1999), the crime of Brandon Teena (Hilary Swank) is literally that she is a woman.

CRIME, ENTERTAINMENT, AND SOCIETY

Crime films display various and often contradictory attitudes toward crime. The viewers themselves are

MARTIN SCORSESE

b. Queens, New York, 17 November 1942

Born in Queens, Martin Scorsese grew up in Manhattan's Little Italy, just a few steps from the Bowery. After seriously considering a vocation to the priesthood, he went to film school instead, completing his Bachelor of Arts degree at New York University in 1964. His shoestring first feature, *Who's That Knocking at My Door?* (1968), caught the attention of Roger Corman, the legendary producer of exploitation films, who offered him the chance to direct *Boxcar Bertha* (1972). With *Mean Streets* (1973), Scorsese's career took off, and he has become one of the most widely praised American filmmakers of his generation, the first of the so-called film-school brats.

Scorsese's work evidences a remarkable thematic consistency. His collaborations with the screenwriter Paul Schrader on *Mean Streets*, *Taxi Driver* (1976), *Raging Bull* (1980), and *Bringing Out the Dead* (1999) only hint at this consistency. Whether he is directing a period adaptation of Edith Wharton's 1920 novel *The Age of Innocence* (1993), creating a Tibetan epic based on the early years of the Dalai Lama in *Kundun* (1997), or returning, as he so often has, to the formulas of the crime film in *GoodFellas* (1990), *Cape Fear* (1991), or *Casino* (1995), Scorsese is fascinated by the story of the hero in revolt against a stifling culture whose norms he or she has internalized to a dangerous extent.

Occasionally, as in the feminist road film *Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore* (1974), the black comedy *After Hours* (1985), or the historical epic *Gangs of New York* (2002), the hero triumphs or escapes. This triumph is muted or highly equivocal for the all-too-human Messiah in the controversial *The Last Temptation of Christ* (1988) and the inventor/movie mogul Howard Hughes in *The Aviator* (2004). More often, as in the ill-fated romance *Who's That Knocking at My Door?*, the musical extravaganza *New York, New York* (1977), the nonpareil boxing film *Raging Bull*, and *The Age of Innocence*, the hero succumbs to the pressures of his or her culture, in which success amounts to personal failure.

This conflict between cultural repression and heroic but generally futile resistance has special resonance in Scorsese's crime films. *Taxi Driver* is the story of a New York loner who recoils so violently from the moral squalor around him that he ends up embodying its worst excesses as a crazed assassin. *GoodFellas* and *Casino*, the director's jaundiced response to Francis Coppola's *The Godfather* (1972), present life in the mob as a series of increasingly corrupt deals, accommodations, and indulgences, with loyalty unfailingly sacrificed to expedience. More probingly than any other contemporary filmmaker, Scorsese has projected the themes of the crime film outward onto aspiring heroes unable to hold onto their romances or escape their fatal surroundings because their instincts are so deeply at war with each other.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Who's That Knocking at My Door? (1968), *Boxcar Bertha* (1972), *Mean Streets* (1973), *Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore* (1974), *Taxi Driver* (1976), *New York, New York* (1977), *Raging Bull* (1980), *The King of Comedy* (1983), *After Hours* (1985), *The Last Temptation of Christ* (1988), *GoodFellas* (1990), *Cape Fear* (1991), *The Age of Innocence* (1993), *Casino* (1995), *Kundun* (1997), *Bringing Out the Dead* (1999), *Gangs of New York* (2002), *The Aviator* (2004)

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ambivalent about the lure of money and the upward mobility it promises; they have mixed feelings about the need for the institutional control of antisocial behavior and are suspicious about the possibilities of justice under the law. A large number of commentators on the genre, including Eugene Rosow, Jonathan Munby, and Nicole Rafter, have analyzed movie crime in sociological terms. The movies *I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang* (1932) and *Fury* (1936) treat inhumane prisons and lynch mobs as social problems only partly responsive to social engineering; likewise, critics view the convincing evocation and less convincing resolution of the social problems

Martin Scorsese. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

associated with crime as a mirror of society's own impotence in the face of crimes it cannot control (*Amores perros*, Mexico, 2000) and in which it may well be complicit (*While the City Sleeps*, 1956; *Z*, Greece, 1969). Will Wright's analysis of Hollywood westerns notes a shift in western heroes from lone gunfighters to social outcasts seeking revenge to professional groups of hirelings; this shift corresponds to the shift in American culture from the celebration of heroic individualism to faith in a planned corporate economy. This change in American culture can also be seen in the shift from gangster films to *film noir* to caper films.

Yet crime films, as Wright's emphasis on the responsibilities of mass entertainment suggests, do not simply mirror social problems, offering solutions or giving up on them in despair. Perhaps more than any other popular genre, the crime film shows the resourcefulness with which filmmakers convert cultural anxiety—about criminals, political conspiracies, the awful power and possible corruption of the justice system, the dangers that face everyone who works for it, and the citizens who unwittingly run afoul of it—into mass entertainment. Like the westerns from which they borrow so much of their energy and their formulaic stories, crime films take the insoluble moral dilemmas of social complicity and the costs of justice and present them as stark dichotomies: innocent and guilty, masculine and nonmasculine, legal and illegal. The viewer's enjoyment stems from succumbing to the irresistible lure of resolving the unresolvable problems of the causes and cures of crime. And because these problems are so much more complex than any one movie can possibly represent, the audience will come back for more.

SEE ALSO *Gangster Films; Genre; Spy Films; Thrillers; Violence*

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VOLUME 2

CRITICISM–IDEOLOGY

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CRITICISM

The term "critic" is often applied very loosely, signifying little more than "a person who writes about the arts." It can be defined more precisely by distinguishing it from related terms with which it is often fused (and confused): reviewer, scholar, theorist. The distinction can never be complete, as the critic exists in overlapping relationships with all three, but it is nonetheless important that it be made.

WHAT IS A CRITIC?

Reviewers are journalists writing columns on the latest releases in daily or weekly papers. They criticize films, and often call themselves critics, but for the most part the criticism they practice is severely limited in its aims and ambitions. They write their reviews to a deadline after (in most cases) only one viewing, and their job is primarily to entertain (their livelihood depends on it), which determines the quality and style of their writing. Some (a minority) have a genuine interest in the quality of the films they review; most are concerned with recommending them (or not) to a readership assumed to be primarily interested in being entertained. In other words, reviewers are an integral (and necessarily *uncritical*) part of our "fast-food culture"—a culture of the instantly disposable, in which movies are swallowed like hamburgers, forgotten by the next day; a culture that depends for its very continuance on discouraging serious thought; a culture of the newest, the latest, in which we have to be "with it," and in which "trendy" has actually become a positive descriptive adjective. Many reviewers like to present themselves as superior to all this (if you write for a newspaper you should be an "educated" person), while carefully titillating us: how disgusting are the gross-out moments, how spectacular the battles, chases, and explosions, how sexy the comedy. There have been (and still are) responsible and intelligent reviewer-critics, such as James Agee, Manny Farber, Robert Warshow, Jonathan Rosenbaum, and J. Hoberman, but they are rare.

To be fair, a major liability is the requirement of speed: how do you write seriously about a film you have seen only once, with half a dozen more to review and a two- or three-day deadline to meet? One may wonder, innocently, how these reviewers even recall the plot or the cast in such detail, but the answer to that is simple: the distributors supply handouts for press screenings, containing full plot synopses and a full cast list. In theory, it should be possible to write about a film without even having seen it, and one wonders how many reviewers avail themselves of such an option, given the number of tedious, stupid movies they are obliged to write something about every week. What one might call today's standard product (the junk food of cinema) can be of only negative interest to the critic, who is concerned with questions of value. The scholar, who must catalogue everything, takes a different sort of interest in such fare, and the theorist will theorize from it about the state of cinema and the state of our culture. Both will be useful to the critic, who may in various ways depend on them.

Reviewers are tied to the present. When, occasionally, they are permitted to step outside their socially prescribed role and write a column on films they know intimately, they become critics, though not necessarily good ones, bad habits being hard to break. (Pauline Kael is a case in point, with her hit-or-miss insights.) This is not of course to imply that critics are tied exclusively to the distant past; indeed, it is essential that they retain a

ANDREW BRITTON
b. 1952, d. 1994

Although his period of creativity (he was the most creative of critics) covered only fifteen years, Andrew Britton was a critic in the fullest sense. He had the kind of intellect that can encompass and assimilate the most diverse sources, sifting, making connections, drawing on whatever he needed and transforming it into his own. Perennial reference points were Marxism (but especially Trotsky), Freud, and F. R. Leavis, seemingly incompatible but always held in balance. A critic interested in value and in standards of achievement will achieve greatness only if he commands a perspective ranging intellectually and culturally far beyond his actual field of work. Britton's perspective encompassed (beyond film) literature and music, of which he had an impressively wide range of intimate knowledge, as well as cultural and political theory.

His work was firmly and pervasively grounded in sociopolitical thinking, including radical feminism, racial issues, and the gay rights movement. But his critical judgments were never merely political; the politics were integrated with an intelligent aesthetic awareness, never confusing political statement with the focused concrete realization essential to any authentic work of art. His intellectual grasp enabled him to assimilate with ease all the phases and vicissitudes of critical theory. He took the onset of semiotics in stride, assimilating it without the least difficulty, immediately perceiving its loopholes and points of weakness, using what he needed and attacking the rest mercilessly, as in his essay on "The Ideology of *Screen*."

His central commitment, within a very wide range of sympathies that encompassed film history and world cinema, was to the achievements of classical Hollywood. His meticulously detailed readings of films, such as *Mandingo*, *Now, Voyager*, and *Meet Me in St. Louis*, informed by sexual and racial politics, psychoanalytic theory, and the vast treasury of literature at his command, deserve classical status as critical models. His book-length study of Katharine Hepburn deserves far wider recognition and circulation than it has received so far: it is not only the most intelligent study of a star's complex persona and career, it also covers all the major issues of studio production, genre, the star system, cinematic conventions, thematic patterns, and the interaction of all of these aspects.

His work has not been popular within academia because it attacked, often with devastating effect, many of the positions academia has so recklessly and uncritically embraced: first semiotics, and subsequently the account of classical Hollywood as conceived by the critic David Bordwell. These attacks have never been answered but rather merely ignored, the implication being that they are unanswerable. Today, when many academics are beginning to challenge the supremacy of theory over critical discourse, Britton's work should come into its own. His death from AIDS in 1994 was a major loss to film criticism.

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Robin Wood

close contact with what is happening in cinema today, at every level of achievement. But one needs to "live" with a film for some time, and with repeated viewings, in order to write responsibly about it—if, that is, it is a film of real importance and lasting value.

The difference between critic and reviewer is, then, relatively clear-cut and primarily a matter of quality, seriousness, and commitment. The distinction between critic and scholar or critic and theorist is more complicated. Indeed, the critic may be said to be parasitic on both, needing the scholar's scholarship and the theorist's theories as frequent and indispensable reference points. (It is also true that the scholar and theorist are prone to dabble in criticism, sometimes with disastrous results.) But the critic has not the time to be a scholar, beyond a certain point: the massive research (often into

unrewarding and undistinguished material) necessary to scholarship would soon become a distraction from the intensive examination of the works the critic finds of particular significance. And woe to the critic who becomes too much a theorist: he or she will very soon be in danger of neglecting the specificity and particularity of detail in individual films to make them fit the theory, misled by its partial or tangential relevance. Critics should be familiar with the available theories, should be able to refer to any that have not been disproved (for theories notoriously come and go) whenever such theories are relevant to their work, but should never allow themselves to become committed to any one. A critic would do well always to keep in mind Jean Renoir's remarks on theories:

> You know, I can't believe in the general ideas, really I can't believe in them at all. I try too hard to respect human personality not to feel that, at bottom, there must be a grain of truth in every idea. I can even believe that all the ideas are true in themselves, and that it's the application of them which gives them value or not in particular circumstances… No, I don't believe there are such things as absolute truths, but I do believe in absolute human qualities—generosity, for instance, which is one of the basic ones. (Quoted in Sarris, *Interviews with Film Directors*, p. 424)

F. R. LEAVIS AND QUESTIONS OF VALUE

One cannot discuss criticism, its function within society, its essential aims and nature, without reference to the work of F. R. Leavis (1895–1978), perhaps the most important critic in the English language in any medium since the mid-twentieth century. Although his work today is extremely unpopular (insofar as it is even read), and despite the fact that he showed no interest in the cinema whatever, anyone who aspires to be a critic of any of the arts should be familiar with his work, which entails also being familiar with the major figures of English literature.

Leavis belonged to a somewhat different world from ours, which the "standards" he continued to the end to maintain would certainly reject. Leavis grew up in Victorian and Edwardian England and was fully formed as a critic and lecturer by the 1930s. He would have responded with horror to the "sexual revolution," though he was able to celebrate, somewhat obsessively, D. H. Lawrence, whose novels were once so shocking as to be banned (and who today is beginning to appear quaintly old-fashioned).

Leavis was repeatedly rebuked for what was in fact his greatest strength: his consistent refusal to define a clear theoretical basis for his work. What he meant by "critical standards" could not, by their very nature, be tied to some specific theory of literature or art. The critic must above all be open to new experiences and new perceptions, and critical standards were not and could not be some cut-and-dried set of rules that one applied to all manifestations of genius. The critic must be free and flexible, the standards arising naturally out of constant comparison, setting this work beside that. If an ultimate value exists, to which appeal can be made, it is also indefinable beyond a certain point: "life," the quality of life, intelligence about life, about human society, human intercourse. A value judgment cannot, by its very nature, be proved scientifically. Hence Leavis's famous definition of the ideal critical debate, an ongoing process with no final answer: "This is so, isn't it?" "Yes, but…" It is this very strength of Leavis's discourse that has resulted, today, in his neglect, even within academia. Everything now must be supported by a firm theoretical basis, even though that basis (largely a matter of fashion) changes every few years. Criticism, as Leavis understood it (in T. S. Eliot's famous definition, "the common pursuit of true judgment"), is rarely practiced in universities today. Instead, it has been replaced by the apparent security of "theory," the latest theory applied across the board, supplying one with a means of pigeonholing each new work one encounters.

It is not possible, today, to be a faithful "Leavisian" critic (certainly not of film, the demands of which are in many ways quite different from those of literature). Crucial to Leavis's work was his vision of the university as a "creative center of civilization." The modern university has been allowed to degenerate, under the auspices of "advanced" capitalism, into a career training institution. There *is* no "creative center of civilization" anymore. Only small, struggling, dispersed groups, each with its own agenda, attempt to battle the seemingly irreversible degeneration of Western culture. From the perspective of our position amid this decline, and with film in mind, Leavis's principles reveal three important weaknesses or gaps:

1. *The wholesale rejection of popular culture*. Leavis held, quite correctly, that popular culture was thoroughly contaminated by capitalism, its productions primarily concerned with making money, and then more money. However, film criticism and theory have been firmly rooted in classical Hollywood, which today one can perceive as a period of extraordinary richness but which to Leavis was a total blank. He was able to appreciate the popular culture of the past, in periods when major artists worked in complete harmony with their public (the Elizabethan drama centered on Shakespeare, the Victorian novel on Dickens) but was quite unable to see that the pre-1960s Hollywood cinema represented, however compromised, a communal art, comparable in many ways to Renaissance Italy, the Elizabethan drama,

the Vienna of Mozart and Haydn. It was a period in which artists worked together, influencing each other, borrowing from each other, evolving a whole rich complex of conventions and genres, with no sense whatever of alienation from the general public: the kind of art (the richest kind) that today barely exists. Vestiges of it can perhaps be found in rock music, compromised by its relatively limited range of expression and human emotion, the restriction of its pleasures to the "youth" audience, and its tendency to expendability.

Hollywood cinema was also compromised from the outset by the simple fact that the production of a film requires vastly more money than the writing of a novel or play, the composing of a symphony, or the painting of a picture. Yet—as with Shakespeare, Haydn, or Leonardo da Vinci—filmmakers like Howard Hawks (1896–1977), John Ford (1894–1973), Leo McCarey (1898–1969), and Alfred Hitchcock (1899–1980) were able to remain in touch with their audiences, to "give them what they wanted," without seriously compromising themselves. They could make the films they wanted to make, and enjoyed making, while retaining their popular following. Today, intelligent critical interest in films that goes beyond the "diagnostic" has had to shift to "art-house" cinema or move outside Western cinema altogether, to Taiwan, Hong Kong, Iran, Africa, and Thailand.

2. *Political engagement*. Although he acknowledged the urgent need for drastic social change, Leavis never analyzed literature from an explicitly political viewpoint. In his earlier days he showed an interest in Marxism yet recognized that the development of a strong and vital culture centered on the arts (and especially literature) was not high on its agenda. He saw great literature as concerned with "life," a term he never defined precisely but which clearly included self-realization, psychic health, the development of positive and vital relationships, fulfillment, generosity, humanity. "Intelligence about life" is a recurring phrase in his analyses.

He was fully aware of the degeneration of modern Western culture. His later works show an increasing desperation, resulting in an obsessive repetitiveness that can be wearying. One has the feeling that he was reduced to forcing himself to believe, against all the evidence, that his ideals were still realizable. Although it seems essential to keep in mind, in our dealings with art, "life" in the full Leavisian sense, the responsible critic (of film or anything else) is also committed to fighting for our mere survival, by defending or attacking films from a political viewpoint. Anything else is fiddling while Rome burns.

3. *The problem of intentionality*. Leavis showed no interest whatever in Freud or the development of psychoanalytical theory. When he analyzes a poem or a novel, the underlying assumption is always that the author knew exactly what he or she was doing. Today we seem to have swung, somewhat dangerously, to the other extreme: we analyze films in terms of "subtexts" that may (in some cases must) have emerged from the unconscious, well below the level of intention.

This is fascinating and seductive, but also dangerous, territory. Where does one draw the line? The question arises predominantly in the discussion of minor works within the "entertainment" syndrome, where the filmmakers are working within generic conventions. It would be largely a waste of time searching for "unconscious" subtexts in the films of, say, Michael Haneke (b. 1942), Hou Hsiao-Hsien (b. 1947), or Abbas Kiarostami (b. 1940), major artists in full consciousness of their subject matter. But in any case critics should exercise a certain caution: they may be finding meanings that they are planting there themselves. The discovery of an arguably unconscious meaning is justified if it uncovers a coherent subtext that can be traced throughout the work. Even Freud, after all, admitted that "sometimes a cigar is just a cigar"—the validity of reading one as a phallic symbol will depend on its context (the character smoking it, the situation within which it is smoked, its connection to imagery elsewhere in the film). The director George Romero expressed surprise at the suggestion that *Night of the Living Dead* (the original 1968 version) is about tensions, frustrations, and repression within the patriarchal nuclear family; but the entire film, from the opening scene on, with its entire cast of characters, seems to demand this reading.

Why, then, should Leavis still concern us? We need, in general, his example and the qualities that form and vivify it: his deep seriousness, commitment, intransigence, the profundity of his concerns, his sense of value in a world where all values seem rapidly becoming debased into the values of the marketplace. Leavis's detractors have parodied his notion that great art is "intelligent about life," but the force of this assumption becomes clear from its practical application to film as to literature, as a few examples, negative and positive, illustrate. Take a film honored with Academy Awards®, including one for Best Picture. Rob Marshall's *Chicago* (2002) is essentially a celebration of duplicity, cynicism, one-upmanship, and mean-spiritedness: intelligent about life? The honors bestowed on it tell us a great deal about the current state of civilization and its standards. At the other extreme one might also use Leavis's dictum to raise certain doubts about a film long and widely regarded by many as the greatest ever made, *Citizen Kane* (1941), directed by Orson Welles (1915–1985). No one, I think, will deny the film its brilliance, its power, its status as a landmark in the evolution of cinema. But is that very brilliance slightly suspect? Is Welles's undeniable intelligence, his astonishing grasp of his chosen medium,

too much employed as a celebration of himself and his own genius, the dazzling magician of cinema? To raise such questions, to challenge the accepted wisdom, is a way to open debate, and essentially a debate about human values. Certain other films, far less insistent on their own greatness, might be adduced as exemplifying "intelligence about life": examples that spring to mind (remaining within the bounds of classical Hollywood) include *Tabu* (F. W. Murnau, 1931), *Rio Bravo* (Hawks, 1959), *Make Way for Tomorrow* (McCarey, 1937), *Letter from an Unknown Woman* (Max Ophüls, 1948), and *Vertigo* (Hitchcock, 1958)—all films in which the filmmaker seems totally dedicated to the realization of the thematic material rather than to self-aggrandizement.

There are of course whole areas of valid critical practice that Leavis's approach leaves untouched: the evolution of a Hollywood genre or cycle (western, musical, horror film, screwball comedy), and its social implications. But the question of standards, of value, and the critical judgments that result should remain and be of ultimate importance. One might discuss at length (with numerous examples) how and why *film noir* flourished during and in the years immediately following World War II, its dark and pessimistic view of America developing side by side, like its dark shadow, with the patriotic and idealistic war movie. But the true critic will also want to debate the different inflections and relative value of, say, *The Maltese Falcon* (John Huston, 1941), *Double Indemnity* (Billy Wilder, 1944), *The Big Sleep* (Hawks, 1946), and *Out of the Past* (Jacques Tourneur, 1947). Or, to move outside Hollywood and forward in time, how one reads and values the films of, for example, the German director Michael Haneke should be a matter of intense critical debate and of great importance to the individual. A value judgment, one must remember, by its very nature cannot be proven—it can only be argued. The debate will be ongoing, and agreement may never be reached; even where there is a consensus, it may be overturned in the next generation. But this is the strength of true critical debate, not its weakness; it is what sets criticism above theory, which should be its servant. A work of any importance and complexity is not a *fact* that can be proven and pigeon-holed. The purpose of critical debate is the development and refinement of personal judgment, the evolution of the individual sensibility. Such debates go beyond the valuation of a given film, forcing one to question, modify, develop, refine one's own value system. It is a sign of the degeneration of our culture that they seem rarely to take place.

THE EVOLUTION OF CRITICISM AND THEORY

Surprisingly, given its prominence in world cinema since the silent days, none of the major movements and developments in film theory and criticism has originated in the United States, though American academics have been quick to adopt the advances made in Europe (especially France) and Britain.

A brief overview might begin with the British magazines *Sight and Sound* (founded in 1934) and *Sequence* (a decade later). The two became intimately connected, with contributors moving from one to the other. The dominant figures were Gavin Lambert, Karel Reisz (1926–2002), Tony Richardson (1928–1991), and Lindsay Anderson (1923–1994), the last three of whom developed into filmmakers of varying degrees of distinction and who were regarded for a time as "the British New Wave" (though without the scope or staying power of the French *Nouvelle Vague*). The historic importance of these magazines lies in the communal effort to bring to criticism (and subsequently to British cinema) an overtly political dimension, their chief editors and critics having a strong commitment to the Left and consequently to the development of a cinema that would deal explicitly with social problems from a progressive viewpoint. British films were preferred and Hollywood films generally denigrated or treated with intellectual condescension as mere escapist entertainment, with the partial exceptions of Ford and Hitchcock; Anderson especially championed Ford, and Hitchcock was seen as a distinguished popular entertainer. As its more eminent and distinctive critics moved into filmmaking, *Sight and Sound* lost most of its political drive (under the editorship of Penelope Houston) but retained its patronizing attitude toward Hollywood.

Developments in France during the 1950s, through the 1960s and beyond, initially less political, have been both more influential and more durable. André Bazin remains one of the key figures in the evolution of film criticism, his work still alive and relevant today. Already active in the 1940s, he was co-founder of *Cahiers du Cinéma* in 1951, and acted as a kind of benevolent father figure to the New Wave filmmakers (and almost literally to François Truffaut [1932–1984]), as well as himself producing a number of highly distinguished "key" texts that continue to be reprinted in critical anthologies. Bazin's essays "The Evolution of Film Language" (1968) and "The Evolution of the Western" (1972) led, among other things, to the radical reappraisal of Hollywood, reopening its "popular entertainment" movies to a serious revaluation that still has repercussions. Even the most astringent deconstructionists of semiotics have not rendered obsolete his defense (indeed, celebration) of realism, which never falls into the trap of naively seeing it as the unmediated reproduction of reality. His work is a model of criticism firmly grounded in theory.

Bazin encouraged the "Young Turks" of French cinema throughout the 1950s and 1960s, first as critics on *Cahiers* (to which Claude Chabrol, Jean-Luc Godard, Jacques Rivette, Eric Rohmer, and Truffaut were all contributors, with Rohmer as subsequent editor), then as filmmakers. Would the New Wave have existed without him as its modest and reticent centrifugal force? Possibly. But it would certainly have been quite different, more dispersed.

The *Cahiers* critics (already looking to their cinematic futures) set about revaluating the whole of cinema. Their first task was to downgrade most of the established, venerated "classics" of the older generation of French directors, partly to clear the ground for their very different, in some respects revolutionary, style and subject matter: such filmmakers as Marcel Carné, Julien Duvivier, René Clément, Henri-Georges Clouzot, and Jean Delannoy found themselves grouped together as the "tradition de qualité" or the "cinéma de papa," their previously lauded films now seen largely as expensive studio-bound productions in which the screenwriter was more important than the director, whose job was to "realize" a screenplay rather than make his own personal movie. Some were spared: Robert Bresson, Abel Gance, Jacques Becker, Jacques Tati, Jean Cocteau, and above all Jean Renoir (1894–1979), another New Wave father figure, all highly personal and idiosyncratic directors, were seen more as creators than "realizers."

It was a relatively minor figure, Alexandre Astruc, who invented the term *camera-stylo*, published in 1949 in *L'Ecran Français* (no. 144; reprinted in Peter Graham, *The New Wave*), suggesting that a personal film is written with a camera rather than a pen. Most of the major New Wave directors improvised a great deal, especially Godard (who typically worked from a mere script outline that could be developed or jettisoned as filming progressed) and Rivette, who always collaborated on his screenplays, often with the actors. Partly inspired by Italian neorealism, and especially the highly idiosyncratic development of it by one of their idols, Roberto Rossellini (1906–1977), the New Wave directors moved out of the studio and into the streets—or buildings, or cities, or countryside.

As critics, their interests were international. Would Kenji Mizoguchi (1898–1956) be as (justly) famous in the West without their eulogies? Would Rossellini's films with Ingrid Bergman—*Stromboli* (1950), *Europa 51* (1952), *Viaggio in Italia* [Voyage to Italy, 1953]—rejected with contempt by the Anglo-Saxon critical fraternity, ever have earned their reputations as masterpieces? Yet our greatest debt to the New Wave director-critics surely lies in their transformation of critical attitudes to classical Hollywood and the accompanying formulation of the by turns abhorred and celebrated "*auteur* theory."

Anyone with eyes can see that films by Carl Dreyer (1889–1968), Renoir, Rossellini, Mizoguchi, and Welles are "personal" films that could never have been made by anyone else. On the other hand, one might view *Red River* (1948), *The Thing from Another World* (1951), *Monkey Business* (1952), and *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* (1953) without ever noticing that they were all directed by the same person, Howard Hawks. Before *Cahiers*, few people bothered to read the name of the director on the credits of Hollywood films, let alone connect the films' divergent yet compatible and mutually resonant thematics. Without *Cahiers*, would we today be seeing retrospectives in our Cinémathèques of films not only of Hitchcock and Ford, but also of Hawks, Anthony Mann, Leo McCarey, Vincente Minnelli, Nicholas Ray, Billy Wilder, Otto Preminger, Sam Fuller, and Budd Boetticher?

For some time the *Cahiers* excesses laid it open to Anglo-Saxon ridicule. What is one to make today of a (polemical) statement such as that of Godard: "The cinema is Nicholas Ray"? Why not "The cinema is Mizoguchi" or "The cinema is Carl Dreyer" or even, today, "The cinema is Jean-Luc Godard"? Many of the reviews are open to the objection that the readings of the films are too abstract, too philosophical or metaphysical, to do proper justice to such concrete and accessible works, and that the *auteur* theory (roughly granting the director complete control over every aspect of his films) could be applied without extreme modification to only a handful of directors (Hawks, McCarey, Preminger) who achieved the status of producers of their own works. And even they worked within the restrictions of the studio system, with its box-office concerns, the Production Code, and the availability of "stars." Nevertheless, *Cahiers* has had a lasting and positive effect on the degree of seriousness with which we view what used to be regarded as standard fare and transient entertainment.

Outside France, the *Cahiers* rediscovery of classical Hollywood provoked two opposite responses. In England, *Sight and Sound* predictably found it all slightly ridiculous; on the other hand, it was clearly the inspiration for the very existence of *Movie*, founded in 1962 by a group of young men in their final years at Oxford University. Ian Cameron, V. F. Perkins, and Mark Shivas initially attracted attention with a film column printed in *Oxford Opinion*. With Paul Mayersberg, they formed the editorial board of *Movie*; they were subsequently joined, as contributors, by Robin Wood, Michael Walker, Richard Dyer, Charles Barr, Jim Hillier, Douglas Pye, and eventually Andrew Britton. Of the original group, Perkins has had the greatest longevity as

Howard Hawks, producer of* The Thing from Another World *(Christian Nyby, 1951) was a favorite of auteur critics.
EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

a critic, his *Film as Film* (deliberately contradicting the usual "Film as Art") remaining an important text. *Movie* (its very title deliberately invoking Hollywood) must be seen as a direct descendant of *Cahiers*. Its tone, however, was very different, its analyses more concrete, tied closely to the texts, rarely taking off (unlike *Cahiers*) into headier areas of metaphysical speculation. The opposition between *Sight and Sound* and *Movie* was repeated in the United States, with Pauline Kael launching attacks on *Movie*'s alleged excesses and Andrew Sarris (Kael's primary target since his 1962 "Notes on the Auteur Theory") producing *The American Cinema* in 1968, with its ambitious and groundbreaking categorization of all the Hollywood directors of any consequence. It remains a useful reference text.

The British scene was complicated by developments within the more academic journal *Screen*, which, in its development of structural analysis by (among others) Alan Lovell and the introduction of concepts of iconography by Colin McArthur, in some ways anticipated the events to come. But all this was about to be blown apart by the events in France of May 1968 and the repercussions throughout the intellectual world.

MAY 1968 AND THE REVOLUTION IN FILM CRITICISM

The student and worker riots in France in May 1968, hailed somewhat optimistically as the "Second French Revolution," transformed *Cahiers* almost overnight, inspiring a similar revolution in Godard's films. The massive swing to the Left, the fervent commitment to Marx and Mao, demanded not only new attitudes but also a whole new way of thinking and a new vocabulary to express it, and a semiotics of cinema was born and flourished. Roland

ANDREW SARRIS

b. New York, New York, 31 October 1928

Eminently sensible and perennially graceful in the articulation of his views, Andrew Sarris has been one of the most important of American film critics. His influence upon the shaping of the late-twentieth-century critical landscape is inestimable—both for his hand in developing an intellectually rigorous academic film culture and for bringing the proselytizing *auteur* theory to popular attention. The acumen and resolve of his writing set a benchmark for the scrupulous and cogent close analysis of cinematic style.

Among the pioneering voices of a new generation of self-proclaimed cinephiles—or "cultists," in his own terms—Sarris began his professional career in 1955, reviewing for Jonas Mekas's seminal journal, *Film Culture*, where he helped develop one of the first American serial publications dedicated to the serious critical investigation of film. After a brief sojourn in Paris in 1960, he began writing reviews for the fledgling alternative newspaper, the *Village Voice*, in New York City. His polemical reviews generated considerable debate and helped secure Sarris a position as senior critic for the *Voice* from 1962 to 1989.

As an intellectual American film culture exploded during the 1960s, Sarris was able to provide a newly professionalized critical establishment with two enormously influential (and controversial) concepts imported from the *Cahiers* critics in France: the *auteur* theory and *mise-en-scène*. His development of a director-centered critical framework grew out of a dissatisfaction with the "sociological critic"—leftist-oriented writers seemingly more interested in politics than film—whose reviews tended simplistically to synchronize film history and social history. While his attempt to establish auteurism as a theory may not have been entirely persuasive, it generated considerable debate regarding the creative and interpretive relationships between a director, her collaborators, and the audience itself. Further, in his own critical analyses, Sarris was one of the first critics to focus on style rather than content. This reversal was not an apolitical embracing of empty formalism, but rather a unified consideration of a film's stylistic and mimetic elements in the interests of discerning an artist's personal worldview. For him, a film's success does not hinge on individual contributions by various creative personnel, but on the coherence of the *auteur*'s "distinguishable personality," made manifest in the subtext—or "interior meanings"—of the work.

Along with his sometime rivals, Pauline Kael at *The New Yorker* and Stanley Kauffmann at *The New Republic*, Sarris was among the first of a new generation of critics dedicated to elevating the cultural status of film, particularly American cinema. In his efforts to promote film as an expressive art rather than a mere commercial product, he co-founded the prestigious National Society of Film Critics in 1966 and offered a new *auteur*-driven history of Hollywood in the canonical *American Cinema* (1968), in which he mapped and ranked the work of all the important directors ever to work in Hollywood.

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Aaron E. N. Taylor

Barthes, Christian Metz, and Jacques Lacan became seminal influences, and traditional criticism was (somewhat prematurely) pronounced dead or at least obsolete. A distinguished and widely influential instance was the meticulously detailed Marxist-Lacanian analysis of Ford's *Young Mr. Lincoln* (1939) produced collaboratively by the new *Cahiers* collective; it deserves its place in film history as one of the essential texts. British critical work swiftly followed suit, with Peter Wollen's seminal *Signs and Meaning in the Cinema* (1969, revised 1972), which remains an essential text. Whereas *Movie* had adopted many of the aims and positions of the original *Cahiers*, it was now *Screen* that took up the challenge of the new, instantly converted to semiotics. The magazine published the *Young Mr. Lincoln*

Andrew Sarris with his wife, the critic Molly Haskell.
ROBIN PLATZER/TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES.

article in translation, and it was followed by much work in the same tradition. In terms of sheer ambition, one must single out Stephen Heath's two-part analysis and deconstruction of Welles's *Touch of Evil* (1958).

Semiotics was expected by its adherents to transform not only criticism but also the world. Its failure to do so resides largely in the fact that it has remained a dauntingly esoteric language. Its disciples failed to bridge the gulf between themselves and a general readership; perhaps the gulf is in fact unbridgeable. Its influence outside academia has been negligible, though within academia it continues, if not to flourish, at least to remain a presence, developing new phases, striking up a relationship with that buzzword du jour, postmodernism. Its effect on traditional critical discourse has however been devastating (which is not to deny its validity or the value of its contribution). ''Humanism'' became a dirty word. But what is humanism but a belief in the importance for us all of human emotions, human responses, human desires, human fears, hence of the actions, drives, and behavior appropriate to the achievement of a sense of fulfillment, understanding, reciprocation, caring? Are these no longer important, obsolete like the modes of discourse in which they expressed themselves? Semiotics is a tool, and a valuable one, but it was mistaken for a while for the ultimate goal. Criticism, loosely defined here as being built on the sense of value, was replaced by ''deconstruction,'' debate by alleged ''proof.'' It seemed the ultimate triumph of what Leavis called (after Jeremy Bentham) the ''technologico-Benthamite world,'' the world of Utilitarianism that grew out of the Industrial Revolution and was so brilliantly satirized by Charles Dickens in *Hard Times* (1845), which in turn was brilliantly analyzed by Leavis in *Dickens the Novelist*. During the reign of semiotics Leavis was, of course, expelled from the curriculum, and it is high time for his restoration.

The massive claims made for semiotics have died down, and the excitement has faded. In addition to the articles mentioned above, it produced, in those heady days, texts that deserve permanent status: the seminal works of Barthes (always the most accessible of the semioticians), *Mythologies* (1957, translated into English in 1972) and *S/Z* (1970, translated into English in 1974), with its loving, almost sentence-by-sentence analysis of Honoré de Balzac's *Sarrasine*; Raymond Bellour's Hitchcock analyses (though it took most readers quite a time to realize that Bellour and Heath actually loved the films they deconstructed). And, more generally, semiotics has taught us (even those who doubt its claims to supply all the answers) to be more precise and rigorous in our examination of films.

Out of the radicalism of the 1970s there developed not only semiotics but also a new awareness of race and racism and the advent of radical feminism. Laura Mulvey's pioneering article ''Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema'' (1975) rapidly became, in its concise few pages, enormously influential, opening a veritable floodgate of feminist analysis, much of it concerned with the exposure of the inherent and structural sexism of the Hollywood cinema. It was impossible to predict, from Mulvey's dangerous oversimplification of Hawks and Hitchcock, that she would go on to produce admirable and loving analyses of *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* and *Notorious* (1946); but it was the very extremeness of the original article that gave it its force. Mulvey's work opened up possibilities for a proliferation of women's voices within a field that had traditionally been dominated by men—work (as with semiotics itself) of extremely diverse quality but often of great distinction, as, for example, Tania Modleski's splendid book on Hitchcock, *The Women Who Knew Too Much* (1988, with a new expanded edition in 2004).

THE CRITICAL SCENE TODAY ... AND TOMORROW?

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the world is beset with problems ranging from the destruction of the

environment to terrorism and the ever-present threat of nuclear war. The Hollywood product reflects a culture beset by endless "noise," the commodification of sex, and the constant distractions of junk culture. In such a scenario, the modest and marginalized discipline of film criticism might yet again play an active role.

What would one ask, today, within an increasingly desperate cultural situation, of that mythical figure the Ideal Critic? First, a firm grasp of the critical landmarks merely outlined above, with the ability to draw on all or any according to need. To the critics mentioned must be added, today, the names of Stanley Cavell and William Rothman, intelligent representatives of a new conservatism. As Pier Paolo Pasolini told us at the beginning of his *Arabian Nights*, "the truth lies, not in one dream, but in many": Bazin and Barthes are not incompatible, one does not negate the other, so why should one have to choose? We must feel free to draw on anything that we find helpful, rather then assuming that one new theory negates all previous ones. And in the background we should restore relations with Leavis and "questions of value," but accompanied by a politicization that Leavis would never have accepted (or would he, perhaps, today?). The value of a given film for us, be it classical Hollywood, avant-garde, documentary, silent or sound, black-and-white or color, will reside not only in its aesthetic qualities, its skills, its incidental pleasures, but also in what use we can make of it within the present world situation.

SEE ALSO *Auteur Theory and Authorship; Genre; Ideology; Journals and Magazines; Postmodernism; Psychoanalysis; Publicity and Promotion; Queer Theory; Reception Theory; Semiotics; Spectatorship and Audiences; Structuralism and Poststructuralism*

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Robin Wood

CUBA

Cuba is an anomaly in the history of Latin American cinema. Cuban film history is the story of a formerly quiet and docile little film industry that experienced a sudden and explosive acceleration of production after the revolution in 1959. Cuban cinema has had an unusual role in shaping a national dialogue about art, identity, consciousness, and social change and has emerged as one of the most distinct and influential national cinemas in the region. While all of the film industries in Latin America contend with Hollywood's monopoly over the industry, Cuba also faces the effects of an ongoing economic embargo—the result of a complex and defiant relationship with the United States. These factors influence both the conditions of production and the content of the films themselves.

BEFORE THE REVOLUTION

Cinema first arrived in Cuba in 1897 when an agent for the Lumière brothers came to display the newly invented cinematographe and also shoot footage of local scenes on the island. The country developed a tremendous and enduring appetite for moving pictures during the first half of the century, with cinemas springing up in great numbers. By 1920 there were 50 cinemas in Havana and more than 300 in the rest of the country. There were a number of notable and popular achievements during this prerevolutionary period, including *La Virgen de la Caridad* (*The Virgin of Charity*, 1930) and *El Romance del Palmar* (*Romance Under the Palm Trees*, 1935) both by Ramón Peón, and other early filmmakers all of which conformed with the established genres and styles that characterized Latin American cinema at the time. In spite of these these and other efforts, a national cinema failed to develop as fully in Cuba as in some other Latin American countries, largely due to economic factors and the dominant position of North American distributors in controlling the local industry.

In the 1940s and 1950s amateur filmmakers in different parts of the island grouped together to form a number of cine-clubs, organized around the screening and production of films. They established amateur film competitions and festivals, which continue to form an important aspect of Cuban cultural life today. One amateur group of particular importance, Nuestro Tiempo, fronted a radical leftist cultural organization that supported efforts to overthrow the regime of Fulgencio Batista, which had been in power since 1952. Nuestro Tiempo counted among its young members many of the figures who later became seminal to modern Cuban cinema, including Alfredo Guevara (b. 1925), Santiago Álvarez (1919–1998), Tomás Gutiérrez Alea (1928–1996), and Julio García Espinosa (b. 1926). The group strongly supported the revolution that came to power on 1 January 1959, establishing Fidel Castro as the commander in chief. It was only after the revolution that a national film industry was set in motion and national cinema developed in earnest.

A NEW INDUSTRY

Three months later, in what was to be its first cultural act, the revolutionary government created a national film industry, called the Instituto Cubano del Arte e Industria Cinematográficos (ICAIC). At its inception ICAIC dedicated itself to producing and promoting cinema as a vehicle for communicating the ideas of the revolution,

TOMÁS GUTIÉRREZ ALEA

b. Havana, Cuba, 11 December 1928, d. 16 April 1996

Cuba's most widely known and beloved director, Tomás Gutiérrez Alea (known in Cuba as "Titón"), earned a law degree at the University of Havana while concurrently making his first films. He went on to study at the Centro Sperimentale di Cinematografia in Rome, and the influence of Italian neorealism is evident in *El Mégano* (The charcoal worker), a film he made in collaboration with Julio García Espinosa in 1955 after returning to Cuba. *El Mégano* had a seminal role in the beginning of the politicized movement known as New Latin American Cinema, taking its place at the forefront of attempts by Latin American filmmakers to explore the potential political impact of the medium on social issues close to home.

A fervent supporter of the 1959 revolution, Alea was one of the founders of the Instituto Cubano del Arte e (la) Industria Cinematográficos (ICAIC). His substantial body of work describes the nuances and contradictions of everyday life in socialist Cuba. Alea spoke frankly about the reality of the Cuban revolution with all of its idiosyncrasies, citing the importance of intellectual critique in ongoing social change. His films address complex political realities, an absurdly convoluted bureaucratic process, and the persistence of reactionary mentalities in a society that had rededicated itself to the fulfillment of progressive ideals.

The warmth, vitality, and complexity of Alea's films challenge the stereotype of communist cinema as rote propaganda. Alea called for a "dialectical cinema" that would engage the viewer in an active, ongoing conversation about Cuban life.

He explored a wide range of genres and styles throughout his long career, making documentaries, comedies, and historical and contemporary dramas. His historical pieces *Una Pelea cubana contra los demonios* (*A Cuban Fight Against Demons*, 1972) and *La Última cena* (*The Last Supper*, 1976) are among the finest examples of Cuba's many notable films in the genre. Alea's comedies *Las Doce sillas* (*The Twelve Chairs*, 1960), *La Muerte de un burócrata* (*Death of a Bureaucrat*, 1966), *Los Sobrevivientes* (*The Survivors*, 1979), and *Guantanamera* (1995) affectionately poke fun at the bureaucratic lunacy of the Cuban political system and the resilience of bourgeois values, making full use of the strategies of social satire and farce in doing so.

Alea is best known for his films *Memorias del subdesarrollo* (*Memories of Underdevelopment*, 1968) and *Fresa y chocolate* (*Strawberry and Chocolate*, 1994), which share the distinction of being the most acclaimed Cuban films to date. *Memories of Underdevelopment* chronicles the ruminations of a politically unaffiliated middle-class intellectual who becomes increasingly alienated from his surroundings after the triumph of the revolution, but lacks the conviction to leave Cuba. *Strawberry and Chocolate* was the first Cuban film to receive an Academy Award® nomination for Best Foreign Film. Set in the 1970s during a period of ideological conformity, the film concerns the friendship between a flamboyantly gay older man and a politically militant university student. In Alea's treatment of the historical period, it is the militant student who undergoes a profound emotional transformation and comes to understand that the eccentric iconoclast is in fact the real hero.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Las Doce sillas (*The Twelve Chairs*, 1960), *La Muerte de un burócrata* (*Death of a Bureaucrat*, 1966), *Memorias del subdesarrollo* (*Memories of Underdevelopment*, 1968), *La Última cena* (*The Last Supper*, 1976), *Fresa y chocolate* (*Strawberry and Chocolate*, 1994)

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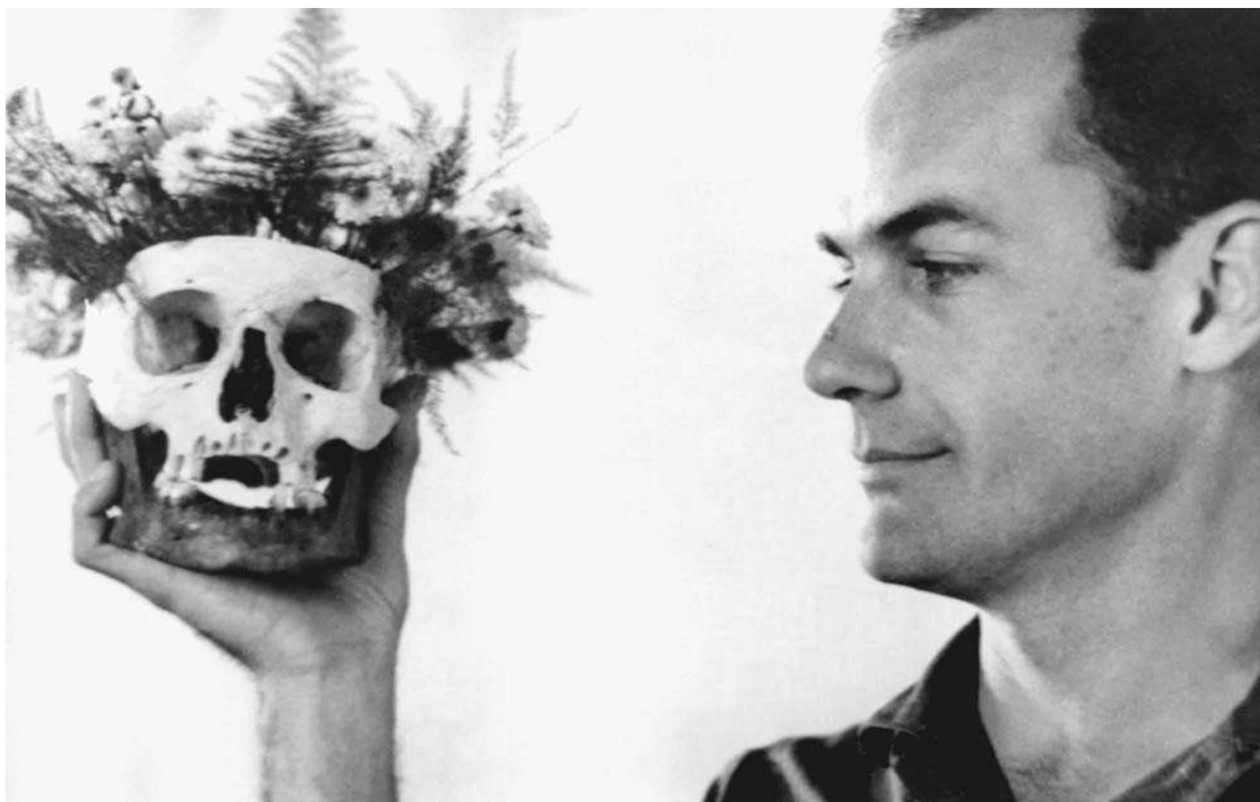
recognizing film as a medium for education and seeking to provide an ideological alternative to the powerful media machine of Hollywood.

In 1960 the magazine *Cine Cubano* was founded, sponsored by ICAIC, and it remains one of the primary sources of film criticism and analysis by Cuban authors, chronicling the emerging history as it unfolds. Initially, great emphasis was placed on developing a visual record of the revolutionary project, and ICAIC focused on producing newsreels and documentary films in the early years. These films were used to disseminate information about new initiatives such as agrarian reform and Cuba's



Tomás Gutiérrez Alea. © UNIFILM/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

massive literacy campaign. *Por primera vez* (*For the First Time*, Octavio Cortázar, 1967), which chronicles the beginnings of Cuba's mobile cinema movement—in which cinema was introduced into rural areas that had previously been without electricity—is one of many examples of the high quality and emotional resonance of early Cuban documentary filmmaking from the first decade of production after the revolution.

In a country known for its innovative documentary films, Santiago Álvarez distinguished himself as Cuba's best-known documentary filmmaker during his long and prolific career. Using only minimal equipment and concentrating the bulk of his efforts toward adapting the strategies of Soviet montage to his own agenda, Álvarez created an enduringly powerful, unsettling, and innovative body of work, including the films *Ciclón* (*Hurricane*, 1963), *Now* (1965), *Hanoi, martes 13* (*Hanoi, Tuesday 13th*, 1967), *LBJ* (1968), and *79 primaveras* (*79 Springs*, 1969), among others. Álvarez explored themes of anti-imperialist struggle in many of his finest works, leaving behind a polemical and hard-hitting filmic legacy that has influenced subsequent generations of Third World filmmakers.

Lesser known but of critical importance, the lyrical and haunting documentaries of Nicolás Guillén Landrián (1938–2003) show evidence of an original cinematic voice. The thirteen films he made for ICAIC, including *Ociel de Toa*, *Reportaje* (Reportage, 1966), and *Coffea Arábiga* (Arabica Coffee, 1968), have rarely been seen, although there was a revival of critical interest in his work shortly before he died in 2003.

NATIONAL IDENTITY AND DIALECTICAL CINEMA

Many notable fiction films, too, were completed during the exciting first decade under the ICAIC, forming the basis for a "Nuevo Cine Cubano," or "New Cuban Cinema." Among these were Alea's *La Muerte de un burócrata* (*Death of a Bureaucrat*, 1966) and *Memorias del subdesarrollo* (*Memories of Underdevelopment*, 1968). *Death of a Bureaucrat* firmly established the Cuban audience's penchant for social satire. Outsiders are often surprised to see the extent to which state-sponsored films such as *Death of a Bureaucrat* openly address the idiosyncrasies of the system, but in fact this tendency, exemplified by Alea's often imitated films, defines one central tendency of Cuba's national cinema. *Memories of Underdevelopment*, on the other hand, shows an entirely different aspect of Alea's range, being an example of dialectical cinema at its finest. Stylistically and thematically

rich, *Memories* creates the opportunity for elevating political consciousness within the artistic experience, and urges the spectator toward an active, open-ended exchange with the film.

Alea's early films and the others made by ICAIC largely explored issues of Cuban national identity, the colonial legacy, and the new revolutionary agenda, using different formats and genres to do so. During this same period, Humberto Solás (b. 1941) made the classic films *Manuela* (1966) and *Lucia* (1968), initiating the trend of using a female protagonist as an allegorical representation of the complex, evolving national identity, and establishing Solás as one of Cuba's original artistic voices. Both films were masterfully edited by Nelson Rodríguez (b. 1938), one of Cuba's great editing talents. Rodríguez's filmography demonstrates the extent to which he has been an integral part of Cuban cinema since the revolution, working on many if not most of the outstanding films produced to date. Solás's strategy of using a marginalized character to represent the progressive national agenda was later taken up by other Cuban directors, including *Retrato de Teresa* (*Portrait of Teresa*, 1979) by Pastor Vega (1940–2005), *Hasta cierta punto* (*Up to a Certain Point*, 1983) by Alea, and *De cierta manera* (*One Way or Another*, 1974) by Sara Gómez (1943–1974).

Also within this extraordinary first decade, both *La Primera carga al machete* (*The First Charge of the Machete*, 1969), by Manuel Octavio Gómez (1934–1988), and García Espinosa's *Las Aventuras de Juan Quin Quin* (*The Adventures of Juan Quin Quin*, 1967) dealt with issues of history and identity, using innovative stylistic formats in an overt refusal to conform to established genres or traditional means of narration. Such nonlinear narratives require a different kind of attention and participation on the part of the audience, demonstrating the ethos of experimentation that was integral to postrevolutionary Cuban cinema from the very beginning.

The period that followed the euphoric 1960s has become known as the "five gray years," during which time Cuban art was produced in an atmosphere of ideological conformity. In spite of the climate of the times, many exceptional historical dramas appeared during this period, including *Una Pelea cubana contra los demonios* (*A Cuban Fight Against Demons*, 1972) and *La Última cena* (*The Last Supper*, 1976) by Alea; *Los Días de agua* (*Days of Water*, 1971) by Gómez; *Páginas del diario de José Martí* by José Massip; and *El Otro Francisco* (*The Other Francisco*, 1975) and *Maluala* (1979), both by Sergio Giral (b. 1937).

During the same period, Julio García Espinosa wrote the essay "Por Un Cine imperfecto" ("For an Imperfect Cinema"), which called the technical perfection of Hollywood cinema a false goal and urged Third World filmmakers to focus instead on making films that actively require the engagement of the audience in constructing and shaping social reality. The essay had considerable influence, and remains one of the most important theoretical tracts written by a Latin American filmmaker. In 1974 one of the ICAIC's few female directors, Sara Gómez, made the film that is most emblematic of this period. *De cierta manera* (*One Way or Another*) is a radically innovative film that merges fiction and documentary strategies in addressing a wide range of pressing social issues (machismo, the revolution, marginality, social change) with sensitivity and depth. The film is a polemical dialogue between the two main characters that reflects tensions in the larger society. *One Way or Another*, which was completed by collaborators Alea and García Espinosa after Gómez's untimely death during production, has earned a well-deserved place in the canon of feminist film and has been the subject of international scholarship.

Two years after the Family Code sought to address the ingrained issue of machismo in Cuban society by urging a new level of male participation in child rearing, and during a period in which Cuban women were being encouraged to enter the workforce, Pastor Vega made the controversial film *Retrato de Teresa* (*Portrait of Teresa*, 1979). The film tackles the issues of women working outside the home and the double standards for men and women, among other highly sensitive topics, and it sparked widespread local debate, demonstrating that feminist ideals were far from fully integrated into Cuban society and ensuring that the reactionary legacy of machismo would continue to occupy the revolutionary agenda. Later the same year the annual Festival of New Latin American Cinema was inaugurated in Havana. The festival remains of one Cuba's defining annual cultural events and one of Latin America's major film festivals, providing a venue for exchange and dialogue and allowing many outsiders to see Cuba and Cuban cinema for themselves.

The 1980s marked a shift away from the complex films García Espinosa had envisioned in his essay on "imperfect cinema" and a general movement toward using more accessible and popular film forms. ICAIC's production was diverse, featuring a wide range of contemporary dramas, social satires, historical dramas, and genre films. A new and talented group of Cuban filmmakers emerged during this time, but for many, the explosive creativity and artistic merit of the first decade of production under ICAIC was lacking in Cuban film in the 1980s. One of several obvious exceptions, the full-length animated film *¡Vampiros en la Habana!* (*Vampires in Havana*, 1985), directed by Juan Padrón (b. 1947), was a celebrated success. Padrón had captured the popular imagination in 1979 with the animated feature *Elpidio Valdés*, a vehicle for his

Mirta Ibarra in Tomás Gutiérrez Alea's* Fresa y chocolate *(*Strawberry and Chocolate*, 1994), Cuba's biggest international success. © MIRAMAX/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

original visual style and strong narrative sensibility. Cuba has produced many talented animators—Tulio Raggi, Mario Rivas, and others—and the 1980s saw an unusually high level of productivity in the form.

In 1985 the Escuela Internacional de Cine y Televisión (EICTV, International School of Film and Television) was founded with support from the Fundación del Nuevo Cine Latinoamericano, and the Argentine director Fernando Birri (b. 1925), a pioneer in the New Latin American Cinema, was installed as its first director. The school, under the direction of Julio García Espinosa, features a distinguished international faculty and students who come to Cuba from all over the world to participate in workshops and diploma programs with such luminaries as the Colombian writer Gabriel García Marquez (b. 1928) and the US filmmaker Francis Ford Coppola (b. 1939), among many others.

THE SPECIAL PERIOD AND AFTER

With the collapse of the Soviet Union, Cuba entered what was termed the "Special Period," characterized by economic hardship, shortages, and a crisis of identity as Cuba's economic and political future was called into question. One of the outstanding films of 1991, the highly controversial black comedy *Alicia en el Pueblo de Maravillas* (Alice in Wondertown) by Daniel Díaz Torres (b. 1948), explored the tensions of the period using a surrealistic fantasy world as a backdrop, and taking the Cuban tradition of social satire to a new level.

Several years later *Fresa y chocolate* (*Strawberry and Chocolate*, 1994), directed by Tomás Gutiérrez Alea and Juan Carlos Tabio and written by Senal Paz, quickly became the most successful film in Cuban film history. It was nominated for an Oscar® for Best Foreign Film and introduced Cuban film to a wider audience than it had ever had before. Foreign audiences were surprised to learn that the Cuban government funds films such as *Strawberry and Chocolate* that are critical of political dogmatism. *Strawberry and Chocolate* was followed by what would be Alea's last film, *Guantanamera* (1995). *Guantanamera* is essentially a remake of his earlier *Death of a Bureaucrat*, set this time against the contradictions of the Special Period. The film is a loving farewell to Cuba

and the Cuban people. Alea was already dying when he made it, and the film unfolds as a personal meditation on death, even as it works as both farce and national allegory.

Fernando Pérez (b. 1944), who began his career working as an assistant director under both Alea and Santiago Álvarez, has emerged as one of Cuba's most important and original directors. *Madagascar* (1994) and *La Vida es silbar* (*Life Is to Whistle*, 1998) are metaphorical, contemplative, and dreamlike films that address familiar issues—Cuban identity chief among them—in entirely new ways. His films manage to affectionately and disarmingly address the internal tensions that confront the Cuban public, including a complex inner dialogue about leaving or remaining on the island. His award-winning documentary *Suite Habana* (*Havana Suite*, 2003), a subtly moving and candid account of a day in the life of a number of residents of Havana, met with wide acclaim and a number of international awards.

Increasingly, Cuban films deal with the ideas of leaving or returning to Cuba, and the fragmentation or reunion of families, including such disparate filmic efforts as *Nada* (Juan Carlos Cremata Malberti, 2001), *Miel para Oshún* (*Honey for Oshun*, Humberto Solá, 2001), and *Video de familia* (Family video, Humberto Padrón, 2001). This heightened consciousness of Cuba's relation to the outside world is reflected in the economic realities of filmmaking as well. Increasingly, Cuba relies on co-productions with other countries to get films made, as the economic conditions of the industry continue to be unstable.

Many fine films, both documentary and fiction, are also made independently of the ICAIC. Recent efforts, including *En Vena* (In the vein, 2002) by Terence Piard Somohano, *Raíces de mi corazón* (*Roots of My Heart*, 2001) by Gloria Rolando, *Un día después* (The Day After, 2001) by Ismael Perdomo and Bladamir Zamora, and *Utopia* (2004) by Arturo Infante reflect the range of controversial topics that independent Cuban filmmakers are drawn to explore. Independent production in Cuba faces the same obstacles as independent production anywhere else: it is inherently difficult for independent filmmakers to find distribution and financing, let alone make a living as artists outside of the industry. However, with the proliferation of digital video technology, and initiatives such as Humberto Solás's Festival de Cine Pobre (International Low-Budget Film Festival), which began in 2003, all signs indicate that new possibilities of cinematic expression will continue to evolve on the island, and that Cuba will continue to make a valuable contribution to Latin American cinema.

SEE ALSO *National Cinema; Third Cinema*

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CULT FILMS

The phrase "cult movie" is now used so often and so broadly that the concept to which it refers has become rather difficult to delimit, especially given the sheer diversity of films that have been brought together under the term. Though cult movies are often referred to as if they were a very specific and particular genre, this is not the case; such films fall into an enormous variety of different formal and stylistic categories. Indeed, many cult movies are categorized as such precisely because of their cross- or multigenre narratives, or other offbeat qualities that take them outside the realm of genre completely.

Films can develop cult followings in various ways: on the basis of their modes of production or exhibition, their internal textual features, or through acts of appropriation by specific audiences. The usual definition of the cult movie generally relies on a sense of its distinction from mainstream cinema. This definition, of course, raises issues about the role of the cult movie as an oppositional form, and its strained relationship with processes of institutionalization and classification. Fans of cult movies often describe them as quite distinct from the commercial film industries and the mainstream media, but many such films are actually far more dependent on these forms than their fans may be willing to admit.

Most cult movies are low-budget productions, and most are undeniably flawed in some way, even if this means just poor acting or cheap special effects. Though many deal with subject matter that is generally considered repulsive or distasteful, most of the movies that have garnered cult followings have done so not because they are necessarily shocking or taboo, but rather because they are made from highly individual viewpoints and involve strange narratives, eccentric characters, garish sets, or other quirky elements, which can be as apparently insignificant as a single unique image or cameo appearance by a particular bit-part actor or actress. Many cult movies lack mass appeal, and many would have disappeared from film history completely were it not for their devoted fans, whose dedication often takes the form of a fiery passion.

Cult movies cross all boundaries of taste, form, style, and genre. There are cult Westerns, like *Johnny Guitar* (1954); cult musicals, like *The Sound of Music* (1965); cult romances, like *Gone with the Wind* (1939); cult documentaries, like *Gates of Heaven* (1978); cult drug movies, like *Easy Rider* (1969); and cult teen movies, like *American Graffiti* (1973), *Animal House* (1978), and Richard Linklater's *Dazed and Confused* (1993). There are cult exploitation films, like *Reefer Madness* (1936); cult blaxploitation films, like *Shaft* (1971); and cult porn movies, like *Deep Throat* and *Behind the Green Door* (both 1972). Many cult films are music-based and have developed a lasting following on the basis of their soundtrack alone. These include *Tommy* (1975), *Rock and Roll High School* (1979), *The Blues Brothers* (1980), and *Pink Floyd: The Wall* (1982).

There are other movies that have developed cult reputations simply because they convey a certain mood, evoke a certain atmosphere or time period, or are irrefutably strange. Examples include films as diverse as *Harold and Maude* (1971), *D.O.A.* (1980), *Diva* (1981), *Blade Runner* (1982), *Scarface* (1983), *Repo Man* (1984), *Pee-Wee's Big Adventure* (1985), *The Toxic Avenger* (1985), *Hard Boiled* (1992), and *The Big Lebowski* (1998). And while most of these movies seem to attract predominantly

male cults, female followings have grown up around fashion-conscious "chick flicks" like *Valley of the Dolls* (1967), the teen movie *Clueless* (1995), and the "anti-teen" movie *Heathers* (1989).

B MOVIES AND TRASH

Perhaps the first movies to develop cult followings were B movies—those quickly made, cheaply produced films that had their heyday in Hollywood's "Golden Age." B movies began to proliferate in the mid-1930s, when distributors felt that "double features" might stand a chance of luring increasingly frugal Depression audiences back to the theaters. Their strategy worked—audiences of devoted moviegoers thrilled to cheap B movie fare like *The Mummy's Hand* (1940), *The Face Behind the Mask* (1941), *Cobra Woman* (1944), and *White Savage* (1943). Often (but not always) horror or science-fiction films, these movies were inexpensively produced and usually unheralded—except by their fans, who often found more to enjoy in these bottom-rung "guilty pleasures" than in the high-profile epics their profits supported.

B movies were cheaply made, but were not necessarily poor in quality. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, however, a number of rather inept films were made that have subsequently developed substantial cult followings. The "trash" movie aesthetic was founded on an appreciation for these low-budget movies. Struggling with severe budgetary limitations, directors were regularly forced to come up with makeshift costuming and set design solutions that produced truly strange and sometimes unintentionally comic results. The trash aesthetic was later borrowed by underground filmmakers like Andy Warhol (1928–1987), Jack Smith (1932–1989), and the Kuchar Brothers (George [b. 1942] and Mike [b. 1942]), who also made their films in the cheapest possible way.

Most of the original trash cinema failed miserably at the box office, and has developed a cult reputation only in retrospect, after being reappropriated by a later audience with an eye for nostalgic irony. For the most part, the films were not products of the big Hollywood studios; most of them were made independently, often targeted at the drive-in theater market, and some were made outside the United States. Such films include the Japanese monster epic *Godzilla* (1954) and its low-budget Danish imitation *Reptilicus* (1962), as well as shabby Boris Karloff vehicles like *Die Monster Die* (1965), and bizarre sexploitation films like *The Wild Women of Wongo* (1958). Today, many movie buffs are drawn to the camp, kitschy qualities of these movies—their minimal budgets, low production values, and appalling acting. Many such films were made by Roger Corman (b. 1926), who originally specialized in quickie productions with low-budget resources and little commercial marketing, including *Attack of the Crab Monsters* (1957) and *Creature from the Haunted Sea* (1961). Corman's place in cult film history is also assured by his unrivaled eye for talent; among the many notables who were employed by him at a very early stage in their careers are Jack Nicholson, Francis Ford Coppola, Martin Scorsese, Jonathan Demme, James Cameron, and Peter Bogdanovich.

The unrivaled king of trash cinema was undoubtedly Edward D. Wood, Jr. (1924–1978), whose output—films like *Bride of the Monster* (1955) and *Plan 9 from Outer Space* (1959)—are considered the nadir of naive charm. These movies have been much celebrated in retrospect because of their unique and endearing ineptitude and for the implausibility of their premises. Like most other "bad" cult movies, Wood's films lack finesse and wit, but are loved by their fans for precisely this reason. Significantly, cults have also recently grown up around more contemporary "bad" movies. For example, almost immediately after the theatrical release of *Showgirls* (Paul Verhoeven, 1995), which recouped only half its $40 million cost, the film opened in Los Angeles and then in New York as a midnight cult movie. This phenomenon suggests that the cult movie aesthetic is not necessarily antithetical to the big-budget, mass-market mode of production nourished by the major Hollywood studios.

This crossover also raises the question of the distinction between "cult" and "camp." Generally speaking, camp began in the New York underground theater and film communities, and is a quality of the way movies are received, rather than a deliberate quality of the films themselves. Indeed, camp, according to critic Susan Sontag, is always the product of pure passion—on however grand or pathetic a scale—somehow gone strangely awry. To be considered camp, it is not enough for a film to fail, or to seem dated, extreme, or freakish; there must be a genuine passion and sincerity about its creation. Camp is based on a faith and emotion in the film that is shared by director and audience, often across the passage of time, contradicting the popular assumption that camp is concerned only with surfaces and the superficial.

The two concepts—camp and cult—clearly overlap in a number of ways, and many films develop cult followings because of their camp qualities. For example, many studio films have attracted a retrospective devotion through a process of reappropriation on the part of gay audiences. This is especially true of films that feature gay icons, like Joan Crawford, Judy Garland, Liza Minelli, or Barbra Streisand, in particularly melodramatic or pathetic roles. Such films include *Mildred Pierce* (1945), *The Best of*

EDWARD D. WOOD, JR.

b. Poughskeepie, New York, 10 October 1924,
d. Hollywood, California, 10 December 1978

Often described as the "worst director in history," Wood's following has exploded since his death. For years, a small group of Ed Wood cultists treasured the two films that were commercially available—*Glen or Glenda?* (1953) and *Plan 9 From Outer Space* (1959)—without knowing much about the man himself. This all changed with the publication in 1992 of Rudolph Grey's reverent biography *Nightmare of Ecstasy: The Life and Art of Edward D. Wood, Jr.* and the release of Tim Burton's runaway success *Ed Wood* (1994), a dark comedy based on the life, times, and movies of the infamous director.

Wood's cult status is due in part to his endearingly unorthodox personality and unusual openness about his sexual fetishes. A twice-married transvestite, Wood fought in World War II and claimed to have been wearing a bra and panties under his uniform during a military landing. His ventures into Hollywood moviemaking were ill-fated until, in 1953, he landed the chance to direct a film based on the Christine Jorgensen sex-change story. The result, *Glen or Glenda?*, gave a fascinating insight into Wood's own obsessive personality, and shed light on his fascination with women's clothing (an almost unthinkable subject for an early 1950s feature) by including the director's own plea for tolerance toward cross-dressers like himself. This surreal, cheap (though well over budget), and virtually incomprehensible film is notable for Bela Lugosi's role as a scientist delivering cryptic messages about gender directly to the audience. Neither *Glen or Glenda?* nor any of Wood's subsequent movies were commercially successful, but he continued to make films until failing health and financial need sent him into a physical and emotional decline. Grey's biography presents Wood in his later years as a moody alcoholic; sadly, the last period of his career, before his premature death at age 54, was spent directing undistinguished soft, and later hardcore, pornography.

Wood's films have been canonized by cultists as high camp, and continue to be adored for their charming ineptitude, startling continuity gaps, bad acting, and irrelevant stock footage. His best-known film is the infamous *Plan 9 from Outer Space*, which features aliens arriving on earth and attempting to conquer the planet by raising the dead. The film is notorious for its pathetic, illogical script, cardboard masonry, ridiculous "special effects," and the use of kitchen utensils as space helmets. It stars the heavily accented Swedish wrestler Tor Jonson and a drug-addled, terminally ill Bela Lugosi, who died during production and is sporadically replaced by a stand-in who, even with his cape drawn over his face, looks nothing at all like the decrepit Lugosi. The film also features the glamorous Finnish actress Maila Nurmi, better known as Vampira, generally believed to be the first late-night television horror hostess (and followed by many imitators, including the more successful Elvira, Mistress of the Dark). *Plan 9 from Outer Space* contains the only surviving footage of Vampira, although she has no dialogue in the film.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Glen or Glenda? (1953), *Bride of the* Monster (1955), *Night of the Ghouls* (1959), *Plan 9 from Outer Space* (1959), *Ed Wood* (1994), *Ed Wood: Look Back in Angora* (1994)

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Everything (1959), *A Star is Born* (both the 1954 and 1976 versions), *Whatever Happened to Baby Jane?* (1962), and similar pictures that are considered by their fans to be especially mawkish, sentimental, overly serious, or too straight-faced. For example, the 1981 Joan Crawford biopic *Mommie Dearest* was almost immediately proclaimed a camp masterpiece by Crawford's gay followers and hit the midnight circuit immediately after its first run.

Other films have developed cult followings because of their unique presentation of new gimmicks or special effects. For example, Herschell Gordon Lewis's drive-in blockbuster *Blood Feast* (1963) has attained cult status partly because it was the first film to feature human entrails and dismembered bodies "in blood color." The films of William Castle (1914–1977) have attracted a cult following mainly because of their pioneering use of

Edward D. Wood, Jr. (left) directing Jail Bait *(1954) starring Dolores Fuller.* EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

low-budget publicity schemes and special effects, including "Percepto" (specially wired-up seats) for *The Tingler* (1959); "Emergo" (a cardboard skeleton on a wire hanging over the audience) for *The House on Haunted Hill* (1958); and "Illusion-O" (a 3–D viewer) for *13 Ghosts* (1960)—although there are those who claim that Castle's most successful gimmick was his use of the hammy, smooth-voiced actor Vincent Price (1911–1993). In a similar way, John Waters's *Polyester* (1981) is a cult film partly because of its use of "Odorama" (audience scratch-and-sniff cards), and Roger Vadim's *Barbarella* (1968) has achieved cult status mainly due to the extravagance of its costumes and sets, including Jane Fonda's thigh-high boots and fur-lined spaceship.

There are also a number of iconic directors whose every movie has attained cult status, mainly because their films tend to replicate the same individual fascinations or pathologies. A good example is Russ Meyer (1922–2004), whose films are especially popular among those fans, both male and female, who share his obsession with buxom actresses engaged in theatrical violence. Most typical of the Meyer oeuvre is perhaps *Faster, Pussycat! Kill! Kill!* (1966), which features three leather-clad, voluptuous, thrill-seeking women in go-go boots.

A different kind of cult movie is the film that has attracted curiosity because of the particular circumstances surrounding its release. Such films may have been banned in certain states, for example; they may have had controversial lawsuits brought against them, or they may have been associated with particularly violent crimes, like *A Clockwork Orange* (1971) or *Taxi Driver* (1976). Or they may be notoriously difficult to find, like Todd Haynes's *Superstar: The Karen Carpenter Story* (1987), a study in celebrity and anorexia in the guise of a biopic performed by Barbie dolls. The movie was quickly taken off the market for copyright reasons, but has still managed to attract a substantial cult following.

In other cases, films attain retrospective cult status because of the circumstances surrounding their production. For example, *The Terror* (1963) is a cult film partly because of Jack Nicholson's early appearance in a starring role, and *Donovan's Brain* (1953) gains cult status

because of the presence of the actress Nancy Davis, later to become better known as First Lady Nancy Reagan. Moreover, scandalous public disclosures that accumulate around actors or actresses inevitably give their films a certain amount of morbid cult interest. For example, in his *Hollywood Babylon* books (1975 and 1984), underground filmmaker Kenneth Anger (b. 1927) keeps a toll of films involving one or more celebrities who eventually took their own lives, all of which have since come to attain an odd kind of cult status of their own. Anger also discusses "cursed" films that feature stars who died soon after production was completed—films like *Rebel without a Cause* (1955), starring James Dean, and *The Misfits* (1961), starring Marilyn Monroe. In cases like these, fans often enjoy subjecting the film to microscopic scrutiny in a search for telltale betrayals of bad health, signals of some emotional meltdown, portents of future tragedy, or innocently spoken words of irony, regardless of what else might be happening on screen. For example, parallels are often drawn between the death of James Dean in an automobile accident and the "chicken run" scene in *Rebel without a Cause*, in which Jim Stark (Dean) and his friend are driving two stolen cars toward the edge of a cliff; the first one to jump out is a "chicken." Jim rolls out at the last second, but his friend's coat sleeve is caught in the door handle, and he hurtles over the cliff to his death. In the aftermath, we hear Dean's anguished cry: "A boy was killed!"

MIDNIGHT MOVIES

Many films now considered "cult movies" came to achieve this status through repeat screenings at independent repertory cinemas, usually very late at night. Such films were cheaper for theaters to hire than current releases, often since their ownership had fallen into public domain. It became traditional, during the 1950s and 60s, to begin showing these films at midnight, when audience attendance was lower, and sensibilities often less discriminating. However, the first movie to be "officially" shown at a midnight screening was odd drama *El Topo* (*The Mole*, Alexandro Jodorosky, 1970), which was discovered by Ben Barenholtz, booker for the Elgin theater in New York, at a Museum of Modern Art screening. Barenholtz allegedly persuaded the film's distributor to allow him to play it at midnight at the Elgin, because—as the poster announced—the film was "too heavy to be shown any other way." The disturbing film was a runaway success, and midnight premieres of offbeat movies eventually became (with varying degrees of success) a regular aspect of distribution, initially in New York and later elsewhere. The aim of the concept was to provide a forum for unusual, eccentric, or otherwise bizarre movies. The audience for these films generally tended to be those who were not averse to going out to see a film in the middle of the night—usually a younger group of urban movie fans not easily put off by unconventional themes or scenes of drug use, nudity, or violence. Indeed, many of the midnight movies that attained cult success did so because they transgressed various social taboos. For example, when its run had come to an end, *El Topo* was followed at the Elgin by *Pink Flamingos* (John Waters, 1972), which had late-night audiences lined up around the block. In fact, all of the films of John Waters eventually became staples of the midnight movie circuit, especially *Polyester* (1981) and *Hairspray* (1988), with their grotesque vignettes held together by the loosest of narratives and a bizarre cast of garish grandmothers and oddballs, generally led by the overweight transvestite Divine.

One of the most significant midnight movies was *Eraserhead* (1977), the nightmarish first film made by cult director David Lynch (b. 1946), which contained a series of disturbing images in a postapocalyptic setting. Lynch went on to make other movies that soon developed cult followings, including *Blue Velvet* (1986) and *Wild at Heart* (1990), both filled with dark, odd, ambiguous characters. Other important movies that gradually developed cult followings after years on the midnight circuit include *Freaks* (1932), *Night of the Living Dead* (1968), *The Evil Dead* (1981), and *Re-Animator* (1985).

Essentially, the real key to the success of a midnight movie was the film's relationship with its audience and the slavish devotion of its fans. Perhaps the most successful midnight movie of all time was *Rocky Horror Picture Show* (1975), a low-budget film adaptation of Richard O'Brien's glam stage hit about two square lovebirds who enter the realm of an outrageous Gothic transsexual. A failure when it was first released, midnight screenings at the Waverly Theater in New York City quickly established *Rocky Horror* as an aberrant smash, starting a trend in audiences for interactive entertainment. As the film garnered a significant cult following over the late 1970s and early 1980s, audiences began to arrive at the theater dressed in costume, carrying various props to wave and throw in the aisles as they yelled responses to characters' lines and joined in singing and dancing to the musical numbers onscreen.

VCR and DVD viewing, network and cable television, and pay-per-view stations have significantly changed the nature of cult film viewing. Many movies that failed to find an audience upon original theatrical release now often gain cult followings through video rentals and sales. Today, word-of-mouth popularity can lead a formerly obscure film to gain a whole new audience on its video release, allowing it to earn considerably more in DVD sales than it did at the theater.

(From left) Tim Curry, Barry Bostwick, and Susan Sarandon in the midnight cult film* The Rocky Horror Picture Show *(Jim Sharman, 1975). ® ™ AND COPYRIGHT © 20TH CENTURY FOX FILM CORP./COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

CULT CLASSICS

A film need not be offbeat, obscure, or low-budget to attain a cult following. On the contrary, a number of critically acclaimed movies have attained cult status precisely because their high quality and skillful performances, as well as their emotional power, have given them enduring appeal. These kinds of films are often described as "cult classics" because, while attracting a fiercely devoted band of followers, they are films that most mainstream audiences and critics have also praised and admired. Unlike ordinary cult movies, cult classics are often products of the big Hollywood studios, and most of them are made in the United States. Moreover, unlike many cult movies, cult classics are not weird, offbeat, or strange, but are often sentimental and heartwarming. They include such films as *It's a Wonderful Life* (1946), *Miracle on 34th Street* (1947), and *The Wizard of Oz* (1939). One of the most deeply loved of such films is *Casablanca* (1942), whose cult—or so legend has it—began in the early 1950s, when the Brattle Theater, adjoining Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts, held a regular "Bogart week," purportedly because the theater's student clientele so closely identified with Bogart's sense of style. The series was shown around final exam time, to bring the students some needed late-night relief from the stress of their studies, and it culminated with a screening of *Casablanca*.

SEE ALSO *B Movies; Camp; Fans and Fandom*

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Czechoslovakia was formed in 1918 following the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire after World War I. The Czech lands of Bohemia and Moravia had been ruled from Vienna while Slovakia had formed part of Hungary. Despite close linguistic ties, this was the first time that the two nations had been linked for over a thousand years. Following the Munich conference of 1938, when the country was forced to cede its German-speaking areas to Germany, Hitler encouraged the secession of Slovakia, and Bohemia and Moravia were established as a Nazi protectorate following the German invasion of March 1939.

The country was reunited in 1945, and became part of the Eastern bloc after the Communist coup of 1948. In the 1960s, there was an attempt to move beyond the dogmatic Stalinism of the 1950s, culminating in the Prague Spring of 1968. This attempt to combine socialism and democracy was perceived as a threat to Soviet hegemony and resulted in the invasion of fellow Warsaw Pact countries in August of that year. This led to a repressive regime that was to last until the fall of Communism during the so-called "Velvet Revolution" of November 1989. The country split into the Czech and Slovak republics in 1993 after decisions taken within the political leaderships. It did not reflect popular opinion, which favored maintaining the union.

Despite these political turmoils, the Czech cinema became an established part of the European mainstream in the 1920s and 1930s and has maintained a significant level of feature production throughout its subsequent development. Its history pre-dates the formation of the independent state of Czechoslovakia and there were also important precursors to the cinema. J. E. Purkyně (1787–1869) wrote on persistence of vision as early as 1818 and, together with Ferdinand Durst, created the Kinesiscope in 1850. The first film producer in Austria-Hungary was the Czech photographer Jan Kříženecký (1868–1921), who made his first films in 1898. His film *Smích a pláč* (*Laughter and Tears*, 1898), with the actor Josef Šváb-Malostranský miming the two emotions, could almost summarize international perceptions of the defining characteristics of Czech cinema (based on such films as the 1966 *Ostře sledované vlaky* [*Closely Watched Trains*]).

BEGINNINGS

A permanent film theater was opened in Prague in 1907 by the conjuror Ponrepo and regular film production began in 1910. By the beginning of World War I, over a third of the cinemas in Austria-Hungary were based in the Czech lands of Bohemia and Moravia. Lucernafilm was established in Prague in 1915 by Václav Havel, grandfather of the future president Václav Havel; while other companies, including Weteb, Excelsior, Praga, and Poja, followed at the end of the war. Czech cinema's first international success was Karel Degl's *Stavitel chrámu* (*The Builder of the Cathedral*, 1919) while the first Slovak feature, Jaroslav Siakel's *Jánošík*, was made in 1921 with US financing.

The first important studio was founded by the American and Biografia company (the A-B Company) in 1921, and the actor-director Karel Lamač established the Kavalírka studios in 1926, where some of the most important films were made before 1929, when they were destroyed by fire. Despite strong competition from the

German and US cinemas, feature production in the silent period averaged over twenty-six (Czech) features and was marked by both artistic and commercial success. Lamač directed a successful adaptation of Jaroslav Hašek's comic anti-war novel *Dobrý voják Švejk* (*The Good Soldier Švejk*) in 1926, which was followed by three silent sequels: *Švejk na frontě* (*Švejk at the Front*, 1926), directed by Lamač, *Švejk v ruském zajetí* (*Švejk in Russian Captivity*, 1926), directed by Svatopluk Innemann; and *Švejk v civilu* (*Švejk in Civilian Life*, 1927), directed by Gustav Machatý. In partnership with his then-wife Anny Ondra (1902–1987), who appeared in Alfred Hitchcock's *The Manxman* and *Blackmail* (both 1929), Lamač formed a successful team that achieved international success in the French, Austrian, and German cinema, although they transferred their production base to Berlin in 1930.

THE SOUND FILM

Gustav Machatý (1901–1963) was the most ambitious "art" director of the period, and attracted attention with his Expressionist-influenced adaptation of Tolstoy's *Kreutzerova sonáta* (*The Kreutzer Sonata*, 1926). He enjoyed a big success with *Erotikon* (1929), which was consolidated by his first two sound films, *Ze soboty na neděli* (*From Saturday to Sunday*, 1931) and, especially, *Extase* (*Ecstasy*, 1932), winner of the Best Direction Prize at the Venice Film Festival in 1934, which introduced Hedy Kiesler (Lamarr) (1913–2000) to world audiences and was sold to over twenty-six countries. The success of *Ecstasy* was followed by an MGM contract and film work in Italy and Austria. However, he was able to complete only one Hollywood A-feature (*Jealousy*, 1945), which was scripted by Dalton Trumbo, and was primarily employed on second unit work. The poetic lyricism of Machatý's style did much to establish the tradition of lyrical cinematography that continued through to the post–World War II period. One of his key collaborators was the photographer and avant-garde director Alexandr Hackenschmied (Alexander Hammid) (1907–2004), who directed the experimental *Bezučelná procházka* (*Aimless Walk*, 1930), and later, in the United States, made documentaries, and co-directed films with Herbert Kline and Maya Deren.

The introduction of sound raised the question of the viability of Czech language production for a population of only 15 million. But while only eight features were produced in 1930, the average had risen to over forty by the end of the decade. The Barrandov film studios were built in 1932–1933 with the intention of attracting international production (which finally happened in the 1990s), but developed in the 1930s mainly as a center for national production, following growth in the domestic audience.

Martin (Mac) Frič, whose career extended from the 1920s to the 1960s, made some of his most important films in the 1930s, including work with such leading comic actors as Vlasta Burian (1891–1962), Hugo Haas (1901–1968), and Oldřich Nový. Perhaps most notable was his collaboration with the theatrical team of Jiří Voskovec and Jan Werich (1905–1980), whose Osvobozené divadlo (The Liberated Theatre) was a cultural phenomenon. Their musical satires and parodies, described by the eminent linguist Roman Jakobson as "pure humour and semantic clowning," took a political turn in the face of economic depression and the rise of Nazism. After appearing in Paramount's all-star revue *Paramount on Parade* (1930), they made four feature films, including two by Frič—*Hej-Rup!* (*Heave Ho!*, 1934) and *Svět patří nám* (*The World Belongs to Us*, 1937). The former deals with the destruction of a corrupt capitalist at the hands of a workers collective while in the latter, Voskovec and Werich (V+W) defeat a Hitler-like demagogue and his big-business supporters with the help of the workers.

Both *The World Belongs to Us* and the film version of Karel Čapek's anti-Fascist play *Bílá nemoc* (*The White Sickness*, 1937), directed by Haas, were the subject of Nazi protests and were suppressed following the German invasion of March 1939. Voskovec and Werich spent the war years in the United States, where Voskovec eventually settled and, as George Voskovec, became a successful Broadway actor as well as appearing in a number of Hollywood films. Hugo Haas also left for Hollywood, where he played cameo roles and directed a sequence of B features, three of them based on Czech sources.

Other Czech directors to attract attention during the 1930s included Josef Rovenský (1894–1937) (*Řeka* [*The River*, 1933]) and Otakar Vávra, who moved from experimental shorts to features in 1937. His 1938 film *Cech panen kutnohorských* (*The Guild of Kutna Hora Maidens*) won an award at Venice but was banned during the Occupation. Slovak feature film production was not to develop further until after the war, but Karel Plicka's *Zem spieva* (*The Earth Sings*, 1933), a feature-length record of Slovak folk culture edited by Alexandr Hackenschmied, attracted international attention when it was screened at Venice in 1934.

Following the Western allies' capitulation to Hitler at the Munich conference over the Sudetenland (Czechoslovakia's German-speaking areas), the Germans invaded in March 1939 and the Czech lands became the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. Under "clerico-Fascist" leadership, Slovakia declared independence

immediately. The Germans took a controlling stake in the Barrandov studios and issued a list of prohibited subjects, eventually extending the studios as an alternative center for German production. Although Czech production declined from forty features in 1938 to nine in 1944, a number of leading directors, including Vávra and Martin Fric, continued to make films.

The Czech star Lída Baarová, who had been signed up by the German film studio Ufa (Universum Film Aktiengesellschaft) in 1934 and had a well-known affair with Nazi Minister of Propaganda Joseph Goebbels, saw all of her films banned in Germany due to Hitler's anger at the scandal, but continued to work in Czech films. She finally returned to Czechoslovakia in 1938, making some of her best films in the late 1930s, including four for Vávra, who directed her in *Panenství* (*Virginity*, 1937) and *Dívka v modrém* (*The Girl in Blue*, 1939). The Nazis expelled her from the Czech studios in 1941 and she continued her career in Italy. A group including Vávra planned the nationalization of the film industry after the war, a goal achieved in 1945, along with the establishment of the Koliba studios in Bratislava (Slovakia), and the foundation of the Prague Film School (FAMU) in 1946. Czech films again attracted international attention when Karel Steklý's (1903–1987) *Siréna* (*The Strike*, 1947) and Jiří Trnka's feature-length puppet film *Špalíček* (*The Czech Year*, 1947) won awards at Venice.

Following the Communist takeover in 1948, there was a fairly swift adherence to the moribund formulae of Stalinist cinema, particularly in the period 1951–1955, combined with another decline in production. However, as the novelist Josef Škvorecký (b. 1924) once put it, artistic common sense always gnawed at the formulae of Socialist Realism, and filmmakers sought ways of expanding beyond official limitations. It was at this time that the Czech cinema achieved international reputation in the field of animation. Jiří Trnka, Karel Zeman (1910–1989), Hermina Týrlová, Břetislav Pojar, Jiří Brdečka, and many others led the way, with features from Trnka (*Staré pověsti české* [*Old Czech Legends*, 1953], *Sen noci svatojánske* [*A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 1959]) and from Zeman (*Cesta do pravěku* /*A Journey to Primeval Times*, 1955, *Vynález zkázy*/,*An Invention for Destruction*, 1958), who eventually made nine feature animation films. Many early films with an explicit Left orientation were clearly honest and committed, particularly before 1948. *The Strike*, a collective statement by the pre-war Left avant-garde, was one example and Vávra's *Němá barikáda* (*Silent Barricade*, 1949) about the Prague uprising, although simplified, was another. *Vstanou noví bojovníci* (*New Heroes Will Arise*, 1950), by Jiří Weiss, gave a committed account of the early years of the labor movement.

Weiss had started to make documentaries before the war and had spent the war years in Britain where, besides working with the British documentary school, he made his first fiction films. On his return, he made an impressive film about the Munich crisis, *Uloupená hranice* (*The Stolen Frontier*, 1947) and won international awards with *Vlčí jáma* (*The Wolf Trap*, 1957) and *Romeo, Julie a tma* (*Romeo, Juliet, and Darkness*, 1960), notable for their psychological depth and dramatic visual style. Another director who began in pre-war documentary was Elmar Klos (1910–1993), who began a long-term collaboration with the Slovak Ján Kadár in 1952. A sequence of challenging films culminated in the first Czech (and Slovak) Oscar®-winner, *Obchod na korze* (*The Shop on Main Street*, 1965). After the Soviet invasion of 1968, Kadár emigrated to the United States, where his films included an adaptation of Bernard Malamud's *The Angel Levine* (1970) and the award-winning Canadian film *Lies My Father Told Me* (1975). Weiss also emigrated to the United States but made no films until the German-produced *Martha und Ich* (*Martha and I*, 1990).

TOWARD THE PRAGUE SPRING

In the late 1950s, a number of new feature directors made their debuts, including František Vláčil, and early FAMU graduates such as Vojtěch Jasný, Karel Kachyňa, and the Slovak, Štefan Uher. In a world in which criticism of Stalinism was forbidden, they found their inspiration in the visual traditions of Czech lyricism and in broad humanist subject matter. Although little known to international audiences, they were to make some of the most significant films of the 1960s. In the 1990s, Czech critics voted Vláčil's historical epic *Marketa Lazarová* (1967) the best Czech film ever made and Jasný's *Všichni dobří rodáci* (*All My Good Countrymen*, 1968), which dealt with the collectivization of agriculture, was to prove one of the most politically controversial films of the Prague Spring. In 1990, Kachyňa's *Ucho* (*The Ear*, 1970) still impressed at the Cannes Film Festival when it premiered after a twenty-year ban.

Slovak cinema, which enjoyed a separate—if interactive—existence after 1945, saw the development of a number of significant talents after the production of Palo Bielik's film *Vlčie diery* (*Wolves' Lairs*, 1948), about the Slovak National Uprising of 1944. The most notable were probably Peter Solan (b. 1929) and Stanislav Barabáš. Uher, who began his career in 1961, paved the way for the innovative developments of the 1960s with his *Slnko v sieti* (*Sunshine in a Net*, (1962), which combined lyricism with significant narrative innovation.

It was against the lyrical humanist background of the late 1950s–early 1960s that the Czech New Wave made its debut in 1963 with Miloš Forman's *Černý Petr* (*Black*

MILOŠ FORMAN

b. Čáslav, Czechoslovakia, 2 February 1932

Miloš Forman is one of the major directors of the Czech New Wave. He studied screenwriting at the Prague Film School (FAMU), and made his debut as writer/director with *Konkurs* (*Talent Competition*) and *Černý Petr* (*Black Peter*) in 1963. In collaboration with his colleagues Ivan Passer and Jaroslav Papoušek, who subsequently became directors themselves, he developed a style of semi-improvised film making that used non-professional actors and focused on everyday life. This apparently accidental discovery of reality—a world of dance halls, canteens, and run-down flats—was, he argued, a reaction against the false and idealized images promoted by the official cinema.

His next two films, *Lásky jedné plavovlásky* (*Loves of a Blonde*, 1965) and *Hoří, má panenko* (*The Firemen's Ball*, 1967), were both Oscar®-nominated. *The Firemen's Ball*, the comic story of how a local fire brigade fails in its attempts to organize both a raffle and a beauty competition, was interpreted, even at script stage, as a satire on the Communist Party. In 1973, following the Soviet invasion of 1968, it was listed as one of the four Czech films to be banned "forever."

It was his last Czech film, and Forman was working on the script of his first American film in Paris in 1968 when the Soviet invasion took place. He remained abroad and became a US citizen in 1977. *Taking Off* (1971) continued the improvised, group-centered approach of his Czech films but, despite festival success, did not succeed with American audiences. He subsequently chose to work with preexisting themes from his adopted culture and not to write his own original screenplays.

His subsequent American films—frequently compared adversely with his Czech ones, although they won him two Best Director Oscars®—reveal, in fact, a decidedly off-center portrait of American life. They include adaptations of Ken Kesey (*One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*, 1975); E. L. Doctorow (*Ragtime*, 1981); the James Rado–Gerome Ragni–Galt McDermott musical *Hair* (1979); and, more recently, collaborations with screenwriters Scott Alexander and Larry Karaszewski in their continuing gallery of American eccentrics (*The People vs. Larry Flynt*, 1996; *Man on the Moon*, 1999). Forman based himself in New York rather than Hollywood and his subjects always have had an intrinsic interest and have been treated in sophisticated ways. His two "European" projects, the multiple Academy Award®-winner *Amadeus* (1984), from the play by Peter Schaffer, which was made in Prague, and *Valmont* (1989), an adaptation of Choderlos de Laclos's *Les Liaisons Dangereuses*, made in France, were also his most elaborate. In both, he treated his heroes—Mozart and his wife and the sexual predators of *Valmont*—pretty much like the young innocents of his early Czech films.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Black Peter (1963), *Loves of a Blonde* (1965), *The Firemen's Ball* (1967), *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* (1975), *Amadeus* (1984), *Valmont* (1989)

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Peter Hames

Peter), Věra Chytilová's *O něčem jiném* (*Something Different*), and Jaromil Jireš's *Křik* (*The Cry*). All three films addressed the problems of everyday life, with cinéma-vérité a key influence on Forman and Chytilová. While the emphasis on the look of everyday life heralded movement in a new direction, the New Wave rapidly escaped any particular stylistic form in favor of a diversity of output that also comprised lyricism, critical realism, and the avant-garde. Other directors who emerged in the mid- to late-1960s have been seen as "New Wave," including Jan Němec (*Démanty noci* [*Diamonds of the Night*, 1964], *O slavnosti a hostech* [*Report on the Party and the Guests*, 1966]); Pavel Juráček and Jan Schmidt (b. 1934) (*Postava k podpírání* [*Josef Kilián*, 1963]); Evald Schorm (*Každý den odvahu* [*Everyday Courage*, 1964], *Návrat ztraceného syna* [*Return of the Prodigal Son*,

Miloš Forman during production of* One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest *(1975). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

1966]); Ivan Passer (b. 1933) (*Intimní osvětlení* [*Intimate Lighting*, 1965]); Hynek Bočan (*Nikdo se nebude smát* [*No Laughing Matter*, 1965], *Soukromá vichřice* [*Private Hurricane*, 1967]); and Jiří Menzel (*Closely Watched Trains*, 1966], *Rozmarné léto* [*Capricious Summer*, 1967], *Skřivánci na niti* [*Skylarks on a String*, 1969]). *Closely Watched Trains* was to prove the second Czech Oscar®-winner in 1967.

Criticism of the system tended to be oblique prior to 1968, when the reform Communism of the Prague Spring effectively abolished censorship but continued to fund its filmmakers. Nonetheless, there were some powerful works even before this. A director of the older generation, Ladislav Helge (b. 1927), made some strong internal criticisms with his film *Škola otců* (*School for Fathers*, 1957), about a teacher fighting a battle against hypocrisy masked by ideological correctness. Evald Schorm's (1931–1988) debut feature *Everyday Courage* focused on a Party activist who sees his image of certainty collapsing around him, while in *Return of the Prodigal Son* he examined the case of an attempted suicide, linking it explicitly to issues of conscience and compromise.

The realist and humorous approach of directors like Forman and Passer was supplemented by Juráček's and Schmidt's Kafkaesque analysis of bureaucracy in *Josef Kilián*, Němec's absurdist portrait of power in *Report on the Party and the Guests*, and Forman's farce, *Hoří, má panenko* (*The Firemen's Ball*, 1967), in which his aging firemen's inability to organize anything was inevitably interpreted as a somewhat broader parable. Avant-garde and experimental traditions began to emerge in the late 1960s with the influence of Poetism (Němec's *Mučedníci lásky* [*Martyrs of Love*, 1966]); Dadaism (Chytilová's *Sedmikrásky* [*Daisies*, 1966]); and Surrealism (Jireš's *Valerie a týden divů* [*Valerie and her Week of Wonders*, 1970]).

The Slovak Wave of the late 1960s shared a similarly radical approach to form. Dušan Hanák's *322* (1969) was a bleak and powerful allegory of contemporary life while directors such as Juraj Jakubisko (b. 1938) (*Zbehovia a pútnici* [*The Deserter and the Nomads*, 1968]) and Elo Havetta (1938–1975) (*Slávnosť v botanickej záhrade* [*The Party in the Botanical Garden*, 1969]) used folk inspiration in a way that looked forward to the work of Emir Kusturica, who graduated from FAMU ten years later.

The Czech and Slovak New Waves undoubtedly contributed to the political reform movement of the 1960s, and formed part of the Prague Spring attempts to combine democracy and Socialism—in effect, *glasnost* twenty years before Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev initiated the reforms that led to the end of the Cold War. The Warsaw Pact invasion and suppression of these earlier reforms led, perhaps inevitably, to the banning of writers, artists, and filmmakers. Over 100 films were banned, and Forman, Passer, Kadár, Weiss, Jasný, Němec, and Barabáš went into exile. Helge, Schorm, and Juráček found their film careers at an end while others were forced into compromises with the regime.

NORMALIZATION AND AFTER

The period between 1970 and 1989, that of so-called "normalization," was, despite substantial production, a relative lowpoint in the history of Czech and Slovak film, as it was in cultural life in general. Following the invasion, it has been estimated that over 170,000 people left the country and that 70,000 were expelled from the Communist Party. The heads of the Barrandov and Koliba studios were sacked and the films of the "wave" were condemned as expressions of petty bourgeois egoism.

The new films of the 1970s were almost devoid of substantive content. Simplified moral tales and teenage love stories were the order of the day. Nonetheless, directors such as Kachyňa, Jireš, Vláčil, and Uher walked

Miloš Forman's parodic* Firemen's Ball *(1967). **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

the tightrope with a certain measure of success. Menzel, who returned to filmmaking in 1975, and Chytilová, who returned in 1976, kept alive some of the qualities of the New Wave—Menzel with his adaptations from Hrabal, which included *Postřižiny* (*Cutting it Short*, 1980), and Chytilová with a number of critically abrasive films such as *Hra o jablko* (*The Apple Game*, 1976) and *Panelstory* (*Prefab Story*, 1979). Menzel even gained an Oscar® nomination for *Vesničko má středisková* (*My Sweet Little Village*, 1985). But the regime was not interested in promoting its more interesting projects, preferring to champion propagandistic epics to an uninterested world film community.

It was against this background that the striking animated films of the surrealist Jan Švankmajer made their appearance (although he had been making films since the early 1960s). Largely suppressed by the authorities, his work finally emerged at the Annecy Animation Festival in 1983 and he was subsequently to make his first feature, *Něco z Alenky* (*Alice*, 1987), as a Swiss-British-German co-production. By the end of the 1980s, it was often alleged that the problems for cinema were less those of censorship than an absence of good scripts, the talent needed for their creation having been lost through years of both enforced and semi-voluntary compromise. Nonetheless, prior to the Velvet Revolution of November 1989 and the fall of Communism, it had been decided to release the banned films (although only a few, including *The Shop on Main Street* and *The Firemen's Ball*, had appeared before November) and more challenging work had began to appear from directors such as Zdeněk Tyc (b. 1956) (*Vojtěch, řečený sirotek* [*Vojtěch, Called Orphan*, 1989]) and Irena Pavlásková (b. 1960) (*Čas sluhů* [*The Time of the Servants*, 1989]).

The fall of Communism did not lead to a sudden cinematic rebirth. The nationalized industry was dismantled in 1993 (although the process had begun earlier) and the Barrandov studios have been largely given over to American and other foreign producers, with domestic producers excluded by cost. Government subsidy was virtually removed (unlike the subsidies in Poland and Hungary) and, until 2004, the burden of production fell

mainly upon the public service Česká televize (Czech Television), with a consequent emphasis on low budget production. The New Wave did not bounce back, although Němec returned from exile and has made some interesting low budget films (notably *Noční hovory s matkou* [*Late Night Talks with Mother*, 2001]) and Drahomíra Vihanová made her second feature film, *Pevnost* (*The Fortress*, 1994), after a twenty-year hiatus. Menzel withdrew to theater for ten years rather than face the problems of production in an underfunded industry.

But, despite everything, the Czech industry survived and, in the mid- to late-1990s, a number of younger directors again attracted international attention. They included Jan Svěrák, who won an Oscar® with his *Kolya* (*Kolja*, 1996), Petr Zelenka (*Knoflíkáři* [*Buttoners*, 1997]), Saša Gedeon (*Návrat idiota* [*Return of the Idiot*, 1999]), David Ondříček (*Samotáři* [*Loners*, 2000]), and Alice Nellis (*Ene bene* [*Eeny meeny*, 2000]). Jan Hřebejk's *Musíme si pomáhat* (*Divided We Fall*, 2000) and Ondřej Trojan's *Želary* (2004) were also Oscar®-nominated, and Švankmajer produced a sequence of four features, including *Lekce Faust* (*Faust*, 1994) and *Otesánek* (*Little Otik*, 2001). *Kolya*'s bittersweet story of an unemployed musician and his relationship with a 5-year-old Russian enjoyed an international box office success and many of the films, echoing the "new wave," focussed on the "small" events of everyday life. Švankmajer pursued his course of "militant surrealism" while Zelenka exhibited an original line in black humor. Both *Divided We Fall and Želary* were set during World War II. Hřebejk's film told the ironic story of a Czech man who hides a Jewish refugee during the war. He arranges for the Jewish man to make his wife pregnant in order to avoid sharing his flat with a Nazi bureaucrat. The existence of a strong film culture and tradition seemed to have transcended the government's post-Communist view of film culture-as-commodity.

The breakup of Czechoslovakia into the Czech and Slovak republics in 1992–1993 has favored Slovakia somewhat less. Compared with Czech production of fifteen to twenty films a year (thirty-two in 1990), Slovak production dropped to an average of two films a year in the late 1990s (compared with twelve in 1990). A number of directors made their debuts, but only one, Martin Šulík, was able to establish a body of work, with a sequence of five films including *Záhrada* (*The Garden*, 1995) and *Krajinka* (*Landscape*, 2000). Like those of other Slovak directors, they showed a folk inspiration, but their mood is reflective and exhibits a subdued melancholy. He is arguably the sole "auteur" to have established himself in the Czech and Slovak cinemas since 1989.

SEE ALSO *National Cinema*

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Peter Hames

DANCE

The arts of movement and of the moving image have co-existed since the late 19th century. They fill each other's most important needs. Film documents movement. For early forms of pre-cinema and film, dance provided proof of movement. Dancers and choreographers saw film as a solution to the ephemeral nature of movement. The art forms were disappointed by the other for various reasons—both technological and artistic—so they have had to negotiate ways to coexist and collaborate over the century. Concert, ballet, and vaudeville dancers appeared in dozens of early films. But, as narrative became the principle focus on film, dance took a subsidiary role, providing entertainment and an occasional dream sequence.

Some concert (early modern) dancers experimented with cuing music simultaneous to filmed performance, but, for the most part, silent film did not meet their needs for either documentation or creative collaboration. Sound technology appeared at the period in which the early modern dance vocabularies and structure were developing in America and Germany. But the new dancers' emphasis on weighted movements and philosophical leanings to the left saw little in common with Hollywood and they couldn't afford their own equipment. The avant garde of American dance waited until the 1940s to discover the artistic possibilities of film. Since the 1950s, all forms of dance have used film to document the rehearsal process and choreography. As dance became more and more abstract and non-narrative, it found colleagues in experimental film. Filmmakers and choreographers have worked together to create experimental projects. For the most part, the dance world ignored film as an artistic partner until the 1940s. Although dance as film has never been as popular in the United States as in Europe, there are now annual dance film festivals and screening series in urban centers and university programs.

DANCE IN SILENT FILM

Dance was featured in late pre-cinema and early film because it showed movement in human scale. Among the earliest films—nickelodeons, Mutoscopes, and other mechanical projections—are dozens of studio films produced by Thomas Edison showing social or musical-comedy dance performances, ranging from Annabelle (Moore) (1878–1961) twirling her skirts, in imitation of another dancer of the period, Loie Fuller (1862–1928), in *Annabelle Butterfly Dance* (1894) to the *Cake Walk* series (1897–1903). Edison also filmed well-known vaudeville stars, such as Dave Montgomery and Fred Stone (who played the Tin Man and the Scarecrow in the 1903 Broadway musical version of *The Wizard of Oz*), as examples of eccentric dance. Early narrative films set the pattern for using social dance to indicate period or social class. The first full-length extant films to feature dancers were both made in 1915: *The Whirl of Life*, starring and based on the lives of the ballroom dancers Irene (1893–1964) and Vernon Castle (1887–1918), integrated their specialty, the Castle walk, into the plot. *The Dumb Girl of Portici*, Lois Weber's version of the opera *Maisannello*, or *La Muette di Portici*, starring the great Russian ballerina Anna Pavlova (1881–1931), did the same with ballet.

In the 1920s feature films frequently used social dance to depict chronology. Present tense or contemporary

Fayard and Harold Nicholas in* Sun Valley Serenade *(H. Bruce Humberstone, 1941). ® ™ AND COPYRIGHT © 20TH CENTURY FOX FILM CORP./COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

scenes were signaled by fast couple dances such as the Charleston or black bottom performed by dissolute youths. Films starring "It" girl Clara Bow (1905–1965) were enormously popular, and *Our Dancing Daughters* (1928) was the film that made Joan Crawford (1904–1977) a star. Slower contemporary social dances were used to show romantic situations. Dance as *mise-en-scène* was expanded to accommodate experiments with narrative structure. The past was signaled with historical movement, from the Denishawn troupe performing on the Babylon steps in *Intolerance*, to social dances from the minuet to the waltz. Directors relied on dance to signal shifts caused by their use of flashbacks, flash-forwards, and dream sequences. The contemporary, Amazon, and classical sequences in *Man, Woman, Marriage* (1921), staged by Marion Morgan, are memorable examples of period dance as atmosphere. A famous scene is the dance in a dirigible, developed by Theodore Kosloff (1882–1956), LeRoy Prinz (1895–1983), and Cecil B. DeMille (1881–1959), in DeMille's *Madam Satan* (1930).

FROM MUSICALS TO MUSIC VIDEOS

Studios' early experiments with sound tended to imitate Broadway or Prologs, vaudeville shows at motion picture palaces. Among the featured dance acts were precision tap lines, ethnic (called "character") dances, adagio or exhibition ballroom work, and such eccentric work as rag doll dances. Examples of all four can be seen in *The King of Jazz* (1930), the finale of which features successive episodes of ethnic dancers representing immigrants as they march into an onscreen melting pot.

As Hollywood relaxed into sound technology, dance directors developed a new structure for dance-based routines. As exemplified by Busby Berkeley's films for Warner Bros., the routines opened on a traditional stage

NICHOLAS BROTHERS

Fayard Nicholas, b. Mobile, Alabama, 20 October 1914, d. 24 January 2006
Harold Nicholas, b. Winston-Salem, North Carolina, 27 March 1921, d. 3 July 2000

The extraordinary acrobatic dancing of the Nicholas Brothers enlivened musical films in the 1940s, and offscreen they were also considered one of the best tandem tap teams of the century with major careers in musical theater. The children of pit orchestra musicians, they were influenced by the up-tempo early jazz of Louis Armstrong and Fletcher Henderson. Both were coached by performers on the black vaudeville circuit who appeared at their parents' theater in Philadelphia. They adopted the tandem tap style, then epitomized by Buck and Bubbles, emphasizing synchronization of movements in complicated rhythms. They ended with "flash" sequences, including their signature leaps over each other in full, stretched-out side splits. They moved to New York and appeared in revues at Harlem's hottest nightclub, the Cotton Club, through the 1930s, where they were influenced by both the music and the personal style of Cotton Club orchestra leaders Cab Calloway and Duke Ellington.

Like Calloway and Ellington, they were featured in shorts, soundies, and early sound films, including Vitaphone shorts such as *Pie, Pie Blackbird* (1932), featuring the composer Eubie Blake, and the Eddie Cantor comedy *Kid Millions* (1934). Their Hollywood roles were sequences in feature films that could be cut for the segregated markets in the South. They worked with Cotton Club dance directors Nick Castle and Geneva Sawyer, who had relocated to Twentieth Century Fox for a series of seven backstage musicals featuring jazz. In each film the brothers added spatial elements to the tandem and flash dances. They enlivened their splits sequence in *Orchestra Wives* (with the Glen Miller Orchestra, 1942) by adding runs up walls and flipping over themselves and each other. Their best-remembered variation is in the black all-star revue *Stormy Weather* (1943): in tribute to co-star Bill Robinson, whose specialty was tapping up and down staircases, the Nicholas Brothers restaged their signature moves down successive stairs.

They continued to tour with jazz ensembles, moving from the big band sound to bebop, and to appear on stage, notably in the musical *St. Louis Woman* in 1946. Harold Nicholas appeared as an actor in *Uptown Saturday Night* (1974) and other movie comedies. They received Kennedy Center honors in 1981 and are recognized as a major influence on later tap dancers such as Gregory Hines, Maurice Hines, and Savion Glover. The Nicholas Brothers, with the Copasetics and other greats of their generation, were featured in the documentary short *Tapdancin'* (1981) and the feature film *Tap* (1989), and are the subjects of the documentary *The Nicholas Brothers: We Sing and We Dance* (1992).

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Pie, Pie Blackbird (1932), *Kid Millions* (1934), *The Big Broadcast of 1936* (1935), *Down Argentine Way* (1940), *Sun Valley Serenade* (1941), *Stormy Weather* (1943), *The Pirate* (1948)

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but expanded into 360-degree effects possible only on a soundstage. Berkeley's first feature films were Samuel Goldwyn vehicles for the comedian Eddie Cantor (1892–1964), such as *Roman Scandals* (1933). In 1933 he began his association with Warner Bros./First National with *42nd Street*. Based on a popular melodramatic novel about a dying director staging a musical during the Depression, the film switched the focus to Ruby Keeler (1909–1993) as a spunky understudy and became a popular icon of the early sound era. Warner Bros. produced a cycle of comedies, featuring its contract character actors, singers, and dancers, about staging musicals during the Depression, including *Gold Diggers of 1933* (1933), with its Pig Latin "We're in the Money" opening, and *Footlight Parade* (1933). Apart from solos for Keeler, most of Berkeley's choreography is based on simple movements made by a large number of synchronized dancers, sometimes magnified by mirrors and cameras.

Most are based on social dances or on tap dancing but are done on staircases. Mirrors and reflective floor surfaces expanded black and white design schemes. All of Berkeley's work features his signature techniques—animation, stage scenes that open up to huge sets, and prismatic overhead camera shots.

Many of the Hollywood dance films of the 1930s and 1940s were film versions of popular modern-dress musicals, with dance sequences expanded rather than reimagined. The studios assigned their staff choreographers and arrangers to the task, and the prevailing Hollywood style determined what reached the screen. Operettas, made popular by the singing film stars Jeanette MacDonald (1903–1965) and Nelson Eddy (1901–1967), used social dance to set place and time.

Vestiges of vaudeville and Broadway dance remained in the large number of films with backstage settings or with visits to the theater or nightclub built into the plot. The most prevalent style derived from live theater performance was the retention of the proscenium orientation, with the action taking place as if on a stage and the camera standing in for the audience. Gene Kelly (1912–1996) never broke free of frontal performance but developed many experiments to vary the form, such as his duet with Hanna-Barbera's animated mouse Jerry in *Anchors Aweigh* (1945), choreographed by Kelly and Stanley Donen (b. 1924). In "The King Who Couldn't Dance," Kelly teaches the cartoon mouse to tap. The setting is curtained like a stage set, with the throne in dead center. Following the pattern of a tap duet, he demonstrates steps, and the mouse repeats the movements, gradually dancing alongside and finally with him, bouncing off Kelly's biceps.

A defining aspect of dance in films of the 1930s through 1950s was movement inspired by or growing out of walking. Many of Hermes Pan's (1909–1990) solos and duets for Fred Astaire (1899–1987) convey a naturalness by beginning with walking. Classic examples include the "Walking the Dog" and roller skating sequences in *Shall We Dance* (1937), and the stroll through Central Park with Cyd Charisse (b. 1921) that begins and ends "Dancing in the Dark" in *The Band Wagon* (1953). The most famous walking dance in film is performed by Gene Kelly to the title song in *Singin' in the Rain* (1952).

Royal Wedding (1951) includes a classic pedestrian prop dance and two dances possible only on a soundstage. In the first of two sequences danced onboard a ship, Astaire, one-half of a sister-brother dancing team, partners with a coat stand when his sister (Jane Powell) fails to show up for rehearsal. Their social dance number a few scenes later begins conventionally, but the performance is converted into acrobatics when the ship encounters a storm. They attempt to dance, but when the floor begins to tip their steps are turned into slides. Later in the film, choreographed by Nick Castle, Astaire is dancing alone in his hotel room when he begins to push off against the wall. This movement usually signals flips off the wall (as in Donald O'Connor's "Be a Clown" number in *Singin' in the Rain*), but instead, he taps his way up the wall and on to the ceiling. The magical effect was produced on a soundstage equipped with hydraulic lifts.

Other memorable examples of pedestrian dances in film include the "garbage can" found percussion trio in *It's Always Fair Weather* (1955), choreographed by Gene Kelly; the Olympic team exercisers who ignore Jane Russell singing "Isn't Anyone Here for Love?" in *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* (1953), choreographed by Jack Cole (1911–1974); and the rhythmic sawing and log splitting performed by the frustrated brothers in *Seven Brides for Seven Brothers* (1954), choreographed by Michael Kidd (b. 1919).

Surrealism was a second strong influence on choreographers for films of the 1940s and 1950s, with Jack Cole and Eugene Loring (1911–1982) at the forefront. Many dances featured moves for separated parts of the body, such as Loring's orchestra dance for *The 5,000 Fingers of Dr. T.* (1953), written by Dr. Seuss. In Charles Walters's *Easter Parade* (1948), Ann Miller's (1923–2004) "Shaking the Blues Away" is famously accompanied by instrument-playing arms.

Broadway choreographers were only occasionally hired to reproduce their work. Agnes de Mille (1905–1993) did the stage and film versions of *Oklahoma!* (on Broadway from 1943, but not filmed until 1955), but not *Brigadoon* (1954), although both had dance sequences that were integral to the plot. *Oklahoma*'s dream ballet, "Laurey Makes Up Her Mind," had already influenced many film choreographers by 1955. The French postcards that the villain Jud keeps in his shack come to life in her imagination as symbols of sexual depravity. The blank faces and angular movements of the "Post Card Girls" inspired Bob Fosse (1927–1987). Many directors and choreographers have copied or adapted empty soundstage with abstract clouds painted on the cyclorama for their dream sequences, most notably the "Gotta Dance" scene in *Singin' in the Rain*. Michael Kidd reproduced on film his movements for two highly stylized shows—the Damon Runyon gamblers in *Guys and Dolls* (1955), and the comic strip come-to-life, *Li'l Abner* (1959). *The King and I* (1956) was filmed with Jerome Robbins's (1918–1998) "Siamese" dances intact, including the "Small House of Uncle Thomas" sequence. Robbins choreographed and co-directed *West Side Story* (1961), which scuttled the musical's dream ballets but kept the famous opening dance sequence.

The Nicholas Brothers and Gene Kelly perform "Be a Clown" in* The Pirate *(Vincente Minnelli, 1948). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Dance reemerged in Hollywood with the disco era, through popular films such as *Saturday Night Fever* (1977) and its many imitators, and the 1950s-era musical *Grease* (1978), choreographed by Patricia Birch. *The Wiz* (1978), choreographed by Louis Johnson (b. 1930), employed modern, tap, and jazz techniques, as well as club and break dancing around New York City locations. Dance was featured as atmosphere and plot material in *La Bohème* (1990), an Australian television production on which Baz Luhrmann (b. 1962) served as opera director, and *Strictly Ballroom* (1992) and *Moulin Rouge* (2001), directed by Luhrmann. The popular and critical successes of *Moulin Rouge* and Rob Marshall's (b. 1960) version of the Bob Fosse musical *Chicago* suggest that the musical is still a viable genre.

There have been feature films about dance as a profession since the silent era. Most, like Rouben Mamoulian's *Applause* (1929), include performance as well as backstage scenes. Ballet films tend to be highly melodramatic, among them Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger's influential *The Red Shoes* (1948), in which a ballerina torn between love and art commits suicide. Ben Hecht's forgotten *Specter of the Rose* (1946), and *The Turning Point* (1977), directed by Herbert Ross (1927–2001), a former ballet dancer and choreographer, are equally obsessed with the emotional life of dancers. All three inspired their viewers to experience live performance. Similarly, art cinemas and university film societies made Soviet and French ballet films available in the 1960s and enlarged the audiences for touring ballet companies. Carlos Saura's Spanish collaborations with the flamenco choreographer Antonio Gades (1936–2004)—*Bodas de sangre* (1981), *Carmen* (1984), and *El Amor brujo* (1986)—achieved great popularity in the United States.

Fame (1980), based on New York City's High School of the Performing Arts, featured adolescents in

FRED ASTAIRE and GINGER ROGERS

Fred Astaire, b. Frederick Austerlitz, Omaha, Nebraska, 10 May 1899, d. 22 June 1987
Ginger Rogers, b. Independence, Missouri, 16 July 1911, d. 25 April 1995

Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers epitomized exhibition ballroom dance in film and beyond. Both dancers had stage careers before their first film pairing. Astaire and his sister Adele began in vaudeville as children, reaching Broadway as specialty dancers in *Over the Top* (1917). Their reputations grew in New York and London with roles in the Gerhswins' *Lady, Be Good* (1925) and *Funny Face* (1927), *The Bandwagon* (1931), and many other musicals and revues. Adele retired in 1932. Rogers reached Broadway via Charleston competitions, vaudeville, and stints as a band singer. In Hollywood, she had roles that combined comedy and tap dancing in Busby Berkeley's *42nd Street* and *Gold Diggers of 1933*.

They were playing secondary comic roles when they were paired by Dave Gould for "The Carioca" number in the RKO musical *Flying Down to Rio* (1933). Their subsequent collaborations, staged by Hermes Pan, who had been Gould's assistant, were all starring roles. The classic Astaire and Rogers films were plotted musicals with songs by Broadway's greatest songwriters—*The Gay Divorcee*, with songs by Cole Porter (1934); *Top Hat* (1935), *Follow the Fleet* (1936), and *Carefree* (1938), by Irving Berlin; *Roberta* (1935) and *Swing Time* (1936), by Jerome Kern; and *Shall We Dance* (1937), by George and Ira Gershwin. Each accommodated at least one newly invented social dance, one competitive tap routine, and one love duet, as well as a tap solo for Astaire. Pan's romantic duets began simply, often with rhythmic walking, and progressed through flowing movements to lifts and dips, before returning to a quiet ending. Astaire and Rogers were cast in the title roles in *The Story of Vernon and Irene Castle* (1939), RKO's tribute to the pre–World War I ballroom dancers. The RKO publicity machine promoted them, the films, the songs, and ballroom dances extracted from the musicals.

Although they reunited for the backstage musical *The Barkleys of Broadway* (1949), their dance partnership ended in 1939. Rogers went on to star in comedy roles for MGM and Twentieth Century Fox; Astaire kept dancing in film and on television, primarily to Pan's choreography. He was able to adapt his expertise to each partner—in tap with Eleanor Powell, languorous ballroom with Rita Hayworth and Cyd Charisse, and musical comedy with Judy Garland, Jane Powell, and Leslie Caron. For many, his tap solos with props were the highlight of the films. They began with objects setting a rhythm, such as the ship's engine in "Slap That Bass" in *Shall We Dance*. Although Astaire is recognized as one of the greatest of American dancers, as a popular quip has it, "Ginger Rogers did everything that Fred Astaire did, but backwards and in high heels."

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Flying Down to Rio (1933), *The Gay Divorcee* (1934), *Top Hat* (1935), *Roberta* (1935), *Follow the Fleet* (1936), *Swing Time* (1936), *Shall We Dance* (1937), *Carefree* (1938), *The Story of Vernon and Irene Castle* (1939), *The Barkleys of Broadway* (1949)

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ballet, modern, and jazz dance training. The modern dancer Louis Falco (1942–1993) staged the famous "improvised" sequences, in which the characters groove at lunchtime and spill onto the street. Dance (social and modern) has frequently been used as a language of self-expression in such popular films as *Flashdance* (1983) about a welder who wants to dance; *Voices* (1979), about a deaf woman who wants to dance; and *Footloose* (1984), about a teen who wants his town to dance.

In the 1980s Music Television (MTV), and following it, VH1 and Black Entertainment Television (BET), popularized music videos as an integral part of promoting recorded popular music. Many were filmed and spliced performances, relying heavily on editing, but

Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers in **Swing Time** ***(George Stevens, 1936).*** **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

some were staged and choreographed. Some refer clearly to film choreography, such as Madonna's "Material Girl" (1984) music video, an adaptation of Cole's staging of "Diamonds Are a Girl's Best Friend" from *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes*, complete with human chandelier. Memorable music videos as dance include the robotic, stylized "Video Killed the Radio Star," and Michael Jackson's (b. 1958) take on a *West Side Story*–like gang war in "Beat It" (1982). Jackson's "moon walk" excited his teen fans and reminded their elders of the African American tap greats who developed such eccentric steps. Other directors worked with seemingly spontaneous dance steps, adapted from break dancing, voguing, and hip-hop, including Prince's "Purple Rain" (1984). The recognizable editing style associated with music videos, fast cross-cutting between the performance and dance scenes, has spread to influence feature films as well as television.

DANCE AS FILM

The few extant examples of collaborations between film and dance from the early twentieth century come from the French avant-garde and include films made in Paris by Loie Fuller, considered a forerunner of modern dance and who was also a pioneer in the use of lighting design. French experimental filmmakers considered ballet to be a partner of animation, as in Fernand Léger's *Ballet mécanique* (1924). The Dadaist work for Les Ballets Suedois, *Relâche* (1924), included René Clair's film *Entr'acte* in the live performance. Serge Diaghilev's Ballets Russes commissioned *Ode* (1928), with choreography by Leonide Massine, designs by Pavel Tchelitchev, and projections by Pierre Charbonneau. It is likely that Soviet Constructivist filmmakers also worked with dance, but if so no such work has been found. Among several instances of photographers, filmmakers, and dancers working together, Mura Dehn and Roger Pryor Dodge filmed concerts of jazz dance in the late 1930s. Gjon Mili, best known as a *LIFE* magazine still photographer, filmed concerts in the early 1940s, releasing *Jammin' the Blues* in 1944.

Maya Deren (1917–1961) and Alexander Hammid (1907–2004) are generally considered the first major proponents of "cinedance," or dance as film. Deren's first film, *Meshes of the Afternoon* (1943), shows her walking on a new surface with each step. Her *A Study in Choreography for Camera* (1945), a four-minute film of Talley Beatty dancing, contains one effect still cited as influential for generations of filmmakers: Deren edited Beatty's side leap, which had been filmed in a variety of backgrounds, so that it seemed to stretch from exterior to interior settings. Later, Shirley Clarke (1919–1997) worked with modern dancers, cross-cutting between their movements and evocative nature images. Contemporary figures include Doris Chase and Amy Greenfield, best known for her *Antigone/Rites of Passion* (1991).

The experimental generation of modern dance, led by the choreographer Merce Cunningham (b. 1919) and the composer John Cage (1912–1992), combined film and choreography in performance. Pioneering work in early video was done by Nam June Paik (1932–2006). The choreographers Trisha Brown, Carolee Schneeman, and Joan Jonas combined the genres, and Yvonne Rainer worked separately in each. Many events combined live task dances in environments that included video or film projection, such as Elaine Summers's *Walking Dance for Any Number* (1965). The Nine Evenings of Theater and Engineering, organized by RCA engineer Billy Kluver, were collaborations among choreographers, composers, and filmmakers with technology to enable live creation and viewing of performance on film. Cunningham himself made scores of films and videos beginning in the 1950s, collaborating with Paik, Stan VanDerBeek, Elliot Caplan, and Charles Atlas. The abstract expressionist painter Ed Emshwiller (1926–1990) made stop-motion films with Alwin Nikolais (1910–1993), a painter as well as a choreographer who manipulated shapes and color. Their *Fusion* (1967) was both a dance work performed in front of film and a separate film.

Ballet as film has never developed in the United States but is a respected medium in Canada and Europe. The integration of film into ballet was popularly known only in the late 1960s, when it was also used by experimental opera directors such as Frank Carsaro. The best-known American work is Robert Joffrey's psychedelic *Astarte*, which was featured on the cover of *Newsweek* on 15 March 1968. The Canadian filmmaker Norman McLaren (1914–1987) has made a number of important cinedance films, including *Pas de deux* (1968), *Ballet Adagio* (1972), and *Narcissus* (1983).

The postmodern generation has worked in both film and video but views the latter as a more flexible medium. Performances often use projections or screens as part of the environment for dance, as in Trisha Brown's *Set and Reset* (1983), with films and screens by Robert Rauschenberg. The choreographer Bill T. Jones's controversial *Still/Here* (1994) combined dancers with personal narratives of disease viewed on movable monitors. The composer/choreographer Meredith Monk (b. 1942) has included film in her cantatas, such as *Quarry*, and has made films that stand on their own, most prominently *Book of Days* (1988) and several documentaries about her choreography. Eiko & Koma, Kai Takei, and other butoh-influenced choreographers use film to emphasize the slow pace of movement in their work. At the other extreme, Elizabeth Streb's collaborations with Michael

Schwartz made visual sense of her impossibly fast dynamics. Many of the experiments were commissioned by and shown on *Alive from Off Center* (PBS, 1985–1994).

FILM AS DOCUMENTATION OF DANCE

The frustratingly ephemeral nature of dance has remained a problem despite the development of choreographic notation systems. Film, and later videotape, has provided a form of visual documentation and preservation for dance. In the 1910s and 1920s, the mechanical piano firm Ampico developed instructional films for "name" dancers and choreographers, such as Anna Pavlova, the Broadway dance director Ned Wayburn (1874–1942), and the concert dancers Ruth St. Denis (1878–1968) and Ted Shawn (as Denishawn).

Most early filming was done by ethnographers or individual choreographers for their own use. Early attempts by institutions to document dance include Carol Lynn's 8mm films, made at Ted Shawn's summer workshop, Jacob's Pillow, in Becket, Massachusetts, and Helen Priest Rogers's films, made at the American Dance Festival. These silent films have been restored by the Jerome Robbins Dance Division of the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, whose projects endeavor to match music exactly to the movements. Ethnographers have used film to document nonchoreographed traditional, indigenous, and popular dance forms. Major figures have connected the worlds of film and ethnography, including the anthropologists/choreographers Katherine Dunham and Pearl Primus and the filmmaker Maya Deren. Rhoda Grauer, a pioneering producer of dance on television, has recently focused on films documenting the traditional arts of Indonesia. Her *Libraries on Fire: When an Elder Dies, a Book Burns* series includes the portrait of an elderly Topeng performer in *Rasinah: The Enchanted Mask* (2005).

Mura Dehn (1902–1987) pioneered documentation of African American social dance in her *The Spirit Moves* films. Collaborating with dancers and historians, she has created films about the Savoy Ballroom swing dancers, rock and roll moves, and break dancing. Documentaries on underground genres within African American social dance have received wide distribution and praise, including Jennie Livingston's *Paris Is Burning* (1990), on voguing; Sally Sommer and Michael Schwartz's project *Goin' ta Work* (released as *Check Your Body at the Door*, 1994), on club dancing; Jon Reiss's *Better Living through Circuitry* (1999), on raves; and David LaChapelle's *Krumped* (short, 2004) and *Rize* (2005), on the Los Angeles dance movement called krump.

With the development of video technology, documentation has become common. Character Generators, Inc. (Michael Schwartz and Mark Robison) and Studio D (Dennis Diamond) use single- and multiple-camera shoots to document dance and performance art for choreographers and historians. The Jerome Robbins Dance Division of the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts is the depository of record for most dance documentation. Its own projects and those of the Dance Heritage Coalition have identified collections throughout North America and developed standards for cataloging and preservation.

SEE ALSO *Choreography; Musicals*

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Barbara Cohen-Stratyner

DENMARK

For a thousand years, Denmark has been an independent kingdom. Since 1849 it has been ruled with a democratic constitution and for over a century has enjoyed a generally peaceful history. Perhaps this history explains why Danish cinema in general is characterized by an atmosphere of jovial, often self-ironic humor and provincial calm. Denmark has been a film nation since the beginning of film history in the 1890s, and for some years around 1910, the Danish film industry was among the leading in Europe. This position, however, did not last long and after World War I, the impact of Danish cinema declined.

With the arrival of sound in Denmark in 1931, Danish film, soon dominated by popular comedies, became a profitable national business. However, with the arrival of television in the 1950s, cinema attendance declined, and in the 1960s the state began supporting the production of artistic films, since 1972 through The Danish Film Institute. Since the mid-1990s, Denmark has won a new position in world cinema, rather surprising for a nation with a population of 5.4 million and a yearly output of around twenty-five feature films (in all, about 1,000 Danish feature films have been produced since 1930). In particular, a groundbreaking filmmaker like Lars von Trier and his initiative, Dogma 95, have received international attention.

THE GOLDEN AGE AND AFTER

Film came to Denmark in 1896 when the first short films (probably British) were presented in a pavilion on the City Square of Copenhagen. Since December 1897 Danish productions, made by photographer Peter Elfelt (1866–1931), were also shown. The first film pioneer in Denmark, he made more than one hundred short films between 1897–1907—on sport, royalty, city life, and public events in the style of Auguste and Louis Lumière.

The first important Danish film production company was Nordisk Films Kompagni (now: Nordisk Film), established in 1906 by Ole Olsen. Nordisk, which has been a major player in Danish media for a century, took the lead with short, dramatic films, such as *Løvejagten* (*Lion Hunt*, 1907), directed by house director Viggo Larsen (1880–1957), a former army sergeant. Beginning in 1910 the longer feature films appeared. The first, Alfred Cohn's *Den hvide Slavehandel* (*The White Slave Traffic*, 1910) for Fotorama, was immediately plagiarized by Nordisk under the same title, with August Blom (1869–1947) as director. The small company Kosmorama made Urban Gad's (1879–1947) *Afgrunden* (*The Abyss*, 1910), in which Asta Nielsen (1881–1972) plays a young woman who leaves her sensible fiancé for a reckless circus artist, whom she murders when he betrays her. Nielsen and husband Gad soon left for Germany where Nielsen, in a diversity of roles, became one of the greatest European stars because of her psychological acting style.

During the silent years Denmark produced about 1,600 fictional films (features and shorts) and over 1,000 nonfiction films, although only about 250 are extant. In the Golden Age of Danish Cinema (circa 1908–1913) Danish films benefited from the internationalism of the silent era and were seen all over Europe, especially melodramas with a social and erotic theme, such as *The Abyss* and in Blom's *Ved Fængslets Port* (*At the Prison Gates*, 1911), starring Valdemar Psilander

(1884–1917), the leading male star, and sensational films like the circus drama *De fire Djævle* (*The Four Devils*, 1911). A major artist and the most innovative figure in early Danish silent cinema was Benjamin Christensen (1879–1959). His spy story *Det hemmelighedsfulde X* (*The Mysterious X*, 1914) and the social crime story *Hævnens Nat* (*Night of Revenge*, 1916) explored new visual styles. Although the cinematic essay *Häxan* (*Witchcraft Through the Ages*, 1922), financed in Sweden, was a commercial failure, it is one of the most original and daring silent films in world cinema.

Nordisk's biggest production was Blom's costly and impressive *Atlantis* (1913), inspired by the Titanic disaster, which was a commercial disappointment. During World War I when Denmark was neutral, Nordisk made pacifist dramas, for example, the science fiction film *Himmelskibet* (*A Ship to Heaven*, 1917). Although Nordisk had a strong position in Germany, the Berlin branch was swallowed up in 1917 when the German military decided to nationalize the film industry with the Ufa (Universum Film Aktiengesellschaft). This restructuring contributed to the decline of Nordisk, which then concentrated on such costly productions as Carl Dreyer's (1889–1968) first films and A. W. Sandberg's literary adaptations of novels by Charles Dickens, including *Store Forventninger* (*Great Expectations*) and *David Copperfield* (both 1922), but without the expected international success. Only the new company, Palladium, established in Denmark in 1922, enjoyed international success with the comic team Fyrtaarnet og Bivognen (literally, the Lighthouse and the Sidecar), known abroad as Pat and Patachon (their actual names were Carl Schenstrøm [1881–1942] and Harald Madsen [1890–1949]).

POPULAR CINEMA FOR A SMALL NATION

Already in 1923 the Danish engineers Axel Petersen and Arnold Poulsen had presented their sound system. Nordisk went into liquidation in 1928 but was re-established in 1929 with the new sound system. The first feature film with Danish dialogue was *Præsten i Vejlby* (*The Vicar of Vejlby*, 1931), based on a literary classic and directed by George Schnéevoigt. In the 1930s, Denmark, too, was marked by depression and unemployment, but perhaps for that reason the dominating film genre was the jovial "folk comedy"—a light comedy with songs, and marked by an unfailing optimism—whose leading stars were Marguerite Viby (1909–2001) and Ib Schønberg. Outside the mainstream, Poul Henningsen (1894–1967) created *Danmark* (*Denmark*, 1935), the seminal and controversial work of the new Danish documentary film, a description of Denmark in a lyrical style that anticipated that of the British documentary *Night Mail* (1936).

The Nazi German occupation of Denmark from 1940 to 1945 meant restrictions for Danish film as well as for the society in general. There was soon a ban on showing American and British films in Danish movie theaters, and censorship did not allow the realities of the Occupation to be shown in Danish films. Instead, there was a demonstrative change to other darker genres, such as Danish noir films influenced by French poetic realism. In addition to sophisticated entertainment, there existed heritage films that presented nostalgic visions of a lost Denmark. After a long hiatus, Dreyer returned with the witch hunt drama, *Vredens Dag* (*Day of Wrath*, 1943), set in Denmark in the 1600s. With its story of torture and persecution, it was generally understood as an implicit commentary on the German Occupation. In addition, a short documentary by Hagen Hasselbalch (1915–1997), *Kornet er i Fare* (*The Harvest Is in Danger*, 1945), became famous because it appeared to be an informational film about agricultural pest control but clearly was a witty allegory about the Nazi invaders.

A few months after the end of the Occupation, the first films about the Danish Resistance appeared, and soon thereafter, a realistic breakthrough in Danish cinema came about with films about everyday life and social problems that somewhat resembled Italian neorealistic films. Most important were Bjarne Henning-Jensen's *Ditte Menneskebarn* (*Ditte, Child of Man*, 1946) and Johan Jacobsen's *Soldaten og Jenny* (*Jenny and the Soldier*, 1947). In the 1950s, a number of didactic films warning the nation about alcoholism and juvenile crime appeared, but generally the 1950s meant a return to the popular, cosy style of prewar Denmark. *Die røde heste* (*The Red Horses*, 1950), based on a novel dealing with an idyllic rural Denmark that probably never existed, by Morten Korch, a popular kitsch writer, was seen by over 60 percent of the population. The production company, ASA, made a whole series of successful Korch films (1950–1967) and also a series of more modern comedies about suburban life, *Far til fire* (*Father of Four*, 1953–1961), based on a comic strip about a widowed father with four children. Most of ASA's films were directed by Alice O'Fredericks (1900–1968), who had started at Palladium in the 1930s and probably is the only woman director in world cinema who for several decades was a major force in mainstream cinema. Her example may have been the inspiration for the relatively large number of female directors in Danish cinema, among them Astrid Henning-Jensen (1914–2002), who made *Palle alene i verden* (*Palle Alone in the World*, 1949), the seminal work of the Danish children's film tradition, and later Susanne Bier (b. 1960) and Lone Scherfig (b. 1959). Nordisk released the first Danish feature film in color, Erik

CARL THEODOR DREYER

b. Copenhagen, Denmark, 3 February 1889, d. 20 March 1968

Carl Dreyer is the great Danish auteur, one of the masters of the cinema who created his own dark vision of human suffering and sacrifice. However, his increasingly formalistic style and austere universe placed him very far from mainstream Danish cinema. Dreyer's work is characterized by an intense formalism with carefully planned shots and by an uncompromising search for the inner life behind the surface of reality.

He started as a balloonist and journalist and came by coincidence into films in 1912. He wrote a number of manuscripts for Nordisk Film and also worked as editor. After his first film, the melodrama *Præsidenten* (*The President*, 1919), he made the ambitious *Blade af Satans Bog* (*Leaves Out of the Book of Satan*, 1920), four episodes about Satan's work in four different ages inspired by D. W. Griffith's *Intolerance* (1918). During the next decade he worked in several countries. In Norway he shot a Swedish film, *Prästänkan* (*The Witch Woman*, 1920), a bittersweet comedy about a young man who has to marry the old widow in order to get the job as parson. In Germany he made *Die Gezeichneten* (*Love One Another*, 1922), a love story set in Czarist Russia against the background of pogroms, and *Mikaël* (*Chained*, 1924) about a master painter (played by Benjamin Christensen) who becomes jealous when his young protégé falls in love with a countess.

In Denmark he made the realistic comedy *Du skal ære din Hustru* (*Master of the House*, 1925), about a father and husband whose tyrannical attitude is changed when his old nanny arrives. Its success led to an invitation to visit France, where he made *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc* (*The Passion of Joan of Arc*, 1928), one of the uncontested classics of world cinema. For this gripping presentation of the trial and execution of Joan of Arc, he developed a new ascetic style of closeups of an almost transcendental intensity. After directing the poetic horror story *Vampyr: Der Traum des Allan Grey* (*The Vampire*, 1932), he returned to Denmark. Several international projects were aborted and it was not until 1943, during the German Occupation, that he again made a feature film, the witch-hunt drama *Vredens Dag* (*Day of Wrath*, 1943).

After World War II, he wrote the manuscript for a film about Jesus and, for the rest of his life, tried untiringly but unsuccessfully to secure financing for it. He made two more films, *Ordet* (*The Word*, 1955), based on a play by Kaj Munk about a young woman who dies giving birth but miraculously is called back to life by her disturbed brother-in-law, and the spare and slow-moving melodrama *Gertrud* (1964), the story of a woman doomed to solitude because the men in her life are unwilling to sacrifice work and career for love.

Dreyer's personal background is a strange drama. His Swedish mother, probably made pregnant by her Danish master at an estate in southern Sweden, put him up for adoption in Denmark and died soon after. In his work, Dreyer, born Nilsson, constantly circles around the women suppressed in a man's world.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Prästänkan (*The Witch Woman*, 1920), *Blade af Satans Bog* (*Leaves Out of the Book of Satan*, 1921), *Mikaël* (*Chained*, 1924), *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc* (*The Passion of Joan of Arc*, 1928), *Vampyr: Der Traum des Allan Grey* (*The Vampire*, 1932), *Vreden Dag* (*Day of Wrath*, 1943), *Ordet* (*The Word*, 1955), *Gertrud* (1964)

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Peter Schepelern

Balling's (1924–2005) *Kispus* (1956), a romantic comedy set in the fashion world. Outside all the typical trends and traditions is Dreyer's religious drama *Ordet* (*The Word*, 1955), the only one of his films to enjoy general popularity with both Danish and international audiences (it earned a Golden Lion at the Venice Film Festival).

Carl Theodore Dreyer. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

The 1960s was marked by the drastic decline in cinema attendance—from 1950 through 1970 admissions fell from 52 million to 23 million people—due to the arrival of TV (Danmarks Radio started regular TV broadcasting in 1951, and was a monopoly until 1988). This decrease led to new film legislation in 1965 in which state support for the production of artistic films was introduced. In the long period when movie theaters were a very lucrative business, Denmark had a licensing system by which having a license was a precondition to running a movie theater and was given as a special reward to well-merited artists (such as Christensen and Dreyer) or to production companies that produced culturally valuable films. However, the decrease in cinema attendance led to the deregulation of cinema exhibition in 1972.

Overall, European cinema gained cultural respectability during the 1960s. New artistic movements flourished—most importantly, the French New Wave and modernist films by Fellini and Antonioni. In Denmark the 1960s became a transitional period: groundbreaking New Wave films, such as Palle Kjærulff-Schmidt's *Weekend* (1962), about disillusion among couples in their thirties, written by the versatile writer Klaus Rifbjerg, and modernist works, such as Henning Carlsen's *Sult* (*Hunger*, 1966), based on Knut Hamsun's novel about a starving writer in Kristiania (now Oslo) of the 1890s, appeared alongside the ever-popular folk comedy. Of particular note is Balling's *Olsen-banden* (*The Olsen Gang*, 1968–1981) series of thirteen films, in which the population recognized itself in the unsuccessful trio of petit bourgeois criminals who, guided by their leader Egon, are always involved in fantastic heists that inevitably go wrong. As had been his practice throughout his career, Dreyer produced a film that went completely against the grain of contemporary taste, the melodrama *Gertrud* (1964), his last work.

EROTICISM AND HUMANISTIC REALISM

In 1967 Denmark probably was the first country in the world to legalize literary pornography and in 1969 pictorial pornography for adults. The result was a short but profitable wave of erotic films that made Denmark famous as a liberal country. Palladium, the producer of *Gertrud*, started a series of erotic comedies. These so-called bedside comedies can hardly be described as pornographic, but rather as a combination of popular comedy and sex. Hugely profitable for some years, they vanished when, after *Deep Throat* (1972) and other hardcore films, the United States became the world's leading producer of pornographic material.

The 1970s became a period of diversity. The erotic films and the popular *Olsen Gang* comedies flourished and with the establishment in 1972 of The Danish Film Institute, art films gained support. A Danish Film School had been established in 1966 and a new generation appeared, the most original of whom was the documentarist Jørgen Leth. The state favored films for children and young adults (25% of the subsidy must be used on this category), resulting in a special trend. Such films as Nils Malmros's (b. 1944) *Drenge* (*Boys*, 1977), Søren Kragh-Jacobsen's (b. 1947) *Vil du se min smukke navle?* (*Wanna See My Beautiful Navel?*, 1978), Bille August's (b. 1948) *Honning Måne* (*Honeymoon*, 1978), and Morten Arnfred's (b. 1945) *Johnny Larsen* (1979) describe the vulnerable, marginalized young people, presented in undramatic, low-key stories with a melancholy atmosphere. This humanistic realism could be seen as related to the Danish literary tradition for focusing on the weak dreamer and reluctant antihero.

The tendency continued in the 1980s with masterpieces like Malmros's *Kundskabens Træ* (*Tree of Knowledge*, 1981), about desire and disillusion among school children, and Kragh-Jacobsen's children's fable *Gummi-Tarzan* (*Rubber Tarzan*, 1981). The most famous films of the period, however, were the two Academy Award® winners, Gabriel Axel's *Babettes*

Thorkild Roose (left), Preben Lerdoff, and Lisbeth Movin in Carl Dreyer's* Vredens Dag *(*Day of Wrath*, 1946). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

gæstebud (*Babette's Feast*, 1987), a conventional adaptation of an Isak Dinesen (Karen Blixen) story about an exiled French cook in the late 1800s who wins a fortune and spends all the money making a dinner so she can once again show provincial Denmark her art, and August's moving *Pelle erobreren* (*Pelle the Conqueror*, 1987), based on Martin Andersen Nexø's classical novel about a boy's childhood among poor farm workers in the late 1800s.

State support for film production had started as support for film art, but during the 1970s and 1980s it became increasingly clear that all types of film needed state support if Danish film production were to survive. Danish movie theaters, which numbered 462 in 1960, 180 (with 347 screens) in 1990, and 166 theatres (379 screens) in 2003, depended on Danish films with popular appeal. In 1989 a new support system—the so-called 50/50 system, now the 60/40 system—was established, which, with some restrictions, gave 50 percent of the funding (yet only up to 3.4 million Danish kroner), later 60 percent and up to 5 million Danish kroner, if the company could provide the rest, on the condition that the film could be expected to have broad appeal (approximately 175,000 admissions). This support created a new wave of popular comedies, and especially successful in the domestic market were films that imitated the style of popular family films from the 1950s and 1960s, such as *Krummerne* (*The Crumbs*, 1991) and sequels.

A new tendency appeared with Ole Bornedal's *Nattevagten* (1994, remade in the United States as *Nightwatch*, 1997). Breaking with humanistic realism, it presented an effective horror plot with splatter and suspense totally foreign to Danish traditions. Where the unwritten rule of artistic Danish cinema was always to keep a distance from Hollywood mainstream genres, *Nattevagten* faced the challenge. The film was a refreshing landmark in new Danish cinema and was followed by such other mainstream films as Bier's comedy *Den eneste*

ene (*The One and Only*, 1999), which was hugely successful with the Danish audience. It was not the traditional "folk comedy" or family entertainment, but a romantic comedy in the style of Mike Newell's *Four Weddings and a Funeral* (1994).

LARS VON TRIER'S KINGDOM

Outside of all these trends stood the young Lars von Trier (b. 1956), who introduced his own personal style and original universe with the trilogy *The Element of Crime* (1984), *Epidemic* (1987), and *Europa* (*Zentropa*, 1991), which presented a flamboyant look in a postmodern style, influenced by Dreyer and Andrei Tarkovsky, of an apocalyptic Europe in the past, present, and future. Trier is also the main reason, though not the only one, that Denmark won a new position in world cinema since the mid-1990s.

It was also Trier who was behind the other important trend, Dogma 95. It started with a manifesto published by Lars von Trier with young Thomas Vinterberg (b. 1969) as co-signatory in March 1995. During the shooting of the TV serial *Riget* (*The Kingdom*, 1994; part two, 1997), Trier realized that it was possible to ignore the normal technical standards and cinematic rules when working with a strong story and fascinating characters. He had always believed in creative development through obstructions. On this basis he came up with a set of rules that prescribe that the films should take place "here and now," that all shooting should take place on location with no added props, that there should always be direct sound, that the camera should always be hand-held, and that there should be no artificial lighting, no optical work or superficial action, and no crediting of the director! Dogma was meant as a "rescue operation," an anti-illusion and anti-Hollywood initiative, in which the director swears "to force the truth out of my characters and settings."

When all cosmetics and effects are banished, story and character are left. This method allows for the actors to develop their characters. The first Dogma 95 films—Vinterberg's *Festen* (*The Celebration*) and Trier's *The Idiots*—came out in 1998, followed by Kragh-Jacobsen's *Mifunes sidste sang* (*Mifune's Last Song*, 1999) and Scherfig's *Italiensk for begyndere* (*Italian for Beginners*, 2000). The first Dogma films received prizes and much international attention, especially *The Celebration*, an incest drama, and *Idioterne* (*The Idiots* 1998), about a group of young people who pretend to be retarded in order to "reach their inner idiot." The Dogma films have continued to add new energy to Danish cinema, although twenty or so foreign Dogma films generally have been less interesting.

Before *The Idiots* Trier made his international breakthrough with *Breaking the Waves* (1996), a bizarre religious melodrama about a young Scottish woman who believes that her sexual martyrdom and death will make God cure her disabled husband. The miracle ending has reminiscences of Dreyer's *Ordet*. The film, internationally co-financed like most of his later work, was dominated by a hand-held camera style and Emily Watson's intense acting. Trier continued with the theme of the self-sacrificing woman in *Dancer in the Dark* (2000), in which Icelandic singer Björk, who also wrote the music, plays a Czech woman who must go to the gallows to save her son from blindness. It, too, is a simple and highly emotional fable, but also a groundbreaking experiment with the musical genre. In *Dogville* (2003), the first part of a projected American trilogy, Trier continued his fearless attempts to find different approaches. In this film, Grace (Nicole Kidman), who has run away from pursuers, finds shelter in a small American mountain village in 1933; first she is kindly received, but gradually there is a change of attitude and she is suppressed and abused. Contrary to the earlier Trier heroines, she fights back. A didactic and ironic fable about power and morality, the film is perhaps most striking for its Brechtian formalism, taking place on an almost bare stage with sets only outlined and dominated by a narrator's voice-over. The story about Grace continued with *Manderlay* (2005), in which Grace takes over an estate in the Deep South where slavery has been maintained. For Trier, an important intention behind the Dogma concept was to force himself out of routines and habits, and he continued this general method in the highly original *De fem benspænd* (*The Five Obstructions*, 2003). Here he challenges senior colleague Jørgern Leth to remake one of his early experimental films according to Trier's whimsical instructions.

In more mainstream Danish cinema, there has been considerable national success with realistic stories about everyday life, typically about couples and infidelity, parents and children, as in Bier's Dogma film *Elsker dig for evigt* (*Open Hearts*, 2002). Also popular have been bittersweet buddy movies that continue the typical Danish taste for stories about jovial, small-time crooks, such as *Blinkende lygter* (*Flickering Lights*, 2000), directed by Anders Thomas Jensen (b. 1972), who won an Academy Award® for the short *Valgaften* (*Election Night*, 1998). In the new generation the most promising art film talent is Christoffer Boe (b. 1974), who directed the subtle drama of the eternal triangle, *Reconstruction* (2003), about the illusions of love and reality.

FAR FROM HOME

Since the 1920s American films have dominated Danish movie theaters. In the last fifteen years of the twentieth

century, there has been a tendency in most European countries for Hollywood blockbusters to dominate the movie theaters (55–60%), but the national films make up a relatively large percentage of the box office as well. In Denmark in the 1990s, 10 or 15 Danish films represented 30 percent of the box office. The losers are clearly films from other European countries, which accounted for only 10 percent. Of the 25 most often seen films in Danish cinemas between 1976 and 2004, 13 were from the United States, 11 from Denmark, and only one (a James Bond film) from another country.

For a small country, it is especially important to preserve the national culture and language, but it is also tempting to try one's luck in the international film world. Nielsen, Dreyer, and Christensen all went abroad to international careers during the silent years. Other Danes who went away to international careers are actors Jean Hersholt (1886–1956), who was seen in early Hollywood films, including Erik von Stroheim's *Greed* (1924); Torben Meyer, who is most remembered for *Judgment at Nuremberg* (1961); Brigitte Nielsen for *Red Sonya* (1985); and Connie Nielsen for *Gladiator* (2000).

In addition, August has produced international films, among them *The House of the Spirits* (1993), based on Isabel Allende's novel of the same title. In the twenty-first century, many Danish directors have made Danish films in English, for example, nearly all of Trier's films, as well as Vinterberg's *It's All About Love* (2002) and *Dear Wendy* (2005), Bornedal's *I Am Dina* (2002), and Scherfig's *Wilbur Wants to Kill Himself* (2003). However, often the result is that the filmmakers lose the Danish public without attracting a large international audience, for while the Danes go to the cinema to find entertainment and excitement, they also desire to see themselves and their own world portrayed on the screen.

SEE ALSO *National Cinema*

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DIALOGUE

Cinematic dialogue is oral speech between fictional characters. This distinguishes dialogue from other types of cinematic language such as voice-over narration, internal monologue, or documentary interviews, which have different characteristics.

Since the birth of the cinema, it has been said that "film is a visual medium." Supposedly, films must tell their stories visually—editing, deep focus, lighting, camera movement, and nifty special effects are what really count. Dialogue, on the other hand, is just something we have to put up with. Even the term "film viewing" does not take into account the role of dialogue. We are accustomed to the analogy of the filmgoer as voyeur, surreptitiously spying on the actions of the on-screen characters. Yet what is overlooked is that viewers are also auditors. In fact, they are eavesdroppers, listening in on conversations purportedly addressed to others, but conversations that—in reality—are designed to communicate vital information to the listeners in the dark.

Dialogue, by its very nature, is deceptive. The characters on the screen speak not from their hearts but from a script; they whisper secrets to a vast public; they speak to inform the audience, not each other. Watching a film, on one level we are conscious of this duplicity, but on another we willingly suspend disbelief. Dialogue that betrays its true address to the moviegoer or sounds implausible is often condemned as clumsy because it fractures this fictional compact. But sometimes screenwriters intentionally use dialogue to wink at the audience, as in *Scream* (1996), when one of the characters says: "Oh, please don't kill me, Mr. Ghostface, I wanna be in the sequel!" Moreover, who is to say what is "out of character" for a fictional character? In *Hollywood Shuffle* (1987) Robert Townsend asks us to reconsider our expectations about what is "true to life" when he presents an African American actor speaking in a stereotypical black dialect and then reveals the actor's actual speaking voice to be British and very cultured. Thus, all of the rules about dialogue usage offered by screenwriting handbooks should be viewed skeptically, as any rule may be violated for calculated effect.

FUNCTIONS OF DIALOGUE IN NARRATIVE FILM

Often, incidental dialogue works in movies to create a realistic flavor, to represent the everyday exchanges people have while ordering food or buying a newspaper. But dialogue also serves important functions within a film's story. Those who seek to minimize the value of dialogue have underestimated how much it contributes to every aspect of narrative film. Prescriptive rules might be better replaced by careful description and analysis of dialogue's typical functions.

1) The identification of the fictional location and characters. As an example of dialogue's ability to anchor a narrative, consider the following exchange from an early scene in John Ford's *Stagecoach* (1939). The stagecoach driver has just directed a well-dressed lady passenger toward the hotel for a cup of coffee. As she starts walking to the hotel porch, another young woman addresses her:

GIRL: Why, Lucy Mallory!

LUCY: Nancy! How are you, Captain Whitney?

CAPTAIN WHITNEY: Fine, thanks, Mrs. Mallory.

NANCY: Why, whatever are you doing in Arizona?

LUCY: I'm joining Richard in Lordsburg. He's there with his troops.

CAPTAIN WHITNEY (*offscreen*): He's a lot nearer than that, Mrs. Mallory. He's been ordered to Dry Fork.

NANCY: Why, that's the next stop for the stagecoach. You'll be with your husband in a few hours.

This interchange tells us who Lucy is, where she is, where she is going, why she is going there, what her husband does, where her husband is, where the stage stops next, and how long it should take until the couple is reunited.

2) The communication of narrative causality. The ulterior motive of much of film dialogue is to communicate "why?" and "how?" and "what next?" to the viewer. The "what next" may be a simple anticipation of a plot development, such as takes place during one of Devlin's meetings with Alicia in Alfred Hitchcock's *Notorious* (1946):

DEVLIN: Look. Why don't you persuade your husband to throw a large shindig so that he can introduce his bride to Rio society, say sometime next week?

ALICIA: Why?

DEVLIN: Consider me invited. Then I'll try and find out about that wine cellar business.

The dialogue has set up the party scene, Devlin's appearance there, and his and Alicia's surreptitious canvassing of the cellar, where they find that the wine bottles really contain uranium ore.

3) The enactment of plot-turning events. Sometimes a verbal statement, a speech act, can itself be a major turning point in the plot. A soldier may be given a mission, characters may break down on the witness stand, someone in disguise may reveal his true identity. James Cameron's *The Terminator* (1984) is undeniably an action-oriented film with exciting chase scenes, explosions, and shootings. Yet even in this case, many of the key events are verbal, such as Sarah Connor's inadvertent betrayal of her location when the Terminator impersonates her mother on the phone, or Reese's declaration of a lifetime of devotion to a woman he had not yet met: "I came across time for you, Sarah. I love you. I always have." Verbal events—such as declarations of love or jury verdicts—can be the most thrilling moments of a narrative film.

4) Character revelation. In our real lives we get to know acquaintances better by listening to them; obviously, dialogue helps audiences understand the characters' personalities and motivations. At one point in *Casablanca* (1942), Rick (Humphrey Bogart) is invited over to the table of Major Strasser (Conrad Veidt), where he learns that the Gestapo officer has been keeping a dossier on him. Rick borrows the notebook, glances at it, and quips, "Are my eyes really brown?" Such a statement shows his refusal to be intimidated and his satirical view of Germanic efficiency. This is important in the context of a conversation in which the major is warning Rick not to involve himself in the pursuit of resistance leader Victor Lazlo, and Rick seems to be agreeing not to interfere. Only Rick's verbal irreverence shows that he is not cowed.

5) Providing "realistic" verbal wallpaper. Screenplays often insert lines that seem appropriate to the setting and situation: photographers yell out for one more picture, flight attendants offer something to drink, or children shout while at play. Sometimes, the wallpaper is so rococo that it has significant aesthetic appeal of its own, as in John Frankenheimer's *The Manchurian Candidate* (1962), where we are treated to a wonderfully bizarre rendition of a ladies' garden club meeting about "hydrangeas' horticultural importance."

6) Guiding the viewer. Filmmakers accomplish this by using dialogue to control pacing or atmosphere. "That plane's dustin' crops where there ain't no crops" turns the audience's attention from the vacant highway to the airplane in *North by Northwest* (1959). In Ridley Scott's *Alien* (1979), Captain Dallas (Tom Skerritt) is trying to chase the loathsome creature through the space ship's air ducts with a flamethrower. A female crewmember, Lambert, is coaching Dallas over a walkie-talkie as she watches a motion detector. She screams: "Oh God, it's moving right towards you! . . . Move! Get out of there! [Inaudible] Move, Dallas! Move, Dallas! Move, Dallas! Get out!" Such lines are not particularly informative. Their main function is to frighten the viewer, to increase the scene's tension. In this case, dialogue is accomplishing the task often taken by evocative background music—it is working straight on the viewer's emotions.

7) The insertion of thematic messages. Putting thematic or moral messages in the mouths of their characters allows filmmakers to talk to the audience. For example, at the end of Hitchcock's *Foreign Correspondent*, filmed and released in 1940, the hero, a radio reporter, warns of the Nazi threat and urges Americans to join in the fight:

> All that noise you hear isn't static; it's death coming to London. Yes, they're coming here now; you can hear the bombs falling on the streets and the homes. . . . It's as if the lights were all out everywhere, except in America. Keep those lights burning. Cover them with steel, ring them with guns. Build a canopy of battleships and bombing planes around them. Hello America!

> Hang on to your lights. They're the only lights
> left in the world.

Such explicit messages are not confined to wartime persuasion. Peter Jackson's *The Lord of the Rings: The Fellowship of the Ring* (2001) includes an effective passage from J. R. R. Tolkien's novel in which Gandalf instructs Frodo on the merits of pity and the danger of passing judgment.

8) Exploitation of the resources of language. Dialogue opens up vistas unreachable by silent film. With the addition of verbal language, cinema was offered infinite possibilities in terms of puns, jokes, misunderstandings, witticisms, metaphors, curses, whispers, screams, songs, poetry, or storytelling. In *The Wizard of Oz* (1939), when the Wizard challenges his supplicants, he does so with relish:

> WIZARD: Step forward, Tin Man. You dare to come to me for a heart, do you? You clinking clanking, clattering collection of caliginous junk?. . . And you, Scarecrow, have the effrontery to ask for a brain, you billowing bale of bovine fodder?

Viewers commonly adopt a film's most memorable lines—such as Bette Davis's "Fasten your seatbelts—it's going to be a bumpy night" in *All About Eve* (1950)—much the same way that earlier generations used to learn and quote maxims and proverbs. Cinematic dialogue has had an immense influence on how we speak and, consequently, on how we understand our culture and ourselves.

HISTORY OF DIALOGUE IN AMERICAN FILM

The history of film dialogue starts with the silent era. Speech sometimes literally accompanied silent films—some exhibitors hired lecturers to narrate silent films and local actors to speak lines for the characters. As the industry moved toward standardization, film producers found it desirable to include printed dialogue and expository intertitles. Silent film historian Barry Salt has found dialogue intertitles as early as 1904; Eileen Bowser has recorded that from 1907 to 1915 producers experimented with finding the exactly right placement and format for such titles. After 1915, with feature-length films, title writing became a specialty, and dialogue intertitles were used for humor, to convey important information, and to individualize characters. The critical reverence of the few films that torturously managed to avoid intertitles, such as F. W. Murnau's *The Last Laugh* (1924), should not be taken as indicative of the typical practices of the silent era. After all, in silent movies the characters were not supposed to be mutes. The characters spoke to one another; the incapacity was on the side of the filmgoers—we were the ones who were deaf.

The transition to sound in the late 1920s was complicated for American studios and theater owners, demanding great outlays of capital and entailing negotiation between competing technologies and corporate strategies. Equally upsetting for some in the film community was the wrenching shift in their approach to their craft caused by the possibilities of sound. The apprehension that sound would be the death of the visual artistry of silent film was initially abetted by the limitations of early microphones and recording apparatus, which restricted camera movement. From a historical perspective, what is remarkable about the conversion to sound is not that it was bumpy, but that the technical and aesthetic problems were solved so quickly and successfully, so that by the early 1930s the use of dialogue, sound effects, and music betrays none of the restrictions, tinniness, or fumbling of the transition films.

Immediately after the incorporation of sound, Hollywood began a wholesale importation of East Coast writers. The newspapermen, playwrights, and vaudevillians who went West in the early 1930s brought with them new sensibilities, novel stories, and a fresh approach to language.

In addition, sound instantly altered the balance of genres. Film musicals burst forth, as did literal adaptations of stage plays, which now could retain not just plot points, but much of the original stage dialogue. Verbally based comedies, featuring performers such as the Marx Brothers or W. C. Fields, expanded the contours of film comedy. Moreover, genres that had been established during the silent era underwent sea changes because of the new aesthetic capabilities. Each genre developed its own dialogue conventions, such as the street argot in gangster films or the dialect in westerns, conventions that turned out to be just as important to genre dynamics as their visual iconography.

A third event of the 1930s was the adoption of the Motion Picture Production Code, written in 1930 and more stringently enforced by the Hays Office after 1934. One of the reasons why this formal practice of industry self-censorship was put in place at this time is that verbal transgressions of prevailing standards were now possible. Although much of the Code deals with overall plot development, moral attitudes, and what viewers might learn about illicit behavior, several of the tenets deal specifically with language. For example:

- *Oaths* should never be used as a comedy element. Where required by the plot, the less offensive oaths may be permitted.
- *Vulgar expressions* come under the same treatment as vulgarity in general. Where women and children are to see the film, vulgar expressions (and oaths) should be cut to the absolute essentials required by the situation.
- The name of *Jesus Christ* should never be used except in reverence.

PRESTON STURGES

b. Chicago, Illinois, 29 August 1898, d. 6 August 1959

No one quite had such a way with dialogue as Preston Sturges. As a screenwriter, he constructed plots that were far-fetched and sometimes incoherent; as a director, his visuals were competent but uninspired. But as a dialogue writer, Sturges was unparalleled.

Preston Sturges had an eccentric upbringing; his mother divorced his father and married a Chicago socialite, only to leave him for a free-spirited life in Europe, following dancer Isadora Duncan. He lived in Europe off and on from 1901 to 1914. Sturges studied in a series of private schools in the United States and Europe and began writing plays in the late 1920s—some of which were acclaimed, others spectacular flops. He was hired as a writer by Universal in 1932.

Sturges worked as a screenwriter for numerous studios, and several of his scripts—such as *The Good Fairy* (1935), *Easy Living* (1937), and *Remember the Night* (1940)—were turned into successful movies. In 1940 Paramount agreed to let him direct his own scripts. The Paramount years were his most productive, with Sturges turning out a series of sparkling comedies in quick succession. Then Sturges's career fell off dramatically in the late 1940s when he left Paramount for a disastrous venture with Howard Hughes; he could not regain his footing during his short contract with Fox, and developed a reputation for being overpriced, arrogant, and unable to bring a film in on budget.

Sturges's dialogue is never "realistic"; no real person ever talked like his characters. He created a made-up, nonsense language for his vaguely European gigolo, Toto, in *The Palm Beach Story* (1942), but the rest of his people—from rich socialites, to Texas millionaires, to constables, to card sharks, to film producers—speak with equal disregard of verisimilitude. Sturges moved back and forth between long, eloquent phrasemaking to abrupt, staccato interchanges, and he mixed in noises such as hiccups or barking dogs. He imagined characters from every social sphere and cast actors with a wide range of voices, from mellifluous to gravelly.

The words flying out of these characters' mouths are improbable, unpredictable, and funny. For instance, in *Easy Living*, J. B. Ball throws his wife's fur coat off the roof. It lands on Mary Smith (Jean Arthur) as she is riding on the top level of a New York bus. Surprised, angry, she turns around to the innocent passenger sitting behind her, asking, "Say, what's the big idea, anyway?" He calmly replies: "Kismet." In *Sullivan's Travels* (1941), studio head Mr. LeBrand recalls Sullivan's previous hit films: "So Long, Sarong," "Hey Hey in the Hayloft," and "Ants in Your Plants of 1939." LeBrand and his associate suggest that Sully's new project should be "Ants in Your Plants of 1941," and they offer him Bob Hope, Mary Martin, and, maybe, Bing Crosby. And in *The Lady Eve* (1941), when Jean hatches her plan to impersonate a British Lady and get her revenge on Charles, she remarks, "I need him [Charles] like the ax needs the turkey." Hollywood romantic comedies needed Sturges's wit to the same degree.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Christmas in July (1940), *The Great McGinty* (1940), *The Lady Eve* (1941), *Sullivan's Travels* (1941), *The Palm Beach Story* (1942), *Hail the Conquering Hero* (1944), *Miracle of Morgan's Creek* (1944)

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Sarah Kozloff

Along with the Production Code, another key pressure on dialogue throughout the studio years was the star system. The famous advertising slogan for *Anna Christie* (1930)—"Garbo Talks!"—is representative of the public's interest in hearing its favorite movie stars. Scripts have always been specifically tailored for their stars' personae and verbal abilities.

Preston Sturges. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Studio-era directors and screenwriters developed distinctive dialogue styles. Especially in screwball comedies, such as *Bringing Up Baby* (1938) and *His Girl Friday* (1940), director Howard Hawks (1896–1977) would have his actors speak quickly and jump on each others' lines; his overlapping dialogue became a central element of his films' breakneck pacing. Billy Wilder (1906–2002), who had emigrated from Germany and taught himself English by listening to baseball games, often foregrounded his fascination with American slang. Orson Welles (1915–1985) put his experience with radio into the soundtracks of his movies, so that each character's voice is inflected by his or her spatial surroundings. Joseph Mankiewicz's (1909–1993) forte was depicting literate, urbane characters, such as Addison DeWitt (George Sanders) in *All About Eve* (1950), while Preston Sturges excelled at snappy comic dialogue.

The dissolution of the Production Code in the late 1950s, along with the gradual loosening of cultural restrictions throughout the 1960s, prompted a seismic upheaval in scriptwriting, allowing the frank treatment of taboo subject matter, the incorporation of street language, and the inclusion of obscenity. Changes in social expectations were also matched by technological developments, such as improvements in mixing and the invention of radio mikes, which led to more flexibility in sound recording.

During the late 1960s and early 1970s American movies, influenced by the breezy French New Wave, featured dialogue that was noticeably more colloquial, less careful about rhythm, less polished, more risqué, and marked by an improvisational air. The accompanying acting style was less declamatory, faster, and more throwaway; the recording of lines allowed much more overlapping and a higher degree of inaudibility. This more realistic, informal style of dialogue appears in John Cassavetes's (1929–1989) *Faces* (1968), which relies on improvisation; in the films of Robert Altman (b. 1925), who pioneered the use of radio mikes to allow multiple actors to speak at once in *M*A*S*H* (1970), *McCabe and Mrs. Miller* (1971), and *Nashville* (1975); and in Martin Scorsese's (b. 1942) *Mean Streets* (1973) and *Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore* (1974).

Since the mid-1980s, low-budget and independent productions have continued an adventuresome approach to dialogue. This stems partially from independent filmmakers' genuine desire to break new ground, but novel manipulations of dialogue have also moved to the fore because they are cheaper and more easily accomplished than extensive special effects or lush production values. Clear examples can be found in Louis Malle's *My Dinner with André* (1981), which confines the film to a dinnertime conversation between two friends; David Mamet's *House of Games* (1987), in which the characters speak in carefully polished cadences approaching blank verse; Gus Van Sant's *My Own Private Idaho* (1991), which literally mixes Shakespeare with prosaic speech; and Julie Dash's *Daughters of the Dust* (1992), in which characters speak in a Gullah dialect. Finally, Spike Lee and Quentin Tarantino have made verbal dexterity downright fashionable.

Yet big-budget blockbusters, which depend so heavily on earning back their investments with overseas distribution, are less likely to prioritize their dialogue or to exploit the resources of language. An expensive release, such as Wolfgang Petersen's *Troy* (2004), incorporates speech only as necessary for narrative clarity, has the actors articulate each sentence pointedly (woodenly), and focuses audience attention instead on action sequences and special effects.

The issue of international distribution brings up the one aspect of dialogue that opponents were right to fear—the fact that inclusion of national languages restricts audience comprehension. Advocates of silent film felt that the cinema had discovered a universal language that would enhance international community. From one perspective, sound cinema has managed to continue that ideal: the international dominance of American cinema has been a tool of global English language dispersal. Audiences around the world have learned English, or accepted dubbing, or coped with subtitles. The isolating effects of national

Eddie Bracken (front center) and William Demarest (far right) in Preston Sturges's* Hail the Conquering Hero *(1944).
EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

language have primarily injured American viewers, who with less incentive to work through language difference, have cut themselves off from most international cinema. The solutions to this drawback are educational and social: to embrace linguistic variety, not to bring narrative complexity back down to the level of pantomime.

SEE ALSO *Film History; Silent Cinema; Sound*

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Sarah Kozloff

DIASPORIC CINEMA

The word "diaspora" is derived from the Greek word *diasperien*. It denotes the dispersion of a population group or community of people from their country of birth or origin. Overseas diasporas or transnational communities are created by international migration, forced or voluntary, and are motivated by economic, political, and colonial factors. During classical antiquity, "diaspora" referred to the exodus and exile of the Jews from Palestine. Later historical references to "diaspora" are associated with the slave trade and forced migration of West Africans to the "New World" in the sixteenth century. Twentieth-century formations include the Palestinian and Armenian diasporas. More recent diasporas originate from the Caribbean, Latin America, South and East Asia, and Central Europe. As a subject area and critical category of study, diaspora has become a theoretical tool in film studies, ethnic studies, and cultural studies, among other fields, and resonates in debates and critiques of migration, identity, nationalism, transnationality, and exile.

The second half of the twentieth century, referred to by some demographers as "the century of migration," is distinguished by the magnitude, direction, and composition of international migration, with women now constituting nearly 50 percent of international migrants. Several factors have accelerated the movement of people across borders: globalizing economic processes linked to the internationalization of capital and the labor market, the cumulative effects of political instability caused by ethnic strife and civil wars, population pressures, environmental degradation, human rights violations, and the decline of transportation costs. Taken together, these factors, along with worsening poverty that compounds the already vast inequalities among the world's 6.4 billion population, account for the "global migration crisis" at the beginning of the twenty-first century. It has affected an estimated 175 million people, who now reside outside their country of origin and whose destination increasingly is North America, Asia, and Western Europe. Globalization and geopolitics, along with the rise of transnational media, accelerate diasporic formations. Constituting "new" and hybrid ethnicities, diasporas disrupt the cultural and social practices of the societies they inhabit. They also contest accepted ideas about Western modernity and nationhood, especially racialized constructions related to citizenship.

DIASPORIC FORMATIONS IN CINEMA

The dislocating effects of globalization, migrating cultures, and postcoloniality form the subtext of diasporic cinema. Thus this category of film is neither linguistically nor culturally monolithic. A number of scholars have discussed diasporic and exilic films as an international genre or movement consistent with the world today. Hamid Naficy outlines vital and nuanced distinctions between "diasporic," "exilic," and "postcolonial ethnic and identity" filmmakers, who collectively comprise "accented cinema" and, as he suggests, are in conversation with dominant and alternative cinemas.

However differentiated, though, diasporic films and other types of "accented" films share similar concerns, characteristics, and production practices. In culturally diverse and often compelling narratives and styles, they address the paradoxes of exile and the negotiation of difference and belonging in indifferent and frequently

MERZAK ALLOUACHE

b. Algiers, Algeria, 6 October 1944

The Algerian director and writer Merzak Allouache consistently explores the displacement of exile and marginality of North Africans living in France and its former colony, Algeria. After studying at France's renowned film school, École Nationale Supérieure des Métiers de L'image et du Son, as well as graduating from Algeria's short-lived film school, Allouache worked in French television. His first feature film, *Omar Gatlato* (1976), presents in documentary style an exposé of Algerian males who fear intimacy with women as much as alienation from male peers. The title is derived from the phrase *gatlato al-rujula*, roughly "a machismo that kills," and refers to the social practices that exacerbate male insecurity. The focus on a dynamic urban milieu and its youth—its street slang, rituals, and passion for popular culture—is a theme that runs through many of Allouache's films.

Bab El-Oued City (1994) earned him international acclaim and put him in peril in Algeria. Its title refers to a working-class district of Algiers where Allouache grew up and which is a site of intense unrest. Allouache updates his focus on urban youth who, once struggling with a nation in the making, are now experiencing an increasing spiral of violence. It tells the story of an ordinary baker who flees for his life after impulsively ripping out a rooftop loudspeaker that incessantly broadcasts propaganda by religious activists. A warning about the dangers of replacing colonial despotism with theocratic authoritarianism, the film won the International Film Critics prize in the *Un Certain Regard* category at the 1994 Cannes Film Festival and that year's grand prize at the Arab Film Festival. In Algeria, Allouache faced enough political pressure to prompt his departure.

Once in exile, Allouache used a comedic frame for *Salut cousin!* (1996), a diasporic and exilic film that features the related ordeals of two cousins from Algeria who navigate French society in different ways. Allouache laces the cousins' stories with enough empathy and sense of whimsy to temper what some call his customary fatalism. Allouache expanded his take on gender and diaspora in *L'Autre Monde* (*The Other World*, 2001), which traces the arduous journey of a woman and her fiancé, both born in France to Algerian immigrants, who travel to Algeria to experience a country they only previously "imagined." After her fiancé—torn between his birthplace and his ancestral homeland—leaves for Algeria to join the military, the young woman dons a veil and follows, facing danger and further disorientation related to her own conflicting loyalties.

This film, by a director who humanizes characters ordinarily understood through the lens of prejudice, highlights the contradictory sources of their vulnerability and survivability. Allouache has repeated this message in films that span nearly two decades, and which similarly forced him to straddle two nations with a shared, violent history as the colonizer and the colonized. His commitment to give voice to the disempowered is what gives his films their greatest weight.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Omar Gatlato (1976), *Un amour à Paris* (A love in Paris, 1987), *L'Après-Octobre* (Following October, 1989), *Bab El-Oued City* (1994), *Salut cousin!* (*Hey Cousin!*, 1996), *L'Amour est à Réinventer* (*Love Reinvented*, segment "Dans la décapotable," 1996), *Alger-Beyrouth: Pour mémoire* (*Algiers-Beirut: A Souvenir*, 1998), *L'Autre Monde* (*The Other World*, 2001), *Chouchou* (2003)

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xenophobic communities and nation-states. Moreover, diasporic films, such as *Vivre au paradis* (*Living in Paradise*, 1998), set in France during the last years of the Algerian war of independence (1954–62), and *Hop* (2002), in which an innocent boy finds himself in trouble and separated from his father, foreground the struggle for recognition, community, and citizenship. As is evident in *Salut cousin!* (*Hey Cousin!*, 1996), about two

Merzak Allouache. © PELLETIER MICHELINE/CORBIS SYGMA.

Algerian cousins in racially tense Paris, and *Gegen die Wand* (*Head-On*, 2004), which centers on a marriage of convenience between two German Turks, they also explore the ambivalence and contingency of diasporic identities. These films, and others such as *Heremakono* (*Waiting for Happiness*, 2002) and *Le Grand voyage* (2004), suggest a counterpoint to the dislocating experience of global migrations, using journey narratives to interrogate the "homeless subject."

Since the 1980s, alongside the emergence of postcolonial diasporic filmmaking, new and more complex accounts of the "national" and "national cinema" have evolved largely in response to the ascendance of transnational media and other supranational entities (multinational corporations) under global capitalism. As a critical category, national cinema presents problems: one can no longer define national cinema in terms of where films are produced and by whom, or by a comparative approach that differentiates between national cinemas. Diasporic cinema, like diasporas, problematizes national identity and the nation as an imagined and bounded territorial space. For example, in *Sammy and Rosie Get Laid* (1987), the characters' identities are framed by London's cosmopolitanism, whereas in *Pièces d'identités* (*Pieces of Identity*, 1998), they are informed by a monolithic African (or continental) affiliation along with tribal distinctions.

Diaspora cinema, paradoxically, comprises the global as a distinctive transnational style, as well as the local to reflect some manner of specificity. Diasporic cinema's political project expresses a transcendent realism, in which "home truths" about the social experience of postcoloniality are rendered transparent. An apt example is *Drachenfutter* (*Dragon Chow*, 1987), in which two displaced refugees—one Pakistani, the other Chinese—start a restaurant, whose viability is eventually thwarted by the insensitive immigration policies of their host country of West Germany. This feature also corresponds to and resonates with a growing corpus of films that address the *fracture sociale*, especially in First World societies, in which the gendered and marginalized lives of the underclass and growing economic disparities between social classes are explored. Examples include *La Vie rêvée des anges* (*The Dreamlife of Angels*, 1998) and *Rosetta* (1999). Diasporic cinema, however, is less schematic, theorized, and committed to being oppositional as a collective project than its precursor, the 1960s cinema of political engagement. Nevertheless, it heralds a renewed preoccupation with the global and historical affairs of the contemporary period.

BEUR CINEMA

As South and East Asian, African, and Caribbean diasporas disrupt the prevailing Christian and racialized delineation of Europe, nation-states in the European Union are undergoing economic and political integration and dramatic demographic changes. Since the 1980s filmmakers, especially diasporic and exilic ones, have explored the émigré experience with increasing frequency and in greater depth. Accented cinema formations have developed in Britain (black and Asian film and video collectives), in the United States (Iranian, African American, and Asian American), and, to a lesser extent, in Canada (South Asian).

Among filmmakers who reside in France, a *cine beur*, or *beur* cinemas, has evolved, exploring the preoccupations and concerns of transnational migrant communities that have settled there. The word *beur* is French slang for "Arab" and signifies the ambivalence associated with bicultural identity despite French nationality. It also signifies the distinction and tension between French of Maghreb ancestry and their North African immigrant parents. *Les beurs* constitute a distinctive bicultural

group. As the children of North African immigrants from Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco (the Maghreb), concentrated particularly in the *banlieues* (housing projects on the peripheries of French cities), *la génération beur* attained prominence during the late 1970s amid racial tension, the rise of extreme right-wing movements (such as the Front National), and national debates about immigration, integration, and assimilation in France.

Beur cinema, which has a kinship with *banlieue* and "hip hop" cinemas, is part of a larger *beur* artistic tradition and social movement in music, art, photography, theater, and literature. *Beur* films are for the most part narratives told in a realist mode that have popular appeal; they are shaped by a shared colonial experience and language (French) and, with few exceptions, are by men about male-centered narratives in which women are largely marginalized. Recurrent themes are the urban multiethnic realities of unemployment, street crime, poverty, and state surveillance and regulation; the institutional, social, and personal consequences of racism; the conflicts and tensions between North African and French cultures; the intergenerational conflicts between North African émigrés and their *beur* children, especially with regard to patriarchal authority; and the tensions caused by uprootedness, exile, deterritorialization, nostalgia, escape, and repatriation.

The more recent evolution of *beur* cinema, however, suggests that its composition and concerns are provisional, as some filmmakers make the transition to other areas of filmmaking in France and address non-*beur* subjects. Addressing themes related to *beur* (and *banlieue*) cinema, the film *Bye-Bye* (1995) examines contemporary French society, which is becoming increasingly multiethnic, multiracial, hybridized, and fractured along class lines. Directed by Karim Dridi (b. 1961), a Franco-Tunisian filmmaker, *Bye-Bye* chronicles the anguished, violent, and indeterminate odyssey of Ismaél, a Franco-Maghrebi who escorts his younger brother, Mouloud, south from Paris via Marseilles to their parents' "homeland" in Tunisia. By framing the narrative in the context of a journey, the film emphasizes two features of postcoloniality: the territorial divide between France and its former colonies and their diasporic settlement, and the cultural paradoxes of postcoloniality. These paradoxes are signified in an effective counterpoint, in which the imperatives of capitalism and pluralism contest Islamic traditions and practices, along with parental fealty. Neither side of this deterritorialized and dislocating space offers Ismaél solace.

Ismaél's ambivalence, and Mouloud's unequivocal rejection of the "home country," underscores their generation's displacement and break with tradition and familial, especially paternal, authority. At ease neither in French nor in Maghreb cultures, Ismaél longs for another home (land), which attests to his marginality as a diasporic subject. Thus, in *Bye-Bye* the émigré experience forsakes the collective for the personal and exemplifies the existential characteristic of *beur* cinema.

SEE ALSO *National Cinema; Race and Ethnicity*

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DIRECTION

The opening credit sequence of contemporary American films typically proclaim that the ensuing work is ''a film by'' a particular director. This assertive title is both an acknowledgment of professional responsibility (that the creative process is led by a central administrative figure) and an authorial intention (that the work in question is the product of a single, creative individual). However, within such a deceptively simple credit lies an implicit array of controversial assumptions about the position of the director. The significance of such a credit is historically contingent: it depends on the film's given production context, as well as the changing professional status of the director from decade to decade. Indeed, the ubiquity of such a credit is a fairly recent phenomenon; in most cases during the classical era, movies were credited as being ''authored'' by the studio that produced them. Moreover, it is not simply that a credit such as ''a Jay Roach Film'' is potentially misleading; it also gives very little indication as to the precise nature of the director's creative enterprise.

What, then, are the technical duties and professional responsibilities of the director? How do they differ according to a director's cultural, historical, and industrial situation? Why have certain professional and critical discourses encouraged us to regard the director as the prominent ''authorial'' voice among a hierarchy of film artists? Finally, what is the use-value of promoting the director as a ''celebrity''—a creative personality whose name comes to signify quality, exclusivity, and/or fashionability? Answering these questions requires a consideration of the director's position within a hierarchy of film production given to structural fluctuation, as well as an analysis of the power dynamics involved in both authorial and star politics.

RESPONSIBILITIES

In the business of film production, the designation of ''director'' is a somewhat enigmatic title. Comparatively speaking, most of the other principal creative personnel involved in filmmaking hold titles that give a fairly clear indication of their professional responsibilities. Generally, one individual is responsible for overseeing the labor that is relevant to a single facet of production, whether it be cinematography, writing, editing, music, sound, production design, or costumes. With the notable exception of the producer, however, the range of the director's tasks is quite broad, and involves coordinating innumerable creative activities throughout the course of developing, shooting, completing, and marketing a film.

It shall be assumed here that the director is the individual who actively oversees the realization of a film from shooting script to finished product, harmoniously coordinating the creative activities of the key personnel involved in the production processes. He or she will liaise with each of these artists, deliberate over various expressive and/or technical options to be implemented, and arrive at a decision that is commensurate with the requirements of the developing work. Correspondingly, the director will also be answerable to the executive body that finances and/or distributes the work and therefore must ensure that production runs smoothly and within an allotted budget. The director's job, then, is twofold: to maintain a consistency of style and quality throughout

production and ensure that the production itself proceeds efficiently and economically.

In other words, before one considers the director's position in evaluative terms (as a potential author), one must come to a more objective understanding of the director's position in descriptive terms (as an effective delegate). Serving as the funnel through which all of the decisions affecting a film's form and style are exercised, a director's primary task is to cultivate and coordinate the creative contributions of a production company's principal artists. In the interests of specificity and demystification, it is worth enumerating the various duties assigned to the director during all three stages of filmmaking: preproduction, production, and postproduction.

During the preproduction stage, the director's responsibilities can be divided into four principle tasks: (1) collaborating with the writer(s) on the development of the script; (2) assisting the casting director in hiring appropriate actors, and conducting rehearsals; (3) cooperating with the producer(s) in developing a practical shooting schedule; and (4) planning the overall visual "look" of the film with the production designers and the director of photography (DOP). The extent of a director's involvement in each of these phases varies according to production context and the director's personal working habits. A director may insist on meticulously preplanning a film before beginning to shoot, which is the method preferred by Satyajit Ray (1921–1992), or, the director may treat the film organically, allowing it to develop spontaneously during the process of shooting. Wong Kar-wai (b. 1958), for example, frequently devises and shoots several different versions of a loosely scripted scenario before settling on one that will become the "official" film.

Throughout the actual shooting of the work, the director must multitask efficiently, ensuring that all tasks are executed effectively, solving any unforeseen complications that may arise during production. First, the director and the DOP will supervise the electricians and grips in the lighting of a set—ensuring the correct placement of lights, cutters, and nets. Second, all camerawork—including framing and composition, lens selection, and tracking shots—must be reviewed and potentially rehearsed with the DOP, camera operator, and focus puller. Third, he or she will consult the head carpenter, set dresser, and assistant director (AD) to ensure that there are no logistical problems with the staging of a scene. The director and the AD must also properly block and coach any extras appearing in the scene. Fourth, the director confers with the sound crew regarding the proper placement of microphones and any additional sound equipment. Finally, the director will provide the actors with instructions and suggestions, guiding them through the playing of a scene based on decisions agreed upon during rehearsals. Practical directions will be given to ensure that the actors stay in frame and compensate for any camera movement, but less concretely, the director will also coach actors through improvisations, modulating the "tone" of their performances.

It is at the completion of a take that the director's most crucial decision emerges: whether or not the photographed action will be printed. If all of the above elements have been fulfilled to his or her satisfaction, the director will order the shot to be taken to the lab for processing. The processed shot will most likely appear in the final cut of the film after being carefully scrutinized at the daily rushes by the principal crewmembers. Given the enormous amount of work required during the production stages, the average amount of time needed to shoot a modestly budgeted, 120-minute film is about forty days. Independent directors working with a small crew on a shoestring budget will usually take considerably less time. For example, while working for AIP Productions, Roger Corman (b. 1926) was able to shoot eighty-minute exploitation films, such as *Little Shop of Horrors* (1960), in three days. By contrast, Frances Ford Coppola (b. 1939) required over sixteen months to shoot the problem-laden art-house blockbuster, *Apocalypse Now* (1979).

Once actual filming has finished, the director must preside over the completion of the work during postproduction. Again, the degree of a director's involvement in these stages varies according to historically determined production contexts and individual practice. Before 1940, for example, a Hollywood director often had literally no input in the cutting of a film; the footage was sent directly to the editing department, and the director might not even see it again until a rough cut was completed for previewing. By contrast, the contemporary digital manipulation of images has increased to such a degree that the director's close involvement in postproduction stages is often a necessity. Indeed, digital filmmaking has significantly blurred the distinction between filmic creation and modification, and has therefore expanded the director's postproduction role dramatically.

As in preproduction, there are four principal postproduction areas in which a director's input is necessary: (1) editing, (2) visual effects, (3) music, and (4) sound. In most cases, an editor and director will develop the film's pace and rhythm, reinforce continuity between shots, trim moments of unwanted excess, and ensure that the montage generally serves to reinforce the work's intent. The visual effects category encompasses the manipulation of the raw footage by color timers, processing technicians, special effects designers, and an array of digital artists, compositors, and animators. Broadly speaking, a director will convey instructions to supervisors in each of

these groups, indicating the specific "look" the director wishes to convey. Such post-filmic "treatment" affecting the overall appearance of a work can range from Robert Altman's (b. 1925) decision to "preflash" the negative of *The Long Goodbye* (1973) in order to amplify the washed-out pastels of its hazy Los Angeles milieu, to Robert Rodriguez's (b. 1968) development of the entirely digital, black-and-white cityscape of *Sin City* (2005). The director will oversee a film's aural elements as well. In working with the composer, he might intimate how the score reinforces the affective intent of key sequences, accentuates notable action, or even organizes the structure of the montage. The director may also specify to the sound designer how various audio cues will function, indicate the expressive intent of ambient noise, and/or explain the interplay between aural effects and edits. A favorite composer might be relied upon—as in Danny Elfman's recurring scores for Tim Burton (b. 1958)—or in some rare cases, a director might personally compose the film's music (as Charlie Chaplin [1889–1977] did for his features), or co-design the sound (as David Lynch [b. 1946] often does).

COLLABORATIONS

In describing the various responsibilities of the director, it would seem that he or she occupies a central position within the cinema's creative division of labor. Despite this apparent centrality, however, it must be established that the title of "director" is not necessarily synonymous with the designation "author." Understanding the role of the director is an objective concern and does not require the subsequent appreciative assertion that he or she is the most important individual in this process. Nor should it be assumed that a director's supervisory status is ipso facto proof of his or her status as the center of the work's significance. Rather, the director's centrality should refer to his or her position within a system of creative labor. Again, a director is first and foremost a delegate—one whose primary duties are to coordinate numerous creative endeavors in the interest of maintaining a consistent style and quality across an efficient production process. Given the collaborative nature of this process, it is important to understand the basic ways in which a director can work with key personnel within a filmmaking collective.

Since the screenplay serves as the primary source material in the director's process of adaptation, the screenwriter and director ideally will collaborate closely during the preparation of a film's shooting script. While the writer(s) and director will have their own opinions about the work's nascent significance, they will strive to reach an objective understanding of the script's intent—one that represents an unforeseen synthesis of their respective attitudes toward the material. In practical terms, this partnership may include identifying the work's central ideas, resolving any potentially disruptive ambiguities in the story, tightening narrative structure, and rewriting dialogue or adjusting characterization if necessary. Their work may continue through the shooting process itself should circumstances require further adjustments to be made.

Again, the actual proactive involvement of the director will vary. Alain Resnais (b. 1922), for example, allows his screenwriters to have virtual autonomy in preparing their screenplay. Milos Forman (b. 1932), by contrast, will labor over a script with a writer, line by line. Directors may prefer to work on the script personally with a favored collaborator (as evidenced by the long-time partnership between Billy Wilder [1906–2002] and I. A. L. Diamond [1920–1988]), or film his or her own screenplay (Ousmane Sembene [b. 1923], Pier Paolo Pasolini [1922–1975], and Preston Sturges [1898–1959] are all prominent examples of director-screenwriters). Alternatively, a film's working script may emerge through improvisations overseen by the director during rehearsals: John Cassavetes (1924–1989) and Mike Leigh (b. 1943) are celebrated exemplars of this tendency. It is important to note, however, that if there is a substantial degree of financial investment in the film, investors may insist on approving every draft of the work in progress. Hollywood screenplays, for example, have been subject to the whims of producers, executives, censorial boards, and even stars—all of whom have wielded creative authority over the majority of screenwriters and directors.

Just as the shooting script is frequently outside of the director's complete control, the casting of a film's principal roles is often dictated by the economic logic of the star system, especially in mainstream Hollywood cinema. Orson Welles (1915–1985), for example, may have despaired at Universal's insistence on casting Charlton Heston as a Mexican in *Touch of Evil* (1958), but the casting of the film's principal players was not his decision to make. In the studio era, a contracted star might be assigned to a particular film, while contemporary stars may be "packaged" along with a screenplay by a talent agency as part of a non-negotiable deal. However, the director typically has much more independence in the casting of secondary and minor roles. The director will oversee the work of the casting director, who will organize auditions for these roles and/or present the director and producer(s) with a selection of actors to handpick for smaller parts.

For certain directors, their influence in the casting of the film is of paramount importance. Sergei Eisenstein's (1898–1948) reliance on *typage* in the casting of his early

Soviet films is a good example, with the director often personally selecting the ideal faces needed to personify particular ideological positions. John Waters's (b. 1946) entire filmography is founded upon casting director Pat Moran's selection of the perfect assortment of lumpen freaks. Andy Warhol (1928–1987) and Paul Morrissey (b. 1938) transformed casting into a quasi-political act, by selecting whoever happened to be hanging around the Factory and proclaiming them to be instant "movie stars." Other directors may choose to work with favorite actors or cultivate a stock company. Such reliance on familiar faces not only potentially simplifies communication between actor and director, but it may also serve as a kind of expressive shorthand within the film itself. John Wayne (1907–1979), for example, is John Ford's (1894–1973) idealized emblem of the frontier's potential for self-determination, while Liv Ullman (b. 1938), Bibi Andersson (b. 1935), and Max von Sydow (b. 1929) are not so much part of Ingmar Bergman's (b. 1918) "troupe" as they are his recurring muses and creative partners.

For certain directors, performance is the very heart of cinematic art. Jean Renoir (1894–1979) provides the most prestigious example of a humanist aesthetic: his famed deep-focus photography, elaborate tracking shots, and long takes represent a concerted, empathetic effort to preserve the integrity of his actors' performances within a fully realized social world. Other directors frequently showcase the technical ingenuity of gifted actors. Elia Kazan's (1909–2003) close involvement with Lee Strasberg and Stella Adler in the cultivation of American "method" acting often resulted in films that foregrounded the intense psychodynamics of their principal characters. Occasionally, the better part of a director's career might be dedicated to exploring a single actor's persona. Examples include Zhang Yimou's (b. 1951) early feature-length "tributes" to Gong Li and Josef von Sternberg's (1894–1969) obsession with Marlene Dietrich—the radiant focal point of his films' *mise-en-scène.* In all of these cases, the director's function is to facilitate the actor's cultivation of a performance that will satisfy a shared aesthetic ambition. Actual working methods might range from encouraging improvisation (Shirley Clarke [1919–1997]), the use of provocation and multiple takes (Stanley Kubrick [1928–1999]), or blatant manipulation and intimidation (Roman Polanski [b. 1933]).

Often at complete variance with the "actor's director" is the filmmaker who aspires to a rigorous aestheticism, treating the artistic process as an opportunity to explore the parameters of the medium itself. Such a director's fellow artists might be encouraged to consider the filmic image as a graphic design, rather than an indexical referent to a profilmic reality. In such cases, the production designer and director of photography are frequently the formalist director's chief collaborators. In *The Cook, the Thief, His Wife and Her Lover* (1989) and *Prospero's Books* (1991), for example, production designers Jan Roelfs and Ben van Os and director Peter Greenaway (b. 1942) treat the screen like a canvas, creating an intricately layered onscreen space and occasionally "writing" on the surface of the screen itself. For Alfred Hitchcock's (1899–1980) color films of the 1950s, Hal Pereira (1905–1983) helped the director devise some of his most superbly crafted set pieces: the multi-windowed courtyard that provides voyeuristic glimpses of multiple levels of action in *Rear Window* (1954) is a triumph of design. Another example is the sumptuous formalism of Sally Potter's (b. 1949) work since *The Tango Lesson* (1997), which can largely be attributed to her recurring collaboration with designer Carlos Conti.

Congruently, the DOP is equipped with the technical knowledge to help a director visually realize his or her conception of the significance, mood, and/or affective intent. Bernardo Bertolucci's (b. 1940) most stylized efforts—particularly *Il Conformista* (*The Conformist*, 1970)—are a result of Vittorio Storaro's (b. 1940) mastery of expressive lighting and color. The invariable steely iciness of David Cronenberg's (b. 1943) films since *Dead Ringers* (1988) is largely cultivated by Peter Suschitzky (b. 1941), just as the warm romanticism and nostalgia that pervades Woody Allen's (b. 1935) work in the late 1970s and early 1980s can primarily be attributed to Gordon Willis's (b. 1931) photography. Or, we might reference the lyricism of F. W. Murnau's (1888–1931) "unchained," moving camera in *Der Letzte Mann* (*The Last Laugh*, 1924)—an innovation developed by master cinematographer Karl Freund (1890–1969). Despite Andrew Sarris's assertion that an *auteur* must be "technically proficient," the majority of directors in his catalog of great filmmakers rely heavily on the technological ingenuity of the DOP to develop and realize their visual ideas.

On a similar note, a skilled editor effectively shapes a film's structure, pace, and intended significance. Again, directors may formulate an outline of their intent, but most often the creative onus is on the editor to bring this objective to fruition. Even a director as heralded as Martin Scorsese (b. 1942) is reliant on the precision and innate sense of timing of his long-time editor, Thelma Schoonmaker. Certain directors believe montage to be the essence of their medium and develop an aesthetic that foregrounds the expressive potential of the various relations between shots. Eisenstein, Vsevolod Pudovkin (1893–1953), and Aleksandr Dovzhenko (1894–1956)—the chief exponents of Soviet montage—are the obvious examples here. As equally inventive are prominent figures from the various international "new waves" of the 1960s, whose editing styles are informed by an irreverent admixture of radical politics, anti-classicism,

Provocation embodied by the drill sergeant (R. Lee Ermey) in Stanley Kubrick's* Full Metal Jacket *(1987). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

and blistering energy. Notable exemplars of such politicized dynamism include Glauber Rocha (1938–1981), Věra Chytilová (b. 1929), and Jean-Luc Godard (b. 1930).

While the pyrotechnic editing evident in much contemporary commercial filmmaking is frequently reviled for its perceived pandering to decreasing audience attention spans, several directors have turned this tendency to their creative advantage. Taking their cue from the use of sampling in hip-hop music, director Darren Aronofsky (b. 1969) and editor Jay Rabinowitz devised a montage for *Requiem for a Dream* (2000) that is a lightning-fast form of crosscutting synched with exaggerated sound effects. Harmony Korine (b. 1973) and Valdís Óskarsdóttir developed an editing style for *Julien Donkey-Boy* (1999) that emulates the elliptical and erratic perception of the schizophrenic protagonist. Also noteworthy are John Woo's (b. 1946) dynamic alterations between expertly choreographed, slow-motion action and almost subliminally fast cutting in *Hard Boiled* (1992) and *Face/Off* (1997)—a contemporary update of a style devised by Sam Peckinpah (1925–1984) for the bloody climax of *The Wild Bunch* (1969). Conversely, a director's signature style may be founded upon a preference for minimal edits and a long-take aesthetic. Kenji Mizoguchi's (1898–1956) delicate exploration of an intricately crafted *mise-en-scène,* Andrei Tarkovsky's (1932–1986) attempts to evoke the felt duration of time, and Chantal Akerman's (b. 1950) minimalist emphasis on the domestic labor of her female characters are notable examples. Contemporary artists such as Tsai Ming-liang (b. 1957), Abbas Kiarostami (b. 1940), Michael Haneke (b. 1942), and Béla Tarr (b. 1955) continue this tradition, collaborating with their various editors to produce slowly paced films that reward patient, studied attention.

The most potentially contentious of the director's various working relationships is with the producer. Since the producer's chief tasks are to secure finances and ensure that filming adheres to schedule and budget, the

A scene from Erich von Stroheim's* Greed *(1924), which was drastically cut by producer Irving Thalberg. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

partnership between producer and director is frequently an anxious one. During preproduction, they will select shooting sites found by location scouts based on availability, affordability, and practicality. Script changes will be discussed and approved, and casting choices finalized. A shooting schedule will be devised by a production manager in order to maximize the availability of the principal actors, local crew, and locations. The schedule is of vital importance, as it represents the culmination of all approved, pre-planned aesthetic decisions that will affect the completed film. The more expensive the production, the more inflexible is a director's commitment to the schedule and the shooting script. Producers are almost always present during a shoot, keeping a close eye on the proceedings, and they will often make suggestions regarding the director's rough cut of a film before it is delivered to the studio for testing and/or distribution.

On the one hand, a positive working relationship can lead to an extremely creative partnership, as evidenced by the work of producer Val Lewton (1904–1951) and director Jacques Tourneur (1904–1977) collaborative RKO. On the other, certain directors perceive the producer's close involvement as interference with his or her creative autonomy, and their relationship to producers is typically hostile. Indeed, Erich von Stroheim (1885–1957), Orson Welles, and Nicholas Ray (1911–1979) are often characterized as artist-martyrs whose Hollywood careers were destroyed by gross materialists. During the late 1930s, the emerging Directors Guild made a concentrated effort to secure the director's right to supervise the first rough cut, participate in casting and script development, and wield more authority during the actual production stages. However, it is also worth noting that the creative tensions that arise between producers and directors during the most tempestuous production circumstances can sometimes yield riches. For example, *Gone with the Wind* (1939) was produced amidst stormy relationships between producer David O. Selznick and the various directors hired and fired from work on the film, including Victor Fleming (1889–1949), George Cukor (1899–1983), and Sam Wood (1883–1949), yet it went on to become the most widely seen American movie in history.

AUTHORITY AND CELEBRITY

The history of the producer/director relationship is quite complex, especially throughout the changing infrastructure of the studio system in the United States. In fact, the director's role, responsibilities, and level of authority can shift quite dramatically depending upon the larger industrial organization of filmmaking. As a brief case study, it is useful to summarize the historical transformation of the Hollywood director from cameraman to contemporary celebrity.

Prior to the standardization of multi-shot narrative films around 1905, cameramen such as William K.L. Dickson, Billy Bitzer, and Edwin S. Porter selected the subject matter, arranged, shot, and edited a scenario. Exhibitors' demand for a higher output necessitated a more detailed division of labor among manufacturers. Therefore, between 1907 and 1909, a second individual—the director—was contracted to stage the action while the cameraman was relegated to the purely technical role of filming. During this brief period, in which filmmaking labor began its centralization within studio conditions, the role of the director and producer was synonymous, with individuals such as D.W. Griffith (1875–1948) and Alice Guy (1873–1968) occupying the dual position of both artist and manager. With the introduction of the multiple-reel feature and a more efficient distribution system between 1909 and 1914, a single director could no longer keep up with the technical demands or rapidity of production. Labor became even more departmentalized, with a director heading a small unit working from a detailed continuity script—a procedure developed in 1913 by the first producer-director proper, Thomas Ince (1882–1924), during his tenure at Mutual.

As the classically structured, multiple-reel feature became the norm, the director's technical responsibilities and managerial decisions actually decreased. Encroaching upon the director's administrative capacities, the "central producer" came to ascendancy as the Hollywood system achieved consolidation between 1914 and the late 1920s. These "efficiency experts" assumed managerial control of planning and controlling a continuity script, with the director relegated to the task of its execution. Creative decisions once wielded by the director were now coordinated by a central producer in advance of the director's involvement in the filmmaking process. Such figures as Allan Dwan (1885–1981), Cecil B. De Mille (1881–1959), and Lois Weber (1881–1939) became studio functionaries who no longer legally controlled the product on which they labored; instead, they worked under the direct orders of a studio's central producer (such as MGM's production chief, Irving Thalberg).

By 1931, production was relegated to a number of generically specific units under the supervision of a production chief responsible for overseeing six to eight films a year. If there were author-figures in classical Hollywood, then it is these producers who best occupy the role, as they held the ultimate authority over a film at every level of production from script development to final editing. Contract directors were often quite literally reduced to a glorified stage director, chiefly responsible for supervising the dramatic action of the performers and largely adhering to predefined "house" styles. Assigned by studio executives to six different pre-planned projects a year, a director might have only one to two weeks to prepare for shooting.

The director's creative fortunes changed only after the Directors Guild's first president, Frank Capra (1897–1991), threatened to call a general directors' strike in 1939. An executive decision was made to create the "hyphenate" category of "producer-director" in order to placate the guild. From then on, those elite filmmakers who could select their own writer, cast, and cameraman and were allowed to supervise production at all levels held the designation of producer-director. Preparation time and salaries were increased, and A-list directors were responsible for making only two to three films a year—either as freelance directors, or as the head of their own in-house independent units. Capra, Hitchcock, Fritz Lang (1890–1976), and Leo McCarey (1898–1969) all held this quasi-independent status in the late 1940s.

With the development of the package-unit system in the mid-1940s, directors were granted even more creative autonomy. As the studios sought to cut their overhead expenses, especially following the court-ordered divestiture of their theater chains in 1948 and declining box-office receipts, the shift from in-house units to a more decentralized system was accelerated. As the majors now had to distribute their films on a film-by-film basis, directors became important means of pre-selling and differentiating their product. Films were "packaged" by producers, and increasingly by talent agencies, both of whom could draw on an industry-wide pool of talent to produce a film. A director would lead a production company that was assembled on a short-term basis and dissolved after their work was completed. Interestingly, many of the major Hollywood stylists beloved by French and American auteur critics emerge during this period, including Max Ophüls (1902–1957), Vincente Minnelli (1903–1986), Otto Preminger (1906–1986), and Douglas Sirk (1897–1987). In other words, the authorial "signatures" of so-called Hollywood *auteurs* emerged and were subsumed within the economic logic of disaggregated (rather than centralized) film production.

Since the absorption of the studios by major media conglomerates in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the director has become an even more valuable commodity in a production horizon dominated by blockbusters and franchises designed to generate profits in multiple ancillary

ERICH VON STROHEIM

b. Vienna, Austria, 22 September 1885, d. 12 May 1957

Probably the most iconic image of the working director is conjured up in the person of Erich "von" Stroheim: a monocled European despot stalking the set and barking orders through a bullhorn. Indeed, von Stroheim's persona of an actor—"the man you love to hate"—was equal parts tyrannical egoist and unappreciated genius. Fittingly, in most critical retrospectives of his career, von Stroheim is typically represented as either a megalomaniac of monstrous proportions or the victim of studio philistinism.

Erich Oswald Stroheim emigrated to the United States from his native Vienna, Austria, in 1909. The son of a Jewish hat manufacturer, he left the country penniless and disgraced after the family business failed, and the Austrian army discharged him as an invalid after five months of service. Little is known about his early years in America, but by the time he arrived in Los Angeles in 1915 to work as an extra, he had created an elaborate biography for himself, claiming to be a German aristocrat with a distinguished record in the imperial army. Simultaneously cultivating experience as both an actor and assistant director, von Stroheim directed his first feature, *Blind Husbands* (1919), to considerable commercial and critical success.

All of his films are concerned with characters who degrade themselves in the pursuit of money, sex, and/or status. What is remarkable about von Stroheim's representations of these endeavors, however, is the density of sociocultural detail against which they are enacted. His two masterpieces, *Greed* (1924) and *The Wedding March* (1928), recreate prewar San Francisco and Vienna in obsessive detail. Not simply exercises in slavish verisimilitude, the films are informed by the naturalism of Émile Zola, so the degeneracy of the films' characters is always determined by circumstances and environment. *Greed*'s shambling protagonist fumbles his way from the filth of Polk Street to the blistering hell of Death Valley, and the decline of the debauched aristocrats in *The Wedding March* is a microcosm of the general collapse of the Hapsburg empire.

The exactitude of Von Stroheim's vision and struggles against the emerging studio system make him a *cause célèbre* for *auteur* theorists. Conversely, studio apologists reference his career as a cautionary tale for egomaniacal filmmakers. Most of von Stroheim's work is incomplete, truncated, or has been lost entirely. His excesses on *Merry-Go-Round* (1923) prompted Universal's head of production, Irving Thalberg, to fire him after shooting only one-fourth of the film. Thalberg also ordered *Greed* to be reduced from forty-seven reels to a mere ten, and *The Wedding March* was similarly eviscerated under the order of Pat Powers at Paramount. Similarly, his final two projects—*Queen Kelly* and *Walking Down Broadway*—are severely truncated as well. Whatever one's opinions of his ambitions, von Stroheim remains one of the most controversial and uncompromising filmmakers in Hollywood history.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

As Director: *Blind Husbands* (1919), *Foolish Wives* (1922), *Greed* (1924), *The Wedding March* (1928), *Queen Kelly* (1929); As Actor: *Hearts of the World* (1918), *Blind Husbands* (1919), *The Great Gabbo* (1929), *As You Desire Me* (1932), *La Grand illusion* (*Grand Illusion*, 1937), *Five Graves to Cairo* (1943), *The Great Flamarion* (1945), *Sunset Boulevard* (1950)

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markets. As labor is now almost exclusively outsourced, a director frequently acts as a lynchpin within a temporary, electronically maintained network of technicians, programmers, and artisans—many of whom he will not even meet in person. In order to remain visible within a highly differentiated and hit-driven market, a commercially savvy,

Erich von Stroheim in* Foolish Wives *(1922). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

freelance director is encouraged to develop an ostentatious style that will attract a younger and lucrative demographic. Examples include the flamboyant, but ultimately superficial post-classical aesthetics of such "shooters" as McG (b. Joseph McGinty Nichol in 1970), Brett Ratner (b. 1969), David Fincher (b. 1962), Michael Bay (b. 1965), and Gore Verbinski (b. 1964). For these music video alumni, "style" is no longer regarded romantically as an indication of personal expressivity; instead, it is motivated by a commercial logic (the acquisition and retention of work) and its value is purely fiscal.

The current prominence of the director's position is underlined by the substantial financial compensation awarded in the United States. In 2004, for example, the minimum salary of a director working on a film whose budget exceeded $1.5 million was $13,423 per week. Of course, salaries can climb much higher depending upon the profitability of the director's past films. Warner Bros., for example, paid Peter Jackson over $20 million against twenty percent of the grosses to write, direct, and produce the 2005 remake of *King Kong*. Other commercially successful Hollywood directors whose fee runs into eight figures include Robert Zemeckis (b. 1952), M. Night Shyamalan (b. 1970), and Steven Spielberg (b. 1946). However, as an indication of the rising star power of the director, it has become a frequent practice for such commercially successful filmmakers to negotiate deals that consist of low upfront fees compensated with higher percentage points from their film's gross profits. As the "hyphenates" continue to gain power and influence, their business acumen has become as important as their creative powers.

Moreover, as Warren Buckland argues, contemporary Hollywood directors achieve the status of *auteur* not simply because a recurring personal style is manifested in the treatment of his or her material; rather, they wield control over the production, distribution, and exhibition of their work. By "vertically integrating" all three stages of filmmaking, they exert considerable influence over the external conditions of their authorship: finances, talent, and distribution. Spielberg and George Lucas (b. 1944)—the premier twenty-first century filmmaker-moguls—are notable as directors, producers, owners of filmmaking facilities, and holders of lucrative franchises because their integrated labor is personally, rather than externally, controlled.

Thus, the contemporary celebrity director has become a brand image based on singularity, familiarity, and reliability. Hollywood has found the myth of the auteur highly congenial to contemporary business practices in that it promotes a sense of product continuity. Yet to invoke the director's name is not necessarily to invoke an author; a manufactured authorial signature merely evokes a series of pleasurable expectations on behalf of the viewer. Attributing a film to a single creative individual is a strategy designed to remind viewers of a previously enjoyed product in the hopes that they will pay to repeat a similar experience. Major studios care little about ascribing creative authority to the director's name. Indeed, studios are quick to stress multiple authorial sources if they believe such emphasis will contribute to a film's marketability—hence the contemporary proliferation of promotional taglines that link a film to the past commercial successes of unspecified "creators," producers, and even writers.

While the conception of "style" and its relation to "personal expression" retains residual romantic connotations in the international art cinema tradition, the "author-value" of the director has become increasingly commodified in a global marketplace. With exhibitors in most countries importing over 85 percent of their films from Hollywood, international festival circuits are emerging as the primary means for art films to secure distribution. In North America, art cinema has been perceived as a "director's cinema" since the 1950s, when films directed by Luis Buñuel (1900–1983), Federico Fellini

STANLEY KUBRICK

b. New York, New York, 26 July 1928, d. 7 March 1999

Renowned for the icy, near-clinical elegance with which he represents human folly, obsession, and perversion, Stanley Kubrick produced thirteen feature films spanning most of the major genres, many of which are regarded as canonical. His work exhibits a near-metaphysical preoccupation with geometrical design that often finds expression within narrative situations featuring passionate characters who flail and crash against the boundaries of a rigorously formal(ized) world.

With little patience for formal education, Kubrick spent most of his adolescence in the Bronx, New York, frequenting chess clubs and taking photographs for *Look* magazine. Using his savings from a *Look* photo-essay on boxing, Kubrick made his film debut, *Day of the Fight* (1951), a sixteen-minute documentary on boxer Walter Cartier. This early short demonstrates two of Kubrick's stylistic trademarks: elaborately choreographed hand-held camera work and the use of available light. Kubrick's first independent features were *Fear and Desire* (1953), a psychosexual war thriller that he subsequently disowned, and the hard-boiled, occasionally surreal *Killer's Kiss* (1955).

During this period of apprenticeship, Kubrick's technical fastidiousness and insistence on complete creative control brought him to the attention of United Artists, which distributed his heist thriller, *The Killing* (1956). Yet they also drew the ire of producer-star Kirk Douglas during filming of *Paths of Glory* (1957) and *Spartacus* (1960). Resolving not to be compromised again by the restrictions of studio filmmaking, Kubrick relocated to MGM British Studios, at Borehamwood, England, where he directed his remaining work with near-complete autonomy.

His remaining eight films are uncompromising studies of violence, sexual pathology, and the limitations of rationality. *Lolita* (1962) and *Eyes Wide Shut* (1999) examine the sexual frustrations that drive their ostensibly cultivated male protagonists to ruin. *Dr. Strangelove* (1964) and *Full Metal Jacket* (1987) offer devastating portraits of an American military ethos hell-bent for an apocalypse. *A Clockwork Orange* (1971) and *The Shining* (1980) explore the confluence of culture and murder, with a Beethoven-loving sadist in the former and a novelist whose failures lead to psychosis in the latter. While *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968) depicts a near-mystical cycle of humanity's discovery of and transcendence over technology, *Barry Lyndon* (1975) charts the social ascent and decline of an eighteenth-century Irish rogue; both are technically astounding critical essays on the cultural imperative of progress.

Throughout his independent work, Kubrick continually pushed technical boundaries, using "Slitscan photography" in *2001*, candlelight in *Barry Lyndon*, and extensive Steadicam tracking shots in *The Shining*. Careful cultivation of his actors' performances has resulted in some of the most memorable characterizations in cinematic history (Peter Sellers in *Dr. Strangelove*, Malcolm McDowell in *A Clockwork Orange*, and Jack Nicholson in *The Shining*). Above all, Kubrick's films are structured with mathematical intricacy, and their ambiguous emotional address is nearly unprecedented in commercial cinema.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

The Killing (1956), *Paths of Glory* (1957), *Lolita* (1962), *Dr. Strangelove, or How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb* (1964), *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968), *A Clockwork Orange* (1971), *Barry Lyndon* (1975), *The Shining* (1980), *Full Metal Jacket* (1987), *Eyes Wide Shut* (1999)

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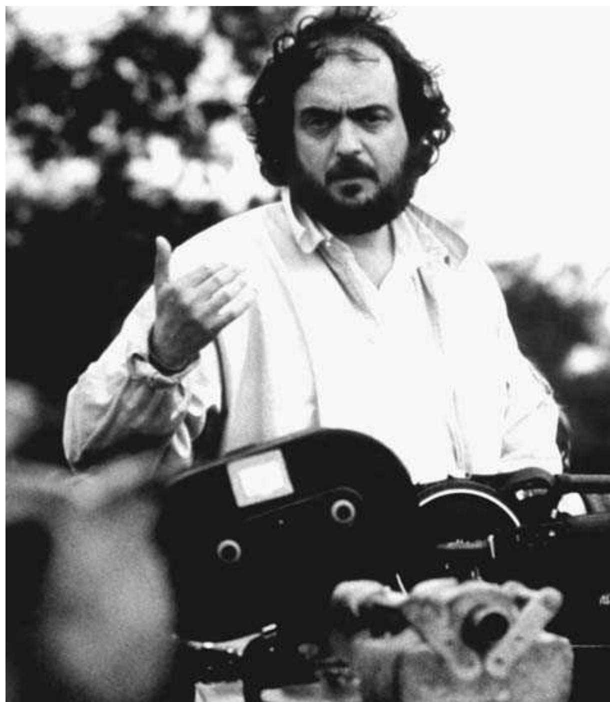

Stanley Kubrick on the set of **Barry Lyndon** ***(1975).***
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(1920–1993), Akira Kurosawa (1910–1998), François Truffaut (1932–1984), and others achieved substantial box-office success in the emerging art house scene. However, the cultural cachet of the "name" director has assumed even greater prominence, as the star status of the director is now the imperative that largely drives the economics of the art house market. Certainly, to promote such names as Pedro Almodóvar (b. 1949), Catherine Breillat (b. 1948), Jane Campion (b. 1954), Hou Hsiao-Hsien (b. 1947), Mohsen Makhmalbaf (b. 1957), Mira Nair (b. 1957), Idrissa Ouedraogo (b. 1954), Walter Salles (b. 1956), or Lars von Trier (b. 1956) is to portend a unique cinematic experience, attributed to the artistry of a singular filmmaker. Yet one must also recognize that this authorial status is both a political and economic strategy maintained within the high-stakes business of a global culture market. Now more than ever, the director is a conflicted figure, owing a divided allegiance to the demands of both art and commerce.

SEE ALSO *Auteur Theory and Authorship; Mise-en-scène; Production Process*

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DISASTER FILMS

Naturally, the disaster film began by accident. When Georges Méliès (1861–1938) jammed his camera and a bus inexplicably turned into a hearse, the accidental merging of two documentary images created the spectacle of disaster. That begat films such as *Collision and Shipwreck at Sea* (1898). Ever since, audiences have relished the vicarious terror and awesome spectacle of films where comfort turns into catastrophe.

The disaster film is defined less by conventions and imagery than by its plot situation: a community confronts natural or supernatural annihilation. As a result, the disaster tends to overlap several more formal genres. Nonetheless, it is possible to define ten basic types—four by the nature of the threat, five by the situation, and the last by tone.

THE TYPES

One group of disaster films features attack by creatures, from ants normal (*The Naked Jungle,* 1954) or abnormal (*Them!*, 1954) to elephants (*Elephant Walk*, 1954). Monsters created by nature run amok include *The Giant Gila Monster* (1959) and the mutants Godzilla, Mothra, Reptilicus, Gappa, and Rodan, which relived Japan's atomic nightmare. The United States's 1950s nuclear anxieties spawned more modest monsters, from the Black Lagoon, from 20,000 fathoms, and from beneath the sea. Smaller threats undercut mankind's higher link on the Great Chain of Being, most notably in Alfred Hitchcock's *The Birds* (1961), but also in the second threatening group, "bully bacteria."

Seen killers—such as David Cronenberg's phallic little bleeders in *Shivers* (or *The Parasite Murders*, 1975)—are terrifying, but those unseen are worse. *Anthrax* (2001) anticipated North America's post-9/11 fear of chemical attack, and Wolfgang Petersen's *Outbreak* (1995) unleashed an ebola crisis. The television film *Plague Fighters* (1996) reminds us that a disaster film can also be a documentary.

Worse than terrestrial creatures, aliens frighten whether they are peaceful (*The Day the Earth Stood Still*, 1951), malevolent (*Invasion of the Body Snatchers*, 1956; 1978), or even vegetable (*The Thing*, 1951). Man creates his own monsters from mud (*Der Golem*, 1920), body parts (*Frankenstein*, 1931), or computer (*Westworld*, 1974). The monster is a primeval shapeless evil in *The Quatermass Experiment* (or *The Creeping Unknown*, 1955) and *The Green Slime* (1969). Ang Lee's *Hulk* (2003) provides a green personification of rage—a monster for our post-psychoanalytic age. These first three types overlap with the horror and science-fiction film, with their threats of dehumanization and our suppressed dark energies.

The unleashed elements can be even crueller than nature's creatures. Volcanoes have lavished lava from *The Last Days of Pompeii* (1908) to *Deep Core* (2000). Whether working with wind (*The Hurricane*, 1937), water (*The Rains Came*, 1939), both wind and water (*The Perfect Storm*, 2000), or quaking earth (*Earthquake*, 1974), these films draw moral weight from the renewal stories of Noah and Sodom and Gomorrah. Natural-disaster films remind us that our technology shrinks before the forces of nature. The communal confrontation with nature distinguishes the disaster film from the action-adventure genre that centers on individual hero and human villainy.

Urban disaster in* The Towering Inferno *(Irwin Allen, 1974). © 20TH CENTURY FOX FILM CORP./COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Disasters based on situations begin with cities destroyed (the "edifice wrecks" cycle), which shatter our urban security. From Pompeii to the terrorist attack on New York on September 11, 2001, films have imagined the destruction of our cities, which are emblems of both community and comfort. *The Towering Inferno* (1974) gave a modern Babel a fire on the eighty-fifth floor. In *The Neptune Factor* (1973) giant fish threaten an underwater living experiment. *Invasion USA* (1952) and *Red Planet Mars* (1952) annihilate America and Russia, respectively. Anti-materialist destruction is celebrated in the endings of two 1970 films, Michelangelo Antonioni's *Zabriskie Point* and John Boorman's *Leo the Last,* examples of explosive flower power. As the United States grew more city-centered, instances of urban destruction outnumbered the rural; few disaster films are set in Kansas anymore.

An alternative community is the ship of fools, where a cross-section of humanity on a micro–journey of life face disaster. Sometimes the folks are all at sea, as in the various *Titanic* films (1915, 1943, 1953, 1997) and *A Night to Remember* (1958)—or under it, as in *The Abyss* (1985). Or they're up in the air, as in *The High and the Mighty* (1954) and *Airport* (1969). Nor are we safe in the earth, as shown in *The Core* (2003). As in the nature disasters, mankind is punished for the hubris of complacency.

Survival films detail the aftermath of a disaster, as in *Lifeboat* (1944) and *Marooned* (1970). Some films begin after a war is over: *Soylent Green* (1973), *The War Game* (1967), *Teenage Caveman* (1958), and George Miller's *Mad Max* series (1979, 1981, 1985). The edifice, ship, and survival disaster types share the melodrama's focus on societal conflicts.

Similarly, the war genre edges into disaster when the film emphasizes carnage and the human conflict tends to be internecine, as in *Slaughterhouse Five* (1972) and the post-battle scenes in *Gone with the Wind* (1939). Some space war films such as *The Day the Sky Exploded* (1958) and *The Day the World Ended* (1956) visualize the disaster as Day of Judgment.

In the more general, history disaster, a doom is set in the distant past—most notably in the tradition of biblical epics, as well as films such as *San Francisco* (1936) and *Cabiria* (1914). A variation on the period disaster projects into the future, as in the *Planet of the Apes* series (1968–1973), *When Worlds Collide* (1951), *Things to Come* (1936, 1979), and *War of the Worlds* (1953, 2003, 2005). Arguably the best historical disaster film is Ingmar Bergman's *The Seventh Seal* (1957), which used the period angst of the Black Plague in the Middle Ages for an art-house meditation upon the life of honor and the dance of death.

The disaster includes—and perhaps is apotheosized as a genre by—the *comic* treatment. Much slapstick comedy exults in massive destruction, from Mack Sennett to Buster Keaton. *The Bed-Sitting Room* (1968) and *A Boy and His Dog* (1976) provide comic takes on nuclear apocalypse. Jim Abrahams and David Zucker sent up *Airport* with their *Airplane!* larks (1980, 1982). Woody Allen parodied the monster film in *Everything You Always Wanted to Know About Sex, But Were Afraid to Ask* (1972) when a giant breast threatens an isolated countryside, and in *New York Stories* (1989), when the hero's dead mother fills the sky, nagging. In *The Big Bus* (1976), the detailed parody virtually defines the conventions of the journey disaster film, in the preposterous context of a nuclear-powered bus.

THE CONVENTIONS

Film conventions are recurring elements that distinguish works in a particular genre. They are tendencies and cross-referents, not rules. Thus, for example, notwithstanding the

IRWIN ALLEN

b. New York, New York, 12 June 1916, d. 2 November 1991

The "master of disaster" started from science. Irwin Allen wrote, produced, and directed an adaptation of Rachel Carson's *The Sea around Us* (1952), which won an Oscar® for best documentary feature. His documentary *The Animal World* (1956) featured prehistoric effects by master animator Ray Harryhausen. Oddly, Allen's *The Story of Mankind* (1957) marked the last collective appearance of the Marx Brothers (Groucho, Harpo, and Chico respectively played Peter Minuit, Isaac Newton, and a monk). Allen switched to fiction to direct *The Lost World* (1960), based on the Arthur Conan Doyle novel, which was a precursor to Steven Spielberg's *Jurassic Park* (1997).

Allen also had a prolific career in TV. His *Voyage to the Bottom of the Sea* ran from 1964 to 1968 (110 episodes). Although his favorite of his TV series, *The Time Tunnel* (1966), folded after only thirty episodes, Allen returned with *Lost in Space* (83 episodes, 1965–1968), about an outer-spaced Family Robinson; *Land of the Giants* (51 episodes, 1967–1970); *Swiss Family Robinson* (20 episodes, 1975–1976); and *Code Red* (13 episodes, 1981–1982).

Allen is best known as the producer of the two key 1970s disaster-film prototypes. *The Poseidon Adventure* (1972) set the pattern: a large, famous cast, a dramatic crisis, clear moral lines, and spectacular special effects. When a luxury cruise ship capsizes in a tidal wave, the survivors struggle to reach the top (i.e., the bottom) of the vessel. Inverting the formula, in *The Towering Inferno* (1974), the all-star cameos struggle to get down safely from a burning skyscraper. Though it lost the Oscar® for best picture (to *Godfather II*, not unjustly), *The Towering Inferno* won Oscars® for cinematography, editing, and song ("We May Never Love Like This Again"). Allen directed the action scenes in *Poseidon* and *Inferno*, and all the scenes of *Voyage to the Bottom of the Sea* (1961), *Five Weeks in a Balloon* (1962), *The Swarm* (1978), and the *Poseidon* sequel *Beyond the Poseidon Adventure* (1979), which was symptomatically about attempts to loot the earlier success.

Addressing the inevitable tragedy in human life, Allen used expensive disaster effects to lure viewers away from TV, for which he later produced three smaller disaster films: *Hanging by a Thread* (1979), and *Cave-In* and *The Night the Bridge Fell Down* (both 1983). He was reportedly planning another *Lost in Space* movie when he died of a heart attack in 1991.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

The Sea around Us (1952), *The Story of Mankind* (1957), *The Lost World* (1960), *Voyage to the Bottom of the Sea* (1961), *Five Weeks in a Balloon* (1962), *The Poseidon Adventure* (1972), *The Towering Inferno* (1974), *The Swarm* (1978), *Beyond the Poseidon Adventure* (1979)

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period disasters, dramatic immediacy prefers that films be set in the here and now. The first US film version of H.G. Wells's *The War of the Worlds* (1952) shifted the setting from Victorian London to contemporary Los Angeles. Cornel Wilde set his survival film *No Blade of Grass* (1970) in London to emphasize the culture threatened by anarchy ("Keep up your Latin, David; it will stand you in good stead"). *Volcano* (1997) pours Pompeiian lava through the streets of modern Los Angeles. In the Sensurround *Earthquake*, our first tremor comes when the film shows people at a movie. In *Night of the Living Dead* (1968) and *Cujo* (1983), the attacks on women in cars played most effectively at drive-in screenings.

To reflect the makeup audience, disaster films usually feature a social cross-section. The disaster challenges humanity rather than the individual. The group fractures variously: the businessman will clash with the ethicist, the character who knows from experience with the theoretician, the rich with the poor, the black with the white. In *Jaws* (1975) the mayor in the sharkskin suit sells out safety for

Irwin Allen. © WARNER BROS./COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION.

business, while the noble savage Quint (Robert Shaw) spars with college man Hooper (Richard Dreyfuss) until they bond over beer and wounds. In *Lifeboat* the key tensions are between the working-class guy (John Hodiak) and the rich bitch (Tallulah Bankhead), and between the American "family" and the outsider Germans (both the Nazi and the assimilated Schmidt/Smith). In this respect, John Ford's classic western *Stagecoach* (1939) is exemplary, as it afflicts various social antitheses with savage nature, as problematically embodied by the Indians, and with the dubious "blessings of civilization," represented by the puritan bigots and the crooked banker. The genre dissolves internal squabbles before a common enemy.

Often society is imaged as a besieged family. In Hitchcock's *The Birds*, Mitch's cold, tight family stretches to admit Melanie. In the last shot the caged lovebirds seem a tentative talisman against the feathered force poised around the retreating characters. In *Twister* (1996) the family/crew are threatened not just by flying tanker trucks and cows but by unscrupulous corporate rivals. In the isolated setting the besieged are left to their own resources, with no help from the outside.

Confirming the characters' need for self-sufficiency, the disaster film plays with ideas of religion in an irreligious age. Religious figures question their faith rather than assert it. Crackpots such as the drunken seer in *The Birds* recall Old Testament prophets, calling down punishment for our godless pride and corruption. The *San Francisco* earthquake seems prompted, at least in part, by Clark Gable's knocking down a priest played by Spencer Tracy. Rene Auberjonois's priest in *The Big Bus*, a doubter who gloats over God's giving him the window seat but who wants to date, is a parody of Gene Hackman's pragmatic priest in *The Poseidon Adventure* (1972). The disaster film's happy ending derives from the hero's intuition/experience/courage—but it is often preceded by a prayer. Absent a presiding god, the disaster characters often gamble, flipping a coin or drawing straws or cards for guidance. *The Seventh Seal* typically privileges the individual quest for salvation over the corrupted church.

In the disaster film the law and the learned prove as impotent as the church, as the genre reminds us of the fragility of our social institutions. A rare policeman hero in a disaster film is James Whitmore in *Them!*. The heroism of the cop (George Kennedy) in *Earthquake* is tempered by his disillusionment with the force and his suspension from it. Disaster usually includes a specialist—a scientist, professor, or an amateur such as the ornithologist in *The Birds*—but even their factual framework can't handle nature. Mystery dwarfs science, even when impressive new science enables the adventure, as in outer-space disasters and the underground burrowing in *Deep Core*. Specialists start out smug, but as the disaster's complacent characters slip from security into terror, the genre teaches old-fashioned humility.

Against all this fragmentation, the obligatory romantic subplot serves more than box-office appeal. It confronts chaos, dehumanizing antisocial individualism, and the opposite dangers of emotional excess and suppression, with the positive value of love. It signifies community renewal and generosity.

Older than the Old Testament, the disaster genre can speak pointedly to its particular time. During the Red Scare in the 1950s the favorite disaster threats were inhuman, cold monsters from outer space (representing Communists from Russia) and atomic science backfiring. With the United States divided over the Vietnam War, Hollywood generally steered clear of making war films and featured amoral cops and spies, projecting the war's moral dilemmas onto civilian genres. The disaster cycle of the 1970s made the United States the battleground that TV news depicted as elsewhere.

Armageddon (1998), in which a Texas-size asteroid threatens to wipe out Earth, demonstrates how the disaster film's conventions work in practice. Oil-driller Harry Stamper (Bruce Willis) and his maverick crew are despatched to nuke the asteroid from within.

Implicitly evoking *Planet of the Apes*, Charlton Heston's opening narration evokes cataclysm: "It happened before. It will happen again. It's just a question of time." We see digital destructions in New York City, Paris, Shanghai, then on the asteroid itself. As if Earth's annihilation wasn't a sufficient enough cause for concern, Stamper's crew clash with the more conventional NASA staff and Harry has to deal with the love affair between his daughter Grace (Liv Tyler) and his best worker, A. J. Frost (Ben Affleck). On both the personal and global levels, explosive dangers require explosive solutions, a strategy that gained momentum after 9/11. As the despairing Stamper asks God for "a little help here," A. J. rises from the presumed dead to save mankind. Stamper accepts him as his son and—despite the straw draw—sacrifices himself to restore A. J. to his Grace. Extending the allegory, of the team's two rockets, the Independence is destroyed and the Freedom survives. Religion here is subordinated to (a not unrelated) American patriotism. Apart from the asteroid, our heroes' biggest danger comes from the dilapidated Russian technology and the lunatic Red astronaut (Peter Stormare). Post–Cold War, the Russian threat is just a vodka-addled fool rather than the malevolent foe of the Cold War. In the American populist tradition, the maverick Willis, Affleck, and Steve Buscemi characters prove more humane and effective than the textbook officers. After fighting all film long, our two heroes express their mutual love at the end. The film's emotional conclusion provides a catharsis, even for the viewer not seduced by special effects.

The disaster film's commercial appeal has been strengthened by new technology's ever more special effects and surprising imagery. Yet the deeper pleasure derives from the familiarity of its human material—the characters, their challenges, their resolutions. In virtually every particular, *Armageddon*, this representative film draws upon the viewer's familiarity with the earlier films and legends of its type. The genre continuity facilitates the viewer's identification with the characters, intensifying both the vicarious chill at their peril and their heartening survival.

SEE ALSO *Action and Adventure Films; Genre; Science Fiction*

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DISTRIBUTION

In the film industry, distribution is the intermediary between production and exhibition and involves the following functions: sales, that is, the securing of rental contracts for specific play dates; advertising directed to theaters through trade publications and to filmgoers through the print and electronic media; the physical delivery of prints to theaters; and the method of release. New York City, the media and communications capital of the country, has served as the distributing center of the industry throughout most of its history. Distribution originally serviced motion picture theaters exclusively in the domestic and foreign markets, but as new electronic technologies were developed, distribution subsumed ancillary markets such as network television, cable television, home video, and the Internet. Nontheatrical distribution involved similar functions, but serviced educational, social, and religious organizations outside commercial exhibition.

Distributing a feature film, a company charges the producer a fee based on the gross receipts (i.e., rentals) taken in by the film. In Hollywood, the schedule of fees ranges from 30 to 45 percent of the gross, depending on the market. The fees remain in effect for the duration of the distribution contract and are levied each time a film is released to a new "window," for example, home video, cable television, or network television. The revenue from these fees is designed to offset the distributor's overhead expenses in maintaining a permanent sales organization, to recoup advertising and promotion costs, and to generate profits. When the distributor puts up financing for a feature film, the fee also serves to reward the company for taking the risk of production financing.

Hollywood has operated on a global basis since the 1920s. Overseas, American film companies dominated the screen just as they did at home. They distributed the biggest box office attractions and captured the lion's share of ticket sales. Before World War II, about a third of Hollywood's revenues came from abroad; by the 1960s, the proportion rose to about one-half. As demand for film entertainment increased worldwide, especially in western Europe, the Pacific Rim, and Latin America during the 1980s, Hollywood entered the age of globalization. In practice, globalization meant that film companies upgraded international operations to a privileged position by expanding "horizontally" to tap emerging markets worldwide, by expanding "vertically" to form alliances with independent producers to enlarge their rosters, and by "partnering" with foreign investors to secure new sources of financing. Achieving these goals has led to a merger movement in Hollywood that has yet to run its course. The history of these mergers would reveal how today's media giants, such as Time Warner, News Corp., Disney, and Viacom, protected their entrenched positions by strengthening their distribution capabilities.

EARLY PRACTICES

Considered visual novelties, the first films reached audiences by way of vaudeville. Pioneering companies assembled packages, consisting of projector, projectionist, and films, which traveled the vaudeville circuit as an act that lasted from ten to twenty minutes. In playing a circuit, a new act would typically open in the flagship theater in New York and then move to the other houses in sequence. This so-called peripatetic form of distribution ideally suited the infant film business, with

its limited number of film subjects, equipment, and trained personnel.

While films were finding a ready place in metropolitan vaudeville houses, distributors also took to the road. Once projectors became available for purchase on the open market, traveling showmen brought the movies to small-town America by exhibiting their films in amusement parks, lodge halls, and vacant storefronts. Showmen originally had to purchase their films outright from producers, which was expensive, but the creation of film exchanges beginning around 1903 solved the problem by enabling showmen to rent films at a fraction of the purchase price. The availability of films for rental, in turn, stimulated the rise of the nickelodeon theater beginning in 1905.

To capitalize on this growing demand for motion picture entertainment, the pioneering film companies formed the Motion Picture Patents Company in 1909 and attempted to take control of the industry. The Trust, as the MPPC was called, standardized the playing times of films to around fifteen minutes—the playing time of a single thousand-foot reel—and created a national distribution system by licensing the requisite number of existing exchanges. The goal was to supply nickelodeons with a steady supply of shorts for programs that might change daily. In 1910 the MPPC took over the distribution function by forming a subsidiary, General Film. Although the courts eventually ruled that the MPPC setup was illegal, the Trust brought stability to the industry. General Film, for example, improved the chaotic conditions in the marketplace by inaugurating a system of "zoning" so that theaters in a particular locale would not show the same pictures simultaneously, by classifying theaters by size and location, and by regularizing pricing, among other measures.

With the arrival of feature films—defined by the trade as multiple-reel narratives with unusual content that merited special billing and advertising—a new distribution system was needed to generate more revenue to recoup higher production costs. At first, producers and importers used the "states' rights" method, which involved selling the marketing rights of an individual feature territory by territory to local distributors, who would then rent out the picture for a flat fee or on a percentage basis to theaters. Producers and importers also used road showing to market their pictures. The technique got rid of the middleman and enabled a showman to book a theater on a percentage-of-the-gross basis and then take over the actual operations for the run. Such a strategy enabled the producer or importer, rather than the subdistributor, to capture most of the box office revenue should the picture prove to be a hit. From 1912 to 1914, nearly three hundred features were distributed using these methods. States' rights distribution and road showing were satisfactory techniques to exploit one picture at a time, but if producers ever hoped to expand and regularize their output, a better method had to be found.

W. W. Hodkinson (1881–1971), a former General Film exchange man, created such a system in 1914 by convincing a group of regional states' rights exchanges to join forces and form Paramount Pictures Corporation, the first national distributor of feature films. Hodkinson's plan guaranteed exhibitors a steady supply of features because Paramount would help producers finance and advertise their pictures with advance rentals collected by the exchanges. In return, the company would charge producers a distribution fee of 35 percent of the gross to cover operating costs and a built-in profit margin. This innovative scheme attracted the country's best producers—Adolph Zukor's Famous Players, the Jesse L. Lasky Feature Play Company, among others—who signed long-term franchise agreements granting Paramount exclusive rights to their pictures.

Paramount was geared to release 104 pictures a year, enough to fill the playing time of a theater that changed bills twice a week. Exhibitors contracted for the entire Paramount program, a practice known as block booking. Though block booking would later be much abused, selling poor films on the strength of the good, the practice at its inception worked to everyone's satisfaction. Hodkinson also codified prevailing practices into a system that graded houses playing features from first-run to fifth, depending on size, condition, and location (from downtown in large cities to village). As the "feature craze" spread, other national distributors entered the market, among them Metro Pictures, Universal, and the Fox Film Corporation.

This tremendous expansion of the movie business convinced Adolph Zukor (1873–1976) that Paramount and its producers should merge, not only to effect economies of scale in production, but also to capture a greater share of the market. Hodkinson vetoed the idea, arguing that the three branches of motion pictures—production, distribution, and exhibition—should be kept separate. In his view, better pictures, better distribution, and better theater management would result if a lively independence existed among them. But Zukor was not to be denied. In a series of intricate maneuvers, Zukor had Hodkinson deposed in June 1916. Then he merged Famous Players with the studio owned by Jesse Lasky (1880–1958). Separately they might be the first- and second-ranked producers in the country; together, as the Famous Players–Lasky Corporation, they were in a class by themselves. Paramount became the distribution subsidiary of the new company. (Paramount later became the name of the parent company.) When Zukor completed his consolidations and acquisitions in December 1917, he had created the largest motion picture company in the world.

Implementing the next stage of his thinking, Zukor increased film rentals and expanded his production program, so that by 1918, Paramount distributed 220 features, more in one year than any one company before or since.

STUDIO SYSTEM PRACTICES

Zukor's tactics led to a backlash by resistant exhibitors and ultimately to a merger movement that created a vertically integrated industry controlled by a handful of companies at the end of the 1920s—Paramount; Warner Bros.; Loew's, Inc. (MGM); Twentieth Century Fox; and RKO. During the golden age of Hollywood, distribution adhered to the run-clearance-zone system. The country was divided into thirty markets, each of which was subdivided into zones that designated theatrical runs. Theaters first showing newly released pictures were designated first-run. Located in the large metropolitan areas and owned mainly by the circuits affiliated with the majors, these theaters seated thousands, commanded the highest ticket prices, and accounted for nearly 50 percent of all admissions. Second-run houses were typically located in the neighborhoods and charged lower ticket prices. Later-run houses were located in outlying communities and charged still less. Over a course of time, a feature played every area of the country from metropolis to village. This merchandising pattern for movies was similar to that of other consumer goods: first, the exclusive shops; next, the general department store; and finally, the close-out sales.

Spawned during the Great Depression as a two-for-one form of price cutting to attract customers, double features required the majors to produce two types of features, class A and class B. Class A films contained stars, had high production values, and were based on best-selling novels and plays; class B movies were, at best, inexpensive genre films that were considered filler by the companies. To recoup the higher costs of its quality product, companies rented such films on a percentage-of-the-gross basis, while the cheapies were sold at a flat fee. The former practice enabled the majors to benefit from surges at the box office, while the latter allowed them to cover their costs and operate their studios at full capacity.

The trade practices of the industry—run-clearance-zoning, block booking, admission price discrimination—were used by the majors to wrest the greatest possible profits from the market and to keep independent exhibitors in a subordinate position. The US Justice Department, as a result, instituted an antitrust case against the majors in 1938. Ten years later, the *Paramount* case, as it was called, reached the Supreme Court. In a landmark decision, the court held that the Big Five (Loew's Inc. [MGM], Paramount, RKO, Twentieth Century Fox, and Warner Bros.) conspired to monopolize exhibition. Trade practices such as block booking, whereby the majors rented their pictures to independent exhibitors in groups on an all-or-nothing basis, unfair clearances and runs that prolonged the time subsequent-run theaters had to wait to receive new films, and preferential arrangements among members of the Big Five were declared illegal restraints of trade. To break the monopoly in exhibition, the Supreme Court mandated that the Big Five divorce their theater chains from their production and distribution branches.

Although the majors concentrated their production efforts on the big picture, demand for low-budget films remained strong until the advent of television in the 1950s, especially in small towns. During the 1930s and 1940s, the industry defined exploitation films as those films that dealt with social problems in a sensational way, such as Warner Bros'. *I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang* (1932), which exposed the sordid conditions in a Georgia prison and the same studio's *Black Fury* (1935), which dramatized labor and industrial unrest in the coal mines of Pennsylvania. After television came in, exploitation films became associated with low-budget science fiction, horror, rock 'n' roll, and drag racing films designed to appeal to teenagers and the drive-in trade. The distribution of these films was handled by independent producers and small studios outside mainstream Hollywood, such as Edward Small (1891–1977), Columbia's "Jungle Sam" Katzman (1901–1973), Allied Artists (formerly Monogram), and American International Pictures.

Although the *Paramount* decision restructured the industry, it by no means reduced the importance of the big companies. By allowing the majors to retain their distribution arms, the court, wittingly or not, gave them the means to retain control of the market. The reason, simply stated, is that decreasing demand for motion picture entertainment during the 1950s foreclosed the distribution market to newcomers. Distribution presents high barriers to entry. To operate efficiently, a distributor requires a worldwide sales force and capital to finance twenty to thirty pictures a year. Since the market absorbed fewer and fewer films during this period, it could support only a limited number of distributors—about the same as existed at the time of the *Paramount* case.

MARKETING THE BIG PICTURE

After World War II, things were never the same for the motion picture industry. Beginning in 1947, the winds of ill fortune blew incessantly for ten years, during which movie attendance dropped by one-half. Television, the main culprit, replaced the movies as the dominant

STEVEN J. ROSS

b. Steven Jay Rechnitz, Brooklyn, New York, 19 September 1927, d. 20 December 1992

Regarded in the industry as a consummate deal maker, Steven J. Ross's greatest coup was orchestrating the merger of his company Warner Communications with Time, Inc., in 1989 to create Time Warner, the world's largest media and entertainment company. Anticipating the need to strengthen Warner Communications' distribution capabilities as Hollywood entered an era of globalization, Ross brokered a $14 billion deal that combined his company's record labels, book division, cable television systems, and Hollywood studio with the magazines of Time's publishing empire. Ross became chairman and co–chief operating officer of the new Time Warner, and he received as compensation nearly $80 million in 1990, more than any other executive of a public company.

Ross started out during the Great Depression selling trousers in New York's garment district. Marrying well to Carol Rosenthal in 1954, he joined his father-in-law's funeral business in Manhattan as a trainee. A plan Ross devised to rent out the company's limousines in off hours ultimately led to the creation of Kinney National Services—a conglomerate, which Ross headed, that operated funeral homes, a car rental agency, parking lots and garages, and a building maintenance service. Ross expanded into entertainment by purchasing the Ashley Famous talent agency in 1967 and then, in 1969, the ailing Warner Brothers-Seven Arts, a Toronto-based television syndicator that had recently acquired the venerable Warner Bros. studio in Hollywood, along with its post-1948 film library and record labels. He then branched out into cable television by launching Warner-Amex Cable Communications in partnership with American Express (which he later bought out), and he eventually added toys, cosmetics, video games, and other businesses to his company, which he renamed Warner Communications in 1972 after selling off the old Kinney business.

Following the collapse of Warner's video game business in 1982, Ross downsized the company, selling off Warner's peripheral operations to become a vertically integrated entertainment conglomerate engaged in film and television programming, recorded music, and mass market book publishing. The restructuring allowed for diversification while enabling the company to meet increased demand worldwide for feature films and television shows, videos and compact discs, and cable TV.

During Ross's stewardship, Warner's film division consistently captured top shares of the box office, producing blockbusters such as the *Superman*, *Batman*, and *Lethal Weapon* series, Steven Spielberg's *The Color Purple* (1985), and numerous Clint Eastwood action films, including *The Unforgiven* (1992), which won Academy Awards® for best picture and best director. Ross came under criticism for saddling the company with enormous debt to pay the cost of the merger with Time, for his pay package, and for his lavish treatment of Warner's stars. Nonetheless, Ross is remembered as a creative entrepreneur who was willing to take great risks to realize his vision of a global media complex.

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Tino Balio

leisure-time activity of the American people. Studios cut back on production, and audiences became selective and more discerning in their moviegoing tastes. Motion pictures, therefore, were produced and marketed individually. During the 1960s, Hollywood adopted a blockbuster formula to reach the masses. The new formula to "make them big, show them big, and sell them big" succeeded; it resulted in family-oriented hits like *Around the World in Eighty Days* (1956), *Ben-Hur* (1959), *Exodus* (1960), *The Sound of Music* (1965), and *Fiddler on the Roof* (1971).

The big picture transformed the three-tier playoff of the run-clearance-zone pattern to a two-tiered playoff. Typically, a blockbuster was released in each market, first to selected houses for extended runs as road shows or exclusive engagements, and subsequently to large numbers of theaters to capture the leavings. Another way of characterizing this distribution pattern is "slow and fast."

Steven J. Ross. KEITH MEYERS/NEW YORK TIMES CO./HUTTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES.

The blockbuster changed release schedules as well. Instead of releasing pictures throughout the year at regular intervals, companies brought out their important pictures during the Christmas and Easter holidays and at the beginning of summer.

ART FILM MARKET

Largely shut out of the American market since the 1920s, foreign films did not really reach US theaters until after World War II. Before the war, foreign films played only in New York and in a few other major cities. After the war, they played in a growing number of art film theaters around the country and created a subindustry known as the art film market, which was devoted to the acquisition, distribution, and exhibition of foreign-language and English-language films produced abroad. Waves of imported feature films from Italy, France, Sweden, Britain, and Japan entered the country, represented by such classics as *Roma, città aperta* (*Open City*, Roberto Rossellini, 1945), *Les vacances de Monsieur Hulot* (*Mr. Hulot's Holiday*, Jacques Tati, 1953), *Det Sjunde inseglet* (*The Seventh Seal*, Ingmar Bergman, 1957), *Hamlet* (Laurence Olivier, 1948), and *Rashomon* (Akira Kurosawa, 1951). Foreign films paled in significance to Hollywood fare at the box office, but their influence on American film culture was enormous. Foreign films became regular subjects of feature stories and reviews in the *New York Times*, mass-circulation magazines, highbrow periodicals, and the trade press. They were also promoted by museums, film festivals, and college film and literature departments around the country.

Foreign film distribution was handled originally by small independent companies operating out of New York, such as Joseph Burstyn, Janus Films, and Lopert Films, but by the 1960s the art film market had been taken over by Hollywood. The commercial potential of the art film market became apparent when films like *Et Dieu . . . créa la femme* (*And God Created Woman*, Roger Vadim, 1956), starring Brigitte Bardot, and *Pote tin Kyriaka* (*Never On Sunday*, Jules Dassin, 1960), starring Melina Mercouri, broke box office records. Since foreign films might have difficulty securing a seal of approval from the Production Code Administration because of their sexual content, the majors got around the problem simply by forming art film distribution subsidiaries. The new subsidiaries either acquired the distribution rights to completed films or formed alliances with new talent by offering young directors production financing. Soon, the majors had absorbed nearly the entire pantheon of European auteurs, including Michelangelo Antonioni (b. 1912), Luchino Visconti (1906–1976), and Federico Fellini (1920–1993) of Italy; Tony Richardson (1928–1991), Joseph Losey (1909–1984), and Karel Reisz (1926–2002) of Britain; François Truffaut (1932–1984), Jean-Luc Godard (b. 1930), Louis Malle (1932–1995), and Eric Rohmer (b. 1920) of France; and Ingmar Bergman (b. 1918) of Sweden.

The core audience for foreign films consisted mostly of America's "cinephile" generation, university students in their twenties and thirties. In response to this student interest, colleges and universities began offering courses in film history, theory, and criticism. Colleges and universities also supported an estimated four thousand film societies, which were attracting 2.5 million persons annually by 1968. Foreign films were a mainstay of these societies, which also showed Hollywood classics, documentaries, and experimental films. To cultivate this audience in the so-called 16 mm nontheatrical market, independent foreign film distributors such as Janus Films and New Yorker Films abandoned regular art film distribution and concentrated on the university scene. They were soon joined by the Hollywood majors, who also wanted a share of the bonanza. Since the art films in distribution had already made names for themselves in the theatrical market and in the national media, companies catering to the 16mm market promoted their rosters mainly through catalogs, which simply described the

content of the films and listed the rental terms. This market had existed since the 1930s and had done most of its business renting instructional films to colleges and schools until foreign films came along.

The art film market declined after 1969, as American films with adult themes targeted at the youth market, such as *In the Heat of the Night* (1967), *The Graduate* (1967), and *Bonnie and Clyde* (1967), captured the spotlight. The demise of the Production Code in 1968 and a cultural revolution in the United States ushered in a period of unprecedented frankness in the American cinema that rivaled most anything on the art film circuit. Although university film societies replaced the art film theater during the 1970s, they too declined when home video made huge numbers of old films—foreign and domestic—available for rent. Since 1970, the art film market has functioned as a niche business that depended on foreign-language films and English-language films produced abroad without any US backing. Although the majors reentered the art film market during the 1990s either by forming classics divisions or by acquiring successful independent distributors, such as Miramax and New Line Films, the market continued to generate only a few hits each year.

ANCILLARY MARKETS

Before television, feature films played in motion picture theater almost exclusively; after television, the new medium extended the commercial life of films by creating ancillary markets. During the 1950s, studios in desperate need of money sold off their pre-1948 film libraries to television syndicators, who, in turn, leased the films to local television stations to fill out their programming schedules. The studios were free to dispose of the pre-1948 films since they controlled television performance rights and all ancillary rights to their pictures. The sale of recent vintage Hollywood films to television had to wait until 1960, when Hollywood reached a settlement with the talent guilds regarding residual compensation. NBC became the first network to use post-1948 Hollywood films for prime-time programming in the fall of 1961 by launching *NBC Saturday Night at the Movies*. ABC followed suit in 1962 and CBS in 1965.

Thus, by the 1960s, network television had become a regular secondary market for theatrical films. The development of home video and "pay TV" created additional ancillary markets for feature films. Today, after a feature film completes its theatrical run, it is released to the following "windows" at specific intervals: first to home video and pay-per-view, then to cable television, and finally to network and syndicated television. Going through the distribution pipeline, a motion picture is exploited in one market at a time, with the exception of home video, which has a window that remains open almost indefinitely. At each point, the price of the picture to the consumer drops. Economists call the process "price tiering," which can be explained as follows: movies are first released to theaters at top prices to "high value" consumers, that is, those who are most eager to see them and are thus willing to pay the most for a ticket; movies are then released to "lower value" consumers at prices that decline with time. Thus a consumer willing to wait long enough will eventually get to see a favorite film for "free" over network television. Distributing pictures in this manner allows a distributor to tap every segment of the market in an orderly way and at a price commensurate with its demand. Home video became the most lucrative of the ancillary markets, and by 1989 had surpassed revenue from the domestic theatrical box office by a factor of two.

PORNOGRAPHY MARKET

The same electronic distribution systems that created new ancillary markets for feature films also created new distribution channels for pornography. Once a clandestine industry operating on the fringes of society, the pornography market has now gone mainstream. The VCR enabled adult entertainment to enter the home during the 1980s. Today, adult films can be purchased or rented from local video and music stores and major chains, they can be ordered at home and in the finest hotels on cable TV with video-on-demand, and they can be accessed on the Internet. The widespread acceptance of pornography has created an industry that rivals that of Hollywood in both revenues and size. Located in the nearby San Fernando Valley, the porn industry consists of 75 or 85 major production companies that churn out literally thousands of titles a year, generating billions of dollars in revenues.

THE NEW HOLLYWOOD

After undergoing a period of conglomerization in the late 1960s and 1970s, the "New Hollywood" that emerged targeted the youth audience almost exclusively. To hit this target—the "teen and preteen bubble" demographic, consisting of avid filmgoers ages ten to twenty-four—studios developed high-concept blockbusters and star vehicles for the mainstream theatrical market. High-concept blockbusters went hand in hand with saturation booking, particularly during the fourteen weeks in the summer between Memorial Day and Labor Day when school is out. A standard marketing practice since *Jaws* in 1975, saturation booking was designed to recoup production costs quickly by opening a new film simultaneously at over two thousand screens, backed by an

Jaws ***(Steven Spielberg, 1975) was given saturation release and a strong advertising campaign.*** © UNIVERSAL PICTURES/ COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

intensive national advertising campaign. Saturation booking took advantage of changing demographics by servicing shopping-center theaters in the suburbs, far away from the decaying central cities and their fading motion picture palaces.

Although television had already become a potent advertising medium, Hollywood publicity campaigns continued to rely on the print medium almost exclusively until the 1970s, when television became the principal medium to advertise most pictures. Studios relied more and more on massive media advertising to sell their films; today, the cost of selling a picture might equal its actual production cost. Simultaneously, studios relied more and more on merchandising tie-ins. At one time, merchandising was a form of free advertising, but during the 1970s the sale of all manner of consumer goods, such as T-shirts and toys, became a profit center. Following the Walt Disney Company's lead in the licensing of rights to use film characters, all the studios got on the bandwagon, and in the case of Twentieth Century Fox's *Star Wars* (1977) and *The Empire Strikes Back* (1980), Columbia's *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* (1977), Universal's *E.T. the Extra Terrestrial* (1982), and Warner's *Superman* (1978), merchandising revenues could sometimes even rival the box office.

Hollywood also relied more and more on market research in devising their advertising campaigns. During the studio system era, companies sometimes relied on sneak previews to pretest new films by simply asking audiences for their written comments as they went out. In the New Hollywood, companies used more sophisticated means. Columbia Pictures became the most

research minded of the major film companies after Coca-Cola acquired it in 1982 and tested the proposition that it could sell movies like soft drinks. Marketing research was used at first to evaluate newspaper ads, television commercials, and radio spots in an attempt to get a reaction from the public before a distributor committed massive amounts of money to the advertising campaign. Tests were devised to discover how to categorize a picture as to genre, create a viable competitive position in the market, determine a target audience, and choose the best media to reach the target audience.

Such tests were conducted after a film was finished but before it was released. Later, companies used marketing in advance of production in an attempt to discover what the public might want in the way of entertainment. Pretesting, for example, was designed to obtain moviegoer feedback to concepts for films or to key elements while a picture was in preproduction or being evaluated for pickup. Fortunately, the studio executives never discovered what motivates an audience to see a movie or determined in advance all the ingredients of a hit picture. The unpredictability of audiences has remained a significant factor in making motion pictures such a viable art form.

SEE ALSO *Exhibition; Independent Film; Publicity and Promotion; Studio System; Television; Theaters*

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Tino Balio

DOCUMENTARY

Documentary exploits the camera's affinity for recording the surface of things, what the realist film theorist Siegfried Kracauer called the "affinity" of film as a photographic medium for capturing "life in the raw." Even before the invention of motion pictures, photographers of the nineteenth century, such as Eadweard Muybridge (1830–1904), with his "animal locomotion" series, demonstrated the extent to which the camera might reveal facts and details of the world to us that we could not perceive with the naked eye.

Documentary images are different from fiction precisely because they possess an indexical bond, a referent, to the historical real. Thus documentaries are unique in engaging what the documentary theorist Bill Nichols calls our epistephilia, a pleasure in knowing about the real world. At the same time, however, no matter how marvelous the special effects in a fiction film, a death scene will never produce the same kind of horror as that generated by, say, the Zapruder footage of President John F. Kennedy being assassinated or the explosion of the space shuttle Challenger as caught by television news cameras. Therefore, documentary film has the power to bring about change in the audience, whether to influence attitudes, increase understanding, or persuade to action, and for this reason documentary film has frequently been used for propaganda purposes, both overtly and subtly.

John Grierson (1898–1972), the filmmaker, producer, and advocate who spearheaded the British documentary movement in the 1920s, coined the term "documentary" in a review of Robert Flaherty's *Moana* (1926). The film, he wrote, "being a visual account of events in the daily life of a Polynesian youth and his family, has documentary value" because the camera captured and revealed truths about Polynesian culture (Hardy, p. 11). Although later on such assertions would be challenged as First World privilege and presumption, for filmmakers of Grierson's generation the relation of the camera to the profilmic event was for the most part unproblematic.

Because of the wide stylistic diversity of films commonly categorized as nonfiction, documentary has been notoriously difficult to define. In seeking to be inclusive, inevitably most definitions have been vague, clumsy, and prescriptive. As Nichols observes, "Documentary as a concept or practice occupies no fixed territory. It mobilizes no finite inventory of techniques, addresses no set number of issues, and adopts no completely known taxonomy of forms, styles, or modes" (p. 12). Clearly documentary cannot be understood as a genre in any sense equivalent to the genres of commercial fiction cinema; yet whatever the style of individual documentary films, all documentaries make truth claims about the real world. Perhaps the most useful definition, then, is the one offered by Grierson: the "creative treatment of actuality." It not only has the virtue of brevity, but also incorporates both documentary's connection to the real world ("actuality") and the filmmaker's inevitable shaping influence ("creative treatment"). Of course, the perennial problem, for documentary filmmakers as well as critics and audiences, has been to negotiate a proper balance between the two.

BEGINNINGS

Documentary was crucial to the early development of the cinema. Film history conventionally begins in 1895,

when Louis and Auguste Lumière publicly exhibited their first program of short films in the basement of the Grand Café in Paris. With titles such as *Workers Leaving the Lumière Factory* (1895), *Arrival of a Train* (1895), and *Le Repas de Bébé* (*Feeding the Baby*, 1895), the Lumières' films, or "actualités," were brief slices of life captured by the camera. According to the media historian Erik Barnouw, the Lumière programs were so popular that within two years they had approximately one hundred operators at work around the world, both showing their films and photographing new ones to add to a steadily increasing catalogue (p. 13). Many of the new enterprising film companies that sprang up at the turn of the century featured nonfiction titles, particularly travelogues. In an era before world travel was common and every tourist had a camera, scenes of foreign lands and life had considerable exotic appeal for film patrons, most of whom at this time were working class and could not afford travel.

As filmmakers such as Edwin S. Porter (1870–1941) and D. W. Griffith (1875–1948) perfected editing techniques for the purposes of advancing a story, nonfiction films were quickly eclipsed in popularity by narrative films, which exploited editing and other cinematic techniques such as framing and camera movement to involve spectators emotionally. As a result, nonfiction film assumed a subsidiary position, ultimately institutionalized in movie theaters as the newsreels or travelogues, one of a series of shorts shown before the feature attraction. Thus documentary has remained on the margins of mainstream cinema, only periodically producing a feature-length work that has managed to find distribution in commercial theaters.

In commercial motion pictures programming, documentary found a niche in the form of newsreels, which became a regular part of commercial film exhibition, along with previews and cartoons, all in support of the narrative feature films. Even though newsreels could only report on news after the fact, when the stories covered were already known, they appealed to audiences because they provided an experiential immediacy that surpassed the temporal immediacy of the daily newspaper. Each newsreel contained coverage of several stories and, after the introduction of sound, authoritative voice-over narration. Pathé News, which was begun in the United States by the Frenchman Charles Pathé (1863–1957) in 1910, proved so popular that by 1912 several other companies and studios, including Hearst, Universal, Paramount, and Fox, entered the newsreel field. Orson Welles's renowned first film, *Citizen Kane* (1941), assumes that newsreel conventions were familiar enough to movie audiences to begin with a mock newsreel ("News on the March"), which is at once a clever expository device and a parody of such newsreels, specifically of Louis de Rochemont's *The March of Time*. Newsreels lasted through the 1950s, until the disappearance of the double bill and the rise of television, with its nightly news broadcasts providing an even greater sense of immediacy and intimacy than did newsreels.

In 1922 Robert Flaherty (1884–1951), a former explorer and prospector with little prior training in cinematography, made *Nanook of the North*, a film about Inuit life in the Canadian far north, which demonstrated that documentary could be both art and entertainment. Flaherty deftly employed fictional techniques such as the use of close-ups and parallel editing to involve viewers in Nanook's world. The film moved beyond the picturesque detachment of the conventional travelogue to offer a poetic vision of human endurance against the natural elements. The film shows the hardships Nanook faces in finding food for his family in the icy Arctic, while at the same time creating an intimate sense of them as individuals about whom viewers might care (even if on occasion it might lapse into condescension, such as when Nanook is described in one of the insert titles as a "happy-go-lucky Eskimo"). A commercial success, *Nanook of the North* had a lengthy run on Broadway (as the second feature with a Harold Lloyd comedy, *Grandma's Boy* [1922]), and its distributor, Paramount Studios, commissioned Flaherty to go to the South Pacific to "make another *Nanook*" (Barnouw, p. 43). The film that resulted was the aforementioned *Moana*.

Despite the artistry of *Nanook*, Flaherty did take liberties with his subjects. Some were necessary because of technological limitations: the scenes of Nanook and his family in igloos, for example, actually were shot in cutaway igloos constructed for the purpose of filming, since the camera was too big to get inside a real igloo and they did not provide sufficient light for filming. Other manipulations are more troubling. The Inuit were already acquainted with modern weapons and tools, but Flaherty chose to film Nanook without them, falsifying their actual lifestyle in order to present a more traditional view of their culture. When Nanook was being filmed seal hunting, he was unable to catch one, so a dead one was tied onto the end of his fishing line and he enacted his "struggle" with it. In response to criticism that he manipulated his subjects, Flaherty replied, "One often has to distort a thing in order to catch its true spirit." The comment has significant implications for documentary practice, for it opens up the possibility that documentary films may legitimately seek to document more spiritual or intangible aspects of life beneath the physical and visible world.

Grierson's approach to documentary is often seen as antithetical to Flaherty's more romantic vision. For Grierson, the documentary was first and foremost a tool

ROBERT J. FLAHERTY

b. Iron Mountain, Michigan, 16 February 1884, d. 23 July 1951

The only documentary filmmaker to be included in Andrew Sarris's notorious auteurist "pantheon," Robert Flaherty brought to the documentary form his personal vision of humankind's ceaseless struggle against nature, finding this theme in a variety of cultures. A mineralogist and explorer by profession, with only rudimentary training in filmmaking, Flaherty was interested in using film as a means to capture the passing existence of traditional societies, which he saw as both noble and untainted by modern values.

Flaherty's first film, the landmark *Nanook of the North* (1922), for which he obtained funding from Revillon Frères fur company, was a travelogue about Inuit life in the Canadian Arctic that made use of cinematic techniques until then associated more with fiction films than documentary. By frequently weaving together close-ups of Nanook and his family with artfully composed long shots of them in the vast frozen landscape, Flaherty encourages the viewer both to identify with the hunter and his family and to understand the awesome natural power of their environment. In the brutal snowstorm that constitutes *Nanook*'s dramatic climax, Flaherty used crosscutting between the Inuit family huddling inside their igloo and their dogs outside in the fierce wind to suggest the difference between humans and other animals and to emphasize his theme of romantic survival against the crucible of nature.

Moving beyond the picturesque detachment of the conventional travelogue, *Nanook* was a surprising commercial hit. Flaherty went on to make *Moana* (1926) in the South Pacific, where he also worked uncredited on fiction films with W. S. Van Dyke and with F. W. Murnau. In 1931 Flaherty moved to England, where he influenced the British documentary school led by John Grierson. *Man of Aran* (1934), set on the rugged island off the western coast of Ireland, contains thrilling scenes of the islanders hunting basking sharks—a skill that had been largely forgotten and had to be retaught to the islanders so that the sequences could be filmed. His final film, *Louisiana Story* (1948), photographed by Richard Leacock, shows almost no sign of modern technology except for a glimpse of a derrick belonging to Standard Oil (the company that sponsored the film) in the background, apparently functioning in harmony with the environment.

At one time Flaherty's films received much critical praise, although anthropologists complained that they were inaccurate because of the director's manipulation of his subjects. Where once Flaherty was celebrated for his sensuous imagery and compelling footage, today his documentaries are more often considered a prime example of the exoticized, colonial gaze.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Nanook of the North (1922), *Moana* (1926), *Tabu* (1931), *Man of Aran* (1934), *The Land* (1942), *Louisiana Story* (1948)

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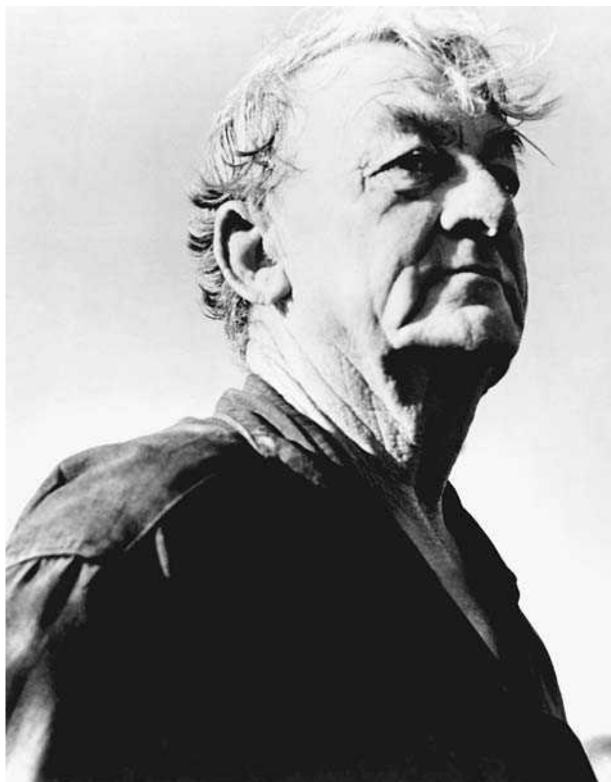
Barry Keith Grant

of social propaganda, in the sense of the medium's potential to reach and educate the masses. Thus he attacked Flaherty's lyricism and preference for documenting isolated, pre-industrial cultures rather than to grapple with specific and immediate social issues of modern industrial society—in other words, the problems and issues facing audiences who would be seeing the films. Grierson emphasized the social utility of documentary, proclaiming the desire "to make drama from the ordinary" in films that emphasized social rather than



Robert Flaherty at the time of* Louisiana Story *(1948).
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aesthetic issues. Influenced by the ideas of his contemporary, the social philosopher Walter Lippmann (1889–1974), Grierson felt that the individual citizen was becoming less informed and consequently less able to participate responsibly in the democratic process; the cinema, however, had the potential to solve the problem through mass education.

Grierson's only film as director, *Drifters* (1929), about the British herring fishing industry, reveals the influence of the Soviet filmmaker Sergei Eisenstein, not only in its editing but also in its comprehensive coverage of its subject, from the stalwart fishermen who bring the fish to port to the packaged goods ready for distribution across the nation. Although Grierson is credited with directing only this one film, more important was his contribution as producer and advocate for state-sponsored documentary. He became the shaping influence of the British documentary movement in the late 1920s through the 1930s, building a film unit under the aegis of the government's Empire Marketing Board, with its mandate of marketing the British Empire, from 1928 to 1933; he brought together such talented filmmakers as Basil Wright (1907–1987), Arthur Elton (1906–1973), Harry Watt (1906–1987), Paul Rotha (1907–1984), and Edgar Anstey (1907–1987). The EMB Film Unit produced almost one hundred films in the five years of its existence, including *Drifters* and Flaherty's *Industrial Britain* (1932). When the EMB was shut down in 1933, its public relations chief, Sir Stephen Tallents, moved to the General Post Office, taking with him the Board's film unit. Among the most well known of the documentaries to come out of Grierson's unit were *Night Mail* (Harry Wright and Basil Wright, 1934), *Song of Ceylon* (Wright, 1934), and *Coal Face* (Alberto Cavalcanti, 1935), about coal mining in northern England.

Despite Grierson's insistence on the social utility of documentary, the documentary films made under his leadership, both in Great Britain and later in Canada, display a considerable degree of formal experimentation. Leading figures in the arts such as the composer Benjamin Britten and the poet W. H. Auden contributed to EMB documentaries. By the early 1930s the approach to montage included not just images but also sound, especially after Brazilian Alberto Cavalcanti joined the Unit in 1934, as evidenced in his film *Coal Face*. *Night Mail* attempts to synchronize the poetic rhythms of Auden's voice-over verse with the film's pace of the editing to suggest the rhythm of the mail train that climbs steadily upward from London to Scotland. Despite such formal adventurousness, however, the Griersonian style was typically exhortatory, often including an omniscient patriarchal narrator and sharing implicit ideological assumptions about the benefits of capitalism, industrial progress, and colonial paternalism.

DEPRESSION AND THE WAR YEARS

Grierson understood the potential of documentary cinema to affect the political views of the nation and its people, a view shared by other film-producing nations such as Germany and post-Revolutionary Russia. During World War II many governments relied on the propaganda value of documentary film. Already by the late 1930s, filmmaking in both Japan and Germany had come under government control. In Great Britain, where Grierson's Film Unit had evolved into the Crown Film Unit, documentaries helped boost morale on the home front, particularly with the poetic approach of Humphrey Jennings (1907–1950) in such films as *Fires Were Started* (1943) and *A Diary for Timothy* (1945), which presented rich humanist tapestries of the British people during wartime.

In the Soviet Union, Communist Party leader Vladimir Lenin famously proclaimed that for the new Communist state cinema was the most important of the arts. Traveling trains that made and screened newsreels were a means of connecting the many republics of the

Allakariallak as Nanook hunting in* Nanook of the North *(Robert Flaherty, 1922). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

vast Soviet Union, and even feature films such as Sergei Eisenstein's *Bronenosets Potyomkin* (*Battleship Potemkin*, 1925), based on an actual historical event, incorporated elements of documentary. Dziga Vertov (1896–1954) brought a more formalist, experimental approach to the newsreel, and with the feature-length *Chelovek s kinoapparatom* (*The Man with a Movie Camera*, 1929), which presents a "day-in-the-life" of a modern Soviet city, created a reflexive documentary masterpiece that, along with Walter Ruttmann's *Berlin: Die Sinfonie der Großstadt* (*Berlin: Symphony of a Great City*, 1927), established the "city-symphony" form.

Later in Germany, after Hitler's rise to power, his National Socialist Party quickly nationalized the film industry under the leadership of Dr. Joseph Goebbels, Minister of Propaganda, which produced films promulgating Nazi ideology. The most prominent documentary filmmaker of the Nazi era was Leni Riefenstahl, a former star actress, who made *Triumph des Willens* (*Triumph of the Will*, 1935), about the 1934 Party rally in Nuremberg, and the two-part *Olympia* (1938), about the 1936 Berlin Olympics. *Triumph of the Will* is widely considered a powerful expression of fascist ideology and aesthetics. Although sources vary on the exact number, Riefenstahl clearly had many cameras at her disposal (on occasion in the film camera operators may be glimpsed on tall elevators constructed on site). *Triumph of the Will* celebrates the rally's mass spectacle of fascist unity, which was staged in part precisely to be filmed, successfully turning history into theater and overwhelming viewers just as party rallies were intended to do to participants.

In the United States in the 1930s, documentary emerged as a dominant form of cultural expression in America, informing the aesthetics of all the arts, including painting, theater, literature, and the popular media. The documentary impulse also animated many Works Progress Administration (WPA) arts projects and important books of the period, like *Let Us Now Praise Famous*

DZIGA VERTOV

b. Denis Abramovich Kaufman, Bialystok, Poland, 2 January 1896, d. 12 February 1954

Dziga Vertov was instrumental in using the cinema for the purposes of social education after the Russian Revolution. He not only chronicled the revolution as it happened, but approached the production of newsreels in terms of interaction with the proletariat. His brother Mikhail also became an important documentary filmmaker, while a third brother, Boris, became an important cinematographer for Jean Vigo and others.

At the outbreak of World War I, the Kaufmans, an educated Jewish family, moved to Moscow. In 1916 Vertov enrolled in the Petrograd Psychoneurological Institute, where he studied human perception, particularly sound, editing bits of recorded sound in novel ways in his "Laboratory of Hearing." These experiments would influence Vertov's experiments with sound film over a decade later in *Entuziazm: Simfoniya Donbassa* (*Enthusiasm: The Donbass Symphony*, 1931) and *Tri pesni o Lenine* (*Three Songs of Lenin*, 1934). Changing his name to Dziga Vertov, which loosely translates as "spinning top," he began editing newsreel footage after the revolution, exploring the possibilities of montage in the context of documentary film.

In 1919 Vertov, along with his future wife, the film editor Elisaveta Svilova, and later his brother Mikhail and several other young filmmakers, established the *Kinoks* (from *kinoki*, or cinema-eyes), a group that argued for the value and superiority of documentary filmmaking. They issued an artistic manifestos and published journal articles in which they rejected fiction filmmaking, with its stars, studio shooting, and predetermined scripts, in favor of what Vertov celebrated as "life caught unawares." The camera lens (or *kino* eye), Vertov proclaimed, had the power to penetrate and record visible reality better than could the human eye, making documentary the preferred practice for a Marxist society based on rational and scientific principles of organization. From 1922 to 1925 Vertov directed a series of twenty-three newsreels entitled *Kino-Pravda*; *pravda*, meaning truth, was also the name of the official Soviet party newspaper.

Vertov's masterpiece, *Chelovek s kino-apparatom* (*The Man with a Movie Camera*, 1929), was a visionary "city symphony" documentary that reflected on its own status as both document and illusion. It presented a lyrical view of an idealized Soviet city (a combination of Moscow, Odessa, and Kiev), utilizing virtually every special effect and cinematic technique available to show life in Soviet society while encouraging viewers to consider the nature of cinematic construction and the relation between film and reality. Vertov's reflexive practice was later continued in Jean Rouch's *cinéma verité* (the French term deriving from Vertov's *kino-pravda*) and Jean-Luc Godard's experiments in collective political filmmaking with the Dziga Vertov Group in the early 1970s. Vertov's avant-garde style challenged the constraints of official doctrine, and by the end of the 1930s Vertov found himself unable to secure funding for further projects. He spent the last two decades of his life editing newsreels, as he had begun.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Chelovek s kino-apparatom (*The Man with a Movie Camera*, 1929), *Entuziazm: Symfonia Donbassa* (*Enthusiasm: The Donbass Symphony*, 1931), *Tri pesni o Lenine* (*Three Songs of Lenin*, 1934)

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Barry Keith Grant

Men (begun in 1936 but not published until 1941), by James Agee (1909–1955) with photographs by Walker Evans (1903–1975). In film, beginning in 1930 a network of local Film and Photo Leagues developed in major American cities as a response to the avoidance of controversial material by mainstream theatrical newsreels.

Dziga Vertov. THE KOBAL COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Together the leagues produced a Worker's Newsreel that concentrated on documenting the intense labor activities of the early Depression period. Many important documentary filmmakers of the time were associated with the particularly active New York Film and Photo League, and later with Frontier Films, a socially committed production company that produced a series of important films about international politics beginning in 1936.

Under Franklin Roosevelt's presidency (1933–1945), the Resettlement Administration (RA) sponsored a photographic unit that included Evans, Dorothea Lange, and others. It moved into documentary film with *The Plow That Broke the Plains* (1936) and *The River* (1938), both by Pare Lorentz (1905–1992), about the dust bowl and the Tennessee Valley Authority, respectively. Both films effectively endorsed government policy by combining Griersonian authority with American colloquialism, reinforced by fine scores by the American composer Virgil Thomson that wove folk themes throughout. Although various government agencies had previously sponsored documentaries, Lorentz's films were the first to garner serious attention and considerable theatrical distribution. Roosevelt established the US Film Service in 1938, but it died by 1940 because Congress refused to appropriate the necessary funds, largely as a result of pressure from Hollywood studios that viewed the initiative as unfair competition and not in the spirit of free enterprise.

The popular Hollywood director Frank Capra (1897–1991) oversaw for the military the production of *Why We Fight* (1942–1944), a series of seven documentaries designed to provide background information about the global conflict so as to help shake Americans from their strong isolationist position. These films were widely screened at home and as part of military training for troops sent overseas. Many Hollywood professionals were involved in the various aspects of their production. The films effectively simplified the political complexities leading to the war by cleverly employing patriotic mythology and national iconography. Other important Hollywood directors who accepted military commissions and lent their filmmaking talents to documenting the war effort included John Ford (1894–1973), who made *The Battle of Midway* (1942), William Wyler (1902–1981), maker

of *The Memphis Belle* (1944), and John Huston (1906–1987), who produced *The Battle of San Pietro* (1945) and the controversial *Let There Be Light* (1946), initially banned by the Armed Forces because of its candid footage of soldiers who had been traumatized by combat.

With the domestic prosperity of the postwar years, government sponsorship of documentary in the United States disappeared. In this period documentary production was sponsored largely by industry, often with pronounced ties to government interests, and so the films tended to be conventional in both style and content. Cold War paranoia also served as a strong disincentive to originality. Through the 1950s the various newsreel series ceased production, as their function was increasingly taken over by television.

The most notable exception to the new conservatism in documentary was the CBS-TV series *See It Now*, started in 1951 by the journalist Edward R. Murrow (1908–1965) and the producer Fred Friendly (1915–1998). Murrow's stature as a war correspondent and his high administrative position at CBS enabled him to produce the show with relative freedom. In 1953–1954 he successfully exposed the demagoguery of Senator Joseph McCarthy, a prime mover behind the Cold War blacklists and witch hunts (a historical moment vividly captured in George Clooney's feature film *Good Night and Good Luck* [2005]). Nevertheless, as a result of continued political pressure, by 1959 network policy declared that documentaries were the responsibility of network news departments; "independents" no longer were to be employed because their authenticity might not be verifiable. Even today, there are very few documentary filmmakers whose work is broadcast on network television; documentaries are more likely to be found on specialty cable channels such as the Documentary Channel or *Biography* on A&E. However, some regard so-called "reality TV" as a form of televisual documentary; and although shows such as *Survivor* (beginning in 2000), *Fear Factor* (beginning in 2001), and *Trading Spaces* (beginning in 2000) are highly structured and carefully edited, they do use nonprofessional actors and observe profilmic events as they unfold.

OBSERVATIONAL DOCUMENTARY

Inspired by the powerful immediacy of actual combat footage and the emergence of Italian neorealism toward the end of the war, Hollywood feature films began absorbing the influence of documentary. Both *The Naked City* (Jules Dassin, 1948) and *On the Waterfront* (Elia Kazan, 1954), for example, used actual locations in New York City to enhance their dramatic realism, and independent filmmakers such as Morris Engel (1918–2005) with *Little Fugitive* (1953) and *Weddings and Babies* (1958), and John Cassavetes, (1929–1989) with *Shadows* (1959) and *Faces* (1968), made feature films with portable 35 mm equipment.

The development of portable 16mm cameras and synch-sound equipment brought significant changes to documentary film practice. Filmmakers now gained the ability to shoot with relative ease on location. The new light weight and portability of cameras that before had been bulky and heavy meant that they no longer had to be the center of profilmic events, but could follow events as they happened. Filmmakers could enter a situation directly, without having to alter events because of technological limitations, as had been the case with, for example, Flaherty's camera in igloos. The tripod was abandoned, and the camera gained a new mobility carried on the shoulder of the operator as filmmakers began to work in a mode Stephen Mamber has called an "uncontrolled cinema." As further improvements were perfected, the tape recorder and the camera, which before had been connected by a limiting cable, were able to operate entirely independently. The crew required to make a documentary was reduced to only two people—one to operate the camera, the other to record sound. In the case of Ross McElwee (b. 1947), whose films such as *Sherman's March* (1986) and *Bright Leaves* (2003) are documentaries of his own life, the crew is just himself, shooting with a video camera and attached microphone. With these technological advances, documentary filmmaking acquired a freshness and immediacy, both visually and aurally; by contrast, the Griersonian tradition, which the new style supplanted, typically used omniscient voice-over narration displaying ideological biases. As a result, documentary experienced a revitalization internationally, particularly in North America and Europe.

An entire generation of documentarians embraced the new observational style and valorized the technology. Most advocated an unproblematic view of cinematic realism whereby the camera could apprehend the world directly, penetrating even surface reality to reveal deeper truths. *An American Family*, a twelve-part series by Craig Gilbert broadcast on public television in 1973, sought to capture the unadorned life of one particular family and thus reveal the ordinary realities of middle-class American existence. In these observational documentaries, the presence of the camera was not thought to affect the profilmic event to any significant degree, and if it did, filmmakers could search for "privileged moments" that would reveal the real person hiding behind the social facade. Perhaps the most extreme example of this approach was *Portrait of Jason* (Shirley Clarke, 1967), a film consisting entirely of a series of talking-head close-ups of an unsuccessful actor who, fueled by alcohol, marijuana, and prodding questions from behind the

camera, lets down his smug intellectual persona and wallows in self-pity.

In Great Britain in the 1950s, filmmakers such as Tony Richardson (1928–1991), Lindsay Anderson (1923–1994), and Karel Reisz (1926–2002) began making observational films of everyday life as part of the movement known as Free Cinema, often focusing on common aspects of popular culture. The Free Cinema movement consisted of six programs of films shown at the National Film Theater in London from 1956 to 1959, including Anderson's *O Dreamland* (1953), about the Margate amusement park, and *Every Day Except Christmas* (1957), about activity in Covent Garden, and Reisz and Richardson's *Momma Don't Allow* (1955), a portrait of a jazz club. In France, anthropologist-filmmaker Jean Rouch (1917–2004) made a series of films about people and life in western Africa, often including their own voices on the soundtrack, as in *Les Maîtres fous* (*The Mad Masters*, 1955), which records devotees of a religious cult speaking in tongues, and *Jaguar* (1967). Turning his camera closer to home, Rouch filmed a cross-section of Parisians in *Chronique d'un été* (*Chronicle of a Summer*, 1961), co-directed with the sociologist Edgar Morin. Rather than being observant flies on the wall, the filmmakers appeared onscreen, functioning as catalysts by asking their subjects provocative questions and freely interacting with them. The film was subtitled "une experience de cinéma vérité," and Rouch's assertive approach developed into the cinema verité style of observational documentary. And in Canada in the early 1960s, both English- and French-speaking Canadian filmmakers working for the National Film Board, founded by Grierson in 1939, concentrated on making films about ordinary people and events in order to "interpret Canada to Canadians and the rest of the world." The Board's initial focus was the production of wartime propaganda films, but in the early 1960s it was a pioneer of observational documentary, both in its more passive direct cinema form in English Canada, with the films of Terence Macartney-Filgate, Roman Kriotor, and Wolf Koenig, and, in Quebec, of cinéma vérité. Michel Brault, who had photographed *Chronique d'un été*, co-directed with Gilles Groulx *Les Raquetteurs* (*The Snowshoers*, 1958), a film about an annual snowshoe race that was a breakthrough in the representation of Quebecois life on the screen.

In New York in the 1960s, a group of young filmmakers organized by Robert Drew (b. 1924) began making films for Time, Inc., in an attempt to do a more truthful "pictorial journalism," as Louis de Rochemont had said of *The March of Time*. Known as the Drew Associates, the group included many of the pioneering figures of American observational cinema, including D. A. Pennebaker (b. 1925), Albert Maysles (b. 1926), and Richard Leacock, who had been the cameraman on Flaherty's last film, *Louisiana Story*, in 1949. The Drew Associates sought to be invisible observers of events transpiring before the camera—ideally, in Leacock's famous phrase, like a "fly on the wall." *Primary* (1960), about the Wisconsin presidential campaigns of John F. Kennedy and Hubert Humphrey, showed the candidates both in public appearances and behind the scenes; and although it shows Kennedy as the more adept media personality, it avoids explicit political comment. A famous shot in the film follows Kennedy as he emerges from a car and enters a hall where he is about to speak, moving through a tightly packed crowd to the stage—all despite changing conditions of light, sound, and depth of field. Impressed by *Primary*, ABC contracted with Time, Inc., so that the Drew group became in effect a network unit. The Drew filmmakers made a series of nineteen pioneering films for television, beginning with *Primary* and ending with *Crisis: Behind a Presidential Commitment* in 1963.

Their films tended to favor famous and exciting figures as their subjects: a race car driver in *Eddie* (Leacock and Pennebaker, 1960), film producer Joseph E. Levine in *Showman* (Albert and David Maysles, 1963), and pop stars in *What's Happening! The Beatles in the U.S.A.* (Maysles brothers, 1964). The documentaries of their contemporary Frederick Wiseman (b. 1930) focus on institutions rather than individuals, but his films were exceptions. Because celebrities, particularly pop-music stars, possess inherent commercial appeal, when these and other filmmakers sought to make feature-length documentaries they gravitated toward them as subjects; thus was created the "rockumentary" genre, with such films as *Woodstock* (Michael Wadleigh, 1970) and *The Last Waltz* (Martin Scorsese, 1978). Perhaps the most notorious of these is *Gimme Shelter* (1970), by Albert and David Maysles (1931–1987) and Charlotte Zwerin, which focuses on the Rolling Stones' American tour. At the last concert of the tour, in Altamont, California, a man in the audience was stabbed to death by the Hell's Angels—a sensational event caught on camera. Because rockumentaries often purport to show the person behind the persona, they remain popular with audiences, as the publicity surrounding *Living with Michael Jackson: A Tonight Special* (2003), which aired on network television, demonstrates.

The documentary aesthetic also informed the New American Cinema movement of the 1950s and 1960s, much of it representing the seemingly antithetical traditions of experimental or avant-garde film, as in the "diary" style of Stan Brakhage (1933–2003) and the structural films of Michael Snow (b. 1929). A film such as Brakhage's *The Act of Seeing with One's Own Eyes* (1971) is at once an experimental film, employing a

FREDERICK WISEMAN
b. Boston, Massachusetts, 1 January 1930

A major figure in American documentary, Frederick Wiseman began making his extraordinary series of award-winning films during the direct cinema movement in the 1960s. Over the course of three decades he produced more than thirty feature-length documentaries and garnered numerous awards. Unlike the rich and famous individuals chronicled in the films of his contemporaries Richard Leacock, D. A. Pennebaker, and the Maysles brothers, Wiseman's films focus less on particular individuals than on institutions of various kinds, ranging from those concentrated within individual buildings (*High School*, 1968) to those of international scope (*Sinai Field Mission*, 1978), and from institutions established and maintained by government (*Juvenile Court*, 1973) to those less tangible ones organized by principles of ideology and culture (*Model*, 1980). A former lawyer, Wiseman captures American life more fully than any other documentary filmmaker, and, taken together, his documentaries are a magnum opus about life in contemporary America.

Wiseman began his career in film producing Shirley Clarke's *The Cool World* (1964), a fiction film about teenage gangs shot on location in Harlem. In 1967 he began his institutional series with *Titicut Follies* (1967), about life in a prison for the criminally insane in Bridgewater, Massachusetts. The film quickly became mired in lengthy litigation with state authorities, and the ensuing controversy established Wiseman's somewhat inaccurate reputation as an uncompromising muckraker. Although the earlier films do seem to be exposés, Wiseman's later films are less didactic and more complex aesthetically. *Meat* (1976), for example, is composed of many short shots, the duration of the cutting analogous to the repetitive slicing by the butchers; *Model* is a reflexive examination of modeling as the manufacturing of advertising images—a process not very different from some forms of filmmaking—and relies more on long takes.

During shooting, Wiseman operates the tape recorder rather than the camera. He determines where the camera goes through a series of hand signals worked out in advance with his camera operator or by leading him with the microphone. This method gives him greater freedom to see what is around him than if he were looking at profilmic events through the viewfinder of the camera.

Wiseman encourages a reading of each institution as a metaphor of American society at large. Thus, though at first glance Wiseman's films may seem to be fly-on-the-wall observation, they often rely on elements of cinematic style, particularly editing, to express his subjective vision of how institutions operate and what their significance is culturally. If Wiseman's documentaries are news, they are also editorials, subjective accounts about the institutions on which he is reporting. More dialectical than didactic, Wiseman's films refuse to condescend to the viewer by assuming a position of authorial superiority.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Titicut Follies (1967), *High School* (1968), *Essene* (1972), *Primate* (1974), *Meat* (1976), *Model* (1980), *Near Death* (1989), *Public Housing* (1997), *Belfast, Maine* (1999), *Domestic Violence* (2001)

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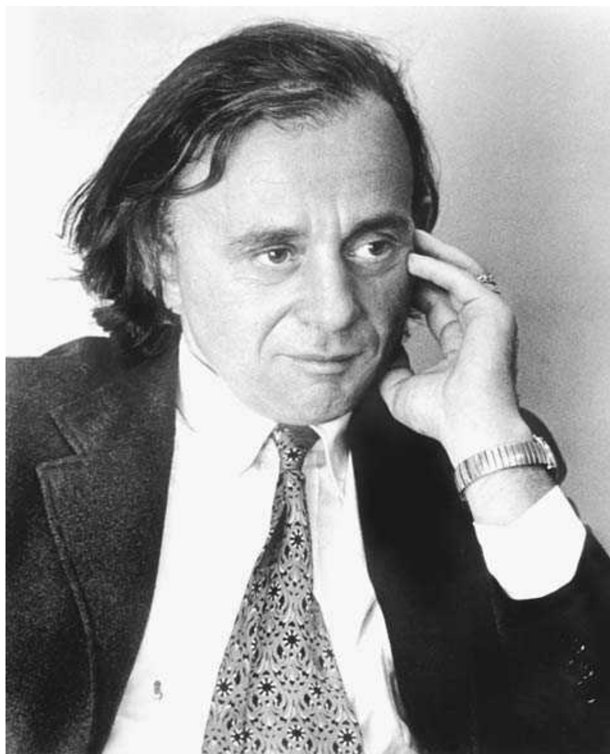

Frederick Wiseman. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

variety of expressive cinematic techniques, and a documentary, showing the different steps in the autopsy process. In many experimental films the otherwise diverse documentary and avant-garde impulses come together in the shared aim of allowing the viewer to look at something in a new or different way.

TRUTH OR DARE: THEORETICAL AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Observational films seemed more truthful in large part because they were not constrained by earlier technological limitations that often required more overt manipulation. "Dramatic reconstruction" was conventional in documentaries concerning people and events before the invention of the camera. Early documentaries, like Biograph's *Eruption of Mt. Vesuvius* (1905), often used scale-model replicas in place of actuality footage in films. *The March of Time*, which began in 1935, freely combined actuality footage with dramatized sequences in a style that Henry Luce, head of Time, called "fakery in allegiance to the truth" (Barnouw, p. 121). The ideology of observational documentary has become so standard that its stylistic conventions, such as the jerky movements of the handheld camera, noticeable changes in focus, and the graininess of fast film stock, have become the common techniques for representing a "reality effect" in fiction film and on commercial television in both dramatic shows and commercials.

Nevertheless, questions concerning the camera's physical presence, along with the issue of whether and to what extent the camera *exploits* or *documents* its social actors, have been hotly debated issues concerning both Griersonian-style and observational documentary. Films such as *Portrait of Jason* and the Maysles brothers' *Grey Gardens* (1975), about an eccentric mother and daughter who live as recluses in a decaying mansion, foreground these ethical issues because of the filmmakers' apparent encouragement of their social actors to display themselves for the camera. But in fact ethical questions have surrounded the making of documentaries since the genre's beginnings.

Although the immediacy of observational cinema made the stylistic conventions associated with the Griersonian tradition seem outmoded and ideologically suspect, manipulation in documentary inevitably is a matter of degree. For although documentaries are factual, they are never objective or ideologically neutral. Aesthetic choices such as the selection of camera position, angles, and movement; lighting; and editing make the expression of point of view or perspective unavoidable, even if unintentional. Just as the "fly on the wall" aesthetic of the Drew filmmakers was compromised to some extent by the commercial imperatives of television, so the nature of the film medium ensures that the hand of the maker must always work over the raw material on the editing table. *Dead Birds* (Robert Gardner, 1965), which aimed at being an ethnographic study of the Dugum Dani culture in New Guinea, is almost embarrassing today for the degree to which it presumes to attribute values and thoughts to the people it presents as characters in a narrative.

The debate around documentary film's moral obligation to be objective, or at least fair, has been rekindled by the recent and commercially successful films of Michael Moore, who makes no secret of his political views but rather speaks out on political issues. His first film, *Roger & Me* (1989), the most commercially successful documentary to date, established Moore's trademark approach, a combination of an unabashedly personal tone, his own provocative verité presence, and a strong sense of humor. He has been attacked for manipulating facts and for violating ethical proprieties, as when in *Bowling for Columbine* (2002) he ambushes the actor Charlton Heston, then president of the National Rifle Association, questioning him about his culpability in the accidental death of a child by gunfire.

Although for many viewers documentary still means objectivity, today it is much more commonly accepted that documentaries are inevitably biased. This is probably less a postmodern crisis in signification than the result of

Filmmaker Michael Moore receives a rifle for opening a bank account in* Bowling for Columbine *(2002). © UNITED ARTISTS/ COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

the proliferation of camcorders and a greater increase in basic visual literacy. Yet it is symptomatic that many documentaries of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, such as *The Thin Blue Line* (1988), seek to uncover ambiguities of truth rather than a unified, singular Truth. Stylistically, nonfiction films are now employing a more pronounced mixing of modes, combining elements of fiction and documentary, or creating an ambiguity concerning their documentary status, as in *Madonna: Truth or Dare* (1991). British documentary filmmaker Nick Broomfield places himself squarely within his films as a character seeking the truth about his subject, whether about the murder of grunge rock icon Kurt Cobain in *Kurt & Courtney* (1998) or the female serial killer Aileen Wournos in *Aileen: Life and Death of a Serial Killer* (2003), but never quite finding it. Broomfield's quandary as a documentary filmmaker bespeaks contemporary viewers' loss of faith in the ability of documentary film to provide unequivocal truths.

Documentary film also has been critiqued from postcolonial and feminist perspectives. Robert Flaherty's films have come to be seen as examples of a white Eurocentric perspective imposed on other cultures. This colonizing gaze informs much of the history of travelogues and other documentary filmmaking; it is particularly egregious in the films of Martin E. Johnson (1884–1937) and Osa Johnson (1894–1953), such as *Simba: The King of the Beasts* (1928) and *Congorilla* (1932), which paraded "primitive" natives in front of the camera for comic relief along with local fauna. Luis Buñuel's *Las Hurdes* (*Land Without Bread*, 1933), an audacious documentary about an impoverished region of Spain and its inhabitants, is regarded as one of the first films to be aware of the imbalance of power between First World filmmakers and their less wealthy subjects. T. Minh-ha Trinh, a teacher and theorist as well as a practicing filmmaker, has employed a variety of expressive techniques in documentaries such as *Naked Spaces: Living Is Round* (1985) and *Surname Viet Given Name Nam* (1989) to give voice to women in other cultures.

Documentary filmmakers have sought to use documentary politically to help create a sense of shared purpose, to offer the legitimation of subcultures through the presentation of recognizable images that have been marginalized by mainstream or dominant culture. In the 1950s Quebecois filmmakers discovered that training the camera on themselves facilitated the Quiet Revolution, the province's discovery of itself as a new and distinct culture within Canada. The heightened political polarization of the Vietnam era influenced the pronounced partisanship of

many documentaries, as in the work of Peter Davis (*The Selling of the Pentagon*, 1971; *Hearts and Minds*, 1974). The introduction in the 1960s of video porta-paks and public access of local cable TV allowed for grassroots concerns to be heard. Some filmmakers, such as Emile de Antonio (1920–1989), established themselves as counter-culture heroes by making documentaries that exposed government corruption (*Point of Order*, 1964, about the 1954 Army-McCarthy Senate hearings) or challenged official policies (*Rush to Judgment*, 1967, about the report of the Warren Commission).

Much contemporary documentary practice continues to be politically engaged, and some films—*Harlan County, U.S.A.* (Barbara Kopple, 1976), *The Panama Deception* (Barbara Trent, 1992), *The Fog of War* (Errol Morris, 2003)—are able to find limited commercial distribution. Documentary film's appeal has filtered down to mainstream popular culture in the television exposé form, in such shows as *60 Minutes*, the most successful nonfiction series in television history, and on reality-TV. Subcultures and various interest groups have used the documentary successfully to help develop a sense of identity and solidarity. In the 1970s feminist documentary filmmakers developed a distinctively intimate, "talking-head" style that promoted the shared rediscovery of mutual experience with the viewer, as in *With Babies and Banners* (Lorraine Gray, 1978) and *The Life and Times of Rosie the Riveter* (Connie Field, 1980). Documentaries about gay sexuality, such as *Word Is Out* (Rob Epstein, 1978) and *The Times of Harvey Milk* (Epstein, 1984), appeared with the emergence of the gay movement in the 1980s. In *Tongues Untied* (1990) Marlon Riggs (1957–1994) explored issues of gay black identity. Since the 1980s many documentaries have addressed AIDS, chronicling the struggles of its victims and promoting awareness.

SEE ALSO *Camera; Ideology; Propaganda; Russia and Soviet Union; Technology; World War II*

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DUBBING AND SUBTITLING

Dubbing and subtitling are two major types of screen translation, the two most used in the global distribution and consumption of filmic media. Since their arrival with the introduction of sound to cinema, both have been seen as compromised methods of translating dialogue because they interfere in different ways with the original text, sound track, or image. Since the early 1930s, most countries have tended to favor either one mode or the other. While there are many forms of language versioning or transfer in current use in the global audiovisual industries, and any one of these might be used in some cases on its own or in combination with others, dubbing and subtitling have remained the most recognizable, as well as the most debated, methods for cinema.

DEFINITIONS

Dubbing is a form of post-synchronized revoicing that involves recording voices that do not belong to the onscreen actors, speaking in a language different from that of the source text and ideally in synch with the film image. But dubbing can also refer more generally to adding or replacing sound effects or spoken lines by the source actors themselves in the language of the film's production, often because of poor sound quality in the original recording or for the deletion of expletives from the theatrical version for release on television. While this latter form of post-synchronized revoicing is present in virtually all modern films, it is often called "looping" to distinguish it from dubbing as language translation. Another form of revoicing is the "voice-over," in which a nonsynchronous voice that does not replace the source text and language is added to the sound track but does not replace the source text and language. Popular in Russia and Poland and used more in television than in film translation, voice-over is a relatively minor mode compared to dubbing and subtitling.

Subtitling, like voice-over, presents the translated and source languages simultaneously, but it transforms speech into writing without altering the source sound track. Subtitling may be either intralingual or interlingual. In the former, the written text that appears over the image is that of the source language. This kind of subtitling, for viewers who are deaf and hard-of-hearing, is often called "captioning," and it is in prevalent use in television broadcasting. Interlingual subtitling translates the source language into the target language (or languages) in the form of one or more lines of synchronized written text. These verbal messages may include not only speech, such as dialogue, commentary, and song lyrics, but also displays, such as written signs and newspaper headlines. Subtitles usually appear at the bottom of the screen, though their placement may vary among language groups. In bilingual subtitling countries such as Belgium, Finland, and Israel, film subtitles are often present in both languages.

The national preferences for subtitled or dubbed films stem from several factors, including historical and political circumstances, traditions and industries, costs, the form to which audiences are accustomed, and the generic and artistic standing of the films themselves. Before these can be considered, it is necessary to address the historical circumstances that gave rise to dubbing and subtitling and to their emergence as the preferred forms of verbal translation in film.

EARLY SOUND FILM AND MULTIPLE LANGUAGE VERSIONS

Silent films presented few problems for language transfer, though they still entailed translation for international audiences. While silent films were well suited to consumption in a variety of cultural contexts, this was due less to their status as a universal language of images than to their intertitles and the flexibility they provided. Intertitles were not simply translated from source to target languages but creatively adapted to cater to diverse national and language groups: the names of characters, settings and plot developments, and other cultural references were altered as necessary in order to make the films internationally understandable for different national audiences. By 1927, the intertitles of Hollywood films were routinely translated into as many as thirty-six languages.

With the sound film, it was no longer possible simply to replace intertitles. Subtitling and dubbing have been in use since 1929, but when the first American sound films reached Europe they did not immediately become the preferred solutions to the new problem of sound film translation. Instead, multilingual productions or multiple language versions (MLVs) experienced a period of ascendency and decline from 1929 to 1933. During this time, American film studios either brought foreign directors, scriptwriters, and actors to Hollywood or set up film production studios in Europe. Warner Bros. was the first American producer to engage in MLV production, with some European producers and all of the major Hollywood studios following suit. Paramount invested the most, building a huge studio in early 1930, at Joinville in the suburbs of Paris, that was soon producing films in as many as fourteen different languages. Films that were shot simultaneously in two or three languages usually had just one director, but for a higher number of MLVs each could have a different director. Polyglot actors might perform in more than one language version, but the norm was different casts for different versions. Sets and costumes were reused, which meant shooting versions in shifts according to a twenty-four-hour schedule. Production time was short, often less than two weeks per feature. At its peak, between March 1930 and March 1931, Joinville turned out an astonishing one hundred features and fifty shorts.

Despite such rationing of production time, MLVs meant an enormous increase in costs, and their standardized plots worked against satisfying the cultural diversity of their target audiences. Their lack of profitability, inability to meet generic requirements across cultures, and the perception that they were purely commercial products led to a precipitous decline in MLVs, with Hollywood ceasing multilingual production entirely in 1933 and Germany and France soon thereafter. Although many established and promising young directors made MLVs, few of their works are considered to be of lasting artistic value. An exception is Josef von Sternberg's *Der Blaue Engel* (*The Blue Angel*, 1930), shot in English and German versions for Ufa (Universum Film Aktiengesellschaft) and Paramount. *The Blue Angel* was a substantial international hit and features the same actors (Emil Jannings and Marlene Dietrich) voicing their lines in both versions.

While the MLVs are generally considered to be a failed experiment of the early sound period, multilingual versions continued to be made sporadically in Europe. Jean Renoir's *Le carrosse d'or* (*The Golden Coach*, 1953), for example, was shot at Cinecittà with a largely Italian cast, most of whom, including the star, Anna Magnani (1908–1973), played and spoke all three languages in separately shot English, Italian, and French versions. Werner Herzog's *Nosferatu: Phantom der Nacht* (*Nosferatu the Vampyre*, 1979) was double shot, with the same cast performing separate German and English versions.

THE DUBBING AND SUBTITLING INDUSTRIES

The most common explanation for the divide between dubbing and subtitling countries derives from cost: dubbing, the more expensive translation mode, is adopted by the larger, wealthier countries with significant single-language communities, subtitling by the smaller countries whose audiences comprise more restricted markets. While there is some truth to this rationale, cost alone does not dictate national choice: small Central European countries such as Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Slovakia prefer dubbing, despite its high cost. Historical and political developments, along with tradition, are equally important factors.

In Western Europe, dubbing emerged in the early 1930s as the standard method of language transfer in France, Italy, Germany, and Spain (sometimes referred to as the FIGS group). In France, where the Joinville studio was converted into a dubbing center, the supremacy of dubbing derives from the nation's cultural mission to preserve and protect the French language in the face of foreign (especially American) influence, and the prevalence of French as the lingua franca for a populace accustomed to hearing it in its own films. For the other countries of the FIGS group, culture and political ideology were determining causes. Italy, Germany, and Spain, all of which faced cultural boycotts in the mid-1930s and were ruled by fascist governments, only allowed dubbed versions of foreign films. The dictators of these countries understood how hearing one's own language served to confirm its importance and reinforce a sense of national identity and autonomy. In Italy especially—where most people, including the filmmakers themselves, spoke dialect rather than the official Tuscan—dubbing forged the synthetic unity of a shared national language. As early as 1929, Benito

Mussolini's government decreed that all films projected on Italian screens must have an Italian-language sound track regardless of where it was produced. Both Francisco Franco's Spain and Adolf Hitler's Germany established strict quotas regarding imports, almost all of which were dubbed. Through the quickly established and standardized dubbing industries that were built up in these nations, dubbed movies came to be seen as local productions. The highly developed and still active dubbing industries in these countries are thus remnants of their political contexts of the early 1930s, when sound film emerged.

Dubbing is a labor-intensive process. In a sound booth, dubbing actors view film segments repeatedly while voicing their lines from a prepared script. Several recording attempts may be necessary to achieve, as near as possible, the synchronization of translated lines of dialogue or other vocalizations with the lip movements of the original on-screen actors. Films are dubbed well or badly depending on the time and care taken and the resources devoted to the process. Until the 1960s, lip synchrony was held by the dubbing industry as the most important factor for sustaining the illusion of watching and hearing a homogeneous whole. Now, lip synch is considered to be of secondary importance, since research has shown that the viewer cannot discern minor slips and discrepancies in lip movements, and asynchrony is not bothersome to audiences in dubbing countries. Audio synchrony, or using voices that fit the characters on the screen, is important to the overall effect, and studios tend to employ the same dubbing actors for well-known foreign stars. This has led in some cases to voice actors achieving star power within the industry, or even becoming film actors in their own right: for example, Monica Vitti (b. 1931), the star of several Michelangelo Antonioni films in the 1960s, came to the director's notice through a dubbing assignment for his film *Il Grido* (*The Cry*, 1957). In the postwar Indian film industry (now commonly referred to as "Bollywood"), the ubiquitous song sequences are sung not by the actors but by professional singers who can become as famous as the screen stars who lip-synch their recordings during shooting.

Even in the dubbing countries there are sectors of the audience who prefer to watch subtitled films. In France these are advertised as "version originale sous-titrée" ("original version with subtitles"); in Spain, cinemas increasingly offer both subtitled and dubbed versions of foreign films. Source-language countries—which means English-speaking countries, especially the United States and the United Kingdom—import few films that are not in English and so use these language transfer modes as needed and in a mixed manner. But several non-English-speaking nations, many of which import a high proportion of films, prefer subtitling, including Belgium, Croatia, Cyprus, Greece, Japan, the Netherlands, Portugal, and the Scandinavian countries.

Subtitling, more cost-effective than dubbing because it dispenses with sound recording and voice actors, is nonetheless complex work. The subtitling industry is not nationalized to the same degree as the dubbing one, since the translators are the key personnel and need not reside in the target country. But a primary issue for subtitling lies in the translation, which entails enormous cuts to the source dialogue—as much as half. While the ideal in subtitling is to translate each utterance in full, the limitation of screen space is a major obstacle. The average viewer's reading speed is 150–180 words per minute, with necessary intervals, which severely limits the duration and hence completeness of the subtitles. The final part of the process involves striking a duplicate photographic print of the master print, while simultaneously exposing it with titles to produce a new print with the titles "burned in." Companies hired to affix the subtitles to film prints face a myriad of possibilities concerning type size and typeface, background and placement, indications for extended sentences and multiple speakers, and the like. As with dubbing, films can be subtitled well or badly.

SUBTITLING VERSUS DUBBING

Many introductory film textbooks discuss a debate regarding subtitled versus dubbed prints of foreign films viewed by Anglo-American film studies students, and all state a preference for subtitling. The case against dubbing includes imperfect synchronicity between lip and audio or voice and body, flatness of performances and acoustics, and alteration or elimination of the original film's sound track and design. The quality of the acting is frequently noted as suffering in dubbed films, as the vocal qualities, tones, and rhythms of specific languages, combined with the gestures and facial expressions that mark national characters and acting styles, become literally lost in translation. While subtitling is acknowledged to have drawbacks as well—it is distracting and impedes concentration on the visuals and often leaves portions of the dialogue untranslated—it is seen to alter the source text the least and to enable the target audience to experience the authentic "foreignness" of the film.

But this position often does not acknowledge the selected acceptance of dubbing in subtitling countries or cases where dubbing makes more sense than subtitling. Foreign films and television programs aimed at children are dubbed in target countries that tend otherwise to subtitle because their viewers have not yet learned to read or cannot read quickly enough for subtitles to be effective. While serious moviegoers demand that art films be subtitled, they rarely complain that foreign films in lower, more commercial genres such as the "spaghetti western," *giallo*, martial arts, comedies, and anime are

usually released in dubbed versions. For Italian cinema, popular or art, the authenticity argument does not hold: almost all Italian films are shot silent and then dubbed after filming has been completed, so there is no original sound track to speak of. The postwar era saw increased levels of co-production among nations, with the casts of co-produced films often coming from different countries and not speaking the same languages; their parts were thus dubbed by voice actors of the country in which the film was shot, and the international nature of what is in fact a polyglot film was erased. Federico Fellini's *La strada* (*The Road*, 1954) features two lead performers from the United States speaking English (Anthony Quinn and Richard Basehart) and one from Italy speaking Italian (Giulietta Masina). In terms of screen time and verbal utterances, the two American actors predominate; the Italian lead's lines are negligible. In spite of this, Anglo-American purists invariably judge the dubbed-in-Italian, subtitled-in-English version to be the more authentic even though the lips of two of the three main characters are clearly out of synch with their voices and the film was shot without sound.

The claim that subtitling involves the least interference with the original film is also arguable. Subtitles obstruct the integrity of composition and *mise-en-scène* by leading the viewers' eyes to the bottom of the frame. They focus audience attention on the translated words and the actors speaking them to the exclusion of peripheral or background dialogue, sound, or characters. They do not provide as full a translation as dubbing, and audiences of subtitled films do not experience the words and the expressions of the performers simultaneously. Subtitling may thus be regarded as undoing the synergy of performance and script, elevating selectively translated dialogue and downgrading the impact and importance of visual expression.

Although neither subtitling nor dubbing is an ideal form of audiovisual translation, recent technological developments have widened their application and reception. The number of individual sound tracks used in feature film sound design has increased (twenty-four tracks or more are now commonplace), as has the number of sound tracks used in the dubbing process. When each speaking character has a separate voice track in the film's original recording, dubbing only for language is possible, leaving the rest of the original aural expression of the film intact. For subtitling, laser processing has enabled the introduction of larger letters, outlined words, broader color ranges, and translucent background bands to increase legibility. But it is digitalization that has brought the most dramatic changes. Analyzing and resynthesizing the voices of dubbing actors make it possible for intonation, tone, and timbre to be adjusted to match those of the source actors almost identically. Asynchrony between lip movements and translated revoicings can also be corrected digitally to achieve lip synchrony, which is especially important in close-ups. The introduction of "soft titles," which are similar to the simultaneous translation one may experience with opera, has been enabled by CD-ROM technology and has allowed for high-quality subtitling for films that have no existing subtitled prints, providing a cheaper and more easily transportable solution than the expensive process of burning subtitles onto a newly struck print.

Finally, the introduction of Digital Video Broadcasting (DVB) and the Digital Versatile Disc (DVD) has produced increasing user choice and demand for television and film in other languages. Digital TV (DVB) enables transmission of a number of signals and thus live or simultaneous subtitling—a particularly important development for those countries accustomed to reading subtitles, as it means new access to foreign satellite channels. DVDs have become a crucial mode of film consumption. Their viewers can choose between dubbed or subtitled streams in a range of languages—up to four dubbing tracks and thirty-two subtitled tracks. Translations or subtitles are also required for the extra features frequently found on DVDs, such as trailers, behind-the-scenes documentaries, and biographical information on key cast members. While the subtitling versus dubbing debate is unlikely to ever be resolved, digital technologies have provided new opportunities for both modes of audiovisual translation.

SEE ALSO *Dialogue; Sound; Technology*

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Mark Betz

EARLY CINEMA

Emerging at the tail end of the nineteenth century, cinema owed its existence as a technological invention to key developments in motion study and optics, and, as a visual novelty to traditions of screened entertainment. The medium would soon shed its affiliation with science when its potential for widespread commercial success became more apparent, facilitating its entry into the mainstream of twentieth-century popular culture. Even so, cinema's earliest years were marked by a variety of representational tendencies and viewing contexts whose diversity would diminish once commercial imperatives imposed themselves more fully. Had cinema proved less successful, it might have enjoyed freedom from borrowed aesthetic conventions somewhat longer than it did. But by the first years of the new century, as films became longer and their content incorporated story material with greater regularity, the potential for the cinema to rival stage-based forms and generate greater profit attracted numerous entrepreneurs, leading to sustained growth throughout the early 1900s.

Within ten years of the medium's debut, motion pictures had established themselves as a staple within the cultural landscape of most countries, and the uncertainty of the medium's novelty phase had been replaced by more concerted efforts to standardize the production of films for a growing audience. The increasing popularity of motion pictures meant that for the final ten years of the early cinema period, the medium would enter into a process of institutionalization. With movies readily available in most urban areas and narrative the dominant form that most films assumed, the commercial future of cinema pointed progressively toward industrial models favoring rationalized modes of production and predictable systems of distribution and exhibition. To some degree, the history of cinema's first years is a steady (if uneven) reduction of options, leading to the enshrinement of the feature-length fiction film, shown in theaters designed for movie projection.

EARLY TECHNOLOGY AND FIRST FILMS

Building on the advancements made in series photography by such figures as Étienne-Jules Marey (1830–1904) and Eadweard Muybridge (1830–1904) in the 1870s and 1880s, coupled with the animation principles at the center of motion toys like the zoetrope, numerous inventors in the late nineteenth century attempted to devise an instrument that could produce the illusion of movement through the recording and playback of many photographic images in rapid succession. The process required a flexible base medium, made available with the patenting of celluloid stock by George Eastman (1854–1932) in 1889, and an intermittent mechanism that would allow the film to pass through the camera, pause for recording, and then proceed without tearing. Parallel experimentation resulted in workable motion picture cameras in many countries at virtually the same time: William Kennedy Laurie Dickson (1860–1935), working for Thomas Alva Edison (1847–1931), developed the kinetograph in the United States, while Louis and Auguste Lumière perfected the *cinématographe* in France, and Robert W. Paul (1869–1943), in collaboration with Birt Acres (1854–1918), and William Friese-Greene (1855–1921), working separately, devised cameras in England.

The kinetograph and the *cinématographe* proved the most successful of these inventions, the former propelled

by the business acumen of Edison and the latter spurred by its incorporation of three functions (camera, printer, and projector) into one machine. In fact, the portability and flexibility of the *cinématographe* led the Lumière brothers to send camera operators around the globe, and screenings of their films became the inaugural experience of motion picture projection in many countries in 1896, including Russia, India, Brazil, Mexico, and Egypt. The most famous of the Lumière screenings took place in the Grand Café of Paris on 28 December 1895, often singled out as the first public exhibition of motion pictures for a paying audience, and thus the inauguration of cinema as a commercial enterprise. Though Edison had already been filming subjects with the kinetograph since 1893, these films could only be viewed for the first few years on a private viewing machine called a kinetoscope; projection of Edison films on a screen before an audience did not occur in the United States until 23 April 1896 with the debut of the Vitascope, a projecting device developed by Thomas Armat (1866–1948) but marketed as Edison's own.

The earliest films tended to be brief, often lasting no longer than a minute. Because the first audiences appeared to respond to the visual appeal of oversized, moving images projected before them, subjects were deliberately varied, ranging from the observation of intimate actions (*Baby's Breakfast*, 1895) to larger-scaled events (*Train Arriving at the Station*, 1895). The Lumières quickly became known for their recordings of seemingly unstaged events, often labeled *actualités*, while Edison's first films tended to be brief records of vaudeville performances. Initially restricted to the confines of the Edison studio, called the Black Maria, kinetoscope subjects played up the performative value of their act, be it the flexing of Sandow the Strongman's muscles or the swirling skirts of Annabelle. Though relatively static, these films emphasized cinema's appeal as a permanent record of a moment's movement in time, the camera capturing whatever was placed before it for posterity, in much the same way that still photography had done in previous decades.

The *cinématographe* had the added advantage of increased mobility, thereby allowing the Lumière camera operators to pursue a wider range of actions in their natural settings. This meant that the Lumière films could trade on the recognition that familiar places possessed for local audiences as well as exploiting the exoticism of faraway locales. Equally important to the success of these early *actualités* was the way they functioned as visual newspapers, giving imagistic weight to events of the day, such as natural disasters or visits by royal dignitaries.

For the first few years, the vast majority of films were single shots, and it was left to exhibitors to combine these shots into longer works if they so desired. The elaboration of films into multi-shot entities occurred with greater regularity after 1900, and with this shift came a concomitant increase in filmed narratives. Nonetheless, early films offered a surprisingly diverse array of formal strategies: while many films employed a fixed camera position that kept filmed subjects at a considerable distance, others exploited the camera's capacity for magnification by employing a series of closely scaled shots (for example, *Grandma's Reading Glass*, 1900) or featuring a constantly moving camera, either as a panorama or mounted on a mobile vehicle, particularly locomotives, for a cycle of films often labeled "kinesthetic films" or "phantom rides."

One notable feature of many early films is their self-conscious use of features that created visual pleasure: the mobile camera in the kinesthetic films and the masked close-ups in various peephole films stress the capacity of the medium to provide a technologically enhanced view that allows the spectator to see differently. This approach operated in contradistinction to later, more narratively oriented cinema in which style often functioned to underscore the story. The overt nature of aspects of early cinema style has led some commentators, most notably Tom Gunning, to label the first ten years or so of film as constituting a cinema of attractions. The cinema of attractions is not defined so much by its unique attributes as by the distinct relationship it creates between the spectator and the film. In the cinema of attractions, film addresses itself directly to the viewer, often quite literally when vaudeville actors solicit the spectator's attention by looking directly toward the camera. More generally, it is the modus operandi of the films themselves that qualifies them for this designation, as they are designed to provoke an immediate reaction, predicated on shock or surprise, rather than on the cumulative pleasures that narrative films provide. One might think that the move to multi-shot films would have diluted the intensity of attractions, but at least initially, editing became another form of attraction. According to Gunning, in many of the early multi-shot films, editing becomes a kind of surprise in itself, as in the fanciful transitions one observes in films such as *Let Me Dream Again* (1900) or *What Happened in the Tunnel* (1903) or the accelerated sensation of displacement and mobility editing helps to promote in chase films, in which large groups of people run from one locale to the next, the cut introducing a new setting while sustaining the sense of frantic movement.

One feature of editing in early multi-shot films in particular that has invited scholarly attention is the propensity toward noncontinuity in such films. Unlike later films, in which editing strives to promote a sense of continuity by disguising the potential disruptiveness of the cut, the editing in many early films draws attention to

EDWIN S. PORTER

b. Connellsville, Pennsylvania, 21 April 1870, d. New York, 30 April 1941

Often credited with popularizing the story film in the United States, Edwin S. Porter is most notable for embodying the diverse tendencies of early cinema. Commentators have referred to Porter as "Janus-faced," a figure who pointed toward the medium's future at the same time that he epitomized its period-bound qualities. In particular, Porter pioneered certain aspects of narrative filmmaking, such as linear editing and intertitles, while also adhering to many of early cinema's unique traits, such as temporal overlap and direct address of the camera by performers.

Porter entered the motion picture business as a traveling exhibitor, and that experience probably influenced his early experiments as a filmmaker. Hired by Edison to work on the company's projector in 1900, he soon became the firm's chief cameraman and head of production. From the outset, his interest in the types of transitions possible when moving from one shot to another is evident. Yet, for every film that features a fluid set of linked actions, such as *The Great Train Robbery* (1903), another one depends upon tableau—the story held together only by the audience's knowledge of the source material, as in Porter's adaptation of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1903). Porter's achievements crystallized that year, which also saw the release of *Life of an American Fireman* and *The Gay Shoe Clerk*, two of his best-known works, that demonstrate how point of view functions at this time. In *Life of an American Fireman*, his insistence on showing the event in its entirety from one perspective and then again from another highlights the importance of retaining an established viewpoint, even at the expense of intimating simultaneity. In *The Gay Show Clerk*, the famous close-up of a stocking-clad ankle demonstrates how magnification of detail can satisfy the viewer's voyeuristic desire for illicit visual pleasures.

Though Porter continued to find success with such nickelodeon-era shorts as *The Kleptomaniac* and the Winsor McCay–inspired *Dream of a Rarebit Fiend* (both 1906), his style of filmmaking did not survive the changes wrought by increased narrational self-sufficiency during the transitional period. By 1908, his approach already seemed antiquated, and he was let go by Edison the following year. He continued to work in the industry, lasting into the feature era to become production head at Famous Players in 1912. But his interests focused on the development of cinematic technology from 1915 onward. Fittingly, given his beginnings in the industry, his final lasting contribution was the shepherding of the Simplex projector to a position of supremacy.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

The Finish of Bridget McKeen (1901), *Uncle Josh at the Moving Picture Show* (1902), *Life of an American Fireman* (1903), *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1903), *The Great Train Robbery* (1903), *European Rest Cure* (1904), *The Seven Ages* (1905), *The Dream of a Rarebit Fiend* (1906), *Kathleen Mavourneen* (1906), *The "Teddy" Bears* (1907)

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Charlie Keil

itself. Moreover, the logic of editing in multi-shot films follows a principle whereby, as André Gaudreault has noted, autonomy of space overrides temporal unity. The clearest demonstration of his observation can be seen in instances of temporal overlap, in which a portion of the time frame from a previous shot is repeated in a subsequent shot, the action in the latter occurring in a different locale or viewed from a changed perspective. The most celebrated case of temporal overlap occurs in Edwin S. Porter's (1870–1941) *Life of an American Fireman* (1903), when the rescue of the mother and child from the burning building is shown twice, both from within the building and from the outside. Though later practice (and a subsequently re-edited version of the film) would rely on crosscutting to portray the same action from two vantage points, at this stage in early cinema's stylistic development, it apparently made more sense to show the action in its entirety from one perspective

before shifting to another. Rather than a mistake, temporal overlap should be understood as evidence that the logic underwriting early cinema style traded on distinctive viewing procedures and the influence of other, visually based storytelling forms prevalent at the time.

EXHIBITION AND EARLY VIEWING CONTEXTS

One of those influential forms was the magic lantern show, which depended on projected images to tell stories visually. Charles Musser, among others, has suggested that film exhibition practice developed within traditions of screen entertainment aligned with such media as magic lanterns and stereopticons. Highly dependent on lecturers, elaborate transitional effects, and a multitude of still images, magic lantern shows may have affected the way early film exhibition developed in a variety of ways. For one, they provided a model for exhibitors to construct programs of single-shot films that had the potential to transform the material into something entirely different. Depending on the will and the creativity of the exhibitor, various short films could be combined into multi-shot assemblages, whose meaning might be further transformed by an accompanying text read by a lecturer. This allowed the exhibitor to function as a proto-editor in the years before multi-shot films became the industry norm. As Musser has also argued, the power of the exhibitor to supply additional narrational force to the films he projected complicates the applicability of the cinema of attractions model, insofar as the films might have been understood quite differently, depending on how they were presented.

Nonetheless, Gunning has found further confirmation of the pervasiveness of attractions by considering the effect of exhibition on early films. Because films often functioned as one act among many on a vaudeville bill, their status as attractions was reinforced by the modular presentational format of vaudeville itself. Much like the variety acts it was sandwiched among, the short film traded on making an immediate impact on its audience before being replaced by some other, disparate piece of entertainment. In other words, the vaudeville program fostered early cinema's tendency toward surprise and novelty by virtue of the interchangeability of elements on any given bill. Even when cinema came to be shown in theaters designed primarily for film exhibition, this variety format persisted, placing film among a host of appealing entertainments, including illustrated songs, lecturers, and vaudeville acts, only now these elements supported the films.

Before films found themselves featured as the main attraction in venues specifically built or reconfigured for the purpose of screening them (these were typically termed nickelodeons in the United States), cinema appeared in a variety of exhibition sites. The diversity of places films were screened points to the broad potential envisioned for film from the outset. Everywhere from outdoor fairs to department stores, opera houses to dime museums, offered films. The venue and context determined the role films would play: films documenting war-related activities might be screened in a community hall to boost morale during wartime, while a church might show a filmed Passion Play to coincide with a religious service. In certain countries, particularly in Europe, itinerant exhibitors played a crucial role in spreading cinema across the countryside, often screening films in the fairground circuit. For this reason, films tended to be sold outright, since exhibitors would move from site to site, ideally finding new audiences for their programs at each locale.

Such strategies failed to build a permanent base for cinema's growth, however, and risked alienating audiences who might be exposed to either worn-out prints or collections of titles already viewed. In the United States, the solution to such problems arose in the form of the film exchange, an early type of film distribution in which a middleman bought prints and then rented them out to exhibitors at a fraction of the purchase price. The inauguration of the exchange system facilitated the establishment of permanent movie theaters in America, providing exhibitors with a steady supply of reliable prints at a reduced cost.

How is it that motion pictures had achieved a sufficient level of popularity by 1903–1905 to entice enterprising business people to risk investing in the exchange system and then in permanent exhibition sites? Scholars differ in their explanations, but the increased production of longer story films, most obviously *Le voyage dans la lune* (*A Trip to the Moon* [1902]) and *The Great Train Robbery* (1903), must have played a significant role, as both these films proved to be successes with the moviegoing public.

Still more questions arise concerning just who that moviegoing public might have been. It has frequently been assumed that the audience for early cinema was composed primarily of working-class, immigrant men (at least in the United States), that conclusion reached on the basis of contemporaneous reports and the locations of theaters. Though such a portrait of the American moviegoer might have been accurate in the initial years of the nickelodeon boom, it scarcely does justice to the diversity of audiences viewing cinema during the entirety of the early cinema period and in regions and countries beyond that of the United States' industrialized northeast. Accounts of well-heeled patrons frequenting motion picture programs at private salons in turn-of-the-century France, fairground visitors of all ages and social backgrounds taking in films as part of the presentations by

Edwin S. Porter's **The Great Train Robbery** *(1903) marked a number of advances in the story film.* EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

traveling showmen in Great Britain, and rural, middle-class churchgoers viewing films at a Chautauqua in the rural Midwest of the United States indicate that motion pictures attracted different types of audiences, depending on the venue and the mode of presentation.

Nonetheless, much has been made of the anxiety that cinema engendered among those who felt compelled to protect citizens from society's evils. Reformers feared the potentially negative effects of cinema from the outset, and as permanent homes for film exhibition became established, efforts at regulation found an easy target. Nickelodeons were criticized for being dark, dirty sites of social mixing. Ironically, the National Board of Censorship (NBC) came into being in the United States as a defensive strategy on the part of exhibitors reacting to the citywide closing of nickelodeons by New York's mayor in 1908. One can see the establishment of the NBC as the first in a series of self-regulatory moves made by the American film industry to circumvent state-controlled censorship. At the same time, it demonstrates how early—and how closely—exhibition and regulation are tied together, and how principles of regulation are formulated with an eye to "protecting vulnerable" audience members from the excesses of motion picture content, thereby controlling their behavior by shaping the films those audience members will see. In the years after 1908, the film industry would exercise progressively greater control over every aspect of the film experience, from production through to exhibition, in attempts to standardize the product and its entry into a growing marketplace.

CHANGES IN PRODUCTION

Early production in the preeminent film-producing nations of France, Great Britain, and the United States

The travellers arrive at their destination in Georges Méliès's* Un Voyage dans la lune *(*A Trip to the Moon*, 1902). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

has often been likened to a cottage industry. Firms tended to be fairly small and typically operated in an artisanal fashion, which restricted their ability to respond to increased demand with expanded output. When the equipment permitted it, *actualités* could be filmed by a single cameraperson, but a collaborative model of film-making usually prevailed for fictional works, indicating that a division of labor was deemed appropriate from the outset in the production of story films. France proved most forward-thinking in this regard, particularly the firms of Gaumont and Pathé: the latter moved to a director-unit system of production by 1906, in which numerous directors (overseen by supervising producer Ferdinand Zecca [1864–1947]) worked with their own small crews to put out a film on a weekly basis, while prints were mass-produced, courtesy of a workforce over 1,000 strong. The growth of these companies allowed them to produce films at a prodigious rate and to move beyond the relatively small market of France to become dominant internationally. Diversification of product further differentiated Pathé and Gaumont from their chief French competitor, Georges Méliès (1861–1938). Whereas Méliès tended to concentrate on trick films and *féeries* (elaborate story films employing fantasy), the other two companies produced a range of films, eventually incorporating melodramas and chase films into the mix. Pathé, always the most enterprising of the French firms, capitalized on the limited capacity of the major American producers of the mid-1900s (Edison, Biograph, Vitagraph, Selig, and Lubin) and easily dominated the US market once it started distributing its films there in 1904.

England's companies proved far less stable than those of France but still enjoyed periods of prominence,

especially in the early years of the twentieth century. There were several notable firms, most of which operated on an artisanal model. These included the company headed by early pioneer Robert W. Paul, whose success in manufacturing equipment led him to film production; those producers belonging to the so-called "Brighton School," chief among them G. A. Smith (1864–1959) and James Williamson (1855–1933), as well as the most successful and durable of the British filmmakers, Cecil Hepworth (1873–1953). The stylistic range of British films was particularly impressive, incorporating the self-consciously inventive trick comedy of two films from 1900, Williamson's *The Big Swallow* and Hepworth's *How It Feels to Be Run Over* (both convincing examples of how attractions-era filmmaking could render acknowledgment of the camera's presence a source of uniquely cinematic humor, Hepworth's involving reformulation of the chase film), the enterprising use of cut-ins in Smith's *Sick Kitten* and transitional devices in his *Mary Jane's Mishap* (both from 1903), and the multi-shot *Rescued by Rover* (1905). The latter proved one of England's most popular productions, so much so that Hepworth had to shoot the film several times as each of the negatives wore out. In its fusing of proven plot situations (stolen child saved by heroic dog) with propulsive linear editing, *Rescued by Rover* points toward the last-minute rescue scenario perfected by D. W. Griffith (1875–1948) a few years later at Biograph.

In the United States, the relatively stagnant production levels before 1908 can be attributed in part to Edison's continued threats of legal reprisals for patent violation. While two firms, Kalem and Essanay, entered into production in 1907, the output of American companies lagged far behind the nickelodeon-fueled demand, allowing Pathé's films and other imports to command 75 percent of the American market. The solution to the patent infringement impasse came in the form of a patent pooling agreement reached in late 1908; after it, productivity by American firms increased significantly.

The company established to implement the conditions of this agreement was known as the Motion Picture Patents Company (MPPC). All the major American producers became members and complied with its policies. The MPPC aimed to control every aspect of the industry by implementing a system of royalties to be paid for use of equipment and, more importantly, by working to bring distribution practices into line with producers' desires. The MPPC aimed to curb the excesses of distribution that had contributed to industrial instability, primarily the circulation of aging prints and the reliance on duped copies. Moreover, the MPPC exerted control over exchange schedules, introducing regularly timed releases. Exchanges had to be licensed by the MPPC, ensuring that distributors would abide by schedules dictated by producers. (The MPPC extended its control over the distribution sector by taking over the licensed exchanges altogether with the formation of the General Film Company in 1910, bringing it one step closer to becoming an oligopoly.)

Though clearly working for its own monetary gain, the MPPC did effect substantial and positive changes in the American production landscape. Productivity soared from 1909 onward, in part because the MPPC limited the number of imports allowed into the domestic market, but also because its distribution reforms provided security to producers, who could now depend upon predictable delivery schedules. Even so, the MPPC-related firms failed to address all exhibitor needs. In part, these needs arose because certain exhibitors chafed against the royalties imposed upon them; further dissension appeared in the form of exchanges left out of the MPPC fold at the time of the General Film Company's formation. These disenfranchised elements within the distribution and exhibition sector constituted a sufficient percentage of the market to support the emergence of a competing faction of producers, known as the Independents, the first of which appeared in 1909. Their ranks grew over the next few years, leading to a clogged production field of more than twenty manufacturers by 1911, whose production levels were far in excess of pre-MPPC rates. The combined force of MPPC and Independent producers led to the release of over 5,000 films in 1913, the vast majority of them still single reelers.

THE SINGLE-REEL FILM AND CHANGES TO FILM FORM

One of the most important changes to occur at the same time that the MPPC was formed was the adoption of the single reel (a 1,000-foot length) as the industry standard. This move to a standardized format had repercussions not only for industry practice but also for the formal properties defining story films during the next five years. Reliance on a single, interchangeable film length rendered print delivery and rental charges to distributors much more straightforward. Exhibition programs became more predictable, as audiences came to expect films to last a prescribed amount of time. In many ways, the move to a single-reel standard helped push films toward the status of a mass consumer good, insofar as they became a commodity whose value was now regularized.

The changes wrought by the adoption of the single-reel format also registered themselves at the level of production methods and formal features. Now that producers knew exactly how long a film narrative should run, they could fashion stories designed to fit within the specified 1,000 feet. Film narratives began to assume a structural sameness from 1908 onward, hastened in part

GEORGES MÉLIÈS
b. Paris, France, 8 December 1861, d. 21 January 1938

Famed for his elaborately staged fantasy films and whimsical trick films, Georges Méliès has often been described as the antithesis of the Lumière brothers, his fictional flights of fancy viewed as the inverse of their slice-of-life *actualités*. Nonetheless, one can overstate Méliès's contribution to the development of film narrative: for example, his famed "substitution splice" operates according to the logic of trickery rather than continuity and demonstrates how his early career as a magician clearly influenced his subsequent filmmaking practice.

First and foremost, Méliès's films are the work of a showman, the tricks proudly displayed while the wizardry is kept under wraps. Usually prized for their intricate *mise-en-scène,* his films are also feats of editing-as-illusion, a fact easily missed by those accustomed to associating cuts with spatial transitions. Instead, many of Méliès's disguised cuts operate to facilitate a transformation; accordingly, all elements of the *mise-en-scène* must remain in the same place while a single object is removed or repositioned to enable the visual trick to work effectively. Through these substitution splices, Méliès engaged in a form of invisible editing, though not the type associated with later classical storytelling methods.

Equally exacting was Méliès's approach to *mise-en-scène,* and his films are a cornucopia of visual effects, whether they be the reflexive displays of projection and technological reproduction in films such as *La Lanterne magique* (*The Magic Lantern*, 1903) and *Photographie électrique à distance* (*Long Distance Wireless Photography*, 1908) or the creation of fantasy worlds in longer works like *Le Voyage dans la lune* (*A Trip to the Moon*, 1902) and *Le Voyage à travers l'impossible* (*The Impossible Voyage*, 1904). It is these multi-shot story films that have contributed to Méliès's reputation as an early master of film narrative, but in truth, they are a collection of intricate and distinct tableaux. Méliès's primary interest was the visual capacity of the individual shot, and he excelled at devising ever more elaborate sets, populated by sprites who disappear in a puff of smoke, mermaids surrounded by varieties of exotic sea life, and improbably conceived traveling machines capable of propelling their inhabitants beyond the earth's surface.

Exercising total control over all aspects of the filmmaking process, Méliès created perfectly self-contained worlds, most of them shot within the confines of his glass-walled studio in Montreuil. Yet his artisanal approach to filmmaking would prove his financial undoing as he was dwarfed by the industrially advanced Pathé Frères in his home country and cheated by American competitors who duped his most popular films without asking permission (or providing compensation). Though still making films as late as 1913, Méliès found himself outpaced by an industry increasingly dependent on production methods foreign to his preferred approach and gravitating toward subject matter rooted in a more prosaic realism.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Cendrillon (*Cinderella*, 1899), *Barbe-bleue* (*Bluebeard*, 1901), *L'Homme à la tête de caoutchouc* (*The Man with the India-Rubber Head*, 1902), *Le Voyage dans la lune* (*A Trip to the Moon*, 1902), *La Royaume des fées* (*Kingdom of the Fairies*, 1903), *La Lanterne magique* (*The Magic Lantern*, 1903), *La Sirène* (*The Mermaid*, 1904), *Le Voyage à travers l'impossible* (*The Impossible Voyage*, 1904), *La Photographie électrique à distance* (*Long Distance Wireless Photography*, 1908), *À la Conquête du Pôle* (*The Conquest of the Pole*, 1912)

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Georges Méliès. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

by the adoption of the scenario script. These scripts served as skeletons for finished films and provided producers with blueprints for production schedules. The increased rationalization of production practices followed directly from the introduction of scenario scripts, allowing producers to organize sets, locations, and personnel according to shooting demands. Departmental organization of personnel provided further streamlining of the production process, resulting in writing departments, which further refined the crafting of scenario scripts.

The emerging trade press in the United States also contributed to the standardization of the script writing process from 1907 onward. Existing publications such as *New York Daily Mirror* and *Variety* began to devote space to the film industry, and new journals aimed specifically at exhibitors also appeared, most notably *Moving Picture World* and *Nickelodeon*. Along with advice to exhibitors on how to enhance the moviegoing experience, film reviews and columns outlined the ideal ways to structure film scenarios. The trade press coached aspiring writers in the nascent craft of screenwriting while pointing out the clichés and overused devices that would mark their scripts as derivative. Though one cannot be certain how seriously such advice was taken by those responsible for the scripts, these primers on crafting film narratives nonetheless indicate which principles of narrative construction were prized at this time.

With films now longer, the stories that filmmakers could tell inevitably grew in complexity as well. While an involving narrative might well produce a satisfied viewer, a muddled set of events would only result in frustration and bafflement. Filmmakers had to ensure that as narratives increased in intricacy, they did not tax viewers' powers of comprehension. As Charles Musser has argued, this resulted in a crisis of representation for the industry around 1907, as filmmakers struggled to find ways to guarantee that audiences would understand the stories presented. Various extratextual aides to comprehension were tested, including the reintroduction of the lecturer and the employment of actors behind the screen to utter dialogue explaining silent scenes. But solutions unique to a single exhibition situation did not address the problem in a systematic way; instead, audience comprehension had to be ensured by internally generated means, and these needed to function the same way for every spectator, regardless of viewing circumstances.

This led to a period of protracted experimentation during which filmmakers devised a series of text-based strategies to provide narratives that would ideally "tell themselves": aspects of the medium were enlisted to ensure comprehension of plot points, provide the look of a believable fictional world, and promote a sense of viewer engagement. The methods filmmakers developed emerged over time and through trial and error. What they came up with was one of the most striking transformations in film style ever undergone within such a short timeframe. In effect, this involved a wholesale change to the narrative approach already entrenched in early cinema. What Kristin Thompson has identified as a "neutral and unobtrusive" manner of providing information in the earliest years shifted gradually to a more directive guiding of the viewer's attention.

Numerous scholars have coined the term "transitional era" to identify the years following 1907 and extending to the introduction of features. What distinguishes this period on a formal level is the ongoing experimentation in storytelling methods and the shifting functions of various stylistic devices, as those devices were enlisted in the service of a developing narrative system. Comparisons to the earlier, pre-1907 mode can help make the distinctions clearer: during the cinema of attractions period, one finds a bias favoring the autonomy of the shot: shots operate as individual units rather than as pieces fitting together to make a whole.

Even when editing stitches together numerous shots, it is more like beads on a string rather than integrally interrelated component pieces. This emphasis on discrete shots translates into filmmakers exhausting the narrative potential of a single space before replacing it with another. Even in chase films, defined by the principle of advancing action, all the characters must exit the frame before a shot is deemed complete.

In many films made prior to 1907, style existed as a system only loosely connected to narrative concerns; what the next five or so years witnessed was the gradual but increased bending of style to narrative prerogatives. Conveying temporal continuity offers one striking example of this narrational shift: whereas in the earlier period, depictions of events occurring at the same time had occasioned instances of temporal overlap (even in films that employed sustained versions of linear editing, such as *The Great Train Robbery* and *Rescued by Rover*), now actions would be interrupted—literally cut into by edits—to produce the sensation of simultaneity for the viewer.

Nowhere is this more evident than in D. W. Griffith's celebrated last-minute rescues, perfected during his tenure at Biograph (which more or less coincides with the period under examination here, 1908–1913). In numerous films during the transitional period, crosscutting clarified spatial relationships between two physically separated locales while incorporating temporal pressure into the representation of space. Such an approach generates suspense, because of its constant reliance on delay in showing the outcome of one line of action while switching to another. Suspense works to involve the viewer in the narrative, in much the same way other stylistic strategies developed during this period pull the viewer into the narrative world on view: changing approaches to set decoration and arrangement of actors enhance the depth and volume of the spaces depicted; performance style moves toward greater restraint, with fewer grand gestures and a more internalized approach to expressing emotion; shifts in performance style are reinforced by moving the camera closer to the actors, making their faces more legible. Many of these changes make the fictional world on display both more believable and more engaging, placing the characters and their motivations at the center of the drama. For this reason, flashbacks, dreams, visions, and cut-ins to inserts (especially those revealing extracts from letters) become much more prevalent during this period, helping to convey characters' internal states. Overall, the individual elements of style become subordinated to a narrational program that fosters interdependency and integration, as when editing allows for shifts in shot scale, which in turn helps to register changes in performance style.

CINEMA AS AN INSTITUTION

The significant changes occurring to film form during this period operated in concert with other forces of transformation so that by 1915, numerous developments pointed toward the institutionalization of cinema. By 1915, the MPPC had been dissolved by court order. The move toward increased consolidation inaugurated by the struggle between the Independents and the MPPC (the latter dissolved by court order in 1915) continued apace: corporate entities that would become pivotal in the studio era, such as Universal and Paramount, were founded during this period. The move of the American film industry to Hollywood was already underway, as was the establishment of a star system, with figures such as Mary Pickford (1892–1979) and Charlie Chaplin (1889–1977) acquiring the substantial fame and the power that came with it. Feature-length films had begun to dislodge the primacy of the single reeler, while large-scale picture palaces usurped the role of nickelodeons within the exhibition landscape. Movies had moved noticeably closer to the status of mass entertainment, and the increased social responsibility that attends such a shift produced a new phase in the medium's development, a clear departure from the hallmarks of the period that we label retrospectively the era of early cinema.

SEE ALSO *Film History; Narrative; Pre-Cinema; Silent Cinema*

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EDITING

Editing is a postproduction phase of filmmaking that begins following the completion of principal cinematography. An editor (and his or her team of assistant editors) works in close collaboration with the film's director and producer. This means that, as with all areas of filmmaking, editing is a collaborative enterprise, even though, in practice, the film editor is typically responsible for the overall ordering and design of the shots in sequence.

Many editing decisions, however, may originate from the film's director or producer. The famous and unconventional series of dissolves in *Taxi Driver* (1976) that join shots of Robert DeNiro walking down the same street originated from director Martin Scorsese (b. 1942) rather than editor Tom Rolf (b. 1931). The editing design that opens *The Wild Bunch* (1969), first establishing the band of outlaws riding into town and then cutting to close-ups of a pair of scorpions struggling in a nest of fire ants, was the idea of producer Phil Feldman (1922–1991). Anne V. Coates (b. 1925) was hired to edit *Lawrence of Arabia* (1962) after first cutting a trial sequence, prompting director David Lean (1908–1991) to proclaim that for the first time in his career he'd found an editor who cut a sequence exactly the way he would have. Many directors, in fact, are known for having excellent editing skills, including Akira Kurosawa (1910–1998) (*Shichinin no samurai* [*Seven Samurai*, 1954]), Nicolas Roeg (b. 1928) (*Don't Look Now* [1973]), Frederick Wiseman (b. 1930) (*Hospital* [1970]), and Sam Peckinpah (1925–1984) (*The Wild Bunch*). Even many of these directors, though, employ first-rate editors on their productions.

THE WORK OF EDITING

What is true about editing, therefore, is common to all phases of film production—the creative decisions involved typically have numerous authors. What, then, as a key collaborator on the production, does the editor do? The film editor reviews all of the footage shot on a production, selects the best takes of individual shots, and then orders these to produce an edited sequence that will convey the narrative action and emotion of the film's scenes. To accomplish this, editors must continually view and re-view the footage, trying different combinations of shots and gradually shaping the correct ones. Doing so moves their edit from a rough cut to a fine cut of the material. To maximize their ability to see all of the creative possibilities for combining the shots, most editors will not go on location while the film is being shot or watch the director at work. Seeing the actual layout of a set or other physical locale will tend to inhibit their perceptions about the ways that the shots may be joined, causing them to think in terms of the physical realities of place rather than the spatial realities they can create through editing.

Indeed, in earlier decades throughout most of the medium's history, editors worked on celluloid, physically cutting and splicing film using large bulky machines that ran footage in a linear and sequential fashion, from the beginning of a take to its end. The Moviola was an upright editor with a single screen that was used throughout much of Hollywood's history. Of European derivation, the Steenbeck, or KEM, was a horizontal, flatbed machine equipped with two screens and two soundtracks. It, too, was a linear editor because the footage could advance only in a sequential fashion, from head to tail

Complex editing appears in* Don't Look Now *(1973) by director-editor Nicolas Roeg. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

of a clip or vice versa. Since the 1990s editors have been working on digital, nonlinear machines, such as Avid or Lightworks. These machines do not work on celluloid film; they provide computerized access to footage on digital video and enable an editor to go instantly to any point in this footage without having to scroll manually through every frame, the way a Moviola or Steenbeck requires. Rather than physically cutting and splicing film, the editor using a nonlinear system works at a keyboard, manipulating via computer the footage that has been digitized as video. Once the fine cut is finished, the camera negative is conformed to the final cut. Nonlinear editing has become the industry norm today, and it has had some important consequences for the stylistics of editing in contemporary film.

The foregoing description of editing makes it seem to be a very straightforward and relatively simple process. It is not. Many editors have a background in music or have musical affinities, and they speak of *feeling* where the cut needs to go, of responding kinesthetically to the emerging rhythms of the sequence. Edit points, therefore, often owe more to an editor's intuitive response to the emerging flow of the sequence than to coolly intellectual decisions. Indeed, there is no single right way to cut a sequence. There are many possible cuts, all of which will inflect the material in different ways. As this suggests, while editing plays a variety of narrative functions, presenting basic story information that advances the story, it also helps set the emotional tone and coloration of a sequence, the rhythm and pace of scenes; helps create performances by the actors; and solves the innumerable continuity problems that arise when trying to connect the footage shot during production.

These are very powerful interventions into the material of the film, and they suggest why so many directors have found editing to be a supremely decisive phase of filmmaking. It is commonly said that a director makes his or her film three times—first, as the screenplay is written; second, as the screenplay is altered at the point of filming; and third, as the material that has been directed and photographed is changed again in the editing process. For this reason, directors frequently partner with a favorite editor across many film productions, finding that this collaboration is a key means of achieving the results they want. Martin Scorsese regularly teamed with editor Thelma Schoonmaker (b. 1940) (*Raging Bull* [1980],

GoodFellas [1990], *Gangs of New York* [2002]). Susan E. Morse has edited most of the films that Woody Allen (b. 1935) has directed (*Manhattan* [1979], *Crimes and Misdemeanors* [1989], *Celebrity* [1998]). Clint Eastwood (b. 1930) likes to work with Joel Cox (*Every Which Way But Loose* [1978], *Unforgiven* [1992], *Mystic River* [2003]). Blake Edwards (b. 1922) used Ralph E. Winters (1909–2004) (*The Pink Panther* [1964], *10* [1979], *Victor/Victoria* [1982]).

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDITING

Although the earliest films in cinema were done in one shot without any editing, cutting is so fundamental to the medium that it began to emerge relatively quickly. There was a basic disparity between the amount of film that a camera's magazine could hold and the evolving desire of filmmakers and audiences for longer and more elaborate story films. Only by editing shots together could longer narrative forms be achieved. *A Trip to the Moon* (1914), directed by Georges Méliès (1861–1938), for example, creates a narrative by assembling a series of scenes, with each scene filmed in a single shot. The edit points occur between the scenes, in order to link them together.

Life of an American Fireman (1903), directed by Edwin S. Porter (1870–1941), presents the same narrative events—a fireman rescuing a woman from a burning building—as seen first from inside the building and then from camera setups outside the building, repeating the same narrative action. From the standpoint of continuity as it would develop in cinema, this duplication of event was a deviant use of editing, although other early films feature this kind of overlapping action. It demonstrated, however, the manner in which cutting could impose its own laws of time and space on narrative.

Porter's *The Great Train Robbery* (1903) follows a band of Western outlaws robbing a train and interrupts the chronology of the action with a cutaway showing the rescue of a telegraph operator whom the outlaws earlier had tied up. Following the cutaway, Porter introduces a second line of action, showing the roundup of a posse and the pursuit of the outlaws. Film historians commonly cite this as an early example of parallel editing, showing two lines of narrative action happening at the same time, although Porter's use of this device here is ambiguous. It is not clear that he means for the parallel editing to establish that the two lines of action are in fact happening simultaneously. In other respects, editing in *The Great Train Robbery* remains very primitive, with cuts used only to join scenes and with no intercutting inside a scene.

In contrast with Porter, D. W. Griffith (1875–1948) freed the camera from the conventions of stage perspective by breaking the action of scenes into many different shots and editing these according to the emotional and narrative rhythms of the action. Griffith explored the capabilities of editing in the films he made at Biograph studio from 1908 to 1913, primarily the use of continuity matches to link shots smoothly and according to their dramatic and kinesthetic properties. Cutting from full-figure shots to a close-up accentuated the drama, and matching the action on a cut as a character walks from an exterior into a doorway and, in the next shot, enters an interior set enabled Griffith to join filming locations that were physically separated but adjacent in terms of the time and place of the story.

Griffith became famous for his use of crosscutting in the many "rides to the rescue" that climax his films. In *The Girl and Her Trust* (1912), for example, Griffith cuts back and forth from a pair of robbers, who have abducted the heroine and are escaping on a railroad pump car, to the hero, who is attempting to overtake them by train. By intercutting these lines of action, Griffith creates suspense, and by shortening the lengths of the shots, he accelerates the pace. Crosscutting furnished a foundation for narrative in cinema, and there is little structural difference between what Griffith did here and what a later filmmaker such as Steven Spielberg (b. 1946) does in *Jaws* (1975). Griffith extended his fluid use of continuity editing and crosscutting in his epics *The Birth of a Nation* (1915) and *Intolerance* (1916). The latter film is a supreme example of crosscutting, which is here used to tell four stories set in different time periods in simultaneous fashion.

The Soviet filmmaker Sergei Eisenstein (1898–1948) wrote that Griffith's crosscutting embodied the essential class disparity of a capitalist society. He meant that the lines of action in Griffith's editing remained separated, like the classes under capitalism. Inspired by the October Revolution, Eisenstein and other Soviet filmmakers developed in the 1910s and 1920s a more radical approach to editing than Griffith had countenanced. Griffith had championed facial expression and used close-ups to showcase it, but Lev Kuleshov (1899–1970), teaching at the Moscow Film School, proclaimed that editing itself could essentially create facial expression and the impression of an acting performance. The "Kuleshov effect" has become part of the basic folklore of cinema. Kuleshov allegedly took a strip of film showing an actor's emotionless face and intercut it with shots of other objects—a bowl of soup, a woman grieving at a gravestone, a child playing with a toy—and the edited sequence (according to Kuleshov) led audiences to remark on the skill of the actor, who looked hungry when he saw the soup, sad at the sight of the woman, and happy when he saw the child. Because the face remained unchanged, Kuleshov announced that his

SERGEI EISENSTEIN

b. Riga, Russian Empire (now Latvia), 23 January 1898, d. 11 February 1948

Sergei Eisenstein is a wholly unique figure in cinema history. He was a filmmaker *and* a theoretician of cinema who made films and wrote voluminously about their structure and the nature of cinema. Both his filmmaking and his writing (which fills several volumes) have been tremendously influential.

Frustrated by the creative limitations of his work in the theater, Eisenstein turned to cinema and in 1925 completed his first feature, *Stachka* (*Strike*), which depicted the plight of oppressed workers. Eisenstein's next two films are the ones by which he remains best known, *Bronenosets Potyomkin* (*Battleship Potemkin*, 1925) and *Oktyabr* (*Ten Days That Shook the World* and *October*, 1927), each depicting political rebellion against czarist rule.

Eisenstein believed that editing was the foundation of film art. For Eisenstein, meaning in cinema lay not in the individual shot but only in the relationships among shots established by editing. Translating a Marxist political perspective into the language of cinema, Eisenstein referred to his editing as "dialectical montage" because it aimed to expose the essential contradictions of existence and the political order. Because conflict was essential to the political praxis of Marxism, the idea of conflict furnished the logic of Eisenstein's shot changes, which gives his silent films a rough, jagged quality. His shots do not combine smoothly, as in the continuity editing of D. W. Griffith and Hollywood cinema, but clash and bang together. Thus, his montages were eminently suited to depictions of violence, as in *Strike*, *Potemkin*, and *Ten Days*. In his essays Eisenstein enumerated the numerous types of conflict that he found essential to cinema. These included conflicts among graphic elements in a composition and between shots, and conflict of time and space created in the editing process and by filming with different camera speeds.

As a political filmmaker, Eisenstein was interested in guiding the viewer's emotions and thought processes. Thus, his metric and rhythmic montages were supplemented with what he called "tonal" and "intellectual" montage, in which he aimed for subtle emotional effects and to convey more abstract ideas. *Ten Days* represents Eisenstein's most extensive explorations of intellectual montage, as he creates a series of visual metaphors to characterize the political figures involved in the October Revolution, such as shots that compare Alexander Kerensky with a peacock.

Stalin's consolidation of power in the 1930s accompanied cultural and artistic repression, which forced Eisenstein, now criticized as a formalist, to recant the radical montage style of his silent films. Thus his last films, *Aleksandr Nevskiy* (*Alexander Nevsky*, 1938) and *Ivan Groznyy I* and *II* (*Ivan the Terrible Part One* [1944] and *Two* [1958]) lack the aggressive, visionary editing of his work in the silent period. Although he completed only seven features, these contain some of the most famous sequences ever committed to film, such as the massacre on the Odessa steps in *Potemkin*. Together, Eisenstein's films and essays represent the supreme expression of the capabilities and power of montage in the cinema.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Stachka (*Strike*, 1925), *Bronenosets Potyomkin* (*Battleship Potemkin*, 1925), *Oktyabr* (*Ten Days That Shook the World* and *October*, 1927), *Ivan Groznyy I* (*Ivan the Terrible Part One*, 1944), *Ivan Groznyy II* (*Ivan the Terrible Part Two*, 1958)

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Sergei Eisenstein. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

experiment proved that editing had created the meanings viewers attributed to the sequence.

While it is extremely doubtful that Kuleshov's experiment worked exactly as he claimed (for one thing, it is likely that the actor's face actually contained an ambiguous expression since Kuleshov had taken the footage from an existing film), the Soviet filmmakers of the 1920s followed Kuleshov's lead in fashioning a much more aggressive method of editing than what they had found in the films of Griffith. Eisenstein believed that editing or montage was the essence of cinema, and beginning with his first film, *Stachka* (*Strike*, 1925), and continuing most famously with *Bronenosets Potyomkin* (*Battleship Potemkin*, 1925), he created an editing style that he called "dialectical montage" that was abrupt and jagged and did not aim for the smooth continuity of Griffith-style cutting. The massacre of townspeople on the Odessa Steps in *Potemkin* exemplifies the principles of dialectical montage and is possibly the most famous montage in the history of cinema. The jaggedness of Eisenstein's editing in this sequence captures the emotional and physical violence of the massacre, but he also aimed to use editing to suggest ideas, a style he termed "intellectual montage." The massacre sequence concludes with three shots of statues of stone lions edited to look like a single lion rising up and roaring, embodying the idea of the wrath of the people and the voice of the revolution.

Although Eisenstein's sound films, *Aleksandr Nevskiy* (*Alexander Nevsky*, 1938) and *Ivan Groznyy I* and *II* (*Ivan the Terrible Part One* [1944] and *Two* [1958]), do not exhibit the radical editing of his silent films, Eisenstein's approach to montage—the extreme way he would fracture the action into tiny, brief shots—proved to be tremendously influential. The gun battles in Peckinpah's *The Wild Bunch*, edited by Lou Lombardo (1932–2002), was quite consciously based on Eisenstein, and the hyperactive editing of much contemporary film, with edit points only a few frames apart, is part of Eisenstein's legacy.

The dominant style of editing practiced during the classical Hollywood period, from the 1930s to the 1950s, was quite different from Soviet-style montage. It is sometimes called "invisible editing" because the edit points are so recessive and so determined by the imperative of seamless continuity. Hollywood-style editing carefully matches inserts and close-ups to the physical relations of characters and objects as seen in a scene's master shot, and follows the 180-degree rule (keeping camera setups on one side of the line of action) so that the right–left coordinates of screen geography remain consistent across shot changes. Cut points typically follow the flow of dialogue, and shot–reverse shot editing uses the eyeline match to connect characters who are otherwise shown separately in close-ups. This style of editing assured the utmost clarity about the geography of the screen world and the communication of essential story information. For these reasons, it is sometimes called "point-of-view" editing or "continuity editing." That it became the standard editing style of the Hollywood system is evident in the fact that it can be found in films across genres, directors, and studios.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, films of the French New Wave introduced a more aggressive editing style than was typical of the Hollywood studios. *À bout de souffle* (*Breathless*, 1960), directed by Jean-Luc Godard (b. 1930), used jump cuts that left out parts of the action to produce discontinuities between shots, and American directors a decade later assimilated this approach in pictures such as *Bonnie and Clyde* (1967) and *Easy Rider* (1969). As a result, by the 1970s the highly regulated point-of-view editing used in classical Hollywood began to break down as an industry standard, and the cutting style of American films became more eclectic, exhibiting a mixture of classical continuity and more abrupt, collage-like editing styles.

A forceful style of montage characterizes Sergei Eisenstein's* Battleship Potemkin *(1925). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

NONLINEAR EDITING

Along with the breakdown of classical continuity as the industry's sole standard cutting style, the other major stylistic development in recent films has been due to the switch from linear to nonlinear editing systems. This changeover has helped produce an increase in the cutting rate of contemporary film and a bias in favor of close-ups. Edit points occur more rapidly than in films of previous decades, with a much greater profusion of shot changes. *Moulin Rouge* (2001) exemplifies the hyperactive editing style found in many films today.

Several features of nonlinear systems have motivated this shift. For one, they give editors much greater control over the available footage, with greatly increased abilities to access individual shots and manipulate them more easily in complex editing constructions. But there is a paradox. Editor Walter Murch (b. 1943) (*Apocalypse Now* [1979], *The English Patient* [1996]) points out that an editor working on a linear system may actually come to know the footage better as a result of having to search it sequentially looking for a particular piece of film. Editors on nonlinear systems are more dependent on their notes about the footage and may overlook valuable material because their notes have excluded it.

In addition, the image as viewed on the editor's monitor tends to be of relatively low resolution because of the necessary trade-off between resolution and the computer storage space needed for the digitized video of the film footage. The higher the resolution, the greater the storage space that is needed. The low-res image will tend to bias editors toward close-ups rather than long shots and toward frequent shot changes as a means of maintaining visual interest. As a result, many contemporary films have come to look more and more like television, with quick editing and a tendency to play the story as a montage of close-ups.

What this approach loses is not so much the aesthetic tradition in cinema that developed in opposition to montage, such as the long shot–long take style celebrated by French critic André Bazin and found in such films as *La Grande illusion* (*The Grand Illusion*, Jean Renoir, 1937), *Csillagosok, katonák* (*The Red and the White*,

Miklós Jancsó, 1967), *Playtime* (Jacques Tati, 1967), and *Citizen Kane* (Orson Welles, 1941). This style never had much presence in American cinema. Rather, what is vanishing from American film are all of the ways that an individual shot can function as a unit of meaning, through composition, production design, lighting, and the actor's performance as it unfolds in the real time of a shot that is held. An essential component of editing is knowing when not to edit, when to hold the shot. Films of earlier decades routinely exhibit this quality. Many contemporary films do not, and in this respect it can be said that their hyperactive editing style is cannibalizing other essential elements of cinema. When every shot is only a few frames long, the art of the cinematographer, of the production designer, and of the actor necessarily suffers. Sergei Eisenstein always maintained that the point of montage was to overcome the characteristics of the single shot taken in isolation. Ironically, his objective is being realized in the montage style that has emerged with the advent of nonlinear editing.

THE EXPRESSIVE FUNCTIONS OF EDITING

Editors join shots using a variety of optical transitions. These serve narrative, dramatic, and emotionally expressive functions. The most common transitions are the cut (which creates an instantaneous change from one shot to the next), the fade (during which one shot fades completely to black before the next shot fades in from black), and the dissolve (which overlaps the outgoing and incoming shots). Cuts are the most frequent transitions, and typically indicate an uninterrupted flow of narrative information, with no breaks of time or space. Dissolves and fades, on the other hand, may be used to indicate transitions in time and space.

Other optical transitions are available but are used infrequently, and some have become archaic in that they were more common in earlier periods of cinema. The iris was used throughout silent cinema, and the wipe in early sound film. George Lucas (b. 1944) regularly uses irises and wipes in his *Star Wars* films in order to evoke the visual qualities of early cinema (one source for the films being the old cliff-hanging serials that moviegoers saw in the first half of the twentieth century). Editors may also create split screen effects, putting several shots on screen at once by splitting the image into small windows. This technique enjoyed a brief vogue in the late 1960s and 1970s (*The Thomas Crown Affair* [1968], *Junior Bonner* [1973], *Twilight's Last Gleaming* [1977]). It has been revived in recent years (*Timecode* [2000]) and can be found in the films of Brian De Palma (b. 1940).

As noted, parallel editing and crosscutting are building blocks of narrative, and they enable editors to control time and space. Indeed, this control of time and space is one of the key functions of editing. Editors may use continuity cutting to create a stable and reliable spatial geography onscreen, or they may break continuity to undermine spatial coherence, as in films such as *Straw Dogs* (1971) and *Gladiator* (2000).

With respect to time (i.e., the duration of an event onscreen), editors may expand it by using devices such as slow motion, or by increasing the number of cutaways from a main line of action or increasing the number of shots that are used to cover the action. In either case, the screen time of the event stretches out. During the Odessa massacre scene in *Potemkin* a mother with a baby carriage is shot in the stomach, and Eisenstein prolongs the moment of her agony by covering the action with numerous shots and then editing among them. The result is that it takes her a very long time to collapse to the ground, and this duration is a function of editing rather than the actor's performance. Conversely, editors may shrink or contract time by leaving out portions of the action. Jump cuts are an obvious and aestheticized way of doing this. The more common method, however, is to employ a "cheat." In *Vertigo* (1958), James Stewart has to walk down a very long chapel corridor in order to reach the bell tower, where an important scene will occur. It would be tedious to show him walking the length of the corridor. A judicious cut telescopes the action in a way that is imperceptible to the viewer.

Editors employ cheats all the time, and they routinely do many other things that viewers never notice. They may flip shots to get a proper eyeline match or screen direction, make the action move backwards (when Jack Palance mounts his horse in *Shane* [1953], it's the dismount shot played in reverse), or solve problems in the continuity or blocking of a scene's action by using cutaways to move things around.

Editors also help shape the actors' performances, and in doing so they help create the dramatic focus of a scene. An editor's decision to play a line of dialogue with the camera on the speaker will inflect the scene in one direction, whereas the decision to use a reaction shot of another character while the line is spoken will give the moment a different tone and emphasis. Film viewers are typically quite unaware of the extent to which editing intersects with film acting. Viewers may attribute to the actor much that results, in fact, from editing. If the editor elects to respect the performance, he or she may work with the master shot, allowing the performances to unfold in the relatively unbroken time of unedited shots. On the other hand, if the editor goes to coverage, building a scene with cutaways, inserts, and switches in camera position, then the editing is subtly reworking the performance. Examples include trimming the ends of shots to tighten an actor's apparent psychological reflex or to

LOU LOMBARDO

b. 15 February 1932, d. 8 May 2002

Lou Lombardo's seminal contribution to the history of editing is his work on *The Wild Bunch* (1969), directed by Sam Peckinpah. The complex montages of violence that Lombardo created for that film influenced generations of filmmakers and established the modern cinematic textbook for editing violent gun battles. Lombardo didn't originate the essentials of this design. Dede Allen's editing of *Bonnie and Clyde* (1967) furnished an immediate inspiration, and Allen's work in turn was modeled on Akira Kurosawa's *Seven Samurai* (1954) and Sergei Eisenstein's general approach to montage. But it was Lombardo, working under Peckinpah's guidance, who created the most elaborate and extended design and set the style for other filmmakers.

Peckinpah shot the film's violent gun battles using multiple cameras, and Lombardo took this footage and wove it into complex collages of action, meshing multiple lines of action by intercutting them and mixing normal speed action with varying degrees of slow motion. The editing is audacious and visionary, as the montages bend space and elongate time in a manner whose scope and ferocity was unprecedented in American cinema. Working without benefit of today's nonlinear editing systems that facilitate the control of huge amounts of footage, Lombardo created a final cut that contained more edit points than any American film in history to that time. Making this achievement more impressive yet is the fact that *The Wild Bunch* was Lombardo's first substantive feature film. Prior to this he had worked on television (editing *Felony Squad*, where he tried integrating slow-motion and normal-speed footage) and had edited the feature *The Name of the Game Is Kill* (1968).

Lombardo continued his partnership with Peckinpah on *The Ballad of Cable Hogue* (1970), where they experimented less successfully with edits combining normal speed and accelerated action. Peckinpah wanted to use Lombardo again on *Straw Dogs* (1971), but Lombardo was by then busy editing Robert Altman's *McCabe and Mrs. Miller* (1971), one of five Altman pictures that he cut (the others were *Brewster McCloud* [1970], *The Long Goodbye* [1973], *Thieves Like Us* [1974], and *California Split*, 1974). Though his work for Altman was less trendsetting than that for Peckinpah, the partnership with Altman lasted much longer, and Lombardo found the perfect visual rhythms for Altman's wandering and diffuse audio style.

Lombardo was also a very effective editor of comedy (*Uncle Buck* [1989], *Other People's Money* [1991]), with *Moonstruck* (1987) being a particular standout. The superb comic timing of that film is due to Lombardo's editing as much as to the fine direction by Norman Jewison and the sparkling performances.

Lombardo's career was cut short by a stroke in 1991, and he spent the last decade of his life in a coma. But he had left an indelible mark on modern cinema with *The Wild Bunch*.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

The Wild Bunch (1969), *McCabe and Mrs. Miller* (1971), *The Long Goodbye* (1973), *Moonstruck* (1987)

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make him or her seem to jump on another character's line, or dropping inserts into the action to draw out the length of an actor's pause.

More extreme examples include using close-ups that have been lifted from other action but that seem to work best in the new context. In *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* (1975), editor Sheldon Kahn (b. 1940) took some footage of actress Louise Fletcher (b. 1934) in conversation with the film's director, Milos Forman (b. 1932), lifted a piece of her expression from this footage, and used it in a scene where her character looks archly at the film's hero (Jack Nicholson). It worked in the scene but, in reality, it was not a moment in which the actress was acting. The surrounding material of the scene, organized by the editing, effectively recontextualized her expression. George Lucas used editing to completely

rework his actors' performances in the recent *Star Wars* film, *Attack of the Clones* (2002), to the point of cutting and pasting eye blinks and lip movements from one scene to the next.

These considerations suggest that the term "invisible editing," as critics have selectively used it to describe the cutting style of classical Hollywood cinema, is a naïve description. In fact, nearly *all* editing is invisible editing because the vast bulk of what the editor does, the myriad ways that editing transforms the raw footage of a shoot, remains subliminal and imperceptible to viewers. Some films call attention to their editing style by virtue of aggressive montage or jagged, discontinuous cut points (*Easy Rider*, *Don't Look Now*, *Moulin Rouge*), and it is this kind of filmmaking that scholars and critics commonly posit as the alternative to the "invisible" style of classical Hollywood. But such a dichotomy of Hollywood and anti-Hollywood editing styles is too simplistic. It minimizes the numerous ways that editors on every production work "below the radar," creating effects, emphasis, and continuity in ways that do not advertise themselves as editing.

Shooting on digital video now makes it possible to create a feature film in one shot, without any traditional editing (as in *Russian Ark* [2003]). Alfred Hitchcock (1899–1980) once tried to do without editing by making *Rope* (1948) as if there were no edits between shots. But these superlatively designed films are aberrations from cinema's essential nature, which is, and has always been, an edited construction transforming the realities of what has existed before the cameras.

SEE ALSO *Direction; Narrative; Production Process; Technology*

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EGYPT

The history of Egyptian cinema is long and varied. From modest beginnings with the projection of Lumière shorts in the Tousson Pasha hall of Alexandria and the Hammam Schneider baths of Cairo in 1896, film was transformed from an exclusively foreign import for the foreign elite into a national industry by the 1940s. This "Hollywood on the Nile," established in its initial phase in the mid-1930s by nationalist financier Talaat Harb, was equipped with studios, a star system, the production of syncretic genres, and mastery of the three-tiered system of production, distribution, and exhibition. Its subsequent domination over the cinema of other Arab and North African countries was uniquely binding at the cultural level, working in conjunction with the radio (established in 1926) and music recording industries. Together these media familiarized the inhabitants of other countries with the Egyptian dialect and culture; drew upon the preexisting cultural diversity of Egypt to further the aims and sense of pan-Arabism and Arab nationalism, from the cosmopolitanism of Alexandria to the work of Lebanese and Syrian artists in Cairo's theater and recording industries; entertained the masses through generic forms copied from Hollywood but customized to fit the cultural context and issues specific to Egyptian culture; and proved that while the technology of cinema was a Western invention, it could be used to serve the needs and contexts of the non-Western world—in this case, cultures that were predominantly Islamic in religion but tolerant and culturally diverse.

ECONOMICS AND POLITICS

The evolution of Egyptian film history reflects the economic and political changes that have swept the country since the beginnings of a national film industry. These changes have been distinguished by widely divergent economic directions and opaque ideological systems that became more pronounced following the 1952 Free Officer's Coup—a revolution led by a group of young military officers. This group effectively unseated from power the former British mandate puppet, King Farouk, descendent of the Ottoman Turkish dynasty, in a bloodless coup that served as a model revolution to other Arab countries seeking independence from colonial European rule. The subsequent rise of Gamal Abdel Nasser (1918–1970) to power in 1954 extended to his leadership of the Pan-Arab movement, which forged ties between Egypt, Syria, and Iraq after Egypt's successful resolution of the 1956 Suez crisis, when French and British air forces were overpowered by the Egyptians after Nasser announced the nationalization of the Suez Canal.

Nasser's social reforms included nationalizing the cinema in the 1960s, and this had a great and negative impact on the film industry. Soon after the establishment of the General Organization of Egyptian Cinema in 1961 and the nationalization of the theatres in 1963, directors, producers, and talent fled to Lebanon, where they worked in the Lebanese film industry until the outbreak of civil war in 1975. In spite of these problems, Egypt's nationalized cinema organization made most of the films of the 1960s. One positive contribution from this period was the opening of the Higher Institute of Cinema in 1959, by the Ministry of Culture, where students received training in different aspects of production. Since then, this institute has produced much of Egypt's film and television talent. After Egypt's demoralizing 1967 defeat in the Six-Day War with Israel, Nasser's

death in 1970, and the rise of Anwar Sadat (1918–1981), who promoted normalization of economic ties with Israel and the United States, the country underwent a general shift back to privatization. Nationalization was over by 1972, but relations with neighboring Arab countries were strained by Egypt's open-door policy with Israel, and the country's economic and political ties with Syria were broken.

As soon as Nasser nationalized the radio and television industries in the early 1960s, attendance at movie theatres dropped drastically. In the period from 1955 to 1975, the number of film theatres declined from 350 to fewer than 250. Meanwhile, imported foreign films continued to flood the Egyptian market. Tickets to films were heavily taxed, and the state film organization lost about 7 million Egyptian pounds, slowly bringing state film production to a halt by the early 1970s. The pendulum effect in funding between private and public sectors was also damaged by the increasingly predominant investment from the oil-rich Gulf countries, which financed films for television in the 1980s and later for satellite distribution in the 1990s. In addition to their more stringent censorship requirements of the usual subjects (sex, politics, and religion), the Gulf producers generally lacked awareness of the aesthetics of cinema. After the 1981 assassination of Sadat by a member of the Islamic Brotherhood, Hosni Mubarek's (b. 1928) regime was installed and with it emergency law, eventually diffusing the student movement that had erupted in the 1970s in reaction to Sadat's economic and political moves.

The Gulf petrodollars of the 1980s caused an outpouring of funded television shows, which led to further decline in the film industry. By 1994, Egyptian cinema was considered to be in a state of crisis: the annual production of films had fallen to single digits, a far cry from the annual output of fifty narrative features in 1944. More recently, independent directors have concentrated their efforts on serial television shows for Ramadan, the holy month in which Muslims fast during the day, then relax in the evening, creating large popular audiences. Meanwhile, the reconstruction of post-war Beirut was fueling the media explosion of the second half of the 1990s, which led to such satellite channels as Rotana and Good Day from Beirut and the Gulf states, which now produce many films for the Egyptian market.

Another challenge to independent Egyptian film is the power of censors to stifle artistic work and freedom of expression at the slightest hint of perceived criticism of religion or of taboo subjects presented in anything other than a denunciatory way. Between 1971 and 1973, during Sadat's early years, any films that dealt with the 1967 defeat were banned, including *Il Usfur* (*The Sparrow,* Youssef Chahine, 1973), but since the early 1990s, censorship has been more acutely attentive to religious issues.

FROM SILENT CINEMA TO GOLDEN AGE

In the early years of the twentieth century, only foreign studios (German, Italian, and French) operated in Egypt, most of them in Alexandria because of its optimal lighting conditions. It was not until the 1920s that Egyptians made their own films. The first long feature to be financed by Egyptian money was *Leila* (1927), produced by a woman, Aziza Amir (1901–1952), who also acted in the film, and directed by Estephan Rosti (1891–1964; not a native Egyptian). Mohamad Bayoumi (1894–1963) and Mohamad Karim (first Egyptian film actor), who studied filmmaking in Germany, were early pioneers. Bayoumi was the first Egyptian to produce and shoot a newsreel, *Amun*, about the return of nationalist Saad Zaghloul Pasha from exile in 1923, and the first Egyptian to shoot and direct a short fiction film, *al-Bashkateb* (*The Head Clerk* [1924]). Mohamad Karim, who claimed to have learned filmmaking at "the university of *Metropolis*," where he spent a year assisting and observing in the production of Fritz Lang's 1927 expressionist classic on the sets of Ufa (Universum Film Aktiengesellschaft), directed his first film, *Zaynab*, based on the novel by Mohamad Husayn Haykal, in 1930. In 1932, he directed the first Egyptian talking film *Awlad al-dhawat* (*The Children of the Aristocrats*), starring theater actors Yussef Wahbi and Amina Rizq; in 1933, he directed his first musical, *al-Warda al-bayda'* (*The White Rose*), which showcased the talents of musician and composer Mohamad Abdel Wahab (1901–1991). This was also the first film to solve the problem of compressing long classical Arabic songs (usually 15 to 20 minutes in duration) into six-minute sequences. From then on, Karim was known as Mohamad Abdel Wahab's director, and they made several other films together.

Talaat Harb, the savvy businessman and nationalist financier, founded Bank Misr in the 1920s as well as Studio Misr in 1935, which produced its first talking feature in 1936, *Widad*, directed by Fritz Kramp after a dispute broke out between original Egyptian director Ahmed Badrakhan and the studio manager, Ahmed Salem. After this, Studio Misr dominated productions in the film industry for the next thirty years. To ensure technical and aesthetic quality, Talaat Harb sent young filmmakers abroad to acquire professional training and recruited European technicians as consultants in Cairo. With the preexisting industries of radio and music recording and with Cairo's position since the nineteenth century as a refuge for artists and musicians fleeing the more constraining conditions of Greater Syria, this unique confluence of talent and technology led to the

YOUSSEF CHAHINE

b. Alexandria, Egypt, 25 January 1926

Born in 1926 to a middle-class Catholic family of Lebanese and Greek origins, Youssef Chahine's formative years were spent in the cultural melting pot of Alexandria, living under British occupation. There he was exposed to a polyphonic culture of Eastern and Western flavors, surrounded by English, Italian, French, Greek, and Arabic languages, and living in a religiously tolerant environment where Muslim, Christian, and Jew coexisted. These elements, along with Egypt's changing politics since 1950, have strongly influenced his body of work.

Adept at mixing genres and styles, Chahine has made films for over fifty years, during which time he has revealed a commitment to social and political critique. His early tendency toward social realism is hallmarked by *Bab al Hadid* (*Cairo Station*, 1958) and *Al Ard* (*The Land*, 1969). In the former, he played a disturbed and crippled newspaper vendor in the Cairo train station who murders a voluptuous drink vendor out of unrequited desire; in the latter, based on a novel by Marxist Abdel Rahman Sharkawi, he shows the bonds of kinship and rivalry that destroy the solidarity of the peasants under the new land reforms of the Nasser period. His historical epic, *Nasr Salah el Din* (*Saladin*, 1963), depicts the twelfth-century uniter of the Arabs, Salah el Din, as a merciful and religiously tolerant leader who is an obvious allegory for Gamal Abdel Nasser, Egypt's leader from 1954 to 1971. In his 1973 film *Il Usfur* (*The Sparrow*), he attempts to reconcile the ideals of Nasserism with the disappointing results of Egypt's 1967 defeat in its war with Israel and the aftermath. His 1997 *Le Destin* (*Destiny*) about the twelfth-century Andalusian philosopher Averroes (Ibn Sinna), is an allegory for the contemporary struggles in Arab countries between Islamic fundamentalism and political despots, on the one hand, and free thinkers, on the other, mirroring his own battles with censorship on religious grounds in his film *Al Muhajir* (*The Immigrant*, 1994), banned for representing a character who is somewhat similar to the Biblical and Quranic Joseph. His autobiographical films were the first in the Arab world to treat non-normative sexuality as something human, seen in his quartet *Alexandria . . . Why?* (1978), *Egyptian Story* (1982), *Alexandria, Again and Forever* (1989,) and *Alexandria . . . New York* (2004).

Chahine has offered a new model for the Arab filmmaker as an independent auteur of a personal cinema. While his films attempt to cater to popular Egyptian tastes with their musical numbers and well-known film stars, the majority of Egyptians relate best to his realist films, finding the others too obscure. Those he has mentored include established film auteurs Yousry Nasrallah and Atef Hetata, who face similar problems of censorship and lack of local markets for their films.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Bab al Hadid (*Cairo Station*, 1958), *Nasr Salah el Din* (*Saladin*, 1963), *Al Ard* (*The Land*, 1969), *Il Usfur* (*The Sparrow*, 1973), *Return of the Prodigal Son* (1974), *Alexandria . . . Why*? (1978), *Egyptian Story* (1982), *Adieu Bonaparte* (1984), *Alexandria Again and Forever* (1989), *Cairo as Illuminated by Her People* (1991), *Al Muhajir* (*The Immigrant*, 1994), *Le Destin* (*Destiny*, 1997), *Alexandria . . . New York* (2004)

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Samirah Alkassim

hegemony of Egyptian cinema over the Arab and North African region.

Once the talking feature had been established in 1936, films were made in the genres of farce, melodrama, and the musical. These were collaborations by established musicians, star singers, and actors, including Yussef Wahbi (1897–1982, actor and theatre director), comedian Naguib Al Rihani (1891–1949), and musicians Umm Kulthoum (1904–1975), Mohamed Abdel Wahab, Farid al Attrach (1915–1974), Layla Murad (1918–1995), and Mohamed Abdel Wahhab. The period from the early 1940s until the early 1950s is considered the golden age of Egyptian cinema, with annual output averaging forty-eight films a year between 1945 and

Youssef Chahine. © ATTAR MAHER/CORBIS SYGMA.

1952. In the immediate post–World War II years, the film industry was more profitable than the textile industry, and by 1948, there were seven operating film studios, and 345 feature films had been produced. But the dominance of Western cinema in the market impeded national film production, even during the post-independence period after 1952, when Egyptian productions did not exceed 20 percent of all distributed films.

REALISM

Realism has been a tendency in Egyptian cinema since the 1939 classic, *Determination* (Kamal Selim, al-Azma), but this tendency became particularly strong in the 1950s when serious realist writers like Naguib Mahfouz (b. 1911) and Abdel Rahman Sharkawi (1920–1987) involved themselves in the cinema, penning screenplays or lending their novels to filmic adaptations. Of all the directors, Salah Abu Seif (1915–1996) is hailed as the father of Egyptian film realism, especially after his 1951 film *Lak yawm ya Zalim* (*Your Day Will Come*), adapted from Zola's novel *Therese Raquin* by Naguib Mahfouz. Seif's adaptation of the Mahfouz novel into *al futuwa* (*The Tough Guy* [1957]) is joined by Tawfik Saleh's (b. 1927) notable 1955 adaptation from Mahfouz's novel *Darb al mahabil* (*Street of Fools*). Abu Seif made twenty-four features between 1946 and 1966; between 1963 and 1965, he was head of the General Organization of Egyptian Cinema. Many of his films are social melodramas about the city of Cairo, its neighborhoods and working-class inhabitants. Due to the problems related to the nationalized cinema, he had difficulties making films during the late 1960s and 1970s; his only film of the 1980s was his feature *Al-Qadisiya* (1981), made in Iraq. Saleh, a younger director, also had difficulties and made only four films in Egypt, including *Al Mutamarridun* (*The Rebels* [1966]), before leaving for Syria, where he directed his best-known film, *al Makhdu'un* (*The Duped* [1972]), based on the novel *Men under the Sun* by Palestinian writer Ghassan Khanafani. Saleh later moved to Iraq to become head of the film institute in Baghdad.

Among Saleh's peers, each of whom suffered from the decline in state funding, Shadi Abdel Salam (d. 1986), originally a set and costume designer on numerous Egyptian films, heralded a new kind of art cinema with his sole feature, *Al Mumiya* (*Night of the Counting Years* [1969]). This film was hailed as a "renaissance" in Egyptian cinema, but Salam has since left Egypt because he was unable to secure funding for other projects; he died in1986. The demands of the market have dominated the type and level of artistry in Egyptian cinema, with few exceptions, one of whom is Youssef Chahine (b. 1926). The most prolific independent film director of the post-war period, a master of different genres, and the instigator of an auteurist and critical cinema in the Arab world, Chahine is probably the best known Egyptian figure abroad. This is due to his cultural blend of East and West, idiosyncratic style, international acclaim at Cannes and major film institutes, and critical feelings about the West, which are evident in his films. Notable among his films are *Bab al hadid* (*Cairo Station* [1958]), *Al Ard* (*The Land* [1969]), *il Usfur* (*The Sparrow* [1973]), *Alexandria . . . Why?* (1978), and *Le Destin* (*Destiny* [1997]).

The New Realist directors of the 1980s are arguably the most interesting development in recent Egyptian cinema. Belonging to the post-1967 generation, they participated in the student movement that questioned the corruption of new businessmen and the economic policies of Anwar Sadat. While taking advantage of funding from the Gulf states, they have played with conventions of realism and melodrama and addressed serious social issues. Significant directors from this movement include Atef El Tayeb (d. 1995), *Sawwaq al-utubis* (*Busdriver* [1982]), Mohamed Khan (b. 1942), *Zauga ragil muhim* (*Wife of an Important Man* [1987]); Khairy

Beshara (b. 1947), *Yawm hulw, yaum murr* (*Bitter Day, Sweet Day* [1988]), and Daoud Abd El-Sayyed (b. 1946), *KitKat* (1991).

SEE ALSO *Arab Cinema; National Cinema*

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EPIC FILMS

Like "musical," "comedy," "war film," and "Western," "epic" is a term used by Hollywood and its publicists, by reviewers, and by academic writers to identify a particular type of film. It was first used extensively in the 1910s and the 1920s: *Variety*'s review of *Ben-Hur* (1925) noted that "the word epic has been applied to pictures time and again" (6 January 1926: 38). It was particularly prevalent in the 1950s and 1960s, when epics of all kinds were produced to counter a decline in cinema attendance. And it has been recently revived with films such as *Gladiator* (2000), *Troy* (2004), and *The Alamo* (2004). As a term, "epic" is associated with historical films of all kinds, particularly those dealing with events of national or global import or scale. As a genre it thus encompasses a number of war films and westerns as well as films set in earlier periods. But because of its links with ancient classical literature, it is associated above all with films set in biblical times or the ancient world. However, the term "epic" has also been used to identify—and to sell—films of all types that have used expensive technologies, high production values, and special modes of distribution and exhibition to differentiate themselves from routine productions and from rival forms of contemporary entertainment. There are therefore at least two aspects to epics, two sets of distinguishing characteristics: those associated with historical, biblical, and ancient-world films and those associated with large-scale, high-cost productions.

These aspects have often coincided, as is true not only of films such as *The Ten Commandments* (1923 and 1956), *El Cid* (1961), *55 Days at Peking* (1963), *How the West Was Won* (1962), and *Troy*, but of films with more recent historical settings such as *The Big Parade* (1925), *Exodus* (1960), *The Longest Day* (1962), *Schindler's List* (1993), and *Pearl Harbor* (2001). However, the production of large-scale, high-cost comedies, musicals, and dramas such as *It's a Mad, Mad, Mad, Mad World* (1963), *The Sound of Music* (1965), and *Gone with the Wind* (1939)—some of them with historical settings, some without—and the production of more routinely scaled historical and biblical films such as *Salome* (1953), *Hannibal* (1960), and, indeed, most war films, Westerns, and swashbucklers tend to make hard-and-fast definitions more difficult. Generalizations can be made about the scale of the films and the events they depict, the prominence of visual and aural spectacle, and a recurrent preoccupation with political, military, divine, or religious power, but, as is often the case with Hollywood's genres, anomalies and exceptions of one kind or another can nearly always be found. It is easier to be more precise about specific periods, cycles, and trends.

THE SILENT ERA

The generic and industrial traditions of the epic film date back to the 1890s, when several Passion plays (plays representing the life of Christ) were filmed and exhibited in unusually lengthy, multi-reel formats. In the period between 1905 and 1914, a number of relatively large-scale, high-cost historical, biblical, and ancient-world films—among them *La vie du Christ* (1906), *The Fall of Troy* (1910), *La siège de Calais* (1911), *Quo Vadis?* (1913), and *Cabiria* (1914)—were made in Italy, France, and elsewhere in Europe and helped to establish the multi-reel feature. Multi-reel films of a similar kind were produced in the United States as well. But at a time when production, distribution, and exhibition in the United

States were geared to the rapid turnover of programs of single-reel films, films like this were often distributed on a "road show" basis. Road show films were shown at movie theaters as well as alternative local settings such as town halls for as long as they were financially viable.

Many of these films drew on nineteenth-century traditions of historical and religious representation, particularly paintings and engravings, toga plays, Passion plays, pageants, and popular novels such *The Last Days of Pompeii* and *Ben-Hur* and their subsequent theatrical adaptations. They also drew on nineteenth- and early twentieth-century preoccupations with Imperial Rome and early Christianity, and on an association between religious and historical representation and nationhood and empire. These traditions and preoccupations were particularly prominent among the middle and upper classes, to whom many of the earliest multi-reel films and features were directed and to whom the aura of respectability associated with religious and historical topics and the legitimate theater was important. Augmented by films such as *The Coming of Columbus* (1912) and *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), which dealt with aspects of US history, productions like this helped found a tradition of large-scale, high-cost spectacles, "superspecial" productions that would be road shown not just in legitimate theaters but in the large-scale picture palaces that were being built in increasing numbers in major cities. Ticket prices were high. The films were shown, usually twice a day, at fixed times and with at least one intermission. They were usually accompanied by an orchestra playing a specially commissioned score. Only after a lengthy run in venues like this, a practice essential to the recouping of costs and the making of profits, would superspecials be shown in more ordinary cinemas at regular prices.

The production of road shown superspecials reached a peak in the United States in the 1920s with films like *Orphans of the Storm* (1922), *Robin Hood* (1922), *The Covered Wagon* (1923), *The Ten Commandments* (1923), *The Thief of Bagdad* (1924), *The Big Parade* (1925), *The Iron Horse* (1924), *Ben-Hur* (1925), *Wings* (1927), *The King of Kings* (1927), and *Noah's Ark* (1928). Although these films are diverse in setting and type (*Robin Hood* is a swashbuckler, *The Thief of Bagdad* an exotic costume adventure film, *The Ten Commandments* a biblical epic, *The Iron Horse* a western, and *Wings* a World War I film), there are aesthetic, structural, and thematic links among them. Like the epics and spectacles of the 1910s, they exhibit what Vivian Sobchack has called "historical eventfulness" (p. 32)—that is to say, they mark themselves and the events they depict as historically significant. In addition, nearly all these films narrate stories that interweave the destinies of individual characters with the destinies of nations, empires, dynasties, religions, political regimes, and ethnic groups. While some focus on powerful characters (generals, pharaohs, princes, and leaders), many focus on more ordinary characters who either become caught up in events over which they have little control (as in *The Big Parade*, *Wings*, and *Orphans of the Storm*) or are unsung agents of significant historical or epochal change (as in *The Iron Horse*). *Robin Hood* and *The Thief of Bagdad* are variants in which, as vehicles for star and producer Douglas Fairbanks (1883–1939), the power of the central character to effect change is, however fancifully, bound up with his physical prowess.

Following the precedent established by *Intolerance* (1916), the contemporary relevance of the events depicted in *The Ten Commandments*, *The King of Kings*, and *Noah's Ark* is underscored by including story lines and scenes from the present as well as the past. However, it is the story lines and scenes from the past that provide the most obvious occasions for spectacle. Difficult to define, spectacle is clearly not restricted to epics and to spectacle films as such; however, films of this kind played an important role in exploring, organizing, and legitimizing cinema's spectacular appeal and potential, in maintaining the involvement of contemporary audiences in much longer films than they had initially been used to, in mediating between competing contemporary demands for realism and spectacle, narrative and display. This was evident not just in their expansive battle scenes, crowd scenes, and settings, their expensive costumes and sets, or their use of new technologies. Epic films were regularly used to showcase new special effects, new camera techniques, and new color processes such as two-color Technicolor. It was evident, too, in their capacity to encompass incidental details, intimate scenes, and individualized story lines and to make sequences of spectacle such as the exodus from Egypt and the parting of the Red Sea in *The Ten Commandments* clearly serve dramatic and narrative ends.

FROM THE DEPRESSION TO THE POSTWAR ERA

With the advent of the Great Depression in 1929, Hollywood companies cut back on expensive productions and road shows. These practices were revived in the early 1930s, establishing a cross-generic trend toward what Tino Balio calls "prestige pictures" (pp. 179–211). However, although many prestige pictures were top-of-the-range costume films of one kind or another (adaptations of classic literature, biopics, swashbucklers, and the like), very few were made and road shown on the scale of the silent superspecial. Fewer still were biblical films and films with ancient-world settings. Cecil B. DeMille (1881–1959), who had produced and directed *The Ten Commandments* and *The King of Kings* in the silent era,

CECIL B. DeMILLE

b. Cecil Blount de Mille, Ashfield, Massachussetts, 12 August 1881, d. 21 January 1959

Cecil Blount DeMille was a major figure in Hollywood from the mid-1910s to the late 1950s. Remembered now mainly as a showman and as the producer/director of a number of biblical epics, he was in fact a versatile innovator who made important films of all kinds throughout his career.

DeMille's parents were involved in the theater. When his father died, he worked as actor and general manager for his mother's theatrical company and also produced and wrote plays with his brother, William. In 1913, he left the theater to work in motion pictures as cofounder of the Jesse L. Lasky Feature Play Company. In 1914, he coproduced, cowrote, and codirected its first film, *The Squaw Man*, a six-reel adaptation of Edwin Royle's play, which was a success. When the Lasky company became part of Paramount later that year, DeMille supervised its production program. He also wrote, produced, directed, and edited many of its films.

By the mid-1920s, DeMille had been at the forefront of a number of key developments: the use of plays as a template for feature-length films; the production of feature-length westerns; the dramatic use of low-key lighting effects, most notably in *The Cheat* (1915) and *The Heart of Nora Flynn* (1916); the production of Jazz Age marital comedies such as *Don't Change Your Husband* (1919) and *Why Change Your Wife?* (1920) (both of them written, as many of DeMille's films were, by or with Jeannie Macpherson); and the production of "superspecials" such as *The Ten Commandments* (1923).

The Ten Commandments, a Paramount film, was the first of DeMille's biblical epics. His second, *The King of Kings* (1927), was released through Producers Distributing Corporation, a company for whom he began making films in 1925. Following a period with MGM, DeMille returned to Paramount to make *The Sign of the Cross* in 1932. He remained with Paramount for the remainder of his career, making social problem dramas, westerns, and spectacles like *Samson and Delilah* (1949), *The Greatest Show on Earth* (1952), and the 1956 remake of *The Ten Commandments*. From 1936 to 1945, he also hosted and directed adaptations of Hollywood films and Broadway plays for Lux Radio Theater.

DeMille's films are usually said to be marked by a formula in which seductive presentations of sin are countered by verbal appeals to a Christian ethic inherent in scenes of redemption and in the providential outcome of events. However, it is worth stressing the extent to which, as the actions of characters like Moses, Samson, and John Trimble (in *The Whispering Chorus*) all illustrate, acts of virtue as well of sin in these films entail unusually perverse or destructive behavior.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

The Cheat (1915), *The Whispering Chorus* (1918), *Why Change Your Wife?* (1922), *The Ten Commandments* (1923 and 1956), *This Day and Age* (1933), *Union Pacific* (1939)

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produced and directed *The Sign of the Cross* (1932) and *Cleopatra* (1934). But along with *The Last Days of Pompeii* (1935), which was produced by Merian C. Cooper (1893–1973) and directed by Ernest B. Schoedsack (1893–1979), these productions were the only biblical and ancient-world productions made between 1928 and 1949. All three may be interpreted as films that engage the Depression and its moral implications in various ways. Toward the end of the 1930s, David O. Selznick (1902–1965) explicitly appealed to the traditions of the silent road shown superspecial when producing and planning the distribution of *Gone with the Wind*. He went on to produce *Since You Went Away* (1944), an epic home-front drama, and *Duel in the Sun* (1946), an epic western. DeMille, meanwhile, sought to revive the biblical epic by re-releasing *The Sign of the*

Cecil B. DeMille. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Cross in 1944 and producing and directing *Samson and Delilah* in 1949.

By 1949, Hollywood was undergoing a long-term process of change. Audiences, ticket sales, and profits were in decline; the ownership of theater chains by major studios was declared illegal; competition from television, domestic leisure pursuits, and other forms of entertainment were on the rise; and at a time when income from overseas markets was more important to Hollywood companies, a number of European countries were taking steps to protect their domestic economies, to stimulate domestic film production, and hence to limit the earnings Hollywood companies could take out of these countries each year. At the same time, the Cold War, nationalist and anti-imperial struggles, the superpower status of the United States, the marked increase in church-going, and the prevalence of religious discourse in the US itself provided a set of contexts and reference points for many of the films, in particular the big-budget road shown epics Hollywood was to produce, co-fund, or distribute during the course of the next two decades.

The postwar growth in epic production was the result of a decision to spend more money on enhancing the cinema's capacity for spectacle through the use of stereophonic sound and new widescreen, large-screen, and large-gauge technologies and on an increasing number of what were beginning to be called "blockbuster" productions—productions that, in road show form in particular, could be used to justify higher prices and generate high profits in a shrinking market. MGM led the way in road showing remakes of silent spectacles and in using income held abroad to fund the use of overseas facilities, locations, and production personnel with *Quo Vadis* in 1951. Two years later, Twentieth Century Fox pioneered the use of CinemaScope and stereophonic sound with its adaptation of Lloyd C. Douglas's best-selling novel *The Robe*. In 1956, DeMille released a four-hour remake of *The Ten Commandments*, which used Paramount's new VistaVision process, was shot in Egypt, Sinai, and Hollywood, and cost over $13 million. The film made more than $30 million on its initial release in the US and Canada alone. The following year, Columbia released *The Bridge on the River Kwai*, one of the first in a series of road shown epic war films. And in 1960, the road show release of *Cimarron* and *The Alamo*, the latter filmed in Todd-AO, helped cement a trend toward epic Westerns.

The Bridge on the River Kwai was produced by Sam Spiegel (1901–1985), an internationally based independent producer. Along with *Lawrence of Arabia* (1962), it was one of a series of epics he made with British director David Lean (1908–1991). *The Bridge on the River Kwai* was filmed in Ceylon using a mix of British, American, Japanese, and Ceylonese actors, stars, and production personnel. Ceylon was a British colony, and *The Bridge on the River Kwai* was registered as a British film in order to take advantage of British subsidies. Although credited to the French writer Pierre Boulle (who wrote the novel on which it was based), its script actually was written by Carl Foreman and extensively revised by Michael Wilson, both of them blacklisted US Communists.

The national identity of a film like *The Bridge on the River Kwai* is thus hard to pin down. This was an era of increasing independent production, in which funding for films was increasingly obtained on a one-off basis from a variety of international sources and international settings, locations, and casts were becoming the norm for big-budget productions. Blacklisted writers, whether officially credited or not, were hired to write or co-write scripts for epic productions such as *Exodus*, *Spartacus* (1960), *El Cid*, *The Guns of Navarone* (1961), *Lawrence of Arabia*, *Sodom and Gomorrah* (1962), *55 Days at Peking*, and *The Fall of the Roman Empire* (1964), and cut-price Italian "peplums" (toga films) such as *Hercules* (1958) and *Hercules Unchained*

Charlton Heston as Moses in Cecil B. DeMille's remake of his own* The Ten Commandments *(1956). **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

(1959) proved popular at the box office in the US as well as in Europe.

Hence the ideological characteristics of postwar epics are difficult to categorize. While the prologue to *The Ten Commandments* explicitly declares its anti-Communist agenda, *Quo Vadis*, *The Robe*, *Spartacus*, and *The Fall of the Roman Empire* are anti-fascist. Most of the remainder, even some of the westerns, are hostile to imperialism and to the brutal, cynical, and dictatorial exercise of political and military power. But they are often compromised by their focus on white ethnic characters. And their displays of male heroism, sometimes in stark contradiction to an apparent concern with the ethics of war, add a further layer of ideological complication. Only in films like *The Egyptian* (1954), *King of Kings* (1961), and *The Greatest Story Ever Told* (1965) are male heroism, male ambition, and the options of political and military engagement explicitly qualified, eschewed, or rejected.

THE NEW HOLLYWOOD ERA

Although epic war films and big-budget musicals continued to be made in the 1970s and early 1980s, the road shown superspecial and the prestige epic were increasingly displaced by what has come to be known as the New Hollywood blockbuster. As exemplified by *Jaws* (1975), *Star Wars* (1977), *Superman* (1978), and *Raiders of the Lost Ark* (1981), New Hollywood blockbusters drew their inspiration from the B film, the serial, comic books, and action-adventure pulps rather than from the culturally prestigious traditions of the Hollywood epic. Wide-released rather than road shown, they were designed to appeal to teenagers and families with young children and to garner profits as rapidly as

possible. However, productions in the prestige epic tradition such as *Dances with Wolves* (1990), *The English Patient* (1996), and *Schindler's List* were still occasionally made. Some of them received a relatively exclusive "platform" release. And the New Hollywood blockbuster, like the old Hollywood epic, functioned as a special vehicle for spectacle, large-scale stories and new technologies. Indeed, the advent of CGI (computer-generated imagery) seems to have been a major factor in the recent revival of the epic not just in its traditional forms, as exemplified by *Gladiator*, *Troy*, *King Arthur* (2004), and *Alexander*, but in the guise of the *Lord of the Rings* trilogy as well. In all these films the themes of heroism, justice and the uses and abuses of power, representational prowess, large-scale spectacle, and large-scale stories and settings remain among the epic's principal ingredients.

SEE ALSO *Action and Adventure Films; Genre; Historical Films; Religion*

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EXHIBITION

Exhibition is the retail branch of the film industry. It involves not the production or the distribution of motion pictures, but their public screening, usually for paying customers in a site devoted to such screenings, the movie theater. What the exhibitor sells is the experience of a film (and, frequently, concessions like soft drinks and popcorn). Because exhibitors to some extent control how films are programmed, promoted, and presented to the public, they have considerable influence over the box-office success and, more importantly, the reception of films.

Though films have always been shown in nontheatrical as well as theatrical venues, the business of film exhibition primarily entails the ownership, management, and operation of theaters. Historically, film exhibitors have been faced with a number of situations common to other sectors of the commercial entertainment industry: shifting market conditions, strong competition, efforts to achieve monopolization of the field, government regulatory actions, and costly investment in new technologies.

FILM EXHIBITION AND THEATER OWNERSHIP

The first moving picture exhibitors were itinerant showmen who exploited the novelty of projected moving pictures by using the same film program for a series of brief engagements in different locations. They typically purchased outright the short films they screened at theaters, churches, and public halls. As early as 1903, film exchanges that owned and rented moving pictures emerged in Boston, Chicago, and New York City, creating a separation between exhibition and distribution and helping to standardize the emerging film industry. Exhibitors rented films by the reel from an exchange, allowing for more frequently changed programs at one specific location and therefore the establishment of nickelodeons, which were inexpensive storefront movie theaters.

One important early variant of the exchange system was the "states rights" model, in which the distribution rights for a film were sold by territory, often by individual state. Exhibitors then contracted with the rights owner. Within the constraints of price and print availability, the early exhibitor had considerable latitude in booking films of special interest to the local audience.

With the advent of the multi-reel feature film in the early 1910s, certain high profile films, like *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), were circulated through the country as "road shows." Much like touring stage productions, road show films were promoted as special events that were booked into individual venues (often legitimate theaters or small-town "opera houses") for multi-day runs. This strategy remained in place through the 1920s, then reemerged in the 1950s and 1960s, when the most expensive, spectacular, star-laden productions (usually in color and widescreen) like *Ben-Hur* (1959) were first exhibited on a road show basis with patrons paying notably higher admission prices for reserved seats at these heavily promoted motion picture events.

Somewhat akin to the road show was a practice called "four-walling," where a theater was rented for a special screening that in some fashion was quite distinct from standard motion picture fare. Four-walling was used, for instance, during the 1930s to present foreign-language

films to immigrant audiences in the United States. But it was most commonly employed from the 1920s through the 1950s as an exhibition strategy for sensationalistic "exploitation" films about childbirth, drug addiction, prostitution, and sexually transmitted diseases. At the other end of the spectrum, Sun Classic Pictures and other firms specializing in family-oriented product had considerable success during the 1970s with four-wall exhibition of films like *The Life and Times of Grizzly Adams* (1974).

As lucrative as road shows and four-walling proved to be in the selling of individual films, the crux of the film exhibition business has remained the ownership and daily operation of movie theaters, which requires a steady stream of product booked through film distributors. Given the low start-up costs, the first theaters dedicated to offering moving pictures as their primary, regular drawing card were usually independently owned and operated. From early on, however, exhibitors realized that it made economic sense to adopt a strategy then used for vaudeville theaters and penny arcades and operate more than one theater under the auspices of a single amusement company. Thus a key exhibition strategy that emerged during the nickelodeon era was the theater chain. A chain (or circuit of theaters) might encompass more than 100 venues or might be as small as a string of picture shows in adjacent neighborhoods or towns. Regional theater chains became especially prominent in the 1910s. The Stanley Company based in Philadelphia, for example, had by the mid-1920s grown to 250 theaters across the entire East Coast. Regional chains based in, among other places, Milwaukee (the Saxe Brothers), Detroit (John Kunsky), and St. Louis (the Skouras Brothers) became dominant forces in the industry even before these companies combined in 1917 to form the First National Exhibitors' Circuit. First National was one of several attempts in the 1920s to create a national network of theaters, including Publix Theaters, the exhibition branch of Paramount studios. For its national chain, Publix borrowed managerial strategies based on the principles of successful grocery and department store chains.

Perhaps most successful among this first generation of exhibition entrepreneurs who would later shape the Hollywood studio system was Marcus Loew (1870–1927), who began his career running arcades and nickelodeons in New York City. To guarantee the regular supply of films for his theaters, Loew acquired production and distribution companies and in 1924 formed Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM), a vertically integrated company that produced and distributed films as well as owning and operating a chain of first-run theaters in major metropolitan areas. Controlling a significant part of the exhibition market was an essential strategy not only for MGM, but for all of the major Hollywood studios. Paramount, for example, followed a similar logic when it merged with the Balaban & Katz chain of theaters (based in Chicago), and so did Warner Bros. when it acquired the Stanley theaters in the same period.

While weekly attendance in the United States reached 22 million by 1922 and rose to approximately 80 million by the end of the decade, the construction of opulent picture palaces during the 1920s further solidified the prominence of the major studio-owned theater chains, most of which expanded by acquiring more theaters as the industry completed its transformation to sound during the late 1920s. Independent exhibitors had few options: sell out to a chain, invest in the costly equipment required for sound films, or close. The Great Depression exacerbated the dilemma of the independent exhibitor, as movie attendance dropped precipitously after the novelty of sound had worn off, dropping off to 50 million per week. New theater construction stopped almost completely, and even the largest chains felt the strain: Paramount-Publix went into receivership, as did Fox; Loew's reduced its holdings to 150 big-city theaters; and Warner Bros. sold 300 of its 700 theaters.

EXHIBITION AND THE CLASSIC HOLLYWOOD SYSTEM

One reason that the major studios could attain virtually monopolistic control over the film industry is that they developed several business strategies during the 1910s and 1920s that all in some way constrained the independent exhibitor's freedom in booking films. These strategies continued to play a central role in film exhibition until the end of the 1940s. Perhaps most important was the run-zone-clearance system, which enabled the "Big Five" major studios (MGM, Paramount, RKO, Warner Bros., and Twentieth Century Fox) to control the distribution of the films they produced. This system was designed to guarantee that films were circulated so as to ensure broad exhibition and to bring in maximum profits to the parent company. The national exhibition market (especially the urban market) in the United States was divided into geographical zones. In each zone, films moved consecutively from first-run through several intermediate steps (second-run, third-run, and so on) to final-run venues. Ticket prices tended to drop with each run. There was, in addition, a "clearance" time between runs, which meant that moviegoers could expect to wait months or up to a year after a film premiered at a downtown picture palace before it reached a neighborhood theater or a small-town venue. By privileging their own theaters and organizing distribution according to the run-zone-clearance system, the Big Five assured their dominance of the American motion picture industry.

MARCUS LOEW

b. New York, New York, 7 May 1870, d. 5 September 1927

Marcus Loew, the creator of MGM and one of the most successful figures in the motion picture industry during the silent era, was, first and foremost, an exhibitor. "I don't sell tickets to movies," he is said to have declared, "I sell tickets to theaters."

Born to immigrant parents on New York's Lower East Side, Loew moved into commercial entertainment after working in the garment industry. In 1904, he co-founded the People's Vaudeville Company, which soon expanded its holdings to include several penny arcades in New York City and one in Cincinnati, Ohio, where he built a 110-seat theater on the second floor to screen motion pictures.

Loew ran nickelodeons, but he made his mark with what was called "small-time vaudeville," a show that combined live vaudeville performance with motion pictures—all for a relatively inexpensive ticket price. In the first of many acquisitions, in 1908 he purchased and refurbished the Royal Theater in Brooklyn. His chain of New York theaters grew to forty small-time vaudeville venues, including impressive new theaters, like the 2,400-seat Loew's National. By the end of the 1910s, Loew owned or leased more than fifty large theaters from Canada to New Orleans, with an especially prominent presence in the major Northeast cities.

Like other moguls, Loew became committed to developing a vertically integrated motion picture company, which controlled production and distribution as well as exhibition. He formed Loew's, Incorporated in 1919, purchased the Metro film studio and then Goldwyn Pictures. Loew's theater holdings increased to more than 100 first-class venues, topped by the 3,500-seat Loew's State Theater in Times Square. In 1924, Loew acquired Louis B. Mayer's Los Angeles studio and Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer was formed, with Loew's Inc. as its parent company. Until his death in 1927, Marcus Loew served as president of Loew's/MGM, continuing to expand his theater holdings, including newly built picture palaces.

Loew's legacy lasted long after his death, beyond the success of MGM in the 1930s. Following the Paramount decision in 1948, which ordered studios to divest themselves of their theater holdings, Loew's became by the late 1950s a separate entity from MGM, with fewer than 100 theaters. Over the next twenty years, Loew's diversified its holdings but maintained a relatively small number of theaters. However, through ensuing expansion and corporate mergers, Loew's by the 1990s had become an 885-screen chain owned by Sony Pictures Entertainment. Merged with Cineplex Odeon, Loew's Cineplex Entertainment eventually controlled almost 3,000 screens in 450 North American and European locations. With much hoopla, Loew's Cineplex in 2004 celebrated its 100 years of being in the exhibition business.

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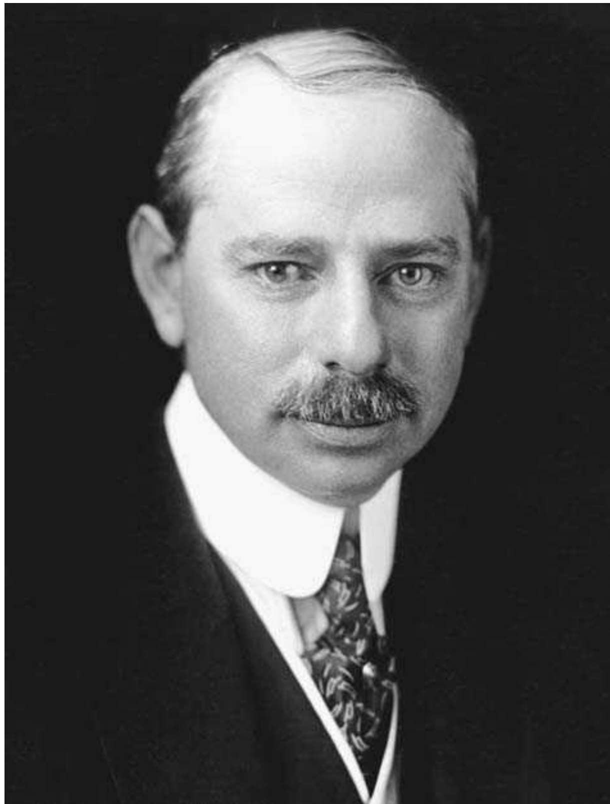
Exhibition at independently owned and operated theaters was also constrained by procedures that governed how major studio films were booked by exhibitors. "Blind booking" meant that exhibitors had to schedule the films for the coming season based only on descriptions provided by the studio, with no actual preview prints available. Furthermore, exhibitors had little choice but to agree to "block booking," which required that they take a full season or at least a significant number of films (shorts as well as features) from the same studio. Exhibitors were thus less able than in the past to pick and choose titles and thus tailor their programming, week-by-week, to a particular clientele.

Exhibitors had always been constrained in other ways as well. For instance, from the nickelodeon era onward, they had faced considerable pressure from religious and reform groups and actual policing from municipal and state authorities, especially in the form of building and safety codes, Sunday closing laws, and license fees. However, exhibitors stood to benefit from government intervention when the Federal Trade



Marcus Loew. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Commission in 1921 accused Paramount of unfair business practices and illegal restraint of trade, beginning a legal process that continued on and off for more than twenty years. In 1938, the Justice Department initiated anti-trust proceedings against the major Hollywood studios, leading to a temporary consent decree in 1940 that prohibited blind booking and limited block booking to groups of no more than five films. Finally, in 1948, the United States Supreme Court delivered its decision in what was called the "Paramount case," a sweeping ruling that eliminated block booking, challenged monopolistic practices, and significantly altered the relationship between film distribution and exhibition.

The major decision in *United States v. Paramount, et al.* was to restrict Hollywood studios from owning and operating movie theaters. This divestiture took place over the next six years and to some degree it opened up the American market for independent theaters and newly formed theater chains. The 1948 court ruling also prohibited block booking, meaning that films were henceforth to be rented to a theater not as a package or a season, but individually. In addition, the ruling put an end to the frequently long clearance time between when a film was shown at a first-run theater and when it reached subsequent run theaters. In sum, the Paramount case dramatically opened up the marketplace and altered how exhibitors selected and scheduled movies. But since the production companies were by the 1950s no longer directly in the film exhibition business, they did not have their previous incentive to deliver many new films year round. Furthermore, blind booking was not explicitly banned as part of the Paramount decision, and this practice re-emerged, especially in the 1970s, as production costs rose and wider distribution patterns became the norm for first-run films.

FILM EXHIBITION AFTER TELEVISION

The World War II years, with a fully employed workforce, marked a high point in the film exhibition business in the United States. Weekly attendance topped 80 million annually from 1943 to 1946. Exhibitors not only sold a record number of tickets, but reinforced their civic role through public service gestures: selling government war bonds and staging drives to collect rubber, scrap metal, and other material needed for the war effort. Yet between 1946 and 1953, ticket sales in the United States dropped by almost 50 percent. By 1960, weekly attendance at the movies was only 30 million, dipping further, to 18 million, by 1970.

If the Paramount case seemed to assure greater latitude for theater owners, Hollywood's mid-1950s commitment to color and wide-screen processes (like Cinemascope) meant that exhibitors were strongly encouraged to invest in another costly technological upgrading of projectors, screens, and sound equipment. At the same time, the film audience through the 1950s and 1960s became progressively younger and more male than had previously been the case. Drive-ins came to form a key part of the larger exhibition market, even as the industry suffered continuing effects from the rise of commercial television as a readily available source of entertainment in the home.

Television, however, quickly became another outlet, or exhibition window, for Hollywood films, as studio film libraries were sold or rented to TV stations, with RKO leading the way in 1954. By the mid-1960s it was commonplace for new films to move relatively quickly to prime time television after they had completed their theatrical runs. Even with poor quality sound, panned-and-scanned images (that is, wide-screen films cropped to fit the dimensions of the TV screen), and commercial interruptions, movies drew large audiences on American network television. By the end of the 1960s the precedent had been firmly set for later developments of the television set as "home [movie] theater." With the emergence and widespread diffusion of cable and satellite

networks, videocassettes, and DVDs, watching movies no longer necessarily meant going to the movies. One result was that the second- and third-run theaters that had been so important during the first half of the twentieth century disappeared, leaving the theatrical exhibition business overwhelmingly dependent on first-run venues.

As theatrical exhibition shrank, the movie theater changed as well, partly in response to the Paramount decision. Multiplex cinemas, first situated in shopping centers, then in shopping malls, became the core of the business by the 1970s. New theater chains emerged, like General Cinema, which began with a handful of drive-ins and ultimately grew to more than 200 venues, mostly shopping mall multiplexes. American Multi-Cinema, which pioneered the multiplex concept in Kansas City in 1963, refined this particular exhibition model as the company opened increasingly larger multiplexes. By 1980 American Multi-Cinema's 130 theaters across the United States contained some 700 screens. That year attendance stood at 20 million weekly. (It would rise to 25 million by 1995 and to 30 million by 2002.) The spread of the multiplex meant that film exhibition increasingly became a matter of scheduling nationally advertised, widely available, first-run films with little regard for the particularities of locality or audience.

The exhibition business went through another round of significant changes during the mid-1980s, when the Reagan administration encouraged a return to the pre-1948 era by allowing a much greater corporate consolidation of production, distribution, and exhibition. Entertainment companies quickly sought to create vertical monopolies that included the ownership of theaters, as well as new exhibition windows like satellite television. At the same time, corporate mergers and takeovers meant that fewer companies came to control a greater number of screens, with much investment in free-standing megaplex theaters, not only in suburbs but also in metropolitan areas.

From the late 1970s on, exhibition also changed because wider release patterns for first-run films—called "saturation booking"—increasingly became the norm after the success of films like *Jaws* (1975). This move was prompted by the high cost of film production, the drop in the number of major studio releases, the need for distributors to pre-sell as-yet-uncompleted films to exhibitors (a form of blind booking), and the reliance on television as the prime advertising medium for new films. Not only did distributors aim toward saturating the market by making new films simultaneously available on a thousand or more screens, but they also insisted that new releases be given extended theatrical runs, moving from larger to smaller auditoria inside the same multi-screen theater. Thus while newly designed, high-quality theater complexes with eight or more screens held out the possibility that moviegoers might choose among a more diverse array of films, this was, in practice, rarely the case.

THE FILM PROGRAM

What the exhibitor delivers to paying customers is more than a film, it is the experience of a film program, which has varied significantly since the first public screening of moving pictures in 1896. Three key variables are involved here: (1) the exhibitor's degree of control over the program; (2) the range of films available; and (3) the actual composition of the program, including the variety of screened material (slides as well as motion pictures) and the role, if any, of live performance.

The exhibitors who introduced moving pictures in 1896–1898 had considerable creative control over the programs they offered to a curious public. While they very rarely shot the footage they screened, these traveling exhibitors did acquire and arrange a series of short films, which meant that they could juxtapose *actualités* (such as the Lumière films of everyday life that were shot outdoors on location) with filmed vaudeville acts or staged scenes. Depending on the venue and the intended audience, the array of short films was, in turn, combined in different ways with a wide range of other entertainment options: magic lantern slides or phonograph recordings, vocal or instrumental performances, novelty acts or educational lectures. In such cases, the program was typically designed to offer a variety of distinct attractions, though it soon became possible for exhibitors to create more unified shows in which the screened material and the live performances were arranged around a particular theme, such as the Spanish American War.

By 1900, moving pictures had become a regular feature on certain vaudeville circuits, where they served as one self-enclosed part of a program that might include six or more separate attractions, each occupying the stage for ten to twenty minutes. In this type of program, film was merely another interchangeable component, comparable to an acrobatic act or an ethnic comedy routine. In a similar fashion, moving pictures also served as novelty entertainment screened between the acts of touring melodramas and as part of the midway attractions offered by traveling carnivals and circuses.

When permanent movie theaters emerged during the nickelodeon era, the program changed significantly. Nickelodeons typically ran a continuous show in which a forty-five- or sixty-minute program was repeated throughout the day, then changed daily or at least several times each week. Using films rented from film exchanges, the nickelodeon operator offered several split or full reel films, each running from approximately five to fifteen

minutes, combined in almost all cases with live entertainment: musical accompaniment for the screenings (on piano or some sort of mechanical musical device) as well as illustrated songs. Illustrated songs featured a singer whose vocal rendition of a popular song accompanied the projection of a series of colorful slides indicating the lyrics and, more ingeniously, "illustrating" the song with staged tableaux and sometimes extraordinary visual effects. Other slides offered information about the show or instructions on movie-theater etiquette (for example, "Don't Spit on the Floor").

Within the standard programming format of short films and illustrated songs, the nickelodeon operator in fact had a great deal of latitude in tailoring the show for a specific audience. Exhibitors might hire performers to add sound effects to the silent films or even have off-stage actors voice the on-screen dialogue. A speaker, called a "lecturer," sometimes provided a continuous spoken plot synopsis and description, especially for films based on Biblical, literary, or high cultural sources. Magicians, vocal trios, and other vaudeville-style acts might appear on the same bill as moving pictures.

With the consolidation of the American film industry in the 1910s and the growing prominence of the serial and the multi-reel "feature" film, one common programming strategy was the "balanced" program offering a full evening's worth of entertainment. Until the end of the silent film era in the late 1920s, the feature film was usually accompanied, if not always preceded, by two or more shorts: a one or two-reel comedy or western, newsreel installment, serial episode, "scenic" (a travelogue or other nonfiction short), or animated cartoon. Advertising slides, too, continued to figure as part of the program—pitching nationally available products, local stores and services, and coming attractions.

As larger and more grandiose picture palaces began to appear, as well as more modest neighborhood and small-town theaters, programming could be quite varied, not only in terms of the quality and length of the feature film, but also in the number of shorts and, more importantly,

Crowds outside the Strand Theater in New York City. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

in the live components of the program. For instance, in 1918, a major big-city theater, like the Strand in New York City, presented its program four times daily, beginning with an overture from the house orchestra, followed by a newsreel and scenic, two numbers from a female singer, a feature film, two numbers from a male singer, a comic short, and an organ solo. Organists like Paul Ash and Jesse Crawford became major drawing cards in their own right. During the 1920s, picture palaces added even more spectacular live performances to the show, including elaborate Broadway-styled production numbers, which sometimes took the form of a "prologue" that was connected thematically to that day's featured film.

Smaller venues continued to provide some form of musical performance, if only by a pianist or a mechanical music machine. But such theaters might also add, on occasion, a special attraction: a pared-down prologue, a band performing Hawaiian music, or, by the mid-1920s, jazz; traveling musical comedy troupes, minstrel shows, and magic acts; or participants in a local talent contest. Indeed, film exhibitors' widespread reliance on all manner of live music meant that by the end of the silent era, more musicians worked in movie theaters than in concert halls, hotels, and nightclubs combined.

The coming of sound fundamentally altered the film program, at least in terms of its live component. Short sound films of vaudeville acts and famous orchestras were intended to replace certain live performers on the bill. More significantly, Hollywood's rapid transformation to sound put countless musicians and theater organists out of work, leading the Musicians Union to undertake a futile public relations campaign against "canned" music. Live performance did, however, remain a special attraction for a great many movie theaters well into the 1940s, which booked touring variety shows, radio performers, amateur contests, magicians and midnight "spook" shows, and, by the late 1930s, the film industry's own singing cowboys, like Gene Autry (1907–1998).

Newsreels, cartoons, serial episodes, and a range of other shorts continued to accompany the feature film in programming during the 1930s (and, indeed, into the 1960s). But the Depression also saw the widespread use of another exhibition strategy, the double feature, which paired selected shorts with two feature films, sometimes each of less than an hour in length. This popular programming strategy went hand-in-hand with the increased production of low-budget, sixty-minute, series films (frequently westerns) and other B movies, which were designed to fit the requirements of the double feature. About 300 different films were needed annually by a theater that offered three changes of double-feature programs each week. For the independent theater owner, the demand for more feature films allowed for somewhat more control over the program. Highly vocal opposition to the double feature came especially from concerned parents and teachers, who worried about the effect on children. Yet by the end of the 1930s, more than half of the theaters in the United States were regularly offering double features, with some even resorting to triple features or to continuous programs of low-budget "action" films. The double feature also allowed for a regularly scheduled intermission, which boosted concession sales.

The double (or triple) feature with intermission breaks also became the standard program at drive-in theaters during the 1950s, while some form of the balanced program (combining shorts with a feature film) survived well into the 1960s. Overall, from 1950 on, there was increased attention given to coming attraction trailers as part of the show and less to comic and dramatic short films. But even as the industry focused increasingly during the 1980s on the high-budget blockbuster designed to be the sole drawing card in a multiplex or megaplex cinema, the program continued to involve more than simply or solely a feature film. Trivia games, innocuous recorded music, advertising slides, filmed commercials, public service announcements, instructions on correct audience behavior, and, most notably, flashy trailers for coming attractions—all these elements served as components of the film program in the late twentieth century, though there was little opportunity for the individual theater to customize its offerings.

SPECIALIZED PROGRAMMING

While the exhibition business has always depended on attracting a core of regular or habitual moviegoers, exhibitors have also been quick to exploit specialized screening and programming occasions, often directed toward a more niche audience. For example, Saturday matinee screenings specifically designed to attract children were initially promoted by progressive civic organizations in the 1910s, but soon evolved into a profitable staple for many film exhibitors. The 1930s saw an increased interest in the Saturday matinee, which favored cartoons, comic shorts, and serial episodes, sometimes coupled with live performances, giveaway contests, and talent shows.

Independent exhibitors in the pre-television era also took advantage of other specialized programming possibilities by scheduling commercially sponsored shows designed to display new appliances and other consumer goods to female audiences. Especially in areas where there were no theaters catering specifically to an African American clientele, exhibitors might also offer special "colored" screenings, usually late in the evening. Sometimes called "midnight rambles," these shows reinforced prevailing

Publicity outside a movie theater screening* Show Boat *(James Whale, 1936). **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

codes of racial segregation, while also suggesting that even a small-town theater owner could profit by attracting a number of different audiences.

As early as the 1920s but especially in the 1950s and 1960s, art house cinemas in major urban areas and college towns offered a self-consciously high cultural alternative to mainstream moviegoing. Specializing principally in non-American films and independent productions, these venues promised a more intimate, adult, and "refined" experience both in terms of their programming and also their ambience and décor, which often included an art gallery and low-key concession area. In many cases, the art house eventually was transformed into the repertory theater, which thrived until the late 1980s, offering an array of feature films (sometimes programmed into mini-festivals centering on a particular director or genre): foreign art cinema, revivals of Hollywood classics, cult movies, rockumentaries, and new independent films.

Among the most notable features of the repertory theater was the midnight movie. Midnight screenings, which were once principally "colored" shows or special premiere screenings, took on a much different flavor from the late 1960s through the mid-1980s. The midnight movie in these years was likely to be *The Rocky Horror Picture Show* (1975) or some other cult film, screened to a highly participatory audience of teenagers and college students. From its origins in New York City, the midnight movie spread nationwide, becoming a lucrative programming option, even for multiplexes housed in shopping malls.

PROMOTION

Early promotional efforts included colorful posters and banners that added to the already striking effect of what by the mid-1910s had become a standard feature of the movie theater, the electrically illuminated marquee, which announced the current show. To complement newspaper advertising, exhibitors relied on a range of "ballyhoo," all designed to attract attention to the program and, more generally, to the theater itself: trucks with promotional displays, billboards, signs on streetcars, poster displays in store windows, sidewalk stunts,

and—perhaps most memorable—extraordinarily elaborate facades constructed to match the film then being screened. In such instances, the front of the theater might be decorated to promote a jungle adventure one day and a prison melodrama the next.

In addition to the promotion of individual films, exhibitors were frequently engaged in the ongoing promotion of their theaters, which often meant establishing and maintaining strong ties both to other local businesses and, more generally, to the home community. Thus a theater might put appliances and other products on display in the lobby, arrange tie-ins with local merchants involving free movie tickets or product giveaways, or even offer free screenings sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce or the retail merchants' association. From the 1910s through the 1940s theaters also developed community relations by opening their doors for benefits, public interest programming, school events, patriotic drives, amateur shows, and even church services. Handbooks like Harold B. Franklin's *Motion Picture Theater Management* (1928) provided practical guidance about promotion and a range of other topics of concern to the theater manager.

In an attempt to counter falling attendance during the early 1930s, exhibitors relied not only on advertising, but also on sometimes elaborate promotional contests designed to lure customers. These included the giving away of free "premiums," like glassware, fans, and cooking utensils, and contests that encouraged audience participation. Bingo-styled games like SCREEN-O games were common, as were "Bank Nights," perhaps the most widespread of these contests. Bank Night featured a drawing for a cash prize, which required that entrants register at the theater and that the winner be present at (though not necessarily inside) the theater when the winner was announced.

Increasingly after the 1940s, theatrical promotion became less spectacular and more restricted to on-site posters and displays, which were part of national marketing campaigns for individual films. By the 1970s, given the prominence of theater chains and the role of media advertising (eventually including the Internet as well as television and radio), there was no longer neither the incentive nor the need for individual exhibitors to come up with unique promotional schemes.

NON-THEATRICAL EXHIBITION

From the late nineteenth century's traveling moving picture shows to the late twentieth century's home theaters, films have been screened outside of movie theaters in a host of non-theatrical sites. Highly visible traveling exhibitors like Lyman H. Howe (1856–1923) had great success in this market between 1900 and 1915, offering ambitious film programs that involved elaborate sound effects. (In Europe, traveling moving picture shows were extremely common at fairgrounds.) As automobiles and expanded highway systems allowed for greater mobility, a host of other itinerant exhibitors brought moving pictures to rural audiences throughout the silent period and well into the 1940s. Traveling exhibition thrived in the Depression and World War II years, especially with the increased availability of highly portable 16mm sound projection equipment. At the same time, the non-theatrical market also included individuals and companies (including government agencies like the United States Department of Agriculture) that sought to tap the vast interest in regularly exhibiting motion pictures at schools, churches, military bases, YMCAs, and retail stores. These non-theatrical exhibitors offered a variety of programs, some very similar to what was being screened in contemporary theaters, others highly idiosyncratic and tailored to a particular audience.

One other form of non-theatrical exhibition that has figured prominently in film history, particularly in terms of the creation of what might be called a cinema culture, is the non-profit film society. The film society, very much dedicated to promoting an appreciation of cinema, typically sold tickets by subscription and featured precisely the sort of films that were not likely to be screened in mainstream commercial theaters: innovative alternative cinema, foreign-language film, and older classics. (There was some significant overlap in this regard between the non-commercial film society and the commercial repertory cinema.) One model for the more than 250 film societies that had emerged by 1960 was Amos Vogel's Cinema 16, which began in New York City in 1947 screening a mix of experimental cinema, socially conscious documentaries, and international films. Film societies were often affiliated with a university, college, museum, or community arts center, where their actual screenings were held.

The most significant development in non-theatrical film exhibition has been the shift to home viewing made possible by a host of different technologies: satellite and cable television, videocassettes, DVDs, and projection and sound equipment specifically designed for the domestic consumer. The home exhibition of film has been a viable option since the introduction of portable 16mm equipment in the 1920s. However, it was not until the late 1980s that the home became the major site for film exhibition in the United States, a trend that was only reinforced by the subsequent introduction of digital cinema, available on DVD and the Internet. Given the ease and relatively low cost of watching movies at home, perhaps the most surprising fact about film exhibition in the 1990s is that theatrical attendance in the United States increased by one-third from 1985 to 2002, even

as the total number of movie screens grew from a little over 20,000 in 1985 to more than 37,000 in 2000.

SEE ALSO *Distribution; Publicity and Promotion; Studio System; Television; Theaters*

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EXPERIMENTAL FILM

Experimental films are very different from feature-length Hollywood fiction films. In *Mothlight* (1963), Stan Brakhage (1933–2003) completely avoids ''normal'' filmmaking (he doesn't even use a camera) by sprinkling seeds, grass, dead moths, and bee parts directly onto the film stock; the result is a three-minute rhythmic ''dance'' between nature and the projector mechanism.

There are many types of experimental film, but despite their diversity, it is possible to pin down tendencies that help make experimental film a discrete genre. Edward Small identifies eight traits of experimental films and in the process defines important differences between the avant-garde and Hollywood.

Most obviously, production is a collaborative enterprise, but most experimental filmmakers conceive, shoot, and edit their films alone or with a minimal crew. Often they even assume the responsibility for the distribution of the finished film. It follows that experimental films are made outside of industry economics, with the filmmakers themselves often paying for production (sometimes with money from small grants or the rentals on previous films). This low-budget approach buys independence: Maya Deren (1917–1961) bought an inexpensive 16mm Bolex camera with money she inherited after her father's death, and used this camera to make all of her films, forging a career completely apart from the Hollywood mode of production.

Unlike mainstream feature films, experimental works are usually short, often under thirty minutes in length. This is in part because of their small budgets, though most filmmakers make short films for aesthetic reasons too: to capture a fleeting moment, perhaps, or to create new visuals with the camera. *Ten Second Film* (Bruce Conner, 1965) was originally shown at the 1965 New York Film Festival, and all ten seconds were reproduced in their entirety, as strips of film, on the festival's poster. Experimental filmmakers are usually the first to try out new ways of making movies, after which these technologies are adopted by Hollywood. Scott Bartlett's (1943–1990) films, such as *OFFON* (1967, with Tom DeWitt), were the first to mix computer and film imagery, and influenced Douglas Trumbull's (b. 1942) light show in *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968). The reverse is also true: avant-garde filmmakers continue to use formats such as Pixelvision or 8mm long after the height of their popularity. Also like *OFFON*, experimental production often focuses on abstract imagery. The quintessential example is Stan Brakhage's notion of ''closed-eye vision,'' the attempt to duplicate on film the shimmers of light we see on our eyelids when our eyes are closed.

As Brakhage's films suggest, most experimental films avoid verbal communication, giving primacy to the visual. Unlike ''talkie'' Hollywood movies, experimental films are typically silent, or use sound in nonnaturalistic ways. As well, experimental films typically ignore, subvert, or fragment the storytelling rules of Hollywood cinema. Some films—such as Harry Smith's (1923–1991) *Early Abstractions* (1939–1956)—abandon narrative altogether and focus instead on creating a colorful, ever-changing picture plane. When experimental films do settle down into a story, it's often one that shocks or disturbs conventional sensibilities. Sometimes their subject is themselves and the medium of cinema.

Many experimental films violate one or more of the above traits. Andy Warhol's (1928–1987) *Empire* (1964) is over eight hours long, and Peter Hutton's

MAYA DEREN

b. Eleanora Derenkowsky, Kiev, Russia, 29 April 1917, d. 13 October 1961

One of the most important women in American experimental cinema, Maya Deren emigrated with her parents in 1922 to the United States, where Eleanora developed a keen interest in the arts that launched her into a varied early career, including a stint touring with Katherine Dunham's dance company. In 1941, while with the company in Los Angeles, she met and married filmmaker Alexander Hammid. In 1943 Deren adopted the first name *Maya* (Hindu for "illusion") and made *Meshes of the Afternoon*, a psychodrama rife with symbolic, fascinating repetition that rejuvenated the American avant-garde.

Deren's love of dance manifests itself in the films following *Meshes*. *At Land* (1944) is a dream of female empowerment that foregrounds Deren's own graceful movements, while *A Study in Choreography for Camera* (1945) is a portrait of dancer Talley Beatty as he moves from repose to a vigorous, ballet-like jump. *Meshes*, *At Land*, and *A Study* are unified by Deren's signature editing strategy: flowing motions that bridge abrupt cuts between different locales. In *A Study*, for instance, Beatty's single leap travels through a room, an art museum, against a backdrop of sky, and then ends in the woods, as he falls into a crouch and stops moving.

The combination of real-life incident and artistic manipulation is, for Deren, the essence of cinema. In her essay "Cinematography: The Creative Use of Reality" she argues that photography and cinema is the art of the "controlled accident," the "delicate balance" between spontaneity and deliberate design in art. Deren further extends the notion of the controlled accident to include those formal properties—slow-motion, negative images, disjunctive editing—that shape and alter the images of real life provided by the film camera.

Deren's other films are the *Meshes*-like *Ritual in Transfigured Time* (1946), the dance film *Meditation on Violence* (1948), and *The Very Eye of Night* (1958). In 1946 Deren divorced Alexander Hammid. In the late 1940s she became passionately interested in Haitian religion and dance, and traveled three times to Haiti to do research that resulted in the book *Divine Horsemen: The Voodoo Gods of Haiti* (1953) and hours of footage of Haitian rituals (some of which was edited into the video release *Divine Horsemen*). Deren became a legend in New York City's Greenwich Village, both for her practice of voodoo and for the assistance she provided to younger experimental filmmakers. The Creative Film Foundation (CFF) was founded by Deren to provide financial help to struggling filmmakers; Stan Brakhage, Stan Vanderbeek, Robert Breer, Shirley Clarke, and Carmen D'Avino received CFF grants.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Meshes of the Afternoon (1943), *At Land* (1944), *A Study in Choreography for Camera* (1945), *Ritual in Transfigured Time* (1946), *Meditation on Violence* (1948)

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Craig Fischer

movies photograph nature in objective terms, avoiding the avant-garde tendency toward subjective psychology. The traits, though, provide a rough guide to the ways that experimental films differ from feature-length narratives, and provide an entrance into the history of the avant-garde.

EARLY HISTORY

Many of the seminal texts of US experimental film history, such as P. Adams Sitney's *Visionary Film*, begin with a discussion of the production of Maya Deren's *Meshes of the Afternoon* (1943). More recent scholarly work, however, has unearthed a vibrant post–World

Maya Deren. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

War I avant-garde American film movement with roots in European art and culture. American artists such as Man Ray (1890–1976) and Dudley Murphy (1897–1968) lived in France and took inspiration from dadaism and surrealism in the 1920s; Ray made his first film, *Le Retour à la raison* (*Return to Reason*, 1923), for a famous dada soirée, and Murphy collaborated with Fernand Léger (1881–1955) on the surrealist *Ballet mécanique* (Mechanical ballet, 1924). Technological innovation, specifically Kodak's 1924 introduction of 16mm film and the user-friendly Cine-Kodak 16mm camera, helped to jump-start the 1920s avant-garde (*Lovers of Cinema*, p. 18).

The creators in this first wave of experimental film-making came from different careers and interests. Elia Kazan (1909–2003), Orson Welles (1915–1985), and Gregg Toland (1904–1948) dabbled in the avant-garde, but achieved true success in mainstream film. Douglass

Crockwell was a magazine illustrator of the Norman Rockwell school, but his *Glens Falls Sequence* (1934–1946) is an abstract dance of mutating shapes. Several film teachers and scholars (Theodore Huff, Lewis Jacobs, Jay Leyda) made avant-garde films too. Yet, despite these different backgrounds and motivations, most experimental film practitioners thought of themselves as amateurs rather than professional filmmakers, but the term "amateur" was praise rather than a pejorative, implying a commitment to art over commerce. The types of films by these "amateur" avant-gardists fall into distinct genres. Many made offbeat stories inspired by literary sources and cutting-edge art movements. James Sibley Watson, Jr. (1894–1982) and Melville Webber (1871–1947) invoke such sources as Edgar Allan Poe, German expressionism, and Old Testament narratives in *The Fall of the House of Usher* (1928) and *Lot in Sodom* (1933). Other films told stories that parodied film genres, such as Theodore Huff's first movie, *Hearts of the West* (1931), which features an all-children cast in a spoof of silent westerns. Filmmaker and artist Joseph Cornell (1903–1972) made collage films that turned Hollywood narratives into studies in surrealism. In *Rose Hobart* (1936), Cornell took footage from a Universal B movie that featured the contract player Rose Hobart, scored all of Hobart's actions to an old samba record, and projected the reedited footage through red-tinted lenses.

Other filmmakers abandoned narrative. Paul Strand (1890–1976) and Charles Sheeler's (1883–1965) *Manhatta* (1921), the first avant-garde film produced in the United States, was the first "city symphony" film, a genre of associative documentaries that celebrate urban life and the machines of modernity. Other American examples of the genre include *A Bronx Morning* (Jay Leyda, 1931) and *The Pursuit of Happiness* (Rudy Burkhardt, 1940), but the most famous city symphony of all, *The Man with the Movie Camera* (Dziga Vertov, 1929), was made in Soviet Russia. Another common type of nonnarrative documentary was the dance film; *Hands* (Stella Simon, 1926) and *Introspection* (Sara Arledge, 1941–1946) use innovative form to capture bodies reacting to music, and are clear inspirations for Maya Deren's work. Rhythms are at the center of both dance films and abstract films, those works that focus on unfamiliar objects and patterns. *H2O* (1929) by Ralph Steiner catalogs how water reflects light in raindrops and rivers; the films of Oskar Fischinger (1900–1967), Mary Ann Bute, and Dwinell Grant are paintings in motion, dances of colors and shapes instead of the human body.

There were four venues for the exhibition of early experimental film. In the United States, for example, the "little cinemas," the art theaters that emerged during the 1920s and 1930s to program repertory classics and European fare, sometimes showed experimental shorts before their features. *The Life and Death of 9413—A Hollywood Extra* (1928) was paired with a German/Indian coproduction, *Light of Asia* (1926), at the Philadelphia Motion Picture Guild, and Roman Freulich's *Prisoners* (1934) was followed by *Sweden, Land of the Vikings* (1934) at the Little Theatre in Baltimore (*Lovers of Cinema*, p. 24). On occasion, avant-garde shorts were even on the same program as Hollywood features. Art galleries were another venue for experimental films, as were the screenings of the Workers Film and Photo League, a branch of the Communist Party that regularly exhibited nonmainstream films of all types. The most important exhibition space for the avant-garde during this period was provided by the Amateur Cinema League (ACL), founded in New York City in 1926. The ACL nationally distributed key avant-garde films, organized "ten best" contests for amateur filmmakers, and published extravagant praise for experimental work in the ACL magazine, *Amateur Movie Makers*. As Patricia Zimmerman points out, the activities of the ACL were just a small part of the amateur film phenomenon: "The *New York Times* speculated that that there were over one hundred thousand home moviemakers in 1937 and five hundred services for rental of films for home viewing" (Zimmerman in Horak, p. 143). No wonder experimental filmmakers from this period embraced the "amateur" label so readily. However, most of these activities vanished as the Depression ground on. Though several important experimental filmmakers—Arledge, Burkhardt, Cornell—began to make work in the second half of the 1930s, it would be another ten years before a new avant-garde generation would build systems of production, distribution, and exhibition that rivaled those of the amateur film movement.

POSTWAR POETICS

In the immediate postwar period, the most important exhibition space for experimental films were the ciné clubs, organizations of film fans who would rent and discuss offbeat films. The first flowering of ciné clubs occurred in France in the 1920s, as venues for the impressionist work of such avant-gardists as Germaine Dulac (1882–1942) and Jean Epstein (1897–1953). Luis Buñuel made *Un Chien Andalou* (1929) in collaboration with the painter Salvador Dali. Hans Richter, Viking Eggeling, Oskar Fischinger, Jon Jost, and Jean Cocteau are among the many other avant-garde filmmakers to work in Europe.

In the United States, the first such club, Art in Cinema, whose screenings were helmed by Frank Stauffacher at the San Francisco Museum of Art, was established in 1947. Stauffacher helped Amos and Marcia Vogel start a club, Cinema 16, in New York City, and for sixteen years (1947–1963) the Vogels sponsored programs that included experimental shorts such as Kenneth

Gay iconography in Kenneth Anger's* Fireworks *(1947).
FANTOMA FILMS/THE KOBAL COLLECTION.

Anger's (b. 1927) *Fireworks* (1947) and Bruce Conner's *A Movie* (1957) with documentaries, educational shorts, art films, and special events featuring speakers such as playwright Arthur Miller and Alfred Hitchcock. In 1950 the Vogels also began to distribute experimental films around the country (primarily to colleges and other ciné clubs) through Cinema 16. Although financial troubles forced the Vogels to shut down Cinema 16 in 1963, its effect was lasting and profound.

Other exhibition spaces besides ciné clubs included college classes, art galleries and museums, and bars. Occasionally, an entrepreneurial filmmaker might even screen in a mainstream theater. Between 1946 and 1949, for instance, Maya Deren rented the two-hundred-seat Provincetown Playhouse eight times for programs of her films. As opportunities for the exhibition of avant-garde films grew, trends began to form. Following Deren's example, several filmmakers in the immediate postwar period made surrealist, dream-inflected narratives. Sidney Peterson (1905–2000) and James Broughton (1913–1999) collaborated on *The Potted Psalm* (1946), a loose-limbed tale featuring gravestones, mannequins, and other irrational symbols. Peterson's subsequent films, such as *The Cage* (1947) and *The Lead Shoes* (1948), combine disturbing images with recursive narratives and compulsive repetition. Broughton made his first film, *Mother's Day*, in 1948, and across four decades of film-making his works shifted in emphasis from offbeat, erotic comedy to an unabashed celebration of gay sexuality. Willard Maas (1911–1971) was another practitioner of the postwar experimental narrative; his *Geography of the Body* (1946) turns close-ups of human anatomy into a travelogue of a surreal continent. For his first film, Stan Brakhage made *Interim* (1952), a romantic Derenesque narrative, but afterwards he quickly took off in new directions.

Animation was also a vibrant part of the postwar avant-garde. The most prolific avant-garde animator was Robert Breer (b. 1926), who between 1952 and 1970 produced at least one film a year. James (1921–1982) and John Whitney (1917–1995) pioneered computer-generated films, and their success gave them the opportunity to make cartoons for the mainstream UPA studio and to produce animated effects for Alfred Hitchcock's *Vertigo* (1958). Australian artist Len Lye (1901–1980) painted directly on the surface of the film strip in such films as *A Colour Box* (1935) and *Free Radicals* (1958). And Jordan Belson's (b. 1926) San Francisco light shows evolved into symmetrically patterned, Buddhist-influenced films such as *Mandala* (1953) and *Allures* (1961).

Several postwar filmmakers explored film form in ways different from animation. Bruce Conner began his career in the arts as a sculptor, but became famous as the conceptualizer-editor of a series of "found footage" films that edited previously shot footage into new and bizarre combinations. In *A Movie*, Conner subverts our cause-effect expectations (and makes us laugh) by juxtaposing, for example, a shot of a German soldier staring into a periscope with a picture of a girl wearing a bikini and staring into the camera. Other Conner films subject newly shot footage to unorthodox cutting: in *Vivian* (1963), Conner filmed his friend Vivian Kurz in various environments—in an art gallery, in her bedroom—and then edited the rolls into a kinetic flow of images that comments on the nature of photographic representation. *Vivian* has a pop music soundtrack—as do other Conner films, such as *Cosmic Ray* (1961) and *Mongoloid* (1978)—and Conner's synchronization of editing and musical rhythm is the origin of the music video.

Marie Menken (1909–1970) used time-lapse photography as the formal center of many of her films. A team player in the New York Underground—she worked on films by Warhol, Deren, and her husband, Willard Maas—Menken also crafted miniature movies that condense time. *Moonplay* (1962) is a collection of full moons photographed over the course of several years,

ANDY WARHOL

b. Andrew Warhola, Forest City, Pennsylvania, 6 August 1928, d. 22 February 1987

Probably the best-known American artist of the twentieth century, Andy Warhol studied commercial art at Carnegie Mellon University. In 1949 he moved to New York City and carved out a career as an advertising artist. In the early 1960s Warhol became a pioneer of pop art by creating paintings that showcased the most ubiquitous icons of American popular culture: Campbell's Soup cans, Brillo boxes, celebrities such as Elvis Presley and Marilyn Monroe. With his paintings and silkscreens in high demand, Warhol established the Factory, a workshop and hangout where he supervised "art workers" in the making of Warhol "originals." The subjects of his art were the mass media and mass production, and the art was created on the Factory's improvisational assembly line.

A neglected aspect of Warhol's 1960s artistic production was his work in experimental film. Just as his graphic art used simplicity to challenge notions of "art," Warhol's avant-garde films embraced the realist aesthetic strategies of the putative fathers of cinema, Louis and Auguste Lumière. Warhol returned to cinema's zero point by setting up a 16mm camera and encouraging the artsy types who inhabited the Factory to perform for the lens. Sometimes Warhol commissioned writers (most notably off-off-Broadway playwright Ronald Tavel) to provide screenplays, but usually the Factory crew filmed with just a central conceit—open to extended improvisation—as a rough guide. In *Kiss* (1963), Warhol showcased various couples (hetero- and homosexual) kissing, each for the three-minute length of the camera magazine; *Sleep* (1963) uses a few camera angles to photograph poet John Giorno's body as he slumbers. Warhol's films had a profound effect on avant-garde film practice of the 1960s, especially the decade's structural filmmakers.

Warhol's movies of the mid-1960s built on the simple structures of his earlier work. *Inner and Outer Space* (1965) juxtaposes ghostly video images of Warhol "superstar" Edie Sedgwick with film footage of her commenting on her own video reflection, while *Chelsea Girls* (1966), which played commercially in New York City, uses two screens to depict the inhabitants of the Chelsea Hotel in Manhattan. Warhol's epic was perhaps **** (*Four Stars*, 1966–1967), a twenty-five-hour explosion of superimpositions (two projectors fired footage simultaneously on the same screen) that was shown only once and then disassembled.

After Warhol was shot and almost killed by Valerie Solanas in June 1968, he stopped making films. Instead, he farmed out the Factory's filmmaking activities to his protégé, Paul Morrissey, who went on to direct several Warhol-influenced but more mainstream features, including *Flesh* (1968), *Trash* (1970), *Heat* (1972), *Flesh for Frankenstein* (1973), and *Blood for Dracula* (1974).

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Kiss (1963), *Sleep* (1963), *Empire* (1964), *Poor Little Rich Girl* (1965), *My Hustler* (1965), *Chelsea Girls* (1966), *The Nude Restaurant* (1967), *Blue Movie* (1969)

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Craig Fischer

while Menken herself described *Go! Go! Go!* (1962–1964) as "a time-lapse record of a day in the life of a city."

Radical content as well as form was common in the postwar avant-garde, particularly films that addressed homosexual desire. Probably the most famous "queer" experimental filmmaker of this period is Kenneth Anger, who made the trailblazing *Fireworks* at the age of seventeen. *Fireworks* is a mélange of same-sex flirtation, sadomasochism, and sailors; the film's finale features a sailor lighting a Roman candle (firework) in his crotch. (*Fireworks* was shown several times at Cinema 16, often as part of a "Forbidden Films" program, and Amos

Andy Warhol. PHOTO BY REX FEATURES/EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Vogel also distributed Anger's work.) Anger's epic *Scorpio Rising* (1963) connects gay desire and satanism—for Anger (as for Jean Genet), being gay means repudiating traditional norms and embracing the subversive and decadent—and the film juxtaposes a chronicle of California biker culture with a pop-rock soundtrack in ways that, like Conner's works, anticipate music videos. Anger's films treat homosexuality as inherently transgressive; in contrast, many of Gregory Markopoulos's (1928–1992) works place same-sex desire in a classical context. *The Iliac Passion* (1967), for example, features several members of the 1960s New York gay demimonde—Andy Warhol, Jack Smith, Taylor Mead—cast as mythic characters such as Poseidon and Orpheus. Markopoulos also pioneered a single-frame, scattershot approach to editing that made his films tightly wound, dense fabrics of allusions, classical and otherwise.

As Markopoulos explored the deep connections between sexuality and myth, Jack Smith turned popular culture into his own queer playground. Soon after meeting experimental filmmakers Ken Jacobs (b. 1933) and Bob Fleischner in a film class at the City College of New York in 1956, Smith collaborated with Jacobs on a series of films—including *Star Spangled to Death* (1958/2004) and *Little Stabs at Happiness* (1959)—that ditch plot and instead allow Smith to improvise personas for the camera. Both the charm and narcissism of this approach finds its perfect expression in Jacobs, Fleischner, and Smith's *Blonde Cobra* (1963), where Smith delivers a monologue to his image in a mirror. After a falling out with Jacobs, Smith directed several films himself, the most notorious being *Flaming Creatures* (1963), a mad chronicle of a pansexual orgy, complete with simulated rape and *faux*-earthquake, that was declared obscene in New York Criminal Court. Even while Smith worked on such films as the unfinished *Normal Love* (begun 1964) and *No President* (1968), he increasingly shifted his energies to performance art, letting his love of Z-grade Hollywood stars (especially the beloved Maria Montez) and radical politics run rampant in theater pieces, slide shows, and "expanded cinema" experiences such as *I Was a Male Yvonne de Carlo for the Lucky Landlord Underground* (1982).

THE 1960s

The 1960s deserves its own subsection primarily because of Andy Warhol, who began making 16mm long-take, quotidian extravaganzas in 1963, and whose popularity throughout the decade brought visibility to experimental films as a whole. In addition, the rise of a leftist counterculture during the decade and the increased distribution of nonmainstream movies led to an exponential increase in the number of artists who made avant-garde films during this time. Among the most important filmmakers of the era were Bruce Baillie (b. 1931), Ken Jacobs, the Kuchar brothers (George, b. 1942, and Mike, b. 1942), Robert Nelson, Stan Vanderbeek (1927–1984), Michael Snow (b. 1929), and Joyce Wieland (1931–1998). However, much of the credit for the explosion of creativity in the 1960s in the United States belongs to Jonas Mekas (b. 1922).

Born in Lithuania, Mekas published several books of poetry and literary sketches—and spent time in forced-labor and displaced-persons camps during World War II—before he and his brother Adolfas emigrated to the United States in 1949. He quickly became a fixture at Cinema 16, where he shot footage that would later appear in his diary film *Lost Lost Lost* (1975). In January 1955 he began *Film Culture*, "America's Independent Motion Picture Magazine," whose early topics included classical Hollywood filmmaking (the journal published Andrew Sarris's first articles on auteurism), the international art cinema, and Mekas's own criticism. Within a few years, *Film Culture*'s focus zeroed in on the avant-garde and Mekas became experimental film's hardest working promoter.

Viva and Taylor Mead in Andy Warhol's* Lonesome Cowboys *(1969). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

In the 1960s his weekly "Movie Journal" column in the *Village Voice* publicized experimental filmmakers and the events where their films could be seen, and Mekas himself was one of these filmmakers: his feature *Guns of the Trees* (codirected by Adolfas) was released in 1961, his film document of the play *The Brig* in 1964, and his first ambitious diaristic film, *Walden*, in 1969. In 1964 he organized the Film-Makers' Cinematheque, a venue for US avant-garde film that provocatively overlapped with vanguard artists in other fields as well. With Shirley Clarke (1919–1997) and Lionel Rogosin (1924–2000), Mekas started the Film-Makers' Distribution Center, a distribution exchange that he hoped would supply an ever-expanding circuit of theaters with experimental work. Although both the Cinematheque and Distribution Center failed, Mekas established Anthology Film Archives in 1970, a museum/theater/preservation complex devoted to experimental films. Although various controversies have erupted throughout its history—most notably, perhaps, around its attempt to establish a list of canonical "essential" films that would be in permanent repertory—Anthology endures to this day, a tribute to Mekas's commitment to the avant-garde.

Perhaps Mekas's most unusual contribution to experimental film exhibition was the midnight movie. Mekas's midnight screenings at Manhattan's Charles Theatre between 1961 and 1963 followed an open-mic structure: audience members either paid admission or brought a reel of film to show, and Mekas supplemented these submissions with works by Markopoulos, Menken, Jacobs, and others. Later in the decade, entrepreneur Mike Getz resurrected the midnight movie model when he used family connections to begin Underground Cinema 12. Getz's uncle, Louis Sher, was the owner of a chain of Midwest art cinemas, and Getz persuaded Sher to exhibit midnight programs of avant-garde shorts at many of these theaters. Underground Cinema 12 brought experimental film out of its centers in New York City and San Francisco and gave it exposure elsewhere in the country. In 1967, for instance, in the college town of Champaign, Illinois, viewers had the opportunity to see Conner's *A Movie*, Vanderbeek's *Breathdeath* (1964), *Peyote Queen* (Storm De Hirsch, 1965), and *Sins of the Fleshapoids* (Mike Kuchar, 1965) at Sher's local art theater. Mekas's Charles screenings and Getz's

Underground Cinema 12 were important precursors to the 1970s midnight movie experience as it coalesced around cult films such as *The Rocky Horror Picture Show* (1975) and *Eraserhead* (1977).

Mekas's nurturing of the avant-garde led to an explosion of experimental auteurs. In such works as *Mass for the Dakota Sioux* (1963–1964) and *Quick Billy* (1967–1970), Bruce Baillie welds his love for the West with a poetic, Brakhage-inspired spontaneity. In his best-known film, *Castro Street* (1966), Baillie, who also cofounded in 1961 Canyon Cinema, an exhibition program that evolved into the biggest distributor of experimental films in the United States, uses multiple superimpositions to celebrate his beloved San Francisco neighborhood; *All My Life* (1966) consists of a single three-minute shot (a track along a picket fence that ends with a pan up to the sky) that captures the ravishing light in a California backyard. After collaborating with Jack Smith, Ken Jacobs made a number of avant-garde films, including *Tom, Tom, the Piper's Son* (1969). Subsequently, Jacobs began researching optical effects and illusions, which resulted in his "Nervous System" performances, improvisations where Jacobs "plays" two projectors in ways that display how various properties of the film medium (flicker, lenses, projection) can mold and alter images. The Kuchar brothers, George and Mike, grew up in the Bronx, and as teenagers used an 8mm camera to shoot their own tawdry versions of Hollywood melodramas. They then showed tiny epics such as *I Was a Teenage Rumpot* (1960) and *Pussy on a Hot Tin Roof* (1961) at open screenings for amateur filmmakers, where they garnered attention from the avant-garde. Later films jumped up to 16mm, but their movies remained campy, unprofessional, rude, and thoroughly hypnotic, implicit subversions of Hollywood standards of "quality." After the mid-1960s the brothers worked separately, and Mike has made few films since. George has remained astonishingly prolific, producing films and videotapes at the rate of at least two a year.

The profane jokester of the 1960s avant-garde explosion, Robert Nelson first courted controversy with *Oh Dem Watermelons* (1965), his second film, a chaotic mix of gags and images involving melons accompanied in part by a racist Stephen Foster soundtrack. Nelson's tour de force, *Bleu Shut* (1970), functions as both a ruthless parody of structural film and a perfect example of Nelson's tendency to pack his films with crazed digressions and absurd asides. Best known as a performance artist, Carolee Schneemann (b. 1939) made several influential autobiographical avant-garde movies, including *Fuses* (1967), a portrait of Schneemann's sex life with composer James Tenney, for which Brakhage inspired Schneemann to paint and scratch directly on the footage to capture the joy and energy of lovemaking. While studying filmmaking at New York University, Warren Sonbert (1947–1995) shot a number of short diary films—including *Where Did Our Love Go?* (1966), *Hall of Mirrors* (1966), and *The Bad and the Beautiful* (1967)—that combine pop music soundtracks with candid footage of such 1960s Manhattan scenemakers as René Ricard and Gerald Malanga. With *The Carriage Trade* (1971), Sonbert shifted into a more rigorous type of filmmaking based on silence, extremely brief shots, and graphic contrasts. Sonbert's later films, such as *Divided Loyalties* (1978) and *Honor and Obey* (1988), use this rigorous form to create portraits of a world full of alienation and sorrow. Sonbert died of AIDS in 1995. Stan Vanderbeek pioneered the use of computer imagery, collage animation, and compilation filmmaking. Terry Gilliam's cutout animation for *Monty Python's Flying Circus* was inspired by Vanderbeek's *Science Friction* (1959), and many of Vanderbeek's earliest films were political satires in collage form. In the late 1960s Vanderbeek collaborated with Kenneth Knowlton of Bell Telephone Laboratories to make some of the first computer-generated films, and built an avant-garde movie theater, the Movie Drome of Stony Point, New York, that was equipped to properly present his own multiprojector works.

In Canada, painter Joyce Wieland (1931–1998) also made films with a dry wit that anticipates many structural films. *Rat Life and Diet in North America* (1968) juxtaposes footage of mice with a narrated soundtrack that defines the rodents as heroes of a narrative about political oppression and liberation. After making two avant-garde films—*La Raison avant la passion* (*Reason Over Passion*, 1968–1969) and *Pierre Vallières* (1972)—devoted to Canadian issues, Wieland reached out to a larger audience with her narrative feminist feature *The Far Shore* (1976).

During this period, many challenging experimental films were made outside the United States. From the 1930s to the 1980s, Norman McLaren (1914–1987) produced playful animated and live-action shorts for Canada's National Film Board. French philosopher Guy Debord made several films—including *Sur le passage de quelques personnes à travers une assez courte unité de temps* (*On the Passage of a Few People through a Rather Brief Period in Time*, 1959) and *Critique de la séparation* (*Critique of Separation*, 1961)—designed to vex conventional audience expectation and dissect mass media manipulation. In Japan, Takahito Iimura (b. 1937) began a series of scandalous shorts with *Ai* (*Love*, 1962).

THREE TYPES OF EXPERIMENTAL FILM

In the late 1960s experimental film headed in a new aesthetic direction. In an article published in *Film*

Culture in 1969, critic P. Adams Sitney defined the structuralist film as a "tight nexus of content, a shape designed to explore the facets of the material" (*Film Culture Reader*, p. 327), which becomes clear when these films are compared with previous avant-garde traditions. In the films of lyricists such as Brakhage and Baillie, rhythm is dependent on what is being photographed, or on the associations possible through manipulations of form. In *Window Water Baby Moving* (1962), for example, Brakhage's quick cuts fragment time and connect his wife Jane's pregnant stomach to the birth of their daughter. In contrast, structuralist films don't have "rhythms" as much as they do systems that, in Sitney's words, render content "minimal and subsidiary to the outline" (*Film Culture Reader*, p. 327). Watching a structuralist film, then, is a little like watching a chain of dominoes: after the first domino tumbles, our attention is on how the overall organization plays out rather than on the individual dominoes. Sitney considers such Andy Warhol Factory films as *Sleep* (1963) and *Eat* (1963) to be important precursors of structural film, particularly because of their reliance on improvisatory performance and fixed camera positions. Later in the decade, other avant-garde filmmakers turned to structural film. Michael Snow's influential *Wavelength* (1967) is organized around a forty-five-minute zoom that moves from a wide shot of a New York loft to a close-up of a picture of ocean waves on the loft's farthest wall. Snow continued to explore reframing with *Back and Forth* (1969), a shot of a classroom photographed by a camera that pans with ever-increasing speed, and *La Région centrale* (The Central Region, 1971), a portrait of a northern Quebec landscape photographed by a machine that runs through a series of automated circular pans.

Critic David James has isolated the origin of structural film in the "radical film reductions" of the 1960s Fluxus art movement: works such as Nam June Paik's (1932–2006) *Zen for Film* (1964)—a projection of nothing but a bright, empty surface, occasionally punctuated by scratches and dirt—points to a cinema preoccupied with its own formal properties. Fluxus films, and the structuralist movies they spawned, explore the material nature of film as a medium and the various phases of the production process. For example, Peter Kubelka's (b. 1934) *Arnulf Rainer* (1958–1960) and Tony Conrad's *The Flicker* (1966) consist solely of alternating black-and-white frames of various lengths to explore the optical effects of flicker. Paul Sharits's (1943–1993) *Ray Gun Virus* (1966) and *S:TREAM:S:S:ECTION:S:ECTION:S:S:ECTIONED* (1968–1971) add color, emulsion scratches, and even portraits of faces to rapid-fire flicker. The distortion of space through changes in lens focal length is the subject of Ernie Gehr's (b. 1943) *Serene Velocity* (1970), which juxtaposes long shots of an empty corridor with shots of the same hallway while the camera zooms in. Larry Gottheim's *Barn Rushes* (1971) explores the nature of filmic representation and duplication by photographing a landscape under different light conditions and with different film stocks. J. J. Murphy's *Print Generation* (1973–1974) subjects a one-minute piece of film to fifty duplications, and the process renders the footage abstract and unintelligible. (Murphy also distorts sound, and one twist of *Print Generation* is that as the image distorts, the sound becomes clearer, and vice versa.) In Britain, Malcolm le Grice and Peter Gidal, and in Germany Wilhelm and Birgit Hein, also worked in this mode.

The graininess and dirtiness of the film image is considered in *Film in Which There Appear Edge Lettering, Sprocket Holes, Dirt Particles, Etc.* (Owen Land, 1966), which offers a starring role to one of cinema's most ignored performers: the "Chinagirl" that lab workers would use to check the quality of a print. Ken Jacobs's *Tom, Tom, the Piper's Son* (1969) analyzes a 1905 short of the same name by speeding up and rewinding the original footage, and by zooming in on portions of the *mise-en-scène* to such a magnified degree that details become grainy abstractions and blobs of light. The nature of projection itself is the subject of *Line Describing a Cone* (Anthony McCall, 1973), which requires an audience to stand in a gallery space and watch a projector throw a light beam that gradually (over a half-hour) changes shape into a cone.

The most important structuralist filmmaker is Hollis Frampton (1936–1984), who began his career with a series of films that explore minimalist elements. *Manual of Arms* (1966) organizes portraits of New York artists into a rigid grid structure, and *Lemon* (1969) subjects the fruit to a series of ever-shifting lighting designs. Frampton's vision expanded and deepened with *Zorns Lemma* (1970), which was strongly influenced by the animal locomotion studies of proto-filmmaker Eadweard Muybridge. The seven-film series *Hapax Legomena* (1971–1972) is Frampton's *Ulysses*, a compendium of formal innovations that, at its most accomplished—as in part 1, *Nostalgia* (1971)—is both intellectually and emotionally moving. Frampton died in 1984 at age forty-eight, having spent the last decade of his life on the unfinished epic *Magellan* (1972–1980), fragments of which (particularly *Gloria!* [1979]) function as stand-alone films.

Structuralist film was influential enough to spread to many different countries. Filmmakers such as Malcolm Le Grice and Peter Gidal congregated at the London Film Makers' Cooperative to screen their structuralist works and debate the future of the avant-garde, while in France, Rose Lowder began a series of 16mm loops

STAN BRAKHAGE

b. Kansas City, Missouri, 14 January 1933, d. 9 March 2003

The most prolific and influential experimental filmmaker in US film history, Stan Brakhage also wrote insightfully about his own films and the work of other filmmakers. The most oft-quoted passage in experimental film criticism is the opening of Brakhage's text *Metaphors on Vision* (1963): "Imagine an eye unruled by man-made laws of perspective, an eye unprejudiced by compositional logic, an eye which does not respond to the name of everything but which must know each object encountered in life through an adventure of perception." This passage explicates the major aesthetic strain in Brakhage's films: abstraction. From the beginning of his career, Brakhage combined the photographic image with marks and paint applied directly onto the filmstrip, and many of his films of the 1980s and 1990s are completely abstract, partly for financial reasons and partly because he believed in the liberating power of nonlinear, nonnarrative aesthetic experiences. Some of Brakhage's abstract "adventures in perception" are *Eye Myth* (1967), *The Text of Light* (1974), *The Dante Quartet* (1987), and *Black Ice* (1994).

Brakhage briefly attended Dartmouth College on a scholarship, but he found academia so uncongenial that he had a nervous breakdown, left school, and spent four years traveling and living in San Francisco and New York. During this period Brakhage made his earliest films, including psychodramas such as *Interim* (1952) and *Desistfilm* (1954).

While making *Anticipation of the Night* (1958), which he intended to end with footage of his suicide, he fell in love with and married Jane Collom. Stan and Jane remained married for twenty-nine years, and a major subgenre of Brakhage's work chronicles the rise and fall of this marriage, from domestic quarrels (*Wedlock House: An Intercourse*, 1959) and the birth of children (*Window Water Baby Moving*, 1959) to Brakhage's increasing estrangement from Jane and his teenage children (*Tortured Dust*, 1984). Many critics consider Brakhage's singular achievement to be *Dog Star Man* (1962–1964), a four-part epic that uses multiple superimpositions to connect the activities of his family (then living a back-to-the-land existence in rural Colorado) to myth and the rhythms of nature.

In 1996 Brakhage was diagnosed with cancer, which might have been caused by the dyes he had used to paint on film. His last works include the live-action self-portrait *Stan's Window* (2003), and *Chinese Series* (2003), a film Brakhage made on his deathbed by using his fingernail to etch dancing white marks into black film emulsion.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

The Wonder Ring (1955), *Reflections on Black* (1955), *Anticipation of the Night* (1958), *Window Water Baby Moving* (1959), *Mothlight* (1963), *Dog Star Man* (1962–1964), *The Act of Seeing with One's Own Eyes* (1971), *The Text of Light* (1974), *Murder Psalm* (1980), *The Loom* (1986), *Commingled Containers* (1996)

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that explored frame-by-frame transitions and their effects on audiences.

Yet the structural film movement was essentially over by the mid-1970s. Structuralist films were triumphs of formal design, but a new generation of leftist experimental artists criticized the apolitical nature of films such as *Wavelength* and *Tom, Tom, the Piper's Son*, and began to make movies with ideological content that tackled social issues such as feminism and colonialism. Yet, reverberations of structuralist film continue into later avant-garde film. *Sink or Swim* (Su Friedrich, 1990) follows a *Zorns Lemma*–like alphabetical structure, while *Teatro Amazonas* (Sharon Lockhart, 1999) is a witty commentary on cultural colonialism and a stylish update of Standish Lawder's structuralist *Necrology* (1971), a one-shot film of people on an escalator projected backwards.

Stan Brakhage. © ZEITGEIST FILMS/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

But structuralist filmmakers realized that cinema's formal properties could do more than just tell stories, and made artworks that revealed to us that sometimes a zoom can be more than just a zoom, that it can embody nothing less than a way of seeing.

Another important wave in 1970s experimental film, roughly concurrent with structuralist film, was the rise of the "new talkies," feature-length works influenced by critical theory and the politicized art films of Jean-Luc Godard (b. 1930), Jean-Marie Straub (b. 1933), and Daniele Huillet (b. 1936). Although most experimental films are short, the feature-length experimental film has a long pedigree. During the 1950s and 1960s, as Deren and Brakhage were making their influential short films, other avant-gardists dabbled in longer, more narrative forms. Ron Rice's (1935–1964) Beat-saturated *The Flower Thief* (1960) and *The Queen of Sheba Meets the Atom Man* (1963) are feature-length showcases for actor Taylor Mead's inspired improvisations, while Warhol's 1960s films were often longer than most Hollywood films. Some, such as *Chelsea Girls* (1966), ran in first-run mainstream movie theaters.

The feature-length new talkies that emerged in the 1970s were a more specific type of avant-garde genre. The new talkies are typified by an engagement with critical theory and a return to storytelling, albeit to deconstruct storytelling as a signifying practice. (Many new talkies are simultaneously narratives and essays on narrative.) These traits are clear in the quintessential new talkie, Laura Mulvey (b. 1941) and Peter Wollen's (b. 1938) *Riddles of the Sphinx* (1977), which tells the story of Louise, a woman who talks with coworkers about childcare and decides to move from a house to an apartment. *Sphinx*'s form owes much to Godard, but its narrative is something new: an attempt to capture the life of a woman without recourse to genre, "erotica," or the male gaze.

Other key new talkie auteurs are Yvonne Rainer (b. 1934) and Trinh T. Minh-ha (b. 1953). Rainer began her career in dance, bringing aesthetic and political radicalism to the performances she orchestrated as part of the Judson Dance Theater. Her movies such as *Film About a Woman Who ...* (1974) and *Privilege* (1990) form a kind of spiritual autobiography, tackling various subjects as Rainer herself goes through a lifetime of experiences and observations. Shot through all these films is Rainer's belief in everyday life as a site of political struggle, showing how the personal is always political.

Trinh T. Minh-ha's own multicultural background—she has lived in France, the United States, and West Africa—informs *Reassemblage* (1982), *Naked Spaces—Living Is Round* (1985), and *Surname Viet Given Name Nam* (1989). These films renounce traditional narrative and documentary forms, and search for avant-garde ways of representing people of different societies (including Senegal, Mauritania, Burkino Faso, and Vietnam) to First World audiences. But Minh-ha's recent career reveals the difficulty of sustaining new talkie practices in today's film culture. In his seminal essay "The Two Avant-Gardes," Peter Wollen argues that the politicized Godardian art film and the formalist experimental film were the twin poles of 1960s cinematic radicalism, and that the new talkies can be understood as an attempt to bring these poles together (*Readings and Writings*, pp. 92–104). Yet, since the 1960s, art cinema has shifted decisively away from radical politics, while experimental cinema has exploded into a multiplicity of approaches, some formal in emphasis and some not.

One mutation in experimental film occurred in the late 1970s and early 1980s, when a group of New York artists made films that emulated the do-it-yourself aesthetics and catchy nihilism of early punk rock. Made in 8mm on miniscule budgets, these films rejected both Hollywood norms and the pretensions of the more formalist tendency in experimental film. Although this movement went by various names ("new cinema," "no wave cinema"), "cinema of transgression" is the most common because of its defining use in Nick Zedd's infamous "The Cinema of Transgression Manifesto" (1985), which begins with a denunciation of the "laziness known as structuralism" and the work of "profoundly undeserving non-talents like Brakhage, Snow, Frampton, Gehr, Breer, etc." and a celebration of films that directly attack "every value system known to man" (p. 40). Like most manifestoes, Zedd's "Transgression" slays the father and claims a complete break with an outmoded past. But many of the cinema of transgression films were, in essence, exhibitions of scandalous behavior, and are logical descendants of an experimental film tradition that includes Kurt Kren's (1929–1998) material action shorts of the 1960s and Vito Acconci's (b. 1940) early 1970s 8mm performance documentaries (which record Acconci plastering up his anus and crushing cockroaches on his body). One significant difference between these precursors and the cinema of transgression is venue: Kren's and Acconci's works were screened in film societies and art galleries, while the transgression films were shown mostly in New York City punk bars.

Although Zedd's manifesto was clearly an act of publicity-seeking hyperbole, the cinema of transgression delivered, throughout the 1980s, a robust wave of avant-garde filmmakers and films. In several works made between 1978 and 1981 (*Guérillère Talks* [1978], *Beauty Becomes the Beast* [1979], and *Liberty's Booty* [1980]), Vivienne Dick combined documentary interviews, melodramatic narratives, and a jittery camera style perfectly suited to low-fi 8mm. Beth and Scott B.'s *Black Box* (1978) is a stroboscopic aural assault that treats its spectators like tortured prisoners. Other important transgressors include Richard Kern, Alyce Wittenstein, Cassandra Stark, Eric Mitchell, Kembra Pfahler, James Nares, and Zedd himself, whose affinity for over-the-top parody is present in his films from *Geek Maggot Bingo* (1983), a send-up of cheesy B-movie horror, to the video spoof *The Lord of the Cockrings* (2002). Several factors, including the steady gentrification of New York City's Lower East Side and the spread of AIDS, ended the cinema of transgression. Yet the films of many contemporary avant-gardists, including Peggy Ahwesh, Jon Moritsugu, Luther Price, and Martha Colburn, bear the influence of the transgression example.

THE CONTEMPORARY SCENE

According to many critics, the experimental film world went through a period of flagging energy and diminished creativity during the 1980s. Among the reasons, according to Paul Arthur, were the skyrocketing costs of 16mm processing, cutbacks in government and private-foundation funding, and the economic and aesthetic challenges posed by video. By the 1990s, however, it was clear that the movement had undergone a resurgence. Older figures such as Brakhage, Mekas, and Jacobs remained active, and a new generation of artists, aesthetic trends, and exhibition strategies emerged.

One such trend in contemporary experimental production is the use of "outdated" formats. Sadie Benning (b. 1973), the daughter of filmmaker James Benning (b. 1942), shot ghostly autobiographical movies like *If Every Girl Had a Diary* (1990) and *It Wasn't Love* (1992) with the Pixelvision–2000, a black-and-white toy video camera that records small, blurry images on audio cassette tape. The Pixelvision camera was only available from 1987 to 1989, but the work of Sadie Benning and other filmmakers (Joe Gibbons, Michael Almereyda, Peggy Ahwesh, Eric Saks) have kept Pixelvision alive. Many avant-gardists have continued to use both regular 8mm and super-8mm, and are passionate about the aesthetic qualities of small-gauge filmmaking. Perhaps the ultimate validation of human-scale small-gauge filmmaking was the exhibition "Big as Life: An American History of 8mm Films," which exhibited small-gauge works by Conner, Brakhage, Wieland, and many others at both New York's Museum of Modern Art and the San Francisco Cinematheque from 1998 to 1999.

Museum retrospectives such as the "Big as Life" program are an important part of experimental film distribution, but the real screening innovation of the last decade were microcinemas—small theaters run by dedicated filmmakers and fans as showcases for non-mainstream work. Total Mobile Home Microcinema, the first contemporary microcinema, was established in 1993 by Rebecca Barton and David Sherman in the basement of their San Francisco apartment building, and by the late 1990s, at least a hundred had sprung up in various cities around the United States. Some of the highest-profile microcinemas include Greenwich Village's Robert Beck Memorial Cinema, begun by filmmakers Bradley Eros and Brian Frye; San Francisco's Other Cinema, curated by master collagist Craig Baldwin; and the Aurora Picture Show, Andrea Grover's microcinema, housed in a converted church in Houston. Perhaps the microcinema with the most ambitious programming was Blinding Light (1998–2003), a one-hundred-seat, six-night-a-week theater in Vancouver.

The New York Film Festival's "Views from the Avant-Garde," founded by critic Mark McEllhatten and *Film Comment* editor Gavin Smith in 1997, is an annual cross-section of the experimental film world. The continued activity of established venues such as Anthology Film Archives, Chicago Filmmakers, and the San Francisco Cinematheque, coupled with the rise of microcinemas and touring programs such as John Columbus's Black Maria Film and Video Festival and the MadCatFilm Festival, have made it somewhat easier to see experimental films, a trend pushed even further by the more recent ability to download films from Internet sites such as www.hi-beam.net.

SEE ALSO *Animation; Surrealism; Video*

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EXPLOITATION FILMS

Exploitation movies have been a part of the motion picture industry since its earliest days. The term "exploitation movie" initially referred to any film that required exploitation or ballyhoo over and above the usual posters, trailers, and newspaper advertising. Originally this included films on risqué topics, documentaries, and even religious films. But by the 1930s it referred specifically to low-budget movies that emphasized sex, violence, or some other form of spectacle in favor over coherent narrative.

Exploitation films grew out of a series of sex hygiene films that were made prior to and during World War I in an effort to stave the scourge of venereal diseases. Using movies as a modern educational tool to convey the dangers of the diseases and their potential treatments, movies like *Damaged Goods* (1914) drove home a moralistic message about remaining clean for family and country. Following the war several films commissioned by the government for use in training camps were released to the general public. *Fit to Win* (1919) and *The End of the Road* (1918) did not have the same level of moralizing of pre-war films, but they did include graphic clinical footage in many situations. These elements left the films open to severe cuts or outright bans by state and municipal censorship boards. In 1921 a meeting of top motion picture directors adopted a self-regulatory code, The Thirteen Points and Standards, that condemned the production of movies that were susceptible to censorship. Sex hygiene, white slavery, drug use, vice, and nudity led the list of disapproved topics. The same topics were among the list of forbidden subjects of the MPPDA's "Don'ts and Be Carefuls" when it was approved in 1927 and the Production Code when it was written in 1930. With a collection of salacious topics off-limits to mainstream moviemakers, low-budget entrepreneurs quickly moved in to fill the gap and reap the profits. Just as the bizarre sights of the sideshow had been segregated from the big top in the circus, the subjects of exploitation films were shunted aside by the mainstream movie industry.

CLASSICAL EXPLOITATION MOVIES

From the late teens through the late 1950s classical exploitation films operated in the shadow of the classical Hollywood cinema. The men that made and distributed exploitation films were sometimes called "the Forty Thieves," and several came from carnival backgrounds. Some companies were fly-by-night outfits that produced a film or two and then disappeared. However, many individuals and companies were around for years: Samuel Cummins (1895–1967) operated as Public Welfare Pictures and Jewel Productions; Dwain Esper (1892–1982) used the Road Show Attractions name; J. D. Kendis (1886–1957) made films under the Continental and Jay Dee Kay banners; Willis Kent's (1878–1966) companies included Real Life Dramas and True Life Photoplays; and Louis Sonney's Sonney Amusement Enterprises dominated West Coast distribution.

Exploitation movies were invariably low budget—usually made for far less than the average B movie. Most exploitation films were made for under $25,000 and some for as little as $5,000. Shooting schedules were less than a week, with some films being shot in as little as two or three days. (Unlike B movies, which were used to fill out the bottom half of a double feature, exploitation films were often expected to stand on their own.) Their

low budgets and accelerated shooting schedules meant that exploitation films featured stilted performances, poor photography, confusing plots, and startling gaps in continuity. On almost every level they were bad films. Many of these movies have a delirious quality, shifting between long passages of expository dialogue and confusing action. But what they lacked in narrative coherence they made up for by offering audiences moments of spectacle that could not be found in mainstream movies. That spectacle might come in the shape of scenes in a nudist camp, footage of childbirth or the effects of venereal diseases, prostitutes lounging around in their underwear, or women performing striptease dances. These scenes of spectacle often brought the creaky narrative to a grinding halt, allowing the viewers to drink in the forbidden sights. As a result of such scenes exploitation movies were always advertised for "adults only."

In addition to the forbidden sights on the screen, exhibitors were often provided with elaborate, garish lobby displays. Sex hygiene films could be accompanied by wax casts showing the process of gestation and birth or the effects of VD. Drug movies came with displays of drug paraphernalia. In many instances the films were accompanied by lectures, which were little more than excuses to pitch books on the subject of the film. For a dollar or two the audience could buy booklets with titles like "The Digest of Hygiene for Mother and Daughter." Pitchbooks provided an additional source of income to the distributor.

A small core of urban skid row grindhouses played exploitation films constantly. But the best market for these films consisted of regular theaters, in cities or small towns, that periodically took a break from Hollywood product to play a racy—and profitable—exploitation movie. The movies cloaked their suggestive stories and images in the mantle of education. Almost all exploitation films began with a square-up—a brief prefatory statement that explained the necessity of showing a particular evil in order to educate the public about it. Given the difficulty of getting information on such issues as childbirth and birth control, some of the movies did have a legitimate educational component. But they were produced primarily to make a buck. Exploitation movies were often available in "hot" and "cold" versions to accommodate local censorship or taste, and to extend the potential of pocketing that buck. And if audiences did not get the spectacle that they had been led to believe they would see from the lurid advertising, a roadshowman could always throw on a "square-up reel" of nudist camp footage or a striptease dance to sate the crowd.

Because only a handful of prints of any film circulated around the country at any one time, many classical exploitation films were in release for decades. It was a common practice to re-title a film to extend its life on the road; some movies were known by as many as five or six titles over time. Among the perennial hits on the exploitation circuit were sex hygiene movies such as *The Road to Ruin* (1934) and *Damaged Goods* (1937); drug movies like *Marihuana* (1936), *The Pace That Kills* (1935), and *She Shoulda Said No* (1949); vice films such as *Gambling with Souls* (1936) and *Slaves in Bondage* (1937); nudist movies like *Elysia, the Valley of the Nude* (1933) and *The Unashamed* (1938); and exotic movies (often featuring nearly naked natives) such as *Virgins of Bali* (1932) or *Jaws of the Jungle* (1936).

The most successful exploitation film of the classical era was *Mom and Dad* (1944). Producer Kroger Babb (1906–1980) had toured with earlier sex hygiene films and in 1944 decided to make a more up-to-date film. The story of a high school girl who discovers that she is "in trouble," *Mom and Dad* included films within it that showed childbirth, a Caesarian operation, and venereal diseases and their treatment. Babb sold the film aggressively and at one point after World War II he had more than twenty units on the road with the film, each with its own "Elliott Forbes," an "eminent hygiene commentator" who provided the lecture and book pitch. Millions of men, women, and teenagers saw *Mom and Dad* and it soon had competition from several direct imitations: *The Story of Bob and Sally* (1948), *Because of Eve* (1948), and *Street Corner* (1948). Eventually the owners of the four films joined together in a consortium to distribute the movies in a way that minimized direct conflict. *Mom and Dad* was still playing drive-in dates into the 1970s and some estimates have placed its total gross over the years at $100 million. But as the 1950s progressed, the Production Code was relaxed and many of the old topics that had been grist for exploitation movies—drug use, unwed motherhood—were folded back into the list of acceptable subjects for Hollywood films.

THE EXPLOITATION EXPLOSION

The post–World War II years saw the continued production and rerelease of classical exploitation films. But other types of exploitation movies were on the horizon. Following on the heels of the Supreme Court's *Paramount* decision (1948) and declining output from the majors, American theaters were forced into bitter competition for product during the 1950s. Hungry theater owners had to look beyond the majors for movies to light up their screens. James H. Nicholson (1916–1972) and Samuel Z. Arkoff (1918–2001) founded American Releasing Corporation in 1954, soon changed to American International Pictures (AIP). AIP specialized in making cheap genre pictures geared toward the growing youth market and often developed a colorful title and

ROGER CORMAN

b. Roger William Corman, Detroit, Michigan, 5 April 1926

Roger Corman has been a major force in exploitation filmmaking for half a century. His career spans an era from the earliest days of American International Pictures (AIP) in the mid-1950s through the exploitation golden age to the rise of home video.

While in his teens Corman moved with his family to Los Angeles, where he developed an interest in the motion picture industry. Following a stint in the Navy, he completed his engineering degree at Stanford, then broke into the film business by selling a script. He soon signed a three-picture deal with the newly formed AIP. Producing and directing all his films, Corman worked in a variety of genres, although his science fiction films are the most fondly remembered. Some of those films, such as *Attack of Crab Monsters* (1957), *Not of This Earth* (1957), and *X: The Man with X-Ray Eyes* (1963), feature genuinely chilling moments despite their low budgets. *The Little Shop of Horrors* (1960), a horror-comedy about a ravenous plant, developed a cult following because of its quirky humor and legendary status as a film shot in just two days. During that same year Corman and AIP initiated a series of bigger-budget, widescreen, color adaptations of the works of Edgar Allan Poe, many featuring Vincent Price. *House of Usher* (1960), *The Pit and the Pendulum* (1961), and *The Masque of the Red Death* (1964) established him as a director of considerable style. Some critics have ascribed an apocalyptic vision to Corman, and many of his films he directed begin or end with some sort of cataclysmic event.

Corman continued to look to hot-button issues to exploit, including integration in the South with *The Intruder* (1962), one of his few financial failures. For *The Wild Angels* (1966) he worked with members of The Hell's Angels, and prior to his film about the drug culture, *The Trip* (1967), Corman experimented with LSD. Both films initiated long-lived exploitation cycles.

In 1970 Corman broke with AIP to form New World Pictures. Its first effort, *The Student Nurses* (1970), established the company formula: R-rated nudity and sex, action, some laughs, and a slightly left-of-center political stance. New World's brand of exploitation films became drive-in staples for more than a decade, during which Corman discovered, or gave a major boost to, a number of filmmakers such as James Cameron, Joe Dante, Jonathan Demme, Ron Howard, Gale Ann Hurd, and Martin Scorsese. In an effort to diversify, New World also distributed several European art films, including works by Federico Fellini and Ingmar Bergman.

Corman sold New World in 1983 and formed Concorde-New Horizons. As theaters increasingly booked big-budget blockbusters, Corman has concentrated on making exploitation movies—many remakes of his earlier hits—for cable television and the direct-to-video market.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Not of This Earth (1957), *Teenage Doll* (1957), *House of Usher* (1960), *The Little Shop of Horrors* (1960), *The Intruder* (1962), *The Wild Angels* (1966), *The Trip* (1967)

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Eric Schaefer

eye-catching advertising for a film long before a script was written. AIP offered favorable terms to exhibitors, and many theater owners found that the prepackaged AIP double bills brought in more money than major studio releases. Working with producers like Roger Corman (b. 1926) and Herman Cohen (1925–2002), AIP released dozens of low-budget films with titles like *Day the World Ended* (1956), *I Was a Teenage Werewolf* (1957), *Dragstrip Girl* (1957), *Reform School Girl* (1957), and *High School Hell Cats* (1958). The term exploitation

Roger Corman with machine gun on the set of* Bloody Mama *(1970). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

film was expanded to encompass these "teenpics" and virtually any ultra-low-budget movie. Throughout the 1960s AIP was always on the cutting edge of exploitation: *The Wild Angels* (1966) initiated a long string of nihilistic biker films and movies such as *Riot on Sunset Strip* (1967), *The Trip* (1967), and *Psych-Out* (1968) that explored the blossoming counterculture.

Budget and content were not the only markers of what constituted an exploitation movie. In the late 1950s former B-movie director William Castle (1914–1977) produced a series of fairly conventional chillers that graduated to exploitation status through their use of elaborate exploitation gimmicks to secure an audience. *Macabre* (1958) promised to insure the lives of all ticket buyers for $1,000 against death by fright. *The House on Haunted Hill* (1959) featured "Emergo" (a plastic skeleton that swung out over the audience at an appointed time during the film). And in what was perhaps Castle's most audacious gimmick, *The Tingler* (1959) was presented in "Percepto," with some seats in theaters wired to give select audience members a mild electric shock.

Other theaters hungry for product turned to art films—foreign films sold as a highbrow alternative to Hollywood fare. But many of these films also approached sex and nudity in a franker fashion than mainstream movies. The term "art film" became synonymous with nudity for a large segment of American audiences. One film was most responsible for cementing this equivalence in the minds of the public—*Et Dieu . . . créa la femme* (*And God Created Woman*, 1956) by Roger Vadim (1928–2000). The film, with its nude shots of French sex kitten Brigitte Bardot (b. 1934), played in both art houses and the existing exploitation theaters. Films imported by Radley Metzger's (b. 1929) Audubon in the early 1960s, such as *Les Collégiennes* (*The Twilight Girls*, 1957) and *Nuit la plus longue* (*Sexus*, 1964),

capitalized on a similar dual market. While they had a patina of art films as a result of their foreign—usually French—origin, they also included racy inserts, filmed by Metzger in New York, that made them marketable as sex exploitation, or sexploitation as it came to be known, as well.

American-made films capitalized on this hunger for racy fare by continuing a tradition of adults-only movies. With the first generation of exploitation producers retiring or dying, new filmmakers moved in to take their place with movies that approached sex in a more direct fashion and without pretense to education. In 1959 cheesecake photographer Russ Meyer (1922–2004) made *The Immoral Mr. Teas*. The film, about a deliveryman who can see through women's clothes, spawned dozens of so-called nudie-cuties—a filmic equivalent to *Playboy* magazine. Although the nudity in the films was only above the waist and from the rear, films such as *The Adventures of Lucky Pierre* (1961), *Mr. Peter's Pets* (1962), and *Tonight for Sure* (1962)—directed by a young Francis Ford Coppola (b. 1939)—were extremely popular with their predominantly male clientele.

Sexploitation films were soon pushing into new territory with a series of black-and-white psychosexual dramas. Some, such as *The Defilers* (1965), were similar to the lurid paperbacks that crowded the shelves of bus stations. Others, like *Sin in the Suburbs* (1964), directed by the prolific Joe Sarno (b. 1921), made a more sincere effort to blend drama with sex. Hundreds of sexploitation movies were made or imported over the ensuing decade with companies such as AFD (American Film Distributing Corp.), International, Cambist, Distribpix, and Mitam releasing dozens of films. Several distinct subgenres developed. Among the most popular were those about bored housewives and sexually frustrated commuters, and exposés about changing morals and sexual practices, including *The Sexploiters* (1965), *Moonlighting Wives* (1966), and *The Commuter Game* (1969). Some films featured heavy doses of sadomasochism, like the series about the sadistic Olga, initiated with *White Slaves of Chinatown* (1964). Other movies operated as thrillers about the dangers of the urban environment such as *Aroused* (1966) and *To Turn a Trick* (1967). Rural or hillbilly movies such as *Country Cuzzins* (1970), *Sassy Sue* (1972), and *The Pigkeeper's Daughter* (1972) were popular, as were films set on college campuses like *Campus Swingers* (1972). By the late 1960s some exploitation movies, notably Meyer's *Vixen* (1968) and several of Metzger's films, were achieving play dates in showcase cinemas in major cities.

In 1963, successful nudie producer David F. Friedman (b. 1923) and director Herschell Gordon Lewis (b. 1926) cast about for a genre in which they would have less competition. They settled on gore. *Blood Feast* (1963) was a grand guignol farce about a cannibalistic caterer in Florida who disembowels his victims and lops off their limbs. The Eastmancolor effects seemed remarkably realistic at the time and moviegoers challenged themselves and their stomachs to sit through the film. Although gore had occasionally been a form of spectacle in classical exploitation films, the unblinking violence of *Blood Feast* elevated the gore film to a whole new subgenre of exploitation, populated by machete-wielding maniacs, bloodthirsty butchers, and flesh-eating zombies. Around the same time the Italian-produced *Mondo Cane* (1962) was released. The "shockumentary" combined real and staged footage of bizarre, violent, and erotic behavior in the human and animal worlds. It was followed by a parade of other "mondo movies" that blurred the line between authenticity and fakery.

In the climate of auteurism of the 1960s and early 1970s several sexploitation filmmakers were singled out for their distinctive styles. Topping the list was Meyer, whose sharp cinematography and rapid-fire editing made his tales of amply proportioned yet sexually frustrated women and their square-jawed, dimwitted men instantly recognizable. Metzger's films were slick, languid exercises in European eroticism, exemplified by *Carmen, Baby* (1967) and *Camille 2000* (1969). Companies often developed distinct niches. Friedman's Entertainment Ventures turned out amusingly leering genre send-ups: *Space Thing* (1968) lampooned science fiction, *Thar She Blows* (1969) played with sea story conventions, *Trader Hornee* (1970) roasted the jungle adventure. Robert Cresse's (1936–1998) Olympic International was known for making and distributing films that focused on sadism such as *Love Camp 7* (1968) and *Hot Spur* (1968). More recently other filmmakers have received attention, including Michael and Roberta Findlay, who made a series of grim, gritty films that fetishized torture and degradation. Andy Milligan's (1929–1991) movies, such as *Vapors* (1965), *The Degenerates* (1967), and *Fleshpot on 42nd Street* (1972), became an outlet for his personal demons. And Doris Wishman (1920–2002) is recognized for her films like *Bad Girls Go to Hell* (1965) and *Double Agent 73* (1974), which feature her quirky *mise-en-scène* that concentrates as much on set décor, shoes, and pigeons strutting in the park as it does on characters.

Although sexploitation films saw some decline in business as hard-core pornographic features began to achieve public exhibition in 1970, other types of exploitation movies continued to thrive. In 1970 Corman formed New World Pictures, which produced and distributed a variety of exploitation films, often featuring the adventures, sexual and otherwise, of assertive career women, such as *Private Duty Nurses* (1971), *The Student Teachers* (1973), and *Cover Girl Models* (1975). Women in prison

Roger Corman's* The Trip *(1967) exploited the period's drug culture. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

films became another staple at New World with *The Big Doll House* (1971), *The Big Bird Cage* (1972), and *Caged Heat* (1974), directed by Jonathan Demme (b. 1944). Crown International, Dimension, Group 1, Hemisphere Pictures, Independent International, Monarch, and a long list of other companies cranked out similar films that combined nudity, sexual situations, violence, and some laughs for drive-ins around the country.

Among the theaters most consistently in need of product were inner-city movie houses. In 1971 *Sweet Sweetback's Baad Asssss Song* by Melvin Van Peebles (b. 1932) launched the "blaxploitation" cycle. Most of the films featured black characters, usually in an urban environment, battling for independence, against injustices, or for a good score—and always with a hefty dose of violence and skin. Although the major studios contributed films like *Shaft* (1971) and *Superfly* (1972), it was AIP, New World, and other exploitation companies that milked the cycle with *Slaughter* (1972), *Blacula* (1972), *The Mack* (1973), *Hell Up in Harlem* (1973), and *Black Mama, White Mama* (1972), among others. Among the most popular films were those staring the beautiful but tough Pam Grier, including *Coffy* (1973), *Foxy Brown* (1974), and *Friday Foster* (1975).

EXPLOITATION IN THE VIDEO ERA

Exploitation films had always found success in the aisles of struggling theaters. By the 1980s the marginal exhibition sites that had sustained exploitation movies were disappearing. Crumbling inner-city movie palaces gave way to urban renewal projects. Neighborhood theaters were bulldozed for parking lots and acres of suburban drive-ins were converted to shopping malls as the number of drive-ins in the US dropped from more than 3,000 in 1980 to fewer than 1,000 in 1990. Exploitation movies were less desirable in a new era of saturation bookings, national advertising campaigns, and blockbuster films. However, they have not entirely disappeared.

Lloyd Kaufman and Michael Herz's Troma, Fred Olen Ray's American Independent Productions, and Corman's Corcorde-New Horizons initially concentrated on theatrical releases. But by the late 1980s video and cable television proved to be greener pastures and theatrical releases became token efforts. Full Moon Entertainment, Tempe Entertainment, Seduction Cinema, and other companies were formed specifically to make films for the direct-to-video market. Most of these companies depended on the loyalty of the fans of low-budget genre films, whether horror, science fiction, splatter, or erotic thrillers. Fans have gotten into the act as well, picking up cameras and making their own films, hawked in the pages of fanzines, at conventions, and on the Internet. Other entrepreneurs, who scour old film depots and vaults, have released hundreds of old exploitation movies to new generations on videotape and DVD. It would appear that as long as audiences will search for a cheap thrill, there will be exploitation movies available to satisfy their demand.

SEE ALSO *Art Cinema; B Movies; Exhibition; Pornography; Publicity and Promotion*

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EXPRESSIONISM

The term *expressionism* has been abused by previous generations of film scholars to such a point that the word has become virtually meaningless. Expressionism in its most narrowly defined meaning has referred to a specific group of six or seven modernist art films produced in Weimar Germany between 1920 and 1924, while in its broadest sense it has been utilized as a catchall term to define any film or style in the history of cinema opposed to realism or attempting to convey strong emotions. Between these extremes, expressionism has connoted all of German cinema in the 1920s, and has been invoked in connection with American horror films produced by Universal Studios in the 1930s and American film noir in the 1940s. Most problematically, its usage has often failed to specify whether its referent is a film movement, an ideology, a film style, or a film design (strictly speaking, art direction). Both the legitimate and some of the less credible usages of the term and their origins are examined here.

GERMAN EXPRESSIONISM

According to Rudolf Kurtz (1884–1960), one of the earliest historical commentators on the movement called expressionism, the semantic instability of *Expressionismus* was already inherent in its first usage by a group of visual artists in imperial Germany prior to World War I. Those painters, associated with the German modern art groups Der blaue Reiter ("the Blue Rider," Munich) and Die Brücke ("the Bridge," Berlin/Dresden), coined the term in opposition to French impressionism, rejecting the notion of the artist as a receptacle for impressions of the moment. The Bridge (1905–1913) included painters such as Emil Nolde (1867–1956), Ernst Kirchner (1880–1938), and Erich Heckel (1883–1944), while the Blue Rider (1911–1914) was associated with Alexei von Jawlensky (1864–1941), Wassily Kandinsky (1866–1944), Gabrielle Münter (1877–1962), Franz Marc (1880–1916), and Paul Klee (1879–1940). They favored the concept of the artist as an active creator through will power, as a producer of visual images reflecting interior states rather than surface reality. In contrast to the pale pastels of impressionism, the expressionists favored broad brush strokes and rich, dense hues, which were applied without regard to the natural look of the object depicted. Thus, the reproduction of a photographic impression of reality was rejected, supplanted by the artist's subjective vision of the world. Kurtz allied German art expressionism with both the cubism of Pablo Picasso (1881–1973) and the Russian constructivist art of Aleksandr Archipenko (1887–1964) and Kasimir Malevich (1878–1935), while seeing the wildly saturated portraits of Vincent van Gogh (1853–1890) and the South Sea paintings of Paul Gauguin (1848–1903) as precursors. With the painter George Grosz (1893–1959), expressionism also took on an overt political, even revolutionary tone, attacking postwar social conditions and calculated to shock bourgeois sensibilities mired in "archaic" forms of realism. In other words, expressionism began more as an attitude and ideology than as a style, since strong vibrant color and an interest in painting as an artistic medium rather than as a window onto the world was perhaps the only common denominator of these artists.

This fact becomes clear when looking at German expressionist literature, where the term became a revolutionary cry for poets and dramatists such as Georg Kaiser (1878–1945), Ernst Toller (1893–1939), Georg Trakl

EMIL JANNINGS

b. Theodor Friedrich Emil Janenz, Rorschach, Switzerland, 23 July 1884, d. 2 January 1950

One of the most famous German film actors, Emil Jannings is the one most closely associated with German expressionist acting, although he was never connected to expressionist theater. He became a household name in Hollywood in the late 1920s, and was a key figure in the Nazi cinema.

Jannings's breakthrough role was in Ernst Lubitsch's *Madame Dubarry* (1919), in which he played Pola Negri's doomed lover, Louis XV. Overweight and hardly an image of beauty, Jannings nevertheless conveyed a strong sexuality and *joie de vivre*, making him an international star when the film became a hit in the United States as *Passion* in 1920. In the following years Jannings appeared in such classics as *Anna Boleyn* (1920), *Danton* (1921), *Peter der Grosse* (*Peter the Great*, 1922), and Paul Leni's *Das Wachsfigurenkabinett* (*Waxworks*, 1923). In these and other films he was typecast in the role of a despotic ruler, his large girth and coarse features underlining his usually horrific actions. With a strong tendency to chew up the scenery, Jannings finest hour probably was as Mephisto in F. W. Murnau's *Faust* (1926), which, along with his signature role as the demoted hotel doorman in Murnau's *Der Letzte Mann* (*The Last Laugh*, 1924), solidified his reputation as an actor forever associated with German expressionism. And while his performances in these films displayed the expressionist tendency toward stylized gesture and facial expressions, his role as the jealous acrobat in *Varieté* (*Variety*, 1925) was much more realistic. As in *Last Laugh*, Jannings here made himself a sympathetic character verging on the tragic.

Jannings subsequently accepted an invitation by Paramount to go to Hollywood, where he played similarly tragic characters in *The Way of All Flesh* (1927) and *The Last Command* (1928), winning the first Oscar® for best actor in both roles. Jannings then returned to Berlin, where he starred in *Der Blaue Engel* (*The Blue Angel*, 1930), but Marlene Dietrich stole the show, sending his career into eclipse.

He made his comeback in the Nazified German film industry after 1933 with the role of Wilhelm the Elector (Frederick the Great's father) in *Alte und der junge König* (*The Making of a King*, 1935). Thereafter, he regularly played great men as paradigmatic *führer* figures in a series of biopics with strong propagandistic content: *Der Herrscher* (The Ruler, 1937), *Robert Koch* (1939), *Ohm Krüger* (1941), and especially as Bismark in *Die Entlassung* (*The Dismissal,* 1942). He also repeated a role he had performed countless times onstage, that of the village judge in *Der zerbrochene Krug* (*The Broken Jug*, 1937). His last film remained uncompleted in January 1945.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Madame Dubarry (*Passion*, 1920), *Der Letzte Mann* (*The Last Laugh*, 1924), *Faust* (1926), *Der Blaue Engel* (*The Blue Angel*, 1930), *Der zerbrochene Krug* (*The Broken Jug*, 1937)

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(1887–1914), and Gottfried Benn (1886–1956). Produced as a reaction to the insanity of World War I and the realist aesthetic of nineteenth-century naturalism, the poetry of August Stramm (1874–1915), for example, was considered by traditionalists to be the stammering of an insane person, while Kaiser's dramas were perceived to be part and parcel to a generational revolt against the old order. Kasimir Edschmid may have best summarized the attitude of the expressionist artist when he wrote: "He doesn't see, he looks. He doesn't describe, he experiences. He doesn't reproduce, he shapes. He doesn't take, he searches. No more chains of facts: factories, houses, illnesses, whores, screaming and hunger. Now we have visions of those things" (quoted in Kurtz, p. 17).

German expressionist writers and painters found common ground in the theater, creating dramatic spaces through abstract set designs that attempted neither to reproduce the real world nor to function as mirrors of psychological states; the plays themselves were filled with angry young men and vitriolic attacks on middle-class sensibilities. It was not, as some have argued, German theatrical impresario Max Reinhardt (1873–1943) who

Emil Jannings in* The Patriot *(Ernst Lubitsch, 1928).
EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

led the way, but rather theatre director Karlheinz Martin (1886–1948) at Die Tribüne, whose stagings of Ernst Toller's "Transfiguration" (1919) and Walter Hasenclever's "The Decision" (1919) scandalized and revolutionized Weimar theater. Not only were abstract sets utilized, created out of painted murals and light, but also the acting was highly stylized, with actors' bodies contorted to complement the wild diagonals of the stage and their voices eschewing normal patterns of speech. These stagings were also a product of material shortages due to the war and its aftermath, and audiences experienced color, light, and sound in new ways that mirrored the alienation of the postwar generation. Bertolt Brecht's (1898–1956) early play *Baal* (1918), whose *Sturm and Drang* hero is fiercely antibourgeois, is typical of how Weimar theater mirrored the political chaos in the streets of Berlin, where revolutions and counterrevolutions passed with amazing rapidity.

Das Kabinett des Dr. Caligari (*The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*, 1920) remains the signature work of German film expressionism. Produced at the Decla Studios in Berlin by Erich Pommer (1889–1966) (who soon after became production head at Universum Film Aktiengesellschaft [Ufa], Germany's largest film combine), *Caligari* featured painted sets by Hermann Warm and Walter Röhrig that opposed the general trend toward film realism by highlighting their artificiality, becoming visual equivalents of the twisted and tortured interior states of the mad Dr. Caligari (Emil Jannings) and his puppet, the somnambulist Cesare (Conrad Veidt). While lighting is a key formal element in most definitions of expressionism, *Caligari*, like subsequent expressionist films, relied on flat lighting to capture the highlights and shadows *painted* directly on the sets. Carl Mayer (1894–1944) and Hans Janowitz (1890–1954), the film's scriptwriters, later claimed that the film's revolutionary message was diluted by the film's producers, who decided to present the frame story in a realistic set, thus transforming the narrative vision of a society in chaos to the solitary ranting of a madman. In fact, though, the film's use of expressionist elements is consistent, down to the intertitles and even the advertising campaign, while the film's production history remains as convoluted as the various participants taking credit for its success. In any case, the film was an immediate box-office hit, both in Germany, where it opened in February 1920, and internationally. The French even coined the term *caligarisme* to denote expressionism, while American filmmakers and critics who saw the film after it opened in the United States in March 1921 enthusiastically embraced the notion that cinema could indeed be a high art and not just a base form of entertainment for the masses.

While no one associated with German expressionist art or theater had been directly involved in the making of *Caligari,* the artists who produced another film, *Von morgens bis Mitternacht* (*From Morn to Midnight*, 1920), were conscious of bringing an expressionist aesthetic to the cinema. The film's director, Karl Heinz Martin (1886–1948), the set designer, Robert Neppach (b. 1890), and the writer, Georg Kaiser, whose play was adapted, all had worked at Die Tribüne, and many critics consider their film to be the most consistently expressionist of the films of the period. In the film, a lowly bank teller embezzles funds after seeing a beautiful woman, his flight from bourgeois existence ending in suicide. But *Von morgens bis Mitternacht* apparently never opened in Germany, despite the efforts of a distributor to sell it through trade advertisements; it only became widely known after a print was discovered in Tokyo in the 1960s. Like *Caligari,* Martin's film featured highly stylized, hand-painted sets that seemingly collapsed space; light painted on the props and costumes; and expressionistic acting that bordered on the seemingly catatonic.

Meanwhile, Pommer, Carl Mayer, and Robert Wiene followed up *Caligari* with another film in the expressionist style, *Genuine* (1920), featuring fancifully painted sets and outrageous costumes by the well-known

Das Kabinett des Dr. Caligari (The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*, 1920) is the signature work of German expressionism.*
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expressionist artist Cesar Klein (1876–1954). While *Caligari*'s narrative was relatively linear, *Genuine* focused on the machinations of a man-eating, blood-drinking vamp (Fern Andra) who is held captive by a mysterious lord. While Andra's hysterical acting style mirrored the impenetrable narrative, the film's emotional core was the depiction of unbridled sexual desire.

Karl Heinz Martin also directed *Das Haus zum Mond* (The House at the Moon, 1921), with a script by the expressionist writer Rudolf Leonhardt (1889–1953) and sets by Neppach. Unfortunately, the film is now lost, making any visual analysis impossible. *Brandherd* (*Torgus*, 1921) also featured sets by Neppach and a script by Carl Mayer, but the visual design involved three-dimensional sets that only featured expressionist highlights. With its moralistic, melodramatic narrative, Robert Wiene's (1873–1938) adaptation of *Crime and Punishment*, *Raskolnikow* (1923), on the other hand, was as much a product of its all Russian-exile crew as it was a manifestation of expressionism. White Russians also financed *Das Wachsfigurenkabinett* (*Waxworks*, 1924) by Paul Leni (1885–1929), which employed stylized three-dimensional sets, and could be identified as expressionist through its acting style, some of its set pieces, and its lighting. The sets themselves hark back to *Der Golem* (*The Golem*, 1915) and other German Gothic films. In any case, except for *Caligari* and *Waxworks*, none of these films entered the canon of German expressionist cinema, and hardly influenced German national cinema in the 1920s. Expressionism became conflated with what are now considered the classics of German silent cinema largely through the writings of two seminal historians, Lotte Eisner and Siegfried Kracauer.

EXPRESSIONISM AND FILM HISTORY

As early as 1930 Paul Rotha was conflating expressionist cinema with German national cinema, but the responsibility

FRITZ LANG

b. Vienna, Austria, 5 December 1890, d. 2 August 1976

Considered one of the greatest directors of the classical German and Hollywood cinemas, Fritz Lang was equally at home in large-scale studio epics and dark, brooding melodramas. Throughout his career he was known for his intense visual style, which wed expressionist lighting techniques with highly geometric compositions to articulate a fatalistic, entrapping world.

After beginning as a scriptwriter in 1917, Lang attained a huge commercial success directing *Die Spinnen* (*The Spiders*) in 1920. That same year he married Thea von Harbou, his scriptwriter on all his subsequent German films, including *Der Müde Tod* (*Between Worlds*, 1921), *Dr. Mabuse, der Spieler* (*Dr. Mabuse, the Gambler*, 1923), *Die Nibelungen* (1924), and *Metropolis* (1927). Created at the giant Neubabelsberg Studios of Universum Film Aktiengesellschaft (Ufa), these films are characterized by German mysticism, monumental sets and costumes, and stylized compositions. With *M* (1931), Lang immediately set new standards for the sound film, in particular through his montages of sound and image. That film starred Peter Lorre as a "sympathetic" child murderer, introducing darker themes that would become more prevalent in his American work.

Lang was forced into exile by the Nazis, ending up in Hollywood in June 1934. His first American film was *Fury* (1936), which featured Spencer Tracy as a man falsely accused of murder and almost lynched by a mob. Equally downbeat, *You Only Live Once* (1937) was a reworking of the Bonnie and Clyde story. Without a studio contract, Lang worked only occasionally in the next years. With four anti-Nazi films, including *Hangmen Also Die!* (1943) and *Ministry of Fear* (1944), Lang attempted to educate the public about fascism. Both films are suffused with a film noir atmosphere, as are *Woman in the Window* (1944) and *Scarlet Street* (1945). Lang was soon forced to take on a variety of low-budget projects, and was temporarily blacklisted during the McCarthy era due to his association with writer Bertolt Brecht, a known Communist sympathizer. In 1957 Lang returned to Germany to direct the two-part *Das indische Grabmal* (*Indian Tomb*, 1958), and *Die tausend Augen des Dr. Mabuse* (*The Thousand Eyes of Dr. Mabuse*, 1960). In 1963 he appeared as a disenchanted Hollywood film director in Jean-Luc Godard's *Le Mépris* (*Contempt*, 1963).

While for decades critics considered Lang to have gone into decline after his great German films, auteurist and more recent feminist readings have recuperated his American work. Reevaluating his contributions to both the anti-Nazi film cycle and to film noir, critics see Lang's Hollywood films in terms of his dark vision of the American bourgeoisie: Edward G. Robinson's characters in *Window* and *Scarlet Street*, for example, are middle-class citizens who commit or cover up murder for a femme fatale. Stylistically, Lang's films wed German expressionism to American genre cinema, finding film noir a congenial form for the expression of his dark, determinist vision.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Der Müde Tod (*Between Worlds*, 1921), *Die Nibelungen* (1924), *Metropolis* (1927), *M* (1931), *Fury* (1936), *Hangmen Also Die!* (1943), *Woman in the Window* (1944), *Scarlet Street* (1945), *The Big Heat* (1953)

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for the semantic expansion of the term rests primarily with the influential German film historians Kracauer and Eisner. Both writers discuss only a handful of films while ignoring the thousands of comedies and other genre films produced in Berlin in the 1920s. Ironically, what for Kurtz had still been a revolutionary and liberating aesthetic form is inverted in their histories, turning expressionism into a prescient manifestation of German fascism and romantic doom—visual evidence for the German predilection toward Nazism and mass murder.

Fritz Lang during production of* Metropolis *(1927).
EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Kracauer, a former film critic in Weimar Germany, wrote his book *From Caligari to Hitler* (1947) while in exile in New York during and immediately after World War II, primarily to explain to Americans why the German nation sank into barbarism. Kracauer almost completely ignores German expressionism's stylistic features, focusing instead on narrative threads and typologies that buttress his case that the cinema of the Weimar Republic gave evidence of the deluge to come by visualizing German psychology, specifically a supposed national character trait that embraced authoritarian figures. Critics have noted that Kracauer's analyses are highly selective and teleological, and the book leaves the impression that the expressionism of *Caligari* was inherent in all subsequent German cinema.

Eisner's *The Haunted Screen*, first published in France in 1952, was likewise the work of a German Jewish film critic in exile, although, unlike Kracauer, Eisner's purpose was less ideological than art historical. Attempting to analyze the stylistic uniqueness of German art cinema in the 1920s while acknowledging its precedents in German romanticism, Eisner discusses two essentially unrelated phenomena: the influence of theater impresario Max Reinhardt and film expressionism. In fact, Reinhardt's utilization of chiaroscuro (interplay of light and shadow) and *Kammerspiel* (an intimate stage, involving only a few characters and sparse sets) *mise-en-scène* had little to do with German expressionism, as Eisner herself admitted in a series of articles published in the wake of her book's reception. Yet her description of formal lighting techniques and *mise-en-scène* in the films of Fritz Lang (1890–1976) and F. W. Murnau (1888–1931) have been associated with German expressionism ever since, as have the stylized acting common to much German silent cinema.

By the dawn of Anglo-American film studies, then, expressionism and German Weimar cinema had become so conceptually intertwined that the terms were virtually interchangeable. Lang's *Der Müde Tod* (*Between Worlds*, 1921) and *Metropolis* (1927), G.W. Pabst's (1885–1967) *Die Freudlose Gasse* (*The Joyless Street*, 1925) and *Die 3groschenoper* (*The Threepenny Opera*, 1931), Ernst Lubitsch's (1892–1947) *Die Bergkatze* (*The Wildcat*, 1921), E.A. Dupont's (1891–1956) *Varieté* (*Variety*, 1925), and numerous other German films were subsumed under the term *German expressionist cinema*, which itself became a stylistic signpost in the film historical canon, situated somewhere between D.W. Griffith's American cinema of the 1910s and Soviet revolutionary cinema of the 1920s. If expressionism did enter into idiom of silent German art cinema, it was probably the highly stylized, somewhat static acting style of German expressionist thespians. This is particularly obvious in a film such as *Hintertreppe* (*Backstairs*, Leopold Jessner, 1921), which is a Kammerspiel without any expressionist trappings in its visual design, but features pure expressionist performances by Fritz Kortner (1892–1970), William Dieterle (1893–1972), and the usually nonexpressionist actress Henny Porten (1890–1960). Expressionist actors, including Werner Krauss (1884–1959), Conrad Veidt (1893–1943), Reinhold Schünzel (1886–1954), and Kortner, became among the most sought-after in German films of that period.

In the past, traditional and formalist film critics differentiated films, filmmakers, and epochs through a series of binary oppositions whereby "realism" signified all attempts at depicting the world in terms of the conventions of a unified space and time, as had been passed down from the Renaissance (according to André Bazin), while expressionism defined attempts to visualize the universe from the strictly subjective point of view of the artist. According to this view, the push and pull of film forms began with the Lumière brothers (realism) and Georges Méliès (expressionism) at the very dawn of cinema. However, more recent early cinema studies have demonstrated that no such polarity existed at the time. Furthermore, film semiotics and postmodern theory have taken the field well beyond such simple, binary oppositions so that it is questionable whether

Fritz Lang's costly **Metropolis** *(1927) was one of the last silent German expressionist films.* EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

the continued use of the term *expressionism* in its broadest sense remains useful.

What, then, should *expressionism* mean? Given its origins in modernist art, expressionism should be seen as a particular form of film design that privileges the subjective over the objective, the fantastic and the uncanny over the mundane and everyday, packaging both trivial and high art into film works that address cinema audiences within the context of commercial film culture. Contrary to Edschmid's pronouncements, subjectivity in expressionist film is not seen merely as the "expression" of an individual artist, but rather as a subjectivity shared by an audience willing to enter into an alien world in order to partake of the visual pleasures such a design affords. Unlike classical Hollywood narrative, expressionist cinema tends toward self-reflexivity, toward making audiences aware of the image's artifice and their own subject position as consumers of images, whether through the undisguised use of painted sets, through the nonnaturalistic use of color film stock and lenses, or by distancing the audience from the actors' performances through stylized poses. In any case, it seems clear that such a definition no longer carries with it any specific ideological connotations, other than a style in opposition to classical Hollywood narrative.

Expressionism, properly speaking, refers exclusively to the artistic movement in the specific historical period in Germany in the early 1920s. The term also refers to German art films in the 1920s that were strongly influenced by expressionism. These films include such stylistic qualities as high key lighting, canted camera angles, subjective camera movement, stylized sets, nonnaturalistic acting, nonlinear narratives, a tendency toward dreamlike images, and Gothic content that often privileges narratives of sexual excess, like *Genuine*. More broadly defined, expressionism may refer to Universal's horror

films of the 1930s and films noir (many made by exiled German filmmakers) of the 1940s and 1950s, as well as contemporary films that quote German expressionist cinema, such as the films of Guy Maddin (b. 1956).

SEE ALSO *Acting; Germany; Production Design; Realism; Silent Cinema; Theater; Ufa (Universum Film Aktiengesellschaft); Universal*

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Jan-Christopher Horak

FANS AND FANDOM

Film fans and film fandom do not amount to quite the same thing: one can be a fan of a particular film, genre, actor, or director, but still not participate in the social organizations, interactions, and gatherings of "fandom." Being a fan is, at least in the first instance, a matter of appreciating particular films, and being affectively or emotionally invested in them. Fans are often individuals who are not in contact with other people sharing their emotional attachments to specific films or stars. Although being a "lone" fan of specific films or genres may not necessarily involve actual face-to-face communication with other fans, film buffs frequently imagine themselves as part of an extended fan community, along with absent but like-minded fans. Commercially published magazines help with this process of community building, enabling individual fans to sustain their sense of being part of a group even when they are not directly in touch with other fans.

FANDOM AS A SOCIAL ACTIVITY

Unlike the individual fan, whose peer group or colleagues may coincidentally include like-minded film lovers, organized fandom involves fans specifically seeking out those who share their tastes, thereby becoming involved in a range of social, cultural, and media activities that take this shared fandom as their starting point. Film fandom can involve participating in online discussion and posting to sites such as the Internet Movie Database (imdb.com), joining film clubs or groups, or producing one's own fan magazine or "fanzine." Being part of organized fandom—whether for a certain film or star—is, first and foremost, linked to values of participation and production. Henry Jenkins stresses that fandom's participatory culture "is always shaped through input from other fans and motivated, at least partially, by a desire for further interaction with a larger social and cultural community" (Jenkins, 1992, p. 76). Those participating in socially organized fandom often watch their favored films in fan groups, wanting to share the experience with others who they know similarly appreciate them. And fans also tend to wait together in long lines in order to see the first showings of blockbuster releases, again knowing that the audience will be full of fans like themselves with whom they will share an emotional experience and pleasure.

These highly communal experiences, responses, and interpretations of fandom also translate into activities beyond simply viewing a highly anticipated and appreciated film. Film fans approach watching a film as just one stage within a wider process of consumption and production, with secondary texts such as promotional materials and reviews leading up to the moment of viewing, fanzine reviews and commentaries following the initial filmic encounter, and repeated viewings and the collecting of DVDs with their special features. Film fandom is never about just "going to see a movie."

Seeking to highlight the distinctiveness of fandom and its cultural practices, John Fiske has distinguished between different types of productivity, which he labels "semiotic," "enunciative," and "textual" production (Fiske, pp. 37–39). The first, semiotic, concerns producing meaning from a film text—something that all audiences necessarily do as they cognitively process and make sense of a film. "Enunciative productivity" means talking about a film. Again, this is something that most film audiences do, but that fans tend to carry out distinctively, within the community of fandom. Fiske's third type,

"textual productivity," is most specific to fan cultures, since it is very rarely the case that those outside fandom are motivated to write reviews, critiques, or analyses of favorite films (unless perhaps this forms a part of their professional identity as a film critic or academic). According to David Sanjek, fanzines are the clearest example of fandom's textual productivity, being "amateur publications, which by form and content distinguish themselves from 'prozines': the commercial, mainstream magazines" (p. 316). Although there is some truth to his distinction, Sanjek presents a somewhat exaggerated contrast between fanzines and professionally published "prozines," suggesting that amateur fanzine editors have far greater freedom to write what they want, as they are not directly beholden to the movie industry and to patronage; while "prozine" editors are concerned almost exclusively with commercial cinema, amateur fanzines have little interest in "the slavish devotion to accepted formulae and conventions of the mainstream Hollywood product (p. 317). If an excessively neat and tidy opposition, it does acknowledge an important aspect of film fandom: its communities often set themselves apart from what they view as "mere" film "consumers" lacking in genre, textual, and production-history knowledge.

"RESISTANT" AND CONSUMERIST FANDOM

Fandom is, in part, about acquiring and displaying forms of expertise. Rather like scholarly "readings" of films, fandom's favored mode of interpretation involves very close examination wherein films and their surrounding secondary texts are scrutinized for every detail and nuance. This interpretive practice is very much opposed to "casual" film viewing, which is assumed by fans to constitute a less knowledgeable and less discriminating type of viewing characteristic of those who operate outside of fandom.

Sanjek's depiction of fanzines also stresses the anticommercial nature of film fandom, and the manner in which it can be opposed to mechanisms of promotion and publicity. This resonates both with the "underground" and anticommercial/antimainstream value systems of many fan cultures, and with other scholarly work on film fandom that has viewed fans as "resistant" to capitalism and consumerism. For Greg Taylor, "fans are not true cultists unless they pose their fandom as a resistant activity," a position that keeps fan-cultists "one step ahead of those forces which would try to market their resistant taste back to them" in what seems to amount to an ongoing struggle between fandom and the forces of film commerce (p. 161).

However, given this confluence of fan and academic values—where both groups may seek to keep their distance from "the commercial"—it is possible that fandom's "resistant" qualities may be overstated. Many film fans are in fact dedicated fans of blockbuster films, and may fully embrace the commerciality of Hollywood "product" even while reading texts closely and analyzing them in a community of like-minded spectators. It cannot be assumed that fans are necessarily "outside" mechanisms of film promotion, publicity, and commerce, nor that their distinctive fan practices are inherently transgressive or resistant to film commerce. Indeed, fans are of great value to media conglomerates as "reliable consumers" for their product lines, and that subcultures do indeed have a place within capitalism (Meehan, pp. 85–89). This means taking a more complex approach than that of contrasting fan "culture" and the "commerce" of media conglomerates. While Sanjek is certainly right to argue that mainstream magazines are dependent on good will and supplies of material from the film industry, it does not follow that fandom is wholly "independent" of commercial forces, pressures, and interests.

If much work in film and cultural studies from Henry Jenkins's *Textual Poachers* (1992) onwards has tended to take an overly celebratory stance on the participatory and productive cultures of film fandom, some writers have been excessively negative and dismissive of fandom. For example, Barbara Klinger has suggested that a crucial part of how contemporary films work as commodities, and so are sold to audiences, is their "fragmentation into a series of specialized or 'starred' elements" (p. 126), referring to the way films are promoted by focusing on elements extracted from their overall narrative, production, and *mise-en-scène.* Publicity texts can then focus on specific saleable items such as the star, the director, state-of-the-art special effects, or controversial issues or themes raised in the narrative. This means that any given film can be sold to different audiences by stressing different elements, whether matters of romance, special effects, or directorial "art." Klinger argues that fans' expertise is therefore not at all independent of promotional and publicity mechanisms, since their behind-the-scenes knowledge, far from testifying to fans' autonomy, instead frequently indicates "the achieved strategies" of commercial, publicity material (p. 132).

However, just as the argument that film fans are wholly opposed to, or outside of, capitalist forces seems strained, so too does the alternative viewpoint representing fans wholly as the dupes or slaves of the Hollywood dream factory. This debate over the "resistant" or commercially "incorporated" nature of fandom has underpinned an entire paradigm of study, but recent approaches to fandom have begun to pose new questions. Film historian Janet Staiger has pointed out that many studies of fandom have emphasized the positive social aspects of fans' community-building activities, arguing

for approaches to fandom that do not singularly celebrate or decry it (2000, p. 54).

Indeed, it also may be difficult to "balance" representations of fans as "good" (resistant) and "bad" (incorporated into the industry). Matt Hills argues that any such balanced or "multiperspectival" approach to fandom is fraught with problems insofar as it seeks to resolve what may be inherent contradictions within fandom and audience identities. Against such attempts to resolve fandoms into clearly definable binaries, a more general, dialectical model of fandom is called for, one capable of dealing with actual contradictions within cultural phenomena (see Hills, pp. 27–45). Fans may be simultaneously inside and outside market forces, resisting economic pressures in some ways and behaving as "reliable consumers" in others. In defense of media studies' work seeking to ascertain fans' resistance to commercial forces, it could be argued that such resistance can still be clearly identified, whether it is resistance to the commodification of film culture via a kind of "underground" film appreciation, or whether it is a reaction against specific types of film such as the blockbuster. But this assertion relies on a zero-sum view of power as something that fans either do or do not possess, as well as assuming that resistance can be critically isolated by scholars. Such an academic approach returns us to a type of fan studies premised on identifying "good" and "bad" objects, thereby claiming the moral authority to label fan practices as either "progressive" or "reactionary" (see *Fan Cultures*).

STEREOTYPING FANS AND FANDOM

Fans and fandom have been subjected to moral surveillance, and a powerfully moralizing gaze, throughout film history. In common-sense terms, the fan audience (whether socially organized into fandom or not) has typically been represented as a bit weird, excessively emotional in relation to favored stars, too interested in the trivia of films' production and the miniscule details of close reading, or too obsessed with the world of film to live successfully in the real world. Film fans sometimes have to defend themselves against accusations that they are losers or maladjusted geeks. Even the notion that film is an art with its own visionary auteurs has not been enough to dispel the image of the pathological movie fan, and neither has the term *cinephilia*, with its high-cultural overtones. For example, the US documentary *Cinemania* (2002) portrays a group of self-professed cinephiles as variously dysfunctional: unable to hold down jobs or have sex lives, instead they obsessively devote their time to attending art-house cinemas in New York. Movie fandom is an object of ridicule in such media portrayals, however affectionate or highbrow they are. It is against this background of negative stereotyping of fans as losers and geeks that much scholarly work on fans and fandom has sought to positively reevaluate fandom as instead indicating participation in a like-minded community and involving healthy audience creativity.

The importance of stardom within film culture also has led to fans being morally devalued and stereotypically represented as hysterical obsessives. Analyzing the beginnings of movie fan culture from the 1910s onward, as regional variations in film exhibition were supplanted by a national popular culture through a wide range of films, books, plays, and popular songs from the early twentieth century, movie fans were depicted as celebrity-obsessed female daydreamers, the archetypal image of the fan being that of a hysterical, starstruck teenage girl (see Fuller, p. 116). This feminizing of film fans—including males—was powerfully reinforced by the film industry in the wake of the development of the star system. Once the star system began to take hold, and stars' names were promoted and publicized, it then became possible for fans to be represented as feminized, celebrity-obsessed consumers.

Academic work on movie fans has sometimes assumed that their fandom can be equated with being a fan of a specific celebrity. Jackie Stacey offers a sensitive study of female fans that challenges negative stereotypes surrounding the subject and argues that fans do not simply "identify" with film stars (that is, perceive stars as sharing qualities with themselves, or wish to "be like them") or desire them as idealized fantasy figures. Instead, the ways in which fans—and organized fandoms—relate to film stars are far more complicated, involving a range of cinematic and extracinematic practices. Again, fans and fandom are linked to activities that go beyond just watching a star's movies. Stacey analyzes fans' feelings of devotion, worship, and even transcendence: appreciating a particular film star allows them to tune out everyday worries, disappointments, and stresses (p. 145). Stacey highlights a range of fan practices that occur outside the moment of film viewing, such as self-consciously pretending to be a favorite star or otherwise imitating and copying them. These imitations do not mean that such fans have "lost touch with reality," nor that they really want to be someone else; instead, their fandom is merely expressed and displayed through specific cultural activities (p. 171).

Other work on star–fan relationships has stressed the role of organized fandom in communally shaping audiences' reactions to, and appreciations of, movie stars. For example, Richard Dyer observes how Judy Garland became an icon for gay audiences, who interpreted her career and personal struggles as "representing the situation and experience of being gay in a homophobic society" (p. 153). It can be argued that Garland's star text

CONRAD VEIDT

b. Potsdam, Germany, 22 January 1893, d. 3 April 1943

Conrad Veidt appeared in such classic German expressionist films as *Das Kabinett des Dr. Caligari* (*The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*, 1920), in which he played somnambulist Cesare; *Orlacs Hände* (*The Hands of Orlac*, 1924); and *Der Student von Prag* (*The Student of Prague*, 1926). In *Caligari*, Veidt's androgynous sleepwalker elicits fear and dread from everyone else in the film while being both the instrument and victim of Dr. Caligari (Emil Jannings). Some have seen Veidt as a forerunner of later movie monsters that elicit some degree of sympathy, such as Boris Karloff's creature in *Frankenstein* (1933).

A star of silent film who was strongly linked to the German expressionist movement in the initial phases of his career, Veidt went on to play evil Nazi characters in later sound films such as *Escape* (1940). He was typecast in sinister, creepy, or just plain monstrous roles, often representing the "bad German" partly as a result of the historical and cultural context in which he was working, and partly because of his own looks and acting style. The role of Major Strasser in the classic cult film *Casablanca* (1942) was one of Veidt's final Hollywood roles, coming after he had taken a break from working in the United States to act in Britain from 1932 to 1940. Veidt's performances were frequently highly stylized, in line with the calculated distortions typical of German expressionism.

Being an unusual star, and given his appearances in classic and cult films such as *Casablanca* and *Caligari*, Veidt himself has been embraced as a cult icon, particularly by cinephiles who have an awareness of film history. The Conrad Veidt Society was formed in 1990 by James Rathlesberger, and its members commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of Veidt's death (and the one hundredth anniversary of his birth) in 1993. According to its Internet homepage, the society is dedicated to promoting "classic" films, working to place "Veidt in the context of his times—Germany during the fame of the Expressionist film, England after the rise of Hitler, and America gearing up to fight WWII." Its members particularly value Veidt for his anti-Nazi humanism and his career-long fight against intolerance and prejudice. Onscreen, though, Veidt ended his career playing a Nazi in the escapist *Above Suspicion* (1943), his last film.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Das Kabinett des Dr. Caligari (*The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*, 1920), *Orlacs Hände* (*The Hands of Orlac*, 1924), *Der Student von Prag* (*The Student of Prague*, 1926), *The Man Who Laughs* (1928), *Jew Süss* (1934), *Under the Red Robe* (1937), *The Thief of Baghdad* (1940), *All Through the Night* (1942), *Casablanca* (1942)

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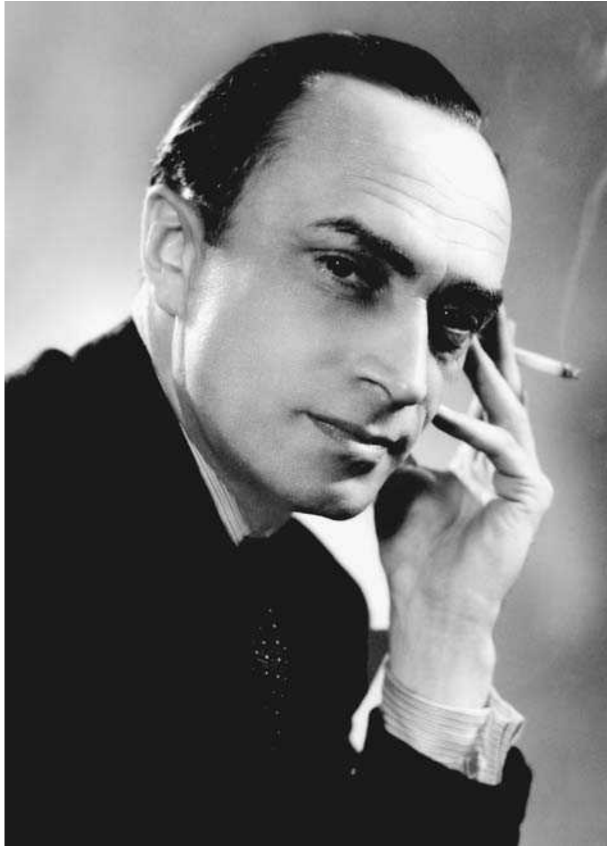
Matt Hills

still is widely perceived as the special province of a gay male fandom. Other types of subcultural fandom may also be linked to the revaluation of particular stars. For example, fans of classic horror may especially appreciate movie stars from the silent era, such as Conrad Veidt (1893–1943), whose appearances in films such as *Das Kabinett des Dr. Caligari* (*The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*, 1920) and *Orlacs Hände* (*The Hands of Orlac*, 1924) linked him to stylized acting performances and representations of the sinister. Far from being a mainstream "leading man," Veidt nevertheless has become a focal point for a specific horror fan and cinephile community who can interpret his "monstrous" and marginal characters in relation to the antimainstream difference of their own fan culture. Rather than suggesting that particular types of fandom may be especially linked to certain stars, the case of gay male fandom shows that mainstream male stars such as Keanu Reeves can also be revalued or reinterpreted, especially stars whose publicity images represent their sexuality in an ambiguous manner.



Conrad Veidt. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Organized fandom can thus sustain different readings of ubiquitous star images as well as especially valuing certain stars as a badge of distinction and marker of distance from "the mainstream."

"FILM ART" AND FANDOM

In comparison with the early twentieth-century creation of movie fandom, the figure of the movie fan is perhaps less clearly gendered as feminine/feminized today, but this is because of a much changed cultural context, wherein both men and women are frequently targeted and imaged as consumers. In addition to the star system, with its "picture personalities," directors and those involved in the technical craft of filmmaking are now also increasingly publicized celebrities in their own right. This shift means that film fans can align themselves more clearly with notions of film as art—and partly avoid negative stereotypes of celebrity obsession—by indicating their fandom of film directors.

This aspect of fandom moves closer to the scholarly appreciation of film, since treating film as art and dignifying certain directors with "authorial" or *auteurist* status is a strategy that has historically characterized film studies, and that still retains more than a foothold today. So-called "auteur theory" was initially employed solely by intellectuals and cinephiles seeking to value film as a medium, and although it carried cultural cachet, it was also accessible enough for nonacademic audiences to appreciate (Taylor, p. 87). Moving from being an exclusive/elitist view of film held by French cinéastes, auteurism entered the US scene and became popularized to the extent that Hollywood incorporated its discourse into its own publicity. Auteurism is no longer just a critical approach, but also a commercial strategy for organizing how audiences may respond to film texts. Uniting filmmakers, scholars, publicists, and fans, the notion that certain privileged directors are artists has tended to create and sustain aesthetic personality cults around them. This type of "personality cult" also has been significant to certain organized fandoms, such as those surrounding offbeat, sleeper, quirky, and classical Hollywood films labeled "cult movies." These organized fandoms have tended to use auteur theory as a means of claiming to find artistic value within the terrain of independent film.

One of the most significant cultural activities undertaken by film fans, then, is the way in which they seek to invest the work of their preferred performers and directors with cultural capital, setting their tastes against what they perceive and construct as mainstream cinema. However, such an apparent detachment from "the commercial" is itself commercial, since these fans are still placed within a specific market. Though this is related to the debate over fandom's resistant capability, it can also be viewed as a matter of film fans' cultural practices. Cult-film fans seek to defend and value their favored texts, but by doing so they also hope to reflect their own aesthetic taste, for they can see "true" artistic worth where general audiences cannot. Such fan audiences' bids for distinction are especially clear in relation to genres that are frequently devalued in "dominant" film criticism, such as "trash" and exploitation cinema. Mark Kermode argues that horror fans actively perceive the genre's aesthetic value, whereas nonfans passively consume horror as if its representations are actual rather than aestheticized images of gore; he offers a convincing opposition between "active" fans who read horror films in relation to surreal genre precedents and "passive" nonfans who are characterized as reading horror films more naively.

In Kermode's account, horror fans are, crucially, "genre literate." Like fans of other genres or specific movie stars, they are expert consumers, able to trace generic histories and interpret new films in relation to countless preceding examples. This type of movie fan has a keen sense of intertextuality; thus, boundaries around "the text itself" tend to be partly dissolved by fans who,

Conrad Veidt and Annabella in* Under the Red Robe *(Victor Seastrom, 1937). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

even while they carry out close readings of certain films, relate texts to others, either by generic category, in auteurist terms, or by focusing on a favored star. Organized fandoms, like those for cult movies or the horror genre, therefore challenge the idea that any film's meaning and significance are inherent. Rather, it is by reading films in relation to, and through, other texts that fans can convert "the film" into those meanings and values that characterize their fandom as a kind of interpretive community. Fans read films not only through official publicity texts such as DVD extras, but also in relation to fan-produced texts (fan fiction). Henry Jenkins proffers the example of one fan who wrote an alternative ending to the film *Thelma and Louise* (1991) in which these female characters transform themselves into bats (Jenkins, 2000, p. 177). Recontextualizing the film as a lesbian vampire tale, this creative fan interpretation (and production) of meaning indicates how generic identities and textual boundaries can be reinscribed by film fans, sometimes working against what producers, and other audiences, may view as the obvious categories, boundaries, and identities of a film. Thus, whether it is the interpretive activities of individual fans, or the socially organized, communal practices of fandom, fans and fandom have been as important to film studies as to the film industry. They demonstrate how loyal audiences can be a part of film commerce and also set themselves apart from commercial processes.

SEE ALSO *Auteur Theory and Authorship; Cinephilia; Cult Films; Journals and Magazines; Reception Theory; Spectatorship and Audiences; Stars*

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Matt Hills

FANTASY FILMS

Arguably, any film relying on fictional situations and characters might be considered fantasy. Indeed Hollywood's "dream factory" prides itself on transporting its audience to myriad fictional settings. In practice, however, fantasy is a term reserved for a specific subset of films featuring characters, events, or settings that are improbable or impossible in the world as we know it. This loose definition yields a staggering array of films that vary widely in subject matter, tone, and intended audience. The children's film *Willy Wonka and the Chocolate Factory* (1971), for example, would seem to have little in common with *Conan the Barbarian* (1982), yet both are considered fantasy because of their fantastical characters and events. While some films feature isolated moments of fantasy in otherwise realistic or dramatic contexts, the designation fantasy is usually reserved for movies whose imaginary elements pervade the entire story. For example, despite the miraculous rain of toads occurring near its end, the gut-wrenching drama *Magnolia* (1999) is not considered fantasy.

In addition to the wide variety of films that fall within the fantasy classification, confusion often arises about science fiction and horror. Although many consider these to be separate genres, their relation to fantasy cannot be overlooked since all three revolve around elaborate fantasy scenarios. Defining fantasy film as a discrete genre is problematic due to the large number of story types it encompasses, and therefore it may be more useful to consider fantasy as a "mode" rather than as a genre. Seen in this light, science fiction and horror are genres that express distinct aspects of the fantasy mode, while other story types might be considered as additional subgenres of the mode.

QUESTIONS OF GENRE

The term "speculative fiction" is sometimes used to avoid making a distinction between various strands of fantasy, science fiction, and horror or to account for the considerable overlap among the three. While both science fiction and horror films are certainly types of fantasy, many would agree that each is distinct in its purview and that each operates differently in terms of themes, conflicts, and iconography.

Whereas science fiction relies on scientific paradigms, technologies, facts, and paraphernalia to create hypothetical but scientifically credible scenarios, fantasy is subject to no such restrictions. Fantasy does not need to convince the audience that its story is realistic—rather, it invites the audience to temporarily *expand* its credulity—hence the phrase so often associated with this genre, "the willing suspension of disbelief." Rather than appeal to science, fantasy favors magical or mystical explanations. Fantasy films are usually logically consistent, but their internal logic belongs to an imagined rather than a scientific world. Although the iconography of science fiction includes spaceships, computers, and ray-guns, a fantasy film is more likely to feature flying horses, crystal balls, or magic wands. In practice, however, many films are hybrids. For example, the science fiction film *The Empire Strikes Back* (1980) invokes no scientific premise to explain Yoda's mystical powers or Luke's mastery of the "the Force," a skill that defies logic and must be accessed through a kind of intuition. Likewise, *E.T. the Extraterrestrial* (1982) features an adorable alien whose ability to heal wounds seems more miraculous than medical.

While some science fiction films are dramatic or upbeat, many attempt to frighten the audience, thus blurring the line between science fiction and horror. Typically, the divide between pure horror and science fiction depends on the presence of scientific elements. Another distinguishing factor concerns the nature and the source of the horror: science fiction is more likely to be concerned with an external threat on a grand scale (for example, aliens attacking the Earth in *War of the Worlds* [1953]), whereas horror is more likely to stem from internal, human evil on a more personal scale (for example, evil ghosts threatening a family in *Poltergeist* [1982]). While some fantasies invoke horror and some horror films are clearly fantasies, films of terror that would *not* be considered fantasy include slasher films such as *Friday the 13th* (1980) or thrillers such as *Dial M for Murder* (1954), since in each case the source of fear is rooted in a (hypothetically) realistic threat. A science fiction film such as *The Andromeda Strain* (1971) may also provoke fear, thus overlapping with horror, but it too would be excluded from a pure fantasy classification because its horrific scenario is grounded in the logical conclusions to scientific hypotheses.

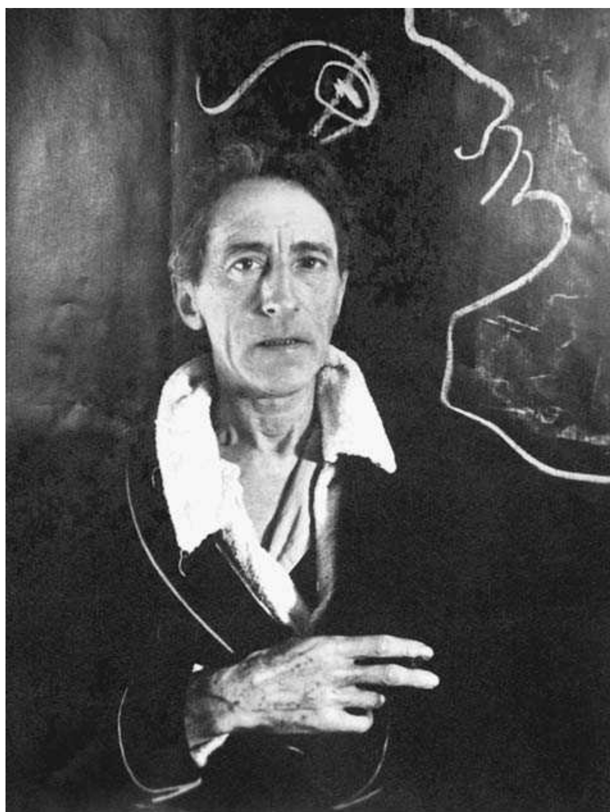
Horror films most often overlap with fantasy when they feature monsters or creatures with no clear scientific explanation (the frightening but misunderstood ape in the classic 1933 film, *King Kong*), or when they enter the supernatural realm (ghosts, vampires, unexplained phenomena). What distinguishes supernatural horror from pure fantasy is the pervasive presence of a horrific and threatening scenario. Ghosts in films like *A Guy Named Joe* (1943) or *Beetlejuice* (1988) function very differently from ghosts in horror films like *The Haunting* (1963); the tone of the films differ accordingly.

Even though science fiction and horror blend with fantasy in many movies, many fantasy films fit neither of those categories and instead find their roots in fairy tales, myths and legends, comic strips, and children's stories. Excluding pure science fiction and horror, the major strands of fantasy might be grouped into the following general subcategories: sword and sorcery/medieval fantasy: *Dragonslayer* (1981), *Willow* (1988), *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy (2001–2003); children's stories: *Peter Pan* (1953), *James and the Giant Peach* (1996), the *Harry Potter* series (beginning in 2001); fairy tales and myths: *La belle et la bête* (*Beauty and the Beast*, 1946), *Jason and the Argonauts* (1963); creatures and monsters: *King Kong* (1933), *Monsters, Inc.* (2001); supernatural: *Here Comes Mr. Jordan* (1941), *Bedazzled* (1967), *Ghost* (1990); magic or miracles: *Big* (1988), *The Santa Clause* (1994); comic book or superheroes: *Dick Tracy* (1990), *Spider-Man* (2002); romantic fantasy: *Splash* (1984), *Groundhog Day* (1993); comic fantasy: *Beetlejuice* (1988), *Ghostbusters* (1984); dream fantasy: *The Wizard of Oz* (1939); action fantasy: *Raiders of the Lost Ark* (1981); martial arts fantasy: *The Matrix* (1999), *Wo hu cang long* (*Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*, 2000); musical fantasy: *Brigadoon* (1954), *The Lion King* (1994); utopian fantasy: *Lost Horizon* (1937); dystopian fantasy: *Brazil* (1985); time travel: *Time Bandits* (1981), *Bill and Ted's Excellent Adventure* (1989); self-referential: *8½* (1963), *Purple Rose of Cairo* (1985), *Pleasantville* (1998); avant-garde or surreal: *Le Sang d'un poète* (*The Blood of a Poet*, 1930).

These subcategories account for some of the major strands of fantasy, but they are by no means exhaustive, nor do they include such films as the delightfully warped *Being John Malkovich* (1999). Moreover, no matter how many highly particular categories are devised for fantasy films, many films nonetheless fit into a number of categories. *The Princess Bride* (1987), for example, is a romantic comedy but also a fairy tale; *The Wizard of Oz* (1939) is a musical but also a dream fantasy with a fairy-tale bent. A further distinction might be made between fantasies that are live-action (*Edward Scissorhands*, 1990), animated (*Peter Pan*), puppet-based (*The Dark Crystal*, 1982), or entirely computer-generated (*Toy Story*, 1995). Here again, many films combine categories—for example, *Mary Poppins* (1964), which employs interludes of animation within a live-action setting, or the live-action/animated film, *Who Framed Roger Rabbit?* (1988), widely acclaimed for its innovative special effects.

HISTORY

One of the first filmmakers associated with fantasy film was the French filmmaker Georges Méliès (1861–1938), who used trick photography and elaborate sets to create fantastic stories such as *Le voyage dans la lune* (*A Trip to the Moon*, 1902). As longer feature films developed in the silent era, a smattering of science fiction and fantasy narratives appeared such as *Twenty Thousand Leagues Under The Sea* (1916), and *The Thief of Bagdad* (1924), which starred the silent film idol Douglas Fairbanks (1883–1939). In Germany, directors such as Robert Wiene (1873–1938), Fritz Lang (1890–1976), and F. W. Murnau (1888–1931) set the stage for a darker type of fantasy associated with German Expressionism. Highly influential to the horror genre, these disturbing tales of evil and supernatural forces included such classics as *Das Kabinett des Doktor Caligari* (*The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*, 1920), *Metropolis* (1927), and the vampire movie *Nosferatu* (1922), known for its chilling visuals and trick photography. Hans Richter (b. 1919) took a more experimental approach to special effects, using stop-motion animation in *Vormittagsspuk* (*Ghosts before Breakfast*, 1928), a short avant-garde film that featured flying bowler hats and other inanimate objects brought to life.



Jean Cocteau. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

The advent of sound film in 1927 was accompanied by innovations in special effects, creating new possibilities for cinematic fantasy. Though not as dark or gruesome as the German silent films, Hollywood's spate of monster and horror films in the 1930s, such as *Dracula* (1931) and *Frankenstein* (1931), used a similar bag of special effects tricks, including miniatures and stop-motion photography to create fantastical creatures such as the ape in *King Kong*, created by special-effects pioneer Willis O'Brien (1886–1962). On a lighter note, the 1940 remake of *The Thief of Bagdad* delighted audiences with its vibrant colors and fantastic scenarios. Fantasy also benefited hugely from the special effects wizardry of O'Brien's protégé Ray Harryhausen (b. 1920) and from George Pal (1908–1980), who produced and directed *Tom Thumb* (1958), *The 7th Voyage of Sinbad* (1958), and *Jason and the Argonauts* (1963).

By the 1950s, science fiction had emerged as a major genre in its own right. Playing on fears of nuclear holocaust and anxiety associated with space travel, most science fiction films used special effects to create frightening aliens from outer space or monsters created by atomic radiation. During the same period, Hollywood audiences were treated to *The Thing From Another World* (1951), *The Blob* (1958), and a host of alien invasions. Japanese filmmakers introduced their own infamous monster in *Gojira* (*Godzilla, King of the Monsters*, 1954).

The confluence of sound, special effects and Technicolor could also yield a more light-hearted type of fantasy, as evidenced by the perennially popular musical, *The Wizard of Oz* (1939). Combining song and dance within a fairy-tale narrative, the film drew on the conventions and sensibilities of the musical, a genre known for creating its own particular versions of utopian and romantic fantasy. Musical fantasy also became a common element in many Indian films, such as *Awaara* (*The Vagabond*, 1951) by Raj Kapoor.

The combination of music and fantasy has long been a hallmark of Disney films. Perhaps best known for its work in animation, Disney has specialized in fantasy stories since its inception, with a heavy emphasis on musicals and children's fare. Classics such as *Pinocchio* (1940) and *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937), hailed as the first full-length animated film, were precursors to the recent trend in animated musicals like *The Little Mermaid* (1989). While many fantasy films are intended for youthful audiences and are derived directly or indirectly from children's books or fairy tales, some successfully operate on the adult level as well. The term "family film" often denotes films like *Shrek* (2001) that appeal to all ages by combining fantasy worlds with clever animation and more sophisticated humor.

Children's stories, fairy tales, and myths have influenced many American fantasy films, yet other cinematic strands of fantasy could be found in the "art" films of Europe, which often featured innovative, complex, and sometimes disturbing fantasies. Eschewing narrative coherence, the Surrealists used vivid set pieces, special effects, and montage to explore the possibilities of cinema as an expression of subversive and subconscious impulses. In France, the Spanish-born Salvador Dali (1904–1989) and Luis Buñuel (1900–1983) collaborated to produce *Un chien Andalou* (*An Andalusian Dog*, 1929), a short experimental piece that has retained its ability to shock and disorient film viewers. In 1930, the two applied their artistic sensibility to the politically explosive feature *L'age d'or* (*The Golden Age*).

Avant-garde and experimental filmmakers pushed the boundaries of cinematic expression, but fantasy also continued to flourish in more traditional forms. Drawing on his earlier explorations of surreal effects, Jean Cocteau (1889–1963) applied his imaginative skills to the creation of a classic fairy tale, *La belle et la bête* (*Beauty and the Beast*, 1946). Current audiences are familiar with Disney's animated version of the story, but for many,

JEAN COCTEAU

b. Maurice Eugène Clément Cocteau, Maisons-Lafitte, France, 5 July 1889, d. 11 October 1963

Jean Cocteau is perhaps best known for his classic fantasy film, *La belle et la bête* (*Beauty and the Beast*, 1946), based on the fairy tale by Madame Leprince de Beaumont. The multi-talented Cocteau was a painter, poet, and dramatist who is also remembered for his experiments in surrealist and avant-garde techniques.

Founded in the early 1920s, the Surrealist movement concerned itself with the connection between reality and fantasy, rationality and the unconscious. By harnessing and combining these opposing spheres, the Surrealists attempted to create a kind of "super-reality" characterized by disturbing, irrational, and dream-like images. While many employed shocking images in order to critique the status quo, Cocteau devoted himself to the aesthetic ramifications of the movement. In *Le Sang d'un poète* (*The Blood of a Poet*, 1932), Cocteau used special effects to create a disjointed, expressionistic commentary on the angst of the artist. Inspired by the myth of Orpheus, this short experimental film used dream-like images to suggest the sacrifices that the artist makes in the service of art.

In *Beauty and the Beast*, Cocteau created a more traditional, full-length narrative. Starring Jean Marais and Josette Day, this beautiful black-and-white film tells the story of a young woman who finds herself a prisoner of a strange man/beast in atonement for her father's theft of a rose from the Beast's garden. Beauty is frightened by the growling Beast and by the enchanted manor he inhabits. Bodiless human hands usher Beauty into the castle and magically serve her dinner, while lifeless statues periodically awaken to observe her actions. Cocteau used simple but clever mechanical effects to create these and other celebrated moments of cinematic fantasy. Ultimately, Beauty and the Beast come to love one another, and when the Beast is killed at the end of the film, he turns into a prince as he and Beauty fly into the sky in a romantic embrace. Jean Marais plays three characters here: the Beast, the Prince, and Beauty's original suitor (Avenant), who simultaneously changes into the Beast just as the Beast is transformed into the Prince.

In *Orphée* (*Orpheus*, 1950), Cocteau returned to the mythological theme of his first film, updating the story and creating a full-length narrative with a surreal bent. Set in modern-day France and once again starring Jean Marais, the film tells the story of Orpheus and his lover Eurydice as he follows her into the underworld following her death. Here and in other films, Cocteau employed a mirror motif to connote either a window into a distant place or a portal into another world. Continuing his obsession with the role of the artist, Cocteau rounded out his trilogy of Orpheus films in 1960 with *Le Testament d' Orphée* (*The Testament of Orpheus*), in which he appeared as himself.

Beauty and the Beast earned Cocteau the Prix Louis Delluc as well as a number of prizes at the Cannes Film Festival. Cocteau was elected to the French Academy in 1955.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Le Sang d'un poète (*The Blood of a Poet*, 1932), *La belle et la bête* (*Beauty and the Beast*, 1946), *L'Aigle à deux têtes* (*The Eagle Has Two Heads*, 1947), *Orphée* (*Orpheus*, 1950), *Le Testament d' Orphée* (*The Testament of Orpheus*, 1960)

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Cocteau's black-and-white, live-action fantasy remains the quintessential version.

Elsewhere, Sweden's Ingmar Bergman (b. 1918) was responsible for a number of surreal films, such as *Det sjunde inseglet* (*The Seventh Seal*, 1957), in which a knight returns from the Crusades and challenges Death to a chess game. In Italy, Federico Fellini (1920–1993) broke from the neorealist movement to produce his disjointed, dreamlike classics *8½* (1963) and *Giulietta degli spiriti* (*Juliet of the Spirits*, 1965). And in Japan, Kenji Mizoguchi (1898–1956) produced the ghostly *Ugetsu monogatari* (1953).

Jean Cocteau creates a charming fantasy world with minimal means in* La belle et la bête *(*Beauty and the Beast*, 1946). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Beginning in the late 1970s, Hollywood experienced a renewed interest in science fiction and fantasy, stoked in part by the films of George Lucas (b. 1944) and Steven Spielberg (b. 1946). *Star Wars* (1977) and *E. T.: the Extraterrestrial* (1982) were among the many popular films to whet movie-goers' appetites for a more upbeat type of science fiction than had been popular in the 1950s and 1960s. *Star Wars* drew inspiration from *Kakushi-toride no san-akunin* (*The Hidden Fortress*, 1958), directed by the well-known Japanese filmmaker Akira Kurosawa. The 1980s also saw a spate of medieval sword and sorcery films, spurred by the popularity of the role-playing game Dungeons and Dragons. While films such as *Dragonslayer* (1981) and *Ladyhawke* (1985) were not widely popular, they paved the way for the hugely successful *Lord of the Rings* trilogy, the first of which premiered in 2001. That same year, the runaway success of the Harry Potter children's books spawned the franchise for another film series about magic and heroism with *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone* (2001).

In the 1990s, *Ghost* (1990) emerged as the most popular among a series of supernatural melodramas that eschewed horror for comic or dramatic stories. Even *The Sixth Sense* (1999), which initially presented itself as horror/suspense, eventually revealed itself to be more of a melodrama in the tradition of *Ghost* (1990), *Always* (1989), and *Truly Madly Deeply* (1991). Many supernatural melodramas drew inspiration from earlier films. *City of Angels* (1998) was a mainstream remake of the art film *Der Himmel über Berlin* (*Wings of Desire*, 1987), directed by the German filmmaker Wim Wenders (b. 1945). *The Preacher's Wife* (1996), *Michael* (1996), and *Meet Joe Black* (1998) provided variations on a type of non-horror, supernatural film that had experienced popularity in the 1930s and 1940s—for example, *The Bishop's Wife* (1947), *Here Comes Mr. Jordan* (1941), and *Death Takes a Holiday* (1934).

In the United States and elsewhere, it was computer-generated imagery (CGI) that most affected the look and feel of cinematic fantasy in the 1980s and 1990s. The technology didn't truly come of age until the underwater fantasy *The Abyss* (1989) and later *Toy Story* (1995), an "animated" film made completely with computer imagery. Also notable for their reliance on CGI were the highly successful *Jurassic Park* (1993), *Terminator 2: Judgment Day* (1991), *Forrest Gump* (1994), and *The Mask* (1994). *The Matrix* (1999) introduced a striking new approach to the choreography of action and fight sequences. *The Matrix* was heavily influenced by martial arts specialists in Hong Kong and China, including John Woo (b. 1946) and the Vietnamese-born Tsui Hark (b. 1950), whose popular action/fantasies such as *Suk san: Sun Suk san geen hap* (*Zu: Warriors from the Magic Mountain*, 1983) have earned him comparison to Spielberg. *The Matrix* also drew inspiration from Japanese anime films such as Mamoru Oshii's (b. 1951) *Kô kaku kidôtai* (*Ghost in the Shell*, 1995). One of the first anime films to make an impact on Hollywood was Katsushiro Otomo's (b. 1954) violent techno-fantasy, *Akira* (1988). And although Hayao Miyazaki's (b. 1941) *Mononoke-hime* (*Princess Mononoke*, 1997) and *Sen to chihiro no kamikakushi* (*Spirited Away*, 2001) have not been widely viewed in the United States, their box-office success in Japan has helped make anime fantasy a major movement in international cinema.

THEORY AND IDEOLOGY

Much that has been written about fantasy focuses on it as a literary genre, but it can be equally applied to cinema. Although it is common to classify fantasy texts by themes and motifs or by the extent to which story-worlds and events deviate from realistic representations, Tzvetan Todorov concentrates on the *response* generated by the "fantastic" events in the story. In this light, fantasy must be considered not just *one* "mode," but *three*, since it creates a continuum stretching from "the marvelous" to

"the uncanny," depending on the extent to which the characters and/or the reader experience feelings of awe and hesitation provoked by strange, improbable events. If the narrative's impossibility can be explained rationally or psychologically (as a dream, hallucinations), then the term "uncanny" is applied. The purely "fantastic" comes into play only during the hesitation and uncertainty experienced by the characters and/or the reader/viewer when faced with an impossible occurrence. By contrast, the term "marvelous" is applied to self-contained story worlds such as those of *The Lord of the Rings* or *The Dark Crystal* (1982), which do not ask the reader or viewer to question the reality of the story. (J. R. R. Tolkien called this "subcreation," also referred to as "High Fantasy.")

The Wizard of Oz demonstrates all three modes operating within a single fantasy. Unlike films that propose an alternate, imaginary universe as the setting for the entire tale, *The Wizard of Oz* frames its fantasy world with the real world of Kansas, suggesting that Oz is only a fantasy of the imagination. In light of Todorov's definitions, we can see that upon first encountering Oz, both Dorothy and the audience are operating in a "fantastic" capacity. But wonder and disbelief eventually give way to "marvelous" acceptance, and Dorothy and the audience participate in the quest to find the wizard and ultimately kill the wicked witch. While Dorothy and the audience may continue to "marvel" at the strangeness of creatures and events in Oz, it is never suggested that Oz is not actually "real" until the end, when the dream explanation shifts our understanding of the events into the "uncanny" mode. Our prior willing suspension of disbelief only adds to the impact of the final scene, when the audience shares Dorothy's consternation at being told it was all "only" a dream.

As a psychological phenomenon, the term "fantasy" refers to our unconscious desires (dreams, daydreams, wishes). For this reason, Rosemary Jackson notes that fantasy stories are perhaps the type of fiction most amenable to psychoanalytic interpretations. Although Jackson applies her analysis only to fantasy literature, it can be easily extrapolated to film. Drawing on Todorov's definition, Jackson argues that the fantastic is inherently subversive. By raising questions about reality and by revealing repressed dreams or wishes, fantasy makes explicit what society rejects or refuses to acknowledge. Indeed, to the extent that it includes the surreal and experimental, fantasy is often *explicitly* subversive. The original surrealists thought art should be shocking and politically progressive, and they intentionally disrupted those cinematic conventions that help create coherence and meaning for the viewer. But most mainstream fantasy films take care to adhere to the conventions of classical cinematic storytelling while constructing coherent space, time, and narrative causality. Nevertheless, horror differs from fantasy in this respect: it is a form of mainstream fantasy whose formulaic content is often examined for its subversive potential and for symptoms of a culture's repressed desires.

While horror has received much critical attention, other types of fantasy are often rejected as being merely "escapist"—a term generally associated with works of art that one is not supposed to take seriously. Most fantasy films are considered escapist because they temporarily transport viewers to impossible worlds and provide unrealistic solutions to problems. Even Jackson concedes that most fantasy is "marvelous" instead of truly "fantastic," more a matter of wish fulfillment than of challenge. Indeed, referring to *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy from which the films were adapted, Jackson describes Tolkien's fantasy as inherently conservative and nostalgic. With its magic, fantastical beings and clear-cut delineations of good and evil, *The Lord of the Rings* presents a compelling fantasy mirrored to some extent in the *Harry Potter* films. Many would argue that *Harry Potter*, like *The Lord of the Rings*, uses imagination to uphold rather than to transcend traditional values. Both tend to reinforce a hierarchical world based in traditional notions of morality, gender, and heroism. Both rely on a sense of mystical destiny and grace that, while not explicitly religious in nature, exhibits the strong influence of a traditional Western and Christian perspective. Both series feature a reluctant and somewhat unlikely young hero, and both offer the audience an escape into a different world where difficult problems are solved through magic as well as old-fashioned courage and integrity. The *Harry Potter* films differ from *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy, however, in pitting the viewer's own sense of "reality" against the magical world of wizards and witches.

A psychoanalytic approach to fantasy must take into account not just the psychological underpinnings of the characters but the pleasure and appeal of the story for the viewer. The most successful fantasy films provide viewers with vicarious experiences that resonate with emotional, if not physical, reality. Both *Harry Potter* and *The Lord of the Rings* demonstrate the appeal of fantasy as a vehicle for wish fulfillment through their glorification of magical (hence unrealistic) solutions to serious problems. The viewer lives vicariously through the characters of Frodo and Harry, who strive to overcome the forces of evil. The psychological appeal of fantasy helps to explain the frequency of the Oedipal scenario in these types of narratives. For example, *Star Wars* features a classic Oedipal struggle between Luke and his father. Superhero movies also construct appealing fantasy scenarios, often starring unlikely or reluctant male heroes reminiscent of Frodo and Harry. *Superman* (1978), *Batman* (1989), and *Spider-Man* (2002) were popular movies that featured "ordinary" protagonists whose unremarkable talents presumably resonate on some

level with most viewers. This ordinary-ness is revealed as a mere facade, however, masking the true superhuman powers of the character—another attractive problem-solving solution for consumers of fantasy.

Similarly, many recent supernatural/ghost movies also deny the reality of death by magically bringing back beloved characters as ghosts, as in *Ghost* and *Truly Madly Deeply*. A psychoanalytic interpretation of such fantasies, however, yields a more subtle interpretation. Whether or not such films are wish-fulfillment fantasies matters less than whether or not wish-fulfillment fantasies are inherently conservative. There is certainly nothing subversive about a story in which a male character wishes to become more macho (as in *Spider-Man*), for such fantasies merely reinforce traditional Western ideas about masculinity, echoed in many of the fantasy films discussed here. But just because some fantasies are conservative does not necessarily mean that escapism is a worthless denial of reality and therefore of no cultural value. For example, recent melodramatic and comedy ghost films share a tendency to challenge traditional gender roles by creating passive and "emasculated" male characters (*Ghost*, *Truly Madly Deeply*, *The Sixth Sense*) who contrast sharply with the active male protagonists found in most Hollywood movies.

Regardless of whether or not these and other fantasy films are truly subversive or politically liberating, many fantasy movies provide an interlude in which viewers are invited to entertain forbidden desires and other heretofore unimagined possibilities. Thus, to draw on Jean Laplanche and Jean-Bertrand Pontalis's definition of fantasy as a psychological phenomenon, a fantasy film is thus literally the "*mise-en-scène* of desire," the setting whereby impossible desires may play out to their logical conclusions.

SEE ALSO *Children's Films; Genre; Horror Films; Science Fiction*

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FASHION

Fashion's relationship to film is characterized by two factors: how film has influenced fashion and how fashion and the work of specific fashion designers have been used in film. These are not mutually exclusive but parallel trajectories. The extrovert couturier Elsa Schiaparelli (1890–1973) once remarked that what Hollywood did today, fashion would do tomorrow, but it could be said equally that what fashion did today, cinema would do tomorrow. Hollywood, for example, instantly dropped its hemlines following the vogue for longer fashions set by Jean Patou (1887–1936) in 1929. More commonly, a monolithic institution like Hollywood has not always been swift to change; once it has found a fashion it likes, it tends to stick with it, as was the case with Patou's long, bias-cut style, which prevailed with few exceptions throughout its films of the 1930s.

CINEMA'S FASHIONABILITY

Fashion—or rather the fashionability of film, particularly Hollywood's—has always been an important element of cinema's appeal. There are many individual examples of garments having had a direct impact on off-screen fashions and sales. For example, one of the designer Adrian's (1903–1959) robes for Joan Crawford in *Letty Lynton* in 1932, the year Crawford was first named "The Most Imitated Woman of the Year," was widely copied, as was Edith Head's (1897–1981) white party dress for Elizabeth Taylor in *A Place in the Sun* (1951). Head herself once declared that she had seen more than thirty copies of the dress at a single party. Other elements of a movie star's look were mimicked by an adoring film-going public: Veronica Lake, for example, was reputedly asked to change her peek-a-boo hairstyle because as worn by her many female fans, it was causing accidents in the wartime factories of the 1940s. Later, one could point to the notable effect films such as *Bonnie and Clyde* (1967) and *Annie Hall* (1977) had on contemporary fashions. Faye Dunaway's thirties wardrobe in *Bonnie and Clyde* has been credited with re-launching the beret and the cardigan, while Diane Keaton's androgynous ensembles as Annie Hall—created by the American fashion designer Ralph Lauren (b. 1939)—were swiftly copied in both the exclusive pages of *Vogue* and on the High Street, where the wearing of masculine trousers, shirts, and waistcoats by women became the epitome of chic. Through the influence of film on fashion, one can see the true democratization of the movies and movies' relationship with spectatorship: the fans might not be able to become their favorite stars, but they can mimic and emulate them.

Similarly, in contemporary cinema one can see the same pattern of mimicry when it comes to both clothes and accessories—a crucial difference being that it is now more often the male stars who have become fashion icons, in keeping with a heightened awareness of male fashion that has been evident since the early 1990s. Retro aviator shades made a comeback after Tom Cruise wore them in *Top Gun* (1987); after the success of Quentin Tarantino's second movie, *Pulp Fiction* (1994), the black suits and monochrome outfits of French designer Agnès (b. 1941) (along with Uma Thurman's Chanel "Rouge Noir" nail varnish) became synonymous with masculinity and cool. In this millennium, one could point to the innate fashionability of *The Matrix* (1999): Keanu Reeves's long swishing coat, his mobile phone, and his glasses.

However, fashion's relationship to film extends beyond the domain of film's fashionability. In the 1920s,

Joan Crawford wearing one of Adrian's gowns for **Letty Lynton** ***(Clarence Brown, 1932).*** EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

1930s, and 1940s, few fashion designers did much work for films, the notable exception being Chanel (1883–1971), who in 1931 went to MGM. Her Hollywood film work was not deemed a success; Chanel was too meticulous and precise (insisting at one point on making several copies of the same dress, one for each individual scene), and she soon elected to return to Paris, later designing costumes for such films as Louis Malle's *Les Amants* (1958) and Alain Resnais's *L'année dernière à Marienbad* (*Last Year in Marienbad*, 1961). The most important fashion designers have not always been those who have become involved in film and film costume design. While the influence of Christian Dior's "New Look," launched in 1947, endured within Hollywood far longer than it did outside it (so much so that the much more fashionable *Funny Face* [1957] looked slightly anachronistic alongside mid-1950s contemporaries, such as *Rear Window* [1954] and *All That Heaven Allows* [1955]). Dior himself lent his designs to a relatively small and eclectic series of films, including René Clair's *Le silence est d'or* (*Man About Town*, 1947), Jean-Pierre Melville's *Les enfants terribles* (1950), and Alfred Hitchcock's *Stage Fright* (1950).

Although historically significant overlaps have existed between the two, fashion and costume design remain separate arts. Whereas the costume designer, more often than not, serves the dominant purposes of character and narrative, the fashion designer, when used in a film, frequently is brought in to achieve virtually the opposite result (an exception here would be cinema's use of classic designers, such as the Italian Giorgio Armani [b. 1934]). In rare instances, individuals have had dual careers as fashion and costume designers, the most notable example being Jean Louis (1907–1997), who was born in Paris and trained at the Paris couture house of Drecol before going to New York to work for Hattie Carnegie. Louis then made the switch to Hollywood and became head designer at Columbia Pictures from 1944 to 1958, when he moved to Universal. Simultaneously, Louis ran his own couture business, often supplying clothes for his favorite female stars (Doris Day, for instance) for their appearances both on and off the screen. In the same vein, Edith Head (1897–1981) was fond of recounting how Grace Kelly was so enamored of her designs for *To Catch a Thief* (1955) that she wore one of her costumes on a date with future husband Prince Rainier; later Kelly commissioned MGM designer Helen Rose (1904–1985) to design her wedding dress and Head to design her going-away outfit.

FASHION DESIGNERS AND FILM

It was Hubert de Givenchy's (b. 1927) collaboration with Audrey Hepburn that fundamentally changed the relationship between film and fashion. In *Sabrina* (1954), as in *Funny Face*, the distinction between the costume designer and the *couturier* co-opted into costume design is signaled ironically within the films' Cinderella narratives. In both, Edith Head, the films' costume designer, produced the drab, ordinary clothes that Hepburn wore as the still-immature chauffeur's daughter or bookshop assistant. In both films, Head's role as designer was usurped by Givenchy who designed the show-stopping evening gowns that Hepburn wore after her character had metamorphosed into a sophisticated, glamorous woman. The joke in *Funny Face*—in which Hepburn's character models clothes on a Paris catwalk—is ultimately that, for all the appeal of high fashion, Hepburn is happiest (and most iconic) when dressing down in black leggings, polo neck, and flats.

Following these films, *couturiers* it became far more commonplace to use couturiers alongside costume

GIORGIO ARMANI

b. Piacenza, Italy, 11 July 1934

The Italian designer Giorgio Armani, known for his classic designs, neutral tones, and unstructured suits, has made a significant intervention into film history. Armani is arguably best known for the Hollywood stars he has dressed for the Academy Awards® (for example, Jodie Foster and Michelle Pfeiffer). However, his costumes for Richard Gere's character Julian in *American Gigolo* (1980) helped to alter the way in which mainstream cinema perceived and represented masculinity. The most cited scene in the movie shows Julian choosing an outfit to wear for an evening appointment. He lays out on his bed a selection of Armani jackets, then matches them with some shirts and finally adds an array of possible ties. While choosing what to wear, Julian shimmies sensuously to music, dressed only in his boxer shorts. Then he gets dressed and checks his appearance in the mirror. Julian's overt narcissism, coupled with his love of Armani's expensive clothes, ushered in a radical recodification of heterosexual masculinity on screen.

Since *American Gigolo*, Armani has costumed many films, particularly in Hollywood. Sometimes he has provided only items for the stars' wardrobes: for Eddie Murphy in *48 Hours* (1982), Mel Gibson and Rene Russo in *Ransom* (1996), and Samuel L. Jackson in the remake of *Shaft* (2000). By 2000, Armani's name itself had gained enough narrative significance for Shaft to be able to warn another character possessively not to touch his Armani. Dressing male characters has set Armani apart, and he has been particularly effective at dressing groups of men. He uses costumes to denote camaraderie, support, and affection between the protagonists of *The Untouchables* (1987) and characters in the remake of *The Italian Job* (2003), deftly dressing them in the Armani capsule wardrobe of the time. In both films, the group's leader (Kevin Costner and Donald Sutherland, respectively) wears a paternal, safe, and suavely unstructured wool coat, while the young turks (Andy Garcia and Mark Wahlberg, respectively) wear slightly spiffier leather jackets and casuals. This form of typage through costume is quintessential Armani.

Armani has made himself synonymous with effortless elegance. This equation was not automatic, because his suits were used in the TV series *Miami Vice* and in *Cadillac Man* (1990) to suggest shallow tackiness. The crucial component in his innate class has been his Italianness. Most enduring has been his friendship and collaboration with Martin Scorsese. The two worked together on *Made in Milan* (1990), a twenty-minute short Scorsese directed about Armani that was notable for its extravagant and stylized filming of a catwalk show. Armani later acted as executive producer for Scorsese's reverential history of Italian cinema, *Il mio viaggio in Italia* (1999), thus cementing his integration into cinema history.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

American Gigolo (1980), *48 Hours* (1982), *The Untouchables* (1987), *Cadillac Man* (1990), *Ransom* (1996), *Il mio viaggio in Italia* (1999), *Shaft* (2000), *The Italian Job* (2003)

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Stella Bruzzi

designers on movies, and certain couturiers were given virtual license to use the films on which they worked as showcases for their own fashion designs. There is little sense here of costume's traditional subservience to character and narrative. Hardy Amies (1909–2003) (the British Queen's favorite fashion designer) designed the wardrobe for films such as *The Grass Is Greener* (1960) and *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968). His designs for the latter, though muted compared to much of the 1960s "space age" fashion, were very much of their time and quintessentially Hardy Amies: classic, refined, but never too daring. This incorporation of classic as opposed to outrageous fashion designers into film increasingly predominated, particularly in Hollywood. In European cinema, one can point to the example of Yves Saint Laurent (b. 1936), whose muse was the French actress Catherine Deneuve. Saint Laurent's designs for Deneuve as Severine in Luis Bunuel's *Belle de Jour* (1967) epitomized his approach: her clothes are straight and muted, notable for their unsexy elegance (ironic considering Severine's day job as a prostitute), much like Saint Laurent's own classic-with-a-twist late-1960s lines. Severine is enigmatic

Giorgio Armani. **PHOTO BY GREGORIO BINUYA/EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

and unobtainable; her wearing of an Yves Saint Laurent capsule wardrobe in *Belle de jour* (1967) confirms the use of fashion as a means of maintaining this distance and representing her exclusivity, her wealth, and her class.

Within Hollywood, the most prolific *couturier* costume designer is Giorgio Armani, whose costumes work to define character and narrative. Other designers whose work is used in films in a similar way have been Nino Cerruti (b. 1930), with whom Armani trained, Ralph Lauren (b. 1939), Donna Karan (b. 1948), and Calvin Klein (b. 1942), all quintessentially classic designers. Lauren's most important film as costume designer is *The Great Gatsby* (1974), soon followed by *Annie Hall*. These two films together defined the retrogressive and romantic trends in US fashions that would begin to predominate off as well as on the screen in the 1970s. The significance of fashion designers' contributions to film should perhaps be judged by their ability to manufacture a pervasive image and to evoke a lifestyle. Lauren achieved this with his films of the 1970s (the class aspirations encapsulated by *The Great Gatsby,* the feminist aspirations represented by Keaton's androgynous look in *Annie Hall*), although recently he is probably better known for having dressed Gwyneth Paltrow in pink for her Academy Award® Best Actress acceptance speech. Cerruti's costumes for Richard Gere in *Pretty Woman* (1990) or Karan's for Gwyneth Paltrow in Alfonso Cuaròn's modern-day *Great Expectations* (1998), like those of Lauren and Cerruti, remain stylish but unobtrusive, conjuring a look that connotes a certain class, breeding, and refinement. Cinema's most popular *couturier* costume designers, it seems, are those who follow the underpinning conventions of costume design and produce safe, middle of the road designs rather than more spectacular, outrageous costumes.

Fashion is more often considered a craft than an art, and self-consciously artistic, spectacular fashions have been reserved for self-consciously spectacular, art-house movies. Jean-Paul Gaultier (b. 1952) has been the most prolific of these designers, doing costumes for various nonmainstream films, including *The Cook, the Thief, His Wife, and Her Lover* (1989), *Kika* (1993), and *La cité des enfants perdus* (*The City of Lost Children*, 1995), as well as producing all the costumes for Luc Besson's more mainstream sci-fi extravaganza, *The Fifth Element* (1997). In all of these, Gaultier's designs are exaggerated versions of his signature fashion styles, in the way they make underwear into outerwear, juxtapose asymmetrical cutting with classic tailoring. In *Kika*, the smooth surface of classicism—exemplified by Victoria Abril's black, bias-cut dress—is ruptured by radical flourishes, such as the prosthetic breasts bursting out of the dress. Gaultier, unlike many other fashion designers turned costume designers, immerses himself in his films, designing costumes for all the characters, not just the protagonists, and reputedly checking all costumes before they go on set. Just as his designs are fantastical rather than wearable (his designs for *The Fifth Element* include Gary Oldman's asymmetrical suits and Milla Jovovich's minimal bondage gear), so Gaultier's personality is important. Unlike Armani or Lauren, who have taken their involvement in film extremely seriously, Gaultier has not been averse to sending himself—and by implication, the fashion world—up. Gaultier's personality has demystified high fashion; he has appeared as himself in Robert Altman's parody of the Paris fashion scene *Prêt-a-porter* (1994), mixing white and red wine together to make rosé, and from 1993 to 1997 he fronted the TV show *Eurotrash*, a broadcast that, as its title suggests, sought out and edited together examples of trashy, gross, and comic European television.

The accessibility of fashion in film has become a hugely significant factor in its appeal reminiscent of the prewar era of *Letty Lynton*, when women bought patterns of their favorite movie dresses to sew them for themselves. Quentin Tarantino's *Reservoir Dogs* (1992), which inspired the design of London department store windows and led to an increase in the wearing of dark suits and

shades among younger men, is just such an example of film's democratization of fashion. The costume designer Betsy Heimann bought the suits seen in *Reservoir Dogs* cheaply. When the film became successful, so did the clean-silhouetted French gangster look, which Tarantino readily admitted to having borrowed from a look created by French director Jean-Pierre Melville (1917–1973) for his movie gangsters. *Reservoir Dogs* offered style on the cheap because it offered a look rather than an exclusive range of garments.

Audiences respond positively to being able to buy and emulate what they see on the screen—for example, Nicole Kidman's half-fitted, half-loose teddy in *Eyes Wide Shut* (1999). Once women found out what the garment was, it was sold out everywhere. What has emerged is a fluid, flexible interaction between fashion and film—sometimes fashion borrows from film, often the exchange is reversed.

SEE ALSO *Costume*

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Stella Bruzzi

FEMINISM

The emergence of the women's liberation movements in the late 1960s and early 1970s had a profound impact on scholarship as well as on society. Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* (1963) set the stage for liberation movements by detailing middle-class women's isolation, even oppression, within the suburban household. Women's roles in the antinuclear movements, such as the Aldermaston marches in the United Kingdom or SANE (Students Against Nuclear Energy) in the United States, further served as catalysts in the mid-1960s within diverse social sectors. For example, women within the male-dominated Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) began to resist their relegation to food preparation and child care, and to argue for women's rights to be included in the SDS agenda. In NUC (the New University Community), a faculty wing of SDS, pressure increased in regard to addressing women's issues, such as discriminatory employment practices, unfair divorce laws, and attention to medical and biological issues specific to women. Independent Marxist-feminist groups emerged along with so-called radical feminists, often linked to lesbian-centered groups. Protests and demonstrations on behalf of women's rights regarding sexual choice, day care, and equality in the workplace pushed women's liberation into the public spotlight. Gradually public awareness and involvement in debates about feminist issues increased. Meanwhile, female perspectives, long neglected in mainstream academic research, began to gain the attention of historians and literary and film scholars. Indeed, these two faces of feminism can hardly be separated: Academic women were often actively involved in working for social change on a range of women's issues, while activist women often enjoyed the support of universities in furthering their ends.

Women film scholars were among the first to reject the traditional male-centered perspectives in academia and, with Copernican force, to reverse the position from which texts were approached to engage a female-centered one. With *Sexual Politics* (1970), a forceful critique of misogyny in the male modern novel and of Freud's male-centered psychoanalytic theories, Kate Millett burst on the literary scene and was soon followed by other (less vitriolic) feminist literary critics. Women film scholars, too, eagerly took up the baton. Meanwhile, male film theory (especially in England) introduced structuralist approaches in the wake of research by scholars such as Louis Althusser, Roland Barthes, and Jacques Lacan. In this context, some feminist film theory also turned to neo-Marxism, structuralism, and psychoanalysis in ways not so common at the time in feminist literary analyses. Feminist critics began to look at the ways in which women were represented on film as well as to expose the utter neglect of female directors in male scholarship; in the wake of these initiatives, film scholarship was never again the same. Three main strands (in practice, often mixed) emerged early on in feminist film theory: "archival" and historical approaches, sociological role-focused approaches, and what has been called cine-psychoanalysis. A certain coherence within the limited frame of 1970s and 1980s feminist film research can be demonstrated, built around the concept of the gendered gaze of the camera; but in the 1990s, as a result of changing political, social, and intellectual contexts, including the waning of feminism as a widespread activist movement, several alternate perspectives

developed. There was the flood of research by minority and women of the Third World (itself a problematic and much-debated term). Masculine studies, inspired by feminist theory, emerged, as well as queer studies, which severely challenged some of the concepts basic to feminist film theories. Finally, the introduction of new interdisciplinary fields like visual studies and digital media, related to film studies, had the effect of broadening the somewhat narrow gaze-related theories to consider historical, technological, and institutional contexts given short shift in cine-psychoanalysis. Second-wave feminist theorists have further revised gaze theories.

FROM ARCHIVAL RESEARCH TO CINE-PSYCHOANALYSIS

In tandem with ongoing scholarship in history and literature, women film scholars have long endeavored to identify forgotten filmmakers—forgotten because most male film critics and scholars writing before the 1960s were not interested in women directors. Because their films were in distribution, Dorothy Arzner (1897–1979) and Ida Lupino (1914–1995) were the first women directors in the sound era to be studied. Foreign directors, like Mai Zetterling (1925–1994), also gained attention at this time. Later, feminists took a great deal of interest in women directors and producers from the silent era, like Lois Weber (1881–1939) and Mary Pickford (1892–1979). Since the 1990s, the Women Film Pioneers Project has been engaged in intensive international study of early women in cinema in their many roles.

Sociological analysis of women in film soon followed. Three books on women and film emerged at nearly the same time in the early 1970s, mainly using a sociological and role-focused analysis: Molly Haskell's *From Reverence to Rape* (1973), Marjorie Rosen's *Popcorn Venus* (1972), and Joan Mellen's *Women and Their Sexuality in the New Film* (1974). Although perhaps insufficiently appreciated by academic feminists in its historical moment, Haskell's book has had the longest-lasting impact. Feminist film theorists of the time, frustrated by sociological and role analyses, were seeking to move beyond Haskell's approach. Drawing on a vast knowledge of Hollywood as an institution and of movies themselves, Haskell took a penetrating look at the shabby treatment of women on- and offscreen. She had a strong feminist understanding of how threatened American men felt by women, as well as an intense appreciation of actresses and their performances. Haskell points out the irony that both the Production Code and the Depression "brought women out of the bedroom and into the office" (p. 30). She argues that actresses of the 1930s and 1940s (such as Rosalind Russell, Katharine Hepburn, and Joan Crawford) offered images of intelligence, forcefulness, and personal power, far surpassing roles of actresses in later films. Male directors who "integrate women into the flow of life" enjoyed the spunky, smart woman capable of challenging the hero. Haskell defines herself as a film critic first and a feminist second, hoping to address "the wholeness and complexity of film history" (p. 38).

A new generation of women film scholars turned to the melded disciplines of metaphysics, semiotics, and psychoanalysis, a shift prompted by what they saw as the limits of studies focusing on individual actresses and women's roles in cinema. To compare images of women in film with women's lived reality seemed simply to critique the current gendered organization of society or to expand it by, for instance, insisting on more male involvement in domestic matters. The new scholars hoped instead to discover the root cause of women's secondary status in Hollywood and society in the first place. Laura Mulvey's groundbreaking essay, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" (1975), partly inspired by reaction to American sociological film analyses, seemed to fulfill the need for a new kind of analysis, and her ideas rapidly took hold. Mulvey's polemical contribution was to isolate three related "looks" in Hollywood cinema, and to argue that these were all male: the look of the camera (mainly operated by men) in the pro-filmic studio site; the look of the spectator, which of necessity followed the camera's masculine gaze; and the dominating look of male characters within the filmic narrative, depriving women of agency and subjectivity. Theorizing the cinematic gaze from a psychoanalytic perspective, Mulvey argued that in film viewing the screen paralleled Jacques Lacan's mirror phase in which the child misrecognized his perfect self. Cinema was set up so that men could identify with the idealized male hero within the symbolic order as presented by the narrative, while women were left to identify with figures relegated to inferior status and silenced. Mulvey was one of the first to appropriate psychoanalysis as a political weapon to demonstrate how the patriarchal unconscious has structured film form. The essay's significance derived in part from her vivid language: "Woman's desire is subjugated to her image as bearer of the bleeding wound: she can exist only in relation to castration and cannot transcend it." Man, she argued, can live out his fantasies by "imposing them on the silent image of woman still tied to her place as bearer, not maker, of meaning" (*Visual and Other Pleasures*, p. 14).

In the wake of Mulvey's deliberately polemical essays, certain tropes and conventions began to develop in relation to a "male" gaze and the three "looks" that Mulvey outlined. In addition, British and American television studies had an impact on psychoanalytic feminist

DOROTHY ARZNER

b. San Francisco, California, 3 January 1897, d. 1 October 1979

Dorothy Arzner and Ida Lupino were the only female directors in the classical Hollywood era (roughly 1930 to 1960). Both received scant attention until scholars began to study film from a feminist perspective. After serving her apprenticeship in Hollywood, first as typist and then as screenwriter and successful film editor, Arzner directed films for Paramount from 1927 to 1933, when she left to make films independently. She retired from filmmaking in 1943 for reasons that remain unclear but perhaps have to do with her health or the exhaustion of working in a male-dominated establishment. Despite Arzner's short Hollywood career, she made several important films, including *Christopher Strong* (1933), *Craig's Wife* (1936), and *Dance, Girl, Dance* (1940), that now belong to a canon of what have been called "resisting" Hollywood melodramas.

Although many of her films appear to conform to Hollywood's patriarchal ideology—something Arzner no doubt was careful to do to keep her job—there is often a critical undertow to her narratives. In *Christopher Strong* Katharine Hepburn plays an independent, pioneering female pilot, Lady Cynthia Darrington (loosely modeled on Amelia Earhart). In love with a married man by whom she has become pregnant, she apparently commits suicide when attempting to break an aviation record. Arzner clearly intends the viewer to identify with the courageous female aviation pioneer, and to see in her suicide her sense of responsibility both toward Strong's wife and her unborn child. *Craig's Wife* offers a contrasting type of heroine and demands other kinds of identification from the viewer. Harriet Craig (Rosalind Russell) dominates her daughter, intervenes in her love life, and tries to prevent her from marrying the man she adores. Although it is hard to identify with Harriet, Arzner manages to show how the entire upper-middle-class family system produces women like her.

Dance, Girl, Dance offers an interesting insight into the often degrading lives of female performers. The film's perhaps dated binary opposition between "high" and "low" female performance art—presented as an opposition between a ballerina (Maureen O'Hara) and a sexy dancer (Lucille Ball)—nevertheless allows her to critique the male gaze and to reveal the crudity of male voyeurism. Women, the film suggests, are split apart because of what men want from them. Thus, in her films Arzner is able to render "strange" the patriarchal ideology pervasive in classical Hollywood cinema.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Christopher Strong (1933), *Craig's Wife* (1936), *Dance, Girl, Dance* (1940)

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E. Ann Kaplan

film theory, for the medium of TV necessitated different theories of the spectator–screen relationship. These theories were seen to have some application to film, expanding the rather restricted notion that there was just one "male" gaze.

Mulvey's essay was often misread as a depressing description of woman's fate rather than as a call to action. Mulvey in fact believed that psychoanalytic theory could advance our understanding of the position of women and thereby enable women to move forward. Her effort to challenge the pleasures of Hollywood cinema arose from Hollywood's reliance on voyeurism—the male gaze at the woman deprived of agency. Her polemical call "to free the look of the camera into its materiality in time and space and the look of the audience into dialectics and passionate detachment" (p. 26) clearly related to her own practice (together with Peter Wollen) as an avant-garde filmmaker.

Mulvey's article prompted a good deal of research, as well as intelligent critiques of her theories. Early on, E. Ann Kaplan's *Women and Film* (1983) tried to straddle some of the debates about feminist film theory ongoing in the 1970s. Asking why some women were so strongly drawn to psychoanalysis and poststructuralism, she

Dorothy Arzner in the 1930s. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

argued that pointing to social oppression per se could not account for women's second-class status. Attention to language and the unconscious seemed to offer some hope of understanding what increasingly seemed a mystery that biology—namely, that women gave birth and were needed to care for children and that this very function limited what they could achieve—could not explain. Too many exceptions showed that women could overcome or deal with their biological roles; there had to be something deeper, something much harder to change than social policies or cultural norms.

Like other work in the field at the time, Kaplan's conception of the feminine, given its generally heterosexual and Eurocentric focus and orientation, was apparently a monolithic "woman" who was really a white, Western woman, neglecting the specificity of minority and other marginalized women. A bit later, David Rodowick pointed out that Mulvey did not attend to Freud's complex remarks about the contradictoriness of desire that calls into question strict gender binaries such as male/female and activity/passivity. Mary Ann Doane extended Mulvey's research, pursuing avenues that Mulvey only touched on. For example, Doane introduced the concept of the female body in its relation to the psyche, as against the prior focus on image and psyche. She contrasted representation of the female body in Hollywood and in avant-garde cinema, influencing later research. Doane also contrasted male and female distance from the image, arguing that for the male the distance between film and spectator must be maintained, whereas the female overidentifies with the image, obliterating the space between viewer and screen, thereby producing a degree of narcissism. Turning to Joan Riviere's concept of the female masquerade, Doane explores what it might mean to "masquerade" as a spectator. She concludes that there are three possible positions for the female spectator: the masochism of overidentification with the image, the narcissism involved in becoming one's own object of desire, and the possibility of cross-gender identification, as women choose to identify with the male hero. Doane objects to theories of repression because they lack feminine power, instead taking the position that women need to develop a theory of spectatorship apart from those that male culture has constructed for them.

Gaylyn Studlar has suggested that a focus on pre-Oedipality makes more sense than the conventional attention to Oedipal scenarios for explaining how films construct gendered spectators. Substituting Gilles Deleuze's study of Sacher-Masoch's novels for Mulvey's Freudian/Lacanian framework, she argues that masochism can also ground narrative. Studlar replaces Oedipal sadism with pre-Oedipal pleasure, viewing masochism as a "subversive" desire that affirms the compelling power of the pre-Oedipal mother.

BEYOND CINE-PSYCHOANALYSIS

As these debates show, there was never any uniformity within cine-psychoanalysis about the gaze, or about what kind of psychoanalysis was most appropriate to cinematic modes. But with its binarisms, psychoanalytic film theories fitted the Cold War era in that they looked back to nineteenth-century Europe and reflected a world fixed on a framework in which communism versus capitalism was a subtext. Freud's theories enabled an understanding of the neuroses produced in the nineteenth-century bourgeois family—itself the anchoring institution for the Industrial Revolution. In this light, using psychoanalysis in a critique of capitalist ideology made sense. In the years since 1983, US culture and society have changed dramatically, as have international relations. It took the collapse of the Soviet Union to open space for rethinking imperialism and it took the increased flows of peoples across borders and into the academy to encourage new perspectives, such as postmodernism and its related postcolonialism.

Dorothy Arzner's* Dance, Girl, Dance *(1940) examines male voyeurism. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

As cine-psychoanalytic theories began to seem rather formulaic—despite the efforts of Doane and other scholars to underscore the complexities and penetrating questions that such theory involved, and despite Mulvey's own continuing "corrections" to her polemical 1975 essay—more resistance to gaze theories arose. In the 1980s B. Ruby Rich, Gayle Arbuthnot, Sue-Ellen Case, and other gay women offered strong critiques emerging from their alternate perspectives (even if these were not so explicitly marked as "lesbian" as in later work). It was primarily the dominance of French structuralism—Lacanian theories, Saussurian semiotics, and Althusserian Marxism—in gaze theories that troubled critics, along with the obvious heterosexual foundation on which the theories were based. It was this foundation that Teresa De Lauretis so profoundly interrogated. Working with Freud's and Luce Irigaray's theories among others, De Lauretis notes the intimate relationship of sexual and social indifference in Western culture for centuries—a link that served to bolster colonial conquest and racist violence—before turning to examine lesbian representation through diverse attempts of lesbian writers and artists to deploy their struggles in ways that engage the body as linked to language and meaning. Meanwhile, the so-called *Stella Dallas* debate, referring to the 1937 film in which Barbara Stanwyck portrays a woman who gives up her beloved daughter in hopes of giving her a better life among more "respectable" people, dramatized differences emerging in feminist film theory. Kaplan argued that filmic identification with the figure of Stella invited audiences to accept as proper her giving up her daughter and therefore forgoing motherhood through her internalization of patriarchal familial norms. By contrast, Linda Williams argued that the film invited audiences to share multiple points of view, and that Stella's actions could be seen as showing strength and agency. Responses published in *Cinema Journal* between 1984 and 1985 opened for debate and critique some of the

LAURA MULVEY
b. Oxford, England, 15 August 1941

Laura Mulvey could not have anticipated the widespread impact of her short polemical essay, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," published in 1975 in the British journal *Screen*. The essay's psychoanalytic formulation of a "male gaze," and its condemnation of classical Hollywood cinema's patriarchal bias, immediately provoked interest, debate, and in some quarters dismay. Those who appreciated Mulvey's theories went on, as did Mulvey herself in her extensive writings, to deepen, adjust, and further her insights; those who responded negatively to the essay were challenged to articulate why, and in so doing to develop other theories. Much of the criticism of the essay called into question its strong psychoanalytic stance, shortchanging its political argument. Since the essay's publication, debates within film theory about the utility of psychoanalytic theories have continued.

In a subsequent essay published in 1981, "Afterthoughts on 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema' inspired by King Vidor's *Duel in the Sun*," Mulvey addressed persistent questions about her lack of attention to the material female spectator in her "Visual Pleasure" essay. She noted that she was less interested in the female spectator who resists the "masculinization" that Hollywood cinema demands than the one who secretly enjoys the freedom of action and agency that identifying with the male protagonist offers. Using Freudian theories about female sexuality as well as Vladimir Propp's analysis of narrative structure in folk tales, Mulvey examined the difficulty of sexual difference in the western *Duel in the Sun* (1946).

Mulvey is also a filmmaker and has made several with Peter Wollen, including *Penthesilea* (1974), *Riddles of the Sphinx* (1977), and *Amy!* (1979). These films reflect Mulvey's theoretical views of Hollywood cinema, exploring the difficulty of representing the feminine in a patriarchal world. In each film the struggles of women in patriarchy are transformed by placing them within the discourses of psychoanalysis and history. Some of the films make reference to Hollywood cinema—*Amy!*, for example, refers specifically to Dorothy Arzner's *Christopher Strong*—in order to examine the ideological bases of that film.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING
Penthesilea (1974), *Riddles of the Sphinx* (1977), *Amy!* (1979)

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assumptions in feminist film theory of the time and introduced research on images of the mother in cinema.

Objections to cine-psychoanalysis included: 1) objection to psychoanalytic film criticism's obvious heterosexism; 2) its apparent exclusion of the body; 3) its equally apparent pessimism about social change because of investment in linguistic theories; 4) its incipient "whiteness"; and 5) its a- or even antihistorical bias. Scholars critiquing psychoanalytic theories refused the inherently Cartesian mind–body split; denied that language was totally determining; attended to cinematic practices and representations of minority, Third World, and gay women; and, finally, corrected the lack of basic historical information by seeking to find out what women had actually accomplished in Hollywood from its earliest days. If earlier gay and lesbian critiques anticipated the explosion in gay and lesbian approaches to film, as well as the related "queering" of gender images and psychoanalysis, later work was inspired by Judith Butler's theory of gender as performative rather than biological. Black and Latino studies were instituted as more minority students attended college, and debates about US and international racism raged. Inspired work in feminist film and cultural studies began to develop, led by African American critics and filmmakers, such as bell hooks, Michele Wallace, Jacqueline Bobo, and Julie Dash. In *Black Looks: Race and Representation*, for example, hooks justly criticized feminist theorists for their lack

of attention to the specificity of race in film. Building on white feminists' gaze theories, hooks coined the term "the oppositional gaze" as she shifted the point of view in a series of readings to the gaze of the hitherto oppressed black subject, whose look at white culture was for so long forbidden. Carol Clover moved gaze theories forward, and feminism backward perhaps, in her groundbreaking 1992 study of the horror film, the genre in which emerges, she argues, a gender crossing that is liberating for males. Heroines in slasher films, she says, are "transformed males," and what looks like male-on-female violence stands in for male-on-male sex. Clover goes on to show, however, that this gender game, once observed, applies in other kinds of film in which, perhaps in response to feminist agendas and analyses, males appropriate the female form for their own ends and desires, a process that challenges gender-specific theories of identification.

The directions in which the field grew and changed, through its destabilization by questions raised by minority, gay, and Third World women, eroded older, seemingly secure binaries of feminist film theory. Psychoanalytic theories of the gaze no longer were central to feminist analysis. However, these ideas then informed "masculinity" studies of Steve Neale, Krin Gabbard, and Peter Lehman, which followed feminist film theory and which were part of the shift from feminist film theory to gender studies in film. Within feminist scholarship, approaches broadened to combine historical, sociological, psychological, and genre aspects in research by Miriam Hansen, Lucy Fischer, Annette Kuhn, and Janice Welsch, among others. Hansen's study of gender in early American cinema brought feminist theory to silent cinema studies, while Kuhn's cultural studies approach includes an ethnographic study of cinema viewing practices through interviews with elderly London residents.

A solid body of feminist research, including feminist film theory, has provided the foundation for much cultural work by third-wave feminists, whose interest in cross-identification, transvestism, and transgender images is taking feminist work in new directions. Psychoanalysis may not be the central focus of many studies, but, like gaze theory, it is now being revised to fit new family paradigms, digital media, and phenomena of late global capitalism. Although the pioneers of feminist film theory have moved on to new topics, feminist theory continues to be relevant to film scholarship. A great deal has been written about feminist film theory and its vicissitudes, including many edited anthologies. Significantly, in 2004 the prestigious journal *Signs* devoted an entire issue to reevaluating feminist film theory. Almost from its origins, feminist film theory has been defined by lively debates; but important also are the strong links between the feminist movement and feminist scholarship, which have persisted as feminisms have arisen and waned and then reemerged in different environments.

SEE ALSO *Gay, Lesbian, and Queer Cinema; Gender; Marxism; Melodrama; Psychoanalysis; Queer Theory; Woman's Pictures*

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FESTIVALS

A film festival is an event designed to exhibit, celebrate, and promote a selection of motion pictures chosen according to the particular aims and ambitions of the event's organizers and sponsors. Although the exact origin of the term "film festival" is difficult to determine, its near-universal use probably stems more from its alliterative lilt than from its precision as a descriptive tool. Most film festivals do have characteristics that can be described as festive, such as gala opening ceremonies and guest appearances by directors and celebrities. Still, the events are generally taken quite seriously by the movie buffs, film-industry insiders, and journalists who attend them. Many find festivals to be occasions for prolonged and intensive activity including long hours of screenings, press conferences, question-and-answer sessions, and networking with like-minded professionals and fans.

Beyond these aspects it is hard to generalize about film festivals, which vary widely in their purposes and goals. Some are regional, focusing on productions with limited budgets and ambitions and appealing primarily to local audiences. Others are national or international, drawing attendees from near and far by showcasing a diverse array of movies from many countries. Some have expansive programs with hundreds of titles, whereas others limit their slates to a modest number of rigorously selected entries. Some are eclectic and all-embracing in scope; others have specific interests with regard to genre or format, specializing in such areas as animation, documentary, short films, gay and lesbian films, and films for children. Some give prizes to films, filmmakers, and performers; others deliberately avoid this practice. Few rules for film-festival organizing exist beyond knowing what might currently attract cinema enthusiasts.

HISTORY OF FILM FESTIVALS

The origin of film festivals can be traced to the rise of film societies and cine-clubs, which sprang up in various countries during the 1920s, often as a reaction to what many regarded as the dominance of the newly powerful Hollywood film industry over the cinemas of less well-endowed nations and over noncommercial movements devoted to such causes as documentary and avant-garde film. Such clubs and societies flourished in countries as different as France, where they fostered the emergence of the historically important impressionist and surrealist cinemas, and Brazil, where they provided the only consistent outlet for domestically produced movies. Although most film clubs and societies were in Western Europe, some were established in Latin America and the United States as well. As such groups grew and spread, they started to arrange international conclaves where their members—many of whom were practicing or aspiring filmmakers—could share ideas and inspirations without regard to national borders. Activities like these were the predecessors and prototypes of film festivals per se.

The first true film festival came into being as a direct result of Italian dictator Benito Mussolini's (1883–1945) enthusiasm for motion pictures as a tool for political public relations and propaganda. Eager to spur the development of state-run Italian cinema in the face of competition from Hollywood and elsewhere, he spent lavishly to build up the native film industry while imposing heavy taxation on the dubbing of foreign-language movies, thus hampering their distribution and exhibition. Among the cultural projects he chose to support through his Ministry of Information was the already existing Venice Biennial Exhibition of Italian Art, which gave birth to the

International Exhibition of Cinematographic Art in August 1932 as part of an effort to make the Biennial more varied and multidisciplinary in content. The first cinema program commenced with the premiere of the horror classic *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (Rouben Mamoulian, 1931) and included twenty-four other entries from seven countries. The declared purpose of the exhibition was to allow "the light of art to shine over the world of commerce," but it soon became clear that power politics were a major subtext of the event. In 1935, its first year as an annually scheduled festival, it marked the ongoing rise of European fascism by instituting official prizes in place of the popularity poll and "participation diploma" of the 1932 program. This paved the way not only for a yearly Best Italian Film award but also for productions of Nazi Germany, an Italian ally at that time, to win the Best Foreign Film laurel four times between 1936 and 1942. The arrangement also allowed Leni Riefenstahl's (1902–2003) two-part *Olympia* (1938), a paean to Aryan supremacy in the 1936 Olympic Games, to share the highest prize (the Mussolini Cup) in 1938 with an Italian drama about a fascist soldier in the Ethiopian campaign. It seemed hardly coincidental that Mussolini's oldest son, Vittorio, appeared in the credits as "supervisor" of the latter film. American and British members of the festival jury resigned as soon as these awards were made public.

French participants in the festival also walked out, protesting the Mussolini Cup decisions and expressing belated anger over the 1937 veto by festival authorities of a top prize for Jean Renoir's great war drama *La grande illusion* (*The Grand Illusion*, 1937), the much-admired French entry. This proved to be an unofficial first step toward the establishment of a French film festival designed to outdo and overshadow its Italian counterpart, which was now politically and morally tainted in the eyes of much of the cultural world. The cinema authority Robert Favre le Bret and the historian Philippe Erlanger, who was chief of an organization called Action Artistique Français, headed the committee charged with creating such a festival, and pioneering filmmaker Louis Lumière (1864–1948) served as the group's president. Overcoming fears that such a move would provoke Mussolini's anger, the French government declared its willingness to provide necessary funding, and a few months later the Riviera city of Cannes—having staved off competition from sundry French, Belgian, and Swiss cities—started planning a state-of-the-art Palais des Festivals to house the new event.

Other, smaller festivals had sprung up in the wake of Venice's early success, but it was the advent of Cannes that established the film festival as a staple of the modern cultural scene. Formally dubbed the Cannes International Film Festival, it debuted in September 1939, a time of year selected so as to extend the traditional tourist season by a couple of weeks. The program included *The Wizard of Oz* (1939) and *Only Angels Have Wings*. Gary Cooper, Mae West, Douglas Fairbanks, Norma Shearer, and Tyrone Power were on the "steamship of stars" dispatched to Cannes by Hollywood's mighty MGM studio. A cardboard model of the Cathedral de Nôtre-Dame was erected on the beach, heralding William Dieterle's (1893–1972) version of *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* (1939) as the festival's opening-night attraction. In a shocking twist, however, the opening film was the only film to be screened: Germany's invasion of Poland on the same day (1 September) led the festival's leaders to close its doors only hours after they had opened. The doors would not reopen until September 1946. (Ironically, the Venice festival also reopened in 1946 after three years of suspension due to the chaos of World War II.) Despite technical problems—projection glitches interrupted the opening-night screening, and reels of Alfred Hitchcock's (1899–1980) thriller *Notorious* (1946) were shown out of order—the Cannes program of 1946 was a great success. Still, the 1947 edition was diminished by the absence of such major countries as England and the Soviet Union, and the 1948 program was canceled. Not until 1951 did Cannes become a dependable yearly event, changing its dates to the spring, when more major movies are available. Since then it has reigned as the world's most prestigious and influential film festival, attracting thousands of journalists to its daylong press screenings and armies of industry professionals to both the festival and the Film Market held concurrently in the Palais and theaters scattered throughout the city.

Festivals proliferated at a growing rate in Europe and elsewhere during the 1950s, affirming the ongoing artistic (and commercial) importance of film at a time when global warfare was becoming a memory and world culture was energetically entering the second half of the twentieth century. Politics played a far smaller role in this phase of festival history than when the Venice and Cannes festivals were founded, but political considerations did not entirely vanish from the scene. The large and ambitious Berlin International Film Festival, for example, was established in 1951, presenting itself as a geographical and artistic meeting ground between East and West as the Cold War climbed into high gear. This was not an easy position to assume, given that socialist nations of the Eastern bloc did not participate officially until 1975, although individual films did represent such countries in the program from time to time.

The most important new festival to emerge in the 1960s was the New York Film Festival, founded in 1963 at Lincoln Center, one of the city's leading cultural venues. Modeled to some extent after the London Film Festival, the New York festival took advantage of Lincoln Center's enormous prestige in the artistic community—

as home to such various institutions as the Metropolitan Opera and the New York Philharmonic, among others—to underwrite the aesthetic pedigree of the art films, avant-garde works, and documentaries that dominated its programs. Such cinema found an enthusiastic (if limited) audience at a time when sophisticated spectators were unusually receptive to innovative foreign movies (from Europe and Japan especially) presented in their original languages with subtitles. Unlike the heavily programmed festivals at Cannes and Berlin, the New York festival showed a limited quantity of films—about two dozen features and a similar number of shorts, chosen by a five-member selection committee—and it declined to give prizes, asserting that its highly selective nature made every work shown there a "winner."

Two key events in film-festival history took place in the 1970s. The first was the 1976 debut of the Toronto International Film Festival, originally known as the Festival of Festivals, a name that underscored its commitment to importing major attractions from other festivals for Canadian audiences. Its first year was marred by the withdrawal of expected contributions from some Hollywood studios, apparently because its Toronto audience base was considered too parochial. Still, in subsequent years it has grown into one of the most all-embracing festivals in the world, with an annual slate ranging from domestic productions to international art films and (ironically) more Hollywood products than are likely to be found at any comparable event. Canada also hosts two other major festivals, the Montreal World Film Festival and the Vancouver International Film Festival.

The other major development of the 1970s was the founding of the United States Film Festival in Salt Lake City in 1978, devised by the Utah Film Commission as a means of spotlighting the state's assets as a site for film production. After concentrating its energies on retrospectives and discussion-centered events for three years, during which it also sponsored a nationwide competition for new independent films, the event moved to the smaller community of Park City in 1981 and began to seek a higher profile. It was acquired in 1985 by actor Robert Redford (b. 1936) and the four-year-old Sundance Institute, which Redford had established to foster the growth of "indie" filmmaking outside the Hollywood system. Renamed the Sundance Film Festival in 1989, it has become an eagerly covered media event as well as a wide-ranging showcase for both independent and international productions.

Alongside the attention-getting world-class festivals, over a thousand more modest events have cropped up. Some have tried to establish uniqueness by using a word other than "festival" in their names, such as the French-American Film Workshop held in New York and Avignon, France, and the Lake Placid Film Forum in upstate New York, which emphasizes relationships between cinema and the written word. Major festivals also exist outside the United States and Europe, such as the Ouagadougou Festival in the African nation of Burkina Faso and the Shanghai and Tokyo festivals in Asia.

LEADING FESTIVALS: NEW YORK, CANNES, TORONTO

Festivals vary in how they choose their films and what types they show, in the degree of geographical diversity they seek, in their willingness to give prizes, and in many other respects. The New York Film Festival presents films chosen by a five-member selection committee—two permanent members who are full-time employees of the Film Society of Lincoln Center and three rotating members (film critics or scholars) who serve terms of three to five years. The event has broadened its scope over the years, adding more special screenings and sidebar programs, including an annual weekend of avant-garde cinema that is unique among major festivals. It remains noncompetitive, however, and considers itself a "public festival" where the intended audience consists primarily of movie buffs, in contrast to the large contingents of film professionals who attend larger-scale North American and European festivals.

By common consensus, Cannes is the single most important film festival in the world. This is partly because of its age, partly because of its size, and partly because success tends to breed success—in other words, the festival traditionally thought of as the most influential is indeed the most influential for that very reason. The Cannes program is chosen by the festival director with the advice of assistant programmers assigned to specialized fields (documentary, Asian cinema, short films, and so on). Robert Favre le Bret, Gilles Jacob, and most recently Thierry Frémaux have had final say over the selection since 1972, when the festival eliminated its policy of allowing each participating country to choose its own presentations. Cannes divides its programs into several categories. The most highly visible is the Competition, usually comprising two features for each day of the twelve-day event, many of them directed by established auteurs of world cinema. Films directed by favored newcomers, including actors with Cannes credentials like Johnny Depp (*The Brave*, 1997) and Vincent Gallo (*The Brown Bunny*, 2003), also make their way into the Competition from time to time, although in the eyes of most critics the results in these two cases were disastrous. The main sidebar program, Un Certain Regard ("A Certain Look"), focuses on movies by newer

ROBERT REDFORD

b. Charles Robert Redford Jr., Santa Monica, California, 18 August 1937

Robert Redford is an internationally known actor, producer, and director who has become an influential festival impresario via the Sundance Film Festival, until 1991 known as the United States Film Festival. Redford acquired the seven-year-old festival in 1985 as an adjunct to the Sundance Institute, which he founded in 1981 to encourage filmmaking outside Hollywood by supporting new directors and screenwriters, and by facilitating the exhibition of independently made fiction and documentary features. The institute now sponsors film-development workshops, a film-music program, and theater projects as well as the festival and the television outlet (the Sundance Channel) for which it is most widely recognized. It has also established the Sundance Collection at the University of California at Los Angeles, an archive that acquires and preserves independent films.

Screening movies is still the institute's most prominent activity: in 2005 the Sundance festival showed more than 200 films for almost 47,000 spectators, three times the attendance of a decade earlier. It also serves as an important marketplace for American and international cinema, attracting distributors and exhibitors on the lookout for fresh, offbeat work. Its reputation for such fare was sparked largely by the 1989 premiere of Steven Soderbergh's debut film *sex, lies, and videotape*. The festival's openness to a wide range of fiction, nonfiction, and international movies has also helped Sundance programmers retain a commitment to "indie" filmmaking while sidestepping issues related to the increasingly blurred boundaries between mainstream (i.e., Hollywood) and independent styles and modes of production.

As a youth Redford studied painting in Europe and attended New York's prestigious American Academy of Dramatic Arts to hone his acting skills. He is also a longtime environmental activist. Such activities signal an artistic ambition and social awareness that run against the grain of Redford's commercially driven Hollywood career, perhaps explaining his decision to put so much money and muscle into organizations dedicated to independent cinema. His performance in the hugely popular western *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* (1969) made him a top-ranking celebrity. He also starred in such box-office hits as *Barefoot in the Park* (1967), *The Sting* (1973), *The Natural* (1984), and *Indecent Proposal* (1993). The more thoughtful side of his creative personality has surfaced in films such as *All the President's Men* (1976), in which he played one of the *Washington Post* reporters who exposed the Watergate political scandal, and *Ordinary People* (1980) and *Quiz Show* (1994), which he directed.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

As Actor: *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* (1969), *The Sting* (1973), *The Way We Were* (1973), *Three Days of the Condor* (1975), *All the President's Men* (1976); As Actor and Director: *The Horse Whisperer* (1998); As Director: *Ordinary People* (1980), *The Milagro Beanfield War* (1988), *A River Runs Through It* (1992), *Quiz Show* (1994), *The Legend of Bagger Vance* (2000)

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or less-known talents whom the festival considers worthy of attention and support.

Two other series operate outside the formal boundaries of the festival: the International Critics Week, where selections are chosen by a panel of film critics, and the Directors' Fortnight, founded in 1969 as a competitor to the official festival, which was interrupted in the politically charged year of 1968 by disruptive protests involving such major directors as François Truffaut (1932–1984) and Jean-Luc Godard (b. 1930), leading figures in France's revolutionary New Wave filmmaking movement. All of these programs coexist peacefully with the festival and with the concurrent Film Market, established in 1960 as a place where producers, distributors, exhibitors, and

Robert Redford in* All the President's Men *(1976). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

others involved in the circulation of new movies can meet, network, and do business with one another. Features shown in the festival may have additional exposure in the market's eighteen screening rooms, although priority for entry to these showings is given to film-industry professionals who purchase market credentials in advance. The market's program for 2004 included approximately fifteen hundred screenings of more than nine hundred films, more than five hundred of them world premieres and the great majority not included in the festival itself. The market also sponsors a Short Film Corner that typically screens hundreds of shorts. In all, these programs attracted more than eight thousand participants in 2004, representing seventy-four countries. The market is thus considered a key interchange for international acquisition and distribution of movies made around the world.

Overall attendance at Cannes is skewed heavily toward film professionals, including film journalists and critics, who see the major entries in regularly scheduled press screenings beginning at 8:30 every morning and proceeding until late evening. The prizes at Cannes are awarded by a jury with a different membership of notable film-world personalities (directors, producers, performers, screenwriters, etc.) each year. At times jury decisions diverge greatly from the impression made by a given film on festival-goers in general, as when Bruno Dumont's ambitious French production *L'Humanité* (1999) won the Grand Prize of the Jury as well as best actress (shared) and best actor awards after being jeered at during its press screening. The prizes given at Cannes vary a bit from one year to another, but always include the top Palme d'Or (Golden Palm) award as well as a Grand Prize, a Jury Prize given to a technician, and prizes for best actress, actor, screenplay, and director. In addition, honors are given by a separate jury to three short films; the Cinéfondation of France bestows three awards; and the Caméra d'Or prize is given to the best Competition or Certain Regard film directed by a first-time filmmaker. The highest prizes at Cannes, especially the Golden Palm, are considered the most prestigious of all motion-picture honors with the possible exception of the Academy Awards®.

The Toronto festival awards several prizes, but the practice has a lower profile than at Cannes. The People's Choice Award is determined by audience ballots after

each public screening; the Discovery Award is voted on by members of the press, representing several hundred international media outlets; and juries select the recipients of awards for best Canadian feature, best Canadian feature by a first-time director, and best Canadian short film. In addition, an independent jury administered by the International Federation of Film Critics gives an award for the best feature by an emerging filmmaker. (More commonly known by its European acronym, FIPRESCI, this organization establishes prize-giving juries, composed of film critics, at many festivals around the world.) Toronto is generally seen as the most important North American festival and a close second to Cannes in terms of global influence. Its wide-ranging program is divided into numerous categories including Galas and Special Presentations for high-profile features, Masters for works by recognized auteurs, Director's Spotlight for works by especially adventurous or under-recognized filmmakers, National Cinema for features from a particular country selected for attention that year, Wavelengths and Visions for experimental and avant-garde works, and until 2004, Perspective Canada for domestic productions. As at Cannes, film professionals make up much of the audience, but many local moviegoers can be found in the public screenings (as opposed to the press screenings) as well.

LESSER-KNOWN FESTIVALS

Festivals with lower profiles, from the interestingly specialized to the obscure, abound. One film critic has estimated that New York City alone has no fewer than thirty. Iowa has the Hardacre Film Festival, North Carolina the Hi Mom Film Festival. Other festivals signal their specialties via their unusual names. Examples include the Rendezvous with Madness Film and Video Festival in Canada, organized around works about mental illness and addiction; the Madcat Women's International Film Festival in California, featuring independent and experimental work by women; and the Tacoma Tortured Artists International Film Festival in Washington, devoted to independent filmmakers.

One of the most respected specialized festivals is Pordenone-Le Giornate del Cinema Muto, established in 1982 by the Cinemazero Film Club and La Cineteca del Friuli, a film archive. Focusing entirely on silent cinema, this event in the north of Italy draws an international audience of archivists, scholars, critics, and adventurous movie fans to a wide range of programming that has included everything from Krazy Kat cartoons and Cecil B. DeMille melodramas to century-old kinetoscopes and comedies with forgotten American entertainers. Also highly regarded is the Locarno International Film Festival, launched by its Swiss founders in 1946 and celebrated for its attention to films by first- and second-time directors, and for its screenings of underrated movies chosen by currently well-known filmmakers. The hugely ambitious Rotterdam International Film Festival in the Netherlands has earned high marks for its commitment to avant-garde cinema as well as children's films, new features by innovative directors, and an Exploding Cinema sidebar devoted to multimedia projects. This festival also presents film-related lectures and gives monetary grants to promising directors from developing nations through the Hubert Bals Fund, which it administers. The San Francisco International Film Festival, established in 1957, helped blaze various trails for the growing American festival scene with its eclectic blend of major new productions, classics restored to mint condition, and retrospectives devoted to filmmakers better known by art-film enthusiasts than by the general public.

Among the more unusual American festivals is the Telluride Film Festival, founded in 1974 in a small Colorado town—once a mining community, now a popular skiing site—and considered by many to be one of the world's most intelligently programmed cinema events. It refuses to divulge its schedule until ticket-holders arrive at the festival gate, making attendance less a matter of access to particular premieres than of overall faith in the programmers. Telluride ensures the presence of celebrities—a diverse lot ranging from the actress Shirley MacLaine to the novelist Salman Rushdie—by holding tributes, complete with screenings of relevant films and the awarding of medals, to three film-world notables each year. Screenings are held in several venues including a community center and an intimate opera house where Sarah Bernhardt (1844–1923) and Jenny Lind (1820–1887) performed during the mining-boom era; the original marquee of the opera house, displaying the word "SHOW" in large letters, is still standing and serves as the festival's trademark. The legendary Warner Bros. animator Chuck Jones (1912–2002), a frequent attendee until his death in 2002, once paid his respects to Telluride's nine-thousand-foot elevation by saluting the festival as "the most fun you'll ever have without breathing."

THE FUTURE OF FILM FESTIVALS

Film festivals will most likely retain their popularity. However, they are also likely to change their selection standards and exhibition formats as technological developments in cinema—such as the increasing use of digital systems in cinematography and projection processes—alter the nature of cinema itself. Most festivals have already shown an increased willingness to judge films for potential selection on the basis of video copies rather than 35 mm prints, and many have opened the door (in

some cases grudgingly) to public screenings using video-projection systems, especially when the movie was originally shot on video. Another question that confronts the program directors of many general-interest festivals is whether they should focus primarily on the best of cinematic art—which may include obscure, difficult, and esoteric works—or turn in more commercially oriented directions. By courting movies with trendy themes, palatable styles, and major stars who may agree to make personal appearances, festivals could potentially draw larger audiences, attract greater press attention, and satisfy financial sponsors banking on association with celebrities and their projects.

The staying power of film festivals will continue to depend, in part, on providing an alternative to the multiplex. The shrinking number of art-film theaters, owing to competition from cable television and the home-video industry, also lends increasing importance to festivals. Exhibition patterns have always influenced cinematic styles, and the festival phenomenon has given indispensable exposure to new and unconventional works that might not otherwise be seen by the producers, distributors, exhibitors, and others who largely control the financial infrastructure of theatrical film. Also invaluable is many festivals' practice of spotlighting overlooked or forgotten movies from the past that would otherwise remain unknown to—or at least unviewable by—scholars and critics as well as curious movie fans. Ever since Venice commenced its festival activities in the 1930s, such events have amply proven their merit as what Richard Peña, the New York Film Festival program director, describes as "a refuge from the vicissitudes of the marketplace." Film festivals are indeed one of the vital signs of a thriving cinema.

SEE ALSO *Academy Awards®; Prizes and Awards*

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FILM HISTORY

There is no single or simple history of film. As an object of both academic and popular interest, the history of film has proven to be a fascinatingly rich and complex field of inquiry. Coffee-table books, multipart documentaries, television networks that predominantly feature movies, scholarly monographs, and textbooks have cut different paths through this field. As a result, film history can look quite different, depending on whether the focus of attention is on individual films, institutional practices, national cinemas, or global trends. Indeed, the history of film's remarkable rise in the twentieth century has been told in a variety of ways: as the story of artistic triumphs and box-office winners; of movie moguls and larger-than-life stars; of corporatization and consumption; of auteur directors and time-honored genres; of technology and systemization; and of audiences and theaters. Taken even more broadly, the history of film becomes an account of the shifting roles and multiple effects of cinema—culturally, socially, and politically.

Across this range of options, film history confronts, implicitly or explicitly, a number of provocative and knotty questions: From a larger historical perspective, what is the role of the individual film and the individual filmmaker? What are the social and cultural contexts within which the movies were produced and consumed? What does the history of film have to do with other twentieth-century histories—of technology, business, commercial entertainment, the modern nation-state, globalization?

VARIETIES OF FILM HISTORY

Given the fact that film is at once art, industry, mass media, and influential form of cultural communication, it is not surprising that the history of film can be approached from a number of quite distinct angles. A concern with technology, for example, raises questions about the invention, introduction, and diffusion of moving picture projection systems and cameras, as well as color, sound, and wide-screen processes. Technological history has been especially prominent in discussions of the pre-1900 period, the transformation to sound in the late 1920s and the 1930s, and the struggle to compete with television during the 1950s. To explore the history of home movies and amateur film also necessarily involves questions of so-called "small-gauge" technology (most notably, 8 mm and 16 mm), and any broader overview of film exhibition must take into account the technology of the movie theater, including the projection apparatus and, from the 1980s on, sophisticated sound systems.

Technology is intimately connected to the economics of the motion picture industry, another key aspect of film history that has received considerable interest from scholars. Most attention has been given to the internal workings and the ongoing transformations of the Hollywood studio system, both in terms of how individual studios have operated and also in terms of the concerted efforts by studios to maintain monopolistic control over the industry. Economic history also takes up labor relations and unionization, government attempts to regulate the film industry through antitrust actions, and the financial framework and corporate affiliation of major studios in the United States and Europe. Equally central to any historical understanding of the economics of the industry are the complex relations among production,

distribution, and exhibition, including the role of Hollywood in exporting American films to the rest of the world. While exhibition has recently received considerable attention—as in, for example, Douglas Gomery's *Shared Pleasures* (1992) and Gregory A. Waller's *Moviegoing in America* (2002)—distribution remains understudied.

More than economics, technology also figures in what has been called formalist or aesthetic histories of film, which tend to focus on questions concerning narrative and audio-visual style and, more generally, the art and craft of cinema. This approach has tended to emphasize masterworks and great directors, celebrating their innovations and contributions to a tradition of cinematic art. The auteur theory, for example, has informed much popular film history. At the same time, more systematic (even statistically based) approaches to the history of film style have looked less at world-famous directors like D. W. Griffith (1875–1948), Sergei Eisenstein (1898–1948), and Jean Renoir (1894–1979) and more at the norms and opportunities available to filmmakers under specific conditions of production, in and out of Hollywood. Such approaches consider, for example, how editing practices, camera movement, and uses of the soundtrack have changed over time.

The historical study of film genres also takes up formal concerns, as well as other topics having to do with the cultural and ideological role of popular film. American film history has sometimes been understood primarily in terms of the changing fortunes of genres like the gangster film, western, film noir, and the musical. More interesting is the considerable amount of historical work that has been done on individual genres, offering a complex picture of how genres emerge, flourish, and decline both in terms of the films produced and the reception of these films by audiences at the time and by later generations of fans and critics. The history of film genres, as presented, for example, by James Naremore in *More Than Night* (1998), has also raised important questions about intermedia relations, that is, the way the course of film history has been significantly affected by contemporary practices in literature, live theater, radio, popular music, and television.

Popular genres, as might be expected, often figure prominently in social or cultural histories, which seek in a variety of different ways to situate film within a broader context or to shift focus away from individual films, directors, and studios to questions about how cinema is constructed, circulated, understood, and monitored in a particular class, region, or subculture or in society at large. One prominent concern of social history is the film audience: How has it been defined and policed? What is its makeup in terms of class, race, and gender? What is its reception of particular movies and cinema in general? To explore what moviegoing has meant in specific historical situations has necessarily involved a greater attention to the practices and strategies of film exhibition. From nickelodeon and picture palace to drive-in and suburban megaplex, the movie theater has proven to be a key site for exploring the place of film in the everyday life of the twentieth century and for considering how a film experience intended for a national or global audience is presented and consumed at a local level.

Other major areas of social and cultural historical research are the ideological import of cinematic representations (of race, gender, and sexuality, for example); the formal and informal processes of censorship; the role of official government cultural policy (which is of particular import outside the United States); and the connections between cinema and consumer culture, through advertising, product tie-ins, and so on. Of crucial importance in this regard is the vast amount of written material surrounding and concerning the movies, from trade journals and promotional matter to reviews, fan magazines, and—more recently—Internet sites.

TRENDS IN FILM HISTORY

The earliest film histories, like Terry Ramsaye's *A Million and One Nights* (2 vols., 1926; originally published in *Photoplay* magazine, beginning in 1921), were intended for a general audience. These works offered first-person, highly anecdotal accounts written by journalists, inventors, and filmmakers who frequently were insiders to the motion picture industry. Ramsaye, for instance, had worked as a publicist. His book and others like it set a model for a sort of film history that is preoccupied with movie personalities and filled with broad claims about the step-by-step "progress" of film as art and industry. Foregrounded in such works is the role of inventors like Thomas Edison and directors like D. W. Griffith, certain landmark films, influential stylistic innovations, and major technological advances. Much popular history concerning, in particular, classic Hollywood, carries on this tradition, offering a narrative account of movie history that features individual artists, inventors, and executives rebelling against or working securely within the demands of the commercial entertainment industry. This "great man" version of history typically goes hand in hand with a belief that the historian's task is, in part, to identify and celebrate a canon of cinematic masterworks.

Writing at the end of the silent era, the British filmmaker and critic Paul Rotha (1907–1984) took a somewhat different tack in *The Film till Now* (1930),

emphasizing distinctive national cinema traditions and giving special attention to films and filmmakers that challenged standard Hollywood practices. Both of these emphases have also frequently been features of film history textbooks. After Rotha there have been several significant attempts at world or global histories of film, like *Histoire du Cinema* (5 vols., 1967–1980), by Jean Mitry. Until recently, with, for example, *The Oxford History of World Cinema* (1999), attempts at international film history have generally been plagued by a decidedly Eurocentric, if not always American, bias. The lack of full attention to non-Western film has arisen from the assumption that film history is above all concerned with film production, filmmakers, and film studios (principally the domain of Hollywood, Bollywood, and a few European companies) rather than with exhibition, reception, and worldwide film audiences.

Most typically, film history has been understood in national terms. This is reflected in the number of books devoted exclusively to Hollywood and American cinema, beginning with Lewis Jacobs's *The Rise of the American Film* (1939) and culminating in Scribner's ten-volume *History of the American Cinema* (1990–2000), a towering achievement. Other national cinemas, too, have frequently been a key subject for historians, from New Zealand and Japan to Cuba and Canada. While specific details vary from country to country, this form of film history reinforces what is assumed to be a strong correlation between the cultural, economic, and social life of a particular nation and the films produced in that nation. National histories of film typically celebrate homegrown auteurs and award-winning titles, "new waves," and the sort of films that circulate on the international film festival circuit. More recently, however, the widespread interest in industry practices, government cultural policy, and popular genres has led to groundbreaking research on national cinemas that draws heavily on archival sources, as in Peter B. High's *The Imperial Screen* (2003), a study of Japanese film during the Pacific War era.

The 1970s and 1980s saw a major turn toward historical research in academic film studies, led in part by a new interest in early silent cinema (1895–1910), which completely reshaped our understanding of the origins of the American film industry, the audience that took up moviegoing during the nickelodeon era, and the introduction of narrative film. This type of revisionist history, which makes extensive use of primary documents (including the trade press and archival motion-picture holdings) and rejects simple notions of progress and celebrations of "great men," got a major boost in *Film History: Theory and Practice* (1985), Robert C. Allen and Douglas Gomery's assessment of the discipline and blueprint for future research. Equally significant was the publication that year of David Bordwell, Janet Staiger, and Kristin Thompson's *Classical Hollywood Cinema*, an exhaustively researched study based on a randomly selected body of films and a range of industry-related print material. This influential book set out to investigate Hollywood's evolving mode of production, its incorporation of technological change, and its elaboration of a cinematic style that served as the norm for American movies between 1917 and 1960.

Since the mid-1980s the study of film history has been strongly influenced by other major scholarly trends, notably, feminist, postcolonial, and cultural studies, as well as reception studies that focus on social identities and film-related public discourses. There has also been an increasing emphasis on historical case studies in article or monograph form that rely on significant primary research to focus in detail on a relatively narrow period, topic, or institutional practice. Works like Eric Schaefer's *"Bold! Daring! Shocking! True!"* (1999), a history of exploitation films, and Lee Grieveson's *Policing Cinema* (2004), an account of early film censorship, exemplify the highly focused yet still very ambitious research that has continued to enrich and complicate our understanding of film history in and out of Hollywood, within and beyond the walls of the movie theater.

SEE ALSO *Canon and Canonicity*

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Gregory A. Waller

FILM NOIR

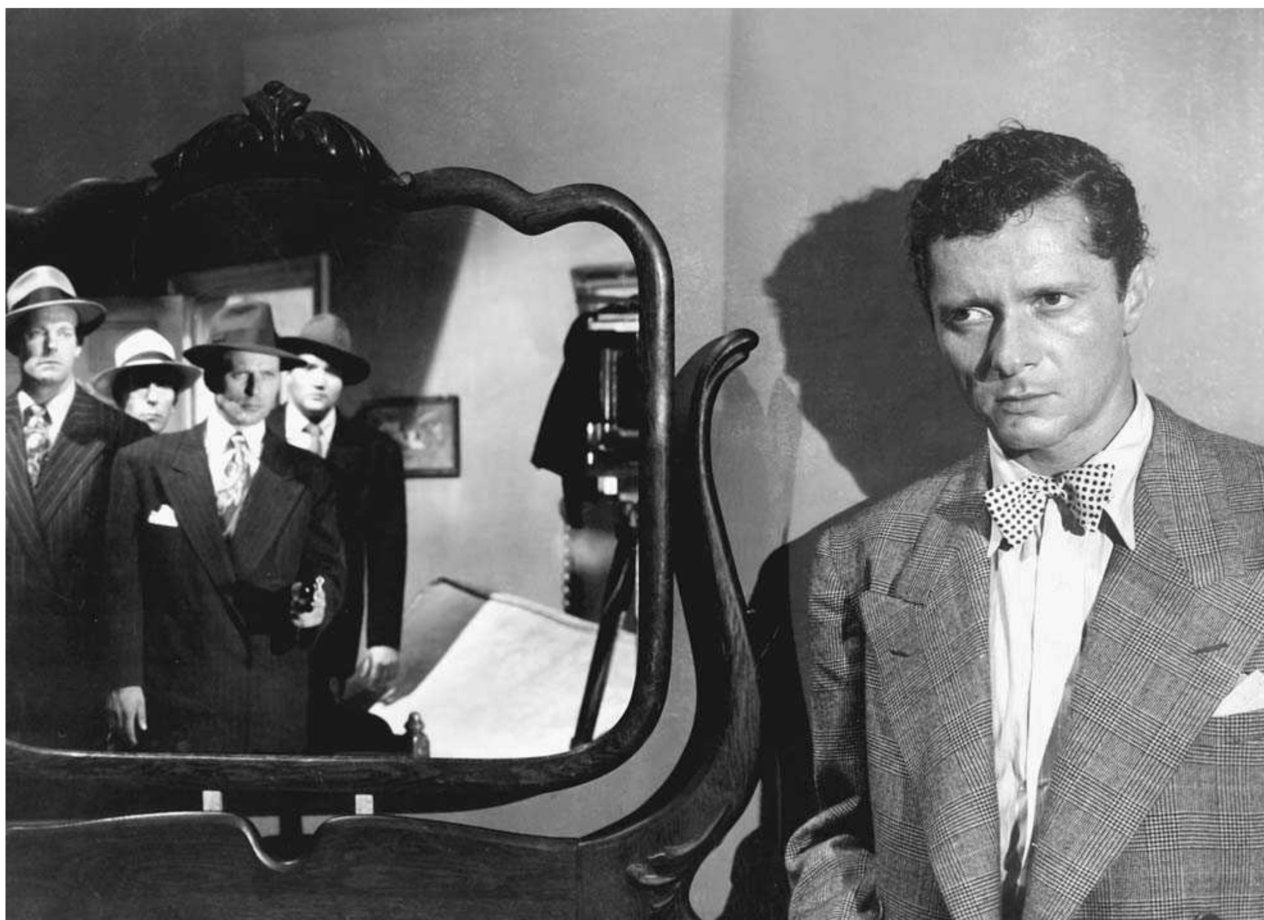
In 1946, French film critics coined the term *film noir*, meaning black or dark film, to describe a newly emergent quality in wartime Hollywood films. At that time, the term signified an unexpected strain of maturity in contemporary American film, marking the end of a creatively ossified era and the beginning of a bold new one. By the time the term achieved wide English language usage in the 1960s, however, it had come to mean dark Hollywood films of the past—films whose era and style were no longer current. Despite such a slippage in definition, *film noir* remains arguably the most protean and influential of American film forms. It has demonstrated a limitless capacity for reinvention, has undergone major cycles of redefinition, and has analogues not only in other national cinemas but also in radio, television, theater, fiction, graphic novels, comic books, advertising, and graphic design. The term has moved beyond the domain of film discourse and has been used to describe narratives in other media and genres. There is even a "*Film Noir*" lipstick.

OVERVIEW

Film noir indicates a darker perspective upon life than was standard in classical Hollywood films and concentrates upon human depravity, failure, and despair. The term also implies a cinematic style: a way of lighting, of positioning and moving the camera, of using retrospective voice-over narration. Its narrative often relies heavily on flashbacks and choice of setting—usually a seedy, urban landscape, a world gone wrong. *Film noir* has stylistic and thematic antecedents in American hard-boiled fiction of the 1920s and 1930s, German expressionist films of the 1920s, American horror films and radio dramas of the 1930s and 1940s, and French cinema of the 1930s. Its first cycle ran from the 1940s to the late 1950s. After 1960, neo-*noir* films have included a component antithetical to the earlier films: a conflicted nostalgia for the post–World War II era evoked in references to the period's sociocultural atmosphere as well as to its filmmaking practices.

Film noir emerged during World War II with films like *Double Indemnity* (1944); *Laura* (1944); *Murder, My Sweet* (1944); *Phantom Lady* (1944); *Mildred Pierce* (1945); *Scarlet Street* (1945); and *The Woman in the Window* (1945). Its foundations had been laid in the early 1940s, in films such as *Stranger on the Third Floor*, with its sinister look, nightmare sequence, and atmosphere of perverse and unstable masculinity, *The Maltese Falcon*, with its themes of widespread evil and deviant as well as manipulative sexuality, and *Citizen Kane* (1941), with its dark, expressionist look and fragmented narration.

Although reviews at the time commented on the depravity, sexual degradation, and violence in many of these films, they linked them only insofar as they manifested a gritty "realism." Other common elements among many of the films are retrospectively apparent, such as the large number of Germanic émigré directors, including Fritz Lang (1890–1976), Otto Preminger (1906–1986), Robert Siodmak (1900–1973), and Billy Wilder (1906–2002); their dark "studio" look, often employing expressionistic "mystery" lighting; their use of retrospective, voice-over narration; their engagement with potentially censorable material; their themes of unstable identity, often involving amnesia or identity alteration, and of gender instability, concentrating in particular upon *femmes fatales* and weak men; their



Expressionist style in Anthony Mann's* T-Men *(1947). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

deterministic view of human behavior; their narratives of failed enterprises; the influence of psychoanalytic concepts (such as fetishism, masochism, repression, and various compulsions) upon their characters' construction; and their atmosphere of disorientation and anxiety.

Not surprisingly, neo-*noir* films display a self-consciousness alien to earlier ones. Many creative participants in the earlier films were not being disingenuous when they claimed that they never knew they were making *films noirs* when they were making *films noirs*. The films initially appeared under many guises, only to be categorized as *film noir* at a great distance, first by the French in 1946 and then by English-speaking critics after 1960. But lack of intentionality does not mean that the filmmakers did not draw on a common sensibility and gravitate toward similar filmmaking practices. Over time, those commonalities have conferred a powerful generic status on the films that is much stronger than earlier, more diverse perceptions of them.

The first *films noirs* were made as detective films, mysteries, melodramas, social problem films, crime films, and thrillers. They were produced as A films by major studios, as products of B-movie divisions of major and minor studios, and as low-budget, independent films. Some studios, like RKO, developed divisions for the production of inexpensive genre films, many of which have subsequently been called *films noirs*. While these films were products of Hollywood's "Golden Age," they collectively deviate from popular notions of Hollywood entertainment.

INFLUENCES

Hard-boiled popular fiction gave *film noir* its narrative models, major themes, and verbal style. The genre is commonly associated with the detective fiction of writers like Dashiell Hammett (1894–1961) and Raymond Chandler (1888–1959), which first appeared in the 1920s and provided an alternative to the then-dominant British detective fiction of writers like Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, Dorothy Sayers, and Agatha Christie. The British model presumes a benign society into which crime erupts as an aberration: once a detective has solved the crime,

society returns to tranquility. Hard-boiled fiction, to the contrary, presumes a corrupt world in which crime is an everyday occurrence. Its characters are often driven by destructive urges that they can neither understand nor control. Although a detective may solve the story's motivating crime, he entertains no illusions that this small victory makes the world a better place. One narrative model that *film noir* draws from such fiction implicates the detective when the crime he attempts to solve unexpectedly draws him into its consequences. He often becomes ensnared by a *femme fatale* or gets set up as the "fall guy" for a larger crime. Nearly everyone with whom he deals is duplicitous. Hard-boiled fiction was not limited to detective fiction; Cornell Woolrich's (1903–1968) *Phantom Lady* and James M. Cain's (1892–1977) *Double Indemnity* and *The Postman Always Rings Twice* share this perspective on life and provided sources for important *films noirs*.

Hard-boiled fiction—particularly the first-person narration of Chandler's novels—introduced a cynical, doomed, and grimly poetic tone. Its verbal style is apparent in both the wisecracks of the detective and in the moody, voice-over narration dominating many of the films.

German expressionist cinema gave *film noir* a mood, a visual style, and some themes. A cinema obsessed with madness, loneliness, and the perils of a barely coherent world, it emerged after Germany's devastating defeat in World War I and reflected the despair of the times. Its first major film was *Das Kabinett des Doktor Caligari* (*The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari,* 1920). Nearly everything in it is highly stylized, particularly the set design, which appears to be part of a demented dream, not unlike the despairing mood of many *noirs*.

By the mid-1920s, expressionism had become a widely respected style, imitated by Hollywood directors like John Ford (1894–1973), and by the 1930s, many expressionist directors and technicians had emigrated to Hollywood, influencing its emergent horror genre directly. A decade later, *film noir* applied these same tropes of madness, despair, and disorientation to the world of "normal," middle-class experience.

A sophisticated use of the sound track was a defining innovation of *film noir,* drawing upon techniques developed in American network radio. Network radio and sound film both began in the late 1920s, and by the 1940s, they enjoyed great success. It was not until then that Hollywood learned to use soundtracks in genuinely complex ways, rather than simply as adjuncts to image tracks. By then, network radio had developed writers, technicians, and actors skilled at presenting stories using sound alone; its popularity had accustomed listening audiences to understand complex layerings of sound. Radio narration went beyond linear, retrospective storytelling and employed dynamic interactions between narrating voices ("It all began last Tuesday when . . .") and dramatic ones ("Who's there?"). Sometimes the same voice narrated and participated in the dramatic action—a common trope in *films noirs*, which used sound to present two versions of a single character simultaneously. The narrator's voice-over in *Double Indemnity*, for example, appears throughout the film, telling us his story at a time when he already knows he is doomed; he also speaks throughout the flashback scenes. We hear both his depressed narrating voice and his optimistic younger self, which has not yet learned what both narrator and viewer already know—that his scheme will fail. The aural and visual contrast between his optimistic self and the somber, despairing tone of his narrating self create complex layers of character.

Postwar disillusionment gave *film noir* a mood and a social context. Victory in World War II did not bring the peacetime happiness that many had anticipated. Films like *The Blue Dahlia* (1946) show wartime veterans feeling isolated after they return. This disillusionment is also evident in non-*noir* films of the era, such as that Christmas perennial, *It's a Wonderful Life* (1947), in which the ugly side of small town America drives a decent businessman to near-suicide. Its miraculously happy ending does not entirely erase the sinister darkness that its portrait of small town life creates.

Disillusionment came from many directions. Women, who had been encouraged to join the work force during the war, now felt pressured to leave it to make room for returning veterans. Labor unions, many of which had been forbidden to strike during the war, now demanded long-awaited benefits. The defeat of the Axis powers did not bring about international security, because the Cold War emerged, generating anxiety about Communist infiltration.

Technological advances made during the war allowed postwar filmmakers greater freedom from the confines of studios. Film stocks were improved, enabling cinematographers to capture a wider range of light than previously possible and, at the same time, to need less in the way of bulky lights; sound recording equipment, particularly improvements in the wire recorder, became more portable; lighter cameras with better lenses became available. Although traditionally composed films had always used location shooting, it had been cumbersome and expensive. Now these technological developments dovetailed with a public taste for "realism" in films and with critical respect for Italian neorealism, a new style from Italy that explored the unvarnished realities of contemporary life. In the United States, Louis de Rochemont (1899–1978), who had produced the *March of Time* newsreels, produced

films such as *The House on 92nd Street* (1945), *Boomerang* (1947), and *Walk East on Beacon* (1952), which used a newsreel aesthetic. These films, and others like them, deal with a world of crime and betrayal, subversion, and people on the edge. Many have been called *films noirs*, but they look and feel differently from *films noirs* like *Double Indemnity* or *Scarlet Street*. They have a strong narrating presence, but instead of the tormented voice-overs of films like *Double Indemnity* or *Out of the Past* (1947), they often employ an authoritative "Voice of God" narrator associated with a governmental institution, such as the FBI or the Treasury Department. They have a very different look from the expressionistic films mentioned earlier, although some of their scenes do have a dark look. They often advertised themselves as "real" or "true," or "pulled from the headlines." *The House on 92nd Street* prides itself on including "actual FBI" surveillance footage. These films mark the first major reinvention of *film noir*.

Clearly, the term *film noir* casts a wide net and has meant different things at different times. Certain images, narrative structures, character types, and themes are widely perceived as typifying it, however. Standard perceptions of *film noir* include atmospheric black-and-white films from the 1940s and 1950s with specific character types, such as a hard-boiled detective, a *femme fatale*, a middle-class man in a doomed affair, a rootless drifter, a slick underworld night-club owner; narrative patterns, such as an adulterous couple whose murderous plot leads to their doom, a prosperous, middle-class life unraveling into death or madness, a detective investigating a mystery that turns on him, a drifter or criminal seeking a quick score and then drawn into murder and catastrophe, a couple on the run; iconic images and settings (desolate, nocturnal, urban streets; brightly lit, art-deco nightclubs; mysterious, darkened rooms lit through Venetian blinds); shadowy shots of someone watching from a hidden place; iconic performers (wisecracking, trench-coated Humphrey Bogart; desperate, embittered Dick Powell; terrified, or arrogant, Barbara Stanwyck; sultry Lauren Bacall; Veronica Lake peering through her eye-shrouding hair; arrogant, smug Clifton Webb or George Macready; Robert Mitchum looking grimly resigned or dreamily indifferent; Dana Andrews methodically puzzling out a mystery). The overall atmosphere is one in which something—everything—has gone terribly wrong, a world heavy with doom, paranoia justified and closing in.

APPEAL

Given its doom-laden world, *film noir* offers the voyeuristic pleasure of watching transgression play itself out. Audiences saw morally compromised people doing immoral things; stories involved the forbidden, the sinful. The films pushed the boundaries of contemporary censorship: their ads promised the titillations of easy women, violent men, and doomed enterprises—cheap thrills with dire consequences. In soliciting viewers' identification with doomed people, the films court masochistic pleasure.

A cliché about classical Hollywood films is that they required happy endings. *Film noir* challenges this generalization. Many *films noirs* develop virtually no expectation of happy endings; to the contrary, they quickly establish a foreboding of disaster. Characters in many films describe themselves as walking dead men. Part of the appeal of *film noir* lies in the expectation that things will turn out very badly.

Often, the retrospective, voice-over narrative structure of many such films removes the traditional pleasure—found particularly in mysteries—of wondering how the plot will turn out. The narrator often reveals the outcome at the beginning. The narrator of *Double Indemnity*, for example, confesses as the film begins that he committed murder for money and a woman and then tells us that he didn't get the money and he didn't get the woman. For the rest of the film, then, the audience knows that his plans will fail. The central character in *D.O.A.* (1950) announces at the beginning of the film that he has been murdered by poison and has only hours to live. The audience does not have to wonder what will happen to him; they already know. What, then, is the appeal?

Much of *noir*'s appeal is voyeuristic—the pleasure of watching the specifics of how it all came to this. Tabloid journalism provides a useful narrative analogue. A headline may announce "Man murders lover and her husband for insurance money: Gets nothing." The reader knows the outcome from the beginning but reads on to savor the crime's gory details. Virtually all *films noirs* from the 1940s and 1950s were set in the present. Characters looked and generally behaved like people that audience members might see when they left the theater. *Noirs* dealt with the kinds of tragedies, scandals, and duplicities that bordered on their audience's everyday experiences and that appeared regularly in tabloids.

HISTORY

A rough overview of *film noir* begins in the early 1940s with films like *The Maltese Falcon*, which presented a new, darker perspective on the characters and themes of hard-boiled fiction. Two earlier films, the 1931 *The Maltese Falcon* and the 1936 *Satan Met a Lady*, had been based upon Hammett's novel of the same name. Both handled crime in the lighthearted manner typifying detective films in the 1930s. John Huston's (1906–1987) 1941 film brought a new, grim tone to the

ROBERT MITCHUM

b. Bridgeport, Connecticut, 6 August 1917, d. 1 July 1997

Robert Mitchum's extraordinarily long and fertile Hollywood career developed chiefly around his association with *film noir*. As an actor, the tension between his half-asleep, dreamily indifferent expression and a powerful, broad-shouldered physical presence enabled him to dominate scenes while also seeming abstracted from them. He appeared to confront either success or doom as if he didn't really care, which made him ideal for *film noir*.

After his Academy Award® nomination for portraying the heroic, doomed lieutenant in *The Story of G.I. Joe* (1945), he was signed by RKO Studios, where he starred in important *films noirs* such as *Out of the Past* and *Crossfire* (both 1947). Even the westerns he made at this time, such as *Pursued* (1947) and *Blood on the Moon* (1948), were noted for their *noir*-ish tone.

Out of the Past is possibly the most iconic *film noir*, with its voice-over narration, atmosphere of doom, chiaroscuro lighting, emasculated men and *femme fatale,* and strong influence of Freudian concepts upon character construction and narrative organization. Mitchum plays a man whose hidden past catches up with him. A former private detective hired to find a *femme fatale,* Mitchum's character falls for her, an act that sends his life spiraling into murder, betrayal, and death. Having failed in his attempt to build a new life, he orchestrates his own death. Mitchum's haunting portrayal of a man losing everything important to him is one of his most eloquent.

Mitchum's rebellious off-screen reputation, culminating in his arrest for possession of marijuana in 1948, seemed to blend with his darker roles. This image was enhanced by his skill at playing unregenerate, psychotic villains in films like *Night of the Hunter* (1955), *Cape Fear* (1962), and in the television series *A Killer in the Family* (1983). A less-discussed counterpoint to this aspect of his image was his career-long effectiveness at playing socially responsible authority figures in films like *Crossfire*, *The Enemy Below* (1957), *The Longest Day* (1962), and in the popular television miniseries *The Winds of War* (1983).

Long after the era of *film noir* ended, he contributed to the neo-*noir* revival of the 1970s, starring as Philip Marlowe in *Farewell, My Lovely* (1975) and *The Big Sleep* (1978). These films were remakes of classical *films noirs* (*Murder, My Sweet* [1944] and *The Big Sleep*, 1946), films in which Mitchum could have credibly starred thirty years earlier. By the 1970s, his very presence in a film carried with it evocations of *film noir*. While hosting a 1987 *Saturday Night Live* show, he even parodied his *film noir* image. Although he was at times mocked for sleepwalking through roles, he developed a singularly diverse and often nuanced repertory of performances.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

The Story of G.I. Joe (1945), *Pursued* (1947), *Out of the Past* (1947), *Crossfire* (1947), *The Night of the Hunter* (1955), *Thunder Road* (1958), *Home From the Hill* (1960), *Cape Fear* (1962), *El Dorado* (1966), *Farewell, My Lovely* (1975), *A Killer in the Family* (TV series, 1983)

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William Luhr

material. RKO used Chandler's novel, *Farewell, My Lovely* (1940), as the source for *The Falcon Takes Over*, a 1942 film in the earlier detective mode. Only two years later, the same studio used *Farewell, My Lovely* as the source for *Murder, My Sweet* but that film's *noir* style gave it an entirely different atmosphere. The flowering of *film noir* came with mid-1940s films like *Double Indemnity*, *Scarlet Street*, *Mildred Pierce*, *The Blue Dahlia*, *The Killers* (1946), *Out of the Past, Detour*, *The Postman Always Rings Twice* (1946), and *The Big Sleep* (1946). At times, as in *The Stranger* (1946) and *Crossfire* (1947), *films noirs* moved beyond tormented, interpersonal issues and explicitly engaged contemporary social problems, such as fugitive Nazis and anti-Semitism. In the late

Robert Mitchum in* Out of the Past *(Jacques Tourneur, 1947). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

1940s, documentary style entered *film noir* with films like *T-Men* (1947) and *Naked City* (1948). In the 1950s, *film noir* incorporated anti-communist (*Pickup on South Street*, 1953), anti-nuclear (*Kiss Me, Deadly*, 1955), and socio-medical (*Panic in the Streets*, 1950) concerns.

By the early 1960s, with the decline of black-and-white cinematography and the collapse of the studio system, *film noir* was dying out. Various films have been cited as marking its last gasp, including Orson Welles's (1915–1985) *Touch of Evil* (1958), Alfred Hitchcock's (1899–1980) *The Wrong Man* (1956), Samuel Fuller's (1912–1997) *Underworld U.S.A.* (1961), and Blake Edwards's (b. 1922) *Experiment in Terror* (1962). Although the commercial viability of *film noir* was declining in Hollywood, its international influence was growing. This is particularly evident in films of the French *Nouvelle Vague*, such as *À bout de souffle* (*Breathless*, 1960), *Alphaville* (1965), *Tirez sur le pianiste* (*Shoot the Piano Player*, 1960), and *La mariée était en noir* (*The Bride Wore Black*, 1968). That influence later appeared in the New German Cinema, the Hong Kong Cinema, and various Latin American cinemas, among others.

By the 1970s, neo-*noir* films acknowledged *film noir* as a past form, either by setting themselves during the 1930s–1950s era or, for those set in the present, making clear references to earlier films, as for example, *Chinatown* (1974), *Body Heat* (1981), *Blood Simple* (1984), *The Long Goodbye* (1973), and *Mulholland Falls* (1996). Neo-*noir* also includes remakes of earlier *films noirs*, like *Farewell, My Lovely* (1975), *The Postman Always Rings Twice* (1981), *D.O.A.* (1988), and *Kiss of Death* (1995). Just as *film noir* was parodied during its canonical era in films like *My Favorite Brunette* (1947), so it was later parodied during the neo-*noir* era in films like *Dead Men Don't Wear Plaid* (1982).

Beginning in the 1980s, neo-*noir* began linking *noir* with dystopian science fiction in films like *Blade Runner* (1982), *Radioactive Dreams* (1985), the *Terminator* series of films, and *Minority Report* (2002). *Film noir* presents a world gone sour and presumes the failure of utopian Modernism; similarly, an enduring strain of science fiction evident since George Orwell's 1948 novel, *1984*, has depicted the future as a failed past. The central character of the futuristic *Blade Runner* speaks with a world-weary cynicism that evokes that of 1940s hard-boiled detectives.

Extensive crossover influences have appeared in other media. While *film noir* was thriving, numerous radio series drew upon its *noir* conventions, including the *Philip Marlowe*, *Sam Spade*, and *Richard Diamond, Private Detective* series. Television series, from *Peter Gunn* to *Dark Angel*, have done the same thing. Novels, such as those by James Ellroy (b. 1948) (*The Black Dahlia*, 1987), have been called *film noir* fiction, and graphic novels by writers like Frank Miller (b. 1957) (*Sin City*) also draw extensively upon *noir* stylistics. Similar patterns exist in other media.

CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES

The critical and theoretical commentary upon *film noir* has been extensive. The history of *film noir* begins with international criticism— essays written in postwar France assessing new developments in American film. The context and historical moment is important. New Hollywood films had not been available in France since the time of the German occupation in 1940. When those films at last appeared in postwar Paris, critics like Nino Frank saw evidence of a new sensibility in them, which he termed *film noir*. Frank contrasted this sensibility with the work of Hollywood's older generation—directors like John Ford. Frank's use of the term *film noir* carried with it associations of "black" French films of the 1930s, such as Marcel Carne's (1909–1996) *Hotel du Nord* (1938) and *Le Jour se Leve* (1939), as well as with Marcel Duhamel's *Serie Noire* books. The first book-length study of *film noir*, Raymond Borde and Etienne Chaumeton's

Jack Nicholson in Roman Polanski's* Chinatown *(1974), which began a wave of neo-noirs. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Panorama du Film Noir Americain, appeared in 1955. By the time the term caught on in English more than a decade later, *film noir* had come to mean a historically superseded film movement. These three critical perspectives—that of the mid-1940s, describing a vibrant, emerging sensibility; that of the 1950s, categorizing an established cycle; and that of the 1960s, describing a historical, archival category—should not be conflated. They come with different vantage points and different assumptions. They often presume a different body of films (with the post-1960s perspective expanding the canon exponentially). The first two draw upon primarily Modernist presumptions; the last often includes a postmodern sensibility.

The expansion and academicization of film discourse in the 1960s gave *film noir* its first widespread attention in English. Important articles by Raymond Durgnat in 1970, Paul Schrader in 1972, and Janey Place and Lowell Peterson in 1974 laid groundwork for exploring *film noir*, posing major questions such as whether it is a genre or a visual style to the growing academic and journalistic film culture in Europe and the United States.

In 1981, Foster Hirsch's *The Dark Side of the Screen: Film Noir* detailed historical contexts and proposed major tropes of the form. Three years later, Spencer Selby took a virtually opposite approach in *Dark City: The Film Noir*. Lamenting what he considered to be the contemporary tendency to fit the films into grand categories, Selby provided detailed (primarily narrative) analyses of twenty-five individual films, along with appendices of historical and bibliographical data, to illustrate his premise that the films must be evaluated individually.

Since the late 1970s, psychoanalysis, particularly Lacanian psychoanalysis, has become the *lingua franca* of much discourse on *film noir*; it inflects many approaches. One such approach, as evidenced in collections of essays by E. Ann Kaplan and Joan Copjec, draws

ANTHONY MANN

b. San Diego, California, 30 June 1906, d. 29 April 1967

Although Anthony Mann's reputation as a director rests primarily upon his turbulent, complex 1950s westerns starring James Stewart, his style coalesced in the 1940s with a series of important *films noirs*. These films, with their disorienting, often baroque cinematography, malevolent environment, and violent, tortured characters, presage his later work. His Technicolor westerns of the 1950s and historical epics of the 1960s were shot with a broader palate and a resonant sense of landscape, and retreated farther into history, but they share with the *noirs* an entrapping environment populated by embattled, anguished men.

Mann began his directorial career in the 1940s making B films whose minimal budgets allowed him considerable creative freedom. Particularly in his 1940s work with cinematographer John Alton, Mann developed a distinctive visual style that made extensive use of oppressive darkness, intermittent light, and off-center, disorienting camera angles in complexly textured images. Such images are often as potent a component of the films as their characters and stories. Mann's films often erupt with shots of excruciating agony that make viewers gasp. An abrupt, low-angle shot in *Winchester 73* (1950), for example, shows Stewart brutally clawing a villain's face. The murderous savagery evident in Stewart's contorted face indicates that little difference exists between this "hero" and the villain.

T-Men (1947), perhaps the most distinctive of Mann's *films noirs,* deals with undercover US Treasury agents investigating a counterfeiting syndicate. Two scenes reveal much about Mann's compressed techniques. In one, a gangster locks an informer in a steam room to roast him to death. In a single shot, we see the trapped, terrified victim clawing at the room's window while his sadistic killer quietly watches from the other side of the window, only inches away. In the second scene, one treasury agent watches in impotent agony while another undercover agent, a close friend, is murdered. Both scenes painfully foreground the physical proximity, repressed terror, impotent psychic agony, and sadism pervading Mann's enclosed, masculine world of embittered rivalries.

T-Men is framed as a documentary-style film about an actual Treasury Department case. Its unseen narrator, unlike the tormented narrators of many *films noirs*, speaks in a declamatory, newsreel-type tone, touting the glories of the Treasury Department. Shots of the department seem to belong in a different film—brightly lit, frontal, with monumental exteriors of its Washington, D.C., headquarters. These differ radically from shots of the criminal world—the nightmare-like, dark, cramped, sweaty images classically associated with *film noir*. These two styles provide contrast within the film and also presage the open landscapes of the westerns and epics to come. Although the palate of later films is broader, their oppressive universe breeding endless, useless masculine conflict and torment remains similar to that of Mann's *films noirs*.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Desperate (1947), *Railroaded* (1947), *T-Men* (1947), *Raw Deal* (1948), *He Walked by Night* (uncredited, 1948), *Border Incident* (1949), *Winchester 73* (1950), *The Naked Spur* (1953), *Man of the West* (1958), *El Cid* (1961), *The Fall of the Roman Empire* (1964)

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William Luhr

Anthony Mann. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

upon post-structuralist, feminist film discourse to examine gender constructions within the films. Another psychoanalytically inflected approach is Frank Krutnik's *In a Lonely Street: Film Noir, Genre, Masculinity* (1991), which relies on some of the tools of Structuralist genre study to focus upon issues of masculinity. Another approach is offered by Tony Williams (1988), who applies Gaylyn Studlar's work on masochism to films related to Woolrich's fiction and attempts to shift discussion of *film noir* from tropes of content to tropes of affect. This approach is also evident in recent work on trauma and anxiety done by E. Ann Kaplan and others.

In addition to gender-based approaches, recent articles dealing with racial representation in *film noir* have opened up an important new area of exploration, examining, for example, the erasure of peoples of color in many *films noirs* and the use in those films of highly coded racial imagery. As with so many other topics, this functions differently in films made during the classical *noir* period from the way it functions during the neo-*noir* era. Films made during the classical era are Anglo-centric and seldom directly engage issues of race. However, significant patterns exist in ways in which many of those films not only erase or marginalize peoples of color but also symbolically associate them with the exotic and the dangerous. Neo-*noir* films, to the contrary, often explicitly address issues of race, commonly from a perspective sympathetic (while patronizing at times) to peoples of color. A number of such films have been based upon fiction by African American authors such as Walter Mosley (b. 1952), Chester Himes (1909–1984), and Donald Goines (1937–1974).

SEE ALSO *Crime Films; Expressionism; Genre*

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FILM STOCK

In 1889, Eastman Kodak introduced a flexible, transparent roll film made from a plastic substance called celluloid. Kodak chemists had perfected the celluloid film that had been invented and patented in 1887 by the Reverend Hannibal Goodwin. In 1891, working under Thomas Edison (1847–1931), W. K. L. Dickson (1860–1935) designed the first motion picture camera, the Kinetograph, which used Kodak celluloid film stock. By 1911, Kodak was manufacturing over 80 million feet of film stock annually for the film industry, and the company continued to be the major supplier of film stock internationally throughout the twentieth century. With the rise of the digital age in the twenty-first century, Kodak has evolved to produce and support digital filmmaking and projection equipment.

BASE AND EMULSION

Celluloid film is made up of a flexible, transparent base that is coated with a gelatin layer (the emulsion), which contains millions of tiny, light-sensitive grains. When the film is exposed by the shutter in the lens, the grains absorb light, creating a latent image that is not visible to the naked eye. The film is then treated with developing chemicals, which cause the exposed portions of the film to become visible in a negative image of the original scene: light and dark areas in a scene are reversed. The film is then "fixed," which removes the developing chemicals, and the undeveloped grains are washed away to prevent further exposure of the film. The negative film is then printed by allowing light to pass through it onto a second strip of film, creating a positive film for projection.

Early film stock was made of cellulose nitrate, an extremely flammable plastic. Nitrate film burns rapidly, even without a supply of air, and gives off poisonous and explosive gases. It has even been known to ignite spontaneously. Cameramen had to be extremely careful when using and storing nitrate film; one spark from a cigarette could cause an entire day's work to go up in flames. In 1897, a fire broke out in a French movie theater that was projecting a nitrate-based film, killing over 180 people. In 1914, a fire began in a California film-finishing house, destroying ten buildings. Kodak introduced a flame-resistant, cellulose triacetate film stock, also known as Safety Acetate, in 1909. But the film industry resisted Safety Acetate, which was less flexible, harder to splice, and wore out more quickly than nitrate film; studios continued to use the more flammable celluloid until Kodak introduced Improved Safety Base Motion Picture Film in 1948.

A few early film cameras used paper film stock. Evidence suggests that around 1883, French photography enthusiast Louis Le Prince (1842–1890) built and experimented with a single-lens camera that used a paper negative film. Prior to 1912, the Kinora Film Company offered an amateur camera and viewing device that utilized paper film stock in a flip-book format.

GAUGE AND SPEED

Film stock is available in a number of gauges, or widths. Wider gauges project a sharper image, while smaller gauges tend to be grainier. A number of experimental widths have been used in filmmaking throughout the history of cinema, but the most common gauges still in use today are 35 mm, 16 mm, 8 mm, Super 8 mm, and 70 mm.

Thirty-five mm, the gauge used in Edison's Kinetograph, quickly became the common width for filmmakers around the world. The Lumiére Brothers (Auguste [1862–1954] and Louis [1864–1948]) also used 35 mm film in their Cinématographe camera. In 1929, the American Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences declared 35 mm the standard gauge of the film industry, and it remains the standard commercial gauge.

Because of its flammability and expensive two-step developing process, 35 mm was not a viable option for amateur filmmaking. In 1914, Kodak began experimenting with 16 mm acetate film that ran through the camera twice via a reversal method that produced a positive image film that did not need to be printed from a negative. The film was designed as 16 mm so that 35 mm nitrate film could not be split in half and slipped into the camera. Kodak didn't release the new gauge until after World War I, in July 1923. In 1928, Eastman Teaching Films, a subsidiary of Kodak, produced 16 mm films for use in the classroom on a range of academic subjects. In the late 1920s, studios began reprinting 35 mm commercial films on 16 mm and selling them for home viewing. But 16 mm didn't become commercially popular until World War II, when it was used for army training, education, and entertainment. Medical and industrial companies also began to use it for research purposes.

Since the 1920s, experimental, avant-garde, and independent filmmakers have used 16 mm for artistic or professional purposes. Some notable 16 mm films in this category include *Chelovek s kino-apparatom* (*The Man with a Movie Camera*, 1929) by Dziga Vertov, *Meshes of the Afternoon* (1943) by Maya Deren, *Wavelength* (1967) by Michael Snow, and *El Mariachi* (1992) by Robert Rodriguez.

In 1932, Kodak introduced 8 mm, a gauge that used the same processing equipment as 16 mm but cost about one third as much. Eight-mm cameras used 16 mm film that ran through the camera twice, each time exposing only half the film. The film was then slit in half and the two pieces spliced together. Eight mm (sometimes called "double eight") appealed greatly to the home movie market. The gauge was intended for moderate-income families, and Kodak devised marketing strategies that

Robert Rodriguez shot* El Mariachi *(1993) on 16mm film stock. **© COLUMBIA PICTURES/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

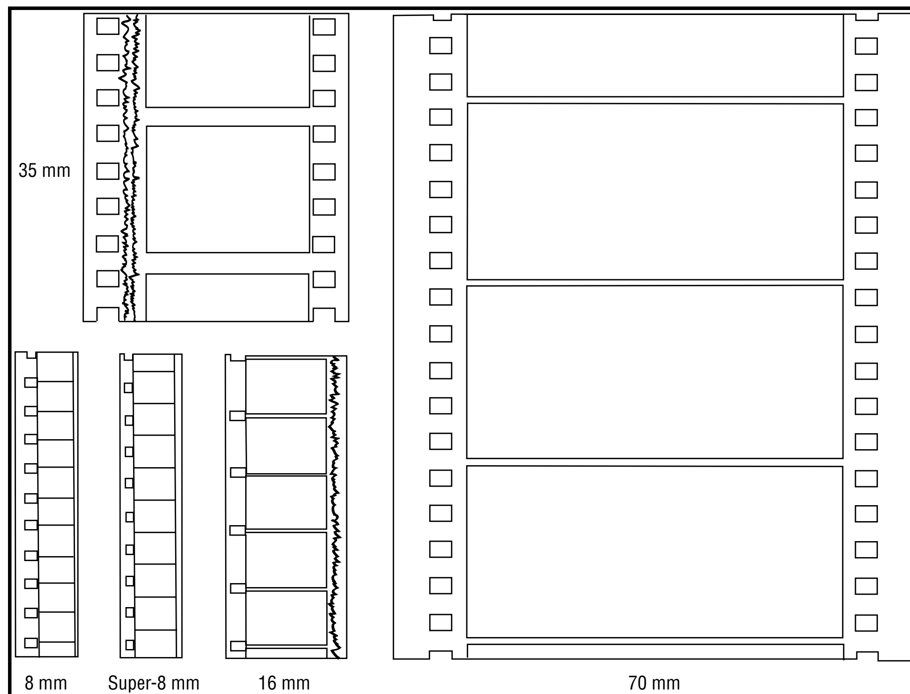

Diagram of relative film gauges. © THOMSON GALE. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

stressed 8 mm's ''family record'' function. The famous Zapruder film, which recorded the assassination of John F. Kennedy in 1963, was shot using 8 mm film. In 1935, Kodachrome color film stock was introduced in both 8 mm and 16 mm gauges; by the 1950s, color amateur filmmaking had become very popular.

The next significant advance in amateur film stock came in 1965, with the release of Super 8 mm. The new gauge came pre-split and loaded in a drop-in cartridge, which eliminated 8 mm's tedious threading process. Super 8 mm could also project 50 percent more image area than regular 8 mm, because of a reduction in the size of the sprocket holes. By the end of the 1960s, most film stock manufacturers had halted production of regular 8 mm production altogether. Jim Jarmusch used Super 8 mm to film *The Year of the Horse* (1997), documenting Neil Young and Crazy Horse's concert tour.

Seventy-mm film, which projects an extremely high-resolution picture, became popular for commercial use in the mid 1950–1960s. When used in the camera, this film stock is actually 65 mm wide, but the negative is printed onto 70 mm film to allow for six tracks of surround sound. Seventy-mm's wide-screen format, sharp picture, and high-quality sound made it an ideal format for epics like *Ben-Hur* (1959), *Cleopatra* (1963), and *Lawrence of Arabia* (1962). The advent of low-grain 35 mm film stock and digital soundtrack systems led to a decline in 70 mm use in the 1990s, and few 70 mm films are made today. A horizontal variant of 70 mm is now used for IMAX films.

The *speed* (sensitivity) of the film stock also affects the quality of the image in projection. Slow film stock is less sensitive to reflected light, so brighter light sources are necessary during shooting to produce sharp images. Slower stock also creates less contrast between light and dark areas within a composition; fast film stock is very sensitive to reflected light and produces distinct contrasts between light and dark within the frame. Fast stock is often used for documentaries, in settings where light options are limited, and in fiction films that try to capture a stark, documentary feel. *Film noir*, a genre popular in the 1940s, took advantage of faster film stock technology to capture striking shadows and slick, rainy, nighttime streets. Film stock is assigned a numeric value according to speed standards established by the ASA (American Standards Association), which became the basis for the ISO (International Organization for Standardization) speed system, now currently used worldwide. Doubling the value doubles the film speed, so a film stock rated 800 is twice as fast as one rated 400.

BLACK-AND-WHITE AND COLOR

Until 1925, Hollywood studios used orthochromatic Eastman Standard Negative stock. Orthochromatic film was only sensitive to the brightest natural light, so large

ultraviolet lamps had to be used during shooting. It also registered only blue light, so anything colored red showed up on the film as black. This posed a problem for actors and actresses, whose flesh-toned faces appeared darker than normal on screen. Thus began the practice of using heavy white pancake makeup on the majority of screen personalities. In 1922, Robert Flaherty shot his documentary *Nanook of the North* on orthochromatic film stock, which beautifully accentuated the harsh, colorless landscape.

In 1922, panchromatic film, which was sensitive to all colors, became available for black-and-white filmmaking. The hard-edged blue orthochromatic gave way to the softer gradations of "pan," providing much more natural-looking visuals. But the film industry was hesitant to switch formats, believing orthochromatic was "good enough" to suit its purposes. In 1926, Flaherty shot *Moana*, a documentary containing lush, tropical scenery, using panchromatic film. It convinced Hollywood to make the change, and by 1930, orthochromatic film manufacturing had been discontinued.

Color was achieved in early cinema through methods of postproduction tinting and toning. Tinting is a technique that applies one or more colors to certain areas of the film stock by hand. The practice began as early as 1895, in an Edison-produced film, *Serpentine Dances*. In the film, a woman dances in circles as her dress and scarves change colors, as if by magic. Edison's crude tinting techniques proved difficult on the eyes, but by 1905, a stenciling process was perfected that created a bit more accuracy in color distribution on the celluloid. Georges Méliès (1861–1938) used tinting in *Le Rêve d'un astrome* (*An Astronomer's Dream*, 1898) and the first version of *Le Voyage dans la lune* (*A Trip to the Moon*, 1902); *The Great Train Robbery* (1903) contained tinted sequences, including the gunshot blast directed at the audience in the last scene.

Toning imparts a color to an entire black-and-white film. By 1920, over 80 percent of all Hollywood feature films used toning to represent particular settings or emotions: for example, amber for day or interior shots, blue for nighttime, red for battle scenes. In 1921, Kodak began manufacturing pre-toned film stock in nine different colors. After the arrival of sound technology in 1927, tinting and toning were temporarily halted because the processes interfered with the soundtrack, which ran alongside the image on the celluloid. By 1929, this problem had been corrected, and Hollywood continued to use tinted and toned stock copiously until more sophisticated color filming techniques were perfected—the preview trailer for *The Bride of Frankenstein* (1935), for example, was shot on green-toned film stock.

Dozens of experimental processes were tried in the early 1900s to capture realistic color on film, but most lacked quality and were quickly abandoned. Technicolor was invented in 1917 by Herbert Thomas Kalmus (1881–1963) and Daniel F. Comstock and eventually became the industry standard in Hollywood. The first version of Technicolor superimposed two colored images (one green, one red) onto the screen simultaneously. The process was too expensive to use for an entire feature film, but Technicolor sequences in black-and-white films quickly became fashionable in Hollywood—for example, in Cecil B. DeMille's *The Ten Commandments* (1923).

In 1932, Kodak introduced a Technicolor film stock capable of reproducing a reasonable range of hues, using a three-color process. With three strips of black-and-white film running together through the camera, the color image was recorded by separating its green, blue, and red properties onto each of the corresponding color-sensitive negatives. From these three negatives, three more strips of film (known as matrices) were printed; these were used to transfer corresponding dye images onto a single blank piece of film. Walt Disney was one of the first filmmakers to experiment with this process, creating *Flowers and Trees* (1932), the first animated short in full color.

During World War II, German manufacturers produced the first single-strip color negative, which is still in use. This process used three sensitive photographic emulsion layers, or *tripacks*, coated on a single base support. The eye perceives different wavelengths of light as particular colors in the spectrum. Special chemicals sensitive only to a specific group of light wavelengths allow for an image of a different color to be processed on each layer of film (blue, green, and red). This composite image is processed, much like black-and-white film, in negative, so colors are reversed until printed in positive. By 1953 this process was well established in the film industry; by 1955, the three-strip process had disappeared from use completely.

SEE ALSO *Cinematography; Color; Lighting; Technology*

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Erin Foster

FILM STUDIES

From the outset, motion pictures have stimulated discussion and debate as a technology, a social phenomenon, a political tool, a moral danger, and an art. The earliest discussions and debates took place outside an academic context. From noted filmmakers such as Sergei Eisenstein (1898–1948), Vsevolod Pudovkin (1893–1953), and Maya Deren (1917–1961) to eclectic thinkers and social critics such as Siegfried Kracauer, John Grierson (1898–1972), and André Bazin, a body of knowledge began to develop that would provide a launching pad for the academic study of film in the years following World War II, especially the 1960s.

These pioneers also established a tradition of commentary about film that continues to operate independent of the university. Exemplified today primarily by the circulation of relatively formulaic film reviews, biographies, profiles, and box-office statistics, these popular forms of commentary work largely to support the dominant forms of feature filmmaking and to aid consumers of entertainment in their choice of films. The devoted amateur cinephile has given way to the professional film reviewer and the university scholar, although passionate engagement with the art and politics of film can still exist in both sectors.

FILM AS AN ART AND THE HUMANISTIC TRADITION

The rise of film studies within the university has typically sought to justify itself less on the grounds of film as a commodity to be consumed with the guidance of critics and reviewers and more on the grounds of film as an art form or cultural object to be understood for its formal qualities and social implications. Film studies took root in the academy in the wake of the enormous interest in European art cinema generated during the postwar period by filmmakers such as Roberto Rossellini (1906–1977), Ingmar Bergman (b. 1918), Akira Kurosawa (1910–1988), François Truffaut (1932–1984), Jean-Luc Godard (b. 1930), Claude Chabrol (b. 1930), Michelangelo Antonioni (b. 1912), Kenji Mizoguchi (1898–1956), and many others. Their work demonstrated that feature fiction films could address the same issues of alienation, spiritual hunger, historical memory, and formal experimentation that were evident in many works of literature and visual art. It was, in fact, in various humanities departments that film studies most frequently emerged as an academic subject. An older tradition of communication studies existed, and continues to exist, as a social science discipline, but the stress given in the social sciences to institutional factors, quantitative analysis of the industries and audiences for motion pictures, television and other media, and content analysis did not satisfy the same goals as humanistic approaches, which stressed interpretation of specific films and theorization about the cinema as both art form and cultural object. For the majority of film scholars, questions of industrial organization and measurable social effects took a subordinate place to questions of film structure, style, and meaning.

Treated as an art comparable to literature, painting, or sculpture, film called for study in terms of appreciation, differentiation, and interpretation. That is, an appreciation for film meant understanding what distinguished the medium from other arts and then differentiating among the myriad of actual films those that

best exemplified the distinctive nature of the medium. The differentiation of films into clusters of various kinds also allowed for comparisons and contrasts to be made beyond the level of the individual film. Among the most significant of clusters were (1) the classic Hollywood film, from *Grand Hotel* (1932) to *Spartacus* (1960); (2) studio films—those made by MGM compared to those from Warner Brothers, for example; (3) genre film; (4) national cinemas (British, French, or Iranian cinema, for example, often with a focus on certain periods of notable achievement); and (5) the cinema of specific film directors or *auteurs*, such as John Ford (1894–1973), David Lynch (b. 1946), and Agnes Varda (b. 1926). Each choice of a cluster took support from methodological principles designed to facilitate understanding of that particular type of film, from the concept of continuity editing in classic Hollywood cinema to the concept of directorial style in *auteur* studies.

Initially, interpretation, or film criticism, revolved around an attention to details that showed how films conveyed meaning by cinematic means. Landscape, for example, was an important signifying element in westerns, whereas the jumpy editing style of Jean-Luc Godard's early films, such as *À bout de souffle* (*Breathless*, 1960), proved an essential part of his attempt to reinvent the classic style of Hollywood films. Similarly, Antonioni often conveyed alienation through his *mise-en-scène*—that is, through the way he arranged characters in space and moved them through it to suggest their isolation from each other (by looking off frame or in different directions, for example).

At a more abstract level, the art of cinema came to be identified either with editing as a quintessential element, since it allowed two different shots to produce a new impression or idea not contained in either shot by itself, or with the long take and the cinema's capacity to register the uninterrupted occurrence of an event through time. Through debates about the merits of different strategies by specific directors, critics sought to understand not only the complexity of individual films and clusters of films but of cinema itself. The broad question "What is cinema?" provoked answers that shaped what came to be known as film theory.

Efforts to develop a systematic understanding of film are almost as old as cinema itself. When these efforts took root within the university in the 1960s and early 1970s, they shared at least three characteristics with other forms of humanistic inquiry: (1) film is a medium of aesthetic importance; the most important dimension to cinema is its capacity to take form as art, just as the most important dimension of writing is its capacity to take form as literature; (2) film art, like literature, affects viewers in a similar, aesthetic manner that is removed from the contingencies of time and place; it transcends the local to attain a more timeless significance; and (3) the history of the cinema is the history of its emergence as an art form.

These characteristics set up a series of priorities that carried with them a set of consequences. The greatest emphasis went to studying fiction films, which drew upon a realistic narrative tradition to tell stories revolving around individual characters, their situation or environment, and their actions. The appreciation, differentiation, and interpretation of such stories were already a familiar part of literary analysis, and many of the tools that furthered understanding of literary form proved valuable to film study, such as the close formal analysis of specific texts by literary New Criticism.

New Criticism, represented by figures such as T. S. Eliot, John Crowe Ransom, Cleanth Brooks, and Alan Tate, was an American phenomenon that flourished from the 1930s to the 1950s. It sought to counter a sense of the evisceration of the emotional, affective dimension of life that science and technology threatened to impose by turning to literature, particularly poetry, as a social restorative. More crucially, as an influence, it took up the efforts by British critics such as F. R. Leavis and I. A. Richards to celebrate the internal coherence and experiential pleasure of the text itself. Biographical studies of the artist or author, examinations of a work's historical or social context, topical concerns, and social issues all took a back seat to close readings of the text in and of itself. The text became a virtual fetish, valued as the timeless triumph of the creative spirit.

New Criticism inspired many studies in film that aimed at appreciating the full impact of aesthetic choices made within specific films. Robin Wood has been among the best practitioners of such an approach, enriching it with a keen eye for the sexual politics of a wide range of films and a broad appreciation of fiction films from the high art of Mizoguchi and Marcel Ophuls (b. 1927) to "trash" genres such as horror films. During this period, or up until the 1980s, avant-garde cinema, which often explored cinematic form in ways that gave scant attention to narrative, and documentary, which often stressed social issues in ways that diminished the viewer's attention to cinematic technique, received less consideration.

Auteur theory, with its stress on the style or vision of the filmmaker as it emerged more from an analysis of his or her films than from biographical anecdotes or personal statements of intention, proved an extremely important aspect of film study. *Auteur* criticism was among the first of the critical methodologies to gain widespread currency in the 1950s and 1960s. The practice retains a high degree of currency some fifty years later, although its focus on close reading, the director as the sole creative

force, and thematic preoccupations that seem to be segregated from their larger social, historical context have all come in for considerable correction. *Auteur* criticism initially spread from France, most notably from critics soon to become directors writing in *Cahiers du Cinema* such as François Truffaut, Jean-Luc Godard, Claude Chabrol, Jacques Rivette (b. 1928), and others. In English-speaking countries its appearance coincided with the rise of film studies as a discipline. It dovetailed handily with literary and art historical approaches to art via the Great Man theory, which consistently gave priority to men (seldom women) whose creative genius looms above those of lesser ability.

It also coincided, in France, with a rebellion, led by François Truffaut, against the institutionalized "tradition of quality," characterized by masterful but largely literary rather than truly cinematic achievements. Such work dominated the French cinema of the postwar years. Truffaut called for a cinema that explored cinematic means of expression with verve and imagination rather than one that subordinated technique to a careful but more theatrical development of characters and their conflicts. This stress led to a distinction between "metteurs en scene," directors who simply converted a script into a film as a builder might convert a blueprint into a building, and the "*auteur,*" a director whose vision and style transformed a script into something truly cinematic that could not be envisioned on the basis of the script alone.

It fell to an American newspaper critic, Andrew Sarris, to convert the French "*politiques des auteurs*" into an international phenomenon. Sarris chose to label it the "*auteur* theory," a term that lost the original emphasis of the French phrase on a policy or politics of the author and suggested something of a far more systematic nature. His own book, *The American Cinema*, proposed to trace the history of American cinema by classifying over 150 directors in categories ranging from the "Pantheon," for Charles Chaplin, Howard Hawks, Alfred Hitchcock, Orson Welles, and others, to "Oddities, One-Shots, and Newcomers," for John Cassavetes, Francis Ford Coppola, Ida Lupino, and others, or "Subjects for Further Research," for Tod Browning, James Cruze, Henry King, and others. *Movie*, in the UK, and *Film Comment*, in the US, followed the lead of *Cahiers du Cinema* in devoting large portions of their issues to studies of individual directors, often discovering stylistic and thematic consistencies in the work of directors who had seemed to be merely the hired-hands of the Hollywood studios.

Auteur criticism provided a conceptual framework not only for the analysis of the work of directors who clearly possessed a distinct visual style, such as Robert Bresson (1901–1909), Yasujiro Ozu (1903–1963), Bernardo Bertolucci (b. 1941), or Peter Greenaway (b. 1942). Even more valuably, it prompted the discovery of filmmakers of vision who might have otherwise been buried within the Hollywood system on routine assignments or as specialists in various genres. Once compared with the work of others working in the same genres, the films of Howard Hawks (1896–1977), Preston Sturges (1898–1959), Vincente Minnelli, Anthony Mann (1907–1967), and Robert Aldrich (1918–1983), for example, gained coherence for their thematic and stylistic continuity. Hawks, whose style was extremely conventional, nonetheless used westerns and action films to focus on rituals of male bonding that involve getting the job done with stoic determination, whereas his comedies explore the hilarious results of men falling under the sway of women who isolate and feminize them.

The emphasis on film as a transcendental art with an autonomous history took shape within a strongly national context, in keeping with the almost universal role of the humanities in cultivating a sense of national identity. American, British, French, Senegalese, Iranian, Japanese, Brazilian, Argentine, and many other national cinemas qualified as transcendental art with distinctive history but did so within a national context. The greatness of a German film in the 1920s might be tied to its distinct use of the Expressionist techniques common in German art at the time—a quality, for example, that distinguished German film from the montage principles of 1920s Soviet cinema. Similarly, American films were often said to exemplify the pursuit of individual happiness or the obstacles to its attainment, a consistent theme in American art and literature.

HUMANISTIC INQUIRY AND POLITICAL SIGNIFICATION

These types of film studies held sway during the transitional period during which film became accepted as a disciplinary focus and a departmental entity within the university. Even at this time, during the 1960s and 1970s, the field was not as homogenous as this account so far implies. The question of "What is cinema?" also took a turn toward the political, asking how film mattered within the larger social arena. At the same time, a wave of European critical theory exerted considerable influence throughout Europe and North America. This work tended to shift emphasis away from content analysis per se, as it was practiced in the social sciences, where form or style was of little importance, and instead stressed the mechanisms by which content arises in relation to specific institutional practices and linguistic or semiotic forms. Artistic expressiveness, or style, came to be considered less a matter of individual creativity and more a matter of institutional systems, which establish a context and set limits within which specific forms

of expressivity can occur. Stress on the psychology of individual characters, for example, might be seen as a function of a realist tradition that tends to give priority to the individual as the primary social and historical force. Such a tradition, in turn, could be considered an ideology—a particular way of seeing the world that can be subjected to the same close scrutiny as the style of individual films.

Initially associated with structuralism and then with poststructuralism, continental theory posed numerous challenges to the humanistic tradition. Language itself, including the language of cinema—its narrative codes, formal structures, and expressive techniques—became regarded less as a vehicle for expressing already conceived ideas and more as a mechanism that actually generated the impressions that they only appear to represent. Realism, for example, serves to make its view of the world transparent, as if the world obviously and naturally exists in a certain way. Continuity editing, which tends to go unnoticed, reinforces such a view. Modernist techniques, on the other hand, question this naturalness and stress the disjointed, subjective, incommensurate view of the world that different individuals might have. Jump cuts and strange juxtapositions between people and places reinforce this view. In this regard, *The Best Years of Our Lives* (1946) exemplifies the realist film as *L'Année dernière à Marienbad* (*Last Year at Marienbad*, 1961) exemplifies the modernist film.

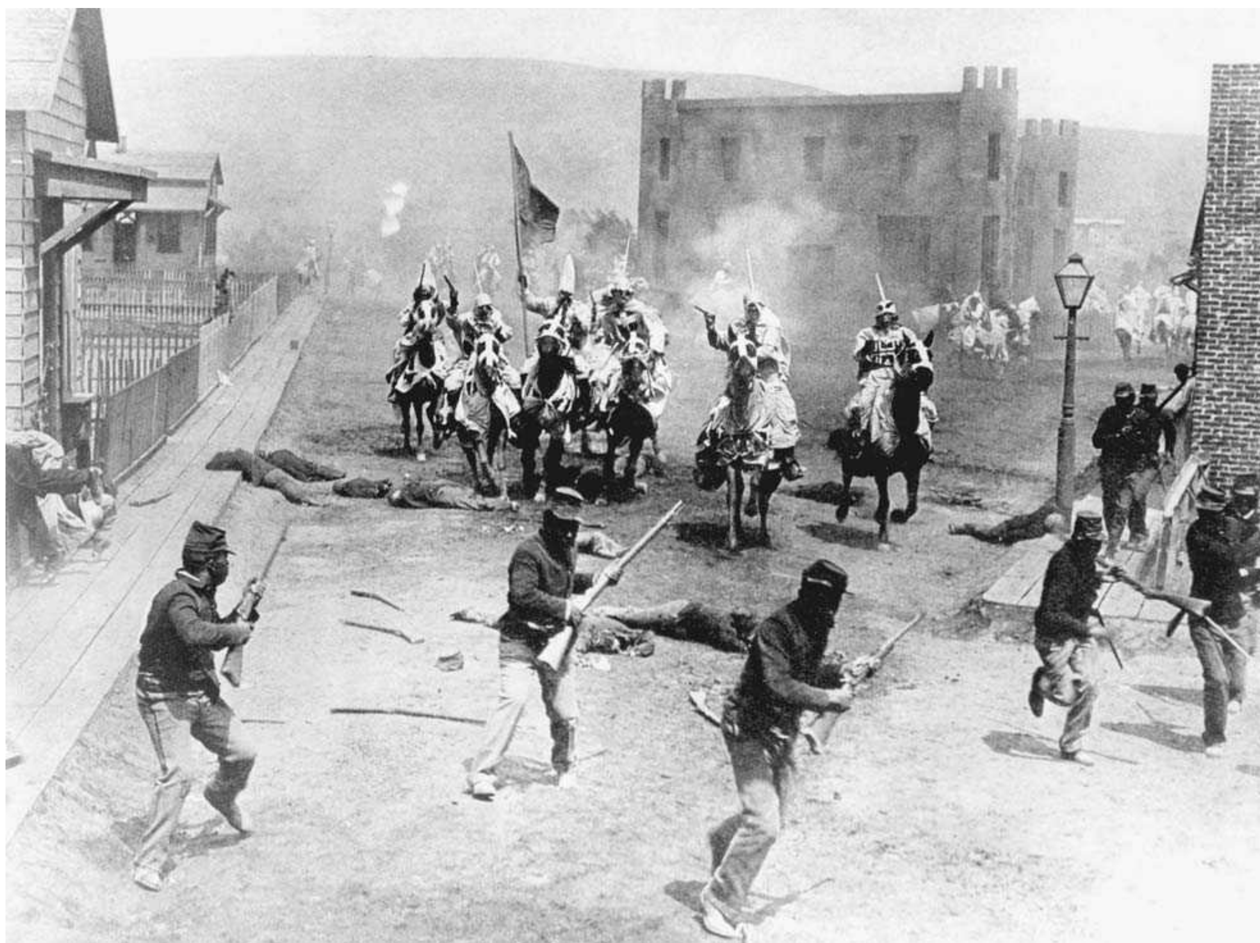
The idea that meaning is always tightly related to a specific context and to a specific form of expression was carried beyond the film itself and applied to the artist and viewer. In this case, artistic vision or individual identity was seen as always tightly related to the specific institutional mechanisms that generate a sense of self-expression and identity. Traditional literary and film criticism held that the creative artist possessed special powers that led to artistic excellence. Structural and post-structural theory instead proposed that all subjects—artists and filmmakers, critics and viewers—were constituted as subjects within specific cultural and institutional frameworks that set goals and limits for creativity. These frameworks served the specific needs or interests of an existing social system—that is, they were ideological. For the French political theorist Louis Althusser, this idea led to the influential argument that the very idea of an independent subject was itself the product of an ideological operation: individuals think of themselves as free, subject to no one, within a social field that makes this notion the cornerstone of a free-market economy in which shared awareness and collective action represent a limitation or diminution of a subject's individuality.

Althussser's most forceful statement of the idea of the individual subject as a product of ideology was his essay "Ideology and the Ideological State Apparatus" in *Lenin and Philosophy*. His line of thought was extended to the cinematic apparatus as an ideological device for the reinforcement of the status quo by French theorists at *Cahiers du Cinema* such as Jean Louis Baudry. Althussser stressed how the individual internalized assumptions about his status as a subject that inevitably placed an emphasis on how this internalization occurred. In film study, this led to a large quantity of work in the 1970s that attempted to make use of psychoanalytic theory to account for the effects of cinema on the viewer. *Screen* magazine, from the UK, became the leading proponent of this effort. One of the most influential articles on ideology and the subject was Laura Mulvey's essay, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," first published in *Screen* in 1975 and anthologized many times since. The essay is discussed further in the next section.

The dominant narrative cinema came to be seen as serving an ideological function that confirmed the individual as a subject. The nature of the star system, the system of continuity editing, and narrative realism worked to make stories of individual characters and their fate appear to simply tell themselves as a natural expression of an obvious fact: individuals are the key creators of social structure and historical change. The mechanism that actually animates these individuals, narrative storytelling or, as it came to be known, the cinematic apparatus, remains basically unacknowledged, off-screen. Like a puppet master, it creates the illusion of an imaginary world and fictitious characters that have independent lives of their own.

Film theory thus identified the cinema as a system whose formal elements contribute to the ideology of the individual. Feminist film theory carried the analysis one step further. Laura Mulvey, in her pioneering essay, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," noted that the individual subject who takes action in films—embarking on quests, courting a partner, solving a mystery, and so on—is almost invariably male, and the individual who awaits the outcome of such actions is almost invariably female. Paralleling this distinction, the camera encourages identification with the male hero; his look becomes the camera's look. We see the world from his point of view or from a point of view that places him front and center. Simultaneously, among the things the male hero sees when he looked out at the world around him is the female lead. She is there to be seen; she represents, in the words of Laura Mulvey, "to-be-looked-at-ness," a passive position that can be understood as a symptom of a social hierarchy between the sexes.

Whereas structuralism gave emphasis to the text itself and the principles that structured it, poststructuralism emphasized the context within which a film is



D. W. Griffith's* The Birth of a Nation *(1915) is formally inventive but racist in its representation. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

received. A given structure to a text was no longer seen as fully determining meaning. Interpretation and meaning vary; formal qualities of the text set limits but do not predetermine meaning. The primary context is the actual viewing situation and the relation of the spectator to the screen. The differentiation between male and female spectators is one example of the way in which poststructural and feminist analysis have given added specificity to ideas about an ideological effect to cinema in general. The camera's gaze no longer affected all viewers equally, regardless of sexual identity. In many ways this represented the first of many cracks in the three basic assumptions that had underpinned much of the initial effort to introduce film studies into the university.

THE STUDY OF FILM AND POSTSTRUCTURALISM

By the 1980s poststructural theory and criticism had begun to adopt a new set of guiding assumptions. The new characteristics ascribed to cinema were three: (1) the social impact of films on specific viewers matters more than the general qualities of film as art; (2) art is not essentially transcendent but always tied to a social and historical context within which different responses and interpretations occur; and (3) the history of film is the story both of its rise as an art and of its social impact and political significance as a mass medium.

Rather than appreciating the art of cinema outside of any particular context, the new emphasis called for situating the art of any film in a specific context. The importance of *The Birth of a Nation* (1915) for the art of cinema because of its inventive use of cross cutting between simultaneous events to create suspense must now be situated in relation to the actual suspense created: would members of the Klu Klux Klan rescue the endangered white women from the clutches of an evil black man? This racist theme itself belonged within the historical context of race relations in the early twentieth

century, when prejudice and stereotypes took different shape and had different status than they do today. Situating film within a specific context has also added new impetus to the study of documentary film. Extraordinarily popular compared to its more marginal status up until the early 1980s, documentary film study now consistently addresses aesthetic issues in relation to socially specific goals and effects.

The differentiation of films into various groupings continued as before but with an added emphasis on the historical context to which genres, movements, waves, the work of specific directors, and historical phases of national cinemas belonged. The attempt to understand "What is cinema?" became a question posed less in relation to traditional arts and more in relation to newer media like television, installation and video art, digital, interactive media, and the Web. Forms of overlap and convergence among these various forms made the isolation of cinema as a distinct medium a less compelling question than the continuities and discontinuities among a wide array of moving image media.

"Identity politics," which places great stress on defining the qualities that characterize a given group, often with a stress on the issue of stereotypes, the need for "positive images," and the search for alternative forms of narrative more commensurate with the group's shared values, gave rise to a flowering of film theory, criticism, and history from the perspective of African American, Native American, ethnic, and queer (a combination of gay and lesbian) perspectives.

This shift in emphasis from the close reading of texts isolated from their context began in the 1970s as an aspect of a cultural studies approach to film and other media. It gained strength in the 1980s as identity politics—in this case, the examination of cinema from the distinct perspective of a specific group—became an important aspect of political debate in the larger society. Anthologies such as *Unspeakable Images: Ethnicity and the American Cinema* and *Screening Asian Americans* provide a wealth of critical analysis devoted to issues that had gone largely unexplored by either *auteur* study or by ideological study that focused on the subject rather than the larger social system to which the subject belonged. Attention to a more socially and historically situated perspective challenged qualities previously taken for granted, such as heterosexual marriage as a marker of the happy ending, stereotypic representation of groups from Latinos and Latinas to Jews, and identification with male heroes but desire for female stars: the reversal of these conventions by gay and lesbian viewers, who desire differently, has undercut the universalizing claims of traditional film theory.

Also beginning in the 1980s, a call for a return to the history of film cast doubt on the received wisdom of existing film histories. Studies such as Miriam Hansen's *Babel and Babylon: Spectatorship in American Silent Film*, David E. James's *Allegories of Cinema: American Film in the Sixties*, and Jane M. Gaines's *Fire and Desire: Mixed-Race Movies in the Silent Era* all depart radically from the earlier tradition of tracing the rise of film as an art within various national contexts. Revisionist histories such as these set out to apply a more finely tuned analysis of the larger context in which films arose. They took into account the social, historical, economic, and ideological factors that both a more traditional emphasis on the rise of film as an art and *auteur* theory with its stress on the centrality of the author as understood solely from films themselves failed to do.

The new assumptions listed above that sought to contextualize the understanding of films also called for interpretations that differentiated among the responses of specific audiences and compared the responses of different audiences. African American women, for example, were far more receptive than white males to Julie Dash's *Daughters of the Dust* (1991), which tells the story of an African American family poised to embark upon profound changes at the start of the twentieth century. Even popular, mainstream films could no longer be understood from a single perspective. Different groups were shown to often read against the grain of the preferred meaning assigned by critics and marketers and to instead discover alternative meanings: slasher films, for example, which make violence against women grizzly "fun," often lead to male adolescents identifying, across the gender divide, with the "Final Girl," who vanquishes the male villain and restores order. The critic's own alignment in relation to the particulars of ethnicity, class, and gender has also become a more openly acknowledged aspect of film study since the universalizing voice of traditional criticism has become increasingly associated with a white, heterosexual male perspective that treats its own social viewpoint as normative.

Film studies scholars today continue to formulate theories about the broad patterns that characterize the cinema, but they do so in a form that gives heightened attention to the specificities of time and place. "Thick" interpretations, which attempt to grasp the multiple perspectives and divergent meanings that a given work conveys and prompts, have gained a stronger foothold than theorizations that view the cinema as a medium that functions in predetermined ways and produces consistent responses. Rather than serving as a form of social glue for the construction of a unified nation-state, the cinema has come to be seen as part of a highly contested cultural zone that no longer coincides with a single understanding of national or any other identity. The stakes of specific, often

underrepresented groups seeking to claim a space within the cultural arena generally and film studies specifically have taken on great importance. Combined with mostly European theories of poststructuralism, these forces have altered the shape of film studies, proposing new ways to answer the perennial question, "What is cinema?"

SEE ALSO *Auteur Theory and Authorship; Criticism; Semiotics; Structuralism and Poststructuralism*

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Bill Nichols

FINE ART

The cinema has engaged in a dialogue with the traditional fine arts—visual art, literature, music, theater, and architecture—from its inception to the present. The relationships between cinema, the "seventh art," to the other arts is indeed vast and complex. Film's ability to build convincing worlds with spatial depth recalls the functions of architecture, while music lends film its power to arouse abstract emotions that neither words nor images can fully express. The movies' emphasis on the body and human emotions connects it with the theater and poetry. Film's narrative emphasis has obvious affinities with prose fiction, and of course the medium's visual aspect aligns it with painting. Further, the ways in which cinema references art informs a variety of cultural discourses.

Born out of the circus, vaudeville, and the Grand Guignol, the cinema engaged in a dialogue with the arts and high culture during its early or primitive period, when one shot with movement inside the image was enough to capture the viewer's attention. The pioneers of filmmaking were well aware of the arts: Georges Méliès (1861–1938) was educated as an academic painter, and the Lumière brothers (Auguste Lumière [1862–1954] and Louis Lumière [1864–1948]), although trained as engineers and photographers, restaged the commonplaces of French Impressionist painting in their depiction of leisure time and daily life. The films of Méliès and the Lumières are marked by jokes, puns, parodies, puzzles, anagrams, riddles, and charades about the clichés of painting. Louis Lumière's short *Partie d'écarte* (*Card Game*, 1895), for example, recalls a trope familiar from Flemish genre painting to Cézanne's *The Card Players* (1890–1892). *D'écarte*, from the verb *écarter* (to separate), is a pun for *des cartes* (referring to cards). The card game in this particular party represents the unpredictable nature of life, with its promises and surprises.

NATIONAL CINEMAS

Through the traditions of national cinemas, cultures represent themselves to audiences both at home and abroad. Hence the function played by the arts in the development of national cinemas is most significant. Before and after World War I, the various national film industries in Europe distinguished themselves through allusions to domestic aesthetic traditions. In Italy, for example, Giovanni Pastrone's epic *Cabiria* (1914) draws on the grand tradition of Italian opera, complete with monumental sets and masses of extras. In Germany, Robert Wiene's *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari* (1920) and F. W. Murnau's *Nosferatu* (1922) tap German romanticism's interest in origins and subjectivity while also drawing on the visual style of German expressionism. Both films cast the upheavals of the self in the jagged angles and skewed shapes familiar from German expressionist painting; the sets make visible a sense of spiritual anguish, and their natural locations suggest peaceful surfaces concealing mysterious evils. One of the most famous German expressionist films, Fritz Lang's *Metropolis* (1927), is an architectural film built on psychoanalytic allusions and images of industrial regimentation. In his direction of the actors and his handling of crowds, Lang was influenced by the theater of Max Reinhardt, who used sculptural groupings of automaton-like actors. By designing and streamlining the scenes featuring crowds—a feat of directorial control and vision—Lang evokes a sense of dehumanization.

In comparison to the expressionist taste for the supernatural, the so-called French impressionist avant-garde of the 1920s preferred a more psychological understanding of interiority. Germaine Dulac's *La Souriante Madame Beudet* (*The Smiling Madame Beudet*, 1922) uses musical allusions and visual effects to suggest the psychological complexities at the core of an unhappily married woman, thus depicting a feminine self torn by erotic repression and a desire for domestic rebellion. In the 1920s and 1930s, French surrealism thrived on unexpected analogies and unsettling disruptions of objects. The development of the surrealist director Jean Cocteau's esoteric shifts between word and image, tactile and visual references in *Le Sang d'un poète* (*Blood of a Poet*, 1930), anticipate many of Jean-Luc Godard's collages in *Pierrot le Fou* (1965). More generally, surrealism's taste for disruption anticipates the French New Wave's playful orchestration of literary, pictorial, musical, and popular sources in film. Before and after the revolutionary upheavals of May 1968, the French New Wave directors, especially Godard, wove together the legacies of different periods of film history, ranging from surrealist word–image games to the montage ensembles developed out of Soviet Constructivist art.

With film impressionism, surrealism, and expressionism, the national cinemas of France and Germany embraced the agendas of modernist avant-garde movements. Furthermore, around 1914 the Italian futurists published a manifesto about the cinema (they also made a few films, most of them lost). However, the silent Italian film industry steered away from avant-garde experimentation in favor of a more popular, operatic cinema based on great books and paintings of high culture. This edifying approach from Italy became a model for the development of the cinema in Hollywood as well. The Italian compromise between mass spectacle and famous works, populist entertainment and an attention to pictorial values, reappears in the work of the American director D. W. Griffith, notably *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), *Intolerance* (1916), and *Broken Blossoms or The Yellow Man and the Girl* (1919). Set in Victorian England and replete with opium dens and Buddhist references, *Broken Blossoms* is a melodrama whose artistic aspirations are confirmed by its tragic ending in which all three protagonists die. The film deals with alcoholism, family abuse, and racial miscegenation, deploying the style of Pre-Raphaelite painting in its representation of the self-effacing but sensuous character of the girl Lucy (Lillian Gish).

GENRE

By upgrading the melodrama with art-historical references, Griffith's *Broken Blossoms* paved the way for the stretching of genre films from formulaic narrative to more aesthetically complex works. Whether the narrative deals with the biography of a famous artist (the biopic) or with a famous battle (the historical film), it is possible to elevate genre to the "art" film. As the scholar Charles Tashiro has pointed out, some historical films depend on pictorial citations as period sources, including William Dieterle's *Juarez* (1939), with its literal restaging of Goya's 1814 painting *Executions of the Third of May 1808*, and Stanley Kubrick's *Barry Lyndon* (1975), which is informed by eighteenth-century portraiture and genre paintings ranging from Joshua Reynolds to John Constable. Bo Widerberg's *Elvira Madigan* (1967), though it does not recall any specific picture, is steeped in the colors, landscapes, fabrics, and atmospheres of impressionist painting.

American biopics devoted to the life of an artist, such as John Huston's *Moulin Rouge* (1952), about Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, and Vincente Minnelli's *Lust for Life* (1956), about Vincent van Gogh, can be considered art films in a very loose sense. These films tend to recycle society's cliches about artists—notions of genius, madness, recklessness, inner torment, exile, and romance. Films as different as *Legal Eagles* (1986) and *Modigliani* (2004) suggest that making art goes hand in hand with living intensely, talent with struggle. As is apparent from the character of Waldo Lydecker (Clifton Webb) in *Laura* (Otto Preminger, 1944), Hollywood traditionally represents artistic figures and environments in a self-destructive or corrupting light; painting specifically is the equivalent of excess, color, femininity, vice, and solipsism. The French director Maurice Pialat takes a more sociological and existential approach to his subject in *Van Gogh* (1991), where art-making is still all-consuming and self-destructive yet leaves room for friends, family, and colleagues. As conceived by Pialat, Van Gogh is subjected to the value judgments of his period about the artist—entailing notions of femininity, creativity, and individuality—but he is not the embodiment of corruption and decadence.

The Hollywood musical, with its emphasis on costume, color, and set design along with music and dance, is a genre that evokes the relation of art and film through visual style. In *An American in Paris* (1951), for example, the set designs evoke the style of French impressionism. In another genre, film noir, chiaroscuro lighting and Gothic architecture show the influence of German expressionism, a sensibility that migrated from Europe to Hollywood. Another notable instance of generic reference to visual art is in the thrillers of Alfred Hitchcock, which from *Psycho* (1960) onward includes references to the paintings of Edward Hopper (1882–1967), an American artist famous for his deserted diners at night, lonely motels, uninhabited vistas, and isolated individuals.

The look of **Barry Lyndon** ***(Stanley Kubrick, 1975) is informed by the painting styles of the eighteenth century.*** **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

And in a science-fiction film with noirish underpinnings like Ridley Scott's *Blade Runner* (1982), the eclectic mix of architectural citations from various periods and styles endows the film with a strange nostalgia for a more authentic historical past in such a way as to calibrate the loss of memory and a jaded sensibility.

CINEMA AND ART

The marriage of art and cinema through genre in American cinema often resulted in the identification of art with elitism and deception. In European film history, the post–World War II art film developed in the film industries of France, Germany, and Italy. The film theorist and historian David Bordwell has argued that the "European art film" is more of a mode than a genre because its stylistic conventions stem from a general opposition to the rules of Hollywood cinema. Bordwell argues that films such as Michelangelo Antonioni's *L'Avventura* (1960) and Ingmar Bergman's *Persona* (1966) were born out of the rejection by Italian neorealism of Hollywood's causal storytelling, goal-oriented protagonists, and emphasis on narrative closure. By choosing ambiguity, unresolved narratives, directorial expressivity, location shooting, and existential malaise with a social consciousness, the European art film was an alternative to Hollywood in the 1950s.

Andre Bazin's influential role as a critic enabled the rise of Italian neorealism and the French New Wave. François Truffaut relied on artistic citations from French impressionism and early modernist painting in such films as *Jules et Jim* (1962) and *Les Deux anglaises et le continent* (*Two English Girls*, 1972); by contrast, Roberto Rossellini's neorealism has traditionally been praised for its newsreel look and rejection of art-historical sources. However, the argument that Italian neorealism exists outside of art history is naïve. In the Naples episode of *Paisà* (*Paisan*, 1946), for example, the relationship between figure and ground, with the big soldier and the small child sitting among the ruins, invokes the end of Renaissance painting's anthropocentric model. The urban landscape is an image of destruction and rubble, yet the two characters occupy the center of the frame so that the ruins amid which they sit acknowledge in reverse the humanist function of architecture in the Italian pictorial tradition.

Michelangelo Antonioni's **L'Avventura** ***(1960) is an example of the European art film.*** **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

Bordwell's model of the European art film applies to the self-reflexive, modernist films of the sixties but does not include the pastiche-like postmodernist films that began to appear in the 1970s and 1980s. *Back to the Future* (Robert Zemeckis, 1985) contains many references to Duane Hanson's hyperrealist sculptures, while Bernardo Bertolucci's *Il Conformista* (*The Conformist*, 1970) uses René Magritte's sleek irony and art-deco interiors. Lina Wertmüller's use of spaces suspended in time for *Film d'amore e d'anarchia* (*Love and Anarchy*, 1973) echoes the metaphysical atmosphere found in the paintings of Giorgio de Chirico. It is also important to remember that there are many other art films that, on the one hand, do not entirely follow Bordwell's model and, on the other, may have little to do with postmodern nostalgia. Thanks to their understanding of art-historical categories, these films are neither simply citational texts nor superficial and seductive pastiches compensating for an increasing sense of loss of memory and authenticity. And, finally, they are not always structured as travelogues of human alienation, a penchant triggered by neorealism's use of vignettes or sketches rather than coherent, causal narratives.

Filmmakers such as F. W. Murnau, Eric Rohmer, Alain Cavalier, and Andrei Tarkovsky are aware of the history of art to the extent that they move beyond it, treating it as a convenient storehouse of images. Their films can be called "visual form" films because these filmmakers incorporate the insights of pictorial genres into their own work. By taking seriously the links between landscape painting and subjectivity in, for example, *Nosferatu*, Murnau models his images on Caspar David Friedrich's vistas with precipices and fogs, eerie peaks and huge rocks. Murnau frames from behind small and lonely human figures, which he juxtaposes against vast natural spaces filled with a sense of the sublime; the director's insertion of an internal viewer matches Friedrich's use of the so-called *ruckenfigur*, a lone figure in a landscape, to underline how that landscape can be a figment of someone's mind yearning for the divine or sensing the possibility of horror. *Nosferatu* is therefore an example of the crossover between film and art in the context of silent German expressionism as a national cinema. Visual form is relevant to the tension between neoclassical and French romantic painting in Eric

Rohmer's *Die Marquise von O . . .* (*The Marquise of O*, 1976), an adaptation of Heinrich von Kleist's novella. By juxtaposing the sensuality of the word to the introspective qualities of the image, Rohmer questions the opposition of Enlightenment rationality and romantic impetuousness. Tarkovsky in *Andrei Rublev* (1969) uses fluid camera movements and shots of doors and windows to explore the hypnotic power of religious icon painting. Likewise, by using many close-ups on objects and an austere color scheme, Alain Cavalier in *Thérèse* (1986) links the genre of still-life painting to the humility of servants and the subordination of femininity.

Films that are part of a national cinema tradition (with or without a link to an avant-garde movement), modernist art films and postmodern pastiches, and visual-form films overlap the flexibility of these categories and bears witness to the richness of the encounter between art and film. Although the heyday of the European art film is over, cinema from Asia, the Middle East, Latin America, and Africa deserves much closer examination in the light of the relation between film and art. For example, the Iranian filmmaker Abbas Kiarostami's use of detailed images and vast landscapes relies heavily on the style of Persian miniature painting in his films *Ta'm e guilass* (*A Taste of Cherry*, 1997) and *Bad ma ra khahad bord* (*The Wind Will Carry Us*, 1999). Sergei Parajanov's *Sayat Nova* (*Color of Pomegranates*, 1968) combines Russian folk culture with performance art, while some of his compositions could easily be called installations and move from the screen to the art gallery. Although most of the critical work on film and art has relied on European case studies, it has become especially urgent to tackle Islamic and African visual traditions in order to achieve a better understanding of the art films that these areas of the world have produced. Japanese and Chinese cinema has drawn heavily from national traditions of woodblock printing and scroll painting.

American avant-garde filmmaking of the 1960s and 1960s was heavily influenced by minimalism in the visual arts. The films of Andy Warhol, Michael Snow, Hollis Frampton, and Paul Sharits are related to the work of artists such as Carl Andre, Robert Morris, Donald Judd, and Robert Smithson, all of whom worked in a variety of media. In the light of this awareness that what goes on in the art gallery relates to what happens on the screen, the American artist Eleanor Antin (b. 1935) coined the expression "black box, white cube"—the first term referring to cinema, the second to the art gallery. This phrase has been increasingly used by artists working in film and video, perhaps because so many mixed-media installations have blurred the boundaries between sculpture, film, architecture, video art, and painting.

SEE ALSO *Art Cinema; Expressionism; Surrealism*

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Angela Dalle Vacche

FINLAND

During its heyday between 1930s and 1950s, domestic film production in Finland developed into a miniature image of the Hollywood film industry, yet with certain national characteristics based on the country's historical and political situation. Thus, for instance, due to Russian repression while Finland still was a Grand Duchy under the rule of Czarist Russia, film production was initially regarded as a national project aimed at reinforcing the identity of the Finnish people on the one hand, and at presentation of the country and its people to foreign nations on the other hand. Therefore, the first films made in Finland were short documentaries about the country's natural and industrial sites.

BEGINNINGS

Finland was an autonomous but oppressed part of the Russian Empire from the early nineteenth century until it became an independent republic in 1917. The first feature made in Finland, *Lönnbrännarna* (*Bootleggers*), premiered in 1907. The film, of which there remain only a few stills, was a result of a script contest aimed at creating a national cinema. However, Russian oppression and in its aftermath, the civil war—fought between Russian-inspired Bolsheviks and right-wing nationalists in 1917–1918—discouraged other serious efforts. The struggles for the new independent republic of Finland, ruled by the nationalists, delayed the advance of the film industry for another decade. From this period there also exists one of the world's oldest film censorship authorities (Suomen Elokuvatarkastamo), a state office that came to influence the development of the objectives and quality of Finnish film. It had the authority to decide specifically not only which films could be exhibited, but which were "valuable" enough to be freed from the amusement tax. Throughout the early decades, a strong public notion in the country regarded cinema as "amusement"—as in opposition to art—dispensable, and hence, taxable.

One of the central figures in the early history of Finnish filmmaking was Erkki Karu (1887–1935), who founded the production company Suomi-Filmi in 1919 and directed a handful of successful rural melodramas. The decade of the 1930s was a consolidating period for the domestic film industry, during which Suomi-Filmi—together with Suomen Filmiteollisuus, also established by Karu—became fully integrated production companies, dominant in the field until the period of decline in the 1960s. Other important producers of features were Adams Filmi and Fennada-Filmi, while companies such as Aho & Soldan specialized in high-quality documentaries.

Toward the end of the silent era a handful of films were produced, many of which were Finnish plays and dramatic novels transformed into films. Apart from rural melodramas such as *Koskenlaskijan morsian* (1923) or classics like *Kihlaus* (1922), contemporary comedies in urban milieus, such as *Kaikki rakastavat* (1931), starring Finland's leading romantic leads Tauno Palo (1908–1982) and Ansa Ikonen (1913–1989), became fashionable.

Many were hesitant about investing in sound equipment in the early 1930s but what looked like a risk turned into a gold mine soon enough, for the Finnish people loved to hear their language spoken on the silver screen. The first sound film, *Aatamin puvussa ja vähän Eevankin* (*Dressed Like Adam and a Bit Like Eve, Too*)

was released in January 1931. Successful foreign films, often Swedish, were adapted into Finnish milieux, and popular novels were transformed into film scripts. For the first time, domestic films could compete with foreign productions. However, few countries imported Finnish films. One of the most well-known films from the pre–World War II period, *Varastettu kuolema* (*Stolen Death*, 1938), was to represent Finnish cinema in retrospectives and festivals, but it was exported to Sweden only. Its director, Nyrki Tapiovaara (1911–1940), directed but four features, and his heroic death during the last days of the Winter War of 1939–1940 has contributed to the myth of him as the lost genius of Finnish cinema. *Varastettu kuolema* was photographed by Erik Blomberg (1913–1996), who would direct *Valkoinen Peura* (*The White Reindeer*, 1952), one of the country's internationally acknowledged productions, which won the International Prize at the Cannes Film Festival in 1953 and the Golden Globe in the United States in 1957.

The production pace was hectic during the war years (1939–1944) in spite of the impossible conditions, with a lack of film stock, the constant bombing of Helsinki, and many photographers and other male technicians called to the front. Due to obstacles such as commercial embargos, the influx of foreign films diminished, and distributors begged for new films. A number of costume melodramas such as *Kulkurin valssi* (*The Vagabond Waltz*, 1941) and *Katariina ja Munkkinimen kreivi* (*Catherine and the Count of Munkkinimen*, 1943) were made in response, as were popular military farces. Toward the end of the war, these farces pointedly ridiculed the hostile Soviet army, as in a series featuring two friends in arms called *Ryhmy and Romppainen* (1941, 1943, 1952). After the peace treaty between Finland and the Soviet Union in 1944, the authorities withdrew the two first films from the market in order not to offend the Eastern neighbor, now an important trading partner.

POSTWAR CINEMA

Apart from the control executed through the much-resented amusement tax, another means of state interference in the film industry was the grants and awards that were introduced during the latter half of the 1940s. After the establishment of the Finnish Film Foundation in 1969, the state also became a significant part in the production process—indeed, a prerequisite for the existence of a film industry in the country. But far from gaining control as in "totalitarian state propaganda," the establishment of the Foundation was foremost a protectionist move reflecting nationalist sentiments. By the 1960s, the attitudes toward cinema had changed in Nordic countries and to an increasing degree it was perceived as art in its own right. According to common understanding, therefore, the government is responsible for providing support for the artistic development of film as well as for literature and the fine arts.

The Finnish authorities produced newsreels reporting on the current political situation during World War II, and the documentary stock produced by the Finnish Army and now stored in their archives is quite extensive. The government-financed *Suomi maksaa* (Leistelä, 1951), a report of the nation's efforts to pay the heavy national debts caused by the war against the Soviet Union, was a typical documentary during the late 1940s and 1950s. Finnish people were extremely proud of being the only nation in the post–World War II world that repaid the restoration loans guaranteed by the US government. The film breathes pride and self-confidence, not unlike the documentaries made during the early period of independence.

The disillusionment that followed World War II affected the topics of feature films: light comedies and romantic stories gave way to social dramas depicting the problems of people living in the shadows of urban backyards. Edvin Laine (1905–1989), one of the most significant of the postwar generation of film directors, produced *Ristikon varjossa* (*Hunting Shadows*) in 1945, and *Laitakaupungin laulu* in 1948. Laine also directed the most popular Finnish film ever, *Tuntematon sotilas* (*The Unknown Soldier*, 1955), the first realistic account of the war. The commercial success of the film unintentionally contributed to the crisis that ultimately brought about the bankruptcy of Suomen Filmiteollisuus: to avoid paying tax on the millions in profit the film generated, the company invested in too many hastily made new films of lesser quality.

On top of the insecure situation during the 1960s, with increasing production costs and declining film attendance that necessitated closing down movie theaters, the film industry was hit by a strike initiated by the Actors' Union, which was displeased with actors' salaries. The strike did not stop film production, however, but instead, introduced a whole new generation of actors, most notably in *Käpy selän alla* (1966), directed by Mikko Niskanen (1929–1990) with a script written by Marjaana Mikkola. Women screenwriters are not uncommon in the history of Finnish film: already in the 1920s, plays by dramatists such as Minna Canth (1844–1897) and Maria Jotuni (1880–1943) were adapted into films, and Valentin Vaala's (1909–1976) popular comedies in the 1930s to 1940s were the results of his cooperation with his leading lady, Lea Joutseno (1910–1977), and the writer Kersti Bergroth (1886–1975).

Yet it is hard not to see the history of Finnish cinema as a cavalcade of a handful of men: Risto Orko (1899–2001), the CEO of Suomi-Filmi, and Toivo Särkkä

Aki Kaurismäki's* Leningrad Cowboys Go America *(1989) was an international hit. © ORION FILMS/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

(1890–1975), the head of Suomen Filmiteollisuus, dominated the country's screens as directors for over thirty years. The first women directors appeared in the early 1960s. Ritva Arvelo (b. 1921) won the state award (an unnamed monetary award) with *Kultainen vasikka* (1961). Yet another twenty years would pass before women were able to establish themselves in the industry: Tuija-Maija Niskanen (b. 1943), the director of *Suuri illusioni* (*Grand Illusion*, 1985), and Kaisa Rastimo (b. 1961) with her *Säädyllinen murhenäytelmä* (*A Respectable Tragedy*, 1998) are among the most important. One of the most successful women in Finnish cinema since the early 1980s has been Pirjo Honkasalo (b. 1947), whose documentaries *Atman* (1996) and *Melancholian 3 Huonetta* (*The 3 Rooms of Meloncholia*, 2004) have received awards at numerous film festivals around the world.

The establishment of the Finnish Film Foundation contributed to structural changes within the industry during the 1970s. The old companies with their complex administration systems disappeared and smaller companies, often managed by the filmmakers themselves, emerged. This was in line with the contemporary view of the film director as *auteur* with full control over production, including right to the final cut. Such a view brought about a generation of independent film directors writing their own scripts and, like Jörn Donner (b. 1933), establishing their own production companies, Donner, also a well-known author, directed films such as *Sixtynine* (1969) and *Perkele! Kuvia Suomesta* (1971), examples of the soft porn wave of the period, whereas Risto Jarva's (1935–1977) productions reflected the era's social criticism with films such as *Bensaa suonissa* (*Gas in the Veins*, 1970) and *Jäniksen vuosi* (*The Year of the Hare*, 1977).

By the end of the millennium yet another significant change had taken place. It was clear that no Nordic country alone could generate the funds needed for the production of a feature film; cooperation was needed between the countries and their respective film institutes

and television companies. The result was lengthy fund-raising and decision-making processes whereby only prestigious ''heritage''-style productions became possible to realize, such as *Talvisota* (*The Winter War*, *Pekka Parikka*, 1989) with its painstaking and elaborated mass scenes depicting the battles of the Winter War.

From the 1980s on, the Finnish solution to the situation was provided by another generation of film directors with Aki (b. 1957) and Mika Kaurismäki (b. 1955) in the lead, making-low budget films with small, mobile units. While Mika Kaurismäki has invested in an international career, Aki has stayed in Finland faithful to his austere, stylized, and self-reflexive style in films such as *Tulitikkutehtaan tyttö* (*The Match Factory Girl*, 1990) and *Mies vailla menneisyyttä* (*The Man Without a Past*, 2002). In his films Aki Kaurismäki has tended to scrutinize nostalgic sentiments addressing the popular collective memory of the postwar Finnish generations. Other directors of his generation utilize heightened realism with postmodern tendencies such as split narrative and pastiched characters. Timo Koivusalo's (b. 1963) biopic *Rentun ruusu* (2001), about the life of popular 1970s protest singer Irwin Goodman, or Pekka Lehto's *Tango Kabaree* (*Tango Cabaret*, 2001), featuring the dancer and celebrity Aira Samulin, are but two examples. Such forms of remembrance have not always ended up as box-office hits, whereas films depicting the wars of independent Finland always seem to manage to cover their costs.

SEE ALSO *National Cinema; World War II*

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Tytti Soila

FRANCE

Since World War I, French cinema has defined itself through its ambivalent relations with Hollywood cinema. Although French cinema was the dominant force in the international market until World War I, its influence extending as far as Australia, in the decades that followed the industry struggled to maintain its hold on French audiences. French stars, valued for their independence and their ability to represent ''Frenchness'' globally, have played an important role in this crusade. Though many would argue that this has been a losing battle, French product continues to dominate French screens, though, as often as not, it is the television screen that viewers watch today. Yet, initially, it was the French who discovered cinema as we know it.

SILENT CINEMA: 1895–1929

The invention of the cinema was credited to Auguste (1862–1954) and Louis Lumière (1864–1948), two brothers, who organized what is widely believed to be the first film screening on 28 December 1895, at the Grand Café in Paris, using the Lumière brothers' *Cinématograph*, which was both camera and projector. Though the American inventor Thomas Edison (1847–1931) had created film stock itself as early as 1889, it was the Lumière brothers who invented cinema as a mass entertainment event in which spectators were seated in front of a projected image, showing films such as *L'Arrivée d'un train à la Ciotat* (*Arrival of a Train at La Ciotat*, 1895), *La Sortie des usines Lumière* (*Employees Leaving the Lumière Factory*, 1895) and *Demolition d'un mur* (*Demolition of a Wall*, 1896). Their cinematographers, who traveled throughout the world shooting notable events, assembled a catalog of over one thousand films during the next two years. In France, their major competitor was Georges Méliès (1861–1938), with his *Kinétograph*. His production company Star Film, founded in 1896, specialized in fantastic, magical tales, in contrast with the Lumìre brothers, who concentrated on *actualités*. After making between six hundred and eight hundred films, Star Film went bankrupt in 1914, and Méliès ceased producing films in 1919.

A third significant figure in the development of French cinema was Charles Pathé (1863–1957) with his *Eknétographe*. Pathé founded Pathé Frères with his brother Émile in September 1896, and from 1902 his emblem, the red rooster, was synonymous with cinema around the world. Charles Pathé left France for the United States in 1914 because several of the most important branches of his company were located in territory occupied by the Germans. One of Pathé's major contributions to the development of cinema was to inaugurate in 1907 the tripartite system of production, distribution, and exhibition that characterizes the modern film industry. Under this system, exhibitors rent films through distribution companies. The number of film production companies quickly multiplied to include that of Léon Gaumont, who boasted the *Chronophotographe* and the first film director, Alice Guy (1873–1968).

The period of 1908 to 1914 is generally considered the golden age of comedy. During this era such stars as Max Linder (1882–1925), a brilliant comic actor who exerted a strong influence on comedians such as Charlie Chaplin and Harold Lloyd, and such directors as Jean Durand (1882–1946), as well as the animator Émile Cohl (1857–1938), came to the fore. Adaptations of novels were common, and feature-length films began to

appear in 1911, as well as detective serials, associated with director Louis Feuillade (1873–1925). This period also saw the advent of Le Film d'Art, a company founded in February 1908, partly funded by Pathé. Le Film d'Art was noted for its production of quality filmed historical drama, such as *L'Assassinat du Duc de Guise* (*The Assassination of the duc de Guise*, 1908), directed by André Calmettes (1861–1942) and Charles Le Bargy (1858–1936) (who also took a leading role), with music by Camille Saint-Saëns.

Competition from American and Scandinavian producers had already weakened French international hegemony by 1912. Beginning in August 1914 with the onset of World War I, French film production dropped virtually to zero. After six months of inactivity, film production began again slowly with films like Feuillade's serial *The Vampires* (1915), which introduced one of the silent cinema's greatest stars, Musidora (1889–1957), who achieved great popularity in her role as the vamp Irma Vep.

POST–WORLD WAR I

The most salient feature of post–World War I France for future film scholars was the coalescence of the film culture around France's first cinéphiles and first avant-garde. Inspired by the influx of Hollywood films, a generation of young intellectuals took an interest in the cinema. An avant-garde sensibility emerged, championed by the journalist turned director, Louis Delluc (1890–1924), that had a profound influence on the development of cinema as a national art form, most notably on the New Wave in the post–World War II era. Although Delluc died in 1924, he gave his name to a prestigious prize for best film, and his writing influences French thought and film scholarship to this day.

For Delluc, cinema must be "cinematic" and "French." It must express the specificity of the cinematic medium as an art form while countering the tendencies of film as entertainment. Impressionism, associated with Delluc, was a loose and often inconsistent body of thought. The Impressionists reacted against the pictorial-realist tradition of French cinema by seeking inspiration in the editing and camera styles of new Hollywood directors, who had evolved away from a strictly documentary or theatrical presentation of story. Though often dismissed as melodramatic by contemporary audiences, films such as *La Roue* (*The Wheel*, Abel Gance, 1923) and *L'Inhumaine* (*The New Enchantment*, Marcel L'Herbier, 1923) exploited rhythmic editing, point-of-view shots, soft focus, and optical devices such as superimpositions to convey subjective experience. Writer-filmmakers associated with the movement such as Germaine Dulac (1882–1942) pursued the idea that film functioned like a language; however, the conviction that film was an art form rather than merely a vehicle for entertainment was Impressionism's most important legacy. Following his death, Delluc's influence was evident in the work of such directors as Dulac, Jean Epstein (1897–1953), Abel Gance (1889–1981), and Marcel L'Herbier (1888–1979), who remained affected by Impressionism goals while often moving in different directions. Dadaism and surrealism inspired a second avant-garde in 1923 and 1924. The American photographer Man Ray (Emanuel Rabinovich; 1890–1976) and the painter Fernand Léger (1881–1955) created experimental films that resembled the essay films of Dulac and the fantasies of the Brazilian expatriate director, Alberto Cavalcanti (1897–1982). Two directors who would leave their mark on French cinema as part of this movement were René Clair (1898–1981) and Luis Buñuel (1900–1983).

Though largely ignored by intellectuals, French cinema as a popular narrative form thrived during this period. Rarely exported, French popular film continued to appeal to French audiences, with serials such as *L'Enfant roi* (The Child King, Jean Kemm, 1923), or *Fanfan-la-Tulipe* (*Fanfan the Tulip*, René Leprince, 1925). Successful directors of the period included Julien Duvivier (1896–1967), Raymond Bernard (1891–1977), and Jacques Feyder (1885–1948). Facing increasing production costs, studios during this time inaugurated the European co-production, often working with German production companies.

Two of the most influential production companies, Ermolieff Films and Alexander Kamenka's L'Albatros, were founded by Russian émigrés, and produced films destined for the émigré audience as well as French works. This group of émigré Russians, known as *les Russes de Montreuil* (the Russians of Montreuil), included such directors as Yakov Protozanov (1881–1945), Victor (Vyatcheslaw) Tourjansky (1891–1976), and Alexander Volkov (1885–1942), as well as technicians and actors and actresses. Kamenka produced notable works of French cinema, such as Clair's *Un Chapeau de paille d'Italie* (*An Italian Straw Hat*, 1928), and *Les Deux timides* (*Two Timid Souls*, 1928). Later Kamenka produced *Les Bas-fonds* (*The Lower Depths*, Jean Renoir, 1936), which won the Louis Delluc Prize.

During this period, many stars were recruited from the stage or cabarets, including Maurice Chevalier (1888–1972), already a star of the Parisian music halls, who attained prominence in a series of movies foreshadowing the great success he would achieve in America in the 1930s. Other stars from theater included Michel Simon (1895–1975), Gaby Morlay (1893–1964), and Albert Préjean (1893–1979). Simon, in particular, represented the French tradition of the "monstre sacré," or

"eccentric," the flamboyant character actor with a singularly striking physiognomy, used to great effect in, for example, Renoir's *Boudu sauvé des eaux* (*Boudu Saved from Drowning*, 1932).

By the end of the 1920s, French cinema had recovered from the effects of World War I. Though the battle with Hollywood at the international box office had been lost, French cinema had acquired the position of a national art form that was distinct from the entertainments produced for the masses. Paradoxically, Hollywood films, because of their impact on the avant-garde during the war years, were a primary influence in creating a French cinema that was cinematic and French, in the terms defined by Delluc. It is in Hollywood film that the Impressionists found their inspiration—in the camera work and editing of D.W. Griffith (1875–1948), the lighting of Cecil B. DeMille (1881–1959), and the dreamlike scenarios of Charlie Chaplin (1889–1977). And it is Hollywood that left its imprint on the foundational avant-garde films of the dadaists and the surrealists—films such as Dulac's *La Coquille et Le Clergyman* (*The Seashell and the Clergyman*, 1928), and Buñuel's *Un Chien andalou* (*An Andalusian Dog*, 1929)—setting French cinema apart as the international forerunner of the "film-as-art" movement, a place that France arguably retained throughout the remainder of the twentieth century.

Although Hollywood was the object of polemical discussion, other national cinemas such as Russian cinema, particularly through émigré producers, and German cinema, in terms of financial backing, also influenced the directions of French cinema. French popular cinema—in the form of comedies and serials, as well as the popular *policier* (later known as the *polar*) or police film—continued to be effective in French theaters, constituting a parallel strand to the higher profile films praised by the intellectual elite. With the advent of sound, French cinema as art would encounter its biggest challenge.

SOUND FILM AND THE CLASSICAL ERA: 1929–1940

The first sound studios opened in France in the autumn of 1929, inaugurating the golden age of filmed theater, and also precipitating an aesthetic crisis manifested in heated debate about the nature of cinematic art. While adherents to the legacy of Impressionism, such as Gance and L'Herbier, clung to the primacy of the image as the fundamental element of film language, directors like Duvivier and Renoir embraced sound as integral to the film medium. The film industry was also subject to financial crisis and over the decade was reorganized around companies like La Société Nouvelle des Établissements Gaumount (the SNEG) and the Société Nouvelle Pathé-Cinéma (SNPC). Nonetheless, some of the great films of the French cinema were produced between 1934 and World War II, in part as the result of an influx of directors and technicians fleeing the Nazis from other countries. One such figure was the German director Max Ophüls (1902–1957), creator of the film *La Tendre ennemie* (*The Tender Enemy*, 1936), who became a French citizen in 1938. The production of feature films stabilized at about 100 to 120 films per year, a level of production that remained more or less the norm for the rest of the century.

Two directors who forged their own style within the confines of the filmed theater genre were Marcel Pagnol (1895–1974) and Sacha Guitry (1885–1957). Pagnol, a successful director, writer, and producer, established his own studios in the South of France and produced a body of work associated with that region. Films for which he wrote the screenplay include the "Pagnol trilogy," made up of *Marius* (1931), *Fanny* (1932), and *César* (1936), dealing with the "little people" of Marseilles. The success of these films owed much to the superb performances of the actors, including (Jules) Raimu (1883–1946), Pierre Fresnay (1897–1975), Fernand Charpin (1887–1944), and Orane Demazis (1894–1991). Because of the subtlety and originality of his productions, and also because of the way that his work constituted an early exploration of regional identity, Pagnol's talent was recognized by critics such as André Bazin who, in principle, opposed the filmed theater style. Renoir's *Toni* (1935), a pivotal film in the development of the Italian neorealism, is one of the many films that demonstrated the importance of Pagnol's work for the future of French cinema. Both Pagnol's films and novels would influence the development of what is commonly called heritage cinema in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Guitry, less well known outside of France, was an actor and writer as well as a director. In his films of this period, he captured the essence of Parisian light comedy, a genre that disappeared during World War II. During this period French cinema also continued to borrow from the tradition of the music hall with films such as *Zouzou* (1934), starring the African American singer-dancer Josephine Baker (1906–1975).

In May 1936 the Popular Front, a historic alliance of leftist and radical interests, came to power, ruling until October 1938. This period, which saw the introduction of major social changes, such as paid holidays, trade union rights, and a public health service, unleashed a burst of creative intellectual and artistic energy, especially at the cooperative Ciné-Liberté, of which Renoir was a member. The rise and ascendancy of the Popular Front manifested itself in films that emphasized the worker. Renoir, for example, directed *Le Crime de Monsieur Lange* (*The Crime of Monsieur Lange*, 1936), the story of a worker's cooperative, the epic *La Marseillaise* (1938),

MARCEL CARNÉ

b. Albert Cranche, Paris, France, 18 August 1909, d. 31 October 1996

Marcel Carné is a controversial figure in French cinema, for while many see in his work an outmoded classicism that was transcended by the directors of the French New Wave, others find in it evidence of the vitality of studio filmmaking in the 1930s. Carné trained as a photographer and worked in journalism before hiring on as an assistant to René Clair and Jacques Feyder. Carné's first feature, *Jenny* (1936), starring Françoise Rosay, marked the beginning of his long and productive collaboration with the poet and scriptwriter Jacques Prévert.

Carné's genius lay in his ability to gather a team of creative artists: screenwriters (including Prévert), designers (including Alexander Trauner), composers (Maurice Jaubert, Joseph Kosma), and a bevy of French actors, including Jules Berry, Louis Jouvet, Michel Simon, and Arletty (Arlette-Léonie Bathiat). His most famous film is *Les Enfants de paradis* (*Children of Paradise*, 1945), which portrays the love affair between a *demi-mondain* (courtesan) and an actor.

From the mid-1930s until the late 1940s, Carné was one of the most respected and powerful directors in France. He initially influenced the direction of French cinema through his writing in *Cinémagazine*, inspiring poetic realism. Poetic realism, which Carné later called *le fantastique social* (social fantasy), espoused a pessimistic view of the human condition, which he conveyed through artful composition, careful *mise-en-scène*, polished acting, high-key lighting, and tragic endings. His films in this style include *Hôtel du Nord* (1938), *Le Jour se lève* (*Daybreak*, 1939), and *Le Quai des brumes* (*Port of Shadows*, 1938), which sparked controversy for its morbid subject matter.

For better or for worse, Carné and his team communicated to a popular audience a pervasive atmosphere of melancholy that remains a milestone in French cinema. Following the end of his partnership with Prévert with *Les Portes de la nuit* (*The Gates of Night*, 1946) and *La Marie du port* (*Mary of the Port*, 1950), Carné lost his best collaborators, and his subsequent films were less accomplished.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Jenny (1936), *Drôle de drame, ou L'étrange aventure de Docteur Molyneux* (*Bizarre, Bizarre*, 1937), *Port of Shadows* (1938), *Hôtel du Nord* (1938), *Daybreak* (1939), *Les Visiteurs du soir* (*The Devil's Envoys*, 1942), *Children of Paradise* (1945), *Gates of Night* (1946)

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and was involved in the making of *La Vie est à nous* (*The People of France*, 1936), a communist propaganda film. Though light comedies and musicals were more popular with the public, these films were praised by critics and film historians. With the defeat of the Popular Front, the melancholic tendencies of poetic realism became more marked and were reflected in narratives dealing with doomed love affairs, betrayals, and murders, usually set in Paris in working-class settings. Such films are exemplified by *Le Quai des brumes* (*Port of Shadows*, 1938) and *Le Jour se lève* (*Daybreak*, 1939) by Marcel Carné (1909–1996). Both films starred Jean Gabin (1904–1976), who, with Arletty (Arlette-Léonie Bathiat; 1898–1992), came to incarnate French working-class values, especially in terms of their spoken delivery, which was marked by a strong demotic accent. In addition to Carné, directors associated with this style were Renoir, Duvivier, and Jean Grémillon (1901–1959).

Renoir, who began his career with films like *La Fille de l'eau* (*Whirlpool of Fate*, 1925) and *Nana* (1926), both with the actress Catherine Hessling (1900–1979), is considered by many to be the most significant director of this period. His films ran the gamut of possible genres, from poetic realist films to avant-garde films, from comedies to popular melodramas, and from literary adaptation to Popular Front propaganda. Renoir's *La Grande illusion* (*The Grand Illusion*, 1937) and *La Bête humaine* (*The Human Beast*, 1938), both with Gabin, and his masterpiece, *La Règle du jeu* (*The Rules of the Game*, 1939), with Marcel Dalio (1900–1983), were box-office

Marcel Carné. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

triumphs. His career was interrupted by World War II, which he spent in Hollywood.

THE WAR YEARS: 1940 TO 1944

Though films were banned if deemed too demoralizing, the film industry was active during the nine months of French-German hostility in 1939 and 1940. Film production stopped completely during the summer of 1940; however, this hiatus inaugurated one of the most prosperous, if not the most creative, periods of French cinema.

Following the surrender of France to Germany, a new government was established at the small spa town of Vichy, in the unoccupied zone of central France, under the leadership of Maréchal Henri Philippe Pétain (1856–1951). Although autocratic and reactionary, the Vichy regime initiated an ambitious program to restore France to her former glory, including an effort to construct a quasi-mystical idealized vision of France grounded in a conservative social agenda and a focus on youth. The Vichy regime was quick to recognize the strategic importance of the film industry in advancing this agenda and almost immediately put in place structures that both supported and regulated the industry. In 1940, the Comité d'Organisation des Industries du Cinéma (Committee for the Organization of the Film Industry) was established, as was the COIC, which would become the Centre National de la Cinématographie (National Center for Cinematography), the CNC, in 1946. The COIC immediately set up regulations for the film industry and also a system of state support. Notably, the COIC created what would become IDHEC, Institut des Hautes Études Cinématographiques (Institute for Film Studies) in 1944, under the direction of L'Herbier.

Financially, the COIC had a positive effect in terms of underwriting the French film industry, although it also served as a censorship arm of the Vichy government. In particular, it had an important function in terms of imposing restrictions on the activities of Jews in the film sector. A number of members of the film community fled to the United States, including such directors as Renoir, Clair, Duvivier, and Ophüls, as well as such actors as Gabin and Michèle Morgan (b. 1920). Others, like Pierre Chenal (1904–1990) and Louis Jouvet (1887–1951), took refuge in Latin America. In certain respects French cinema in 1941 was severely handicapped; nonetheless, the Vichy period proved to be a prosperous time for the industry overall. Cinemas were a popular haven from the cold and from the political and social pressures of the period. British and then American films were not available. For three years Hollywood was not a competitor in the French market, so audiences chose between German films, French films, and a few Italian films. A single national market encouraged big-budget productions, such as *Les Enfants du paradis* (*The Children of Paradise*, 1945), which was begun by Carné in 1943 as an Italian co-production.

The 220 feature-length films that constitute the Vichy cinema are not linked by any specific style or topic. The number of films that espoused right-wing views was no higher than during the prewar years (1934–1940); however, there was no counterbalancing progressive or leftist perspective. The settings lacked specificity—German uniforms and flags were rarely present within the frame—and the past, especially the nineteenth century, was preferred to the present. Popular genres included light comedies, thrillers, musicals, costume dramas, and a few fantasy films. A significant number of directors from the 1930s continued working through the 1940s, including Guitry, Pagnol, Grémillon, and Carné. New directors emerged from the ranks, including Jean Delannoy (b. 1908), Louis Daquin (1908–1980), André Cayatte (b. 1909), Claude Autant-Lara (1901–2000), Jacques Becker (1906–1960), Henri-Georges Clouzot (1907–1977), and Robert Bresson (1901–1999). Significant Vichy films include *La fille du puisatier* (*The Well-Digger's Daughter*, Pagnol, 1940), *Lumière d'été* (*Light of Summer*, Grémillon, 1943), *L'Assassin habite au 21* (*The Murderer Lives at Number 21*, Clouzot, 1942), and *Les Anges du péché* (*Angels of the Streets*,

Poetic realism in Marcel Carné's* Le Quai des Brumes *(* Port of Shadows, *1938). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Bresson, 1943), based on a screenplay by Jean Giraudoux.

LEGACY AND REGENERATION: 1944 TO 1959

The end of the war and Liberation would present yet another challenge to the film industry. With Liberation came the creation of the Committee for the Liberation of Cinema and a journal, *L'Écran français* (French Screen), which appeared in July 1945. In the immediate postwar period, the French film industry was in crisis. Its equipment was outmoded or destroyed by the war and its personnel dispersed and demoralized. Most felt that the only solution was continuing the state regulation and support inaugurated by Vichy. In 1946 the CNC was created as an autonomous institution with the mandate of regulating and supporting the French film industry. It was funded through taxes levied on the industry itself. In the same year the Blum-Byrnes agreement was signed, which stipulated that during four weeks out of the year only French films could be shown in a given theater. In 1948, the period was extended to five weeks. In 1949, France signed an agreement with Italy that gave certain advantages to Franco-Italian co-productions. This agreement in turn supported the development of what came to be known as the Tradition of Quality.

The creation of the CNC, the regulations providing state-mandated support, the normalization of relations with the United States, and the creation of a film market enlarged initially by the addition of Italy laid down the basis for what has come to be known as the French mode of production—a compromise between state regulation and free trade under the guidance of the CNC. If, through its inception, this system was subject to controversy, in time it garnered strong popular support, particularly when other national cinemas in Europe suffered marked decline in the 1980s.

Though economically healthy, the industry was rigid, and from an artistic perspective it languished during the immediate post–World War II period. French cinema remained under the threat of censorship throughout the 1950s, when it touched on politically sensitive current events, such as the economic situation, the aftermath of World War II, the Cold War, the war in Indochina, and the Algerian War. This censorship program was effective particularly in terms of fostering a climate of self-censorship among directors and producers. By tacit agreement, there was little or no material produced that reflected on the war years or, more specifically, the problem of collaboration.

The French film industry was characterized by inflexibility, not only in terms of subject matter, but also in terms of personnel. Films were stylized, reflecting the domination of the industry by cinematographers and technicians who were protected and nurtured by the unionized structures of the big studios. Directors typically served long years of apprenticeship and were often forty years old before making a first film. One of the few directors to emerge in this period was Yves Allégret (1907–1986), who remained limited by his adherence to the traditions of the past. New, more notable actors and actresses included Simone Signoret (1921–1985), Gérard Philipe (1922–1959), and Madeleine Robinson (1916–2004).

This period was identified with the Tradition of Quality—dismissed by young critics of the period, such as François Truffaut (1932–1984), as "cinéma de papa" (daddy's movies). The Tradition of Quality emphasized craft over innovation, privileged established directors over new directors, and preferred the great works of the past to experimentation. Literary adaptation provided fertile ground for this decade, on the part of those who were anxious to prove the cultural superiority of French film in the face of a massive influx of Hollywood movies into the French market. Grémillon, Guitry, Pagnol, Renoir, Clair, and Duvivier continued to make films, as did the new generation that emerged during the Occupation. Autant-Lara, Clément, Georges Rouquier (1909–1989), Clouzot, Becker, Ophüls, Jean Cocteau (1889–1963), Bresson, and Jacques Tati (1908–1982) made significant films during this period. Characteristic Tradition of Quality films include *Douce* (*Love Story*, Autant-Lara, 1943), *La Symphonie pastorale* (Delannoy, 1946), and *Casque d'or* (*Golden Marie*, Becker, 1952). Actors associated with the Tradition of Quality are Philipe, Martine Carol (1922–1967), and Simone Signoret. Philipe's polished acting style and the sophisticated mature femininity of Carol and Signoret contrasted the youthful insouciance of the actors who would be used by the directors of the later New Wave.

The ciné-club movement, inaugurated by Delluc in the 1920s, became a significant force in French culture and in the development of French cinema. The cinéphile—the amateur fanatic of film and film history—appeared as a distinct character on the French cultural scene and was defined as specifically French, as the word itself suggests. The ciné-club produced a new type of film spectator, film critic, and eventually director, preparing the way for the French New Wave. Such film critics as André Bazin, Alexandre Astruc, Truffaut, and Ado Kyrou (Adonis Kyrou) revived the debates of the Impressionists in the context of post–World War II France. *Cahiers du Cinéma* (1951) and *Positif* (1952) replaced *L'Écran français* (1943–1953) and remained important venues for discussion about film throughout the twentieth century. This lively intellectual climate was a major force in the dramatic changes in film aesthetics and the film industry that subsequently took place.

The government also played a role in fostering a new generation and a new type of director. A regulation eliminating the double-bill (two feature-length films) created a renaissance of short films, as did the new system of supporting film projects based on quality that had been inaugurated by the CNC during this period. Such directors as Alain Resnais (b. 1922), Georges Franju (1912–1987), and Pierre Kast (1920–1984), later known as part of *le groupe de trente* (the group of thirty), were already making short films that fell outside the Tradition of Quality. These short films were distributed via the ciné-clubs and the *art et essai* theaters, that is, small theaters that were the equivalent of the art house theater in Great Britain and the United States. By the end of the 1950s, the old guard had been successfully challenged in the popular arena by young filmmakers, such as Roger Vadim (1928–2000) with *Et Dieu… créa la femme* (*And… God created Woman*, 1955). Critical reception of the outsider filmmakers was equally positive, as in the case of Jean-Pierre Melville's (1917–1973) *Le Silence de la mer* (Silence of the Sea, 1949), Astruc's *Le Rideau cramoisi* (*The Crimson Curtain*, 1953) and *Les Mauvaises rencontres* (*Bad Liaisons*, 1955), *La Pointe-courte* (Agnès Varda, 1956), *Ascenseur pour l'échafaud* (*Elevator to the Gallows*, Louis Malle, 1958), *Un Amour de poche* (*Girl in His Pocket*, Kast, 1958), and *Goha* (Jacques Baratier, 1958). Some of these films, such as *La Pointe-courte*, starring Philippe Noiret (b. 1930), encountered legal problems that forced them to be shown clandestinely in the first instance and prevented widespread distribution until many years later. On the whole, however, most members of the CNC were sympathetic to the ideals of the young filmmakers and were instrumental in supporting the changes to the cinema that characterized the late 1950s and early 1960s.

FRANÇOIS TRUFFAUT

b. François Roland Truffaut, Paris, France, 6 February 1932, d. 21 October 1984

As a director, François Truffaut incarnates the virtues and weaknesses of the French New Wave. Much of his work reflects the troubled circumstances of his early life—illegitimacy, abandonment, and foster care. At age sixteen, Truffaut came under the influence of André Bazin, who served as a father figure and introduced him to the film society Objectif 49, a group that would become a forum for New Criticism. A noted critic from 1950, Truffaut wrote many periodical articles, including "Une Certaine tendance du cinéma française" (1954), in which he attacked the Tradition of Quality and set the agenda to revitalize French cinema.

Truffaut's work as a director is uneven. His first film, *Les Quatre cents coups* (*The 400 Blows*, 1959), starring Jean-Pierre Léaud as Antoine Doinel, was considered a triumph for a new generation of filmmakers because in it Truffaut introduced a more personal, spontaneous style that thumbed its nose at the stilted academic work of the studio directors who had dominated French film production during the postwar years. This film was financed by Truffaut's first wife, Madeleine Morgenstern, whose father owned one of the most powerful French distribution companies of the time, Cocinor. Despite his obsessive love of other women, she supported him throughout his career and was at his bedside when he died of a brain tumor at age fifty-two.

In a number of subsequent films, Truffaut used the Doinel character (played by Léaud) as an alter ego to mirror his own life, from the misunderstood child and troubled delinquent of *The 400 Blows* to the tormented lover and failed husband approaching middle age in *L'Amour en fuite* (*Love on the Run*, 1978). Truffaut is at his best when immersed in the study of character, as in *Jules et Jim* (*Jules and Jim*, 1962), in which the innocence, generosity, and tenderness of the three main characters is very sensitively captured, and at his worst when he attempts to imitate Hollywood directors such as Alfred Hitchcock, for whom he professed a strong admiration. An example of an unsuccessful effort to imitate a Hitchcock thriller is *La Mariée était en noir* (*The Bride Wore Black*, 1968), which even Truffaut declared he did not like much.

Truffaut's influence on cinema was international in scope. He conveyed in his films and in his writing an apparently inexhaustible and infectious enthusiasm for the possibility of authentic personal expression in the cinema. Perhaps his most moving film after *The 400 Blows*, *L'Enfant Sauvage* (*The Wild Child*, 1970) stars Truffaut as a scientist who attempts to communicate with an abandoned autistic child. Throughout his life, Truffaut believed that human communication could transcend language and culture. No doubt, his influence on young filmmakers derives from this faith.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Les Quatre cents coups (The 400 Blows, 1959), *Tirez sur le pianiste* (*Shoot the Piano Player*, 1960), *Jules et Jim (Jules and Jim,* 1962), *La Mariée était en noir* (*The Bride Wore Black*, 1968), *Basiers volés* (*Stolen Kisses*, 1968), *La Sirène du Mississippi* (*Mississippi Mermaid*, 1969), *Le' Enfant Sauvage (The Wild Child,* 1970), *Domicile conjugal* (*Bed & Board*, 1970), *Deux anglaises et le continent* (*Two English Girls*, 1971), *La Nuit américaine* (*Day for Night*, 1973), *L'Histoire d'Adèle H.* (*The Story of Adele H*, 1975), *L'Argent de poche* (*Small Change*, 1976), *L'Homme qui aimait les femmes* (*The Man Who Loved Women*, 1977)

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By the end of the 1950s, French cinema had undergone a major transformation from a free-market economy to an economy largely submitted to state control. Stagnation had set in, provoking harsh criticism from a generation of film critics who had grown up with film as a major cultural force. The ciné-clubs had developed a

François Truffaut. © WILLIAM KAREL/SYGMA/CORBIS.

highly literate audience for film, sophisticated in their tastes, and informed about the historical issues governing the development of film. In the post–World War II years, debates about the status of film as art were reanimated by a new generation of critics writing for journals, such as *Cahiers du Cinéma,* and concerns about quality had become a paramount issue at the CNC. Polemical debates about the rigidity of the old guard created an environment receptive to a new kind of filmmaking, one that once again would define itself against Hollywood while looking to a number of Hollywood directors who had gained the status of *auteur* for inspiration.

THE FRENCH NEW WAVE AND ITS AFTERMATH: 1959 TO 1969

The term ''New Wave'' (Nouvelle Vague) was coined by the journalist Françoise Giroud in a series of articles published in *L'Express* during 1957, based on surveys conducted by the magazine. The term was taken up again by *L'Express* in 1959 to describe a new group of directors who showed films at the Cannes Film Festival that year. The epithet ''New Wave'' was exploited by Unifrance-film, an official arm of the CNC, to popularize and distinguish these new French directors abroad and eventually became permanently associated with a group of young directors who emerged roughly at the end of the 1950s through the beginning of the 1960s. Also known as la Bande des Cahiers, these filmmakers were loosely united around a number of critics turned directors, such as Truffaut and Jean-Luc Godard (b. 1930), who published in *Cahiers du Cinéma*.

Though a few directors associated with the French New Wave made films before 1959, such as Roger Leenhardt (1903–1985) and Melville, the first films of 97 of the 192 new French filmmakers cited by *Cahiers du Cinéma* in the New Wave special issue (1962) appeared between 1958 and 1962. Truffaut's *Les Quatre cents coups* (*The 400 Blows*, 1959), often considered the benchmark film of the New Wave, was in fact preceded by films such as *Le Beau Serge* (*Handsome Serge*, 1958) and *Les Cousins* (*The Cousins*, 1959) by Claude Chabrol (b. 1930). The years 1958 and 1959 saw the deaths of a series of great directors who had produced significant work during the previous two decades—Ophüls, Grémillon, and Becker,

Jean-Pierre Leaud in François Truffaut's landmark New Wave film,* Les Quatre cents coup *(*The 400 Blows, *1959).
EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

leaving a number of studio-trained successors in the wings: Edouard Molinaro (b. 1928), Claude Sautet (1924–2000), and Michel Deville (b. 1931) had solid careers and often migrated to features destined for television in the late 1960s and 1970s. However, the hegemony of the old studio system was drawing to a close.

Popular cinema, *le cinéma du sam'di soir* (Saturday night movies), remained a significant box-office force, often in the form of star vehicles for actors such as Fernandel (1903–1971) and Gabin. The growing impact of television resulted in lower numbers of ticket sales, but cinema still overshadowed television as the single most popular form of mass entertainment. The big-budget Tradition of Quality films suffered the most, though the genre was kept alive through Italian co-productions and was revived as the heritage film in the 1980s.

The productions, values, and techniques of the French cinema industry changed radically in the years that followed, opening up a new mode of production grounded in the small-budget film that made way for a new generation of directors with a different artistic conception of film. New lightweight equipment and more sensitive film stock permitted young filmmakers who saw themselves as *auteurs* to begin making films. These new technologies freed filmmakers from the constraints of the large studio-based, heavily unionized film crews that were integral to the film style associated with the Tradition of Quality.

The New Wave filmmakers might be said to share a certain sensibility—one that stood in stark contrast with the controlled *mise-en-scène,* trained performances, and studio lighting of the Tradition of Quality. By and large, New Wave directors favored improvisation and the use of available light, location shooting, direct sound, and vernacular language. Perhaps more importantly, this sensibility was associated with a mode of production, the small-budget film that gave the director complete artistic control, establishing him or her as the author or *auteur* of the work. The notion that the director functioned as the artistic creator of the film, with the film serving primarily as a vehicle for his or her vision, had a significant influence not only on film production but also on the way in which films were evaluated—in particular, in the context of a developing academic discourse on film.

New character types emerged with the New Wave, along with a more spontaneous acting style. Although the New Wave directors turned their backs on the established stars, the New Wave developed stars of its own, such as Jean-Paul Belmondo (b. 1933) and Jeanne Moreau (b. 1928), both of whom would go on to have international careers and have a significant impact on French cinema by sponsoring projects and taking a role in decisions about policy. Male stars such as Jean-Pierre Léaud (b. 1944) and Belmondo specialized in playing antiheroes, and together they formed the masculine face of the New Wave. Women stars such as Moreau, Bernadette Lafont (b. 1938), Anna Karina (b. 1940), and Brigitte Bardot (b. 1934) played either gamine embodiments of youthful sensuality, or dark, neurotic intellectuals.

Strategies used by the French New Wave, such as direct sound and location shooting, were also part of the *cinéma vérité* movement that developed during the same period, associated with figures such as the anthropologist-filmmaker Jean Rouch (1917–2004). Again, the relatively low budgets associated with this genre of filmmaking made it attractive to intellectuals interested in interrogating social norms and circulating anti-establishment political statements. Not since the early days of cinema had it been possible for so many people to make so many films. A new pattern was established: directors no longer necessarily spent years working in the industry and perfecting their craft before embarking on a solo project. A director might make one or two more or less successful films before moving to some other activity. Though in fact New Wave directors worked with small, well-established crews maintained from one film to the next, they were the significant driving force behind the look, structure, and feel of the films.

JEANNE MOREAU

b. Jeanne Moreau, Paris, France, 23 January 1928

As a star, a woman, and a national figure, Jeanne Moreau exemplifies the ideal of the French film actress in the post–New Wave era. Though overshadowed in the popular press by such stars as Brigitte Bardot and Catherine Deneuve, both of whom served as the model for Marianne, the official statue that represents France, Moreau, through her image as well as her position in the French film industry, embodied French femininity for a generation of film lovers. She personified the intelligent actress whose dark, mature, and potentially dangerous sensuality stood in stark contrast to the blonde sex kitten that dominated Hollywood screens. Moreau was considered un-photogenic, a *jolie laide*, whose personal magnetism and speaking voice overshadowed her features.

Her early background in theater lent credibility to her career in cinema, which began in 1948 and which includes over one hundred films. Her roles in films associated with the New Wave, such as *Ascenseur pour l'échafaud* (*Elevator to the Gallows*, 1958) and *Les Amants* (*The Lovers*, 1958), both directed by Louis Malle, gave her international prominence. Her portrayal of Catherine in *Jules et Jim* (*Jules and Jim*, 1962), directed by François Truffaut, New Wave director par excellence, solidified her star image. International films, including Michelangelo Antonioni's *La Notte* (*The Night*, 1961), Orson Welles's *Une Histoire immortelle* (*The Immortal Story*, 1968), Anthony Asquith's *The Yellow Rolls-Royce* (1964), and Carlo Diegues's *Joanna Francesa* (1973), also have featured prominently in her career.

Moreau took a substantial risk in choosing to work with young, relatively unknown directors in the late 1950s and the 1960s. Throughout her career, she made choices that reflected her sense of cinema as an art and, as a result, she is universally respected for her professionalism and commitment. In addition to awards for specific roles (Cannes, 1960; Académie du cinéma, 1962; Célsar, 1990), she has received lifetime tributes from the Cannes Film Festival (1992), the Venice Film Festival (Golden Lion, 1992), and the American Academy of Motion Pictures Arts and Sciences (1998).

Moreau has been involved in all aspects of French cinema. She was twice Présidente of the Jury at the Cannes Festival, and in 1993, she was appointed Présidente of the Commission d'Avances sur Recettes, a body of experts that advises the Centre National de la Cinématographie. She has also supported Equinox, an organization she created in 1993 that holds annual workshops for new scriptwriters. Moreau has directed two films herself, *Lumière* (1976), a portrait of four film actresses, and *L'Adolescente* (*The Adolescent*, 1979), the evocation of a visit by a girl to her grandparents in Avignon on the eve of World War II. Moreau was elected a member of the Academy of Beaux Arts in 2001.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Ascenseur pour l'échafaud (Elevator to the Gallows, 1958), *Les Amants (The Lovers*, 1958), *Les Liaisons dangereuses* (*Dangerous Liaisons*, 1959), *La Notte (The Night*, 1961), *Jules et Jim* (*Jules and Jim*, 1962), *Le Journal d'une femme de chambre* (*Diary of a Chambermaid*, 1964), *La Mariée était en noir* (*The Bride Wore Black*, 1968), *Querelle* (1982), *La Femme Nikita* (*Nikita*, 1990), *L'Absence* (*The Absence*, 1993)

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The New Wave philosophy did not mean that big-budget filmmaking was over in France or elsewhere, but it did introduce a parallel tradition that would make film-making more accessible to a wide range of individuals who declined to see cinema as mass entertainment, preferring to use film primarily as a form of personal or aesthetic expression. Within the New Wave, two equally important groups contributed to the rise of this new style in filmmaking: the very vocal group emerging out of *Cahiers du Cinéma*, including Chabrol, Truffaut, Godard, Jacques Rivette (b. 1928), Eric Rohmer (b. 1920), and Jacques Doniol-Valcroze (1920–1989); and the equally productive, if less polemical, filmmakers who espoused a more personal vision, including Franju, Jean-Pierre Mocky (b. 1929), and Claude Lelouch (B. 1937). *Un homme et une femme* (*A Man and a Woman*, Lelouch, 1966) was arguably the most influential French film of the 1960s. Directors whose work was closely aligned with the new directions of current

Jeanne Moreau in **Secrets d'alcove *(* The Bed, *1954).***
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literature, such as Renais and Buñuel, were sympathetic to the New Wave if not technically among its members and contributed to the aesthetic fecundity of the period. Resnais, though often associated with the New Wave, is distinguished from the typical New Wave directors by his willingness to efface himself through the adaptation of works by other writers, and by his highly intellectualized approach. His major films from the late 1950s and 1960s include *Hiroshima mon amour* (*Hiroshima, My Love*, 1959), with a script by Marguerite Duras (1914–1996), and *L'Année dernière à Marienbad* (*Last Year at Marienbad*, 1961), produced in collaboration with Alain Robbe-Grillet (b. 1922), starring the cult actress Delphine Seyrig (1932–1990), and with costumes by Coco Chanel.

While the new breed of filmmakers was lionized at festivals, the career directors of established French cinema turned to television. The Buttes-Chaumont Studios, in particular, continued the Tradition of Quality in its productions for television. Directors emerged from the studio tradition, often the same age as the adherents of the New Wave, continued their careers—such as Delannoy, Gilles Grangier (1911–1996), and Denys de La Patellière (b. 1921). At Buttes-Chaumont these directors produced work that maintained the technical standards of the previous decades. Paradoxically, given France's reputation for intellectual fare, the biggest French box-office hit of all time was a popular comedy, *La Grande Vadrouille* (*Don't Look Now We're Being Shot At*, 1966), directed by Gérard Oury (b. 1919) and starring Bourvil (1917–1970) and Louis de Funès (1914–1983).

The strikes and upheavals of May 1968 had an immediate if not necessarily lasting effect on French cinema, when demonstrators disrupted the Cannes Film Festival. Plans to reform the processes of production and distribution were put forward but eventually discarded. Individual reactions were varied: Malle gave up fiction film for two years in order to make documentaries; Godard threw himself into collective productions that were never commercially distributed.

CINEMA IN FLUX: 1970 TO 1989

By the early 1970s, the effects of the New Wave and of May 1968 had dissipated. Certain directors, such as Truffaut, were reintegrated into the French mainstream and directed films that clearly continued the tradition of French cinema associated with figures like Guitry and Renoir. Conversely, Godard and Rivette experimented with form and content, while others, like Bresson—never part of the New Wave—steadfastly pursued a personal itinerary. Directors like Louis Malle pushed the boundaries of film content with productions like *Le Souffle au coeur* (*Murmur of the Heart*, 1971), about incest, and *Lacombe Lucien* (1974), about a young peasant who collaborates with the Germans. In the aftermath of the New Wave, a new generation of young filmmakers emerged that included Maurice Pialat (1925–2003), Jacques Doillon (b. 1944), and Jean Eustache (1938–1981), who continued the auteurist tradition inaugurated by the *Cahiers* group. More importantly, the role of cinema in French culture changed irrevocably, as it was no longer the primary medium of mass entertainment. By the end of the 1970s, more people watched films on television than in theaters.

By the mid-1970s, French culture had freed itself from the rigid hierarchies and social behaviors that previously characterized everyday life; however, the utopian environment anticipated by the activists in the 1960s did not become a reality. Censorship policies were abandoned (though the category *X* was created for taxation purposes). The result was a flourishing tradition of softcore pornography, exemplified by *Emmanuelle* (1974), directed by Just Jaeckin (b. 1940). Global consumerism appeared as if it would successfully colonize French culture, which seemed in danger of losing its specificity.

An exception to this trend was the growing tradition of women's cinema, which gravitated to the Festival international de films de femmes (French International Women's Film Festival), established in Sceaux in 1979 and moved to Créteil in 1985. A number of significant women filmmakers emerged from the woman's move-

ment during the 1970s and went on to make important contributions to French cinema, including Yannick Bellon (b. 1924), Diane Kurys (b. 1949), and Coline Serreau (b. 1947). The influx of women filmmakers such as Christine Pascal (1953–1996) and Brigitte Roüan (b. 1946) who emerged through festivals and as graduates of French film schools, continued to grow over the next two decades. Significant women directors who appeared in the 1980s and 1990s include Josiane Balasko (b. 1950), Claire Denis (b. 1948), and Catherine Breillat (b. 1950).

During these years Hollywood film gained new ground, further diminishing an audience already depleted by television. Nevertheless, French cinema remained a force in French culture. Popular comedies such as *Les Aventures de Rabbi Jacob* (*The Adventures of Rabbi Jacob*, 1973), starring Louis de Funès, continued to have strong box-office appeal. But by the late 1980s, Hollywood films systematically outperformed French films at the French box office. The growing prominence of the Césars, the French "Oscar" (first awarded in 1976 and initially dismissed by the international film industry), testified to the continuing importance of film within French culture, despite diminishing box-office returns. By the 1990s, half of the French population would watch *la nuit des Césars* (the night of the Cesars) on television.

The government's sustained support for the film industry in France reflected this centrality. Under the socialist government (1981–1995), support was stronger than ever before, ensuring the survival of the industry during a period in which the European cinema as a whole suffered a serious decline. Initiatives inaugurated by Minister of Culture Jack Lang (b. 1939), including the creation of eight *maisons de la culture* (regional cinema centers), encouraged regional filmmakers. However, on the whole, Paris remained at the heart of French feature-length production through the 1970s and 1980s. A significant diversification of perspective resulted from the number of foreign directors who exploited the favorable conditions offered to the film industry by the French government. Directors such as Joseph Losey, Ettore Scola, Otar Iosseliani, Hugo Santiago, Edgardo Cozarinsky, Raoul Ruiz, Andrzej Zulawski, Andrzej Wajda, Krzysztof Kiéslowski, and Emir Kusturica all made films in France, financed, at least partially, by French money.

During the 1980s, encouraged by the Socialist government, the liberalization of French culture and society continued, manifested in cultural pluralism and cultural sensitivity. For example, under the leadership of French comedian and film actor Coluche (Michel Colucci; 1944–1986), the artistic community created Les Restos du Coeur, which provided free meals for the homeless. In general, the 1980s were marked by disillusionment with social reform and economic change, leading to the rise of individualism of the 1990s and the gradual disappearance of the political film in France.

Until the mid-1980s, the success of popular cinema in France depended in large part upon film series co-produced by stars such as Belmondo, Alain Delon (b. 1935), and Funès. By the mid-1980s, this generation of stars had died or aged, and French cinema moved away from formula-driven production. Films such as *Trois hommes et un couffin* (*Three Men and a Baby*, 1985) and *La Vie est un long fleuve tranquil* (*Life Is a Long Quiet River*, 1987), box-office successes, were exceptions rather than the rule and did not fit any well-defined template. The number of box-office entries continued to fall, and by 1993 box-office receipts for French films were significantly less than for their Hollywood counterparts. The strategies and financial incentives promoted by Lang during this period insured that French filmmaking remained financially healthy; however, the industry's hold on French minds and culture waned. In particular, the youth segment that dominated audiences was more interested in foreign productions than in French material, an attitude that was reflected in the rise of international co-productions.

DISTRIBUTION AND THE EFFECTS OF TELEVISION: THE 1980s

By the end of the 1980s, it could no longer be said that cinema dominated the French cultural landscape. It had become merely one medium among many that appealed to French audiences. Beginning in the late 1970s, French cinema became part of *le paysage audiovisuel français* (the French audiovisual landscape). Though certain established film stars retained their impact, the new generation of French film stars failed to achieve the cult status of their predecessors. The national film star was eclipsed by international celebrities from a variety of media, including music and television. Certain French stars, such as Juliette Binoche (b. 1964) and Gerard Depardieu (b. 1948), achieved world standing through participation in international co-productions; however, it was the rare French star who migrated to Hollywood, where male stars such as Charles Boyer (1899–1978), Chevalier, and Louis Jourdan (b. 1920) had achieved success during the classical era. Other French stars, for instance Isabelle Huppert (b. 1955), extended their audience by appearing in theater productions. In general, French stars continued to cross between a variety of media, including film, television, café-theater, and advertising. New French stars, however, failed to achieve the kind of international notoriety conferred by the paparazzi on the likes of Bardot, Catherine Deneuve (b. 1943), Belmondo, and Delon in previous decades.

In the late 1970s and 1980s, television became a significant distribution network for film through the development of privately owned television stations, pay-

TV, and cable networks. Indeed, television became a repertory theater devoted to screening the entire archive of French cinema from the silent era onward. Theaters were unable to compete, and even *art et essai* theaters, with their niche audiences, were threatened with extinction.

Television channels were extremely competitive and quickly began producing films as well as distributing them, especially in order to offer new material during highly desirable time slots. The first attempts of this type date to 1959, but it was not until 1976 that television co-productions became popular, and by the beginning of the 1980s few films were produced without some sort of support from Canal Plus, a subscription-based, encrypted television distribution network and subsidiary of Vivendi, a multinational media company. Beginning in 1984, the television industry was taxed, and these new revenues offset the decline of ticket-entry based levies, which had been one of the primary sources of support for French cinema since the inauguration of the CNC and its policies.

The film industry received a further boost in 1985 when Lang created the Société de Financement des Industries Cinématographiques et Audiovisuelles program (SOFICA), which offered tax shelters to companies investing in the film industry. Despite a steady decline in cinema attendance throughout the 1980s that reached its nadir in the early 1990s, these efforts succeeded in providing a sound financial basis for the French film industry. Yet the rise of international co-productions threatened the distinctiveness of French films while contributing to the industry's health and stability. Television had a paradoxical effect on cinema in France: on the one hand, it successfully challenged film as the primary form of mass entertainment; on the other, it was a source of financial support that enabled the film industry to continue to produce French films for a French public while encouraging the development of financially advantageous international co-productions.

With the rise of television, the distributor became a major force in the French film industry. Family-owned theaters disappeared and were replaced by multiplexes. In 1970, Pathé and Gaumont jointly created a network of over four hundred theaters under an umbrella organization, G.I.E. In 1971, the theaters grouped under UGC, l'Union générale des cinémas (the General Union of Film Theaters), which had been requisitioned by the state after World War II, privatized and became the heart of a network of several hundred cinemas. Another network, Parafrance, developed with the support of the CNC. But this system was unstable. In 1983 the CNC, empowered by a decree issued by Lang, dissolved G.I.E. Pathé-Gaumont. By 1984, Parafrance was no more; however, Pathé and Gaumont reorganized, partitioned, and consolidated their shares of the market. The multiplex system became—the CNC's efforts notwithstanding—one of the formative influences on the further development of French cinema.

The major distributors were averse to taking risks. They evolved a system that maximized profit by saturating the national market with promotional materials and supporting multiple premieres in the most commercially viable locations. After 1989, it was not unusual to make eight hundred prints of a single film, which would then be shown simultaneously at ten percent of all theaters. The rising production costs made the financial risks greater, but the multiplex system also enabled producers to enjoy enormous financial rewards if they did have a box-office success. The incentive to produce blockbusters grew while the possibility of enjoying a modest success in a niche market diminished. Either a film made it big during the first week of its release or disappeared from the screen. Under this system, French cinema became even more vulnerable to the threat posed by Hollywood movies, particularly in the form of the blockbusters.

DEFEAT AND RENEWAL: SINCE 1990

Supported by Lang, heritage cinema, which favored literary adaptation, historical topics, costume dramas, and high production values, initially appeared as though it might revitalize the theatrical release. *Cyrano de Bergerac* (1990), by Jean-Paul Rappeneau (b. 1932), was a financial, critical, and popular success and was preceded by the successes of *Jean de Florette* (1986) and *Manon des sources* (*Manon of the Spring*, 1986) by Claude Berri (b. 1934). But this apparent trend immediately reversed itself. Big productions, such as *Jean Galmot, aventurier* (*Jean Galmot, Adventurer*, Alain Maline, 1990), bombed, while low-budget films, such as *La Discrète* (*The Discreet*, Christian Vincent, 1990), were box-office successes. The most obvious trend in this period was the grouping of individual filmmakers in terms of generations, beginning with an established group of still-active directors dating from the French New Wave period that included Bresson, Chabrol, Godard, Resnais, Rohmer, Rivette, and Varda. Other groups of younger filmmakers comprised those who positioned themselves as continuing the New Wave (André Téchiné [b. 1943], Benoît Jacquot [b. 1947], and Claude Miller [b. 1942]), those who saw themselves as reviving the cinema of quality (Michel Deville, Claude Sautet, Bertrand Tavernier [b. 1941]), and, finally, those who conceived of themselves as pursuing an individualist vision (Doillon, Maurice Pialat [1925–2003], Philippe Garrel [b. 1948], and Alain Cavalier [b. 1931]). Another group of very heterogeneous filmmakers is made up of directors united by their interest in social issues. Often referred to as *le jeune cinéma français* (young French cinema), this group includes

Anne Parillaud in Luc Besson's stylish **La Femme Nikita** ***(*****Nikita,** ***1990).*** © SAMUEL GOLDWYN/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

women directors such as Breillat, as well as directors associated with *cinéma beur*, also known as cinema of the Mahgreb (such as Mehdi Charef [b. 1952] and Malik Chibane [b. 1964]), the *cinéma de banlieu* or neighborhood (such as Mathieu Kassovitz [b. 1964]), and regional cinema (Bruno Dumont [b. 1958]). This group also incorporated directors like Varda and Tavernier, whose more recent work, such as Varda's *Jane B. par Agnès V.* (*Jane B. for Agnes V.*, 1987) and Tavernier's *L. 627* (1992), were influenced by this new sensibility. This mulidirectional development suggests the ways in which as the millenium approached and passed, the ideal of French culture as homogeneous and grounded in French language and French heritage no longer reflected the lived experience of the younger generations of French citizens.

Perhaps the most obvious testimony to the transformation of the French cultural landscape is found in the *cinéma du look* (cinema of the look), a film genre influenced by cartoons, advertising, and music videos. This genre is sometimes associated with the Forum des Halles, referring to the designer chic, ultra-modern shopping complex in central Paris that became a focal point for youth culture after its opening in 1979. The obsession of the cinéma du look with style, inaugurated by *Diva* by Jean-Jacques Beineix (b. 1964) in 1981, repeatedly threatened to run out of steam, but it nevertheless maintained its impetus through the mid-1990s and beyond—often in the form of Hollywood productions, as in the case of Luc Besson (b. 1959). Besson, who emerged as one of the Forum des Halles directors alongside Beineix and Leos Carax (b. 1960), remained through the turn of the twenty-first century one of France's most bankable directors, even though his later films were often made abroad. In addition to slick, stylized framing, composition, lighting, and editing imported from the world of advertising, the films had in common a rejection of society and its values, emphasizing instead the individual's pursuit of happiness. Although routinely rejected by established French critics, these films and their directors proved so successful, especially in an international context, that eventually scholars of French culture were forced to take them seriously. Both heritage films—which tended toward costume super-productions, such as *La Reine Margot* (*Queen Marguerite*, 1994) or *Le*

Hussard sur le toit (*The Horseman on the Roof*, 1995) and the *cinéma du look*—fall into a category often referred to as "the new spectacular cinema," which depended on big budgets, heavy marketing, and concept promotion for its success. Attempts to mobilize these strategies pepper the French cinema of the 1990s and early 2000s, achieving variable success. In fact, the big successes of the early 2000s were by and large, relatively low-budget productions by Hollywood standards, such as *Le Fabuleux destin d'Amélie Poulain* (*Amélie*, 2001) by Jean-Pierre Jeunet (b. 1955), when French film outsold Hollywood film at the French box office for the first time in over a decade.

Equally significant were the number of French directors earlier in the decade, such as Jeunet and Jean-Jacques Annaud (b. 1943), who alternated between making Hollywood films for a global audience and French films for a French audience. Although heavily attacked for selling their "art," these directors maintained a profile as *auteurs* that can be identified as French. The consistency of their work depended upon an informal group of actors and actresses as well as crewmembers and even composers whose contributions were critical to reproducing a distinctive look and feel attributed to a given director.

While individual directors systematically represented French cinema abroad, typically the highest grossing French films at the French box office have been social comedies, such as *Marriages* (Catherine Martin, 2001). Comedies and romantic comedies, usually revolving around social mores and often featuring well-known actors and actresses, remained popular with French audiences; however, they were not formula-driven. These films were rarely attractive to foreign audiences, yet the increasing number of Hollywood remakes of French films since the early 1980s, usually comedies, such as Edouard Molinaro's *La Cage aux folles* (1978), remade by Mike Nichols as *The Birdcage* (1996), and Serreau's *Trois hommes et un couffin* (1985), remade by Leonard Nimoy as *Three Men and a Baby* (1987), indicate the sustained global interest in French cinema.

At the end of the twentieth century, French cinema appears to have revived. Its existence, though precarious, has been assured through vigorous state sponsorship. Films such as François Ozon's (b. 1967) *Sous le sable* (*Under the Sand*, 2000) and *The Swimming Pool* (2003) have pursued the *intimiste* subjects that characterized French cinema of the late twentieth century; however, the critical and intellectual hegemony spawned by the New Wave was displaced in the late 1990s and early 2000s by a more popular, less angst-ridden cinema with such films as *Amélie* (2001), Christophe Barratier's (b. 1963) *Les Choristes* (*The Chorus*, 2004), and Jeunet's *Un long dimanche de fiançailles* (*A Very Long Engagement*, 2004). This movement produced box-office successes that brought French cinema out of the slump that it had experienced in the early 1990s. The major challenge that faced the French cinema at the turn of the millenium was maintaining its position in a global market while preserving its identity as a French cinema for French audiences.

France successfully upheld the status of audiovisual productions as "cultural exceptions" in General Agreement of Trade and Tariffs (GATT through 1993) and subsequent World Trade Organization (WTO) negotiations. The results were favorable conditions for French film in France and in Europe through the imposition of protective tariffs as well as quotas. Because of these and other measures on the part of the State, such as cross-subsidization from the television industry, the French share of the French box office has stabilized at about one third, after a few difficult years at the beginning of the 1990s. In spite of this success within the French market, France's share of the foreign market has continued to decline, particularly in terms of television rights. French producers have countered by co-producing more English-language films, such as Roman Polanski's *The Pianist* (2002).

The privileged status that French film has retained in the WTO negotiations might seem to be a victory for cultural purists. The French government, nonetheless, required the industry to be fiscally responsible and has directed its policies with a view to financial as well as cultural soundness. In the late 1990s, French film became more sensitive to box-office demand, producing, for example, a greater number of comedies geared toward a popular audience. Unfortunately, these films rarely did well abroad. Another strategy, more successful in terms of exportability, was the move toward higher-budget, more sophisticated films geared toward a younger audience, such as Kassovitz's *Les Rivières pourpres* (*Crimson Rivers*, 2000) and *Les Rivières pourpres: Les anges de l'apocalypes* (*Crimson Rivers 2: Angels of the Apocalypse*, 2004).

The *auteur* directors traditionally associated with French films were forced to produce films on ever-diminishing budgets and often resorted to film shorts. Aesthetic and formal experimentation moved out of the cinema into the museum, often crossing over into video and other media, as in the case of Godard's series *Histoire(s) du cinéma* (1989–1998). Some critics feared that this more personal and intellectual filmmaking might permanently disappear, to be replaced by films the likes of the "Crimson Rivers" series, that is, sensationalist star vehicles. Similarly, these same critics expressed concerns about whether this commercially viable cinema was really French. *The Pianist*, for example, does not feature a French director, a French star, or the French language. The question remained: would a popular French cinema be able to retain its hold on the French

imagination as the cultural exception, as a cinema that challenged the global dominance of Hollywood, not simply within an economic arena but as the arbitrator of taste and culture? This question was first raised in the aftermath of World War I, and it has continued to be the crucial question facing French cinema at the turn of the millenium.

SEE ALSO *National Cinema; New Wave*

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GANGSTER FILMS

Gangster films are films about gangsters, professional criminals who have banded together to commit crimes. This much is simple, and indeed a great deal of the genre's enduring appeal lies in its bold simplicity. As Robert Warshow noted fifty years ago, gangsters act out movie audiences' most violently untrammeled fantasies of unlimited upward mobility by following the golden rule of prototypical gangster hero Tony Camonte in *Scarface* (1932): "Do it first, do it yourself, and keep on doing it." Commentators from Carlos Clarens to Eugene Rosow have observed how movie gangsters plot, steal, and kill their way to economic and social supremacy until, like Cody Jarrett in *White Heat* (1949), they are alone at the "top of the world," though their meteoric rise is unfailingly followed by an even swifter fall. Yet the very name of the gangster film indicates three decisive complications at the heart of the genre: the gangster's status as both villain and hero; the chicken-and-egg relationship between gangsters and their gangs; and the variously reflective relationship between gangs and the societies against which they wage their criminal wars.

These problems are illustrated by the work of two acknowledged masters of the genre, Raoul Walsh (1887–1980) and Howard Hawks (1896–1977). Despite, or because of, the best efforts of the FBI, which rose to prominence by publicizing its pursuit of real-life gangsters in the 1930s, gangsters are perversely heroic figures, larger-than-life lawbreakers who triumph, at least for a time, over the laws of a community less vibrant than they are. Yet they are defined first and foremost as members of a gang more powerful than any one member. Whether Walsh and Hawks are directing westerns, war films, or gangster films (Walsh's *High Sierra*, 1941, and *White Heat*; Hawks's *Scarface*), they repeatedly explore the resulting tension between the heroic individual, almost always a male, and the community from which he derives his potency. In the case of the gangster film, a further complication, as Fran Mason has noted, emerges from the fact that criminal gangs, formed for the express purpose of providing a lawless alternative to the law-abiding social order, invariably cast themselves as imitations of the larger society in all its weaknesses. The resulting contradictions between heroism and heroic villainy, individual and communal identity, and lawless gangs and the laws necessary to their operation are the engine that drives the gangster film.

FROM NOBLE SAVAGE TO SOCIAL PROBLEM

Film gangsters are as old as film narrative. *The Great Train Robbery* (1903), with its twelve-minute story of a railroad heist marked by meticulous planning, unexpected violence, and condign punishment, would be acknowledged as the first gangster film if its gangster credentials were not overshadowed, as in similar films to come (*Jesse James*, 1939; *Rancho Notorious*, 1952; *Man of the West*, 1958), by its western *mise-en-scène*. Silent gangster films, however, were less likely to follow *The Great Train Robbery* than *The Musketeers of Pig Alley* (1912), in which the Snapper Kid, a tough, violent, personable criminal denizen of a New York ghetto, forms a momentary but touching alliance of convenience with the film's law-abiding heroine before returning to his life of crime. The leading gangsters of the American silent screen were noble savages, from the eponymous hero of *Alias Jimmy Valentine* (1915) to the economically successful but romantically doomed Bull Weed in

James Cagney at the "top of the world" in* White Heat *(Raoul Walsh, 1949). **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

Underworld (1927), a film whose influence on countless poetic French gangster tragedies of the 1930s (*Pépé le Moko*, 1936; *Le Jour se Lève* [*Daybreak*, 1939]) was almost as pervasive as on its American successor, the virtual remake *Thunderbolt* (1929), with Josef von Sternberg (1894–1969) again directing George Bancroft as the gangster star.

It is hardly surprising that these early films so inveterately romanticize the gangster. Urban lawbreakers living on the edge of polite society had a great deal in common with the working-class, largely immigrant audiences who followed their adventures in movie theaters. This subversive identification with the gangster hero was fostered throughout the 1920s by the Volstead Act, which made the sale of alcoholic beverages illegal from 1920 to 1933. So long as Prohibition was the law of the land in America, law-abiding citizens could get liquor only from underworld contacts. Hollywood's response was to paint the gangster as the disavowed Other of American society, the outsider without whom the social machinery lubricated by alcohol would have ground to a halt.

In the early 1930s, however, the image of the Hollywood gangster was dramatically transformed. The Great Depression, ushered in by the stock market crash of 1929, upended previously stable stratifications in American culture, ruining dozens of paper millionaires and throwing millions of Americans out of work. The Hollywood gangster, often based closely on the career of such real-life criminals as Al Capone (1899–1947) and John Dillinger (1903–1934), emerged as the logical hero for such a desperate moment, a rags-to-riches success story fueled by the dreams of audiences across the country. At the same time, a new complication emerged with

the industry's widespread adoption of synchronized sound. Sound, as Jonathan Munby has pointed out, gave gangsters a voice, and that voice in such gangster classics as *Little Caesar* (1930), *Public Enemy* (1931), and *Scarface* was not only laconic and brutal but identifiably ethnic. No longer an urban Everyman, the gangster became the object of sociological study, a promethean overachiever whose ambition and greed doomed his aspirations to ethnic assimilation. Although James Cagney (1899–1986) as Tom Powers, the definitive Irish gangster in *Public Enemy*, and Paul Muni (1895–1967) as Tony Camonte were both given hand-wringing mothers as moral counterweights, their cautionary tales, along with that of Edward G. Robinson (1893–1973) as Rico Bandello in *Little Caesar*, strongly implied that ethnicity was fate.

Since 1930, Hollywood studios had subscribed to a Production Code designed to prevent government censorship. It was not until 1934, however, that the Code was widely enforced under public pressure organized in large part by the Catholic Legion of Decency. The effect on gangster films was immediate. The Code forbade many of the visual trappings on which gangster films had relied: drug use, automatic weapons, protracted scenes of violent death. More fundamentally, the Code ruled that crime was always to be punished, never presented as appealing. Overnight, gangster films like *The Story of Temple Drake* (1933) were pulled from release; post-Code gangsters like Duke Mantee in *The Petrified Forest* (1936) were less sympathetic and more vicious than their predecessors of a year or two earlier; and much of the energy that had once gone into gangster films was poured into police films like *"G" Men* (1935), whose fast-talking hero, Brick Davis (James Cagney), is given all the trappings of a gangster: fast cars, lethal firepower, and suspicious ties to organized crime. By the end of the decade, films like *Dead End* (1937) and *Angels with Dirty Faces* (1938) were treating the gangster as a deviant social problem to be explained rather than a mirror image of official American culture.

A METAPHOR FOR ALL SEASONS

The repeal of Prohibition in 1933 made the bootlegging gangster an instant anachronism, and the FBI's assault on organized crime throughout the decade drove the gangster underground. But he remained as a powerfully metaphoric figure that could be adapted to many uses. *High Sierra* squeezed weary but honorable ex-con Roy Earle (Humphrey Bogart) between the faithless gang that has sprung him from jail for one last job and the all-American girl who rebuffs his fatherly romantic advances. *The Phenix City Story* (1955) buried a plea for good government in the semi-documentary story of an Alabama town run by a criminal syndicate. *The Killers* (1946), taking its cue from Ernest Hemingway's short story about a man who refuses to run from the two hit men looking for him, supplied a backstory for the doomed hero that used the expressionistic techniques of film noir to intensify its tale of an innocent hero caught in the toils of a gangster and his sultry girlfriend. Don Siegel's (1912–1991) 1964 remake of the film reimagined the hit men themselves as detectives defying their anonymous criminal client to figure out why their target failed to run. Most influentially of all, *The Asphalt Jungle* (1950) charted an urban landscape whose most respectable citizens were double-dealing hypocrites dependent on the honor of the petty criminals they used as pawns. *The Asphalt Jungle* inaugurated a new kind of gangster film: the heist or caper film in which the gang is assembled only for the purpose of pulling off a single job—an organization far more unstable than the gangs dominated by Tom Powers and Tony Camonte. Across the Atlantic, such pickup gangs became the subject of comedies in England (*The Lavender Hill Mob*, 1951; *The Ladykillers*, 1955) and Italy (*I Soliti ignoti* [*Big Deal on Madonna Street*, 1958]) as well as the existential melodrama *Rififi* (France, 1955).

The gangster might have continued indefinitely as an all-purpose metaphor for social deviance if not for three developments in the movie industry. First, the gradual decline of the studios after the Paramount decrees of 1948, requiring them to disband their vertically integrated monopolies, left movie stars, once treated as chattel, with ever more power over their projects. Second, the emerging medium of broadcast television pushed film studios to provide experiences television could not match. And third, a series of challenges to the Production Code during the 1950s and 1960s led to a new ratings system in 1969 that broke with the longstanding Hollywood practice of releasing only films every possible audience could watch to mark different films as appropriate for different audiences. The result throughout the industry was a series of star-driven vehicles with rapidly escalating budgets and increasingly liberal doses of sex, violence, and harsh language. It was a climate ripe for the reemergence of the gangster as a major figure.

Bonnie and Clyde (1967) and *The Godfather* (1972), the two films that most decisively marked the return of the gangster, both treated their heroes frankly as anachronisms in order to reveal the mythopoetic power beneath the genre's realism. For all the seedy glamour of their 1930s outfits and stolen cars, Bonnie and Clyde are children of the 1960s, counterculture heroes for a generation that no longer trusted the social institutions of the democratic state; the capitalistic economy; and their servants, the police. Michael Corleone, the dark hero of *The Godfather* and its two sequels (1974, 1990), was

JAMES CAGNEY

b. James Francis Cagney, Yonkers, New York, 17 July 1899, d. 30 March 1986

The toughest, most likable, and most endlessly imitated of all American film gangsters, Cagney was a paradoxical figure. His screen persona was a diamond in the rough, but he was also gifted at farce (*Boy Meets Girl*, 1938), physical comedy (*A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 1935), and song and dance, winning an Academy Award® for his role as George M. Cohan in *Yankee Doodle Dandy* (1942). Cagney's ruthless gangsters—Tom Powers in *The Public Enemy* (1931), Eddie Bartlett in *The Roaring Twenties* (1939), and Ralph Cotter in *Kiss Tomorrow Goodbye* (1950), among others—seem driven at once by their harsh environment and by a psychopathology that was purely amoral, a force truly beyond their power to control. Yet from the beginning, audiences found Cagney's insouciance irresistible. Even when he led the Dead End Kids astray in *Angels with Dirty Faces* (1938) or shoved half a grapefruit into Mae Clarke's face in *The Public Enemy*, he came across as somehow fundamentally decent.

Cagney's best movies show him driven by uncontrollable forces. In *White Heat* (1949), Cody Jarrett's snarling violence is consistently linked to both headaches that periodically incapacitate him and catastrophic disturbances in the physical world, like the climactic explosion at a gas refinery that finally sends Cody to a memorably suicidal apotheosis at the "top of the world."

Cagney was the most energetic, unreflective, and physically straightforward of all the great Hollywood studio stars. His proletarian heroes seem impatient with any thought that cannot immediately be translated into physical action. Unlike his contemporary Edward G. Robinson, another bantamweight who could play a hero of almost any ethnic background, Cagney was invincibly Irish. Indeed, many of Cagney's fans were convinced that he was always playing himself, an unpolished mick from New York who had been in plenty of scrapes on the way to the top. Yet interviewers invariably found Cagney courteous, withdrawn, and essentially private. Like Cody Jarrett, who weeps on his mother's lap and then goes into the next room to resume the role of psychotic gang leader, Cagney perfected a style of acting that concealed artifice under the guise of self-expression. Although he never parodied his screen image as actors from Robinson to Marlon Brando did, his signature gangster persona brought a hard edge to heroes as different as FBI agent Brick Davis in *"G" Men* (1935) and C. R. MacNamara in *One, Two, Three* (1961), where he ran the Berlin operation of Coca-Cola exactly as if it were a gang and he were the last gangster in the world.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

The Public Enemy (1931), *"G" Men* (1935), *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1935), *Boy Meets Girl* (1938), *Angels with Dirty Faces* (1938), *The Roaring Twenties* (1939), *Each Dawn I Die* (1939), *Yankee Doodle Dandy* (1942), *Blood on the Sun* (1945), *13 Rue Madeleine* (1947), *White Heat* (1949), *Kiss Tomorrow Goodbye (1950), A Lion Is in the Streets (1953), Love Me or Leave Me (1955), One, Two, Three* (1961), *Ragtime* (1981)

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presented even more forthrightly as a microcosm of the American dream, its promise to newly arrived immigrants, and its betrayal by the drive to assimilation and respectability. Both films weigh the gangster against the gang, a family ultimately destroyed by the very loyalties the gangster struggles to honor.

The cycle of nostalgic gangster films, including the French films *Borsalino* (1970) and *Stavisky* (1974) and culminating in Sergio Leone's epic *C'era una volta in America* (*Once Upon a Time in America*, 1984), yielded in turn to a return of realism fueled by widespread public fear of urban crime in a civic culture apparently as intent on eradicating drug use as an earlier generation had been on criminalizing alcohol. Martin Scorsese (b. 1942), who had already anatomized criminal life in New York's Little Italy in *Mean Streets* (1973), attacked Francis Ford

James Cagney. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Coppola's (b. 1939) idealized portrayal of a mob family in the *Godfather* films in his sharply revisionist *GoodFellas* (1990), which ended with its coked-up hero ratting out the friends who planned to kill him. Both films, along with *The Godfather, Part II*, helped establish Robert De Niro (b. 1943) as successor to Humphrey Bogart (1899–1957), the definitive gangster hero of his time: moody, barely controlled, and often psychotic.

But De Niro's Italian American gangster found a highly influential African American counterpart in the gangstas of *New Jack City* (1991), *Boyz N the Hood* (1991), *Menace II Society* (1993), *Sugar Hill* (1994), *Clockers* (1995), and *Dead Presidents* (1995). Still another international influence was supplied by the Hong Kong action films of John Woo (b. 1946), beginning with *Ying hung boon sik* (*A Better Tomorrow*, 1986), whose geometric opposition of cops to killers suggested a supercharged remake of such genre classics as *"G" Men.* Quentin Tarantino (b. 1963) combined the Hong Kong aesthetic of Woo and Johnny To (b. 1953) (*Dung fong saam hap* [*The Heroic Trio*, 1993] and other films) with an interracial gang and his own fashionable nihilism, choreographing Raoul Walsh to a laugh track in presenting the criminal heroes of *Reservoir Dogs* (1992), *Pulp Fiction* (1994), *Jackie Brown* (1997), and the two "volumes" of *Kill Bill* (2003, 2004) as just one more group of people going about a difficult job. The release of gangster films from all over the map, from recycled capers like *Heist* (2001) and *The Score* (2001) to Scorsese's opulently violent period piece *Gangs of New York* (2002) to the searing portrait of bored, overachieving Asian American high-school criminals in *Better Luck Tomorrow* (2002), show the gangster film flourishing in the new century even as American paranoia turned outward from domestic crime to international terrorism.

ORGANIZATION MEN

Gangster films have been categorized and theorized in many ways. Perhaps the most illuminating categories concern the different relations between gangster heroes and their organizations and between gangs and the larger society.

The earliest films to emphasize the fearsome power of gangsters came from abroad. In *Fantômas* and its four sequels (France, 1913–1914), Louis Feuillade (1873–1925) presented the gangster as a master of disguise capable of thwarting the police at every turn, a pattern expanded to epic length and complexity in Fritz Lang's (1890–1976) German film, *Dr. Mabuse, der Spieler: Ein Bild der Zeit* (*Dr. Mabuse, the Gambler*, 1922). These films present the gangster as an octopus and his organization as a vast, omnipotent conspiracy seen as if from a great distance. This paranoid pattern, common in American political thrillers, is rarely found in American gangster films; the closest American analogue is *The Phenix City Story*.

Far more common is the view of the gangster as a once-normal citizen corrupted by greed, lust, or a masculine drive to power. Films that begin their stories before the gangster's rise usually offer sociological explanations for the hero's moral deviance. *The Public Enemy* sets the pattern for gangster films that root organized crime in economic deprivation among urban immigrants. Despite its gangster trappings, most of the seven murders in *The Big Sleep* (1946) are committed to protect or avenge a lover or a spurned offer of love. The four heroines of *Set It Off* (1996) are driven to bank robbery by racism and the oppression of the white men who control their financial destiny. Criminal gangs in these films, as in *Once Upon a Time in America* and *Gangs of New York*, are often fatal extensions of generational rivalries or childhood friendships—a particularly prevalent motif in gangsta films like *Boyz N the Hood* and *Menace II Society*.

Against this view of criminal gangs as a deformed version of childhood gangs may be set the strictly professional view of gangsters in *The Asphalt Jungle*, in which each member of the gang is recruited for a particular skill

and paid a set wage, "like plumbers." American heist films, less brutal and romantic than French prototypes like *Rififi*, adopt a view of society at once technologically advanced and socially atavistic and ultimately ascribe the gang's failure to the unstable nature of the capitalistic ties that hold its members together. Frankly comic capers like *Ocean's Eleven* (1960, 2001), *The Hot Rock* (1972), *Bank Shot* (1974), and *Ocean's Twelve* (2004) get laughs by emphasizing the impossibility of the gang's task and the ingenuity of means taken to succeed. When the job looks easy, Hollywood caper films allow the gang to disintegrate under its own pressure, as in the obligatory double crosses of *The Killing* (1956), *Heist*, and *The Score*.

More broadly, criminal gangs can be framed explicitly as images of the societies they oppose. In comic versions like *The Ladykillers* (1955, 2004) and *A Fish Called Wanda* (1988), the gang's organization reflects the social order as it might be distorted by a funhouse mirror. But parody also informs less obviously comic versions like *The League of Gentlemen* (England, 1960), *Fargo* (1996), and Brian De Palma's (b. 1940) *Scarface* (1983), whose criminals, like the childlike, simian Tony Camonte in Hawks's *Scarface*, provoke laughter by their ill-informed attempts to mimic the behavior of the society whose most basic rules they are flouting. Still less comic versions like *The Godfather* films and *GoodFellas* exemplify John Baxter's premise that criminals are created by the society against which they think they are rebelling. Eugene Rosow has traced the closeness with which pre-Code gangsters reflected their audiences' fears and desires. More recently, the iconic gangster played by *Godfather* alumnus Al Pacino (b. 1940) in *Donnie Brasco* (1997) is destroyed by the undercover cop he adopts as his protégé as surely as the iconic gangster played by Robert De Niro in *Heat* (1995) faces off against the iconic cop played by Pacino as fully his equal, a potentially tragic figure destroyed by his mirror image. Like *"G" Men*, *Heat* reminds viewers that Hollywood cops are created in the image of Hollywood gangsters, not the other way around. The gangs and gangsters in these films, like Tom Hanks's doomed hit man in *Road to Perdition* (2002), are marked by the incompatible drives toward loyalty, equality, assimilation, and unlimited upward mobility characteristic of all American culture. Indeed Jack Shadoian, taking his cue from Robert Warshow, has called the gangster the archetypal American dreamer whose doomed trajectory reveals the futility of the American Dream.

Finally, gangsters can be portrayed as frankly heroic rebels against a corrupt or bankrupt society, more sympathetic, like Frankenstein's monster, than the society that has spawned and rejected them. The doomed robbers in *The Asphalt Jungle*, *Bonnie and Clyde*, *They Live by Night* (1949), and its remake, *Thieves Like Us* (1974), approach the frontier of the gangster film, a frontier crossed by outlaw films like *The Adventures of Robin Hood* (1938) and *Thelma and Louise* (1991). Tarantino's ironic spin on this pattern is to create a world in *Pulp Fiction* and *Kill Bill* from which the law and its representatives have vanished, leaving criminal culture, for better or worse, as the only game in town. Whether these films can truly be called gangster films is open to question. A world whose criminals provide the last best hope for the social order is a world in which gangsters like Robin Hood no longer seem like gangsters, no matter how many laws they break.

SEE ALSO *Crime Films; Genre*

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Thomas Leitch

GAY, LESBIAN, AND QUEER CINEMA

The study of gay and lesbian cinema became a growing concern in the wake of 1970s feminist film theory and the discipline's increasing attention to issues of representation—of women, of racial and ethnic minorities, and eventually of gay and lesbian people. While there had been a few attempts to discuss onscreen homosexuality prior to that period (such as Parker Tyler's *Screening the Sexes: Homosexuality in the Movies* [1972]), the seminal text on the subject was Vito Russo's *The Celluloid Closet: Homosexuality in the Movies* (first published in 1981, revised and updated in 1987). In it, Russo examined over eighty years of film history, exploring the ways and means in which gay and lesbian people had been portrayed at the movies. Those images carried considerable cultural weight; for many people, these images were all they ever "saw" or "knew" about homosexuality before the sexual revolution of the 1960s.

The so-called Stonewall Riots that occurred in New York City in June 1969 are sometimes said to be the start of the modern gay and lesbian civil rights movement—the fight for civil rights and an end to discrimination. Before that time, gay and lesbian people were routinely fired from their jobs, denied housing, harassed, or arrested simply for being homosexual. They were classified as mentally ill by the psychiatric and military communities, and during the Red Scare of the 1950s they were considered national security risks. Like the struggle for racial or gender equality, the fight for gay and lesbian equality continues to this day, and the images that popular film and television create of homosexual people continue to influence both public perception and governmental policy.

In the last twenty years, the study of gay and lesbian cinema has expanded greatly beyond simplistic image analysis. Within academia, the development of third wave feminism and queer theory across many disciplines in the humanities has sought to rethink basic concepts about human sexuality, demonstrating the complexity of a subject that encompasses not only personal orientation and behavior but also the social, cultural, and historical factors that define and create the conditions of such orientations and behaviors. The term "queer," once a pejorative epithet used to humiliate gay men and women, is now used to describe that broad expanse of sexualities. Queer should thus be understood to describe any sexuality not defined as heterosexual procreative monogamy (once the presumed goal of any Hollywood coupling); queers are people (including heterosexuals) who do not organize their sexuality according to that rubric.

Recently, many of the theoretical issues raised by queer theory have found their way into gay and lesbian independent filmmaking, within a movement known as New Queer Cinema. Queer theory also helps us interrogate and complicate the category "gay and lesbian cinema." For example, the very meaning of the words "gay" and "lesbian"—how they are used and understood—has changed greatly over the decades, as have the conditions of their cinematic representation. There are great cultural and historical differences between films made by queer directors in 1930s Hollywood and those made by early twenty-first-century independent queer filmmakers. The characteristics that mass culture has used to signify homosexuality have also changed. While present-day films can be relatively forthright about sexuality, older films could only hint at it in various ways. Thus, many classical Hollywood performances, directors, and genres might be considered queer rather than gay, in

that they do not explicitly acknowledge homosexuality, but nonetheless allow for spaces in which normative heterosexuality is threatened, critiqued, camped up, or shown to be an unstable performative identity.

THE CLASSICAL HOLLYWOOD BASELINE

Classical (and pre-classical) Hollywood films (those produced between the 1910s and the 1950s) had little interest in dramatizing homosexual lives or homosexual issues. The very structure of Hollywood narrative form was and is heterosexist: it almost always contains a male–female romance, regardless of story line or genre. If and when homosexual characters appeared in Hollywood films prior to the sexual revolution, they were almost always relegated to walk-on parts or small supporting roles. One notable early exception was *A Florida Enchantment* (1914), a comedy wherein female characters eat magical sex-changing seeds that turn them into women-chasing lotharios. Much more common was the stereotype of the "pansy," an effeminate male supporting character—often a butler, designer, or choreographer. When the Hollywood Production Code (which specifically forbade the depiction of what it called "sex perversion") was put into effect in 1934, these characterizations were forced further into the realm of connotation. Hollywood cinema under the Code continued to suggest queerness via the presence of effeminate men and mannish women, but these characters were never explicitly acknowledged as homosexual. Actors such as Edward Everett Horton (1886–1970), Eric Blore (1887–1959), and Franklin Pangborn (1888–1958) made careers for themselves by playing such roles.

Female characters in pre-Code cinema were stronger and more sexually forthright than in post-Code cinema, and occasionally they too gave off a queer aura. For example, Greta Garbo's (1905–1990) *Queen Christina* (1933) wears pants, runs a country, and kisses her chambermaid rather passionately on the lips—before she falls in love with a man. Similarly, in *Morocco* (1930), Marlene Dietrich's (1901–1992) character wears a tuxedo and vamps both men and women. Both actresses—Garbo and Dietrich—had large queer fan bases and many rumors surrounded their "real life" sexualities. Obviously, many queer actors and actresses worked (and continue to work) in Hollywood. Leading silent film stars Ramon Novarro (1899–1968) and Billy Haines (1900–1973) were gay, but as the Production Code was enforced and Hollywood grew more homophobic, their careers faded. Haines was fired from Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer because he refused to go along with studio publicity designed to hide his homosexuality. Such arranged publicity stunts included dates and even weddings—the so-called "marriage of convenience." For example, Rock Hudson (1925–1985) was briefly married in the 1950s to persuade his fans that he was indeed heterosexual.

Queer people also worked behind the camera in Hollywood, many in costume design (Orry-Kelly [1897–1964], Adrian [1903–1959]), set decoration (Jack Moore [1906–1998], Henry Grace [1907–1983]), and choreography (Charles Walters [1903–1982], Jack Cole [1911–1974]). There were also successful producers and directors who led quiet homosexual lives, including David Lewis (1903–1987), Ross Hunter (1920–1996), Mitchell Leisen (1898–1972), Edmund Goulding (1891–1959), Irving Rapper (1898–1999), Arthur Lubin (1898–1995), James Whale (1889–1957), George Cukor (1899–1983), and Dorothy Arzner (1897–1979). The last three of these are the best known, perhaps because their film work does show more obvious touches of a homosexual sensibility. Whale directed four of Universal's classic horror films (*Frankenstein*, 1931; *The Old Dark House*, 1932; *The Invisible Man*, 1933; and *Bride of Frankenstein*, 1935) with gay wit and innuendo. Arzner, one of the few women to direct in Hollywood during the classical era, made films such as *Christopher Strong* (1933) and *Dance, Girl, Dance* (1940) that showcased strong women and celebrated the bonds between them. Cukor, one of the classical era's most prolific directors, became known chiefly for his women's films and musicals, including *Camille* (1936), *A Star Is Born* (1954), and *My Fair Lady* (1964). Cukor's *Sylvia Scarlett* (1935) managed to skirt the Code's injunctions against "sex perversion" even as it featured a cross-dressing heroine (Katherine Hepburn as a young woman impersonating a boy) and all sorts of same-sex infatuations.

Queer filmmakers and fans were often drawn to the musical and the horror film, two genres that often acknowledged queer characters and seem to be steeped in queer sensibilities. The musical, although almost always containing a (highly contrived) heterosexual romance, creates a bright carnivalesque world in which fantasy and reality shift and blur. Real-life hatreds and biases are banished, and people are free to be expressively emotional and physical in nonviolent ways. *The Wizard of Oz* (1939), starring gay favorite Judy Garland (1922–1969) and a cast of misfit effeminate men, has become an iconic film in gay culture. The horror film often uses queer traits to characterize its monsters and mad scientists. For example, in *Mad Love* (1935) Peter Lorre's effeminate madman quotes Oscar Wilde, and vampires (like *Dracula's Daughter*, 1936) are almost always queerly sexual, seducing both men and women with their unnatural kisses. In fact, the lesbian vampire was the most common image of lesbians on American film screens before the 1980s. The need for queer spectators to rewrite such distorted images and reappropriate others

BARBARA HAMMER

b. Hollywood, California, 15 May 1939

Barbara Hammer is by far the most prolific lesbian filmmaker, having made over sixty films and videos since the late 1960s. Hammer's films are excellent examples of New Queer Cinema practice. They cross borders (between documentary, fiction, and experimental filmmaking), and focus on the complexities of human sexuality—especially the ways in which those sexualities have been socially constructed across time and place. Hammer's films explore love, sex, identity, humor, community, relationships, nature, and spirituality. Almost all are deeply personal, drawing on autobiographical elements and centering on the filmmaker as well as her friends and lovers.

Hammer's earliest films are set in and around San Francisco and reflect the mythic femininity that many lesbian-feminists of the 1970s were trying to reclaim. For example, *Menses* (1974) makes use of bold symbolism (blood, eggs), optical printing, and sound loops in order to exalt the essentially feminine process of menstruation. *Superdyke* (1975), in which a group of self-identified "Amazon" women wearing "Superdyke" T-shirts joyously overrun San Francisco, is even more playful in tone and form. In *Women I Love* (1979), Hammer experiments with pixilation (the animation of objects) as dancing fruits and vegetables unveil their inner selves to the camera, just as do the women in her life.

By the 1980s, Hammer was exploring and experimenting with digital technology. In *No No Nooky TV* (1987), she used computer-generated sounds and images to investigate technology's male biases, as well as to suggest how those forms might be reclaimed for lesbian feminist goals. She tackled the AIDS crisis directly in *Snow Job: The Media Hysteria of AIDS* (1986) and more indirectly in *Endangered* (1988), an abstract aural and visual collage that draws a connection between endangered species and the precarious nature of her own experimental film work wherein media technologies threaten to eradicate their living subjects altogether.

In the 1990s, Hammer made a series of longer, more theoretically informed films that investigate lesbian representability. The first of these, *Nitrate Kisses* (1992), begins with a consideration of how the American novelist Willa Cather's sexuality has been erased from history. The film explores queer sexualities hitherto hidden, including lesbian relationships during the Holocaust and gay male iconography of the 1930s. Hammer counters those historical musings with contemporary treatment of sexualities still considered taboo (even by many queers), including footage of two older women lovers and a sadomasochistic duo. As an interracial male couple has sex, Hammer overlays the written text of the Hollywood Production Code, in effect forcing that document to confront what it had censored for so long. Funny, complex, thoughtful, and challenging, the work of Barbara Hammer expands our notions of both film form and human sexuality.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Dyketactics (1974), *Menses* (1974), *Superdyke* (1975), *Women I Love* (1979), *Our Trip* (1980), *Sync Touch* (1981), *Snow Job* (1986), *No No Nooky TV* (1987), *Endangered* (1988), *Nitrate Kisses* (1992), *Tender Fictions* (1995), *History Lessons* (2000)

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gave rise to the camp sensibility, the practice of ironically decoding and making fun of heterocentrist culture. As such, many gay men of the pre-Stonewall generation simultaneously mocked and venerated Hollywood stars such as Maria Montez (1917–1951), Bette Davis (1908–1989), Joan Crawford (1904–1977), and Lana Turner (1921–1995), actresses who always seemed to be performing—even in their real lives.

HOLLYWOOD AND THE SEXUAL REVOLUTION

Hollywood responded to the nation's changing sexual mores throughout the 1950s and 1960s by slowly amending and then eventually replacing the Hollywood Production Code with the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA) Ratings System. In 1961 the Code Administration agreed to allow onscreen homosexuality, as long as it was treated with "care, discretion, and restraint." What that really meant was that homosexuality could be represented, but that it should also be condemned. For example, the British import *Victim* (1961), which centered on a gay blackmail case and argued that social prejudice against homosexuals was wrong, was denied a Seal of Approval. The first few American films dealing with homosexuality that were approved by the Code suggested that homosexuality would only lead to tragedy. For example, in *Advise and Consent* (1962), a past gay relationship is shown to be cause for suicide, and in *The Children's Hour* (1962), a young woman hangs herself after admitting that she is a lesbian.

Throughout the 1960s, homosexual innuendo became a staple of smarmy sex comedies (*That Touch of Mink*, 1962; *Staircase*, 1969; *The Gay Deceivers*, 1969), and functioned as a signifier of ultimate villainy in action and adventure films (*Lawrence of Arabia*, 1962; *From Russia with Love*, 1963; *Caprice*, 1967). A few films attempted to deal with sexuality in more complex ways: *Reflections in a Golden Eye* (1967) and *The Sergeant* (1968) centered on (repressed) homosexuality in the military, even as their queer characters still met death and destruction. Two of the most famous (and least offensive) Hollywood films dealing with homosexuality during this era were *The Killing of Sister George* (1968, about lesbians in the British television industry) and *The Boys in the Band* (1970, about a group of gay friends in New York City). Both of these films had been based on successful stage plays and explored issues of romance, the closet, the possibility of blackmail and job loss, internalized homophobia, and the burgeoning (but still mostly underground) gay and lesbian culture of many cities. While these films may seem overly melodramatic or stereotypical by today's standards, they did capture a certain slice of reality for many urban homosexuals of their era. Perhaps most importantly, no one died at the end of them.

Throughout the 1970s, as homosexuals were becoming more visible in the real world, they once again retreated from American movie screens. Queers were occasionally seen as minor supporting figures, when they were seen at all. Then, in the early 1980s, another small cycle of gay-themed films appeared. Several of these reworked the old queer psycho-killer stereotype: in *Dressed to Kill* (1980), *Cruising* (1980), and *The Fan* (1981), queers slashed their way onto multiplex movie screens. Perhaps to atone for such images, Hollywood also released a handful of films that featured sympathetic queer characters. *The World According to Garp* (1982) featured a male-to-female transsexual, while *Personal Best* (1982) dramatized a lesbian relationship and issues of bisexuality. Twentieth Century Fox released *Making Love* (1982), a melodrama about a married couple coming to terms with the husband's latent homosexuality. By far the most popular of these films was the old-fashioned musical sex farce *Victor/Victoria* (1982), a film that featured Julie Andrews as a cross-dressing nightclub performer and Robert Preston as her flamboyantly gay best friend.

Frances Lorraine and Sally Binford in Barbara Hammer's* Nitrate Kisses *(1992). © STRAND RELEASING/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

ALTERNATIVES TO HOLLYWOOD

Gay and lesbian concerns and characters often found more varied (and less pejorative) representations outside the Hollywood industry, in foreign, experimental, and documentary filmmaking. One of the first films ever to feature homosexual love as its theme was the Swedish film *Vingarne* (*Wings*, 1916), directed by Mauritz Stiller (1823–1928; who was himself homosexual). Carl Theodor Dreyer's *Mikaël* (1924), filmed in Germany a few years later, was drawn from the same source novel. In fact, Weimar Germany was home to gay directors like F. W. Murnau (1888–1931) (*Nosferatu*, 1922) and produced the first film to make a plea for homosexual rights and freedoms. *Anders als die Anderen* (*Different from the Others*, 1919) was made in conjunction with early sexologist and gay rights pioneer Magnus Hirschfeld (1868–1934). A few years later G. W. Pabst's famous film *Pandora's Box* (1929) featured a lesbian subplot. Perhaps the most well-known German film of this era to deal with homosexuality was *Madchen in Uniform* (1931), a film about a schoolgirl's crush on her teacher. It should be noted that if and when these films played in America, they were often censored in ways that elided their homosexual content.

French avant-garde filmmaking also offered an alternative to Hollywood form and content. Poet and playwright Jean Cocteau's (1889–1963) film *Le sang d'un poète* (*Blood of a Poet*, 1930) explored homoerotic themes, and Jean Genet's (1910–1986) *Un chant d'amour* (*Song of Love*, 1950) centered on the homoerotic bonds between men in prison. One of the first American avant-garde films to deal with homosexuality was James Watson (1894–1982) and Melville Webber's (1871–1947) *Lot in Sodom* (1933). In the postwar era, Kenneth Anger's (b. 1927) *Fireworks* (1947), a surreal psychodrama about a young man's homosexual desires, both scandalized and inspired a new generation of filmmakers. Although Anger lived abroad for most of the

1950s, he returned to America to make his most famous film, *Scorpio Rising* (1964), a film that combines found footage, contemporary pop songs, and a host of other cultural artifacts to examine the homoerotic cult of the motorcyclist. Also making queer avant-garde films in the 1960s were Jack Smith (1932–1989) and Andy Warhol (1928–1987), two artists who were associated with the New York underground film scene. Jack Smith's *Flaming Creatures* (1963) featured characters (slave girls, vampires, Roman guards, etc.) and overly dramatic music drawn from exotic Hollywood melodramas. Andy Warhol's films (including *Haircut*, 1963; *Couch*, 1964; and *Lonesome Cowboys*, 1967) also parodied Hollywood style and conventions; his actors (many of whom were drag queens) called themselves "superstars" and behaved as if they were Hollywood royalty.

In the 1970s, prolific lesbian feminist filmmaker Barbara Hammer (b. 1930) began to make short experimental films. Her early work, made in and around San Francisco, captures the feel and spirit of the 1970s lesbian feminist community as it was then defining itself. Other lesbian feminists of the 1970s, including Greta Schiller (b. 1954) (*Greta's Girls*, 1978) and Jan Oxenberg (*Home Movie*, 1973), made films that documented the movement, and more recent experimental work by Su Friedrich (b. 1954), Michelle Citron, Michelle Parkerson (b. 1953), and Sadie Benning (b. 1973) forge important links to the New Queer Cinema movement of the 1990s.

The burgeoning gay and lesbian civil rights movement of the 1970s and 1980s was not confined to America: many western European nations and Canada also began to produce films that acknowledged or reflected the movement. In Germany, Rainer Werner Fassbinder (1946–1982) directed over forty films about race, class, and (homo)sexuality, while Rosa von Praunheim (b. 1942) and Ulrike Ottinger (b. 1942) made even more surreal excursions into the politics and pleasures of homosexuality. In England, Derek Jarman (1942–1994) made a series of highly stylized films (*Sebastiane*, 1976; *Jubilee*, 1977) that critiqued sexual repression and the British Empire. In Spain, Pedro Almodóvar (b. 1949) became one of the world's best known queer filmmakers, repeatedly winning international film prizes for his films. In Canada, John Greyson (b. 1960) made a series of short films and then features (*Moscow Does Not Believe in Queers*, 1986; *Pissoir* [*Urinal*, 1988]) that dealt with homophobia and the AIDS crisis. While a few foreign films dealing with homosexuality (including *La cage aux folles* [*Birds of a Feather*], 1978; and *Kiss of the Spider Woman*, 1985) became art-house hits in America during this era, many of the more queerly provocative works made abroad remained very difficult to see.

Starting in the 1970s, documentaries made by and about gay and lesbian people began to be produced. One of the first and most important of these, *Word Is Out* (1978), was made by a collective of gay and lesbian filmmakers, and told the stories of a cross-section of queer Americans. (The film remains a fascinating time capsule of 1970s culture and the nascent gay liberation movement.) Since then, gay and lesbian documentaries have brought to light stories and issues that mainstream media routinely ignores. Some of these films, such as *Before Stonewall* (1985) and *Silent Pioneers* (1985), documented forgotten aspects of gay and lesbian history. The Oscar®-winning documentary *The Times of Harvey Milk* (1984) chronicled the rise to power of the first openly gay city supervisor, as well as his eventual assassination by an unhinged right-wing politician. Other documentaries, such as *Common Threads: Stories from the Quilt* (1989) and *Silverlake Life* (1993), explored the AIDS crisis, and activist video collectives made pieces that helped spur education and organization. Marlon Riggs's (1957–1994) personal video documentary *Tongues Untied* (1989) remains the definitive statement on what it was like to be a black gay man in the 1980s. Countless other documentaries, such as *One Nation under God* (1993), *Ballot Measure 9* (1995), and *It's Elementary* (1996) continue to explore gay and lesbian lives and issues.

NEW QUEER CINEMA

The production of foreign, experimental, and documentary films that centered on queer issues eventually helped spark the production of gay and lesbian independent feature film production in America. The first batch of these films, including *Buddies* (1985), *Parting Glances* (1986), and *Desert Hearts* (1985), used realistic storytelling conventions to explore coming out, romance, and AIDS. Then, in 1991, a new crop of gay and lesbian films made waves at several international festivals. These films (including *Poison*, *Swoon*, *Paris Is Burning*, *The Living End*, *Edward II*, and *My Own Private Idaho*, all released in 1991) were made by more activist and theoretical filmmakers: Todd Haynes (b. 1961), Tom Kalin, Jennie Livingston (b. 1960), Gregg Araki (b. 1959), Derek Jarman, and Gus Van Sant (b. 1952). The films, many fueled by 1980s AIDS activism, engaged with concepts being formulated within queer theory, and collectively they became known as the New Queer Cinema. Christine Vachon (b. 1962), who has been dubbed the "Godmother of New Queer Cinema," produced several of these first films and has since then produced many more, including *Go Fish* (1994), *Postcards from the Edge* (1994), *Stonewall* (1995), *Boys Don't Cry* (2000), *Hedwig and the Angry Inch* (2001), and *Far from Heaven* (2002). Other important New Queer films include John

TODD HAYNES

b. Los Angeles, California, 2 January 1961

One of the most successful writer-directors of the New Queer Cinema, Todd Haynes was raised in California and studied semiotics and other aspects of cultural theory at Brown University, where he began to make short films. Haynes's work, like most New Queer Cinema, explores the cinematic representation of queer desires by foregrounding both history and film form.

The first Haynes film to garner widespread attention was *Superstar: The Karen Carpenter Story* (1987), a 45-minute biopic that explored the life and death (from anorexia nervosa) of 1970s singer Karen Carpenter. Audaciously, Karen Carpenter's life is enacted in the film by Barbie dolls, and is intercut with documentary-like inserts that describe and explore the medical and social implications of anorexia. While the very premise of *Superstar* creates a campy tone, the film is far from facile or condescending. Instead, the film asks its viewers to consider the connections between the ideals of feminine beauty, celebrity, mental illness, and middle-class repression. Its unlicensed use of the Carpenters' music (and perhaps its unflattering portrait of Karen's family) led to a lawsuit, and the film remains very difficult to see.

Haynes's first feature-length film, *Poison* (1991), was one of the defining films of the New Queer Cinema movement. It recalls the audacity of *Superstar*, and was itself the center of considerable controversy. *Poison* interweaves three separate but related stories, each shot in a different cinematic style. The first, "Homo," is based on the writings of gay writer Jean Genet, and explores the violent sexuality of men in prison. The second, "Horror," is about a scientist who accidentally ingests a sex-hormone serum, and is filmed as a pastiche of 1950s monster movies. The third story, "Hero," is a pseudodocumentary about a young boy who shoots his father and miraculously flies away from the scene. *Poison* was publicly denounced by some members of Congress (it had received some funding from the National Endowment for the Arts) even as it won the Grand Jury Prize at Sundance.

Haynes's next feature, *Safe* (1995), starred Julianne Moore as a woman suffering from a viral-like illness that may or may not be psychosomatic. Exploring issues of contamination, isolation, and the toxic atmosphere of everyday life, the film was both an AIDS allegory and a critique of American self-obsession. *Velvet Goldmine* (1998), another queer art-house hit, examined the 1970s "glam rock" phenomenon in relation to sexuality, celebrity, and style. In 2002, Haynes's *Far from Heaven* (2002) was nominated for several Oscars®, including Best Original Screenplay. The film invokes the visual style of a lush 1950s melodrama, but explores issues that were taboo for films of that era: interracial romance and repressed homosexuality. As with the best of his work, *Far from Heaven* explores the intersection of film form and film content, showing how the discourse of cinematic style can create, contain, or otherwise influence the representation of queer desire.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Superstar: The Karen Carpenter Story (1987), *Poison* (1991), *Dottie Gets Spanked* (1993), *Safe* (1995), *Velvet Goldmine* (1998), *Far from Heaven* (2002)

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Greyson's *Zero Patience* (1993) and Cheryl Dunye's *Watermelon Woman* (1996).

New Queer Cinema has been called "Homo Pomo," because the movement's films make use of postmodern styles and ideas (as does queer theory itself). In most of these films there is a focus on permeable formal boundaries—the crossing of styles and genres. New Queer Cinema often questions essentialist models of identity, and shows how the terms "gay" and "lesbian" are inadequate when trying to define actual human experience. New Queer Cinema simultaneously draws on minimalism and excess, appropriation and pastiche, the mixing of Hollywood and avant-garde, and even the mix of fictional and documentary style. For example, *The Living End* reappropriates the Hollywood buddy/road movie for HIV-positive queers, while *Zero Patience* is a ghost story musical about AIDS. *Watermelon Woman* is a mock documentary about an African American lesbian actress who played "Mammy" roles in 1930s Hollywood; the film is a witty interracial lesbian romance as well as a thoughtful meditation on queer visibility and historical erasure.

New Queer Cinema is not without its detractors. Some have accused the movement of recirculating negative stereotypes such as the queer psycho-killer. Although films like *Swoon* and *The Living End* attempt to show how social forces and sexual repression can and do cause violence, some filmgoers still saw them as reconfirming harmful stereotypes. New Queer Cinema has also been charged with elitism, since it is frequently engaged with issues of queer and postmodern theory. As such, New Queer Cinema can be rigorous and difficult both thematically and formally, and many queer spectators, like straight spectators, prefer "feel good" Hollywood-style movies with happy endings.

Todd Haynes on the set of* Far From Heaven *(2002). © FOCUS FEATURES/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Jonathan Rhys-Myers in Todd Haynes's **Velvet Goldmine** ***(1998).*** EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Those "feel good" movies are also now being made by gay and lesbian independent filmmakers. For example, *The Incredibly True Adventure of Two Girls in Love* (1995), *Beautiful Thing* (1996), *Edge of Seventeen* (1998), and *Billy's Hollywood Screen Kiss* (1998) draw upon the conventions of Hollywood narrative form and the genre of the romantic comedy, placing lesbian and gay lovers into previously heterosexual roles. Films such as *Love! Valour! Compassion!* (1997) and *The Broken Hearts Club* (2000) mix humor with a few tear-jerking moments, and represent predominantly upper-middle-class white male characters. Independent lesbian films remain fewer in number, although films like *Better Than Chocolate* (1999) and *But I'm a Cheerleader* (1999) have been hits on the film festival and art house circuits. Queers of color and transgendered people have also been the subjects of recent American independent features, in films such as *Latin Boys Go to Hell* (1997), *Punks* (2001), and the Oscar®-nominated films *Before Night Falls* (2000) and *Boys Don't Cry*.

HOLLYWOOD TODAY

The rise of New Queer Cinema did not go unnoticed by Hollywood, and they briefly tried (unsuccessfully) to market a few films that explored more open parameters of sexuality, such as *Three of Hearts* (1993) and *Threesome* (1994). For the most part, when dealing with queer characters (which it still rarely does), Hollywood still prefers its previously succesful formulas and comfortable stereotypes. Queer gender-bending traits are still used to signify villainy—even in Disney films like *The Lion King* (1994) and *Pocahontas* (1995). The social problem film *Philadelphia* (1993), while a major critical and box office hit, was still a variation on the "tragic-homosexual-who-dies-at-the-end-of-the-film" stereotype. And drag queens are center stage in occasional comedies like *To Wong Foo, Thanks for Everything, Julie Newmar* (1995) and *The Birdcage* (1996). But in an era of nostalgic Hollywood blockbusters based on fantasy novels and comic books, Hollywood films that deal with actual gay and lesbian lives and issues are relatively rare.

A few new trends dealing with queer issues in Hollywood briefly surfaced in the late 1990s. The first was the reworking of the Hollywood buddy film formula so that it now comprised a straight female lead and her gay male best friend (allegedly bringing both women and gay men to the box office). Films such as *My Best Friend's Wedding* (1997), *The Object of My Affection* (1998), and *The Next Best Thing* (2000) explored the close bonds of friendship that often exist between gay men and straight women. (This is also the formula of the popular and award-winning TV situation comedy *Will and Grace* [NBC, 1998–2006]) While no one dies tragically in these new-age buddy films, and some of them have been moderate box office successes, they still tend to chafe at Hollywood films' need for happy heterosexual closure. Another recent trend in Hollywood's treatment of homosexuality is represented by a handful of films that explore the destructive dynamics of internalized homophobia. *American Beauty* (which won many Oscars® in 1999 including Best Picture) dramatized how repressed homosexuality can lead to vicious homophobia, violence, and murder—a theme also found in *The Talented Mr. Ripley* (1999), several recent documentaries, and even the Comedy Central TV show *South Park* (premiered in 1997—). Most recently, the highly acclaimed film *Brokeback Mountain* (2005) poignantly dramatized how homophobia and heterosexism can destroy human lives.

In Hollywood today, being openly gay or lesbian remains difficult for most actors. Many actors (and their agents and advisors) still fear that the public will not accept an openly gay or lesbian actor in a heterosexual role. However, in the late 1990s, a few Hollywood stars, including Ellen Degeneres (b. 1958), Nathan Lane (b. 1956), Rupert Everett (b. 1959), Rosie O'Donnell (b. 1962), and Sir Ian McKellen (b. 1939) led the way in being openly queer media personalities. Still, the vast majority of queer Hollywood actors remain in the closet, a fact that reinforces the notion that there is something wrong or shameful about being gay or lesbian. Behind the camera, more and more Hollywood queers are finding the space and acceptance to be who they are, making films and especially television shows in unprecedented numbers. The popular situation comedy *Ellen* (ABC, 1994–1998) broke down many barriers and has made television more gay-friendly than Hollywood film. Furthermore, subscription TV channels such as HBO and Showtime, because they do not have to sell their projects to America one film at a time, have also been able to produce more queer-themed work in recent years, including *More Tales of the City* (1998), *Common Ground* (2000), *Queer as Folk* (begun in 2000), *If These Walls Could Talk 2* (2000), and *Soldier's Girl* (2003). Mainstream Hollywood film, so often behind the rest of the media industries in relation to these issues, still continues to marginalize gay and lesbian lives and issues.

SEE ALSO *Camp; Gender; Queer Theory; Sexuality*

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GENDER

Traditionally, the term "gender" refers to the grammatical categories of masculine, feminine, and neuter, but in recent usage it refers more widely to sex-based social categories. Social scientists and anthropologists commonly distinguish gender, which is applied to social and cultural categories, from sex, which is reserved for biological categories. The distinction between sex and gender is underpinned by theories in the life and social sciences about the respective roles of nature and culture in the creation of human identity. Debates around sex and gender have tended to be controversial, and in recent years these have been intensified by medical and scientific research that has provided grounds both for and against the mapping of biological sex onto gender. Some of the most interesting perspectives on sex and gender have come from researchers studying intersexuality. In an influential paper published in 1993, biologist Anne Fausto-Sterling posits the existence of not two but five sexes—male, female, and three degrees of hermaphroditism. In the ensuing debate, which has practical bearings on gender assignment for hermaphrodite children as well as on a whole array of gender-rights issues, it has become clear that the variety of possible sexes and genders is greater than traditionally thought. Within most cultures, however, binary gender division is a persistent norm.

GENDER AND FILM

Feminist arguments against the concept of biologically determined gender identity began with the assertion by Simone de Beauvoir (1908–1986) that women are not born but made. The sex-gender paradigm was taken up widely in the 1970s and 1980s in feminist arguments for rights denied to women and girls on spurious biological grounds. The emphasis of feminist analysis was thus skewed toward deconstructions of gender, while sex itself remained relatively unexamined. Some feminist positions took advantage of the notion of a "real" or "natural" femininity that existed prior to the impositions of capitalist patriarchy, although ultimately all arguments for women's equality were undermined by such essentialism, to a greater or lesser extent.

In a groundbreaking essay published in 1975, Gayle Rubin coined the term "sex-gender system" to describe the ways in which societies transform biological sex into cultural gender and align the processes of human reproduction with those of economic production. Rubin's analysis places marriage, kinship systems, and heterosexuality at the heart of the sex-gender system. Her hypothesis exposed certain contradictions and differences that were particularly marked within American feminism at the time. One of these concerns the legacy of African Americans, whose slave ancestors were denied marriage and kinship and therefore a place in the sex-gender system as Rubin describes it, and for whom gender consequently has different meanings. The situation of African Americans draws attention to the need to conceptualize gender and its relationship with other social systems within historically specific frameworks. Lesbians also fall outside the gambit of Rubin's sex-gender system: by opting out of heterosexuality and its attendant kinship structures, they become radically other to the system. Although this outsider status legitimated lesbianism as a logical and effective expression of feminist dissent, it also contributed to the creation, in the 1980s, of an idealized image of lesbian sexuality that was widely rejected by queer culturalists in the 1990s. The "sex-gender system"

failed as a universal paradigm but succeeded in establishing the importance of mapping convergences between particular social and economic systems in the production of gender.

The recognition that differences among women are at least as important to feminism as differences between women and men has enriched feminist thinking massively, but it has also placed the fundamental assumption of feminism—the commonality of women—under great pressure. Postmodern critical theorists see this as a good thing, potentially enabling the emergence of multiple and mutable sexual identities. In *Gender Trouble* (1990), the most widely influential deconstruction of gender identity published in the 1990s, Judith Butler argues that feminist assertions of the commonality of women as a group unwittingly contribute to the regulation of gender relations. Membership of the class of women, according to Butler, is not the inescapable consequence of biological femininity. Gender identities are not expressions of an essential core but performances built from citations and imitations specific to a given context. The hegemony of patriarchal heterosexuality is therefore neither natural nor inevitable. Butler argues that performances that subvert, confuse, or ironize gender norms have the power to unsettle or even unseat those norms. However, this reformulation of gender is not without drawbacks. Its dissolution of the concept of women as a class or category could be premature. Feminism is the struggle for women as a class and for the disappearance of that class, but it is possible that women as a class might disappear from postmodern feminist discourse while continuing to exist in all their diversity within other discursive and social formations. Further, the notion of gender identity as "free-floating" and flexible needs to be circumscribed by a recognition of the effects that normative social forces and their uneven application have on people of different cultures and conditions. Individualistic subversions of gender norms are not equally possible for all and do not necessarily benefit those who are left behind in the ghetto of women.

GENDER ON THE SCREEN

The absence of the physical body of the actor, and indeed, the relative unimportance of the spectator's own body, in the experience of film viewing should make cinema the perfect medium for the performance of diverse and free-floating gender identities, but the converse is more generally the case: the extent to which images of men and women are conventionalized in the cinema demonstrates the power of gender norms. Nevertheless, the history of cinematic representations of gender is characterized by tensions, contradictions, and change.

Between its invention in 1895 and the imposition of the Production Code in the early 1930s, American cinema was torn between the modern idea of the New Woman and the antimodern Cult of True Womanhood—a Victorian ideology that prescribed for women the four cardinal virtues of purity, piety, domesticity, and submission. In early cinema, before the stabilization of industry standards and norms and while cinema still lacked respectability, women on the screen were often active, sexual, and even feminist. Three types of movies were especially popular with women in the 1910s: serials such as *The Perils of Pauline* (1914), white slave films, and suffragist films. The possibility that these genres encouraged active, curious, militant female spectatorship was the cause of some social concern at the time, especially in the case of the white slave films. There was also concern that the movie theaters were drawing women into new and unsafe public spaces. Early cinema formed part of a modern urban cultural scene in which women's increased mobility was both cause and effect of changes in their social roles.

In later silent cinema, the dialectical tension between old and new model femininities can be most clearly seen in the contrasting stereotypes of the virgin, personified by stars like Mary Pickford (1893–1979) and Lillian Gish (1893–1993), and the vamp, most notoriously embodied by Theda Bara (1885–1955) and Clara Bow (1905–1965). D. W. Griffith (1875–1948), the director most prominently associated with the development of longer narrative films and with the effort to establish the cultural respectability of cinema, consciously drew on the theatrical and literary melodrama of the nineteenth century, in which heroines were virtuous, passive, and long-suffering. However, flapper films of the 1920s, such as *The Dancing Mothers* (1926) and *It* (1927), depicted and addressed the modern, active, independent women of the decade that began with their enfranchisement. The Hollywood libertarianism that made stars of Greta Garbo (1905–1990), Marlene Dietrich (1901–1992), and Mae West (1893–1980) and that created the new and violent masculinity of the gangster film seemed to have carried the day when, in the early 1930s, under pressure from the Legion of Decency, the Production Code came into force, installing sublimation and double standards at the heart of the Hollywood aesthetic.

The impact of historical events on gender roles often appears in indirect and mediated ways in Hollywood cinema. The Depression and the New Deal generated an ethos of selflessness that arguably informed maternal melodramas such as *Stella Dallas* (1937), although the film makes no explicit reference to the economics or ideology of the times. Many critics have noted the influence of World War II on gender roles in the woman's film and film noir, genres that have been said to participate

RUDOLPH VALENTINO

b. Rodolpho Alfonzo Raffaelo Pierre Filibert Gugliemi di Valentina d'Antonguola, Castellaneta, Italy, May 6, 1895, d. New York, New York, August 23, 1926

In his short career as a leading man, Rudolph Valentino was one of the great idols of the silent era and also one of its most controversial, splitting the audience along gender lines between women who adored him and men who loathed him.

After stints of begging, dishwashing, and taxi dancing, Valentino went to Hollywood, where he got his big break in 1921 when he was cast as the lead in Rex Ingram's *Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse*, the box-office hit that made him a star. At screenings of *The Sheik* (1921), women fainted in the aisles, inflamed by its heady cocktail of slavery, capture, peril, and romance. Valentino's star image was established by *The Sheik* in the form of a split personality: the hard-eyed wild man who, once wounded, could be tamed by the love of a good woman.

Valentino acquired a scandalous reputation as a result of bigamy charges brought by his first wife, Jean Acker, gossip about his sexual proclivities and competence, and a second marriage to the domineering Natacha Rambova, whose gift to him of a slave bracelet and whose friendship with lesbian actress Alla Nazimova undermined the star's protestations of "caveman" virility. On the release of *The Son of the Sheik* (1926), an editorial in the *Chicago Tribune* famously called him a "pink powder puff" and a "painted pansy." Women felt otherwise: after his death from peritonitis at the age of thirty-one, thousands of women took to the streets for his funeral, grieving hysterically. For a number of years, he remained the object of a posthumous cult with intimations of necrophilia.

Valentino's star image is a fascinating condensation of desires and anxieties popularized in the 1920s. His ethnic "otherness" was sublated into an erotic glamor that mobilized both desire for the exotic and fear of the alien. His sleek and muscular body was adorned and displayed in ways that triggered expressions of anxiety about the nature of manliness. His sexual persona combined aggressiveness and passivity, sadism and suffering, active seduction and objectification in such a way as to make his films polymorphously perverse fantasies for female spectators frustrated by the conditions of their lives and their usual exclusion from active, desiring spectatorship in the cinema. If manliness in the cinema depends on the conventional deployment of a fetishistic gaze and stardom always invites a degree of fetishization, perhaps contradictions are inevitable in the notion of a manly film star. In Valentino's star image, with its visual emphasis on smooth, hard physicality and glamorous costuming, these contradictions coalesce, so that instead of exercising a fetishistic gaze, he became a fetish himself.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse (1921), *The Sheik* (1921), *Blood and Sand* (1922), *Monsieur Beaucaire* (1924), *The Eagle* (1925), *The Son of the Sheik* (1926)

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in the complex postwar readjustments of social roles for both men and women. The twin figures of the war veteran misfit and the woman whose contribution to the workforce is no longer required have been said to inform the maladjusted femininities and masculinities of many films of the late 1940s that otherwise lack explicit sociological content, including *Leave Her to Heaven* (1945), *Mildred Pierce* (1945), and *Out of the Past* (1947).

Genre (which shares its etymological root with the word "gender") plays a crucial role in constructions of gender in classical Hollywood films. In the musical and the romantic comedy, the genders are represented as

Rudolph Valentino in* Son of the Sheik *(George Fitzmaurice, 1926). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

ultimately complementary to each other, whatever initial incompatibilities might exist. In the western, gender divisions tend to be mapped onto archetypal oppositions between civilization and wilderness, posing a dilemma for the male hero, while the female characters are one-dimensional embodiments of the virtues and shortcomings of civilized society, above all in the stereotypes of the good-hearted saloon girl and the frontier wife and mother. The woman's film is defined by its female protagonist and the "feminine" concerns to which it gives pride of place; men are both extremely important in determining the fate of the heroine and somewhat peripheral to the dramatic interest of the film. Femininity is defined paradoxically in the woman's film, which conveys its undoubtedly conservative morality through cautionary tales of women who break its selfsame rules. Thus Bette Davis (1908–1989) in *Jezebel* (1938), Joan Crawford (1904–1977) in *Mildred Pierce*, and Lana Turner (1921–1995) in *Imitation of Life* (1959) offer female spectators a vicarious escape from ordinary, dutiful lives as wives and mothers, while the punitively moralistic endings of the films reinforce the ideological correctness of conventional lives.

The end of the Production Code in the 1960s allowed for more sexualized renditions of established gender roles but did not necessarily give rise to more flexible and varied constructions of gender. The desublimation of Hollywood cinema resulted not only in more complex and adult female characters, like the neurotic prostitute (Jane Fonda) in *Klute* (1971), but also in the notorious sexual violence of *Straw Dogs* (1972). The most extreme transgressions of orthodox gender roles in this period occurred not in the films with liberal social values and realist aesthetics, but in those that engaged most profoundly with fantasy and desire. In *Psycho* (1960), for example, the Hitchcockian motif of the double operates across the gender divide, not only in Norman Bates's identification with his mother but also in the parallels that are established between Norman and Marion Crane. Although for Hitchcock the merging of male and female personalities signifies psychosis and death, *Psycho* nevertheless articulates the mutability of identity and the artificiality of the gendered self. More recently, the *Alien* films (1979, 1986, 1992, 1997) have developed this tradition, giving forceful expression to a wide range of (progressive and regressive) fantasies and anxieties about gender through the figure of Ripley (Sigourney Weaver), the female hero, and her alter ego, the shape-shifting, alien brood mother.

Hollywood constructions of gender have worldwide significance because of the global reach of the US film industry, but they are also part of American national culture. Ideologies such as "Momism" inflect femininity and masculinity in ways unique to US culture. Outside of Hollywood, configurations of gender are shaped by other cultural histories. In Polish cinema, for instance, representations of men and women are influenced by the iconography of the historic struggle for nationhood, in which the purity and selflessness of the mother serves and motivates the heroism of the son. In French cinema, conversely, it has been suggested that one of the most common Oedipal narrative tropes is the father–daughter relationship, in which female subjectivity is centered but also framed by paternal control. The distinctiveness of configurations of gender in national cinemas confirms the importance of conceptualizing gender in film studies within concrete historical and specific cultural terms.

THE GENDERED GAZE

The study of gendered representations in the cinema began in the early 1970s with Molly Haskell's *From Reverence to Rape: the Treatment of Women in the Movies* (1974). Haskell looks at images of women in movies made from the 1920s to the 1970s (the 1980s are included in the second edition), mainly—but not exclusively—in Hollywood. The book's scope is ambitious,

Representations of the feminine (Jennifer Jones and Lillian Gish) in **Duel in the Sun** *(King Vidor, 1946).* EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

identifying major themes in American cinema such as ''The flight from women and the fight against them in their role as entrappers and civilizers'' (p. 61). Haskell's critical method, which maps genres and stars historically, has been questioned subsequently by academic film theorists, although some of her ideas, such as the notion of star images as ''two-way mirrors linking the immediate past with the immediate future'' (p. 12), are more sophisticated than her detractors might suggest.

The study of images of women was crucial to the development of feminist film culture in the early 1970s but was superseded in the feminist film theory that emerged in the middle of that decade by textual approaches concerned less with the manifest content of films than with the ideological predispositions embedded in their syntax and in the apparatus itself. Drawing on post-structuralism, semiotics, and psychoanalysis, Claire Johnston developed a theory of cinematic representation based on an understanding of film narrative as a mythic system that naturalizes conventional gender relations. Within this system, the figure of woman functions not as a representation of female subjectivity but as the object of male desire. Thus Johnston's remark that ''despite the enormous emphasis placed on woman as spectacle in the cinema, woman as woman is largely absent'' (p. 26). However, rather than calling for the production of realistic or positive images of women, she argues that the more stylized and unrealistic a film's iconography, the more it de-naturalizes both itself and the ideology it serves. Unlike many feminists in the 1970s, Johnston does not reject popular cinema as a ''dream machine'' but embraces its contradictory possibilities. In her comments on the films of Dorothy Arzner (1900–1979), one of a very few female directors in the studio system, Johnston lays claim to a reflexive and critical strain within Hollywood cinema.

Working within the same feminist framework, in 1975 Laura Mulvey wrote what is perhaps the most

celebrated and contentious essay in the history of film studies, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema." Mulvey's essay is also concerned with Hollywood but concentrates on looking at relations as they are systematized by mainstream conventions. In mainstream cinema, Mulvey contends, a gendered division of labor allies the male hero with the movement of the narrative and the female figure with its spectacle. The cinematic apparatus aligns the gaze of the spectator with that of the camera, and editing conventions subsume the look of the camera into that of the protagonist. This system of looks assumes narcissistic identification with the male protagonist of the narrative and voyeuristic enjoyment of the female object of the gaze. This enjoyment is, however, ambivalent, because of the castration anxiety engendered by the sight of the woman. The two forms of pleasure associated with the female image are also defenses against this threat: sadism, which acknowledges sexual difference and takes pleasure in investigating woman's guilt, and fetishism, which disavows sexual difference and worships woman (or a particular body part or item of clothing) as phallic substitute. Mulvey concludes her essay with a radical attack on the pleasures of mainstream cinema and calls for a cinema of "passionate detachment" in terms that strongly evoke the materialist avant-garde and the political counter-cinema of the 1970s. This analysis has been revisited and modified by many theorists and historians, including, on several occasions, Mulvey herself, and from this debate film studies has developed a complex understanding of cinema as a social technology of gender.

The initial emphasis on femininity in the study of gender in cinema clearly resulted from the political impulse to identify and work against gender inequalities. However, as Steve Neale and a number of other critics have argued, it is also important to analyze cinematic masculinities in order to better understand not only how these function to reinforce normative gender relations but also how they may transgress or destabilize them and in what ways they may be subject to transformation. Neale finds numerous instances in mainstream cinema of the male body functioning as visually pleasurable spectacle, but he argues that these images are encoded so as to disavow their eroticism—for instance, in shoot-outs in westerns or in fight sequences in epics. Rather than disputing Mulvey's account of gendered looking relations in mainstream cinema, Neale confirms it but points out the high degree of contradiction within an apparently normative system. Peter Lehman argues more trenchantly that in the proliferation of critical discourse on sexual representations of the female body and the relative paucity (until the 1990s) of critical discourse on sexual representations of the male body, film studies actually replicated the sexual ideology it aimed to deconstruct.

Scholarship on masculinity in films has clustered around a number of themes, including the idea of a crisis in masculinity during the postwar period and after, the fine line between homosociality and homosexuality, and the effects on male subjectivity of psychopathologies, such as hysteria and masochism. The notion of masquerade, initially introduced into feminist film theory by Claire Johnston and Mary Ann Doane, and developed in relation to Judith Butler's theorization of gender performativity, has been applied to cinematic masculinities by film theorists. Male masquerade is a notion with interesting implications, destabilizing hegemonic masculinity and effectively rendering all gender identities and relationships relational and contingent. The notion of male masquerade has been taken up most productively in historical work, such as Gaylyn Studlar's study of male stars of the silent era, which relates their performances of masculinity to specific cultural manifestations of the gender ideology of the times, ranging from the idealized masculinity of Douglas Fairbanks (1883–1939), contextualized in the movement to reform "boy culture" and resist the perceived threat of feminization, to the transgressive appeal of Lon Chaney (1883–1930), whose association with the grotesque and the liminal grounded his popularity with male fans.

Unlike the feminist criticism of the 1970s and 1980s, scholarship on masculinity in cinema has tended to focus on highly specific, often historical, examples rather than on developing a general theory, partly because of the prevailing fashion for historical rather than theoretical inquiry in film studies since the early 1990s, but also because it lacks the political impetus that feminist theory derived from the women's movement. Against the backdrop of declining feminism and resurgent, retro-styled masculinity in postmodern popular culture, there is a risk that critical discourses on masculinity in the cinema will lapse, unintentionally or otherwise, into conservatism and nostalgia. This risk is confronted directly and effectively by Sharon Willis's work on race and gender in contemporary Hollywood film, especially her essay on Quentin Tarantino (b. 1963), which uses a psychoanalytic framework to argue that his admiring imitation of African American masculinity is inflected by the conflict played out in his films between Oedipal structures (borrowed style, aging male stars) and ferocious preoedipal impulses (relentless bathroom references, anal rape). Tarantino's postmodern recycling of popular cultural masculinity, Willis notes, is self-consciously multicultural but inflected by regressive fantasies: his sense of the past from which he takes his reference points is nostalgic and private rather than historical and shared. Tarantino's films stand as a salutary reminder that irony, pastiche, and sexual transgression are not in themselves

guarantees of a progressive or transformative critique of gender identities and relations.

TRANSGENDER IDENTIFICATIONS AND LOOKS

Until the late 1980s, theories of gendered spectatorship were characterized by a strong demarcation between the genders; transgender identification, when it was mentioned as a possibility, was understood as an imposition of patriarchal ideology or, at best, a tactic by which the female spectator might accommodate herself within the binary system of gendered looking without disturbing the hierarchical relationship between its basic terms. However, studies of stars and genres that seem to appeal to spectators across gender lines have enabled critics to develop complex models of cinematic identification that are more complex, fractured, and mutable.

Miriam Hansen's study of the massive popularity of Rudolph Valentino (1895–1926) among women concludes that the sexual ambiguity that became central to his image offered a space of resistance and rebellion to a particular group of female spectators caught up in the social and ideological contradictions of New Womanhood and the particular contradictions of Hollywood in an era in which female audiences were being recruited to the cinema as passive witnesses to their own subordination. In his films and in the star discourse around him, Valentino functioned as the focal point of a remarkably fluid field of sexual possibilities—a public fantasy figure whose constant shifts between sadism and masochism, potency and impotence, heterosexuality and homosexuality, femininity and masculinity, subjectivity and objectification allowed for complex and multiple permutations of desire and identification. The "Valentino syndrome," according to Hansen, is an example of a female subculture that, although distorted by consumerism, gave temporary expression to female desire and even a kind of female fetishism.

Transgender identification is even more central to the hypothesis offered by Carol J. Clover in her study of horror films made since the late 1970s. Overturning the common-sense view that horror films in which female characters are terrorized by male killers encourages male spectators to take sadistic pleasure in violence against women, Clover argues that the predominantly adolescent male audience of slasher films actually identifies with the female victim-hero, or "Final Girl," as Clover calls her, who after a terrifying ordeal, eventually overcomes the villain. Clover observes that both of the principal characters in the genre may be ambiguously gendered—the killer taking on aspects of a monstrous phallic femininity, for example, while the Final Girl is often a tomboy. Clover distinguishes between the actual gender of the characters and their figurative gender—that is, the ways their significant attributes can be correlated to gendered subject positions. On this basis, she argues that the Final Girl is figuratively a boy whose suffering allows the majority audience to explore castration anxiety within the relative safety of vicariousness. Clover is reluctant to make any claims for the progressiveness of horror films on the basis of these insights, but her approach does highlight the mobility of cinematic identification and the permeability of the boundary between genders.

Yvonne Tasker argues that in the 1980s masculinity became more visible, a marked category in American action cinema signified by the "built" body created by the performer rather than by nature. The knowing performance of masculinity by the built male star enacts but also questions and parodies a previously naturalized gender stereotype. Moreover, the performance of masculinity is not the automatic prerogative of biological males. Tasker coins the term "musculinity" to describe the body type associated with the action hero, regardless of actual gender, and discusses the ways in which female bodies take on masculine functions in recent action cinema, as well as the ways in which male characters are sometimes reinscribed as feminine. Tasker concludes her study with a discussion of the films of Kathryn Bigelow (b. 1951), including *Blue Steel* (1990), a psychological thriller that consciously and critically explores the role of women in action cinema. *Blue Steel* uses cross-dressing rather than muscles to indicate the female hero's assumption of certain masculine functions while problematizing her relationship to these functions: Megan Turner (Jamie Lee Curtis) joins the police department in order to share in its patriarchal authority, but when the phallic power of her gun attracts a psychotic soul mate, she finds herself alone and under suspicion. Through this exploration of the antagonistic relationship between the female hero and patriarchal law, Bigelow constructs an allegory of the dilemma with which action cinema confronts both the female spectator and the feminist director. A noticeable difference between *Blue Steel* and the alternative feminist cinema of the 1970s is that rather than rejecting the idea of a woman acting like a man, the film simply points out that this is not institutionally sanctioned behavior.

Cross-dressing is a recurrent trope in both the women's films and the feminist theory of the 1990s, making the composite figure of the transsexual or the woman who passes for a man an emblem of social and sexual change for feminism as well as for queer cultural politics. In a short contribution to a debate about *Boys Don't Cry* (Kimberly Pierce, 1999) in the British journal *Screen*, Judith Halberstam suggests that the film is significant because, in a brief sequence, it requires the spectator to adopt a transgender gaze. The film is a fictionalized account of the life and death of Brandon Teena (Hilary Swank), a girl who passed for a boy and was raped and

KATHRYN BIGELOW

b. San Carlos, California, 27 November 1951

Among women directors, Kathryn Bigelow is exceptional for her acceptance by critics and audiences as an *auteur* and for the sustained and intelligent way she has engaged with traditionally "male" action genres. She trained as a painter at the San Francisco Art Institute and through the Whitney Museum's Independent Study Program before going on to study film at Columbia University, where she encountered critics Andrew Sarris and Peter Wollen. Her work has often been described as "painterly" for its stylish and controlled visual composition, but this is misleading praise insofar as it overlooks the equally controlled complexity of her well-crafted stories. Her first film, the experimental short *The Set-Up* (1978), deconstructs screen violence and established concerns she has pursued in her feature films. Like a number of female directors, Bigelow began her career in independent film in the 1980s, crossing over to Hollywood in the 1990s.

Bigelow's first feature, *The Loveless* (1982), co-written and co-directed by Monty Montgomery, is a revisionist biker movie that pays homage to the iconography of *The Wild One* (1954). The film's slow pace and formal style, characterized by long takes with a static camera, introduce a meditative distance on the subject matter. Its treatment of female characters suggests a nascent interest in exploring the place of women in a "male" genre. *Near Dark* (1987) is a generic hybrid—a vampire western in which the sympathetic outlaws are again subcultural outsiders, with the main female character a point of articulation for a complex clashing and blending of the generic codes of the western and the vampire film. *Blue Steel* (1990) is Bigelow's most explicitly feminist film, a psychological thriller that explores the position of the female hero in the action film. The ambivalence of Bigelow's engagement with action cinema is less pronounced in *Point Break* (1991), perhaps because of the film's emphasis on its male characters, although it does foreground the genre's submerged homoeroticism. A critical attitude to screen violence re-emerges in the neo-noir *Strange Days* (1995), in which the invention of a virtual reality device for recording and replaying sense impressions gives rise to an underground economy dealing in extreme experiences, which are inevitably violent, sexual, or both. The central male character is made to experience sexual violence from the perspective of both perpetrator and victim, undergoing a transgender identification in the process, but as an allegory of voyeurism, *Strange Days* is ultimately unclear.

After a five-year break from directing for the cinema, Bigelow returned with *The Weight of Water* (2000), a surprising feminine thriller that was neither a critical nor a box-office success, and *K-19: The Widowmaker* (2002), a return to action, spectacle, and masculinity. Although the career difficulties that Bigelow has encountered since *Strange Days* are by no means entirely due to her situation as a woman director, the material with which she has worked most successfully emerged from a particular convergence of art, feminism, and cinema, and these may not adapt well to changed times.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Near Dark (1987), *Blue Steel* (1990), *Point Break* (1991), *Strange Days* (1995)

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Kathryn Bigelow at the time of* Point Break *(1991).
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murdered when his/her biological sex was discovered. The film presents Brandon's gender in an interesting way, showing the spectator right at the beginning how Brandon constructs his masculinity through costume and performance. Most spectators nevertheless suspend disbelief in Brandon's masculinity and, like his girlfriend Lana (Chloe Sevigny), accept him at face value for much of the film's duration. Knowledge and belief are thus made issues within the film's diegesis and for the audience, coming to a crisis in the sequence in which Brandon's attackers strip him naked in front of his friends. Lana refuses to look at Brandon's genitals, while Brandon escapes into fantasy in what Halberstam takes to be a representation of an "out of body" experience: he sees himself, fully clothed, amongst the onlookers, gazing at his naked body. The transgender gaze, Halberstam suggests, is a divided look, split between a self that is castrated and a self that is not. The deployment of a transgender gaze in conjunction with an empowered female gaze, according to Halberstam, establishes the authenticity of Brandon's masculinity, at least until the film's conclusion, when, Halberstam argues, Lana's acceptance of Brandon as a woman reestablishes normative gender conventions within a humanist perspective.

Transgender identification in the cinema is not a new phenomenon, but its occurrence in the context of the overt and positive representation of a transgender subject is, indicating that significant changes in the social organization and cinematic representation of gender have taken place. These changes, however, have not affected all aspects of society equally, as a glance at current statistics on the employment of women in the film industry shows.

In early cinema, before the production of film became a vertically integrated industry, women directors were common. Almost all of their careers ended with the transition to sound, which required massive financial backing and resulted in a reorganization of the film industry that closed down many of the small companies in which women directors worked. Between the late 1920s and the late 1970s, only a handful of women directors worked in Hollywood. With the impact of the women's movement, a number of female directors emerged through avant-garde and independent filmmaking, but most of them have had difficult careers, and their presence has not greatly altered the gender balance or macho character of the film industry (although it is interesting to note that in the last two decades, women have been comparatively successful as producers). In 2004, women comprised only 5 percent of all directors working on the top-grossing 250 Hollywood films (the figure rises to a still low 16 percent if executive producers, producers, writers, cinematographers, and editors are taken into account). Internationally, film is a male-dominated industry, although there are two countries with larger numbers of women directors: France and Iran. It is perhaps significant that both of these nations treat cinema as an art as well as a business, offering state support to filmmaking that is culturally distinctive in style and concerns. The slowness of change in gendered employment patterns in the film industry, compared to the relative speed with which the impact of feminism has been assimilated at the level of the cinematic image, shows how complex and uneven social and ideological changes can be.

SEE ALSO *Feminism; Gay, Lesbian, and Queer Cinema; Sexuality*

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GENRE

Genres are categories of kinds or types of artistic or cultural artifacts with certain elements in common. In film, common generic elements include subject matter, theme, narrative and stylistic conventions, character types, plots, and iconography. In film studies, the term serves simultaneously as: (1) An industrial approach, in which production, especially during the Hollywood studio era (1920s–1950s), is standardized, and marketing is geared toward concept labeling and packaging; (2) A consumer index, providing audiences with a sense of the kind of pleasures to be expected from a given film; and (3) A critical concept, a tool for theorizing relations between films and groups of films and for understanding the complex relationship between popular cinema and popular culture, and for mapping out a taxonomy of popular film.

Genres preceded cinema but were fundamental to it. The western, for example, was already established in literature before the invention of film, while the musical took much from preexisting theatrical forms. Classical literary theory distinguished differences between literature and popular writing and assumed judgments based on underlying assumptions of aesthetic value. Popular art, including film, is formulaic, and it has often been similarly criticized for lacking originality. However, genre theorist John Cawelti suggests that all art be thought of as existing on a continuum between invention and convention—a perspective that allows for a greater appreciation and understanding of genre texts and how they work.

Because genre movies are collaborative efforts that require the work of many individuals, they have been commonly understood as particularly good barometers of cultural attitudes, values, and trends. This is true not only of individual genre movies, but also of the changing patterns and popularity of different genres and of the shifting relationships between them. For whether they are set in the past or in the future, on the mean streets of contemporary New York City or long ago in a galaxy far away, genre movies always are about the time and place in which they are made.

ELEMENTS OF GENRE

Fundamental to defining any genre is the question of corpus, of what films in fact constitute its history. In *Theories of Film* (1974), Andrew Tudor identifies a major problem of genre definition, which he terms "the empiricist dilemma," whereby a group of films are preselected for generic analysis to determine their common elements, although their common elements should be identified only after they have been analyzed. Tudor's pragmatic solution to this problem of definition is to rely on what he calls a "common cultural consensus," that is, to analyze works that almost everyone would agree belong to a particular genre and generalize out from there. This method is acceptable, he concludes, because "Genre is what we collectively believe it to be" (p. 139).

Nevertheless, while various genres have been established by common cultural consensus, a further problem is that different genres are designated according to different criteria. Such genres as the crime film, science fiction, and the western are defined by setting and narrative content. However, horror, pornography, and comedy are defined or conceived around the intended emotional affect of the film upon the viewer. Linda Williams has referred to horror, melodrama, and pornography as

"body genres" because of the strong physical response—fear, tears, and sexual arousal, respectively—elicited by each. The extent to which films of these genres produce the intended response in viewers is commonly used as a determining factor in judging how good they are. Ultimately, whatever criteria one uses to establish a genre should allow for a productive discussion of the stylistic and thematic similarities among a group of films, and definitions should be flexible enough to allow for change.

In any art form or medium, conventions are frequently used stylistic techniques or narrative devices typical of (but not necessarily unique to) particular generic traditions. Bits of dialogue, musical figures, or styles and patterns of *mise-en-scène* are all aspects of movies that, repeated from film to film within a genre, become established as conventions. Conventions function as an implied agreement between makers and consumers to accept certain artificialities in specific contexts. In musicals the narrative halts for the production numbers, wherein characters break into song and dance; often the characters perform for the camera (rather than for an audience within the film) and are accompanied by off-screen music that seems suddenly to materialize from nowhere. Conventions also include aspects of style associated with particular genres. For example, melodrama is characterized by an excessively stylized *mise-en-scène*, while film noir commonly employs low-key lighting. Mainstream cinema also features numerous aural conventions on the soundtrack involving dialogue, music, and sound effects. Film scoring in all genres typically features Wagnerian leitmotifs associated with particular characters or places and is commonly used to enhance a desired emotional effect in support of the story. Different types of musical accompaniment are conventional in particular genres: sweeping strings are often used in romantic melodramas, for example, while electronic music or the theremin is used in science fiction for its futuristic connotations.

The familiarity of conventions allows both for parody and subversive potential. Parody is possible only when conventions are known to audiences. Much of the humor of Mel Brooks's (b. 1926) parodies depends upon viewers being familiar with specific genre films. In *Young Frankenstein* (1974), for example, when the monster and the little girl he meets have tossed all their flowers in the lake and she innocently asks what to throw in now, the monster looks at the camera, as if to ask the viewer to remember that in the original *Frankenstein* (1931) he stupidly drowned the girl, thinking she too would float. As well, conventions also can be used by filmmakers for disturbing purposes precisely because viewers expect them. George Romero (b. 1940) undermines numerous conventions of the classic horror film in *Night of the Living Dead* (1968), which is one of the main reasons the film had such a powerful effect on audiences when first released.

The setting, the space and time when and where a film's story takes place, is more a defining quality of some genres than of others. Musicals, for instance, can take place anywhere, from the actual docks and streets of New York City in *On the Town* (1949) and *West Side Story* (1961) to the supernatural village in *Brigadoon* (1954). Romantic comedies and dramas, like some science fiction, may span different eras, as in *Somewhere in Time* (1980) and *Kate and Leopold* (2001). Horror movies often use isolated and rural settings and old dark houses with mysterious basements for psychological effect, but films such as *Rosemary's Baby* (1968) and *Dark Water* (2005) work by violating convention and setting their stories in contemporary and familiar locales rather than in exoticized foreign spaces like Transylvania. By contrast, the western by definition is temporally restricted to the period of the Wild West (approximately from 1865 to 1890) and geographically to the American frontier (broadly, between the Mississippi River and the west coast). Movies that change this setting to the present, such as *Lonely are the Brave* (1962) and *Hud* (1963) or "easterns" like *Drums along the Mohawk* (1939) and *The Last of the Mohicans* (1936, 1992), are considered exceptions to the norm; they are westerns for some viewers but not for others. Yet movies such as *Coogan's Bluff* (1968) and *Crocodile Dundee II* (1988), which import elements of the western into the contemporary urban East, are generally not thought of as westerns.

Character types are also important to genre films. Discussing characters in literature, novelist E. M. Forster distinguished two kinds of fictional characters: flat and round. Flat characters, which also may be "types" or "caricatures," are built around one idea or quality; it is only as other attributes (that is, "depth") are added that characters begin "to curve toward the round" (*Aspects of the Novel*, p. 67). In genre movies, characters are more often recognizable types rather than psychologically complex characters, as with black hats and white hats in the western, although they can be rounded as well. The femme fatale is a conventional character in film noir, like the comic sidekick, the schoolmarm, and the gunfighter in the western. Ethnic characters are often stereotyped as flat characters in genre movies: the Italian mobster, the black drug dealer, the Arab terrorist, the cross-section of soldiers in the war film's platoon. Flat characters are usually considered a failure in works that aspire to originality, but in genre works, flat characters are not necessarily a flaw because of their shorthand efficiency. In genre movies, character types often provide similar kinds of actions and purposes within the story.

EDWARD G. ROBINSON

b. Emmanuel Goldenberg, Bucharest, Romania, 12 December 1893, d. 26 January 1973

Of short stature and lacking the conventional handsome look of leading men, Edward G. Robinson nevertheless was one of the great male stars of the studio era. Along with James Cagney and Humphrey Bogart, he defined Hollywood's image of the tough guy for Depression-era audiences. Beginning his acting career in the theater, Robinson made his film debut in 1923 at age thirty in *The Bright Shawl* (1923). He became famous in 1931 in the archetypal gangster film *Little Caesar*, portraying the criminal Enrico Caesar Bandello, a hoodlum who rises to the top and then makes his inevitable fall.

With the success of *Little Caesar*, Robinson went on to play a string of criminal characters in a series of Warner Bros. films through the 1930s. Robinson sought to escape genre typecasting and expand his range, playing such roles as the title character in the biopic *Dr. Erlich's Magic Bullet* (1940), about the nineteenth-century scientist who developed a cure for syphilis, and the steadfast and paternal insurance agent Barton Keyes in the classic film noir, *Double Indemnity* (1944). However, a number of these subsequent roles clearly depended on Robinson's established gangster persona, such as the gruff ship's captain Larson in the adventure film *The Sea Wolf* (1941) and the cruel Dathan in *The Ten Commandments* (1956).

In John Ford's *The Whole Town's Talking* (1935), Robinson played a dual role as a gangster boss and a meek, law-abiding citizen, at once providing the pleasure of his established image as a criminal and exploiting his star appeal by making him a sympathetic protagonist with whom the audience could comfortably identify. Similarly, in Fritz Lang's masterful film noir *Scarlet Street* (1945), Robinson plays a mild-mannered clerk and henpecked husband who is driven to robbery, adultery, and finally murder. The film periodically references Robinson's gangster persona, as in the opening dinner party scene, which initially looks like a similar scene in *Little Caesar*; but it then reveals his character, Christopher Cross, as a shy and repressed cashier who handles other people's money. Only later does he become a criminal, ironically making the initial mistaken impression, based on genre expectations, in fact true.

In the 1950s Robinson experienced a difficult divorce that forced him to sell much of his prized art collection. He was also called to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee but was ultimately exonerated of Communist Party affiliation. Despite these troubles, he continued to make credible crime dramas throughout the decade. His subsequent career was irregular, but his final appearance in the science-fiction film *Soylent Green* (1973) allowed him to die onscreen in a fitting finale to one of Hollywood's most distinguished careers.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Little Caesar (1931), *The Whole Town's Talking* (1935), *Bullets or Ballots* (1936), *Confessions of a Nazi Spy* (1939), *Brother Orchid* (1940), *The Sea Wolf* (1941), *Double Indemnity* (1944), *The Woman in the Window* (1945), *Scarlet Street* (1945), *Key Largo* (1948), *The Cincinnati Kid* (1965), *Soylent Green* (1973)

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Of course, characters are embodied by actors, all of whom have distinct physical characteristics. The hard-boiled detective, Philip Marlowe, is different as played by Dick Powell (*Murder, My Sweet*, 1944), Humphrey Bogart (*The Big Sleep*, 1946), or Elliott Gould (*The Long Goodbye*, 1973). Some actors (for example, Paul Muni [1895–1967], Gary Oldman [b. 1958], and Johnny Depp [b. 1963]) are known for chameleon-like performances, but many, whether they are featured stars or supporting actors, often play variations of a type. For

Edward G. Robinson in the mid-1930s. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

this reason, they are often cast in similar films within the same genre and become associated with it. Fred Astaire (1899–1987) is always thought of in relation to the musical, Cary Grant (1904–1986) with screwball comedy, and of course John Wayne (1907–1979) with the western, even though all these actors also appeared in other kinds of films. Clint Eastwood's (b. 1930) strong association with the western lent such subsequent non-western roles as the tough detective Harry Callahan in *Dirty Harry* (1971) and its sequels added mythic depth.

Character actors contribute to the look of particular genres, populating the worlds of genre movies and becoming part of their iconography. Often they are known to viewers as vaguely familiar faces rather than by name. Richard Jaeckel (1926–1997), Jack Elam (1918–2003), Chill Wills (1903–1978), Paul Fix (1901–1983), and Slim Pickens (1919–1983) all appeared in countless westerns, so when they are in the same cast and many of them die in *Pat Garrett and Billy the Kid* (Sam Peckinpah, 1973), the film may be read as being as much about the death of the genre as it is a story about particular characters. Stars and genres reinforce each other, some actors offering definitive performances that forever associate them with a particular role and genre, as was the case with Bela Lugosi's (1882–1956) portrayal of Dracula. Actors who succeed at playing a certain generic type are often trapped by such roles, fated to be typecast as similar characters. On the other hand, while Dick Powell (1904–1963) began as a romantic (juvenile) lead in several Warner Bros. musicals in the early 1930s, he managed to reshape his image entirely in the following decade, playing a tough guy in such noirs as *Murder, My Sweet*, *Cornered* (1945) and *Pitfall* (1948).

Because actors may become typecast, they can be cast in genre movies against type, as in the case of William Holden (1918–1981) playing the leader of *The Wild Bunch* (1969) or Tom Cruise (b. 1962) as a hit man in *Collateral* (2004). In the famous opening of *C'era una volta il West* (*Once Upon a Time in the West*, Sergio Leone, 1968), a Mexican family enjoying a pleasant picnic meal in front of its hacienda is suddenly and brutally gunned down by unseen assailants. In a long take, the killers ride in from the distance, and eventually we are able to discern that the leader is a grim-faced, blue-eyed Henry Fonda (1905–1982)—the same soft-spoken face that was Abraham Lincoln in *Young Mr. Lincoln* (1939) and Tom Joad in *The Grapes of Wrath* (1940). The moment has a greater emotional impact than it would if the actor had been a familiar Hollywood heavy.

Conventions, settings, and characters are part of a genre's iconography. Icons are second-order symbols, in that their symbolic meaning is not necessarily a connection established within the individual text, but is already symbolic because of their use across a number of similar previous texts. Ed Buscombe concentrates on the iconography of the western in drawing a distinction between a film's inner and outer forms. For Buscombe, inner form refers to a film's themes, while outer form refers to the various objects that are to be found repeatedly in genre movies—in the western, for example, horses, wagons, buildings, clothes, and weapons. The cowboy who dresses all in black and wears two guns, holster tied to either thigh, is invariably a villainous gunfighter. Just as religious icons are always already infused with symbolic meaning, so is the iconography of genre films. In a horror film, when the hero wards off the vampire with a crucifix, religious iconography works in support of film iconography: symbolically, such scenes suggest that the traditional values embodied in Christianity (and, by extension, western culture generally) are stronger than and will defeat whatever threatening values are assigned to the monster in any given vampire film.

Of course, while the icons of genre films may have culturally determined meanings, the interpretation or value attached to them is hardly fixed. Rather, the particulars of their representation in each genre film marks the

relation of outer form to inner form and are indicators of the film's attitude and theme. Although a crucifix in a horror film is an icon of Christianity and dominant ideology, the film itself may either critique or endorse that ideology. In the western, the town always represents civilization, but every film will have a different view of that civilization. The town in, say, *The Gunfighter* (1950) has children and domestic spaces, representing the familial stability that the aging gunman can only long for, while in *McCabe and Mrs. Miller* (1971), the town springs up around a muddy, makeshift brothel, suggesting that base desire is at the core of civilization.

Finally, spectators are a crucial element of genre movies, for they address viewers in a particular way. Almost from the beginning, movies have been promoted in the media primarily through their generic affiliations. They signal to prospective viewers the type of story as well as the kind of pleasure they are likely to offer and assist them in choosing which movies or which kind of movie to see. Fans of particular genres comprise communities of readers: fans of horror films, for example, form a distinct subculture, with their own fanzines, memorabilia, websites, and discussion lists. Genre films work by engaging viewers through an implicit contract, encouraging certain expectations on the part of spectators, which are in turn based on viewer familiarity with the conventions. As Robert Warshow observes, the familiarity of viewers with generic convention creates "its own field of reference." In other words, familiarity with a generic field of reference allows spectators to enjoy variations, however slight, in a given film. The act of reading genre films implies active readers who bring their generic knowledge to bear in watching movies. A postmodern horror pastiche like *Scream* (1996) depends upon its viewers being generically literate.

THE CLASSIC STUDIO SYSTEM

For decades Hollywood produced appealing fantasies in an industrial context. Regularized film exhibition developed as a result of the popularity and rapid growth of nickelodeons, the first venues devoted exclusively to cinema exhibition. The steady demand for new films made year-round production schedules necessary and provided the impetus for the development of a factory-based (Fordist) mode of production. In the studio era, all members of cast and crew were workers under contract to the studio, and the different kinds of work—editing, music, script, and so on—were divided into departments.

Within this industrial context, genre movies are dependable products, assembly line products with interchangeable parts. The James Bond series has continued because of the formula—lots of action, fancy gadgets, beautiful women, and colorful villains—despite the changes in directors, writers, and even the actors playing Bond himself. Individual genre films may lift elements from one genre and put them into another, as *The Band Wagon* (1953) incorporates film noir and the detective film into the climactic ballet, "The Girl Hunt." Hybrid genre movies like *Abbott and Costello Meet Frankenstein* (1948) and *Billy the Kid versus Dracula* (1966) mix elements from seemingly disparate genres. More recently, movies like *Freddy vs. Jason* (2003) and *Alien vs. Predator* (2004), both of which are simultaneously hybrids and sequels, show the same process at work despite the end of the studio era. But hybridity has always been characteristic of genre films. *Stagecoach* (1939), one of the most famous and important westerns ever made, was described as a "*Grand Hotel* on wheels" on its release, and it also contains elements of the road movie and disaster film as well. Movies such as *The Thing* (1951), *Alien* (1979), and the movie on which it was in part based, *It, The Terror from Beyond Space* (1958), all combine elements of science fiction and horror, visually turning spaceships and laboratories into the equivalent of haunted houses.

Genre filmmaking thus developed quickly, with producers seeking maximum acceptance at the box office through the repetition and variation of commercially successful formulas. The formulaic qualities of genre films meant that studios could turn them out quickly, and audiences could understand them just as quickly. Genre movies allow for an economy of expression through conventions and iconography. This system of signification, developed over time and with repetition, served well the fast pace of classic narration in films intended to be shown as part of a double feature.

In the studio era, directors were employees, like the other members of a film's cast and crew. Even those few directors who wielded some degree of clout in Hollywood, like Frank Capra (1897–1991) and Alfred Hitchcock (1899–1980), had to work within the parameters of the producing studio's dominant style or genre. Directors, like actors and electricians, rarely had the right to final cut. Yet while some directors floundered against the pressures of the studio system, many in fact flourished, using the rules of genre as convenience rather than constraint, as guidelines from which to deviate or deepen rather than as blueprints to follow. By providing the received framework of genre, Hollywood gave filmmakers a flexible tradition within which to work. Some directors developed their vision within particular genres, such as Sam Fuller (1912–1997) with the war film, John Ford (1894–1973) with the western, and Douglas Sirk (1897–1987) with the melodrama. The auteur approach provided a way of looking at directors' style foregrounded against the background of genre.

Kurt Russell in John Carpenter's* Escape from New York *(1981), an action film with elements of the western and science-fiction film genres. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Despite its constraints, the studio system provided a stable context for filmmakers to work with consistency and to be expressive. As Robin Wood notes in *Howard Hawks* (1968), Hollywood is one of the few historical instances of a true communal art, "a great creative workshop, comparable to Elizabethan London or the Vienna of Mozart, where hundreds of talents have come together to evolve a common language" (p. 9). The justly famous opening scene of *Rio Bravo* (Howard Hawks, 1959) tells us almost everything we need to know about the heroes played by John Wayne and Dean Martin (1917–1995) well before the first word of dialogue is spoken. Director Hawks (1896–1977) uses the conventions of the western to express his sense of professionalism, heroism, and self-respect, which would not have been possible without the established conventions of the genre as his raw material.

MYTH AND HISTORY

Traditionally, the word "myth" refers to a society's shared stories, usually involving Gods and mythic heroes, that explain the nature of the universe and the relation of the individual to it. Such mythic narratives embody and express a society's rituals, institutions, and values. In the twentieth century, genre films, with their repetitions and variations of a few basic plots, were our mass-mediated mythic tales. Comparable to myths, genre movies may be understood as secular stories that seek to address and sometimes seemingly resolve our problems and dilemmas, some specifically historical and others more deeply rooted in our collective psyches. Structural anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss (b. 1908) claimed that all cultural myths are structured according to binary pairs of opposite terms. This approach is inviting for the analysis of genre films, which tend to work by reducing complex conflicts to the equivalent of black hats versus white hats. In his influential 1970 study of the western, *Horizons West*, Jim Kitses maps out a series of clear binary oppositions that are all variations of the conflict between wilderness and civilization.

Genre movies are always about the time in which they are made, not set, for entertainment inevitably

contains, reflects, and promulgates ideology. It is in this sense of entertainment as ideology that Roland Barthes (1915–1980) conceives of myth. For Barthes, cultural myths endorse the dominant values of the society that produces them as right and natural, while marginalizing and delegitimizing others. In genre movies, as Barthes says of cultural myth generally, the Other becomes monstrous, as in horror films, or exoticized, as in adventure films. In westerns, for example, Indians are either demonized as heathen savages or romanticized as noble savages, but they are rarely treated as rounded characters with their own culture.

From this perspective, genre movies tend to be read as ritualized endorsements of dominant ideology. So the western is not really about a specific period in American history, but the story of Manifest Destiny and the "winning" of the West. The genre thus offers a series of mythic endorsements of American individualism, colonialism, and racism, as well as a justification of westward expansion. The civilization that is advancing into the "wilderness" (itself a mythic term suggesting that no culture existed there until Anglo-American society) is always bourgeois white American society. Similarly, the monstrous Other in horror films tends to be anything that threatens the status quo, while the musical and romantic comedy celebrate heteronormative values through their valorization of the romantic couple.

Still, the complex relation of genre movies to ideology is a matter of debate. On the one hand, genre films are mass-produced fantasies of a culture industry that manipulate us into a false consciousness. From this perspective, their reliance on convention and simplistic plots distract us from awareness of the actual social problems in the real world. Yet it is also true that the existence of highly conventional forms allows for the subtle play of irony, parody, and appropriation. Popular culture does tend to adhere to dominant ideology, although this is not always the case. Many horror films, melodramas, and film noirs, among others, have been shown to question if not subvert accepted values. Pam Cook takes a similar view of B movies and exploitation films, arguing that their production values, less sophisticated than those of mainstream Hollywood movies, are more readily perceived by viewers as representations.

Walter Brennan, John Wayne, and Dean Martin in Howard Hawks's* Rio Bravo *(1959). **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

Genre movies take such social debates and tensions and cast them into formulaic narratives, condensing them into dramatic conflicts between individual characters and society or heroes and villains. Thomas Schatz observes that "All film genres treat some form of threat—violent or otherwise—to the social order" (Schatz, p. 26). The gangster, the monster, the heroine of screwball comedy all threaten normative society in different ways. Some genre theorists argue that the overriding theme of genre films is some version of the individual in conflict with society, and that this tension represents the ongoing negotiation we all make between desire and restraint (what Freud called "civilization and its discontents"). The extent to which a genre film achieves narrative closure is an important factor in reading its political implications. Closure, usually in the form of an upbeat or happy ending, is—like all conventions—artificial, since life, unlike such stories, continues. For this reason, a lack of closure, suggesting that the lives of the characters carry on after the film ends, is associated more with realist films like *La Grande illusion* (*Grand Illusion*, 1937) and *Ladri di biciclette* (*Bicycle Thieves*, 1948) than with genre movies. Because films with closure leave the viewer with no unanswered questions about the fate of the major characters or the consequences of their actions, they are viewed as providing tidy but unrealistic solutions to real problems. Yet while closure may be provided by a film, it can be ironic, thus undercutting its own pretense at resolution, as some have argued about the psychiatrist's explanation for Norman as an aberrant "case" at the end of *Psycho* (1960).

Genres are neither static nor fixed; they undergo change over time, each new film and cycle adding to the tradition and modifying it. Some critics describe these changes as evolution, others as development, but both terms carry evaluative connotations. Some genre critics accept a general pattern of change that moves from some early formative stage through a classical period of archetypal expression to a more intellectual phase in which conventions are examined and questioned rather than merely presented, and finally to an ironic, self-conscious mode typically expressed by parody. However, generic phases do not fall into convenient chronological and progressive periods, but often overlap significantly. For some, the western evolved from the supposed classicism of *Stagecoach* to the end of the intellectual trail with *The Wild Bunch* just thirty years later and then to Brooks's *Blazing Saddles* (1974), marking the end of the classic western and the beginning of the parody or baroque phase. But the western was already parodied even before this intellectual period in such films as Buster Keaton's *Go West* (1925), *Destry Rides Again* (1932, 1939), and the Marx Brothers's *Go West* (1940). Tag Gallagher argues that there is no evidence that film genres evolve toward greater embellishment and elaboration; he cites, for example, the scene in *Rio Bravo* where a wounded villain's hiding place on the upper floor of the saloon is revealed by blood dripping down, but he points out that the same device was used by John Ford in *The Scarlet Drop* (1918) decades earlier and even then dismissed by critics as "old hat." Gallagher insists instead that even "a superficial glance at film history suggests cyclicism rather than evolution" (Gallagher in Grant, *Film Genre Reader III*, pp. 266–268).

In the 1970s, as Cawelti notes, there were particularly profound changes in American genre movies. Aware of themselves as myth, genre movies of the period responded in four ways: humorous burlesque, nostalgia, demythologization, and reaffirmation. This development was the result in part of the demise of the Hays Office in 1967 and the continuing breakup of the traditional studio system, allowing directors greater freedom in a more disillusioned and cynical era. Films like Francis Ford Coppola's (b. 1939) *The Godfather* (1972) and *Apocalypse Now* (1979); Martin Scorsese's (b. 1942) *Mean Streets* (1973) and *New York, New York* (1977); Robert Altman's (b. 1925) *McCabe and Mrs. Miller*, *The Long Goodbye* (1973), and *Nashville* (1975); and Brian de Palma's (b. 1940) *Sisters* (1973), *Phantom of the Paradise* (1974), and *Obsession* (1976) were genre movies by directors who had grown up watching genre movies on television and studying them in academic film programs. With a more contemporary sensibility, these filmmakers inevitably made genre films that were burdened by an awareness of generic myth. For Cawelti, the changes in the period's genre films were so profound that he wondered whether the traditional film genres had exhausted themselves and hypothesized that "the cultural myths they once embodied are no longer fully adequate to the imaginative needs of our time" (Cawelti in Grant, *Film Genre Reader III*, p. 260).

GENDER AND RACE

Among their conventions, genre movies feature standard ways of representing gender, class, race, and ethnicity. Into the 1980s, genres and genre movies remained almost exclusively the cultural property of a white male consciousness, the center from which any difference regarding race, gender, and sexuality was defined and marginalized. In all the action genres, it was white men who performed heroic deeds and drove the narrative. In every type of action film, women and visible minorities assumed subsidiary and stereotyped roles, serving such narrative functions as helper or comic sidekick for the heroic white male. The hypothetical viewer of Hollywood genre movies traditionally was, like almost all of the filmmakers who made the movies, white, male,

JOHN CARPENTER

b. Carthage, New York, 16 January 1948

John Carpenter is known primarily for his slick action sequences, which have established him as one of Hollywood's most skillful directors of violence and suspense. Working mostly in the horror and science fiction genres, Carpenter also works on the scripts, special effects photography, and electronic music scores for his films.

While a graduate student in film at the University of Southern California, Carpenter made several short films, including *The Resurrection of Bronco Billy*, which won an Academy Award® for Best Short Film in 1970, and, with classmate Dan O'Bannon, *Dark Star*, which he expanded into his first feature in 1974. Shot on a minuscule budget, *Dark Star* offers a blackly comic view of men in space overwhelmed by technology. Carpenter's follow-up, *Assault on Precinct 13* (1976), an audacious blend of Howard Hawks's western *Rio Bravo* (1959) and George Romero's cult horror classic *Night of the Living Dead* (1968), established the director as a promising young auteur. Carpenter's commercial breakthrough came with *Halloween* (1980), which launched a series of sequels (by other directors) and a cycle of similar slasher films. *Halloween* makes deft use of such techniques as the handheld camera and tension between foreground and background in the *mise-en-scène* to generate suspense and fear.

Carpenter works comfortably within genres, as with *Halloween*; but he also sometimes mixes conventions and iconography, as with *Escape from New York* (1981), a science fiction action film; *Big Trouble in Little China* (1986), a comic martial arts fantasy; and *Ghosts of Mars* (2001), a science-fiction horror film. At times Carpenter's action sequences seem to transcend their narrative constraints to become pure cinema. Sequences such as the famous lengthy point-of-view shot that opens *Halloween* and the astronaut's chase of a mischievous alien creature through the ship's elevator shaft in *Dark Star* show Carpenter's undeniable command of action and suspense through rhythm, editing, and use of music.

Thematically, Carpenter's films are concerned with issues of communication and isolation. In *Dark Star*, as the ship's crewmen grow apart through boredom and indifference, outer space becomes a metaphor for the psychological isolation of the crew. The final images of Carpenter's remake of *The Thing* (1982) show the last two surviving men warily sitting opposite each other, separated by the wide-screen composition, their mutual distrust graphically rendered in the image. *They Live* (1988), a science-fiction action film, cleverly offers a critique of mass culture in its story of a blue-collar worker who discovers a pair of sunglasses that allows him to see the subliminal messages, secretly delivered by aliens busily stripping the Earth of natural resources, encouraging political passivity and consumerism in all forms and media of popular culture.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Dark Star (1974), *Assault on Precinct 13* (1976), *Halloween* (1978), *The Fog* (1980), *Escape from New York* (1981), *The Thing* (1982), *Christine* (1983), *Starman* (1984), *Big Trouble in Little China* (1986), *Prince of Darkness* (1987), *They Live* (1988)

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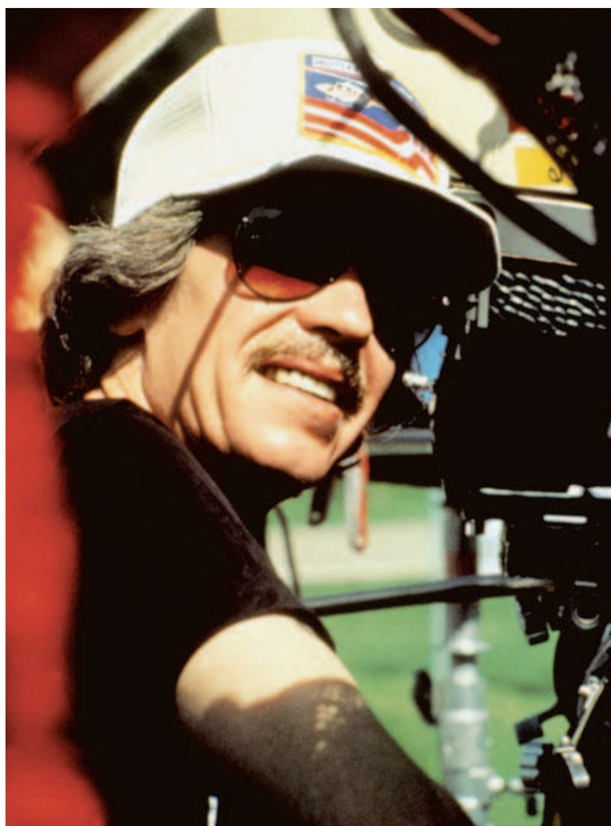
and heterosexual. This white masculine perspective was an inextricable part of the genre system, which was built on certain gendered assumptions. Generally, the action genres—adventure, war, gangster, detective, horror, science fiction, and of course, the western—were addressed to a male audience, while musicals and romantic melodramas (also known as "weepies") were marketed as "woman's films." This distinction bespeaks wider patriarchal assumptions about gender difference in the real world.



John Carpenter on the set of Starman *(1984).* EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

By the 1990s many genre movies were attempting to open up genres to more progressive representations of race and gender, often deliberately acknowledging and giving voice to groups previously marginalized by mainstream cinema. The film that provided the impetus for this new generic transformation was *Thelma and Louise* (1991), about two women who, finding themselves on the wrong side of the law, lead the police on a chase through the Southwest. A big hit at the box office, *Thelma and Louise* is a generic hybrid of the western, the buddy film, and the road movie—three genres traditionally regarded as male. After *Thelma and Louise*, many genre films seemed content merely to borrow its gender gimmick, simply plugging others into roles traditionally reserved for white men. But in reversing conventional representations, these films were prone to fall into the trap of repeating the same objectionable values. The question of whether female action heroes such as Sigourney Weaver's Ripley in *Alien* (1979) and its sequels, Linda Hamilton's Sarah Connor in *Terminator 2: Judgment Day* (1991), or the assassins played by Geena Davis in *The Long Kiss Goodnight* (1996), Uma Thurman in the *Kill Bill* films (2003, 2004), and the trio of actresses in the *Charlie's Angels* films (2000, 2003) are progressive, empowering representations of women or merely contain them within a masculine sensibility has been a matter of considerable debate.

Race, ethnicity, and nationality are commonly stereotyped in genre films, sometimes together. African Americans have traditionally been cast in supporting roles as clearly recognizable types. Except for such subsidiary and subordinate roles as maids, black faces also were largely absent from Hollywood movies. Issues of race appeared, safely coded within generic conventions, particularly in the western, which on the surface relegates the topic more safely to the nation's past rather than the present. Asian Americans have been largely absent from genre movies, as were Latinos until *West Side Story*. Since the 1990s, generic Arabs have been depicted in action movies as terrorists, as in *True Lies* (1994), *Executive Decision* (1996), and *The Siege* (1998). By contrast, Russians are friendlier in Hollywood movies following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the cold war, as in *The Hunt for Red October* (1990) and *Enemy at the Gates* (2001).

Outside Hollywood, there were separate but parallel Yiddish and black or "race" cinemas. The height of Yiddish film came in the 1920s and 1930s, and black cinema peaked in the 1930s and 1940s. Both were institutionalized forms of cinema, with their own stars, directors, exhibition circuit, and audiences, and both were organized along generic lines similar to Hollywood. There were, for example, black melodramas, musicals, and westerns featuring African American stars. Hollywood, too, tried all-black musicals such as *Hallelujah* (1929), *Cabin in the Sky* (1943), and *Carmen Jones* (1954) as well as dramatic films such as *The Green Pastures* (1936). The practice of segregating casts by race was a reflection of the segregationist and discriminatory practices of the era in which they were made.

Encouraged by the success of *Cotton Comes to Harlem* (1970), a cop film featuring two black detectives (Godfrey Cambridge and Raymond St. Jacques), a cycle of blaxploitation films followed. The term blaxploitation was coined by the trade paper *Variety* to describe these films, which appeared from the late 1960s through the mid-1970s. As the civil rights movement gained momentum and became more militant, many black viewers rejected the more accommodating images of established black stars like Sidney Poitier (b. 1927) and Harry Belafonte (b. 1927) and welcomed the newer action movies with more macho black stars, such as ex-football Hall of Famer Jim Brown (b. 1936) in films like *Black Gunn* (1972) and *Slaughter* (1972). Richard Roundtree (b. 1942) became famous as the suave black detective

John Shaft in *Shaft* (1971), billed as "the new James Bond," as did Ron O'Neal (1937–2004) as *Superfly* (1972). Pam Grier (b. 1949) in *Coffy* (1973) and *Foxy Brown* (1974) and Tamara Dobson (b. 1947) in *Cleopatra Jones* (1973) applied the same formula to female characters. The question of the extent to which blaxploitation was politically progressive has been a matter of debate, but the films did pave the way for a cycle of "salt-and-pepper" buddy movies beginning with *48 Hrs.* (1982) and the wider acceptance of black action stars such as Wesley Snipes (b. 1962) and Denzel Washington (b. 1954).

Although black cowboys existed on the frontier, their history has been suppressed by the predominately white iconography of the western. One of the most popular genres of race films was the western, with the first possibly being *The Trooper of Troop K* (1917), with black star Noble Johnson (1881–1978). In the late 1930s Herb Jeffries (b. 1911) appeared in a series of independently produced all-black musical westerns including *The Bronze Buckaroo* (1939) and *Harlem Rides the Range* (1939). In 1960, Ford's *Sergeant Rutledge* starred Woody Strode (1914–1994) as a cavalry soldier being court-martialed because of his race. During the blaxploitation era several westerns were made, the most notable being *Buck and the Preacher* (1972), directed by Sidney Poitier, about white bounty hunters looking to return former slaves to work on southern plantations after the defeat of the South in the Civil War. Starring Harry Belafonte along with Poitier, *Buck and the Preacher* employed many conventions of the genre while foregrounding issues of race relations. But for the most part, blacks had been absent from the Hollywood western—an absence so complete that it can serve as one of the major jokes in *Blazing Saddles*, which stars African American actor Cleavon Little (1939–1992) as a black Bart with his Gucchi saddlebags. *Posse* (Mario Van Peebles, 1993) overtly challenged this mythic erasure. It opens with a black man speaking directly to the camera, presenting the entire story in flashback, a framing device borrowed from *Little Big Man* (1970), an earlier revisionist western, here featuring Strode, an iconic actor who had appeared in several of Ford's westerns, including *Sergeant Rutledge*.

NATIONAL CINEMA AND GENRE

Although a good deal of contemporary theoretical work has questioned hegemonic concepts of the nation, and hence of the idea of national cinema, the genre approach is useful for approaching the idea of national cinema generally as well as for conceptualizing the contours of specific national cinemas. As Ella Shohat and Robert Stam point out, the movie audience is a "provisional 'nation' forged by spectatorship" (p. 155), and genre audiences form what Altman describes as "constellated" communities—groups of individuals who "cohere only through repeated acts of imagination"—in the context of cinema, an imagined connection among geographically dispersed viewers who share similar spectatorial pleasures and generic knowledge (*Altman*, pp. 161–162).

In developing a distinctive and vital national cinema, most countries have been forced to confront the global cultural domination of American film in some way. Hollywood, especially since the end of World War II, has successfully dominated numerous foreign film markets on every continent. Inevitably, then, national cinemas must find space in the market, both at the local and international level, in the context of Hollywood. Because Hollywood cinema is overwhelmingly a cinema of genre films, this means, in effect, working within the genre system. The frame of genre allows filmmakers the multiple benefits of working in forms familiar to audiences both at home and abroad, and thus it offers more lucrative potential to producers for foreign distribution. Distribution in other countries is particularly important in nations where the population is insufficient to sustain an indigenous film industry, for it provides the only hope for films to return a profit. At the same time, however, accepting generic forms from Hollywood also suggests the loss of any distinctive national features that might be expressed in cinema. This dilemma has informed the discourse of national cinema in many countries, especially Australia, Canada, Great Britain, and New Zealand, all of which share the English language with Hollywood.

Filmmakers from around the world have responded to the domination of American film by adopting Hollywood genres and "indigenizing" or reworking them according to their own cultural sensibility. Examples are the Italian "spaghetti western" or Hong Kong martial arts films. Other national cinemas have created their own genres. For example, German cinema in the 1920s and 1930s developed a distinctive genre of the mountain film, involving a character or group of characters striving to climb or conquer a mountain. The Heimatfilm, or Homeland film, is another genre of sentimental, romanticized movies about rural Germany and its inhabitants. In Indian cinema, *masala* (or mixed spice) films combine a variety of heterogenous generic elements, as by inserting musical sequences in a dramatic film in a way uncharacteristic of Hollywood.

In turn, Hollywood genre filmmaking has been influenced by some of these non-American genres. For example, Japanese samurai films gained popularity in Japan after World War II and became known in the West primarily through the films of Akira Kurosawa (1910–1998) starring Toshiro Mifune (1920–1997),

including *Rashomon* (1950), *Shichinin no samurai* (*The Seven Samurai*, 1954), *Yojimbo* (*Yojimbo the Bodyguard*, 1961), and *Tsubaki Sanjûrô* (*Sanjuro*, 1961). *Red Sun* (1971) paired Charles Bronson (1921–2003) and Mifune in a buddy film in the American West, and several American genre movies have been remakes of these samurai films: *The Magnificent Seven* (1960) was based (as was the science fiction film *Battle Beyond the Stars*, 1980) on *The Seven Samurai*; *The Outrage* (1964) was based on *Rashomon*; and both the spaghetti western, *Per un pugno di dollari* (*A Fistful of Dollars*, 1964), and the action film, *Last Man Standing* (1996), with Bruce Willis, were based on *Yojimbo*. Although many international genre movies remain largely unknown to western audiences, as the film industry and popular culture generally become increasingly globalized and populations become more multicultural, inevitably genres will interact more intensively across national boundaries.

SEE ALSO *Studio System*

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Barry Keith Grant

GERMANY

German cinema, in its widest sense what the Germans call *Filmkultur* (film culture), illustrates many aspects of Germany's history, culture, commerce, and politics over more than a hundred years. Any account of world filmmaking must acknowledge the range of the German cinema's technical and aesthetic innovation, its difficult yet fascinating evolution, and the influence of its leading figures and works. Today it operates in a mediascape extending to European and global perspectives, and integrates into a converging network of production and consumption.

One index of German cinema's identity is public funding. At the national level, support is channeled by Filmförderungsanstalt (FFA, Federal Film Subsidy Institute) in Berlin; from Munich, the capital of the state of Bavaria, the Export Union promotes its image and sales abroad. Cinema as a cultural export is one of the functions of the Goethe-Institut München, combined with the Inter Nationes Bonn, in the state of Northrhine-Westphalia. All sixteen federal states, and many regional authorities, support film and media exhibition, education, training, and production by maintaining museums, archives, and municipal theaters, like the Stiftung Deutscher Kinemathek in Berlin or the Deutsches Filmmuseum in Frankfurt/Main, or by offering prizes, grants, and loans to filmmakers. Such complex networks of support and subsidy are also key elements in economic planning aimed at replacing failing industries, like steelmaking and mining, with expertise in media technology and production. For German *Filmkultur*, Berlin and Munich still dominate, but centers in the Rhineland cities of Düsseldorf, Cologne, and Karlruhe and in the North German port of Hamburg have arisen to challenge them.

EARLY YEARS: 1895–1918

In early 1895 Ottomar Anschütz (1846–1907) had paying audiences for his Tachyscope, an optical device capable of producing movement in single pictures, and on 1 November that year the Skladanowsky brothers projected what was arguably the first film show as public entertainment. The Skladanowskys' "Bioskop" projector was not, however, technically equal to that of the French Lumière brothers (Auguste [1862–1954] and Louis [1864–1948]), who are generally credited with the first authentic film show on 28 December 1895. Cinema originated as part of variety performances, and the first generation of exhibitors traveled around existing entertainment venues showing, between live acts, a mixture of short items featuring acrobatics, nature scenes, local events, and so on. Many of these items were realist documentation, but filmmakers were already developing film's capacity for the fantastical.

The most significant pioneers of German cinema were Oskar Messter (1866–1943) and Guido Seeber (1879–1940) in Berlin. Messter refined the technology, inventing the Maltese cross to synchronize film frames behind the projector's lens, and also a sound system using gramophones. He shot his own material, including regular newsreels, and initially used it to sell his equipment. Messter moved into exhibition and distribution and by 1913 was producing full-length features. As a director and cinematographer, Seeber developed German cinema's potential in lighting and effects photography, but

perhaps his major contribution was to supervise the building in 1912 of the first major German studio at Babelsberg, a suburb of the city of Potsdam, just southwest of Berlin.

Up to 1906 German exhibitors made or bought their material, but by 1910 a second stage of development was under way with longer, multi-reel narratives, together with a change in ownership rights toward distributors, who now began renting prints. Cinema was moving out of its initial novelty phase and into premises built specifically to show films, some of which, like the Marmorhaus (Marble House) in Berlin, copied the opulence of established theater in an attempt to share its cultural recognition. Filmmakers strove to increase cinema's cultural capital by attracting bourgeois audiences, which would in turn serve to moderate censorship restrictions and entertainment taxes and to counter the efforts at controlling them by reform movements like those established in 1907 and again in 1917. Such movements promoted preventive censorship, requiring that films justify their right to be shown, and sought to co-opt the new medium for their own educational, reformist, or nationalist purposes. Filmmakers responded by producing what have come to be known as "authors' films." These might be adaptations from literature, with screenplays written by recognized authors—such as Hanns Heinz Ewers's scenario for Stellan Rye's (1880–1914) *Der Student von Prag* (*The Student of Prague*, 1913), a fantasy on the motif of the alter ego, and Paul Lindau's (1839–1919) version of his play *Der Andere* (*The Other*, 1913)—or films with rights to plays by renowned dramatists like Gerhart Hauptmann (1862–1946) or Arthur Schnitzler (1862–1931). Recognized names from the theater also came to act and direct, like the actor Albert Bassermann and the stage-director Max Reinhardt.

Most films functioned as popular entertainment, which demanded the recognizable patterns of genres with known stars and directors. Established popular traditions, such as fairy tales, operettas, and serial novels, made film dramas, melodramas, and comedies easily accessible, and fantastic narratives appeared alongside historical epic and costume extravaganzas. *Der Steckbrief* (The wanted poster, Franz Hofer, 1913) combined the fashion for detective stories with stylized settings. Hollywood provided models for slapstick comedy and even for a group of imitation westerns, some adapting the Wild West tales of the German nineteenth-century writer Karl May (1842–1912). Stars of the period included Paul Wegener (1874–1948), Bassermann, Henny Porten (1890–1960), and, above all, Asta Nielsen (1881–1972).

With the outbreak of World War I in 1914, the German industry moved into its final founding stage, consolidation. Nationalism had always marked German filmmaking, with groups like the Deutsche Flottenverein (Society for a German Fleet) and colonial societies producing films to promote their policies. And the German emperor, Wilhelm II, figured so frequently in newsreels that he was nicknamed the nation's first film star. As foreign competition declined, domestic production and exhibition expanded and came under increasing state influence aimed at harnessing the established entertainment function as both a distraction from the war's realities and as a vehicle for nationalist propaganda. Newsreel and documentary film adopted narratives supporting the war effort rather than depicting the realities of the Front. The military formed its own Bild-und Filmamt (Office for Photography and Film) in 1917, seeking to control all German filmmaking. Defeat nullified such ambition, but not before it generated the most famous studio in German cinema history. The Universum Film Aktiengesellschaft (Ufa) brought together private and state investment to buy up large parts of the industry, like Messter's studios and the German division of the Scandinavian Nordisk company, and dominated German *Filmkultur*, even through the Third Reich.

THE GOLDEN AGE: 1919–1933

Defeat brought two to three years of social and political turmoil until the Weimar Republic (named after the provincial town to which the postwar government fled to escape the upheavals in Berlin) stabilized Germany. Then the Great Depression of 1929 undermined the fragile economy and democracy, paving the way for Nazism. Yet this short period is known as the Golden Age of German cinema.

Initially, the German economy spiraled into inflation, which was not controlled until the US Dawes Plan guaranteed the currency in 1923. Yet the film industry remained active, with hundreds of production companies and distributors, and it expanded with the Emelka studios in Munich, later the Bavaria AG, the second traditional site of German filmmaking. The other major studio, Ufa, prospered initially, establishing prestige cinemas in Berlin and Hamburg and later building the leading soundstage at Babelsberg. The new republic rapidly established direct control over production with film assessment offices in Berlin and Munich, freeing individual films from the preventive censorship applied by law. However, the same body could also promote its educational criteria via tax breaks for "particularly valuable" films.

Yet German filmmakers' greatest advantage was international, as exported German films gained acclaim abroad. With foreign films also coming in, international opportunity meant negotiating with what was already the dominant global film industry, Hollywood. In 1921 a

European Film Alliance came about between the Hollywood company Famous Players and a group of ex-Ufa filmmakers, such as the entrepreneur Paul Davidson (1867–1927) and the directors Ernst Lubitsch (1892–1947) and Joe May (1880–1954). However, its management could not cope with the pressures of inflation and quickly declared bankruptcy. A few years later, Ufa, led by the most successful producer of the day, Erich Pommer (1889–1966), made the Parufamet agreement with the Paramount and Metro-Goldwyn studios. Ufa contracted for twenty US films each season and guaranteed the American studios 75 percent of its cinema's programs, and the Americans agreed to take ten Ufa films each. The German side needed the deal, as it also came with a loan of $4 million to pay off Ufa's debts. Unfortunately, it was not enough.

Already in 1919 Ufa had launched the first German international success for over five years with Lubitsch's costume drama, *Madame Du Barry*. Under the title *Passion*, this became a huge hit in the United States the next year, so that the director left for Hollywood in 1923 and never worked in Germany again. In early 1920 Robert Wiene's (1881–1938) *Das Kabinett des Doktor Caligari* (*The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*), the film that came to characterize German expressionism, the dominant avant-garde art movement of the times, premiered in Berlin. It abandoned any attempt at realism, depicting the machinations of an evil doctor and showman with his exhibit, a sleepwalker, through bizarre, painted sets and exaggerated costume and acting styles, not least from the young Conrad Veidt (1893–1943), who also later left for Hollywood and is perhaps best known for his role as the Nazi commander in *Casablanca* (1941). *Caligari*'s theme of the corruption lurking behind respectability was so potentially controversial that the producers forced the addition of a conciliatory ending before release. Unlike Lubitsch's film, Wiene's made an international impression as innovative filmmaking, even if it did not enjoy the same popular success. Other examples are Fritz Lang's (1890–1976) *Dr. Mabuse, der Spieler* (*Dr. Mabuse: The Gambler*, 1922), centered on a mad criminal mastermind, and above all his *Der Müde Tod* (*The Weary Death*, also known as *Destiny* and *Between Two Worlds*, 1921), a film exploring the mysteries of life and death and displaying Lang's ability to visualize transcendent scenes architecturally. F. W. Murnau (1888–1931) made twenty-two films from 1919 to 1931, when he died in the United States. *Nosferatu, ein Symphonie des Grauens* (*Nosferatu the Vampire*, also known as *Nosferatu, a Symphony of Horrors*, 1922) is one of the most well-known expressionist films, while *Der Letzte Mann* (*The Last Laugh*, 1924) displayed a masterful use of the moving camera that did away entirely with the need for subtitles to tell its tale of a once-proud hotel doorman who finds himself unemployed. Murnau came to the United States on the strength of these films, but with the exception of the exquisite *Sunrise* (1927), he was unable to find success within the Hollywood studio system. Expressionism was nearing its end in *Das Wachsfigurenkabinett* (*Waxworks*, Paul Leni, 1924), which told three fantastical tales with magnificent sets and featured three of the era's great stars: Veidt, Emil Jannings (1884–1950), and Werner Krauss (1884–1959).

In 1924 Fritz Lang adapted the expressionist style for the historical epic *Die Nibelungen*, which depicts the greatest German folk-myth. With his penchant for monumental effect combined with expressionistic devices, Lang made another of the milestone films of the Weimar Republic, *Metropolis*, in 1927. With two of German cinema's leading stars, Heinrich George (1893–1946) and Brigitte Helm (1906–1996), supported by an army of extras, the story shows an apocalypse averted in a supercity of the future and an idealistic conclusion uniting management and workers. Although it confirmed Ufa's technical prowess, the film also came close to bankrupting the company, precipitating eventual takeover by conservative, nationalist interests. However, *Metropolis* had impressed Dr. Josef Goebbels (1897–1945), who, as the Nazi propaganda minister after 1933, offered Lang a leading position in the industry. Lang left for Hollywood, where he managed a reasonably successful transition, producing films like *Fury* (1936), the anti-Nazi story *Hangmen Also Die* (1943), *Rancho Notorious* (1952), and *The Big Heat* (1953). He never reintegrated into the German industry after the war, although he accepted invitations to return to Germany to direct *Der Tiger von Eschnapur* (*The Tiger of Bengal*, 1959), *Das indische Grabmal* (*The Indian Tomb*, 1959), and *Die Tausend Augen des Dr. Mabuse* (*The Thousand Eyes of Dr. Mabuse*, 1960), reprising a motif from his early career.

In the late 1920s expressionism gave way to the technically and ideologically more sober style of the New Objectivity, which found cinematic expression in such films as Kurt (1902–2000) and Robert (1900–1973) Siodmak's *Menschen am Sonntag* (*People on Sunday*, 1930) and G. W. Pabst's (1885–1967) *Die freudlose Gasse* (*The Joyless Street*, 1925). The latter, a social drama set in a proletarian district of Vienna, combined social commentary with moralistic melodrama to show the corruption of speculators and the rescue of the heroine by an American Red Cross officer. It was also the film debut of Greta Garbo (1905–1990), who shortly afterward left for Hollywood and became a screen goddess. In the same genre, but ideologically uncompromising, is *Mutter Krausens Fahrt ins Glück* (*Mother Krause's Journey to Happiness*, 1929), made by director Piel Jutzi

F. W. MURNAU

b. Friedrich Wilhelm Plumpe, Bielefeld, Germany, 29 December 1888, d. 11 March 1931

Murnau took his professional name from a town in southern Bavaria favored by noted artists in the early part of the twentieth century. He earned a reputation as a creative genius who contributed to the German film industry's international ascendancy, but also as a director unable to manage the shift to Hollywood and all that such a move entailed.

After World War I, he became an apprentice to the theater director Max Reinhardt in Berlin. He directed his first film, *Der Knabe in Blau* (*The Boy in Blue*), in 1919 and had his first success with the romantic melodrama *Der Gang in die Nacht* (*The Dark Road*) in 1921. With the screenwriter Henrik Galeen, he made one of the signal films of German expressionism, *Nosferatu, eine Symphonie des Grauens* (*Nosferatu the Vampire*, 1922), the forerunner of the vampire genre and a cult film today. Murnau worked in a variety of styles but is best known for his expressionist films: *Herr Tartüff* (*Tartuffe*, 1926), from the seventeenth-century French comedy by Molière, and *Faust* (1926), from the celebrated play by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe.

Murnau's *Der letzte Mann* (*The Last Laugh*, 1924), one of the most significant films of the period, combined elements of expressionism and the subsequent New Objectivity. Murnau had Karl Freund, a leading cameraman of the day, shift his camera around and through the scenes, even going so far as to have Freund strap the unwieldy equipment onto his body. The film's groundbreaking visual effects support a story told from the perspective of the protagonist, a hotel doorman powerfully portrayed by Emil Jannings. *The Last Laugh* displays technical prowess, eschewing any title cards to support its narrative.

Murnau received official recognition at the premiere of *Faust* in 1926, but he left for the United States and a contract with Fox studios. There he made *Sunrise: A Song of Two Humans* (1927), an expressionist story of infidelity and murder with a visionary, dreamlike style, often ranked as one of the greatest silent films. It was a critical but not a commercial success. After *Four Devils* (1928) and *City Girl* (1930), Murnau quit the mainstream industry and took a loyal team to the South Pacific to produce *Tabu* (1931), a tale of love and death in paradise. He was killed in a car accident a week before its Hollywood premiere.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Nosferatu, eine Symphonie des Grauens (*Nosferatu the Vampire*, 1922), *Der letzte Mann* (*The Last Laugh*, 1924), *Faust* (1926), *Herr Tartüff* (*Tartuffe*, 1926), *Sunrise: A Song of Two Humans* (1927), *Tabu* (1931)

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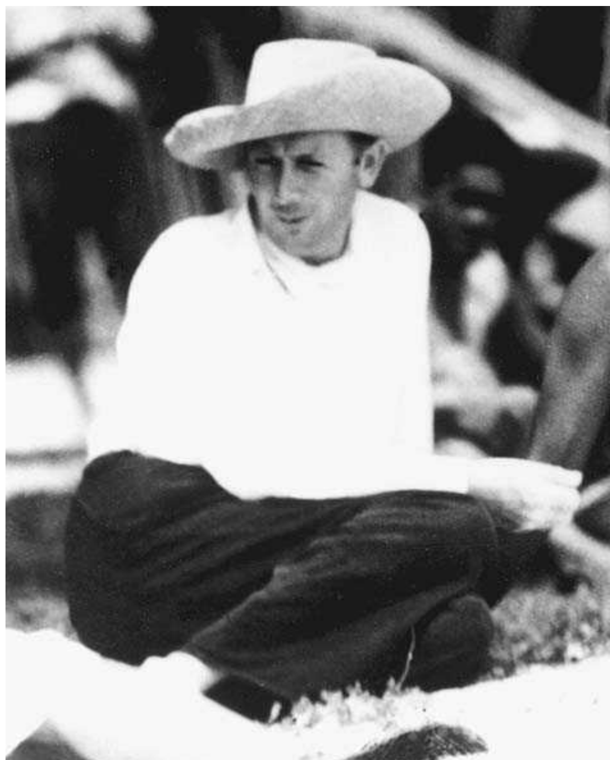
Stan Jones

(1896–1946) with the Marxist film collective, Prometheus. The film depicts a mother's suicide after her family is destroyed by unemployment and poverty and advocates working-class solidarity.

Lang also depicted the same milieu for his first sound film, *M—Eine Stadt sucht einen Mörder* (*M*, 1931), but used it for a crime thriller based on an actual case of a serial killer of children. *M* launched another significant star, Peter Lorre (1904–1964), who soon went on to prosper in Hollywood. In *M*, and in much of the earlier expressionist filmmaking from *Caligari* onward, the critic Siegfried Kracauer identified in the German culture and nation a significant reflection of individual and social psychoses, which would find an overt form in Nazism.

The introduction of sound in 1927 radically changed the longer-term prospects for German films internationally, as possibly the only rival industry to Hollywood now operated through a minority language. The first German sound film exhibited was Walter Ruttmann's (1887–1941) *Melodie der Welt* (*Melody of the World*, 1929), a travelogue dominated by music.



F.W. Murnau on location for* Tabu *(1931). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

The shift to full use of sound's potential came with Josef von Sternberg's (1894–1969) *Der Blaue Engel* (*The Blue Angel*, 1930), starring Emil Jannings as a bourgeois schoolmaster seduced by a cabaret performer and Marlene Dietrich (1901–1992) as the seductive singer, Lola Lola. To counter the inevitable restriction to the natural territory of the German language, films like *The Blue Angel* and Ewald Dupont's (1891–1956) *Atlantic* (1929) were shot in several language versions simultaneously. By the end of 1930, sound films were the norm in production and exhibition.

The only declared Communist film produced in the whole period, *Kuhle Wampe oder: Wem gehört die Welt?* (*To Whom Does the World Belong?*, 1932), directed by Slatan Dudow (1903–1963) and written by the renowned playwright Bertolt Brecht (1898–1956), just managed to get a premiere in Berlin in 1932 after being refused three times by the censors. It depicts an encampment of the unemployed in the forests south of Berlin and is highly critical of state and religious authorities. Also typical of the times is the film version of Brecht's play, *Die Dreigroschenoper* (*The Threepenny Opera*, 1931); Brecht sued the director, G. W. Pabst, and his producers, claiming they had falsified the political message he sought from a story of the collaboration of crooks, police, and banks. Brecht himself left Germany early in 1933, exemplifying the devastating impact of political developments on the nation's entire creative intelligentsia.

FASCISM: 1933–1945

On taking power in 1933, the Nazis brought all aspects of production together under the Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda (Reich Ministry for Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda), led by propaganda minister Goebbels. Filmmakers, together with all writers, artists, musicians, and so on, had to belong to the Reichskulturkammer (Reich Chamber for Cultural Affairs). Consolidation of production companies meant that the studios Ufa, Tobis, Bavaria, and Terra soon came to produce more than 80 percent of all features. Prominent names, like so many anonymous individuals, had to leave or were threatened with literal destruction. Billy Wilder (1906–2002), Max Ophüls (1902–1957), Robert Siodmak, Erich Pommer, Detlef Sierck (Douglas Sirk; 1897–1987), Alexander Korda (1893–1956), and Arnold Pressburger (1885–1951) joined those who had earlier emigrated to other European countries or to Hollywood; but now they were in exile, with no guarantee of ever returning home. Those who stayed, like the actors Emil Jannings, Hans Albers (1925–1999), Kristina Söderbaum (1912–2001), Brigitte Horney (1911–1988), and Heinz Rühmann (1902–1994), or the directors Veit Harlan (1899–1964), Wolfgang Liebeneiner (1905–1987), and Leni Riefenstahl (1902–2003), could have successful careers if they obeyed the rules.

The onset of Nazi rule, like its downfall in 1945, marks a crucial shift in German history. But it did not happen overnight; rather, it was a transition to circumstances long foreseeable and thus meant a degree of continuity, at least initially. Possibly the world's most sophisticated industry lost much of that indeterminate factor vital in all filmmaking—talent—but it could still produce impressive films for its popular market, propagandistic tracts as features or as pseudo-newsreels, and some of the most vicious imagery ever screened. The Reich also carried on the Weimar Republic's assessment policy, granting films conducive to its ideology tax breaks, although these could not compensate for the loss of export markets, especially in the United States, which immediately declined. There were, however, some advantages, as foreign film imports declined, although never disappeared completely, with the major competitor, Hollywood, banned only in 1939. And, of course, from the later 1930s the expanding Reich brought captive audiences. By 1937 major parts of the industry were nationalized, and any independent filmmaking was banned in 1941, when the final consolidation created

Marlene Dietrich became a star in Josef von Sternberg's **Der Blaue Engel *(*The Blue Angel, *1930).*** **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

an Ufa monopoly and meant direct rule by Goebbels from his ministry.

Popular entertainment continued with dependable genre films, comedies, musicals, and exotic adventures, all keeping to the classic conventions and styles of Hollywood while incorporating specifically German folklore, popular literature, and music. A satirical comedy such as *Amphitryon* (Reinhold Schünzel, 1935) could even imply social criticism, but was protected by its origin in a play by Heinrich von Kleist (1777–1811), a literary icon. *Heimat* (*Homeland*, Carl Froelich, 1938) starred Heinrich George in a melodrama of family relations. The film musical found an extreme form in *Wir tanzen um die Welt* (We Are Dancing Around the World, Karl Anton, 1939), combining revue, "backstage" musical, and love story with mass choreography reminiscent of Busby Berkeley spectaculars. The most successful popular entertainment was Veit Harlan's *Die goldene Stadt* (The Golden City, 1942), set in occupied Prague, a melodrama of betrayal and suicide with a strong message of local patriotism. Yet perhaps the high point came with Josef von Báky's (1902–1966) *Münchhausen* (*The Adventures of Baron Munchhausen*, 1943), an opulent fantasy adventure based on the "Baron of Lies" from popular German literature and intended to celebrate Ufa's twenty-fifth anniversary while displaying to the embattled Germans, and the world at large, the German industry's prowess, not least in color photography.

Epic filmmaking had already come in for nationalist exploitation in the "Prussia Films." It continued into the Third Reich, as Harlan produced *Der grosse König* (*The Great King*, 1942), in which a Germany at war in the seventeenth century parallels contemporary circumstances. The epic genre expanded to encompass various sorts of "great men" and "leaders" like the playwright

MARLENE DIETRICH

b. Maria Magdalene von Losch, Berlin, Germany, 27 December 1901, d. 6 May 1992

Appearing in over a dozen films by such renowned directors of the day as Maurice Tourneur, Curtis Bernhardt, and Alexander Korda, Marlene Dietrich achieved international stardom when, as the dance-hall girl Lola Lola, she stole *Der Blaue Engel* (*The Blue Angel*, 1930) from star Emil Jannings. In the film's final scene she scans the cabaret audience with a knowing smile and a provocative stance that established the outline of the iconic star she was to play all her life.

In 1930 she followed Josef von Sternberg, the director of *The Blue Angel*, to Hollywood. For five years at Paramount, von Sternberg and Dietrich collaborated on six films, from *Morocco* (1930) to *The Devil Is a Woman* (1935), establishing her as a screen goddess. The films experiment with expressionist lighting and texture even as they explore the nature of femininity. Dietrich learned a great deal from von Sternberg about constructing her own image, and although she could devise her own lighting arrangements for the most suitable effects, she could mock it too, as in Fritz Lang's *Rancho Notorious* (1952) and, memorably, in Orson Welles's noir masterpiece, *Touch of Evil* (1958).

Dietrich was approached by the Nazis but did not return to German filmmaking, becoming instead an American citizen and taking a public stance against fascism as a celebrated entertainer of Allied troops. She returned to Germany in 1945 for her mother's funeral but was unpopular because of her wartime allegiances. She appeared in a key role in Stanley Kramer's *Judgment at Nuremberg* (1961), for which she worked again briefly in Germany. However, she did not attend the Berlin premiere, which was a disaster, with the film opening and closing that same night. It was her last major film role, although she maintained a career in cabaret until an accident in 1973. Her last appearance on film was as a madame managing gigolos in post-1918 Berlin in *Schöner Gigolo, armer Gigolo* (*Just a Gigolo*, 1979). Not long before the end of her life, France awarded her its most prestigious decoration, the Légion d'Honneur, and the city paid for the Paris apartment where she lived for over twenty years. In Joseph Vilsmaier's *Marlene* (2000), a biopic with elements of pure invention, Katja Flint vainly tries to capture something of Dietrich's aura. Dietrich and her legend are remembered not only in her films but in Dietrich Square, off Potsdamer Platz in Berlin, and an archive devoted to her in the nearby Stiftung deutscher Kinemathek.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Der Blaue Engel (*The Blue Angel*, 1930), *Morocco* (1930), *Blonde Venus* (1932), *Shanghai Express* (1932), *The Scarlet Empress* (1934), *Desire* (1936), *Destry Rides Again* (1939), *Rancho Notorious* (1952), *Witness for the Prosecution* (1957), *Touch of Evil* (1958), *Judgment at Nuremberg* (1961)

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Friedrich Schiller (1940), the inventor Rudolf Diesel (1942), and the physician Robert Koch (1939). However, the climax of this propagandistic adaptation of history came with Harlan's *Kolberg* (1945), a retelling of the defense of a Baltic port city against the French in the early nineteenth century. As the advancing Red Army took the actual town in 1944, Goebbels diverted resources of money, men, and materials—even interfering in the scriptwriting—to a spectacular war film designed to bolster the Germans' will to resist. The film itself, with its message of endless sacrifice and its production history, provides many insights into the self-destructive megalomania at the heart of Nazism.

Although far from *Kolberg* in style, Leni Riefenstahl's work, which is certainly better known today, is equally revealing of the Third Reich. Her pseudodocumentary, *Triumph des Willens* (*Triumph of the Will*, 1935) can still exert a dubious fascination with its narrative montage of the Nazis' annual rally in Nuremberg, for which Riefenstahl commanded significant resources to create an

Marlene Dietrich, 1936. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

eerily operatic celebration of the mystical union of Führer and *Volk* (people) as if it were staged precisely for her cameras. Nazi filmic propaganda reached its malevolent depths with depictions of the Jews. *Die Rothschilds* (The Rothschilds, Erich Waschneck, 1940) on the history of the famous financiers in England, was not a commercial success, but Harlan's *Jud Süss* (*Jew Süss*) of the same year brought the racist message very close to home by recounting the history of the eighteenth-century German financier Oppenheim via a bourgeois melodrama. *Der ewige Jude* (*The Eternal Jew*, 1940) shifts to pseudodocumentary to compile at the behest of the ministry a horrendous montage of allusions, false allegories, and arguments to convince viewers of a Jewish conspiracy for world domination. These films are straight propaganda, as the Nazis had by that time decided on the Final Solution to exterminate the Jews and all other undesirable groups and individuals. The propaganda pitch continued when the German-Jewish director Kurt Gerron (1897–1944), having been arrested by the Nazi SS and sent to the Theresienstadt concentration camp, was ordered to shoot a pseudodocumentary on the camp. *Der Führer schenkt den Juden eine Stadt* (*The Führer Gives a City to the Jews*, also known as *Theresienstadt*, 1944) presents the camp as a model community as a smokescreen for international opinion. Having delivered the product, Gerron and his team were duly murdered.

SINCE 1945

The year 1945, unlike 1918, brought total defeat and occupation zones, permanent loss of territory and resources, floods of refugees, and a burden of historical guilt that still shapes German society today. The French, British, and Russian allies governed the country in increasingly uneasy cooperation until 1949, when two German states emerged, the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) in the Western zones and the German Democratic Republic (GDR) in the Eastern, Soviet zone. With the building of the infamous Berlin Wall in 1961 and the sealing of the internal border, two Germanies were locked in stasis and integrated into their respective power blocs, NATO and the Warsaw Pact. In November 1989 the East German state finally collapsed and was rapidly absorbed into the Federal Republic.

Filmmaking carried on amid the ruins, not least because the occupying powers wanted it to, although they were themselves distracted by dismantling and profiting from the remains of Ufa. As early as May 1946, the Deutsche Film Aktiengesellschaft (DEFA, the German Film Company Limited) received a license from the Soviets for the Babelsberg studios. DEFA became the East German state's film company and thus the monopoly producer. Its first film, *Die Mörder sind unter uns* (*Murderers Among Us*, 1946) by Wolfgang Staudte (1906–1984) premiered as the first postwar German film. Dealing with the heritage of Nazism, it came to be known as a *Trümmerfilm* (rubble film), after its setting in ruined Berlin. Shot in film noir style with Hildegard Knef (1925–2002), one of the postwar cinema's major stars, it established antifascist filmmaking at DEFA. At the same time, private companies were appearing in the Western zones, such as Central Cinema Company-Film (CCC) and Berolina-Film in West Berlin, Filmaufbau in the provincial university town of Göttingen, and Real-Film in Hamburg. In Munich the Bavaria studios remained in public ownership until 1956.

Distribution companies in West Germany also acquired licenses from the Western allies and could import large quantities of foreign material that was new to Germany. This meant, above all, B pictures from Hollywood, thus reestablishing the abiding presence of the American industry. Audiences' preference for dubbing into German dates from this time. Some filmmakers, like Staudte, were able to work in both Germanies for a while, and until the Wall went up, West Berliners could work in Babelsberg. However, there was little cooperation between the two industries. The deterioration of relations between the former allies soon

turned into the Cold War and meant that the Federal Republic at first banned all DEFA films, shifting to a more selective approach in the 1960s. Filmmaking came to reflect the *Wirtschaftswunder*, the rapid economic recovery of West German manufacturing and trade. Scarcely any films dealt with the division of Germany, and most tackled the problem of Nazism under the broad attitude of a liberal humanism, presenting ordinary Germans as victims of anonymous historical forces. This stance also enabled condemnation of Communism as a nonpolitical evil rather than acknowledging East Germany as any sort of comparator. Ufa style merged with that of Hollywood genres to offer "great men" films, *Heimatfilme*, popular depictions of idyllic local cultures, nostalgic historical costume dramas depicting "the good old days," and melodramas focusing on questions of personal identity and relations within families. These latter might ostensibly deal with social, even political, problems of the day but tended to deflect them into questions of emotional attachments and moralizing. Something of an exception were films dealing with young people, as they referred to the significant impact of US culture on the *Wirtschaftswunder* society, such as Georg Tressler's *Die Halbstarken* (*The Hooligans*, 1956), a depiction of young criminals notable for its realist style and for introducing new actors like Horst Buchholz (1933–2003), who went on to achieve stardom. Popular music featured in *Schlagerfilme* (pop films) catered to a youth audience alongside the remakes of musicals, revues, and operettas for more conservative tastes.

West German films from the 1950s did not export well, had few successes at international festivals, and always had to cope with competition from Hollywood. Filmmakers concentrated on what suited the domestic market. The state supported them by introducing the first of the permanent subsidy programs, levying tickets sold and offering production guarantees with the money, thus propping up a declining industry for reasons of cultural politics. As German consumers became increasingly affluent, chief among the new offers was television, with the first channel being established in 1954. By the early 1960s German film attracted less than a third of its home market, and its inadequacy was confirmed when the 1961 Berlinale (the Berlin Film Festival) refused to award the annual German film prize at all.

THE NEW WAVE

In the 1960s a young generation of West Germans began to reject the filmmaking of their parents (and even grandparents), as they were beginning to reject many of the premises on which their parents had reestablished their version of Germany. In 1962 a group of young filmmakers published the *Oberhausen Manifesto* at the festival in the town of that name. They wanted a radical shift in *Filmkultur* to recognize cinema as an art equivalent to other arts and thus equally deserving of public support. The Young German Film sought new forms of expression while looking back to prewar cinematic traditions. It embraced American popular culture while criticizing much of American politics, particularly internationally. It turned to German literature for inspiration while rejecting notions of high and low culture and consciously stressing an auteur cinema.

The German state responded by expanding support agencies, subsidies, and training institutions. The Kuratorium Junger Deutscher Film (Board for Young German Film) offered, from 1964 on, interest-free loans to screenplays found worthy of support, yet first-time filmmakers still found it difficult to find distribution and exhibition. Established industry circles countered by securing loans from the Filmförderungsanstalt for companies demonstrating box-office success, which led to a flurry of cheap, often sensationalist productions. The new generation's films began to appear in 1966 with *Abschied von gestern* (*Yesterday Girl*) by Alexander Kluge (b. 1932), a film-essay challenging genre cinema with a fragmented narrative and a critique of social norms. Volker Schlöndorff (b. 1939) began his literary adaptations with his *Der junge Törless* (*Young Torless*, 1966) based on the famous novella by Robert Musil (1880–1942). Social realist, even documentary style went together with experimental and avant-garde developments and a wide-ranging critical stance toward modern mass culture and media. Jean-Marie Straub (b. 1933) and Danièle Huillet (b. 1936) influenced their contemporaries, although they never found a large audience, with films like *Chronik der Anna Magdalena Bach* (*The Chronicle of Anna Magdalena Bach*, 1968), which refused narrative authority and examined the relationship of time and space in film.

Parallel to these developments, mainline popular cinema carried on by producing pop music films, low-level porn under the guise of social comment on sexuality, detective stories, and even remakes of the Karl May westerns. However, by the early 1970s, with new filmmakers gaining recognition overseas, cinema rapidly became one of Germany's cultural export flagships under the title New German Cinema, and was then validated by foreign opinion. German public identification with the new wave—some even proudly hailed it as a new "Golden Age"—was mixed with unease at the filmmakers' potential excesses. The generation of the early 1960s stressed the *Autorenfilm* (author's film) as programmatic, as it privileged individual creativity against commercial and industrial expertise. This meant that filmmakers were not only their own directors but

scriptwriters, producers, and editors as well. In 1971 these filmmakers launched a short-lived attempt to secure their own distribution by founding the Filmverlag der Autoren, but it was never able to compete with mainline companies.

Rainer Werner Fassbinder (1946–1982) was by far the most prolific and controversial filmmaker of this generation, with a formidable productivity from the late 1960s to his early death in 1982. He was also an important figure in radical German theater. His *Angst essen Seele auf* (*Ali: Fear Eats the Soul*, 1974) is still provocative in its depiction of love between a middle-aged German woman and an immigrant worker from North Africa. His *Chinesisches Roulette* (*Chinese Roulette*, 1976) offers remarkable shot compositions to support its melodrama, and his *Lili Marleen* (1981) takes up the theme of Nazism through an examination of the way Nazi media promoted a star cult. Probably his best-known film is *Die Ehe der Maria Braun* (*The Marriage of Maria Braun*, 1979), where his own "star" actress, Hanna Schygulla (b. 1943), portrays the career of a woman during the German "economic miracle," displaying the sexual politics that paralleled socioeconomic developments. With *Lola* (1981) and *Die Sehnsucht der Veronika Voss* (*Veronika Voss*, 1982), *The Marriage of Maria Braun* forms the "Trilogy of the Federal Republic," a tableau of the history, politics, culture, and style of Fassbinder's homeland.

Wim Wenders (b. 1945) is internationally celebrated and engages in the politics of *Filmkultur*. His *Im Laufe der Zeit* (*Kings of the Road*, 1976) set many of his thematic and stylistic trademarks, like his fascination with American culture and the figure of the lone male wanderer as hero, which resurfaced in his *Paris, Texas* (1984), made in the United States with French financing. After several years in the United States (including a notable but flawed cooperation with Francis Ford Coppola on *Hammett*, 1982), Wenders returned home and shot his masterpiece, *Der Himmel über Berlin* (*Wings of Desire*) in 1987, combining remarkable images from Berlin just before the Wall collapsed with a mythical love story of an angel and the woman for whom he forsakes immortality. Wenders returned to the United States to shoot *The Million Dollar Hotel* (2000), a bizarre detective story set in a rundown residential hotel in Los Angeles. Applying his trademarks to an American cast in an American setting, Wenders continues German cinema's tradition of interaction with the United States and its filmmaking. *In a Land of Plenty* (2004) has its title borrowed from poet/songwriter Leonard Cohen, and results from cooperation with US writers, producers, and cast on a US theme: the continuing legacy of Vietnam. Technologically, Wenders also broke new ground by shooting mainly digitally. *Don't Come Knocking* (2005) meant working with Sam Shepard again and with a US cast, including Shepard himself, Tim Roth, and Jessica Lange. Its narrative resembles *Paris, Texas* in tracing the wanderings of a loner-male and his attempt to salvage his disastrous family relations. Wenders has also cooperated with Ry Cooder, on the documentary *Buena Vista Social Club* (1999), and with Martin Scorsese to contribute *The Soul of a Man* (2003) to Scorsese's TV series on the blues.

Werner Herzog (b. 1942) is regarded as one of the most eccentric figures of *das neue kino*. His films feature inspiring landscapes and controversial actors (the flamboyant Klaus Kinski [1926–1991], the strange Bruno S. [b. 1932]) at odds with their world. Herzog is also well known for the making of his films, whether hypnotizing the entire cast in *Herz aus Glas* (*Heart of Glass*, 1976), dragging a boat through the Amazon jungle for *Aguirre, der Zorn Gottes* (*Aguirre, the Wrath of God*, 1972), or feuding with actor Kinski. Other significant figures from this generation are Volker Schlöndorff, whose Oscar®-winning adaptation of Günter Grass's novel *Die Blechtrommel* (*The Tin Drum*, 1979) is a remarkable treatment of a powerful exploration of German identity, and Hans-Jürgen Syberberg (b. 1935), whose *Ludwig, Requiem für einen jungfräulichen König* (*Ludwig, Requiem for a Virgin King*, 1972) and *Hitler—ein Film aus Deutschland* (*Hitler: A Film from Germany*, 1978) present richly textured visions exploring the legacies of German Romanticism and nationalism, controversially depicting a particular German identity through irrational and nihilistic imagery.

Paralleling the New German Cinema, in the 1970s *Frauenfilm* (women's filmmaking) arose. Directors like Helke Sander (b. 1937), Helma Sanders-Brahms (b. 1940), Margarethe von Trotta (b. 1942), Ulrike Ottinger (b. 1942), and Jutta Brückner (b. 1941) have sought to redefine the practice and politics of filmmaking while criticizing the oppression and discrimination directed against women in the Federal Republic. The combination of national and family history in *Deutschland bleiche Mutter* (*Germany Pale Mother*, 1980), by Sanders-Brahms, sparked controversy. Von Trotta's *Die bleierne Zeit* (*Marianne and Juliane*, also known as *The German Sisters*, 1981) took up the story of the Ensslin sisters for a subtle examination of the effect of terrorism on daily life by combining radical politics with personal history.

The German New Wave petered out in the early 1980s, around the time of Fassbinder's death. The political climate had changed from the idealism of the 1960s to the violence of the "extraparliamentary opposition" of the 1970s, with countermeasures by the state, together with public opposition to projects like nuclear power and the presence of US nuclear weaponry on West German

WERNER HERZOG

b. Werner Stipetic, Munich, Germany, 5 September 1942

Werner Herzog, one of the leading figures of the New German Cinema, has remained a radical individualist and a cinematic visionary for over forty years. His films disturb by their questioning of the bases of human civilization and its values. He first attracted notice with *Lebenszeichen* (*Signs of Life*, 1968), a war story set on a Greek island, which depicts an individual soldier's futile revolt against his situation. Herzog won the Berlin International Film Festival prize that year for a first work, as well as a German Film Award for outstanding feature film.

In *Jeder für sich und Gott gegen Alle* (*The Enigma of Kaspar Hauser*, 1974) he commented on fundamental social values via the historical account of a strange foundling child in nineteenth-century Germany. Herzog also tackled a difficult play by Georg Büchner, from the mainstream of German theater, in *Woyzeck* (1979). Herzog's favorite actor, Klaus Kinski, draws on his characteristic intensity to portray the destruction of a simple little man caught in an absurd, authoritarian society. In *Nosferatu, Phantom der Nacht* (*Nosferatu*, 1978), an homage to the director F. W. Murnau, Kinski gives a remarkably nuanced portrayal of the Dracula figure as a lonely and driven predator envious of his victims for their human relations. With Kinski, Herzog also explored megalomania in *Aguirre, der Zorn Gottes* (*Aguirre, The Wrath of God*, 1972) and again in *Fitzcarraldo* (1982) and *Cobra Verde* (1987). *Fitzcarraldo* is an allegory of colonialism in its treatment of the actual historical events surrounding the hero's obsession with building an opera house a thousand miles up the Amazon River in the Peruvian jungle. During the shooting of this film, Herzog became involved with dangerous local politics, and one of his crew was killed while filming a wild ride down river rapids. *Cobra Verde* deals with the eighteenth-century slave trade between South America and Africa, with Kinski reprising his role of the obsessive adventurer who perishes through his overreaching ambition. After this film, Herzog and Kinski parted ways, as it was becoming increasingly difficult for the director to work with the erratic star.

Herzog also has produced several highly personal documentaries in Germany and elsewhere, and has done mainstream work for German TV. Among his impressive documentaries are *Mein Liebster Feind—Klaus Kinski* (*My Best Fiend*, 1999), about the director's tumultuous working relationship with Kinski; *Wheel of Time* (2003), about the Dalai Lama and Tibetan Buddhist rituals; *The White Diamond* (2004), about exploring the rainforest in a unique airship; and *Grizzly Man* (2005), about an actor who filmed himself living among grizzly bears and who, along with his girlfriend, was killed by one.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Aguirre, der Zorn Gottes (*Aguirre: The Wrath of God*, 1972), *Jeder für sich und Gott gegen Alle* (*The Enigma of Kaspar Hauser*, 1974), *Stroszek* (1977), *Woyzeck* (1979), *Nosferatu, Phantom der Nacht* (*Nosferatu*, 1978), *Fitzcarraldo* (1982), *Cobra Verde* (1987), *Mein Liebster Feind—Klaus Kinski* (*My Best Fiend*, 1999), *Wheel of Time* (2003), *The White Diamond* (2004), *Grizzly Man* (2005)

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soil. Many of these issues are reflected in *Deutschland im Herbst* (*Germany in Autumn*, 1978), a collaborative project between several directors to depict the impact on German society of terrorism and the state's response to it.

When a more conservative government was elected in 1982, the subsidy system ceased to favor art cinema, even as the new technologies shaping video and TV continued to reduce cinema audiences. Mainline filmmaking enjoyed a boost with Wolfgang Petersen's (b. 1941) film *Das Boot* (*The Boat*, 1981), a melancholy antiwar story of a doomed U-boat toward the end of World War II. The film's international success and the director's subsequent hit *Die unendliche Geschichte* (*The Never-Ending Story*, 1984) launched Petersen on the well-trodden trail to Hollywood. In the 1990s Roland Emmerich (b. 1955) followed him, becoming a top US director, with *Universal Soldier* (1992) and *Independence Day* (1996). Other filmmakers found support through

Werner Herzog. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

closer collaboration with TV and, revisiting staple genres, the music industry.

Renewed public interpretation of the Third Reich was also reflected in filmmaking, as in *Die weisse Rose* (*The White Rose*, 1982) by Michael Verhoeven (b. 1938), which depicted the courage of an actual student resistance group in Munich. He revisited the Third Reich in 1990 with a controversial film, *Das schreckliche Mädchen* (*The Nasty Girl*, 1990), which used a mixture of techniques to focus on the difficulties experienced by a schoolgirl investigating her hometown under the Nazis. *Sansibar oder der letzte Grund* (Sansibar, or the True Reason, 1987) by Bernhard Wicki (1919–2000) explores difficult questions of guilt and responsibility through the allegory of an artwork rescued from the Nazis by a Communist and a Jewish woman. The most celebrated historical revision was Edgar Reitz's (b. 1932) *Heimat—Eine deutsche Chronik* (*Homeland: A German Chronicle*, 1984), an epic depiction of a village in central Germany from the 1920s to the 1950s that was made for both TV and cinema release. Reitz's sequel, *Die Zweite Heimat—Chronik einer Jugend* (*The Second Homeland: Chronicle of a Youth*), thirteen episodes shot from 1988 to 1992, continued the story into the 1960s. Both gained attention abroad and caused much debate in Germany as to the cinematic depiction of memory and its relevance for German identity. (*Heimat 3* was aired on German TV in 2004.) The particular parochialism of the state of Bavaria appears in the work of Herbert Achternbusch (b. 1938), such as *Servus Bayern* (*Bye-bye, Bavaria!*, 1977). In the United States Percy Adlon (b. 1935) adapted this story in *Out of Rosenheim* (*Bagdad Café*, 1987), which teamed the Bavarian actress Marianne Sägebrecht (b. 1945) with the American actor Jack Palance and achieved enormous international success. However, the most successful West German filmmaker of the 1980s was a newcomer, Doris Dörrie (b. 1955), whose comedy *Männer...* (*Men...*, 1985) combined a feminist viewpoint with borrowings from Hollywood genres in an international hit that set the stage for the more entertainment-oriented filmmaking of the 1990s.

DEFA

From 1945 to 1990, when the company, along with the state that owned it, disappeared, DEFA produced over seven hundred films. When DEFA acquired the Ufa premises in Babelsberg it took on a large number of staff from the Third Reich. In 1953 the Soviets relinquished any ownership, and under the Ministry of Culture DEFA came to control all East German filmmaking. Alongside those allowed to continue working, exiles like Slatan Dudow (1903–1963) and Wilhelm Dieterle (1893–1972) were encouraged to return. Thus the GDR's film establishment was at odds with the official doctrine of representing that German tradition and identity, which had always abjured fascism. Whereas the West German industry avoided political references in its films, the East German industry had to include them in all films, but only in forms dictated by the ruling Socialist Unity Party.

Already in 1951, with the continuity afforded by folding Ufa into DEFA, Staudte was able to put out an accomplished account of German imperial history, *Der Untertan* (*The Kaiser's Lackey*), adapted from the novel by Heinrich Mann. Slatan Dudow was one of the few filmmakers to examine the brutality of the Third Reich, as he depicted the price paid by resistance circles in his *Stärker als die Nacht* (Stronger Than the Night, 1954). Paralleling the antifascist tradition, filmmakers were also required to depict the reconstruction of the state on socialist lines in a "socialist realist" style. When the cultural climate thawed after Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin's death in 1953, genre filmmaking became easier (even allowing the development of a subgenre of westerns told from the viewpoint of the American Indians). In 1958 the climate changed again as the Socialist Unity Party attacked many DEFA filmmakers for undermining socialism with critical viewpoints. Even well-established directors like Kurt Maetzig (b. 1911), Konrad Wolf (1925–1982), Jürgen Böttcher (b. 1931), and Heiner Carow (1929–1997) had to negotiate with the ideological

Klaus Kinski in* Aguirre: der Zorn Gottes *(*Aguirre, The Wrath of God, *1970), one of several collaborations with director Werner Herzog. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

demands of their political masters; like many technicians, writers, and musicians, they were functionaries of the state on permanent contracts, and so faced changing demands for films that could educate, inform, and persuade, yet also entertain. However, filmmakers were not isolated from developments in other countries. Thus Frank Beyer (b. 1932) made his debut with *Fünf Patronenhülsen* (*Five Cartridges*, 1960), which showed influences from Russian filmmaking in its story of the International Brigade in the Spanish Civil War. The film featured Manfred Krug (b. 1937), the biggest star in the East German industry until his departure for the West in 1977 after a conflict with the party.

In 1965 the party intervened drastically by banning twelve completed films and dismissing some management at DEFA. Maetzig's *Das Kaninchen bin ich* (*I Am the Rabbit*, 1965) had passed all the censors, but, together with Frank Vogel's *Denk bloss nicht ich heule* (Just Don't Think I'm Crying, 1965), it was publicly criticized for being too skeptical and failing to contribute to a positive identity for the state and banned anyway. Required conformity with established ideology and systems pushed formal and thematic innovation further toward what the authorities considered an elitism. At the same time mass audiences sought genre products, even those coming from Hollywood, as entertainment, or turned to TV (which itself could be risky if one's aerial pointed west). In this climate a group of films came to be known as *Regalfilme* (shelved films), of which *Spur der Steine* (*The Trace of Stones*, 1966), by rising star Frank Beyer, is the most celebrated. The film, which depicts an anarchic but effective band of carpenters at work on a major construction site, and their involvement with the site management and the party, implies that there might be a range of personal contributions possible under socialism. Although allowed a limited release, the film raised too much popular interest for the party to tolerate and thus was shelved. On its reappearance, in perfect condition twenty-five years later, it immediately became a German cinema classic.

The party became somewhat more confident of itself in the 1970s, particularly under Erich Honecker, who presided over increased international recognition and responded to Willy Brandt, the Chancellor of the Federal Republic, by allowing more contact with the West. Another thaw followed, on the basis of the GDR's having become a fully developed socialist society. In 1975 Frank Beyer's *Jakob, der Lügner* (*Jacob the Liar*) appeared and in 1977 became the only DEFA film ever nominated for an Oscar®. Adapted from a novel by Jurek Becker, it tells of resistance in the Warsaw Ghetto that was based on invented radio reports of imminent liberation by the Red Army.

By the end of the 1970s it was growing ever clearer that the state and the party had little support among the populace. Citizens were withdrawing into private spheres, or becoming outright dissidents, or simply leaving the country. In filmmaking the discontent was reflected in an alternative film culture centered in Berlin, Leipzig, and Dresden. DEFA had to accept increasing marginalization in public life, with very few films, like *Solo Sunny* (1980), co-directed by Konrad Wolf (1925–1982) and Wolfgang Kohlhaase (b. 1931), attracting any significant box office, particularly against mainstream Hollywood films. Films like *Das Fahrrad* (The Bicycle, 1982), directed by Evelyn Schmidt (b. 1949), one of the few women filmmakers in the East, or *Grüne Hochzeit* (Green Wedding, Herrmann Zschoche, 1989) were marked by disillusionment about any improvement in individual lives. DEFA's one success was in films for children, such as *Das Schulgespenst* (The School Ghost, Rolf Losansky, 1986), which deals with a young girl's identity problems through the motif of changing places with a ghost.

DEFA celebrated its fortieth anniversary in 1986, which artificially stimulated productivity, some of it already in anticipation of the GDR's own fortieth anniversary in 1989. In 1988 a group of young filmmakers put out a manifesto demanding an independent studio. It was suppressed, but the dissidents were allowed to form their own working group; their discontent thus was focused, but they had no time to make anything of it. Among the last products of DEFA's filmmaking were Heiner Carow's *Coming Out* (1989), the only East German film ever to deal with the official discrimination against homosexuals; *Letztes aus der DaDaeR* (The Last of the Gee-Dee-Arr, Jörg Foth, 1990); and *Das Land hinter dem Regenbogen* (The Country Beyond the Rainbow, Herwig Kipping, 1992), committing the studio's last resources to reckonings with the GDR. The direction for any remaining *Filmkultur* became apparent in *Der Bruch* (The Break, 1989), written by Kohlhaase and directed by Beyer, a straight crime-comedy genre product with no ideological trappings, based on a case from 1951 and featuring a range of noted West German actors.

SINCE 1990

In July 1990 the West's currency replaced the East's, and by early October performances in downtown Berlin of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony and a massive fireworks display signaled the end to two Germanies. The shift back to Berlin as the sole capital heralded a shift in the political landscape, as the conservative government in power since 1982 gave way in 1998 to a center-left coalition of the Social Democrats and the Green Party, the most durable product of the dissenting generation of the 1960s. The Federal Republic subsequently joined the European common currency zone, and thus has continued its role as the pivotal state in an expanded European Union.

Established filmmakers—Beyer; Herzog; Wenders, going back and forth between Berlin and the United States; Schlöndorff; Kluge, with his social commentaries through private TV; and von Trotta—continue to make films. They have been joined by another generation: Tom Tykwer (b. 1965), Doris Dörrie, Christoph Schlingensief, Carolina Link, Romuald Karmakar, Andreas Dresen, Fatih Akin, Angela Schanelec, Jürgen Vogel, and Oskar Roehler. Some, like Tykwer, have had remarkable success in the mainstream, even internationally, whereas others operate domestically, not translating out of the natural German territories.

All depend in various ways on German cultural politics and government subsidy and financing measures. In 1997 several German films did well, managing over three million viewers, through sheer box office appeal: *Rossini* (1997), Helmut Dietl's satire on the vanity of Munich's film establishment; *Knockin' on Heaven's Door* (1997), by Thomas Jahn; and *Kleines Arschloch* (*The Little Bastard*, 1997), by Michael Schaack and Veit Vollmer. The industry remained dependent on TV productions, with the attendant influence of producers on content and on exhibition rights. To address this issue, Michael Naumann, on becoming Minister for Culture and the Media, called a meeting of interested parties in an attempt to reform the subsidy system away from its commercial emphasis, a move not favored by TV interests. At the same time, large amounts of investment were actually leaving Germany to buy rights in foreign productions. As many deals would simply never see a return, this phenomenon became known in the United States as "stupid German money," and the bubble subsequently burst.

Four categories of subject matter have most closely reflected Germany's circumstances at the turn of the century: reworkings of late-twentieth-century history, especially that of East Germany; comedies of social manners and gender relationships among young West German urban professionals; depictions of immigrant

and foreigner populations; and depictions of Berlin after the Wall. The wider historical past continues to circulate, more or less in the mainstream, and detective thrillers and road movies retain their appeal. Among the "reworkers," Andreas Kleinert (b. 1962) finished his training at DEFA just as it ceased to exist; yet he managed, in *Neben der Zeit* (Outside Time, 1995), to present an image of East Germany left behind by events and clinging to outdated habits. In 1999 he intensified that motif in a bleak picture of psychosis, *Wege in die Nacht* (*Paths in the Night*), which shows a former manager for the GDR leading an increasingly violent vigilante campaign against what he sees as the moral decay of the new Germany, until he himself becomes criminal and commits suicide. *Stilles Land* (*Silent Country*, 1992) by Andreas Dresen (b. 1963) takes a very "art house" form to show a provincial theater-group in the East overtaken in the midst of their rehearsals by the opening of the border, which confronts them with the existential question about their function in an indeterminate future. Tackling East Germany from a Western viewpoint, Detlev Buck's (b. 1962) *Wir können auch anders* (*No More Mr. Niceguy*, 1993) is a road movie about two country brothers who set off from the West to find their inheritance in the East; after hilarious adventures avoiding the law, they simply keep on heading east until they find an idyllic life in a Russian peasant community. *Goodbye Lenin!* (2003) by Wolfgang Becker (b. 1954) is an ironic tale of a young man who must pretend that East Germany still exists so as not to shock his fragile mother, who has just awakened from a coma that began before the fall of the Berlin Wall.

The mainstream of German production in the first half of the 1990s was characterized by lightweight comedies such as *Der bewegte Mann* (*Maybe, Maybe Not*, Sönke Wortmann, 1994), dealing with male gender identities and launching Til Schweiger (b. 1963) as the star of the time. Rainer Kaufmann's (b. 1959) *Stadtgespräch* (*Talk of the Town*, 1995) starred his partner, Katja Riemann (b. 1963), in a comedy of marital complications. Detlev Buck's *Männerpension* (*Jailbirds*, 1996), Sherry Horman's (b. 1960) *Frauen sind was Wunderbares* (Women Are Something Wonderful, 1994,) and Wortmann's *Das Superweib* (*The Superwife*, 1996) are all examples of a highly successful subgenre that presented German society as a sort of well-heeled sitcom driven by neurotic wisecracking. In the same general category of social comedy, Doris Dörrie has maintained her position, but her films, such as the episodic *Bin ich Schön?* (*Am I Beautiful?*, 1998), have a harder satirical and critical edge, depicting a society—as well as personal relations—given to meaningless consumerism.

Helmut Dietl's (b. 1944) satire *Schtonk!* (1992) is a darker film that returns to one of postwar filmmaking's regular motifs, Nazism. The film mocked the gullibility of editors of the popular magazine *Stern*, who were duped by forgers purporting to have Hitler's wartime diaries for sale. In it Götz George (b. 1938), a TV and film tough-guy star since the late 1960s, makes an outrageous appearance in a monstrous corset and dressing gown purported to be that of Hitler's henchman Hermann Goering. In 2004 *Der Untergang* (*The Downfall: Hitler and the End of the Third Reich*) by Oliver Hirschbiegel (b. 1957), which presents the last days of Hitler and his inner circle in the bunker under central Berlin, became an international success. The film was also the subject of much public debate for what some see as its relatively sympathetic treatment of Hitler as a human rather than as a monster. The director Joseph Vilsmaier (b. 1939)—whose films include *Stalingrad* (1993), *Comedian Harmonists* (1997), and *Marlene* (2000), the last two ostensibly biopics on a famous singing group and on Marlene Dietrich—produces for the mainstream, with significant production values; his work filters historical perspectives through personalities.

With the onset of the "Berlin Republic"—a concept arising from the post–Cold War relocation of the German government to that city—Berlin itself has become the focus of many films. Andreas Dresen's *Nachtgestalten* (*Night Shapes*, 1999) reveals the city's ugliness, its patient narrative the counterpart of the frenetic comedies of the early 1990s. By far the most widely acknowledged Berlin film has been Tom Tykwer's *Lola rennt* (*Run Lola Run*, 1998). Using parallel narratives and other devices from computer games, Tykwer's story of lovers threatened with extinction by their existence on the fringes of the underworld cemented his reputation internationally as one of German cinema's representative directors and propelled the film's female lead, Franka Potente (b. 1974), toward Hollywood.

In the mainstream genres, the thriller continues to appear and is especially prevalent on German TV. Examples include *Solo für Klarinette* (*Solo for Clarinet*, 1998), *Schattenboxer* (Shadow Boxer, 1992), *Kurz und schmerzlos* (*Short Sharp Shock*, 1998), and *Die Mutter des Killers* (The Mother of the Killer, 1996), and parodies like *Die Musterknaben* (The Favorite Sons, 1997) and *Zugvögel— . . . einmal nach Inari* (*Train Birds*, also known as *Trains'n'Roses*, 1998). Psychological thrillers include *Der Totmacher* (*Deathmaker*, 1995) and *Die Unberührbare* (*No Place to Go*, 2000), both German film prizewinners. *Die innere Sicherheit* (*The State I Am In*, 2000), also a prizewinner, investigates the 1960s generation, whose revolutionary visions are reduced to the shiftless existence of a couple still sought for alleged terrorism, together with their daughter, who knows no other existence than the one "underground." In 2004 *Die Fetten Jahre sind vorbei* (*over the Edukators*), the first

Franka Potente (right) in Tom Tykwer's kinetic* Lola rennt *(*Run Lola Run, *1998). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

German film for eleven years in competition at the Cannes Film Festival, took up the topic of activism and opposition in present-day Germany. In a satisfyingly ambiguous conclusion, the possibility of partnership across the generations is left open.

The industry maintains its own Spitzenorganisation (SPIO) in Wiesbaden as an umbrella for the major professional organizations. SPIO also supervises patents and copyrights and the TV rights to films, and decides on the German industry's entries for local and international festivals. It can also enforce the rulings of the Freiwillige Selbstkontrolle, the industry's voluntary self-censorship organization, established in 1949 after the model of the American Motion Pictures Producers and Distributors of America. In 1951 a film evaluation office, the Filmbewertungsstelle Wiesbaden, was established, the assessments of which can promote a film's chances of subsidy or block any hope of distribution. Germany's constitution guarantees freedom of expression, forbids censorship, and declares the federal states' rights to administer local exhibition; given the system of self-censorship, coupled with the subsidy system, government at various levels has great, if indirect, influence on what can be made and shown.

The Spitzenorganisation also produces a yearly compilation of statistics on the industry. In 2004 figures for premiered films for 1993 to 2003 show a gradual increase to around eighty per year, with a relatively constant proportion of foreign co-productions. The fragmented nature of the industry is evident in the fact that scarcely any production company managed more than one premiere; and the crucial importance of support from the film industry's rival, TV, is evident in the almost 50 percent of co-productions with companies in this sector. Showings of film on TV have burgeoned since the mid-1980s and, together with video production, sales, and rentals, show the biggest returns. This contrasts with the film industry's employment structure, where the overwhelming numbers, about 25,000 out of 37,000 members, are in film and video production. Regarding average production budgets, the German film industry is a global second-rank industry. Internationally, the chief market

for German films is, not surprisingly, Europe, with over three times the turnover of exports compared with the next biggest market, the United States. The cinema audience is overwhelmingly young: ages fourteen to twenty-nine, with a sharp decline from about thirty up. For cinema visits, Germany ranks under the EU average, with scarcely two per head in 2003, and far behind the United States, at 5.4. However, the bottom line for the German industry is the dominance of the US product over the German home market: over 40 percent of films exhibited in 2003, and almost 80 percent of the total turnover, were from the United States.

For the foreseeable future *Filmkultur* is likely to remain a secondary, "foreign-language" cinema, dominated at home and abroad by the English-speaking industry led by Hollywood. In 2003 the introduction of film study in the German school system added to the ongoing debate on what constitutes the German artistic canon. Thus questions about the role of German cinema—in terms of national identity, high versus low culture, social relevance, commercial status, and international significance—have achieved an unprecedented public prominence.

SEE ALSO *Expressionism; National Cinema; Propaganda; Ufa (Universum Film Aktiengesellschaft)*

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Stan Jones

GREAT BRITAIN

Any consideration of the cinema of Great Britain raises two key problems. First is the dominance of Hollywood cinema. English is the primary language of British cinema and, of course, of Hollywood. Britain's decline in the twentieth century has been matched by the rise of the United States as an economic power. As a key American export, Hollywood film served as a considerable influence on and a hindrance to the development of cinema in Great Britain. The absence of any language barrier made the British market an attractive one for Hollywood. Throughout most of its history, British cinema has struggled to compete against the Hollywood monolith.

The second problem is the very notion of Great Britain itself, which is hardly a unified whole, but rather is composed of other nations, prominently England but also Scotland and Wales. Additionally, Northern Ireland—which together with Great Britain constitutes the United Kingdom (UK)—must compete with other UK films as well as with the burgeoning film industry in the Republic of Ireland. In both a critical and popular sense, it is England that has been equated with Britain, and it is the English film industry, with its economic base in London, that has dominated British cinema. A further complication is the United Kingdom's ties to the European Union, which has led to an increase in co-productions where aspects of national identity tend to become subsumed.

Presently, the United Kingdom averages about one hundred feature films per year, but this number includes co-productions in which British interests may comprise only a minority stake. In the 1980s the average number of features produced was only forty-three, so current numbers represent a substantial rise. Changes in funding practices, as well as increased emphasis on co-productions, are leading causes of this apparent production boom. Funding was previously much more closely tied to exhibition, or at least to the possibilities of exhibition, either theatrically or on television. Current funding is primarily through the National Lottery, the monies from which are doled out by various regional film bodies, which are able to encourage production but rarely provide exhibition outlets. Anxiety over the state of the British film industry has been a recurring issue throughout the industry's history. In reality, Great Britain shares fears of Hollywood dominance with numerous other nations and yet, despite an ongoing inferiority complex, has a cinema history that is rich, varied, and reasonably successful.

EARLY CINEMA PIONEERS

Great Britain was a key early adopter of emerging cinema technology. In fact, it could be argued that British cinema history predates even the arrival of the Lumière Brothers in 1895. Augustin Le Prince (1842–1890), who disappeared in 1890 while returning from a visit to his brother in his native France, was reputed to have successfully experimented with motion pictures. Patents for which Le Prince applied, as well as remnants of his work, suggest that his experiments were successful, yet his work seems to have had no real influence, and he remains a curious cinematic footnote. Instead, it is the first Lumière show, in London in February 1896, that may be said to have inaugurated cinema exhibition in Great Britain.

It was not long after this that homegrown British films began to emerge. There were three main centers of

production for these early films: London, Yorkshire, and Brighton and Hove. The period between 1895 and 1905 can be seen as one of great productivity and influence, with the early British films being as innovative and prolific as their counterparts in France and the United States. Perhaps it was the influence of music hall traditions that enabled British film to emerge quickly as a world leader. Certainly, a great deal of the content of the films was derived from existing music hall acts, and undoubtedly the two popular forms shared audiences, particularly in more provincial towns and cities. Robert W. Paul (1869–1943) constructed a makeshift studio on the rooftop of the Alhambra theater in Leicester Square, making frequent use of music hall performers within his films. Another London-based company, the British Mutoscope and Biograph Company, constructed its film studio at the rear of the Tivoli Music Hall. In addition to the music hall, magic lanternists and other late-nineteenth-century showmen quickly adopted film as a new form of entertainment.

One of Great Britain's most significant film pioneers was Cecil Hepworth (1874–1953), the son of a renowned magic lantern showman. Hepworth began his film career assisting another key pioneer, the inventor and sometime filmmaker Birt Acres (1854–1918), who had collaborated with R. W. Paul (before the two bitterly fell out). After working for transplanted American producer Charles Urban at Maguire and Baucus, Hepworth founded his own company, along with his cousin, Monty Wicks, in 1899, under the name Hepworth and Company, building a studio in the back garden of a house in Walton-on-Thames, a suburb of London. In 1904 the company became the Hepworth Manufacturing Company, and Hepworth turned his attention away from directing and worked exclusively as a producer. His company was responsible for a number of key early films, the most notable of which was *Rescued by Rover* (1905), directed by Lewis Fitzhamon (1869–1961). This film, with its narrative of a "gypsy" kidnapping of a baby followed by its rescue, seems to have been the inspiration for D.W. Griffith's first film, *The Adventures of Dollie* (1908). In technical terms, *Rescued by Rover* was a major innovation, and it was also a tremendous audience pleaser. Despite its groundbreaking elements, the film arrived near the end of the early period of British innovation; so rather than heralding a move forward, it seems more the peak of a primitive mode of filmmaking that would soon be eclipsed by technological and economic developments in other countries.

Other early British filmmakers also influenced developments elsewhere. A key figure in Brighton and Hove was James Williamson (1855–1933), a pharmacist and photographer who began making films in 1897 under the Williamson Kinematograph Company name. Williamson's *Fire!* (1901) was a tableaux film that employed the local Hove fire service in constructing a rescue narrative that included shots from both outside and within a burning building. The film was an obvious influence on Edwin S. Porter's later American film, *Life of an American Fireman* (1903). Williamson enjoyed success with his comedies as well as increasingly complex dramas until 1910, when changes in the economic models of international cinema led him to place his focus on the manufacture of camera equipment. George Albert Smith (1864–1959) of Brighton had enjoyed earlier success as an innovative operator of magic lantern shows, and he brought this same flair for innovation to the cinema. His films seem to have been less influential than those of some of his counterparts; rather, it is his technical developments that had the most lasting effect. Smith made innovative use of close-ups in such early films as the rather self-explanatory *As Seen through a Telescope* (1900) and *Grandma's Reading Glass* (1900); he also successfully incorporated trick elements such as reverse motion in *The House That Jack Built* (1900). His later career was devoted to the development of color in film through a two-color additive process known as Kinemacolor that he promoted along with Charles Urban.

This first decade of British film saw other noteworthy pioneers emerge, including the aforementioned R. W. Paul, whose Paul's Animatograph Works produced films by a number of other key figures. These included the magician W. R. Booth (1869–1938), whose films, including *The "?" Motorist* (1906), employed trick photography in the mode of Georges Méliès. Additionally, Frank Mottershaw's *A Daring Daylight Burglary* (1903), made for his Sheffield photo company, is a fast-paced action film that is said to have influenced Porter's *The Great Train Robbery* later that same year.

Still, despite its early influence, British cinema seemed to wane as other cinemas became more progressive and technically innovative. A reliance on adaptations of noted British novels and stage plays, while appeasing nationalist sentiments, left the British cinema stagy and wooden, with proscenium arch framing and side-to-side, stage-style movement dominating the structures of films. As the market for cinema changed, British companies were either reluctant or ill-prepared to meet the needs of the industry. Even before World War I, American companies were establishing offices in Britain, and exhibitors soon had an abundance of well-made titles at their disposal. Most of the early British pioneers had ceased making films, while those who continued, such as Hepworth, struggled. His one-hour version of *Hamlet* in 1913 was indicative of the reliance on stage adaptations. In 1923 he adapted Helen Mathers's 1875 novel, *Comin' Thro the Rye*, his second adaptation of the novel,

and his company, renamed Hepworth Picture Plays, was unable to survive its critical and commercial failure. While it was an intrinsically British film in terms of subject matter, *Comin' Thro' the Rye* was made in a style that was outmoded, and it was no competition for the much slicker products arriving from Hollywood and elsewhere.

QUOTAS, QUOTA QUICKIES, AND SOUND

Responding to growing concerns over the increasing American dominance of the domestic market for films in Britain, Parliament in 1927 passed the Cinematograph Films Act, the first government intervention aimed at protecting the British film industry. The passage of this legislation was linked to the development of a growing cinema culture in Great Britain, which was also expressed through the founding of The Film Society in London in 1925 and the growing critical attention paid to film in the print media, including the specialist film magazine *Close Up*, which first appeared in 1927. The Act introduced a quota mandating a minimum allotment of screen time to British films that began at 5 percent in 1927 and was to rise to 20 percent by 1936.

The immediate effect of the legislation was a sharp rise in the number of British production companies, including British International Pictures, founded by John Maxwell as part of the vertically integrated Associated British Picture Corporation (ABPC) and the Gaumont-British Picture Corporation (GBPC), which merged a number of distribution, production, and exhibition companies under the auspices of Isidore Ostrer. The majority of the new companies floundered because their output was largely of inferior quality. The arrival of sound further hastened their demise. British International succeeded, as its Elstree studio was an early adopter of sound recording equipment. The larger company (ABPC) also controlled ABC Cinemas, a major British chain, guaranteeing itself an exhibition outlet for its productions. Gaumont-British survived because it too held extensive exhibition interests, and also because of a deal that Ostrer had struck with American producer William Fox, although the company remained under British control. This retention of control was not always the case in the industry. Significantly, the quota applied to films that were produced by a company constituted in the British Empire rather than specifically British-controlled companies. This led to the development of "quota quickies," films that satisfied the basic requirements of the quota system but that did not require large investment; these were frequently made by subsidiaries of the existing American majors, either within Britain or in some cases in Canada. While many critics have dismissed the bulk of these quota quickies, there is no doubt that they resulted in a boom in British cinema production. In fact, exhibitors regularly exceeded the quota requirements that had been established.

The era saw the development of a viable and sustainable film culture in Britain. Numerous key figures emerged at this time, figures who would continue to be influential in British cinema in the ensuing decades. Gaumont-British had joined forces with Gainsborough Studios in 1927 and Gainsborough co-founder Michael Balcon (1896–1977) became head of production for both companies. Gaumont-British focused on the "quality" films, while Gainsborough was to create works with more popular appeal. Among the directors who had worked under Balcon at Gainsborough was Alfred Hitchcock (1899–1980). Hitchcock had his start in the film industry working on design and creating titles for the London office of the American firm Famous Players-Lasky (later Paramount). When the firm left London, Hitchcock moved to Gainsborough, where he was exposed to its German-based productions through the company's ties to Ufa. As part of his work for Gainsborough, Hitchcock was on the set of F. W. Murnau's *The Last Laugh* (1924), and the influence of German expressionism is evident in his early British work, including *The Lodger* (1927).

Hitchcock directed Britain's first feature-length sound film, *Blackmail* (1929). He actually shot two simultaneous versions of the film—one with sound, the other silent, as many theaters were not yet equipped with sound technology. The film was made for British International Pictures, which had lured Hitchcock away from Gainsborough with a large contract, expecting that Hitchcock would shoot only a portion in sound, but the director instead shot most of the film in sound. The film was a huge critical and commercial success, with even *Close Up*, whose critics were so often harshly critical of British film, willing to offer praise. Following his association with British International Pictures, Hitchcock returned to his working relationship with Balcon, making, among other films, *The Man Who Knew Too Much* (1934) and *The 39 Steps* (1935) for Gaumont-British. After Balcon left to become head of production at MGM-British, Hitchcock made *The Lady Vanishes* (1938) for Gainsborough, though the film was commissioned by MGM. The latter film was the third screenplay written by Frank Launder (1906–1997) and Sidney Gilliat (1908–1994), who would continue to be significant contributors to British cinema in writing, directing, and producing well into the 1970s.

Gaumont-British and Gainsborough aided the careers of other significant figures within British cinema. Among these were the directors Anthony Asquith (1902–1968) and Victor Saville (1895–1979). As a founding

ALEXANDER KORDA

b. Sándor Lászlo Kellner, Pusztatúrpásztó, Austria-Hungary (now Hungary), 16 September 1893, d. 23 January 1956

Hungarian-born, Korda became a naturalized British subject in 1936 and was the first film industry figure to be knighted, in 1942. Yet the issue of nationality and his relationship to the British film industry has always been a thorny one. Undoubtedly Korda played a central role in the development of the industry in Great Britain. His *The Private Life of Henry VIII* (1933) represented a major breakthrough for British cinema, paving the way for successes in the American market. At the same time, Korda's devotion to "prestige" pictures, ambitious costume films that most frequently chronicled key historical figures and that made use of theatrical traditions, encouraged the industry to strive for production standards it could not sustain, contributing to the industry's economic collapse in 1937.

By the time Korda came to Britain he had already established his filmmaking credentials in Hungary. After World War I, the unstable political situation and the rise of anti-Semitism in Hungary led Korda first to Vienna and then to Berlin, where his films enjoyed success. Then, after three dismal years in Hollywood, Korda moved to Britain in 1931.

His first British film was the quota quickie *Service for Ladies* (1932), soon followed by his first film for his own company, London Pictures, *Wedding Rehearsal* (1933), a film that established Korda's use of cherished national symbols in its opening shots of the Houses of Parliament and Westminster Abbey, as well as his use of familiar national sterotypes amongst his characters. Following the success of *The Private Life of Henry VIII*, Korda continued to make lavishly produced biopics, such as *The Private Life of Don Juan* (1934) and *Rembrandt* (1936). Neither film came close to matching the commercial success of *Henry VIII*, although *Rembrandt*, featuring another memorable performance from Charles Laughton, who had won an Acdemy Award for his portrayal of Henry VIII, is considered by many critics to be Korda's finest directorial effort.

After the commercial failure of the latter two biopics, Korda turned his attentions to producing, running London Films as well as the large studio he had built at Denham. At the outbreak of World War II, Korda was back in the United States (some commentators have suggested he was there covertly on behalf of the British government). He returned to directing with *That Hamilton Woman* (also known as *Lady Hamilton*, 1941), a period piece about the affair between Admiral Nelson and Lady Emma Hamilton that actually served as a propaganda film, with Napoleon established as an obvious parallel to Hitler. Korda's final two directorial efforts came after the war, with *Perfect Strangers* (1945) and the Oscar Wilde adaptation *An Ideal Husband* (1947). He died of a heart attack in London.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

As Director and Producer: *Wedding Rehearsal* (1933), *The Private Life of Henry VIII* (1933), *Rembrandt* (1936), *The Lion Has Wings* (1939), *That Hamilton Woman* (1941), *An Ideal Husband* (1947); As Producer: *The Ghost Goes West* (1935), *The Drum* (1938), *The Four Feathers* (1939)

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member of The Film Society, Asquith was able to incorporate his firsthand knowledge of Hollywood with his knowledge of European cinema. Asquith's early career indicated promise but was not met with much critical acclaim. In 1932 he joined Gainsborough, where he was involved in a range of projects and duties. Later in the decade he co-directed *Pygmalion* (1938), an adaptation of the George Bernard Shaw play, with the film's star, Leslie Howard. With this film Asquith finally received the break that would help propel him to greater recognition

Alexander Korda. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

through films such as *Fanny By Gaslight* (1944), made for Gainsborough, and *The Importance of Being Earnest* (1952), which starred Michael Redgrave (1908–1985), as well as a number of collaborations with playwright Terence Rattigan, including *The Winslow Boy* (1948) and *The Browning Version* (1951).

Gainsborough and Gaumont-British were more significantly involved in the early career of Victor Saville. Saville had first entered film as a producer, along with Michael Balcon, in 1923 with *Woman to Woman* (directed by Graham Cutts). When Balcon became head of production at Gaumont-British, Saville became the studio's most prolific director with films such as *Hindle Wakes* (1931) and *Evergreen* (1934). After a brief time as an independent producer, Saville found himself producing films for MGM, including *The Citadel* (1938), a very successful adaptation directed by the American, King Vidor, followed by an even more successful *Goodbye Mr. Chips* (1939), directed by Sam Wood. The start of World War II found Saville in Hollywood, where he remained producing and then directing films for MGM—except for a brief stay as a director at Columbia—until his return to Britain, briefly, to shoot films in 1949 and 1952, and then permanently in 1960.

The success enjoyed by the likes of Saville, and by studios such as Gaumont-British and British International, was overshadowed by the breakthrough success of a film made by an independent company affiliated with United Artists. Alexander Korda's *The Private Life of Henry VIII* (1933) was produced by Korda's own London Films. United Artists was willing to take a chance on a British film being acceptable for the American market and had a true success on its hands when the film became the biggest international British hit to that point. Despite the fact that Korda was Hungarian and had previously failed in his attempt to make it in Hollywood, the film's subject matter was resolutely British. The success of the film led to renewed enthusiasm within the British film industry and indicated that it was possible for British film to compete with Hollywood. Korda's film has the distinction of being the first British film to win an Academy Award®, with Charles Laughton taking the Oscar® for Best Actor. Unfortunately, Korda's subsequent films could not match the success of *The Private Life of Henry VIII*, and the industry's optimism quickly waned as the creation of lavish "prestige" pictures could not be sustained and further success in the American market did not seem to be forthcoming. Ironically, it was more frequently in the quota quickies where the next generation of British film talent cut its teeth. Directors such as Michael Powell (1905–1990) as well as actors including Laurence Olivier (1907–1989), Vivien Leigh (1913–1967), John Mills (1908–2005), and James Mason (1909–1984) all found opportunity in the low-budget sector.

While American-affiliated companies continued to churn out the low-budget quickies, the British companies invested more heavily in expensive films aimed at cracking the American market. Asquith moved to London Films to shoot *Moscow Nights* (1935), while Saville's Victor Saville Productions was among those who made films for Korda in this era. In 1937 the bubble burst, and by 1938 the boom was definitely over. Denham Studios, which Korda had constructed for the production of "prestige" pictures, was losing money and eventually was merged with J. Arthur Rank's Pinewood Studios. The second Cinematograph Films Act was passed in July 1938, and among its regulations was an attempt to end the practice of quota quickies by instituting a minimum cost of £7,500 and permitting films that cost three times the minimum to count for double quota assessment. The onset of World War II, following a severe decline in production after the bust of 1937, meant that the effects of the 1938 act were never really felt.

***Charles Laughton with Binnie Barnes in* The Private Life of Henry VIII *(Alexander Korda, 1933).* EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

JOHN GRIERSON AND THE DOCUMENTARY MOVEMENT

Parallel to the developments in feature filmmaking, another influential response to American dominance of British cinema emerged. The British documentary movement, led by the Scot, John Grierson (1898–1972), offered a distinctive riposte to Hollywood by focusing on fact and public information. While studying in the United States under a Rockefeller fellowship from 1923 to 1927, Grierson developed his interest in mass communication, in which he perceived the potential to educate the public and influence opinion. By making films that were not dependent upon box-office receipts, Grierson saw an opportunity to address social and political issues that were unlikely to be covered by the commercial film industry. At the same time, however, his reliance on government and industrial sponsors created restrictions on subject matter, and most of the films made under Grierson's auspices seem like public-relations exercises rather than cinema providing any sustained social or political analysis. Nonetheless, many critics see Grierson's influence as crucial in the development of British cinema. His approach to documentary filmmaking has positioned a "realist" orientation as one of the fundamental tenets of what is often identified as British cinema. This is in sharp contrast to some of the more escapist tendencies seen in many of the "prestige" productions of commercial cinema in Britain during the 1930s.

Grierson was the director of only one film, *Drifters* (1929), a documentary about herring fishing in the North Sea. In 1929 he helped set up the documentary film unit of the Empire Marketing Board under the direction of the board's secretary, Stephen Tallents. The development of such official and public-sector film units is a key component of Great Britain's cinema history and has served as a model for subsequent developments in both the public and private spheres. In 1933 the Empire

Marketing Board was dismantled and the film unit was moved to the General Post Office. Following the outbreak of World War II, the unit was taken over by the Ministry of Information and became the Crown Film Unit. By 1940 Grierson was in Canada, where he helped found the National Film Board.

Despite its ties to the "real," the documentary film movement in Great Britain was in many ways an innovative form, concerned with aesthetics and a vital contributor to the development of an identifiable national cinema. With films such as *Industrial Britain* (1933), Grierson introduced a top-down, voice-of-god narration style whose purpose seemed to be public education. *Industrial Britain* was initially directed by Robert Flaherty, and Grierson had persuaded Gaumont-British to distribute the film. Unsatisfied with Flaherty's methods, however, particularly the American's tendencies toward lyrical images, Grierson took control of the film, shot additional material, and added the authoritative voice-over that is characteristic of his work. Two GPO films, *Coal Face* (1935), directed by Alberto Cavalcanti (1897–1982), and *Night Mail* (1936), directed by Harry Watt (1906–1987) and Basil Wright (1907–1987), make use of the poetry of W. H. Auden and the music of Benjamin Britten in an attempt to combine more formal aesthetic concerns in addition to addressing a sense of "Britishness." Two of the figures to emerge within the movement were Cavalcanti, who succeeded Grierson as director of the GPO unit in 1937, and Humphrey Jennings (1907–1950), whose early collaborations with Cavalcanti at the GPO were often criticized as too experimental. The Brazilian-born Cavalcanti had been involved with the French avant-garde cinema of the 1920s, while Jennings was a leading modernist and surrealist with concurrent interests in painting, poetry, and theater, among other pursuits.

It was in his wartime documentaries that Jennings truly shone. His contributions to the Crown Film Unit's efforts are among the most memorable and critically discussed of the era. These include *Listen to Britain* (1942, with co-director Stewart McAllister), a film without commentary that instead relies upon associative montage to connect varied images through sounds, helping to create a sense of social cohesion through mass observation. *Fires Were Started* (1943) stretches the definition of documentary by presenting a fictional narrative shot in a documentary style so that it seems to capture the reality of London during the blitz. *A Diary for Timothy* (1945) comes after the end of the war but is without doubt a wartime documentary. The film uses the fictional diary of a baby, Timothy, who was born in 1944 and whose first year of life has been connected to the end of the war, to "observe" the nation while also addressing the future and reinforcing sense of community, the heart of all of Jennings's films.

WARTIME FEATURE FILM PRODUCTION

In 1940 Cavalcanti left the Crown Film Unit to become an associate producer and director at Ealing Studios. That such a key figure of the British documentary movement could operate within one of the country's emerging commercial production companies reinforces the influence that documentary realism was to have on the future of British cinema. After taking over as head of Ealing in 1938, Balcon had brought in a number of documentary filmmakers as part of his attempt to have the studio make films that would more accurately reflect the national character than had been the case before. Ealing was one of only three pre-war British studios to continue operating during the war, along with Korda's London Studios and Gainsborough. All three studios made films supporting the war effort and reinforcing a sense of community, largely through representing the lives of ordinary Britons in wartime. The film that perhaps best embodied this approach is the aptly titled Gainsborough production *Millions Like Us* (1943), scripted and directed by Launder and Gilliat. The film focuses primarily on a group of ordinary women who take wartime work in an airplane factory. The film employs numerous conventions drawn from documentary traditions and points to the increasing significance of social realism as a hallmark of British film. The importance of community and the everyday is also evident in Cavalcanti's Ealing film, *Went the Day Well?* (1942), in which a small Oxfordshire village is infiltrated by Nazis before the villagers realize it and strike back. The film's incorporation of idealized aspects of everyday village life, alongside moments of action and violence, reinforces the manner in which national character was being reflected.

While the turn toward realism is a significant aspect of British cinema in this period, it was not the only option pursued by producers or favored by audiences. It has been argued that critics championed realism, and hence it was films that corresponded to realist ideals that received the most critical acclaim, particularly in discussions related to a national cinema, both at the time and among the subsequent generation of scholars and critics. For filmgoers, though, the consensus was not so clear: Gainsborough made numerous popular escapist melodramas in this period. The theatricality favored by Korda in the 1930s had not entirely disappeared following the slump of the late 1930s. While the Gainsborough melodramas were frequently derided as too far-fetched, with settings either in exotic locales or a "fantasy" past, they did have a particular appeal for audiences, especially the female audience for which the war had brought a new

Roger Livesey and Wendy Hillier in* I Know Where I'm Going *(Michael Powell, 1945). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

economic and sexual independence. Stars such as James Mason (1909–1984) and Margaret Lockwood (1916–1990) came to embody aspects of sexual desire that were not being found elsewhere on British screens. The escapist, melodramatic nature of the wartime Gainsborough films was perhaps most evident in *Madonna of the Seven Moons* (Arthur Crabtree, 1945), which is set in what is meant to be 1930s Florence but seems more an exotic admixture of southern European stereotypes and English mannerisms and accents. Despite its many contrivances, *Madonna of the Seven Moons* was a commercial success, indicating that British audiences were more than happy to indulge in artifice and escapism.

Key purveyors of such artifice were Michael Powell (1905–1990) and his collaborator Emeric Pressburger (1902–1988). Powell had already directed a number of quota quickies and low-budget features before first collaborating with Pressburger in 1939. While their early wartime propaganda features, such as *49th Parallel* (1941), set in Canada and starring Laurence Olivier, helped establish their reputation, it was the more lavish spectacles they created for their own production company, The Archers, that truly made the pair vital figures in British cinema. The mysterious and spiritual *A Canterbury Tale* (1944), in which a group of modern-day pilgrims makes its way to Canterbury cathedral against the backdrop of World War II, demonstrated the pair's willingness to push boundaries both narratively and visually. In *Black Narcissus* (1947) and *The Red Shoes* (1948), Powell and Pressburger operated even more concretely within an expressionist mode of cinema; the former film was a sensual melodrama set in the Himalayas, while the latter was set in the world of ballet, where an ambitious young ballerina is torn between love and ambition.

Other "quality" films of the era reflected this dynamic between realist and expressionist modes of cinema. For example, a film that seems, at first glance, to be

a "heritage" costume drama is Laurence Olivier's *Henry V* (1944), which uses the Shakespearean play to create a propaganda film. Henry's leadership of an English army defeating a European foe after crossing the English Channel had obvious parallels to events of the day, particularly the Normandy campaign. The film itself is dedicated "To the Commandos and Airborne Troops of Great Britain," making the ties even more explicit. Yet this Technicolor extravaganza also works well as a form of popular entertainment and taps quite effectively into the aspects of heritage Britain mined by Korda a decade earlier.

Henry V was produced by Two Cities films, a company that had come into being in 1937 and was guided by an Italian, Filippo Del Giudice. Not unlike the Hungarian-born Korda, Del Giudice was a non-Briton spearheading a company that primarily focused on making quintessentially British films. In order to secure adequate financing for the ambitious *Henry V*, Del Giudice allowed the Rank Organisation to obtain a controlling interest in Two Cities. It was one of numerous acquisitions made by the ever-expanding Rank company. The Rank Organisation, under the leadership of its founder J. Arthur Rank, was the dominant British film company throughout much of the 1930s, 1940s, 1950s, and into the 1960s. By 1946 Rank's holdings included five studios, a number of production companies, a distribution arm, and more than 650 cinemas. Rank's vertical integration gave it a position of prominence in Britain comparable to the Hollywood majors in the US. Among the production companies that Rank acquired was Gainsborough in 1936. For the first decade Gainsborough was run relatively autonomously, but starting in 1946 Rank intervened more directly in the operations at the studio, and it slowly lost its autonomy as the Rank Organisation's consolidation began to point to an era where making films with wide appeal, rather than innovative films, would become an increasingly dominant trend.

POSTWAR FILM

The successes of the wartime cinema suggested that the cinema of Great Britain had reached a new level of maturity and was poised to flourish and possibly escape from the shadow of Hollywood. There were some notable successes, including two films adapted from Graham Greene (1904–1991) novellas. One, *Brighton Rock* (John Boulting, 1947), starred a young Richard Attenborough (b. 1923) as Pinky Brown, the teenaged leader of a gang of Brighton thugs. The second, *The Third Man* (1949), directed by Carol Reed (1906–1976), was a thriller set in divided postwar Vienna and starred Joseph Cotton and Orson Welles; some have claimed it as the greatest British film of all time. Yet while the immediate postwar years held a great deal of promise, the cinema of that era did not necessarily live up to the expectations for it. By the 1950s the British market was effectively controlled by two firms, Rank and Associated British Picture Corporation (ABPC). Additionally, cinema attendance declined from the peak of the war years. As indicated by Rank's increased intervention in Gainsborough, consolidation meant that costs could be reined in, so that while money was still lavished on quality films being made by bigger-name directors, the bulk of the company's output was material that would fill out programs in Rank-owned theaters. Rank also hoped to make greater inroads into the American market and saw the bigger-budgeted epics as a means of achieving this. A number of Britain's key directors in effect became independent contractors to Rank, and producing such films as Powell and Pressburger's *Black Narcissus* and *The Red Shoes* and David Lean's (1908–1991) *Brief Encounter* along with his subsequent success, *Great Expectations* (1946).

Most key personnel left Gainsborough after Rank began his interference in 1946. Rank named Sydney Box the new head of Gainsborough, hoping that Box could continue the studio's commercially successful tradition of melodrama. Box, however, was more interested in social realism, and the period of Box's leadership, in which he was hampered by a myriad of organizational problems, saw a dramatic decline in the studio's box-office appeal until Rank closed Gainsborough in 1950. One key personnel move made by Box during his short tenure was the appointment of his sister, Betty Box (1915–1999), to head of production at Gainsborough's Islington studio. While she struggled under difficult conditions, Box established herself as a significant producer, and once Gainsborough closed, she continued to work for Rank at Pinewood Studios. Her biggest success was with *Doctor in the House* (1954), the first film in a long-running series. *Doctor in the House* starred Dirk Bogarde (1921–1999), whose success in the title role helped establish him as the "Idol of the Odeons." Bogarde dominated the British box office and popularity polls through much of the 1950s, reprising his Doctor role in three sequels as well as starring in another Betty Box–produced film, *A Tale of Two Cities* (1958), an adaptation of Dickens's novel. Bogarde's later career was marked by more serious roles, beginning with *Victim* (1961), the first British film to deal explicitly with homosexuality, and including Joseph Losey's (1909–1984) *The Servant* (1963) and *Accident* (1967).

Bogarde's popularity in the 1950s was tied to his involvement in genre films, which had become a commercial staple of the British market. Ealing Studios under Michael Balcon had emerged from the war with a

MICHAEL POWELL and EMERIC PRESSBURGER

Michael Powell, b. Bekesbourne, Kent, England, 30 September 1905, d. 19 February 1990
Emeric Pressburger, b. Miskolc, Austria-Hungary, 5 December 1902, d. 5 February 1988

As Britain's most famous producing-directing team, Powell and Pressburger divided critical opinion between those who demanded social realism within cinema and those who supported an auteurist vision. With the rise of auteur theory in journals such as the UK-based *Movie*, the work of Powell and Pressburger received a more positive critical reevaluation. At the box office, the duo's fantastical, mystical tales enjoyed great success.

A pair of propaganda films, *49th Parallel* (1941) and *One of Our Aircraft Is Missing* (1942), early in World War II won them admiration. In 1943 they established their own production company called the Archers, for which they made a succession of popular and significant films. The first was another propaganda film, *The Life and Death of Colonel Blimp* (1943), but as it was critical of the British military leadership, it was frowned upon by the War Office as well as by Winston Churchill.

A tale of modern-day pilgrims, *A Canterbury Tale* (1944) opens with a shot that suggests a Chaucerian past but then pans up to an airplane flying overhead. The film combines the duo's trademark stylistic flair with mysticism. That mysticism returned in *"I Know Where I'm Going!"* (1945), a romance shot in the Scottish islands with the war kept in the distant background. After the war the team continued to explore the exotic and fantastic with two classic melodramas, *Black Narcissus* (1947), about nuns establishing a religious community in the Himalayas, and *The Red Shoes* (1948), based on a Hans Christian Andersen fairytale about a ballerina torn between the composer she falls in love with and her tyrannical balletmaster. Both films enjoyed international success and were a key part of the brief postwar boom in British cinema. After 1949 the pair began making films for Alexander Korda, and the Archers name disappeared. Although they had some moderate successes as they tried to help Korda crack the international market, their success was nowhere near that of the previous decade. The pair went their separate ways after *Ill Met by Moonlight* flopped in 1957.

Before teaming with Pressburger, Powell had directed the thriller *Two Crowded Hours* (1931), followed by numerous quota quickies. The producer Joe Rock then allowed Powell to make a film of his own choosing, *The Edge of the World* (1937), shot in the Scottish Hebrides, the locale to which he would return for *"I Know Where I'm Going!"*. Following the end of his collaboration with Pressburger, Powell made the notorious *Peeping Tom* (1960). The negative reaction to his somewhat sympathetic portrayal of a sadistic killer all but ended Powell's career, though some critics later hailed the film as a masterpiece.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Powell: *The Edge of the World* (1937), *Peeping Tom* (1960); Powell and Pressburger: *49th Parallel* (1941), *One of Our Aircraft Is Missing* (1942), *The Life and Death of Colonel Blimp* (1943), *A Canterbury Tale* (1944), *"I Know Where I'm Going!"* (1945), *Black Narcissus* (1947), *The Red Shoes* (1948), *The Tales of Hoffman* (1951)

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continued focus on representing national character. The studio had a highly favorable financing and distribution deal with the Rank Organisation that afforded it a great deal of autonomy, so it was Balcon's personal vision that largely drove the studio. It was in the genre of comedy, and specifically the emergence of what came to be known as the "Ealing Comedy," where the studio truly flourished.

When Ealing Studios was sold to the BBC in 1955, Balcon unveiled a plaque that read: "Here during a quarter of a century were made many films projecting Britain and the British character." This sensibility is what

Michael Powell (right) and Emeric Pressburger. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

drove the Ealing Comedies and made them unique. They captured an almost quaint sense of Britishness, employing national stereotypes and placing realistic characters in unexpected situations, usually representing everyman's struggle against authority. Ealing had produced earlier comedies, but it was in 1949, with the successive release of *Passport to Pimlico* (directed by Henry Cornelius), *Whisky Galore!* (directed by Alexander Mackendrick), and *Kind Hearts and Coronets* (directed by Robert Hamer), that the Ealing Comedy tradition became firmly established. A number of successes followed, including Mackendrick's *The Man in the White Suit* (1951), *The Maggie* (1954), and *The Ladykillers* (1955) and Charles Crichton's *The Lavender Hill Mob* (1951). While the Ealing Comedies enjoyed success in both the American and Continental European markets, Balcon had hoped to produce films that would help to export his particular vision of British character. Charles Frend's biopic, *Scott of the Antarctic* (1948), and Basil Dearden's *The Blue Lamp* (1950), a crime thriller that had been a British success, failed to have the impact for which Balcon had hoped. As the British market declined in the 1950s, overseas markets became more important for the economic health of British studios. Balcon's inability to adequately gauge those markets is what inevitably led to the closing of Ealing Studios in 1955.

Another particularly British comic success has been the Carry On films, created by the team of producer Peter Rogers and director Gerald Thomas, which began with *Carry On Sergeant* (1958). This first film introduced the series's tendencies to poke fun at familiar British institutions, in this case National Service (which is somewhat akin to the American National Guard). As the series progressed, the humor became bawdier and the targets for satire extended beyond institutions and into other facets of British life, including familiar film and television genres in films such as *Carry on Screaming!* (1966) and *Carry on Spying* (1964). In many ways, once one gets beyond the sexual double entendres and other outlandish humor, the Carry On films seem to further Balcon's notions of "projecting Britain and the British character."

Carry on Screaming! and *Carry on Spying* spoof two other key genres to emerge in the 1950s and into the 1960s, the Hammer horror film and the James Bond spy thrillers, respectively. Hammer Films was established in 1948 when a company called Exclusive Films wound down. The managing director of Hammer was James Carreras (1909–1990), the son of one of Exclusive's co-founders. Carreras's attitude was that films were commercial products and thus needed to be profitable. He sought ways to cut costs while retaining quality, and the genre film was the answer. Horror was not the initial focus; rather, the company concentrated on producing films with characters already known to the audience, presuming that there would be a ready-made market. Characters were drawn from familiar radio shows and from well-known myths and legends, including figures such as Robin Hood and Dick Turpin. Later, using the familiar characters of Count Dracula and Baron Frankenstein, the studio established the genre for which it is best known. Following the success of a science-fiction-horror film, *The Quatermass Xperiment* (1955, directed by Val Guest), Carreras decided that Hammer should focus on another horror subject, leading to *The Curse of Frankenstein* (1957), directed by Terence Fisher. This was soon followed by another Fisher film, *Dracula* (1958), starring Christopher Lee. The company's continued willingness to adapt to the changing whims of the horror market, exploiting each subsequent trend, has kept it in business up to the present day, although it suffered through some lean times.

Another enduring British genre has been the cycle of James Bond films. While changing key actors over the years, including the lead on a number of occasions, and making changes that reflect shifting social and cultural norms, the series has remained relatively stable in terms of structure. James Bond, secret agent 007, represents a sophisticated, cynical, sexy, and stylish British masculine ideal. Starting with *Dr. No* (1962), directed by Terence Young, the series—based on the novels of Ian Fleming

(1908–1964)—has seen twenty official Bond films made as of 2002. The first actor to play Bond was a Scot, Sean Connery (b. 1930), who has remained a fan favorite. The ongoing significance of the Bond character, not only within Britain but also worldwide, was evident in popular debate in 2005 over the choice to play the next Bond; there was much dismay when producers opted for the Englishman Daniel Craig (b. 1968) for the role. The franchise started by producers Albert "Cubby" Broccoli (1909–1996) and Canadian Harry Saltzman (1915–1994) has created an enduring legacy within British cinema and around the world.

Saltzman came to the Bond franchise after having been a significant player in the emergence of a British New Wave in the 1950s. He had been a co-founder of Woodfall Films along with theater and television director Tony Richardson (1928–1991) and playwright John Osborne (1929–1994). The initial aim of Woodfall was to adapt the stage plays of Richardson and Osborne. Richardson's association with cinema involved friendships with some of the young writers from the influential critical journal *Sequence*, including the journal's co-founder, Lindsay Anderson (1923–1994), and Karel Reisz (1926–2002). It was with Reisz that Richardson co-directed his first film, *Momma Don't Allow* (1956), a Free Cinema documentary capturing the youthful energy of the Wood Green Jazz Club in North London. Free Cinema gained its name because it operated outside of the constraints of the commercial cinema. The name was originally appended to a showing of short films programmed by Anderson, Reisz, and Richardson, including their own work. The name soon came to apply to the work itself of Anderson and his cohorts. Significant to the success of Free Cinema was the funding the films received from the British Film Institute's (BFI) Experimental Film Fund. The BFI was involved in film production in Great Britain from 1952 until the closing of its Production Board in 1999. The fund was initially aimed at promoting technological development in film and supporting new filmmakers for whom other support would be hard to come by. By the end of the 1950s it was this latter initiative that became the primary focus of the Fund. The key figures of the Free Cinema movement were among the first to benefit from this initiative, which helped launch the careers of many notable British directors, including Ridley Scott (b. 1937), his brother Tony (b. 1944), Peter Watkins (b. 1935), Ken Russell (b. 1927), and numerous other figures who would make their mark on British and world cinema in the ensuing decades.

The approaches to drama of Osborne and Richardson closely matched the concerns of the Free Cinema filmmakers, and Richardson's films became a key part of the social realism movement. He adapted two of Osborne's plays, *Look Back in Anger* (1958) (a play that contributed to the coining of the term "angry young men" to describe the key players of the era) and *The Entertainer* (1960), before turning more resolutely to a realist aesthetic in *A Taste of Honey* (1961) and *The Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner* (1962). These latter two films were part of the New Wave cinema referred to as "kitchen sink films," in reference to the frequency in which drab locations such as working-class kitchens appeared in the films as markers of class and place. These films tended to focus on the plight of working-class males as they came to terms with a shifting economy, moving away from heavy industry and toward consumerism. This was certainly the focus of Reisz's *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning* (1960), set (and shot) in Nottingham, whose main character, Albert Finney's Arthur Seaton, came to embody the epitome of the genre's Northern working-class male.

A key issue here was voice. While earlier films had represented the working class, the workers were—much as in Griersonian documentaries—spoken for or represented on screen by others, who spoke with theatrical pronunciations (often called Received Pronunciation [RP] English, or more colloquially, BBC English). In the British New Wave, real working-class lives and concerns were placed on screen. The relaxation of censorship toward the end of the 1950s, and the fact that these initial films were not as constrained as others by commercial interests, meant that authentic issues could be brought to the screen and authentic voices and dialects could be heard. This was a key era for the development of social realism in British cinema, helping to cement the importance of social realism as part of a national cinema in Britain.

THE 1960s AND 1970s

The year 1960 saw the release of Michael Powell's *Peeping Tom*, a film in which serial killer Mark Lewis (Carl Boehm) films his female victims, hoping to capture the expression of fear at the moment of their deaths. The film's addressing of issues such as voyeurism and sexuality, and its somewhat sympathetic portrayal of the killer, led to a harsh critical backlash against it; quite abruptly, the film all but ended Powell's career. Revisionist critics have hailed *Peeping Tom* as a disturbing masterpiece that cleverly addresses the voyeuristic impulses that drive cinema itself. Critical response aside, the film indicates that British cinema was not devoted solely to social realism. Boehm's Mark Lewis was one of a number of cinematic anti-heroes found in 1960s British cinema. Michael Caine's title character in *Alfie* (1966), a carefree womanizer, was another, earning him an Academy Award® nomination.

The more positive response to *Alfie* may also have been part of a more open discussion of sexuality that was part of the dramatic social upheaval of the 1960s and points to the "swinging London" image that appeared in the latter half of the decade. A crucial musical influence on this era were The Beatles, and the overt adoration of them by their female fans has been considered by some commentators as one of the aspects of the sexual revolution. The Beatles were the focus of two films, *A Hard Day's Night* (1964) and *Help!* (1965), both directed by Richard Lester (b. 1932), and an animated feature, *Yellow Submarine* (1968), directed by George Dunning. The Lester films became a cultural phenomenon, particularly *A Hard Day's Night*, which combined the kinetic filming style and rapid-fire humor of the Carry On films with location shooting and other aspects of social realism.

While British popular cinema incorporated a range of styles throughout the 1960s, social realism was still significant during the entire decade as some of the young filmmakers to emerge in the late 1950s continued to mature in their work. Lindsay Anderson followed up on his 1950s Free Cinema documentaries with two key 1960s features. *This Sporting Life* (1963) starred Richard Harris (1930–2002) as a troubled rugby player. The film was shot in the area around Wakefield, Yorkshire, and Anderson's use of location and the authenticity in his evocation of working-class life makes this one of the most significant of the New Wave films. With *If* . . . . (1968), Anderson seemed to capture the zeitgeist. The figure of Malcolm McDowell (b. 1943) as a well-armed schoolboy atop the roof of the Cheltenham school (Anderson's own alma mater) offered a memorable image in a year rocked by student uprisings in the Western world. The impact of social realism was also evident in Ken Loach's (b. 1936) critically and commercially successful *Kes* (1969), the story of a working-class boy whose grim future prospects are alleviated as he gains personal satisfaction in learning to train and fly a kestrel. This was only Loach's second feature film, the first being *Poor Cow* (1967), but he had honed his skills working in television, making a number of films for BBC's *The Wednesday Play*. Loach's television success indicated the important role television was to have in nurturing British filmmakers. Numerous British films that were made for television saw theatrical release in other countries, even when they received no, or very limited, theatrical release in Britain. This has remained the case even with more recent Loach films such as *The Navigators* (2001), a drama focused on the plight of laborers within Britain's privatized railway system.

The 1970s have been viewed critically as yet another period of crisis within British cinema. Attendances continued to drop, Hollywood influence was significant, and the innovation and promise of the New Wave was becoming an increasingly distant memory. Yet there was still innovation and controversy too as censorship restrictions were further relaxed, opening up debates around the influence of cinema on society. One director who was clearly caught in this crossfire was Stanley Kubrick (1928–1999). Although American-born, Kubrick had taken up residence in the UK in order to make his films far from the reach of meddling studio heads. *A Clockwork Orange* (1971), Kubrick's adaptation of Anthony Burgess's novel, became a controversial touchstone for debates over cinema censorship and regulation. When a number of local authorities opted to ban the film after alleged "copycat attacks" mimicking the film's ultraviolent youth, Kubrick withdrew it from the British market. A unique quirk in the British regulatory system allows films that have approval from the British Board of Film Classification to be rejected by local authorities, as was the case with *A Clockwork Orange* and more recently, Canadian David Cronenberg's *Crash* (1996). An earlier controversy had erupted around *The Devils* (1971), directed by Ken Russell. Russell had already made cuts to appease the censorship board, but the film was still banned by a number of local authorities. Russell's tendency toward graphic cinematic displays made him one of the most notorious and interesting figures of the era. The reputation he had garnered for films such as *Women in Love* (1969), his adaptation of D. H. Lawrence's novel, and *The Music Lovers* (1970), which focused on the sex life of the composer Pyotr Ilich Tchaikovsky and his wife, was cemented with the release of *The Devils*. This seemed to inspire Russell to pursue extravagance, such that his later films like *Lisztomania* (1975) and *Valentino* (1977) seem almost to be parodies of his earlier works, courting further controversy.

Another controversial figure was Nicolas Roeg (b. 1928), whose work was notably graphic at times but also, in structure, decidedly anticommercial and confrontational. Roeg first made a splash with *Performance* (1970), co-directed with Donald Cammell. The film follows a gangster on the run from the mob who takes refuge in the home of a reclusive rock star, played by Mick Jagger. Increasingly, the identities of the two men become blurred, both narratively and visually, as the film works constantly to disorient the spectator. Roeg's first solo film as director was *Walkabout* (1971), which follows three children lost in the Australian outback. This was followed by the taut psychological horror, *Don't Look Now* (1973), perhaps best remembered for its graphic conclusion. Roeg's later films have been somewhat uneven, and as is the case with Russell, he has had difficulty recapturing the level of critical acclaim he had enjoyed earlier in his career.

The ensemble crew of Monty Python also courted trouble with censorship bodies, particularly for parodying

GLENDA JACKSON
b. Birkenhead, England, 9 May 1936

Glenda Jackson received her training at the Royal Academy for Dramatic Art and commenced a stage career in 1957. Her first major stage success was her performance as Charlotte Corday in *Marat/Sade*, a 1964 production by Peter Brook's Theatre of Cruelty; she recreated the role in the 1967 film version of the play. Jackson's intensity in her roles in the films of Ken Russell, which at the time pushed boundaries in popular cinema, brought her attention and admiration. She won her first Academy Award® for Best Actress for her portrayal of Gudrun Brangwen in Russell's controversial adaptation of the D. H. Lawrence novel *Women in Love* (1969). She later portrayed Brangwen's mother, Anna, in Russell's adaptation of Lawrence's *The Rainbow* (1989).

Jackson gave a memorable performance, displaying intense physicality and sexuality, as Tchaikovsky's nymphomaniac wife in Russell's *The Music Lovers* (1970), yet she was also adept at comedy, winning her second Oscar® for her performance in Melvin Frank's *A Touch of Class* (1973) alongside George Segal. In a memorable television role, Jackson cut a stunning figure by shaving her head to play Queen Elizabeth I in the BBC television miniseries *Elizabeth R* (1971), for which she won two Emmy Awards.

It is Jackson's repeated portrayals of strong women that helped make her stand out from among her contemporaries. Her theatrical training is evident in her willingness to devote herself wholly to each role she plays. In addition to her Emmy and Academy Award® honors, Jackson has been nominated for Broadway's Tony Awards on four separate occasions. Other honors include being named a Commander of the Order of the British Empire in 1978 and having a theatre named in her honor in Birkenhead. Jackson's film career was preempted by her move into politics in 1992, when she became a member of Parliament for Hampstead and Highgate in London. She ran unsuccessfully for the position of mayor of London in 2000 but remains active in Labour Party politics. In May 2005 she was reelected MP for the fourth time.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Marat/Sade (1967), *Women in Love* (1969), *The Music Lovers* (1970), *A Bequest to the Nation* (also known as *The Nelson Affair*, 1973), *Hedda* (1975), *Turtle Diary* (1985), *The Rainbow* (1989)

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the story of Christ in *Life of Brian* (1979). The film used the story of Brian, whose life parallels that of Christ, to provide typical "Monty Python" humor as it had been developed in their sketch television show, *Monty Python's Flying Circus* (1969–1974). The troupe's first cinematic effort, *And Now for Something Completely Different* (1971), directed by Ian McNaughton, is a compilation of their television work. With Terry Jones as director, the troupe became more ambitious and cinematic by tying its unique brand of comedy to narrative, first in *Monty Python and the Holy Grail* (1974), which was co-directed by Terry Gilliam; then *Life of Brian*; and finally *Monty Python's The Meaning of Life* (1983). The troupe employed absurdist humor, which at times could be quite graphic, as part of a broader satire of contemporary British society and mass culture more generally.

The 1970s also witnessed a rise in art cinema with directors such as Derek Jarman (1942–1994) and Sally Potter (b. 1949) emerging. Jarman had been a set designer on Russell's *The Devils*. His first series of features were all low-budget affairs shot on Super 8mm. *Sebastiane* (1976), co-directed with Paul Humfress, was notable for its portrayal of homosexual desire as it traced the martyrdom of St. Sebastian. Jarman's work was known for its anachronistic flourishes, evident in *Jubilee* (1977), which captures the punk ethos in its exploration of Queen Elizabeth II's jubilee year as seen through the eyes of Queen Elizabeth I and her astrologer magician, John Dee. Jarman followed this with *The Tempest* (1979), adapted from Shakespeare, although Jarman's most noted work is likely the beautifully shot *Caravaggio* (1986). Jarman's eye for the beautiful is also evident in *The Last of England* (1988), which saw him return to the Super 8mm format in an effort to visually depict the rot he perceived to be at the core of Thatcher's England.

Glenda Jackson in* The Romantic Englishwoman *(Joseph Losey, 1975). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Potter's *Thriller* (1979) was a short film written, directed, edited, and produced by Potter herself with funding from the Arts Council of Great Britain. Potter consistently challenges viewers and has been a particular favorite of feminist critics for her willingness to deconstruct the masculine values of cinema. The success of *Thriller* permitted Potter the opportunity to make her first feature, *The Gold Diggers* (1983). She did work for television through much of the 1980s before returning to the screen with the ambitious *Orlando* (1992), starring Tilda Swinton (b. 1960). *Orlando* adapts the Virginia Woolf novel and updates it to the 1990s as it follows its lead character through four hundred years of history (including a sex change) in its episodic exploration of social and gender roles. Potter has continued to work within mainstream art cinema with *The Tango Lesson* (1997); *The Man Who Cried* (2000), which featured Johnny Depp; and *Yes* (2004).

FROM THE 1980s TO THE PRESENT

If the 1970s saw the critical estimation of British cinema at a low ebb, then the tide rose very quickly at the beginning of the 1980s. The breakthrough commercial success for British cinema was Hugh Hudson's *Chariots of Fire* (1981), which follows the stories of two British athletes, Harold Abrahams (Ben Cross) and Eric Liddell (Ian Charleson), at the Paris Olympics in 1924. The film's Academy Award® for Best Picture, followed by a win for Richard Attenborough's *Gandhi* (1982), suggested a resurgence for British cinema on the international stage. These two award-winning films were both epic period pieces that recalled the Korda era. Their success helped revitalize the industry, but the significant changes were occurring on a much smaller scale.

The most significant development was a shift in funding. It was the funding provided by Channel Four that seemed to bring new vitality to British cinema. It also brought an increased regional sensibility as funding was no longer concentrated in the hands of London-based producers. It was not only different regions but different underrepresented groups whose voices were finally becoming part of British cinema. As its name implies, Channel Four was the fourth terrestrial television channel launched in Britain, first appearing in 1982. In an effort to maintain its arts-focused mandate and to provide quality material for the channel, a separate films arm, Film on Four, was established. During the years of Margaret Thatcher's Conservative governments, which were not at all kind toward the arts, the money, support, and exhibition provided by Channel Four were vital to the British film community.

A number of key films, and key figures, in British cinema of the 1980s and 1990s emerged as a result of the Films on Four funding. Among the first successes of the program were Peter Greenaway's *The Draughtsman's Contract* (1982); Neil Jordan's *Angel* (1982); and Stephen Frears's *My Beautiful Laundrette* (1985), written by Hanif Kureishi. *My Beautiful Laundrette* suggested the potential of the Channel Four films to uncover new voices within British cinema. Kureishi's script, which explores the burgeoning gay relationship between two men, one white and one Pakistani, opens up many questions around identity in Britain and highlighted some of the difficulties that second-generation immigrants had in negotiating between cultural traditions and a British way of life. A number of key films emerged in the following two decades that explored the South Asian diasporic experience. Among these were Gurinder Chadha's *Bhaji on the Beach* (1993), which uses an outing to a typical British seaside resort to focus on the experiences of Asian women of different generations; the comedic, yet touching *East Is East* (1999), directed by Damien O'Donnell and based on the semiautobiographical play by Ayub Khan-Din; and *Bend it Like Beckham* (2002), which continues Chadha's exploration of gender issues in its focus on an Asian girl who would rather play soccer than learn traditional Indian cooking methods.

Other cultural groups in Britain have also found filmic means of making their voices heard. In 1983 a

Sally Potter and Pablo Veron in Potter's* The Tango Lesson *(1997). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

group of black independent filmmakers established the production collective Sankofa. With funding from the Greater London Council (a progressive political body disbanded by Margaret Thatcher in 1986) and Channel Four, the members of Sankofa sought ways of telling stories employing their own cultural voices. The most notable member of the collective has been Isaac Julien (b. 1960), whose early films for the group included *Who Killed Colin Roach?* (1983); *Territories* (1985); and his meditation on the gay, black American poet Langston Hughes, *Looking for Langston* (1988). With funding from the BFI, Julien was able to make his debut feature, *Young Soul Rebels* (1991), a thriller that offers a rather idealistic portrait of racial togetherness among London's various music subcultures in the late 1970s.

Funding through bodies such as Channel Four and the BFI kept British filmmakers independent of Thatcherism and more recently of the New Labour ideals of Tony Blair. The filmmakers' response was films that were largely critical of the dominant vision of Britain. These films began to break the hegemonic representation of Britishness that had dominated the national cinema by opening up issues of gender, sexuality, race, and class. This is not to say that there have not been investments made in more commercial cinema. FilmFour, as Film on Four came to be called in the 1990s, invested in international hits such as *Four Weddings and a Funeral* (1994, directed by Mike Newell). The "heritage" film also became a major staple of British popular cinema and a successful international export. A number of Ismail Merchant (1936–2005) and James Ivory (b. 1928) co-productions were staple fare for this genre. The Ivory-directed *A Room with a View* (1985) followed on the heels of *Chariots of Fire* and *Gandhi* and helped to establish the key stylistic parameters for the genre. Later successful heritage films such as Shekhar Kapur's *Elizabeth* (1998) and John Madden's *Shakespeare in Love* (1998), another Oscar® winner for Best Picture, helped to cement the reputation of this area of British cinema.

In contrast to these versions of heritage Britain, the trend toward social realism has remained strong in many of the smaller British films that have been made in recent decades. Among the filmmakers who have consistently

employed this strategy has been Mike Leigh (b. 1943). Leigh's first feature was *Bleak Moments* (1971), but subsequently he turned to television, where his improvisational methods were more readily funded. He worked there until making his second feature, *High Hopes*, in 1988. Yet another film supported by Channel Four, as well as British Screen, the film is a family drama that is used as a poignant rejoinder to the consumerism spawned by Thatcherism. Leigh's focus on the working class continued in a series of social realist films, including *Life is Sweet* (1990), *Naked* (1993), *Secrets and Lies* (1996), and *Career Girls* (1997). All of these films focused on contemporary Britain, but Leigh demonstrated his ability to explore similar themes around class and British society employing historical subjects, as in *Topsy-Turvy* (1999), which examines the world of Gilbert and Sullivan, and *Vera Drake* (2004), which examines abortionist Drake's clash with British society in the 1950s.

While the films of the 1960s New Wave had focused on Britain's working class, more recent films have traced the lives of the underclass, former members of the working class who have been left behind in the new, technological economy during the reigns of Thatcher and Blair. Films such as Peter Cattaneo's *The Full Monty* (1997), Mark Herman's *Brassed Off* (1996) and *Little Voice* (1998), and Carine Adler's *Under the Skin* (1997), along with the continued work of Ken Loach, explore the desperate attempts at survival for those who have been cut off from Britain's economic boom. While such films offer positive moments, their use of location shooting and devout attention to detail do much to reveal the dark underbelly of Britain's current success.

Since the winding down of Channel Four's funding of films in 2002, the funding model in Great Britain has continued to evolve. The UK Film Council was set up in 2000 by the Labour government. The role of the council is to dispense money raised via the National Lottery to nine different regional screen agencies in England as well as the Welsh Development Agency, Scottish Enterprise, and the Department for Enterprise, Trade and Investment in Northern Ireland, each of which administers its own film-funding initiatives. The result is an increased regional diversification within British cinema.

SCOTLAND AND WALES

While earlier efforts such as those of the New Wave in the 1960s had moved their focus beyond London and the Home Counties, the regionalism on offer extended north to cities such as Nottingham but still remained predominantly English in nature. With the emergence of alternative funding bodies such as Channel Four, and more recently the National Lottery, a greater awareness of regionalism has become necessary for any understanding of British cinema. It is nearly impossible today to conceive of one single cinema of Great Britain.

Scotland as a setting has been employed in numerous British films, notably Ealing films such as *The Maggie* and *Whisky Galore!*. It has of course also featured in the telling of Scottish legends, such as those of Shakespeare's Macbeth or Rob Roy. Additionally, Scotland provided a number of key figures to the British industry, among them John Grierson. An indigenous Scottish film industry, however, took far longer to develop. While much of the UK and Ireland prospered from the shifting economy of the 1980s and 1990s, former industrialized areas in Britain's north—particularly in Scotland—and in parts of Wales, where heavy industry and mining had been dominant industries, struggled immensely. Using cinema to voice the concerns of underrepresented contemporary Scots was a significant breakthrough. One director who managed to do so successfully was Bill Forsyth (b. 1946). After having made short documentaries, Forsyth directed his first feature, *That Sinking Feeling* (1980), about a group of unemployed Glasgow youth involved in a robbery of stainless steel sinks. This was followed by *Gregory's Girl* (1981), which used a social realist aesthetic and a tale of adolescent love to explore life in Scotland's postwar "new towns." Perhaps Forsyth's most successful film was the low-key comedy, *Local Hero* (1983), produced by David Puttnam. The film evoked the humor of the Ealing comedies as it explored the clash between contemporary consumerism, represented by an American oil company, and traditional Scottish values, represented by a local fishing village. Forsyth later spent time working in the United States before returning to Scotland to make *Gregory's Two Girls* (1999), a sequel to *Gregory's Girl*.

Restless Natives (1985), produced by Channel Four and directed by an American, Michael Hoffman, is a film that essentially modernizes the myth of Rob Roy. It follows two Edinburgh youth who, cut off from the new economy, turn to robbing the tour buses that seem now to dominate their landscape, only to find that their exploits become a bigger tourist draw than any scenery the Highlands has to offer. The main characters of *Restless Natives* are possibly the comedic predecessors of the youth of Danny Boyle's *Trainspotting* (1996), a film adapted from a stage play that itself was adapted from a novel by Irvine Welsh. The film's dry wit, its harrowing portrayal of heroin abuse among the disenfranchised youth of Edinburgh, its contemporary soundtrack, and Boyle's slick shooting style resulted in *Trainspotting* becoming one of the main exports of mid-1990s "Cool Brittania"—this despite the fact that its extensive use of working-class Scottish slang and authentic dialect meant that it had to be offered with subtitles in many other English-speaking markets (particularly the United

States). Another film that required subtitles was *Ratcatcher* (1999), directed by the photographer-turned-filmmaker Lynne Ramsay (b. 1969). Set during a garbage strike in Glasgow of the 1970s, the film's use of local dialect, along with its attempts to make use of costume and other authentic historic elements, make the film an ironic sort of heritage film, uncovering a heritage that official Britain may prefer be left forgotten.

Perhaps Wales's biggest claim to film culture has been in the figures that it has exported to Hollywood, including the likes of Richard Burton (1925–1984), Anthony Hopkins, and Catherine Zeta-Jones. The Welsh industry has been small and itself is split between English-language films made in Wales and Welsh-language films that have, understandably, a very limited audience. Likely the most popular Welsh-language film of all time is *Hedd Wyn* (1992), directed by Paul Turner, which was nominated for an Academy Award® for Best Foreign Language film. Endaf Emlyn (b. 1944) directed the Welsh-language feature *Gadael Lenin* (*Leaving Lenin*, 1993), a film that explored relationships among a group of Welsh youth on a school trip to Russia. Justin Kerrigan's *Human Traffic* (1999) captures the youthful vibrancy of contemporary Cardiff. Only one of the film's main characters possesses a Welsh accent; the rest are from various other parts of the UK. In this way, Kerrigan is able to address the changing nature of the Welsh capital as it has become a key center of technological development and has undergone a boom that has transformed it from a Welsh city to a UK city. Other films have focused on the Welsh underclass. *Twin Town* (1997), directed by Kevin Allen, is in the British underclass film tradition in its representation of a dysfunctional working-class family in Swansea.

Given an increased focus on regional filmmaking, a migratory and multicultural population, the ever-increasing economic significance of the European Union, and the growth of co-productions as part of the global cinema market, any secure definitions of what constitutes a British cinema can no longer exist. Instead, Great Britain can now be seen as a significant cinema center where a multitude of voices can be found.

SEE ALSO *Class; Documentary; Early Cinema; Heritage Films; National Cinema; New Wave; Realism*

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GREAT DEPRESSION

The Great Depression refers to that period of American history between the stock market crash of October 1929 and the US entry into World War II following the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941. Although the United States had experienced other significant depressions before—the periods between 1839 and 1843, 1873 and 1879, and 1893 and 1896 offer three examples—the Great Depression was particularly sustained and persistent. The only major depression to take place after the movies were firmly established as an industry and popular art form in the United States, it generated considerable economic strain on the industry—especially in the early 1930s—eroding the audience and encouraging the industry to win back its audience in a variety of ways, some of which led to tensions between the industry and certain segments of American society. The film industry responded to its critics, and as the decade wore on, a resurgent national confidence in the system coincided with some shifts in the films produced by the industry.

THE DEPRESSION AND INDUSTRY FINANCES

The economic downturn of the Depression was precipitated by a rapid decline in values of stock at the New York Stock Exchange in the fall of 1929. Black Thursday (24 October) and Black Tuesday (29 October) were key moments in the collapse. Overall, the Dow Jones Industrial Average dropped from a high of 381 on 3 September to a low of 198 before the end of the year. The economy continued to decline through 1932, when the Dow Jones industrial average bottomed out at 41. Between 1929 and 1933, when Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1882–1945) assumed the presidency, consumption had plummeted 18 percent, construction by 78 percent, and investment by 98 percent. National income had been cut in half, five thousand banks had collapsed, and over nine million savings accounts evaporated. Nonfarm unemployment reached 25 percent in the United States, and most farmers were struggling to survive because of severely depressed prices for the crops they grew and livestock they raised.

Inevitably, such an economic climate hit Hollywood hard. The industry had enjoyed a period of prosperity in the 1920s, building luxurious movie palaces and, from 1927 on, cashing in on the novelty of the newly developed technology of talking films. Between 1930 and 1933, however, movie attendance dropped from around ninety million admissions per week to sixty million admissions, and average ticket prices dropped from 30 cents to around 20 cents over the same span. Industry revenues dropped from $720 million in 1929 to $480 million in 1933, while total company profits of $54.5 million in 1929 gave way to total company losses of $55.7 million in 1932.

At the time of the stock market crash the film industry was organized by a studio system, and most of the important films produced in Hollywood in the 1930s were made by five studios that owned theater chains and three smaller studios that did not. The "Big Five" that owned theaters faced particularly pronounced strains following the crash because of the investments they had made in building theaters in the 1920s. Of that group, RKO, Fox, and Paramount all went into bankruptcy or receivership in the early 1930s, Warner Bros. managed to stay afloat only by selling off nearly one-quarter of its assets, and only MGM—which had much smaller theater

holdings than Paramount—continued to make a profit, although its profits dropped from $15 million in 1930 to $4.3 million in 1931. (Fox returned to stability by merging with the independent production company Twentieth-Century in 1935.)

The "Little Three" managed a bit better. Both Columbia and Universal, production companies that owned no theaters, survived in part by making low-budget "B movies" that were often shown as double features. Columbia did better from 1934, when Frank Capra's (1896–1991) *It Happened One Night* became a hit. Universal was in constant financial difficulty, recording small losses each year between 1932 and 1938, although the popularity of their horror films early in the decade and Deanna Durbin (b. 1921) musicals later on kept the losses from growing even higher. United Artists, essentially a distribution company for its owners, such as Charlie Chaplin (1889–1977), and talented independent producers such as Samuel Goldwyn (1882–1974) and Walter Wanger (1894–1968), lost money only in 1932, although its profits in the later 1930s were very modest.

Movie exhibition was also affected by the economic downturn. One major effect was the decline of construction of new theaters following the boom of movie-palace building in the 1920s. As movie attendance began to decline significantly in the early 1930s some theater owners also began to offer giveaway programs (like "dish night") or games of chance (SCREENO, a variety of bingo, was the most popular), particularly on the traditionally slow nights of Monday and Tuesday, to get more people back into the theaters. Theater owners also sought to reduce costs by cutting staff—hiring fewer ushers, for example—or, in the bigger urban theaters, by eliminating live shows that supplemented the movie program. Some theaters turned to double features, thus boosting the demand for B movies by companies such as Monogram and Republic. The only major new expense made by many theater owners in the Depression, especially in the South and West, was the installation of air conditioning, which because of technological advances became more affordable than it had been in the 1920s. By the end of the decade attendance inched back to 1929 levels. In this improved financial environment, the giveaway programs and the games of chance began to disappear.

Indeed, the industry began to rebound after the dark years of 1932 and 1933, in part because of New Deal legislation. President Roosevelt's National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) went into effect in June 1933, and its strategy for recovery was in part to permit certain monopolistic practices by major industries, including the film industry. Even though the Supreme Court eventually struck it down in 1935, the NIRA also authorized the organization of labor unions and collective bargaining, a tendency strengthened with the passage of the Wagner Act in 1935. From 1933 on various groups of Hollywood workers sought and eventually succeeded in establishing unions recognized by the studios, including the Screen Actors Guild (recognized in 1937), the Screen Directors Guild (1939), and the Screen Writers Guild (1941). By the time the United States entered World War II, the industry was largely unionized.

The evolution of the industry through the Depression can be grasped in part through numbers. Box-office receipts bottomed out in 1933 at $480 million, gradually growing to $810 million in 1941, which slightly exceeded the $720 million receipts of 1929. Total company losses of $55.7 million in 1932 were reduced to losses of $4.9 million in 1933, after which the bottom line improved to profits of $9 million in 1934, up to $34 million in 1941. Only in 1943, however, with profits of $60.6 million, did Hollywood exceed the $54.5 million of profits in 1929. In the most general terms, after spiraling downward from 1929/1930 to 1932/1933, the economic condition of the industry reversed itself and gradually improved for the rest of the decade, even though attendance and profits did not return to 1929 levels until after World War II was well underway. The economic conditions of the Depression surely tested the movie industry.

THE MOVIES OF "PRE-CODE HOLLYWOOD"

The period from the 1929 stock market crash until the establishment of the Production Code Administration in June 1934 has been called "pre-code Hollywood." Although film historians have argued about how different pre-code films were from films made later in the decade, a solid argument can be made that there was a distinctive difference. Andrew Bergman suggests in *We're in the Money* that the popular cycles of pre-code Hollywood—such as gangster films, fallen-women films, backstage musicals, social-problem films, and "anarchic" comedies—were distinctly connected to the economic distress of the early 1930s and the social-psychological anxieties it produced. Robert Sklar extends this argument in *Movie-Made America*, labeling the early 1930s the "golden age of turbulence" and the post-code Depression films the "golden age of order." Although Richard Maltby has usefully suggested that the majority of films in pre-code Hollywood were tamer and more conventional than the films Bergman and Sklar highlight, it does seem that during the early 1930s, more so than just before and just after that period, filmmakers were more likely to make, and audiences were more likely to respond to, films that called into question dominant attitudes toward sexuality, upper-class respectability, and the institutions of law and order.

PARE LORENTZ

b. Leonard MacTaggart Lorentz, Clarksburg, West Virginia, 11 December 1905, d. 4 March 1992

Pare Lorentz was the most influential maker of and advocate for government-sponsored documentary films in the United States during the Great Depression. After studying journalism at West Virginia Wesleyan College and the University of West Virginia, Lorentz left for New York in 1925 and adopted his father's first name, Pare. From 1927 to 1932 he reviewed films for the magazine *Judge*. After that, he continued to write movie reviews and essays for a variety of publications for the rest of the decade. Some of this work was collected in *Lorentz on Film* (1975).

In 1934 Lorentz published *The Roosevelt Year: 1933*, a book of photographs with accompanying text that sought to dramatize the Depression and the emergence of the New Deal. Lorentz originally had hoped to make a film, but had been unable to arrange financing. However, in June 1935 Rexford Tugwell, head of the US Resettlement Administration, hired him to make films about the plight of farmers in the Depression. The first film project focused on the Dust Bowl. Made for less than $20,000, *The Plow That Broke the Plains* (1936) demonstrated how the drought, dust storms, and market collapse forced Great Plains farmers to leave the land, then concluded with the government's plan of resettlement and soil conservation. Although the film garnered generally positive reviews, Hollywood caused difficulties for Lorentz, making it hard for him to obtain stock footage and discouraging theaters from showing a government-sponsored film that would compete with its newsreels. Lorentz's next film, *The River* (1938), featured footage of the devastating floods in early 1937 to depict the problems of flooding, soil erosion, and poverty in the Tennessee and Mississippi Valleys and to suggest how the establishment of the Tennessee Valley Authority confronted those problems through flood control, electrification, and conservation measures. More positively reviewed and widely distributed than *Plow*, *The River* received the best documentary award at the Venice Film Festival in 1938, winning over Leni Riefenstahl's *Olympia*.

That year President Roosevelt named Lorentz director of the US Film Service. In that capacity he oversaw the making of Joris Iven's *The Power and the Land* (1940) and Robert Flaherty's *The Land* (1940) and made one film himself, *The Fight for Life* (1940), an account of infant mortality, malnutrition, and child poverty in the United States that won the National Board of Review's best documentary award. Its controversial topic and critical subject matter angered many congressmen, however, and the US Film Service was eliminated when Congress refused to fund it in the spring of 1940. Lorentz's next project, a documentary on unemployment called *Ecco Homo*, was never made.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

The Plow That Broke the Plains (1936), *The River* (1938), *The Fight for Life* (1940)

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The classic gangster films, whose plots were drawn to a greater or lesser extent from headlines about real gangsters such as Chicago's Al Capone, offer a good example. In them an ethnic American, usually of Italian descent, such as Rico in *Little Caesar* (1931) or Tony Camonte in *Scarface* (1932), or Irish extraction, such as Tommy Powers in *Public Enemy* (1931), rises from rags to riches by consolidating power in the prohibited liquor trade, only to be killed in the film's climax, a victim of his ambition, ruthlessness, and notoriety. James Cagney (1899–1986) and Edward G. Robinson (1893–1973) became closely associated with this genre. In the fallen-women films a woman is driven by economic circumstances to become a prostitute or kept woman. Greta Garbo (1905–1990) (*Susan Lenox, Her Fall and Rise*, 1931), Joan Crawford (1904–1977) (*Possessed*, 1931, and

Rain, 1932), Marlene Dietrich (*Blonde Venus*, 1932), Jean Harlow (1911–1937) (*Red Dust* and *Red-Headed Woman*, both 1932), and Barbara Stanwyck (1907–1990) (*Baby Face*, 1932) were among the best-known actresses who appeared in films of this cycle. The backstage musicals, most notably *The Gold Diggers of 1933* and *42nd Street* (both 1933), achieved popularity by combining Busby Berkeley's production numbers with a plot about a producer and cast working together to put on a show despite the depression economy. The story type from pre-code Hollywood that embraced the era most directly was the social-problem film, a type common in the 1910s but much less so in the 1920s. *I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang* (1932) was one of the most acclaimed at the time, but also noteworthy were *Wild Boys of the Road* (1933) and the independently financed *Our Daily Bread* (1934). Finally, the irreverence of the anarchic comedies such as the Marx Brothers's *Duck Soup* (1933) satirized political authority and respectability, while Mae West's (1893–1980) comedies such as *She Done Him Wrong* (1933) and *I'm No Angel* (1934)—which she both wrote and starred in—featured a self-confident, voluptuous woman who openly uses her charm and physical allure to wrap men around her finger, refusing to accept the culture's prescribed role for female respectability.

THE BATTLE OVER CONTROL AND "POST-PCA" DEPRESSION MOVIES

The popularity and pervasiveness of the gangster films, the fallen-women films, and West's brazen comedies played a significant role in the protests by a variety of pressure groups against the movie industry between 1932 and early 1934. Among the most prominent of the protesters was the Legion of Decency, a Catholic organization that sought to pressure the movie industry to follow the guidelines of the Hollywood Production Code of 1930. The Studio Relations Committee, an industry self-regulation body, was ostensibly charged with seeing that the studios followed that code, but it did not possess adequate power to compel the studios to adhere to it. Desperately seeking to find ways to reverse the decline in attendance, the studios regularly ignored the code in many of their productions. When the Legion of Decency began to threaten a widespread national boycott of the movies early in 1934, however, the studios decided that it would be in their best interests to set up a body that would enforce the code more strictly. They did so in June 1934 by establishing the Production Code Administration (PCA) and appointing as its director Joseph Breen. From that point on, the PCA more strictly enforced the code by reviewing and making suggestions on all studio scripts before they went into production, then doing the same with all completed films before issuing a PCA certificate. Member studios agreed not to release any film before the PCA granted it a certificate.

Regular monitoring of studio films by the PCA, as well as a gradual restoration of national confidence engendered by Roosevelt's New Deal programs between 1933 and 1935, contributed to some shifts in movie cycles after 1934. For example, Warner Bros. revised the gangster formula by making the protagonist not a gangster but a law-enforcement official in *G-Men* (1935), starring James Cagney. It was one of the top ten highest-grossing films of 1935 and paved the way for similar films, such as *Bullets or Ballots* (1936), starring Edward G. Robinson as a police detective, and *Marked Woman* (1937), starring Humphrey Bogart (1899–1957) as a crusading district attorney. The fallen-woman and Mae West films, which were either forbidden or seriously constrained by the PCA, made way for one of the most popular and accomplished genres in the late 1930s, the screwball comedy. The surprise success of Capra's *It Happened One Night* (1934), which was made before the PCA was established, helped establish the cycle. An unlikely comic romance about a spoiled heiress (Claudette Colbert) and a gruff and pragmatic newspaper reporter (Clark Gable), the film became the first movie to win the five major Oscars®—for film, director, actress, actor, and screenplay (Robert Riskin)—and set the stage for a variety of successful screwball comedies. Noting the code's prohibitions against overt portrayals of sexuality, Andrew Sarris has called the genre the "sex comedy without sex," suggesting that instead of turning the female protagonists into sex objects, the screwball comedy endowed them with spontaneity, wit, vitality, and often professional achievements in the working world (p. 8). Capra's *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town* (1936), Gregory La Cava's (1892–1952) *My Man Godfrey* (1936), Leo McCarey's (1898–1969) *The Awful Truth* (1937), George Cukor's *Holiday* (1938), and two films by Howard Hawks (1896–1977), *Bringing Up Baby* (1938) and *His Girl Friday* (1940), are among the many accomplished films of the genre. In their focus on a rocky but ultimately successful romance, these screwball comedies resembled the Fred Astaire–Ginger Rogers musicals of the middle and late 1930s—including *Top Hat* (1935), *Swing Time* (1936), and *Shall We Dance* (1937)—which replaced the backstage musicals popular in the early 1930s. Each of these emerging cycles—law-official crime films, screwball comedies, and romantic musicals—exhibited more confidence in the prevailing order than had many of the popular cycles of the early 1930s.

Another shift following the establishment of the PCA (and the gradual improvement of economic conditions) was the move toward more expensive, "prestige films." These films were expensive to make, but they also were most likely to appear on *Variety*'s list of the top ten

The Joad family in* The Grapes of Wrath *(John Ford, 1940), adapted from John Steinbeck's novel. **® ™ AND COPYRIGHT © 20TH CENTURY FOX FILM CORP./COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

highest-grossing films in the last half of the decade. The prestige films encompass a variety of different story types, but they included adaptations of literary classics and best-selling novels, swashbuckling adventure stories, and ''biopics''—biographical films about famous people. The first group included cinematic versions of Shakespeare's plays, such as *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1935) and *Romeo and Juliet* (1936), adaptations of nineteenth-century novels, such as *David Copperfield*, *A Tale of Two Cities*, and *Anna Karenina* (all 1935), and adaptations of twentieth-century novels such as *The Informer* and *Mutiny on the Bounty* (both 1935), *Anthony Adverse* (1936), *Lost Horizon* and *The Good Earth* (both 1937), the monumentally successful *Gone With the Wind* (1939), and the critically acclaimed *Grapes of Wrath* (1940). Successful costume/adventure films appeared with *Captain Blood* (1935) and *Anthony Adverse* (1936), and crested with *The Adventures of Robin Hood* (1938). The biopics portrayed the lives of people as different as Jesse James, Alexander Graham Bell, and Thomas Edison, but one particularly effective set were three films starring Paul Muni (1895–1967): *The Story of Louis Pasteur* (1936), *The Life of Emile Zola* (1937), and *Juarez* (1939).

The popularity of two child stars in the middle and latter part of the decade suggests that American movies were playing a role in the reconsolidation of American culture—in restoring confidence in the system—as the country began to pull out of the Depression. From 1935 to 1938 Shirley Temple (b. 1928), thanks to the success of such films as *Curly Top* (1935) and *The Littlest Rebel* (1936), topped the Quigley Publications poll of top box-office stars in the United States. From 1939 to 1941, Mickey Rooney (b. 1920)—MGM star of the Andy Hardy series, *Boys Town* (1938), and "let's put on a show" musicals such as *Babes in Arms* (1939)—topped the list. In both cases the child actors showed vitality, resilience, and good cheer in overcoming whatever obstacles they confronted.

As the United States moved into the latter part of the decade, Hollywood, like American culture as a whole, began to exhibit a reawakened interest in defining national traditions and values. This trend emerged in part as a response to the growing international threat of fascism in Germany and Italy. The Los Angeles area, which became home to many prominent refugees from Germany, became a center of antifascist activity in the United States, led by groups such as the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League. The movies participated in this exploration of national traditions and critique of fascism both domestic and, eventually, foreign. *Fury* (1937), directed by refugee Fritz Lang (1890–1976), explored the psychology of a mob action that led to lynching. Capra's *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* (1939) and *Meet John Doe* (1941) confronted a prototypically American hero with a sinister antagonist whose wealth, power, and ambition threatened to disrupt the democratic system. The historical settings of films such as *Young Mr. Lincoln*, *Drums Along the Mohawk*, and *Gone With the Wind* (all 1939) were central to their narrative concerns. The reappearance of the "A" western in late-1930s movies such as *Dodge City*, *Union Pacific*, and *Stagecoach* (all 1939) also contributed to the interest in American national traditions. Other important films from the end of this period include *The Grapes of Wrath* (1940), which shows how the Joad family are victimized by the dust bowl and a harsh economic system, and Orson Welles's (1915–1985) audacious, probing critique of an American tycoon, *Citizen Kane* (1941). Although the PCA discouraged filmmakers from making films that criticized other nations—in part because it hurt foreign rentals—overtly anti-Nazi films gradually began to appear even before the United States declared war in December 1941, most notably in *Confessions of a Nazi Spy* (1939) and Chaplin's satiric attack on fascism, *The Great Dictator* (1940).

If one surveys American movies during the Depression in an extreme long shot, two impulses come into clear focus. One impulse, an aesthetic of movies as entertainment, which had established itself firmly during the 1920s, held that movies should enable viewers to escape from their problems for two hours. However, a counter impulse, which emerged from the distressing social and economic conditions following the stock market crash, pressured filmmakers to acknowledge and grapple with the social realities of the day. Although the latter impulse never became dominant, in part because of the industry's constant attention to the box-office potential of projects, it did lead to some of the most disturbing and powerful films of pre-code Hollywood and to the most critically acclaimed and widely discussed films later in the decade. With the American entry to World War II in December 1941, the industry officially moved out of the Depression and into a new era.

SEE ALSO *Gangster Films; Populism; Screwball Comedy*

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GREECE

The history of the Greek cinema is inextricably bound to the complex political history of Greece in the twentieth century. What constituted the legitimate Greek state was still at issue in the early part of that century. Millions of culturally Greek individuals lived under the rule of the Ottoman Empire, Italy, Britain, and other nations that controlled regions of mainland Greece and numerous Greek islands. The problematics of who and what is Greek remain a perennial challenge for Greek cinema.

THE EARLY YEARS

When "moving pictures" arrived in Greece in 1897, one- or two-reel films were usually presented as acts in variety shows or as carnival attractions. These foreign imports included the pioneering work of filmmakers such as Georges Méliès (1861–1938) and the Lumière brothers (Auguste [1862–1954] and Louis [1864–1948]). The first known Greek film, *Gyanikes pou klotoun* (*Women Weaving* or *The Weavers*, 1905), was made by the Manakia brothers (Yannakis [1879–1954] and Miltos [1881–1964]), whose identity and importance would be the subject of Theo Angelopoulos's (b. 1935) *To Vlemma tou Odyssea* (*Ulysses' Gaze*, 1995). One year after *Women Weaving [The Weavers]*, the tradition of the Greek "journal" film—a fusion of genuine newsreel footage with more formal documentary elements—took form with a short celebrating that year's Olympic games. In 1907, a second journal film and the first with a title, *Eorti tou Vasileos Georgiou I* (The Festival of King George I), celebrated the virtues of the Greek king. The first movie theaters opened in Smyrna and Athens at this time. Actor Spiros Dimitrakopoulos founded Athini Films in 1910 and began to produce comedic shorts and documentaries celebrating archeological sites.

Golfo, the first Greek feature, was released in 1915. Based on a pastoral play, it is a kind of Romeo-and-Juliet story in a Greek mountain setting. Three more features appeared shortly after *Golfo*, but the public was far more taken by journal films that dealt with the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913 and then World War I. These Greek films contain most of the only surviving footage of events such as the burning of Smyrna in 1922. The immediate impact of *Golfo* had been negligible, but the mountain romance was destined to be a popular genre. In 1932, *Golfo* was remade as the first Greek talking picture. In 1955, there would be three more remakes, one enjoying a huge box office success; and in 1975, Angelopoulos would feature the play as a central theme in *O Thiassos* (*The Traveling Players*).

Greek cinema began to find a more regular audience with a series of comedies made in the early 1920s. The Greek comedians usually offered characters resembling those associated with American film personalities such as Charlie Chaplin and Roscoe "Fatty" Arbuckle. The industry's first feature to become a box-office hit was *Fate's Disowned Child* (1925), an urban melodrama, and the foundations of a viable industry began to take shape shortly thereafter with the establishment of Dag Film in 1927. Thirty silent features were produced between 1925 and 1935 by production companies located in Athens, Patras, and Thessaloniki. Some films drew as many as forty thousand viewers, and the concept of a movie star began to take hold. *Daphne and Chloe* (1931), a lyrical romance in which the pubescent heroine

appears nude during a bathing scene, may constitute a first in cinema, since it precedes the better known ten-minute nude sequence in *Ecstasy* (1933) that featured Hedy Lamarr.

Despite its limited successes, Greek film production and exhibition through the 1920s and 1930s remained hostage to political events. From 1924 to 1928, there were eleven coups and three general elections that produced no less than ten prime ministers. A relatively stable period during the regime of Eleuthérios Venizelos (1928–1932) was then followed by constant military intrigues that were capped by the dictatorship of General Ioannis Metaxas (1936–1941). Further social disruption was caused by the absorption of 1.5 million refugees from Asia Minor into a population of less than 10 million. In this climate, film production remained chancy, and post-production often had to be done abroad.

During the occupation of Greece in World War II, Greeks generally boycotted German and Italian films, but when Filopoimin Finos (1908–1977), who had produced and directed *The Song of Parting* (1939), was able to produce the Greek-language *The Voice of the Heart* (1943), it drew a stunning 102,237 admissions. Attending a screening of this film was seen as an assertion of Hellenic identity during an occupation that caused the death of 10 percent of the population. Five other films were made during the occupation, but production was curtailed when Finos and others were arrested by the Germans for participating in the resistance. Finos survived and became the leading producer of Greek films for nearly two decades.

From the end of the occupation until the late 1960s, a Greek film industry modeled on the Hollywood studio system produced well over one thousand films. Although directly serving a small language group, Greek cinema of the studio era produced filmmakers and actors such as Melina Mercouri (1920–1994), Michael Cacoyannis (b. 1922), and Irene Papas (b. 1926) who gained international fame and won a world audience for bouzouki musicians such as Manos Hadjidakis and Mikis Theodorakis. It also produced national stars such as George Foundas (b. 1924) (melodrama), Aliki Vougouhlaki (1934–1996) (musicals), and Thanassis Vengos (b. 1927) (comedy).

During the postwar era, the Greek government used a variety of means to discourage political dissidence in the arts. While most of the film industry was content to churn out musicals, comedies, and melodramas that caught the popular pulse without raising any political critiques, a number of filmmakers on the edge of the industry used indirect discourse to challenge the political status quo. *Magic City* (1954), for example, used a crime film format to deal with the issues of the 1922 refugees and the poor of Athens. *Stella* (1955) championed working-class music and feminist ideals. *O Drakos* (*The Ogre of Athens*, 1956) used a theme of mistaken identity to critique society. *To Koritsi me ta Mavra* (*The Girl in Black*, 1956) addressed the tensions between rural and urban Greek values with gripping portraits of artists, fishermen, and village women.

THE NEW GREEK CINEMA

The advent of television in the mid-1960s coincided with a coup d'etat by Greek colonels on 21 April 1967. The increasingly mediocre fare being churned out by the studio system was not attractive enough to compete with the new medium, and the strict censorship of the junta kept any socially engaging films off Greek screens. The studio system imploded, and the only group left making films in Greece consisted of a handful of young writer-directors who desired to take Greek cinema in an entirely new direction. They loudly and even rudely rejected the populist art of the studio system with visions of an ultramodernist cinema driven by auteurs. Although this group began making films during the junta years, their movement blossomed in the ten years following the summer 1974 fall of the junta.

What became known as the New Greek Cinema was largely committed to a modernist aesthetic that disdained the star system, montage, the three-act narrative, and other Hollywood norms associated with popular cinema. Many of the new writer-directors also had a leftist political orientation and greatly admired Italian neorealism. A persistent problem for them was that their political positions impelled them to seek a mass audience while their aesthetics often drove that audience away. By far the most successful in resolving this contradiction of content and form were Pantelis Voulgaris (b. 1940) and Theo Angelopoulos. Voulgaris stayed closer to the neorealistic standard in what proved to be his most successful films, *To Proxenio tis Annas* (*The Engagement of Anna*, 1972), *Petronia Chronia* (*Stone Years*, 1985), and *Ola Ina Dromos* (*It's A Long Road*, 1995). Angelopoulos, on the other hand, undertook one aesthetic experiment after another. He achieved both a massive popular audience in Greece and international critical acclaim with his *The Traveling Players*, a film that rewrote Greek political history from a leftist perspective.

Greek social problems received an engaging expressionistic treatment in Nikos Papatakis's (b. 1918) *I Voski* (*Thanos and Despina*, 1968). Similar concerns were given surrealistic treatment in Nikos Panayotopoulos's *I Tembelides tis Eforis Kiladas* (*The Slothful Ones of the*

THEO ANGELOPOULOS

b. Theodoros Angelopoulos, Athens, Greece, 27 April 1935

Theo Angelopoulos is the most important filmmaker in the history of Greek cinema. In contrast to both avant-gardists who disdain politics and leftists who appropriate popular genres, Angelopoulos has insisted that to have a revolutionary impact, both the form and content of a film must challenge convention. His signature trademarks are slow pacing and continuous shots that can last for many minutes. His four-hour long *O Thiassos* (*The Traveling Players* 1975), which appears on most lists of the greatest films of the twentieth century, uses less than one hundred shots to explore the history of mid-century Greece. Angelopoulos is also fond of manipulating time, sometimes going chronologically backward and forward within a single shot. His films often include dead spots that invite the viewer to think about what has just transpired on the screen. Motionless tableaus and direct address to the camera by actors shedding their film identities are other favored techniques.

Angelopoulos received his film training in Paris, where he worked with Jean Rouch. Upon returning to Greece, he was a film critic for left-wing journals. His first feature film, *Anaparastassi* (*Reconstruction*, 1968), examined a murder through multiple tellings in the manner of Akira Kurosawa's *Rashomon* (1950). In *Meres tou 36* (*Days of 36*, 1972), *Oi Kynighoi* (*The Hunters*, 1977), and *Megaleksandros* (*Alexander the Great*, 1980), he offered a history of Greece from an anti-authoritarian leftist perspective. In *Taxidi sta Kithira* (*Voyage to Cythera*, 1984), *O Melissokomos* (*The Beekeeper*, 1986), and *Topio stin Omichli* (*Landscape in the Mist*, 1988), Angelopoulos weighed traditional Greek values against those of the emerging new Europe. *To Meteoro Vima tou Pelargou* (*The Suspended Step of the Stork*, 1991), *To Vlemma tou Odyssea* (*Ulysses' Gaze*, 1996) and *Mia Aioniotita kai mia Mera* (*Eternity and a Day*, 1998) examined the problems of national borders and ethnic identity. Almost all of these films won prestigious international prizes, a pattern crowned by the Palme d'Or for *Eternity and a Day*.

With the onset of a new century, Angelopoulos announced the most ambitious project of his career—a trilogy that would comment on the history of Europe in the twentieth century through the prism of the experience of the Greek nation. He told reporters, "I breathe in epic terms. This is my fate." The first of the trilogy, *To Livadi pou Dakryzei* (*The Weeping Meadow*, 2004), done in a manner that reflected the sweep of *The Traveling Players* but with more of the character development in films such as *Eternity and a Day*, deals with refugees from Asia Minor in Greece through the end of the Greek civil war in 1949. Part two of the trilogy will carry the story to the Soviet Union.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Anaparastassi (*Reconstruction*, 1968), *O Thiassos* (*The Traveling Players*, 1975), *Megaleksandros* (*Alexander the Great*, 1980), *Mia Aioniotita kai mia Mera* (*Eternity and a Day*, 1998), *To Livadi pou Dakryzei* (*The Weeping Meadow*, 2004)

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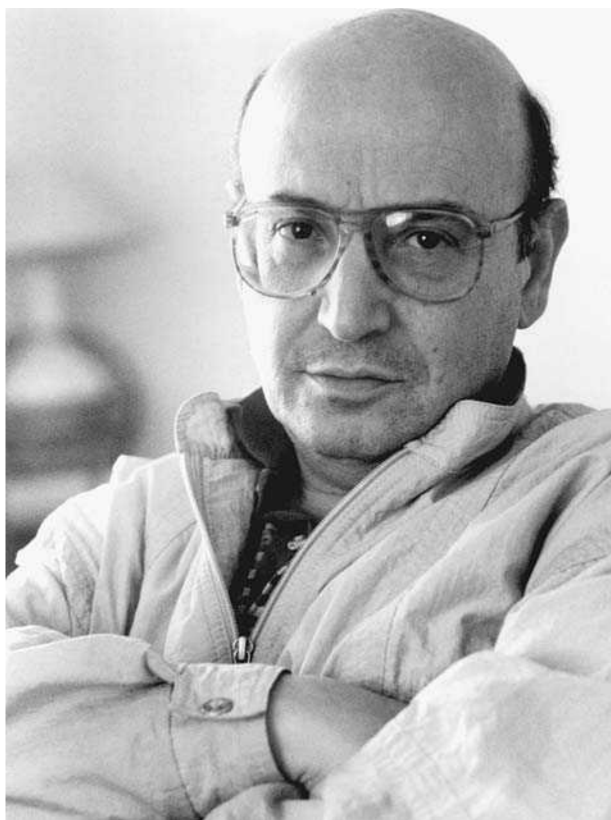
Dan Georgakas

Fertile Valley, 1978). Yorgos (George) Katakouzinos's *Angelos* (*Angel*, 1982) created a sensation with its explicit homosexual themes, and *Timi tis Agapis* (*The Price of Love*, 1984) by Tonia Marketaki (b. 1942) set a new cinematic standard for Greek feminism with a historical romance set at the turn of the twentieth century. Generally speaking, however, as a group the filmmakers of the New Greek Cinema failed to achieve the consistent quality of Voulgaris and Angelopoulos.

An important new force in Greek filmmaking appeared in 1981 when the government offered significant financial assistance with the establishment of the Greek



Theo Angelopoulos at the time of* Topio stin omichli *(*Landscape in the Mist, *1990). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Film Centre in order to fund and promote Greek cinema. Ten years later, the annual national film festival held in Thessaloniki since 1960 became the Thessaloniki International Film Festival. While national production remained a major element in the festival, broader Greek film culture was nourished by the annual presentation of hundreds of foreign films and dozens of foreign filmmakers. The festival saw its mission as the promotion of artistic rather than commercial cinema. Among its priorities was providing considerable space to Balkan filmmakers, first-time directors, and various regional cinemas.

Although coproductions with other nations became common by the 1990s, the New Greek Cinema lost momentum. Directorial idiosyncrasies, eccentricities, and excesses were often passed off as style and individual vision. The national audience began to avoid Greek-language films. While American films usually drew more than 500,000 admissions and 85 percent of all screens, the majority of Greek films drew less than 10,000, and any Greek film that drew more than 100,000 was considered a success.

An unexpected development was that the old studio films being shown regularly on television proved very appealing to a generation that had not even been born when they were made. As the twentieth century came to an end, a new generation of filmmakers began to challenge the political economy of the Greek film world by aiming for popular audiences with independent productions that often employed new low-cost technology. *No Budget Story* (Renos Haralambidis, 1998) and *O Orgasmos tis Ageladas* (*The Cow's Orgasm*, Olga Malea, 1996), films dealing with the problems of the contemporary generation, captured the popular imagination with formats akin to the American independent cinema of the 1950s. *I epitesi tou yiyantiaou mousaka* (*The Attack of the Giant Moussaka*, 2000), a send-up of science fiction films that combined criticism of Greek mass media with a hilarious gay subtext, reached beyond Greece to find an international cult audience. Even Angelopoulos became slightly more conventional by casting international stars and shortening the length of his films to more traditional running times. *I Earini Synaxis ton Agrofylakon* (*The Four Seasons of the Law*, Dimos Avdeliodis, 1999) successfully revived some of the elements of studio comedies. The surprise pop hit of the 1990s, however, was *Safe Sex* (1999), a soft-core porn film that leaped to the top of the Greek charts with over one million admissions. Its drawing card was that it used actors from Greek television sitcoms in dicey sexual situations. While critics rightly denounced its vulgarity, *Safe Sex* brought mass audiences back to Greek-language films. Subsequently, an increasing number of Greek-language films began to pass the 100,000 admissions mark.

During the first years of the twenty-first century, Greek cinema often dealt with the cultural identity problems associated with the new Europe, especially the unprecedented influx of refugees fleeing collapsing states in the region. A hit of 2003 was *Politiki Kouzina* (*A Touch of Spice*, Tassos Boulmetis, [b. 1957]), which dealt with the expulsion of Greeks from Istanbul in the 1950s. The following year Voulgaris released *Nyfes* (*Brides*, 2004), a film about a group of picture brides who emigrated to America in 1922. Both films were box office sensations with more than one million admissions. Angelopoulos took up a related theme in a trilogy that sought to reflect the history of Europe throughout the twentieth century by focusing on the history of the Greeks. The first film of the trilogy, *To Livadi pou Dakryzei* (*The Weeping Meadows*, 2004), begins with Greeks from the Black Sea fleeing the Bolshevik Revolution and continues through the end of Greek civil war in 1949.

One new element in twenty-first-century Greek film is a group of women who have raised feminist concerns

within an art form long dominated almost exclusively by male directors. Award-winning works include *Alexandria* (Mario Illioú, 2001), *Tha to Metaniossis* (*Think It Over*, Katerina Evangelakou, 2002), *Diskoli Apocheretismi: O Babas Mou* (*Hard Goodbyes: My Father*, Penny Panayotopoulou, 2002), and *Close, So Close* (Stella Theodoraki, 2002). Other women have reached the forefront of the avant-garde scene and the documentary genre. Lucia Rikaki (b. 1961) offered a rare look at the deaf community in Greece with her *Ta logia tis siopis* (*Words of Silence*, 2002) and Lydia Carras addressed ecological themes in *Foni Aegeou* (*The Voice of the Aegean*, 2004).

Amid these dynamic trends, the old auteurist ideal has remained in place, maintaining considerable resistance to any thinking about film as a collaborative enterprise and to conventional narrative formats. Nevertheless, both established and emerging filmmakers continue to pursue and reach popular audiences at home and abroad, seeking formats that fuse the integrity and artistry of the auteurist ideal with the populist verve of the best studio-era productions.

SEE ALSO *Art Cinema; National Cinema*

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Dan Georgakas

GUILDS AND UNIONS

Labor unions and guilds have been organized in film industries in many countries. Typically, these organizations have focused on specific types of workers, such as actors, directors, and technical workers—for example, the Alliance of Canadian Cinema, TV and Radio Artists (ACTRA), the Directors Guild of Great Britain (DGGB), and the Australian Theatrical & Amusement Employees' Association (ATAEA).

In the early history of film, workers often were organized by trade unions from related industries, such as the theater and the electrical industry. Eventually unions and guilds were formed specifically to organize film workers, and most of these labor groups are still active in film and television industries. Like other labor unions, film labor organizations represent their members in negotiations for wages, benefits, and working conditions, in addition to providing a variety of other services. Some guilds also become involved in negotiating royalty payments, conditions for screen credit, and other issues. Unions and guilds also engage in political activities through lobbying or election campaigning.

Also like other labor organizations, film unions and guilds continue to be challenged by political and economic developments in society in general and film industries in particular. For instance, the global expansion of the film industry during the last few decades of the twentieth century had an impact on film workers in various ways. While film labor organizations around the world have developed and are organized similarly, the focus of this article is on US unions and guilds both as an exemplar and because of the current global prominence of Hollywood films and companies.

While unions and guilds were active in the US film industry early in the twentieth century, the more specialized labor organizations, such as the Screen Actors Guild (SAG) and the Directors Guild of America (DGA), emerged in the 1930s during an especially intense period of labor organizing. Although film labor groups in the US were challenged in various ways by the anticommunism of the late 1940s and early 1950s, the groups survived and expanded to include television workers in the 1950s and 1960s. Trade unions and guilds continue to play major roles in the current US entertainment industry.

Film workers in the US represent a highly skilled and specialized labor force, but unemployment is high. For instance, it has been estimated that 85 percent of actors are out of work most of the time. There are some unusual or unique characteristics of film work, as well. Some workers, such as writers, directors and actors, share in the profits of films through profit participation deals. Others may become employers themselves through their own independent production companies or in projects where they serve as producer or director. For example, Billy Crystal worked as an actor in *City Slickers II: The Legend of Curly's Gold* (1994), but also was the film's producer. There also are keen differences between above-the-line and below-the-line workers, with consequent differences between the labor organizations that represent these different types of labor. Above-the-line labor organizations involve "creative" workers (writer, director, actors), while below-the-line labor refers more to "technical" laborers (camera operators, editors, gaffers, etc.). The organization of entertainment unions along craft

lines rather than as a vertical, industrial structure has tended to inhibit labor unity within the industry.

Generally, motion picture production is labor-intensive, meaning the largest part of the budget is spent on labor. The cost of key talent (especially actors and actresses) is a significant part of the budget for a typical Hollywood film. Above-the-line talent can often represent 50 percent of a production budget, and has been identified as one of the key reasons why the costs of Hollywood films have skyrocketed.

ABOVE-THE-LINE GUILDS

The Writers Guild of America (WGA) is the collective bargaining representative for writers in the motion picture, broadcast, cable, interactive, and new media industries. The guild's history can be traced back to 1912 when the Authors Guild was first organized as a protective association for writers. Subsequently, drama writers formed a Dramatists Guild and joined forces with the Authors Guild, which then became the Authors League. In 1921, the Screen Writers Guild was formed as a branch of the Authors League, although the organization operated more as a club than a guild.

Finally, in 1937, the Screen Writers Guild became the collective bargaining agent of all writers in the motion picture industry. Collective bargaining actually started in 1939, with the first contract negotiated with film producers in 1942. A revised organizational structure was initiated in 1954, separating the Writers Guild of America, west (WGAw), with offices in Los Angeles, from the Writers Guild East (WGAE), in New York.

While it may be difficult to determine how many people claim to be Hollywood screenwriters, it is even more difficult to assess how many writers in the industry actually make a living from their writing efforts. According to the WGAw, 4,525 members reported earnings from writing in 2001, while 8,841 members paid dues in at least one quarter of that year. Based on these figures, the guild reported a 51.2 percent employment rate. However, only 1,870 of those reporting earnings were designated as "screen" writers, and that group received a total of $387.8 million in 2001. The Guild also points out that there is a 20 percent turnover among their members each year.

While the minimum that a writer must be paid for an original screenplay was around $29,500 in 2001, much higher amounts are often negotiated. Writers also receive fees for story treatments, first drafts, rewrites, polishing existing scripts, and so on. Other important earnings come from residuals and royalties.

Another area of crucial importance to writers (and others involved in film production) is the issue of screen credits, or the sequence, position, and size of credits on the screen, at the front and end of a film, and in movie advertisements. Credits are a vital issue for many Hollywood writers not only because of their impact on their reputations, but because bonuses and residuals are based on which writers receive final credit. Credits or billing issues may be significant negotiating points in employment agreements and the guilds have developed detailed and often complex rules. The WGA rules generally require a 33 percent contribution to the screenplay from the first writer for credit, while subsequent writers must contribute 50 percent. However, when an executive on a project also becomes a subsequent writer, that executive must contribute "more than 50 percent" to receive credit or, if part of a team, "substantially more than 60 percent" for credit.

The Directors Guild of America (DGA) represents directors, unit production managers, assistant directors, and technical coordinators in television and film. The Guild was formed in 1960 from the merger of the Screen Directors Guild and the Radio and Television Directors Guild. The organization's membership was about 13,100 in 2005.

While the producer manages the overall film project, the director is in charge of production and is usually considered the "primary creative force" in a film's manufacture. The director controls the action and dialogue in front of the camera and is therefore responsible for interpreting and expressing in a film the intentions of the screenwriter and producer as set out in the screenplay. The director is usually hired by the producer, although some directors also become involved as some kind of producer in some films. Interestingly, most directors make only one movie, while only a handful make ten or more.

The DGA negotiates a basic agreement for its members, who then arrange individual contracts with the producer or producing company with terms and conditions applicable to a specific film. Director's agreements include employment terms (salary, and so forth), but also issues relating to creative control such as details regarding the director's cut and final cut of a film. Prompted especially by the introduction of colorized films, the DGA has lobbied strongly for a moral rights law for creative personnel to prevent changes in their work.

The Screen Actors Guild (SAG) was organized in 1933, after several other organizations had attempted to organize film performers, including the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences (Clark and Prindle). The history of SAG was at first dominated by the attempt to establish a guild shop (a system under which all actors employed on a film must join the guild), and then by gaining compensation for actors in the constantly expanding forms of distribution (television,

video cassettes, etc.). SAG's concern with such compensation is not an insignificant issue considering that its members gained more than $1 billion in 1987 merely from residual payments for TV reruns of old films. Much more revenue has been earned from home video and other new distribution outlets.

Like the DGA, SAG negotiates a basic agreement for its members; however, individual actors and actresses also contract for individual films, sometimes using agents or managers to represent them.

In 1992 the 3,600 members of the Screen Extras Guild (SEG) became a part of SAG's union coverage, primarily because SEG lacked the clout to deal with producers and most extras were working nonunion. Serious discussions of a merger have also taken place between SAG and the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists (AFTRA). AFTRA was formed in 1937 to represent radio and then television performers. The organization's primary jurisdiction is in live television, but AFTRA shares jurisdiction with SAG for taped television productions. As of 2005 AFTRA represents over 70,000 performers in radio, television, and sometimes, film.

The American Federation of Musicians (AFM) represents musicians across many industries, including film. The trade group, which was formed in the 1890s, has negotiated contracts with the film industry since 1944, and has been especially concerned with new technological developments in sound recording.

BELOW-THE-LINE UNIONS

The International Association of Theatrical and Stage Employees (IATSE or IA) has been the most powerful union in the US film industry. Formed at the end of the nineteenth century, IATSE organized stage employees in the United States and Canada. As the entertainment industry expanded, IATSE grew to include motion picture projectionists and technical workers at the Hollywood studios and film exchanges throughout North America. When television was introduced, IATSE organized technical workers in the new medium. IATSE's history includes some dismal chapters from the 1930s when racketeers and criminals extorted funds from union members, as well as assisting in the ugly blacklisting activities that tainted Hollywood in the 1940s.

IATSE represents technicians, artisans and craftspersons in the entertainment industry, including live theater, film and television production, and trade shows. More than 500 local unions in the US and Canada are affiliated with IA. IATSE has a tradition of local autonomy, with a variety of craft-based locals involved in collective bargaining agreements. However, nationwide agreements for film production personnel are negotiated, as well. Moreover, Local 600, the International Cinematographers Guild—which was formed in 1996 through a merger of regional groups—is national rather than local in its membership.

IA covers a wide range of employees in film production distribution and exhibition. Among the classifications of workers represented are art directors, story analysts, animators, set designers and set decorators, scenic artists, graphic artists, set painters, grips, electricians, property persons, set builders, teachers, costumers, make-up artists, hair stylists, motion picture and still camerapersons, sound technicians, editors, script supervisors, laboratory technicians, projectionists, utility workers, first aid employees, inspection, shipping, booking, and other distribution employees. IA's bargaining strength comes from this "complete coverage" of all the crafts involved in the production of theatrical, motion picture, or television products, with workers involved in every phase of a production, from its conception through every aspect of its execution.

The National Association for Broadcast Employees and Technicians (NABET) grew first out of radio, and then television broadcasting. The union was organized at the National Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) as a company union (an industrial organization rather than craft oriented) as an alternative to the larger and more powerful International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) (Koenig, *Broadcasting and Bargaining*). NABET's relatively militant history is replete with skirmishes with IBEW and IATSE, as well as continuous rumors of a merger with the larger IATSE.

In 1990, NABET's Local 15, which organized 1,500 freelance film and tape technicians in New York, merged with IATSE. Then, in 1992, most of the other NABET locals joined the Communication Workers of America (CWA), effective January 1994. About 9,300 NABET members became a part of the much larger CWA, which by 2005 represented over 700,000 workers in telecommunications, printing, broadcasting, health care, and other fields, in both the private and public sectors. While most of NABET's members were to be moved to an independent broadcasting arm within CWA, NABET's West Coast Local 531 agreed to merge with IATSE because of its 500 members' closer affiliation with the film industry. Thus, IATSE became the only union in the United States to represent behind-the-camera film workers.

The International Brotherhood of Teamsters is the largest and strongest union in the US and also is active in the motion picture industry, organizing studio transportation workers on the West Coast and various other workers. In 2005 the Teamsters claimed a general membership of over 1.4 million in the United States and Canada; its Hollywood Local 399 had over 4,000

members working as drivers, location scouts, and other personnel in the film industry. Casting directors also joined the Teamsters in that year.

PRESSING ISSUES FOR HOLLYWOOD UNIONS AND GUILDS

Some of the biggest headaches facing Hollywood unions and guilds are the proliferation of nonunion production, the relocation of production sites all over the country and the world (runaway production), and the growing strength of the entertainment conglomerates that own the Hollywood majors.

The issue of nonunion production begins in the film capital itself. While film and television production around Los Angeles seems to ebb and flow depending upon a number of different factors, there has been an increase in the amount of nonunion production in Hollywood. For instance, only 40 percent of the permits issued by the City of Los Angeles for film work in January 1989 were for unionized productions. However, more recently, IATSE claimed that less than one-third of the films released in the United States are made with union labor. Not only is nonunion labor typically considered less costly, but the established entertainment unions often are perceived as uncooperative and too demanding. It might be noted that independent productions sometimes try to avoid union labor, however, most of the larger and more successful independent companies still work with the unions due to their continuing role in the overall industrial process of Hollywood.

Runaway production has been an ongoing problem for Hollywood labor unions and guilds. The lure of lower budgets with nonunion workers has attracted producers to right-to-work states, such as Florida, as well as other states that have recognized film and television production as a boost to local economies. Meanwhile, foreign locations, such as Eastern Europe and parts of the Third World, offer low budgets and exotic locations. Most recently, Canada has lured film and television production away from Hollywood with offers of trained workers, tax breaks, and a favorable exchange rate. Pressure from the availability of a nonunion option and runaway production has forced the unions to make concessions during contract negotiations, as well as to push for government remedies.

Both of these situations can be explained by film companies' attempt to lower labor cost, in addition to the ready supply of nonunion workers, both in Hollywood and other locations. The abundance of available labor also may be related to the popularity of media in general. The growth of media education at universities and colleges, as well as the increased visibility of film and television production in the popular press, means that there is a glut of eager workers for Hollywood companies to employ, very often without union affiliation. Hollywood also seems to have a fantasy quality, as even "regular" work in the film industry seems glamorous.

While studios try to blame unreasonable union demands for the increase of nonunion production and the flight to nonunion locations, labor leaders (especially from below-the-line unions) claim that they are not the problem. Rather, they point to the skyrocketing costs of above-the-line talent, with especially high salaries going to high-profile actors and actresses. Some union officials point out that film costs will not come down unless studios control above-the-line costs, especially the huge salaries of some stars. The lack of unity among entertainment unions also has been blamed for the growth of nonunion filming. Some of the mergers mentioned previously may help to alleviate this problem, yet the organization of labor along craft lines still exacerbates the situation.

While Hollywood companies have become more diversified, union representation also has followed. The different types of businesses incorporated by Hollywood companies have involved further differentiation of labor, making it difficult for workers to form a united front against one corporation. For instance, workers employed by Disney include animators at the Disney Studio, hockey players on Disney's hockey team, the Anaheim Mighty Ducks, and Jungle Cruise operators at Disney's various theme parks. The differentiation of labor is especially apparent at the theme parks owned by many Hollywood companies, in particular Disney, Universal, Paramount, and Time Warner. Workers at these sites are represented by a wide array of labor organizations, many of which are unrelated to those unions active in the film industry.

Generally, then, the trend toward diversification has contributed to a weakening of trade unions' power as well as a further lack of unity among workers. More than one observer has noted that in the twenty-first century films are produced and distributed by conglomerates that own businesses outside of entertainment. Thus, if film production is halted because of labor problems, the conglomerate's income may slow a bit, but it can still survive with money from other sources.

So the pressures are mounting on labor organizations in the entertainment field. Hollywood unions and guilds have faced difficult struggles in the past, combating a range of problems from difficulty of gaining union recognition in the 1930s to ideological assaults such as the blacklisting period of the 1940s and 1950s. They continue to face further challenges from antiunion sentiments, nonunion workers, and runaway production, as

well as power struggles with diversified corporations actively involved in international markets.

SEE ALSO *Credits; Crew; Direction; Production Process; Screenwriting; Studio System*

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Janet Wasko

HERITAGE FILMS

L. P. Hartley's *The Go-Between* (1953), the novel that inspired what may have been the first contemporary heritage film, offers the perfect epigram for the form: "The past is a foreign country. They do things differently there." Significantly, many of the hallmarks of the heritage film are present in this early example: directed in 1970 by Joseph Losey (1909–1984), a transplanted American (many heritage films emanate from national "outsiders"), *The Go-Between* is a stately, handsome adaptation of a respected novel set in a pre-war English country house and involving the sexual maturation of its young protagonist. Moreover, many of the questions arising from attempts to define the heritage film are also present in this example. Is it a form that has served to bolster the British film industry? or Does it represent a kind of filmic colonization of British stories and screens by Britain's former possessions? Does the form manifest geographical limitations that mean that it might be better denominated the English heritage film?

Film scholars cannot even agree on whether heritage films constitute a genre, partly because such films share only loosely associated tropes or iconographical elements and partly because they so readily appear to collapse into neighboring genres, such as the costume film, the historical film, the war film, and the prestige literary adaptation. In practice, the heritage film ranges widely over source material (from E. M. Forster and Henry James to working-class autobiographies from World War II), era, and nation: there are French heritage films, including *La Reine Margot* (*Queen Margot*, Patrice Chéreau, 1994) and *Manon des sources* (*Manon of the Spring*, Claude Berri, 1986), and now German heritage films dealing with the Holocaust, such as *Aimée & Jaguar* (Max Färberböck, 1999). The locus classicus of the heritage film nonetheless remains the narrative of pre–World War I or interwar England; it is often an adaptation of an esteemed literary property and typically invokes what might be termed heritage landmarks, such as Oxbridge colleges and National Trust properties.

GENRE?

It is in part through their treatment of landscape that heritage films as a group begin to display what might be viewed as generic characteristics. John Hill suggests that the heritage film typically focuses on the relationships among a group of characters rather than on the destiny of a single character; and has a slow pace, a preference for dialogue over action, and an approach to *mise-en-scène* that exceeds motivations found in the narrative or that does not necessarily express characters' emotions (1999, p. 80). Places and objects are displayed rather than dramatized, leading to what Andrew Higson calls "heritage space"—the film serves as a jewel box for the arrangement and contemplation of heritage properties (Higson in Friedman, p. 117). This approach to technique often emphasizes *mise-en-scène* over other cinematic elements, such as editing, and is a large part of the pleasure in spectacle to be found in such films.

Critical response to this stylistic aspect has been divided, with conservative critics arguing that British film should explore and valorize a glorious past, and left-leaning critics expressing concern over the often limited heritage on display, particularly in terms of the exclusion of working-class experience. Working-class characters may function merely as observers or chorus members in dramas often consumed with the problems of those

"Heritage space" in **The Remains of the Day** *(James Ivory, 1993), with Anthony Hopkins.* © COLUMBIA PICTURES/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

possessing or seeking an independent income. The Thatcher government's investment in the projection of heritage culture as a manifestation of a revived Britain (witnessed by the National Heritage Acts of 1980 and 1983) added to the ideologically suspect nature of heritage films in the eyes of some critics (Higson, pp. 51–54). Lutz Koepnick has argued that the heritage film produces "usable and consumable pasts . . . history as a site of comfort and orientation" (p. 51)—hence the occasional dismissal of heritage films as the "Laura Ashley school of filmmaking." A number of critics have noticed that the heritage film's desire for authenticity and its close attention to the look of objects create a kind of break between images and narrative, with objects constituting a conservative commentary on what might have originally been a work of social satire (such as the 1988 adaptation of Evelyn Waugh's *A Handful of Dust* by Charles Sturridge [b. 1951]).

Heritage films' characteristic contest between the consequences of using period objects and the critical projects of their source texts may further intensify the critical uncertainty about whether such films genuinely or reliably constitute a genre. One way of addressing that uncertainty has been to consider what kinds of audiences consume these films, a question considerably complicated by the international flavor of the production and consumption of heritage films. While at first blush the project of the heritage film would appear to be to bring Britain's glorious past to the screen, viewers may be struck by British heritage films' exceptional reliance upon American audiences not only for their ultimate global box-office success but also for access to *British* audiences. The average Briton attends one film in a theater annually; most film consumption in Britain takes place via the television and VCR—Britons have one of the world's highest rates of VCR use. Consequently, any "British" cinema is necessarily mediated by television and probably influenced by the tastes of other Anglophone audiences. In a pattern that heritage films pioneered but that now transcends genre, theme, and film style, British films are often given only limited or no release at all domestically until an American run has established their marketability, at which point they are re-exported to their country of manufacture.

THE HERITAGE FILM AND THE UNITED STATES

If British television pioneered the production of handsome adaptations of popular pre-war narratives, American public television trained American audiences to consume them. American series such as *Masterpiece Theatre* and *Mystery!* showcased quality British television programming from the 1970s; film and television production reinforced each other (and established a pattern of crossover labor), with, for example, Sturridge's lush Granada Television adaptation of *Brideshead Revisited* appearing in the same year (1981) that *Chariots of Fire* took American movie theaters by storm. Less obvious is that success on the small screen should translate to success on the large screen. Nonetheless, the heritage film spoke to the institutional needs of both British and American filmmakers and distributors in the 1980s. The modest budgets by American standards made heritage films attractive to US distributors, who found that the films could be gratifyingly profitable in extended runs at a limited number of well-chosen theaters, such as the Paris in New York City, before going on to stepped releases elsewhere in the nation. In the British context, heritage films operated as a heaven-sent solution to the financing problems created by the introduction of the Films Bill in 1984–1985, which removed earlier government supports to the film industry (Quart in Friedman, p. 23). Because of its connection to a small but reliable niche audience in the United States and in Britain, the heritage film could expect to recuperate its costs outside the UK, which most British films must hope to do to become profitable.

The heritage film in fact operated internationally as a kind of highly accessible art film. It was frequently distributed through small art cinemas, promising a kind of reliable upper-middlebrow visual pleasure without necessarily demanding the kinds of interpretive effort typical of films such as *L'Année dernier 'a Marienbad* (Alain Resnais, 1961). Rapturous acclaim via the Oscars®, such as was received by *Chariots of Fire* (four Academy Awards®, seven nominations) and for James Ivory's *A Room with a View* (1985) (three Academy Awards®, seven nominations), coupled with good box office, did not merely add to the films' prestige: on some level, American involvement and reception helped constitute the constellation of characteristics that typified the heritage film. For example, James Ivory (b. 1928), an American director—his collaborators, producer Ismail Merchant (1936–2005) and screenwriter Ruth Prawer Jhabvala (b. 1927), are respectively Pakistani and German by birth—is responsible for seven of the iconic heritage films of the 1980s and early 1990s.

NEW UNDERSTANDINGS OF THE HERITAGE FILM

So is the heritage film merely light entertainment for export—a kind of film tourism that reflects American expectations about a Britain ossified in a long Edwardian summer? Does it undermine any hope of representing Britain in all its complexity and change? Claire Monk argues that critics who dismiss the heritage film as ideologically suspect, boringly predictable, or merely a creature of American taste approach it too reductively. Part of the problem is indeed the capaciousness of the term "heritage film," coupled with the assumption that it describes a stable, unchanging genre (2002, p. 7). Monk has attempted to periodize heritage films, separating those of the 1980s and early 1990s from later entrants, which she characterizes as "post-heritage" by virtue of their self-conscious foregrounding of strategies designed to subvert the supposed conservatism of the heritage film or to undercut the primacy of the potentially too-dominant *mise-en-scène* (Monk in Vincendeau, p. 7). She argues that critics too readily assume that heritage films operate in ways entirely analogous to, say, National Trust landmarks—that a heritage film has a unitary, conservative meaning derived exclusively from its setting. As Monk observes, this approach hardly allows for the complexity of the interactions among a film's characterization, narrative, and dialogue, all of which may undercut the potential conservatism of reviving the past by filming its surviving material manifestations (2002, p. 188). Monk thus sees important distinctions among heritage films—for example, *A Room with a View* is considerably less conservative than *Chariots of Fire*, because the former permits its female protagonist to come to an important understanding about her agency and the nature of her sexual desires while the latter offers a less complex story line concerned with the creation and training of the British Olympic team in 1924.

Critics such as Monk and Richard Dyer see an exploration of sexuality, including homosexuality, as key to many heritage films. At the very least, it is fair to say that one of the major plot engines of the heritage film is the *Bildungsroman*, the coming to maturity of the young protagonist, typically dramatized at a moment of difficult self-discovery, as in *Maurice* (Ivory, 1987), *The Wings of the Dove* (Iain Softley, 1997), or *Elizabeth* (Shekhar Kapur, 1998), all of whose protagonists possess desires that are difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile with social expectations. Stories of homosexual desire and illicit female pursuit of agency or control fit very naturally into the framework of the *bildungsroman.*

Characteristically, even the earliest cycle of heritage films offers the spectacle of desire often frustrated but sometimes achieved, causing critics to debate the question of the heritage film's progressivism or lack thereof. Are the films progressive because they offer the spectacle of gay men or women longing for things they ought not to have (but sometimes get)? Are they conservative

MERCHANT-IVORY

James Ivory, b. Berkeley, California, 7 June 1928
Ismail Merchant, b. Ismail Noormohamed Abdul Rehman, Bombay, India, 25 December 1936, d. London, England, 25 May 2005
Ruth Prawer Jhabvala, b. Cologne, Germany, 7 May 1927

As a production team, Merchant-Ivory was responsible for more than thirty films over 42 years, making the partnership of director James Ivory, producer Ismail Merchant, and novelist/screenwriter Ruth Prawer Jhabvala among the most productive and durable of independent filmmakers. While the team remained active through 2005, Merchant also increasingly directed his own projects, including three features since *Cotton Mary* (1999).

The team's first feature, *The Householder* (1963), was the first to involve Jhabvala's services as screenwriter; showing the influence of Indian director Satyajit Ray, it led to further projects exploring Indian life and celebrating the sensibility and richness of its cinema. *Shakespeare Wallah* (1965) narrates the fortunes of a troupe of traveling players, both English and Indian, in the post-Independence, movie-mad 1960s, while *Bombay Talkie* (1970) analyzes the disastrous association between an English novelist played by Jennifer Kendal and an Indian film star played by her real-life husband, Shashi Kapoor. This sequence of films set in India showcased a number of persistent production strategies, namely the foregrounding of ensemble playing, an ability to enlist the help of more established filmmakers (such as Ray, who wrote the music for *Shakespeare Wallah*), a feel for identifying up-and-coming talent (when he worked with Merchant-Ivory, Kapoor had not yet become a major star), and an anthropological sense of place and social fabric reflecting not only the team's interests but also Ivory's beginnings in documentary.

Possibly as a result of their own disparate national and social backgrounds, Merchant-Ivory consistently pursue the question of what a character experiences when he or she attempts to penetrate a closed social milieu, ranging from the desire to master the mores of a foreign culture to the aspiration to control the hierarchies of theater stage or film screen. The indispensable closed social milieu is the sexual couple or close friendship that becomes a sexual triangle with the arrival of an outsider, permitting the intense exploration of patterns of domination within friendship and amorous coupling. Merchant-Ivory films often concern the failure to read social codes, be they those of privileged pre-war Anglophones (*Heat and Dust*, 1983; *Howards End*, 1992; *The Remains of the Day*, 1993; *Savages*, 1972), or of modern New York City (*Jane Austen in Manhattan*, 1980). Refreshingly, Merchant-Ivory films can imagine that defying social codes does not invariably result in happiness; sometimes their films examine the costs of desire for both the desiring character and society at large.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Shakespeare Wallah (1965), *Bombay Talkie* (1970), *Roseland* (1977), *Jane Austen in Manhattan* (1980), *Heat and Dust* (1983), *A Room with a View* (1985), *Maurice* (1987), *Howards End* (1992), *The Remains of the Day* (1993), *The Golden Bowl* (2000), *Le Divorce* (2003)

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Anne Morey

because they appear to admire the past in which these things were often denied to these people?

Recent heritage films are striking for the large number that foreground activities such as painting (as in *Carrington* [Christopher Hampton, 1995]) or theater (for instance, *Topsy-Turvy* [Mike Leigh, 1999] and *Finding Neverland* [Marc Forster, 2004]) in order to dramatize creative work or activities that might be described as play. In these examples, the heritage film offers the best possible motivations for the minute inspection of *mise-en-scène*: either it proves to be the very fabric of the narrative, as when Dora Carrington gradually paints every square inch of her cottage in a kind of autobiography of her attachment to Lytton Strachey, or it

Producer Ismail Merchant (left) and director James Ivory in the 1970s. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

presents the details of late nineteenth-century theatrical production as part of the exploration of grown men (W. S. Gilbert and J. M. Barrie) sojourning in extended, profitable fantasy. The heritage film here signals one of its major attractions—that the denial of desire can be perversely sexy, even progressive, particularly when coupled with the satisfactions of carefully wrought spectacle and performance. In short, one of the great appeals of the heritage film is that it bridges the fabled divide in English cinema between fantasy and realism.

SEE ALSO *Great Britain; Historical Films*

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Anne Morey

HISTORICAL FILMS

Beginning in 1915 with *The Birth of a Nation*, directed by D. W. Griffith (1875–1948), the historical film has been one of the most celebrated forms of cinematic expression as well as one of the most controversial. As a genre, it has maintained a high degree of cultural prominence for nearly a century, and it has established itself as a major form in nearly every nation that produces films. But it has also consistently provoked controversy and widespread public debate about the meaning of the past, about the limits of dramatic interpretation, and about the power of film to influence popular understanding and to promote particular national myths.

The historical film has often served as a vehicle of studio prestige and artistic ambition, and many distinguished directors have made major contributions to the genre. Steven Spielberg (b. 1946), Martin Scorsese (b. 1942), Oliver Stone (b. 1946), John Sayles (b. 1950), Edward Zwick (b. 1952), Bernardo Bertolucci (b. 1941), and Roman Polanski (b. 1933) have made important and powerful historical films that have reawakened interest in aspects of the past that were not previously well-represented or understood. For many societies, the historical film now serves as the dominant source of popular knowledge about the historical past, a fact that has made some professional historians anxious. Other historians, however, see these films as valuable for the discussions and debate they generate. Films such as Spielberg's *Schindler's List* (1993), and Stone's *JFK* (1991), for example, have fostered a widespread and substantial public discussion that has contributed to historical appreciation and understanding.

Although several types of film can be grouped under the heading of the historical, Natalie Zemon Davis usefully defines the historical genre as being composed of dramatic feature films in which the primary plot is based on actual historical events, or in which an imagined plot unfolds in such a way that actual historical events are central and intrinsic to the story. This broad, plot-based characterization of the genre captures the specific and unique character of the historical film, which depends for its meaning and significance on an order of events—historical events—that exist outside the imaginative world of the film itself. Within this somewhat narrowed framework, however, there are still large variations in the types of films that can be considered historical films. Because the genre overlaps with other well-established genres, it is useful to consider the historical film in terms of several subtypes. These include the epic, the war film, the biographical film, the period or topical film, and what might be called the metahistorical film—films such as *JFK* or *Courage Under Fire* (Zwick, 1996) that present the past from multiple, conflicting viewpoints in an attempt to illustrate the complexity of representing the historical past.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE HISTORICAL FILM

Epic films made in Italy between 1910 and 1914 were the first to capture the spectacular power of the cinema to recreate the past, and the first to extend the screening time of films to two and three hours or more. Films such as *Quo Vadis?* (1912), *Cabiria* (1914), and *Spartaco* (1913) were vast, sweeping depictions of the ancient world that united spectacle, lavish set design, and narrative in a way that had an enormous influence on film style, and that brought an extraordinary amount of publicity to the

Oliver Stone's* JFK *(1991) is a metahistorical film. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

films even prior to their release. The Italian epics of the early silent period were a particular incentive to D. W. Griffith, who after seeing *Quo Vadis?* in 1913 decided to make a two-reel biblical film, *Judith of Bethulia* (1914). The grandest of the Italian epics, *Cabiria*, by Giovanni Pastrone (1883–1959), commanded such public attention for its length, epic form, and massive sets that just hearing about it prompted Griffith to begin planning his own epic, *The Birth of a Nation* (1915). And after seeing *Cabiria*, Griffith began planning an even larger-scale narrative that would interweave four historical periods, resulting in the ambitious *Intolerance* (1916).

The Birth of a Nation is generally credited with inaugurating the genre of the historical film in the United States. Although films that used historical settings and included historical characters were fairly common by 1915, they could not be considered serious attempts to understand or explain the past; rather, they consisted of romances, costume dramas, tales of adventure, or small historical vignettes set within larger dramatic narratives, such as the scene in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1903) with Little Eva looking down from heaven on the divisive events of American history. *The Birth of a Nation*, on the other hand, attempts to offer an explanation and interpretation of the most troubled and divisive period in US history; despite its offensive stereotypes and obvious racism, it poses serious questions and makes serious interpretations about the meaning of the past.

In its ambitiousness, notoriety, and insistence on presenting a serious, if deeply flawed, interpretation of the meaning of the past, *The Birth of a Nation* brings into relief the distinctive characteristics of the genre and provides a blueprint for the future development of the historical film. It melds an elaborate family romance with a story of national trauma and national reconciliation; it employs a visual vocabulary consisting of wide panoramic shots, elaborate cross-cutting, and the use of close-ups as a form of historical commentary and analysis; and it insists on the authenticity of its representations by closely imitating battlefield daguerreotypes, by asserting the fidelity of its depiction of Lincoln's assassination, and by dwelling on the lived spaces of the historical past, the porches, picket fences, and dirt roads of the South. Although it was challenged at the time, its depiction reflected the beliefs of the most powerful school of American historians of that era, including President Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924),

who after a private screening purportedly commented: "It's like writing history with lightning. And my only regret is that it is all so terribly true."

The negative publicity generated by *The Birth of a Nation* intensified Griffith's ambition to make a great historical film. *Intolerance*, over three hours long, combines four stories set in different time periods and interweaves the stories in a complex arrangement, like a musical fugue. The thematic link among these stories is the idea of intolerance through the ages and its overcoming through love. By cutting these four stories together through parallel editing—which up to that time had been used strictly for cutting between parallel actions in the same time frame—Griffith tried to articulate a universal historical patterning, one that linked the story of Christ's crucifixion with a modern story of injustice, together with the fall of ancient Babylon, and the story of the St. Bartholomew Day Massacre in sixteenth-century France. This innovative use of parallel editing to link and harmonize four separate historical narratives was a dazzling conceptual breakthrough, but the film was not well received by the public and became a massive commercial failure.

Griffith's influence on the development of a cinematic style of historical narration is perhaps best seen in the Soviet cinema of the 1920s. Sergei Eisenstein (1898–1948) expanded on Griffith's formal innovations in editing to create an even more advanced visual aesthetic known as montage editing, a style characterized by rapid, dynamic combinations of shots of very short length. Eisenstein used this style to create a history or, better, a foundational mythology for the fledgling Soviet Union. In *Bronenosets Potyomkin* (*Battleship Potemkin*, assistant-directed by Grigori Aleksandrov, 1925), Eisenstein takes a small-scale historical incident—the mutiny by a small group of sailors on board the battleship *Potemkin* during the czarist period—and turns it into a stirring dramatization of the power of the proletariat to overcome oppression and create a revolution. In *Oktyabr* (*Ten Days that Shook the World* and *October*, assistant-directed by Grigori Aleksandrov, 1927), also known as *Ten Days That Shook the World*, Eisenstein presents the turbulent events of the ten days of the Bolshevik Revolution. The film combines close attention to the actual events with an elaborate set of visual ideas including the use of visual metaphors, repetition, humor, and a highly charged sense of movement and dynamism.

The Soviet filmmakers were experimental in their treatment of the historical past, exploring ways of creating a revolutionary historiography for a revolutionary time. The style of historical narration that they pioneered had an impact on the Latin American cinema of the 1960s and, later, on Stone's *JFK* and *Nixon* (1995).

THE EVOLUTION OF THE HISTORICAL FILM: THE WAR FILM

The war film is one of the great modes of cinematic expression. Many war films have been lauded for their realism and their focus on the cruelties of war, as well as for their portraits of heroism. Outstanding examples of the subgenre include formidable Hollywood productions such as *The Charge of the Light Brigade* (1936), *The Longest Day* (1962), *Tora! Tora! Tora!* (1970), *Glory* (1989), and *Saving Private Ryan* (1998), but also more subdued treatments of war and resistance such as Roberto Rossellini's (1906–1977) *Roma, città aperta* (*Rome, Open City*, also known as *Open City*, 1945) and *Paisà* (*Paisan*, 1946).

The Big Parade (1925) and *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1930) were extraordinarily successful works that established the war film in the United States as an important subgenre of historical filmmaking. *The Big Parade*, directed by King Vidor (1894–1982), contains memorable World War I battle sequences, especially a night battle scene that captures the nightmarish aspect of war on the western front, and became the model for many subsequent films. Lewis Milestone's (1895–1980) *All Quiet on the Western Front* won international and popular acclaim, as well as Oscars® for Best Picture and Best Director in 1930, for its portrait of the horrors of war as experienced by a young German soldier. The film marked the first time Germans were treated sympathetically in Hollywood films made after the war. In the most extensive use of moving camera in a sound film up to that time, Milestone used a mobile crane to create elaborate moving camera shots for the battle scenes. The film not only established the power and commercial viability of the war film, but it also established the Great War as an enduring emblem of human loss. Posing serious questions about ideals such as nationalism, patriotism, and the dehumanizing effects of war, *All Quiet on the Western Front* articulated the antiwar sentiment later taken up by war films such as *Paths of Glory* (1957), *Born on the Fourth of July* (1989), and *Apocalypse Now* (1979).

Darryl F. Zanuck's (1902–1979) *The Longest Day* initiated what has become a historical film staple of combat spectaculars. The combination of extraordinary realism in the battle scenes and exceptional attentiveness to the small dramas unfolding among the individual soldiers provided the model for many films to come, among them *Apocalypse Now* and *Saving Private Ryan*. The film also set a new standard for authenticity in the historical genre, in some scenes replicating the Normandy invasion so closely that stills taken from the shooting of the film

ROBERTO ROSSELLINI

b. Rome, Italy, 8 May 1906, d. 3 June 1977

One of the most influential filmmakers in the history of world cinema, Roberto Rossellini followed an idiosyncratic artistic path that brought him world attention. Over the course of his career, Rossellini continually defied expectations and consistently forged his own creative path, a quality that gives his work an unequaled variety and range. Following an apprenticeship making films for the fascist government of Italy in the early 1940s, Rossellini first achieved renown with his neorealist films *Roma, città aperta* (*Rome, Open City*, 1945) and *Paisà* (*Paisan*, 1946). In the 1950s he made a series of films with actress Ingrid Bergman, including *Viaggio in Italia* (*Journey to Italy*, 1953), which opened a new creative focus on the psychology of the couple. In the 1960s and 1970s he changed course again, making a series of didactic films on the history of western civilization for Italian and French television.

Rome, Open City, represents a fundamental breakthrough in film style and subject matter. Using the streets and apartments of Rome directly following the Nazi occupation, and employing a largely nonprofessional cast, *Rome, Open City* crystallized the emerging aesthetic of neorealism, which became one of the most celebrated film movements of the twentieth century, the emblematic filmic expression of the harsh social and psychological conditions of modern life. Rossellini followed with two additional films dealing with the devastation of World War II, *Paisan* and *Germania anno zero* (*Germany Year Zero*, 1948), that employed the look and feel of documentary and merged it with the dramatic plotting of the fiction film to create a powerful sense of social truth.

After seeing *Rome, Open City* and *Paisan* in New York, the actress Ingrid Bergman wrote to Rossellini expressing her admiration for his work. They married in 1950 and began a collaboration that would result in several important films, including *Stromboli* (1950), *Europa '51* (*The Greatest Love*, 1952), and *Journey to Italy*. At this point in his career, however, Rossellini's critical reputation was suffering from his supposed turning away from overtly social subjects to more psychological, "involuted" concerns. Critics in France, however, especially those associated with *Cahiers du cinéma*, argued that these films represented a fresh and liberating approach to filmmaking, one that was psychologically complex and daring.

In 1964, Rossellini again changed direction and began a series of "didactic" history projects for Italian and French television. These films, including *La Prise de pouvoir par Louis XIV* (*The Rise to Power of Louis XIV*, 1966), *L'Età di Cosimo de Medici* (*The Age of the Medici*, 1973), and *Agostino d'Ippona* (*Augustine of Hippo*, 1972), among others, were explorations of the historical past shorn of dramatic fictional plotting. Concentrating on the behavioral details of the period, Rossellini foregrounded his own "didactic" role as historian-narrator by using a zoom lens, called the Pancinor, to highlight certain elements of the scene.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Roma, città aperta (*Rome Open City*, 1945), *Paisà* (*Paisan*, 1946), *Germania anno zero* (*Germany Year Zero*, 1947), *Stromboli* (1950), *Viaggio in Italia* (*Journey to Italy*, 1953), *Il Générale della Rovere* (*General della Rovere*, 1959), *La Prise de pouvoir par Louis XIV* (*The Rise to Power of Louis XIV*, 1966)

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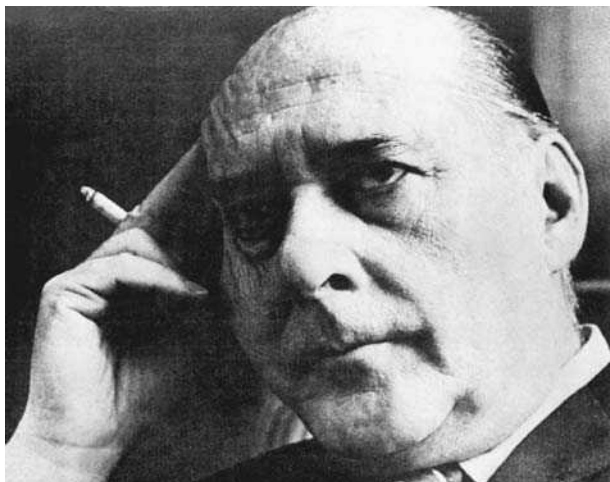

Roberto Rossellini at the time of* Socrates *(1970). **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

and stills taken from the actual invasion are nearly indistinguishable.

In the late 1970s the American cinema began to take on the subject of Vietnam. Francis Ford Coppola's *Apocalypse Now* and Michael Cimino's *The Deer Hunter* (1978) both portrayed the war as a pathological endeavor that foreboded the ruin of a generation of young Americans. It was not until 1986, however, with the release of Oliver Stone's *Platoon*, that the Vietnam subgenre began to flourish as a dominant mode of cinematic expression. Stone followed *Platoon* with *Born on the Fourth of July*, an antiwar film that dealt with the trauma of the returning Vietnam veteran. A sober and scathingly critical work, *Born on the Fourth of July* followed in the tradition of *The Best Years of Our Lives* (1946) in illustrating the profound alienation of returning veterans who have been traumatized by the experience of war.

The traditional war film experienced a resurgence at the turn of the century with films such as *Saving Private Ryan*, *Black Hawk Down* (2001), *Glory*, *Pearl Harbor* (2001), and *The Patriot* (2000), which together reestablished the power and appeal of films that crystallize the heroism and sacrifice that war entails. Noted for the authenticity of its battlefield sequences as well as for its evocation of nostalgia for the certainties of the "last good war," *Saving Private Ryan* resurrected the traditional war film, which had fallen into disrepute in the post-Vietnam period, and reestablished it as a dominant form in American cinema. *Saving Private Ryan* also broke new ground in its technological innovations, most evident in the Omaha Beach landing sequence, in which the film blends computer-generated imagery, live-action photography, reenactments of documentary photographs and sequences, accelerated editing, slow-motion cinematography, and electronically enhanced sound design. The film combines the traditions of the war film—stressing the importance of the individual soldier and the success of the collective endeavor mounted on his behalf—with advanced visual and acoustic techniques that give it a powerful claim to battlefield authenticity and realism.

THE EPIC

Giovanni Pastrone's *Cabiria* was quickly followed in Italy by many films dealing with ancient Rome and Greece. In America, after *The Birth of a Nation* established the viability of longer, ambitious historical films, MGM in 1925 released *Ben-Hur*, directed by William Wyler (1902–1981), which became a commercial blockbuster. Cecil B. DeMille's (1881–1959) *The Ten Commandments* (1923) established Hollywood as the major producer of epic films in the 1920s.

In the 1930s and early 1940s, however, the epic form waned as audience tastes turned to contemporary subjects, exemplified in the sophisticated musicals and comedies of Hollywood and in the Italian "white telephone" comedy genre (films about the rich and idle). But the form returned full force in the early 1950s, with *Quo Vadis* (Mervyn LeRoy, 1951), and *The Robe* (Henry Koster, 1953), and the first film to be shot in CinemaScope. The epic, with its lavish sets and mass choreography of crowds and armies, lent itself to the widescreen format that was one of Hollywood's responses to the threat of television. For most critics *Ben-Hur* represents the high point of the style. *King of Kings* (Nicolas Ray, 1961), and *El Cid* (Anthony Mann, 1961), were also accomplished works, as was DeMille's *The Ten Commandments* (1956), which marked a return to the subject he had first treated in 1923.

The epic form in Hollywood reached its zenith in the early 1960s with three films: *Spartacus* (Stanley Kubrick, 1960), *Cleopatra* (Joseph L. Mankiewicz, 1963), and *The Fall of the Roman Empire* (Mann, 1964). (*Spartacus*, which gave screenwriter credit to Dalton Trumbo [1905–1976], a prominent leftist who had been blacklisted in Hollywood for refusing to cooperate with the House Un-American Activities Committee, became known as "the film that broke the blacklist.") However, *The Fall of the Roman Empire* did poorly at the box office, and from 1964 until the mid-1990s the epic was decidedly out of fashion. With *Braveheart* (Mel Gibson, 1995) and *Gladiator* (Ridley Scott, 2000), the epic renewed itself in a way that heralded a return to cultural prominence. *Gladiator*, in particular, provides a fascinating example of the use of new visual technologies to narrate the past. Its elaborate use of computer-generated imagery recreates

OLIVER STONE

b. New York, New York, 15 September 1946

One of the most accomplished filmmakers working in contemporary Hollywood, Oliver Stone is also one of the most controversial, creating vivid dramas of American history and politics that have provoked equal parts admiration and outrage. His film about the Kennedy assassination, *JFK* (1991), for example, created a searing controversy that led to denunciations by leading politicians, journalists, and historians. Ultimately, however, it resulted in legislation authorizing the Assassination Records Review Board, which assembled and made available millions of pages of documents on the assassination previously withheld from the public. In 1998 the Review Board specifically credited *JFK* with arousing public opinion to pressure Congress into passing the legislation. Arguably, no American work of art, with the possible exception of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), has had as direct or consequential an impact on American history as *JFK*.

Asserting his political orientation with his first major films, Stone's early works combine an explicitly political viewpoint with dramatic plotting and sympathetic characters. *Salvador* (1986) and *Platoon* (1986) are emotionally wrenching depictions of the conflicts in El Salvador and Vietnam. Following *Platoon*, which won Academy Awards® for Best Picture and Best Director, Stone made two films dealing with domestic American life, *Wall Street* (1987) and *Talk Radio* (1988). *Born on the Fourth of July* (1989) took up the subject of Vietnam again and won for Stone his second Oscar® for Best Director. A powerful film about the loss of national ideals and purpose, rendered through the experiences of a wide-eyed, all-American hero who comes home a disillusioned paraplegic, the film reads as a culminating statement against the war and its pointless sacrifice of a generation of young people. Stone completed his Vietnam trilogy with *Heaven and Earth* (1993), a beautiful and highly stylized portrait of a young Vietnamese woman and her experiences during the war and its aftermath.

With *The Doors* (1991), *Natural Born Killers* (1994), and *Nixon* (1995), Stone extended his stylistic range, which had largely been tied to realist modes of representation, to include an array of subjective, dreamlike devices including disorienting, rapid-fire montage, superimpositions, and elaborate layering of the sound track. In these films, Stone creates an expressionistic portrait of American reality, dramatizing the frenzied, driven, and ultimately self-destructive aspects of American culture. His more recent films, including *Any Given Sunday* (1999) and *Alexander* (2004), represent a departure from the political focus of his major works, which stand among the most provocative and powerful in cinema history.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Salvador (1986), *Platoon* (1986), *Born on the Fourth of July* (1989), *JFK* (1991), *Natural Born Killers* (1994), *Nixon* (1995), *World Trade Center* (2006)

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the Colosseum, the Roman Forum, and an exceptional sense of realism in its gladiator contests. With varying degrees of critical and box-office success, twenty-first-century directors have made more films in the epic genre, including *Troy* (Wolfgang Petersen, 2004), *Alexander* (Stone, 2004), and *The Passion of the Christ* (Gibson, 2004).

THE BIOGRAPHICAL FILM

The biographical film, or biopic, also has a long and distinguished history in world cinema, with several works attaining high status for their critical as well as their commercial success. For example, *The Private Life of Henry VIII* (Alexander Korda, 1933) was the British

Oliver Stone during production of* Alexander *(2004). **© WARNER BROTHERS/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

cinema's first international success; Charles Laughton (1899–1962) won a Best Actor Oscar® for his portrayal of the monarch. The French film *Napoléon* (Abel Gance, 1927) brought a similar sense of national pride to a country whose film industry had been devastated by World War I. Still regarded as one of the most outstanding achievements in the history of the cinema, *Napoléon* was seen as the culmination of the French cinema's rise from near annihilation in 1914. *The Last Emperor* (Bernardo Bertolucci, 1987), which won nine Academy Awards®, was the first film to be shot on location in Beijing's Forbidden City, heralding a more open era in Chinese–Western cultural relations.

The biopic emerged as a recognizable subgenre in the 1930s. The first biopic is generally considered to be the George Arliss (1868–1946) vehicle *Disraeli* (1929), marketed as a Warner Bros. prestige production. Arliss also starred in *Alexander Hamilton* (1931) for Warner Bros. and in *Voltaire* (1933). The commercial and critical accomplishment of these works paved the way for several later Warner Bros. films directed by William Dieterle (1893–1972), including *The Story of Louis Pasteur* (1935), for which Paul Muni (1895–1967) won the Oscar® for Best Actor; *The White Angel* (1936), the story of Florence Nightingale; and *The Life of Emile Zola* (1937) and *Juarez* (1939), both also starring Muni.

Biographical films are often driven by a national, myth-making impulse. *Young Mr. Lincoln* (1939), starring Henry Fonda (1905–1982) in his first film with John Ford (1894–1973), and *Abe Lincoln in Illinois* (1940), starring Raymond Massey (1896–1983), were not so much historical as mythological exercises, as neither film was particularly accurate with regard to the actual events of Lincoln's life nor to his character. Nevertheless, *Young Mr. Lincoln*, in particular, succeeded in elevating Lincoln's early years to the level of national myth.

Eisenstein's *Ivan Groznyy I* (*Ivan the Terrible, Part One*, 1944) focused on an individual protagonist, rather than the collective protagonist of his earlier films, in part to rally the Russian people during World War II by giving them a historical hero who had unified Russia, fought off treachery, and defeated external enemies in the sixteenth century. Unlike his earlier *Aleksandr Nevskiy*

La Prise de pouvoir par Louis XIV *(*The Rise to Power of Louis XIV*, 1966) was one of several historical biographies Roberto Rossellini made for television.* EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

(*Alexander Nevsky*, co-directed by Dmitri Vasilyev, 1938), however, which focused on the story of a thirteenth-century prince who defeated an invading Teutonic army, *Ivan the Terrible, Part One* is less a symbol of the Russian people than a portrait of a fully rounded character, complex and beset by internal conflicts. Although *Ivan the Terrible, Part One* received the Stalin Prize, *Ivan Groznyy II* (*Ivan the Terrible, Part Two*, co-directed by M. Filimonova, 1958) was condemned by Stalin and suppressed. *Ivan the Terrible, Part One* has long been considered one of the most important and original films in world cinema in terms of its formal design; the two parts taken together may also be the first biographical film to explore the darker side of its main character.

As the biopic matured as a form, its subjects became more complex. *Lawrence of Arabia* (David Lean, 1962), starring Peter O'Toole, for example, paints an arresting portrait of its main character that shows him as both heroic and fatally flawed. *Patton* (Franklin Schaffner, 1970) took a similar approach, with George C. Scott (1927–1999) depicting the main character as both a noble warrior and vainglorious egomaniac. The complex and subtle shadings of character that distinguish films such as *Lawrence of Arabia* and *Patton* are also found in later examples of the form. Works such as Bertolucci's *The Last Emperor* and Stone's *Nixon* are distinguished examples of films that take a complicated view of the link between the individual subject and the historical process, refusing to see the individual agent as simply the crystallized expression of historical forces. *Malcolm X* (Spike Lee, 1992) and *Gandhi* (Richard Attenborough, 1982) as well as *Schindler's List*, consider the question that is at the heart of the biographical film: the relationship between the currents and forces of history and the charismatic individual who strives to shape those forces.

THE TOPICAL FILM

Many important historical films center on a particular incident or focus on a specific period rather than on the grand narratives of war, heroic individual action, or the

emergence of a race or nation in the form of the epic. The topical, or period, film is exemplified by such celebrated works as Rossellini's *Rome, Open City* and *Paisan*, *Senso* (Luchino Visconti, 1954), *La Marseillaise* (Jean Renoir, 1938), *Danton* (Andrzej Wajda, 1982), *Gallipoli* (Peter Weir, 1981), and *Titanic* (James Cameron, 1997). Two other notable examples, *Eight Men Out* (1988) and *Matewan* (1987), are the work of the independent filmmaker John Sayles. Commenting on *Matewan*, Sayles explained that, rather than recreate an entire fifteen-year period in American labor history, he focused on the Matewan Massacre, an incident in the mining industry, as one episode that epitomized that period. Similarly, *Eight Men Out*, a film that focuses on the Black Sox scandal of 1919, in which several players conspired to throw the World Series, dug under the surface of the incident to show the period as a moment of cultural transition in which sports, advertising, public relations, gambling, leisure, and mass communications were beginning to transform the nation from an agrarian culture to an urban, commodity-based society.

Other historical films are important for their exactitude of period detail and for their deep understanding of the difference between the past and the present. Such films fully express a cultural order that, organized according to different allegiances and beliefs, has become remote. These include *Le Retour de Martin Guerre* (*The Return of Martin Guerre*, Daniel Vigne, 1982), *Black Robe* (Bruce Beresford, 1991), and *Daughters of the Dust* (Julie Dash, 1991). *Black Robe* centers on the challenges facing Jesuit missionaries in French Canada in the 1600s, in particular the attempt by one young priest to travel to a distressed mission in the Ottawa River Valley, a journey that becomes an ordeal. The film captures the strangeness and sense of otherness that the priest experiences while traveling among the Algonquins who serve as his trading partners and guides, but it also gives us the perspective of the Indians and effectively opens a window onto their cultural sensibility. Each culture is presented to the viewer in its unfiltered strangeness, as it was to the other in 1634.

THE METAHISTORICAL FILM

Certain films can be called metahistorical because they offer embedded or explicit critiques of the way history is conventionally represented. *Courage Under Fire*, for example, employs multiple flashbacks from different points of view to piece together a disputed account of a female air force officer's death. *Walker* (Alex Cox, 1987) brings present-day objects from consumer culture into its collage-like narrative of the nineteenth-century adventurer William Walker, who declared himself emperor of Nicaragua. What these films have in common is the attempt to interrogate the process of historical representation, both written and filmed. *JFK* presents a provocative interpretation of the assassination of John F. Kennedy in a highly charged, polemical style that mixes idioms, splices together documentary and historical footage, and uses montage editing to disorient and "agitate" the viewer in a manner that calls into question accepted interpretations of the past. *Hitler—ein Film aus Deutschland* (*Hitler: A Film from Germany*, also known as *Our Hitler*, Hans-Jürgen Syberberg, 1978) attempts to confront the German amnesia concerning Hitler by rendering the phenomenon of Hitler's rise as a disorienting operatic production, calling to mind the German fascination with and investment in this form. The film's extreme length (seven hours and nine minutes), its use of dolls, dummies, and caricatures—Hitler is portrayed variously as a house painter, Chaplin's Great Dictator, a Frankenstein monster, and Parsifal—underscores the way historical events and characters take on meaning through their representations in the media.

In a very different way, a series of films that Rossellini made for French and Italian television late in his career can also be seen as metahistorical works. In these "history lessons," Rossellini explored the lives and times of various historical personages in a studiously nondramatic, nonpsychologized way. His films *La Prise de pouvoir par Louis XIV* (*The Rise of Louis XIV*, 1966), *Socrate* (*Socrates*, 1970), and *L'Età di Cosimo de Medici* (*The Age of the Medici*, 1973) were made with nonprofessional actors and avoid following the dramatic arc of most fictional historical films. Rossellini attempts to capture the dailiness of life in past historical times, bringing an almost documentary approach to the treatment of the past.

THE COSTUME DRAMA

The costume drama can be distinguished from other variants of the historical film by virtue of its fictional basis. Its plot is most often based on a fictional literary source, and it does not depend on actual historical events as its main focus or framing material. Nevertheless, the costume drama provides many pleasures for viewers, for it often features a sumptuous recreation of a historical period and setting, with the density of detail in the costumes and décor providing a source of sensual pleasure that equates history with emotion and passion. The Gainsborough Studio in the 1940s produced a number of notable costume dramas, including adaptations of literary works such as *The Man in Grey* (1943), *Fanny by Gaslight* (1944), and *The Wicked Lady* (1945).

Costume dramas such as *The Mask of Zorro* (1998) and *Dangerous Liaisons* (1988) employ historical settings for their aesthetic value, allowing the viewer to become a

voyeur of the past. Historical films in general appeal to this emotional, voyeuristic interest on the part of the spectator, but the costume film allows its fullest expression, untrammeled by the sociopolitical conflicts that dominate the plots of films that deal with actual historical events.

THE DOCUDRAMA

The docudrama, another type of visual narrative dealing with the past, has gained a significant place in television broadcasting, with such well-known titles as *Brian's Song* (1971), *Roots* (1977), and *Everybody's Baby: The Rescue of Jessica McClure* (1989). The genre in its original form combined documentary and drama, categories usually conceived as separate. According to Janet Staiger, the docudrama derives from the early US television program *You Are There* (1953–1957), which featured staged interviews with actors representing the actual participants in historical events, such as the conquest of Mexico. The "you are there" form, however, has fallen into disuse, and most docudramas employ mainstream forms of dramatic representation and apply them to historical events. They combine fictional narrative techniques with an explicit claim to record or report "reality," a characteristic of television broadcasting in general. In blending narrative and documentary style, the docudrama sets forth a moral view of reality, an ethical response to the "real world," which is initially presented as disordered and irrational.

CONCLUSION

The historical film emerged as a strong genre form very early in cinema history and has renewed itself many times over the course of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first. Although the world of the past is its subject, the genre is often in the vanguard in terms of visual style and cinematic technique. The dramatic, compelling portraits of the past that are brought to life in the historical film have made it one of the most prestigious as well as one of the most controversial genres in film. It provides both a lens onto the past, which it frequently recreates with exquisite attention to detail and period style, while also reflecting the cultural sensibility of the period in which it was made. Above all, the historical film provides an emotional connection to history in a way that foregrounds the power and importance of the past in shaping the cultural imaginary in the present.

SEE ALSO *Biography; Epic Films; Genre; Melodrama; Vietnam War; War Films; World War I; World War II*

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Robert Burgoyne

HOLOCAUST

Holocaust films narrate or document the persecution and genocide of Jews and others under the Nazi Third Reich of Adolf Hitler (1933–1945). From the 1935 Nuremberg Laws that excluded Jews from citizenship of the Reich, to the 9 November 1938 *Kristellnacht* attacks on Jews, their synagogues, and their businesses, to the 1941 Wannsee meeting at which Nazis planned the final solution, to the rounding up of Jews not only in Germany but in all German occupied territory, to the operation of the Nazi death camps and other acts of mass murder, these most tragic and traumatic events in modern history constitute the Holocaust, or as it is also called, the Shoah.

REPRESENTATION AND THE HOLOCAUST

Ever since the appearance of Steven Spielberg's (b. 1946) *Schindler's List* (1993), only eight years after Claude Lanzmann's (b. 1925) *Shoah* (1985), these two films have come to represent the polarities in a debate on how cinema should tell stories about the Holocaust. Lanzmann's film gathers first-person reports that center on the process of systematic arrest, transport, internment, and annihilation of Europe's Jewish population; it eschews dramatization in favor of the setting of these interviews against the contemporary landscapes at the sites in which the tragic events took place. It strategically refuses to recreate past horrors except through verbal tellings, so that the visual in this film rests only on the speakers and on landscapes that are otherwise silent about the events that once occurred there.

These contemporary landscapes mark the terrain of a refusal to fill an absence, a refusal to take us back to a history that in its magnitude exceeds any examples that would partially serve to represent it. The Shoah must be unrepresentable, beyond figuration, beyond parable, or even symbolization. Yet *Shoah* is a documentary concerned with documents, and with oral history as a form of documentation. Its goal is to highlight the alibis that can distort historical memory, that can allow populations to deny the Shoah. Lanzmann's interviews cover some material already recorded in histories, such as Vrba's testimony. To hear such testimony directly, presented with all its emotional weight for the victims, is newly compelling. The secretly recorded interviews with former Nazis need to be heard in the context of the victims' interviews, to hear in contrast the emotional withdrawal and denial that occurred, especially vivid when the former Nazis report facts that coincide with the victims' accounts. The interviews with Polish peasants and workers reveal not only anti-Semitism and complicity in the past, but lingering anti-Semitism embedded within their narratives. Chillingly, the brunt of this anti-Semitism is steeped in Christian references; the cultural framework through which they view Jews has not changed.

Schindler's List, by contrast, fictionally amplifies a fragment of Holocaust history for emotional affect. In flamboyant *mise-en-scène* and camerawork often reminiscent of Orson Welles's *Citizen Kane* (1941), Spielberg employs the tropes of Hollywood filmmaking to frame an individual act of resistance on the part of one-time Nazi sympathizer Oskar Schindler (Liam Neeson) to save the Jewish slave laborers he employed at his armament factory. However late in the war and perhaps self-interested his acts might have been, the film highlights his conversion into hero. Enfolded within this story, images of

deportation and a death camp give us the backdrop of the cataclysmic events that surrounded Schindler's Jews, yet even this aspect remains controversial for certain misleading representations. One such instance is a concentration camp shower sequence that the prisoners fear will be a gassing, but it turns out in this case to be only a shower. The sequence is disturbing for how it conforms, however temporarily, to Holocaust denials. *Schindler's List* met with some critical disdain not only for such narrative moments, but also for the melodramatic style used to connect to a mass audience.

These cornerstones of recent Holocaust representation follow many other documentaries and fiction films that have told various aspects of Holocaust history. The long history of both documentaries and fiction films has a cumulative resonance. The Holocaust as historical trauma that took place at so many different locales and created so many specific and individual tragedies, has not one story to tell, but many.

Alain Resnais's (b. 1922) *Nuit et brouillard* (*Night and Fog*, 1955), filmed at Auschwitz, features a voice-over essay by survivor Jean Cayrol in montage with black-and-white documentary images (both those the Germans took to document their atrocities and those liberators took as evidence) and Resnais's evocative color footage of the deserted remains of the camp. Some of the documentary footage was first shown at the Nuremburg trials and would later be featured in *Judgment at Nuremburg* (1961) by Stanley Kramer (1913–2001). In Resnais's film, it is presented with bitter irony as the film strives for both a poetic discourse and reflexively addresses the dynamic of witnessing itself. Controversially, it does not focus on Jewish annihilation (Cayrol was a Catholic victim), but it is haunting philosophical commentary on evil and responsibility.

Die Mörder sind unter uns (*Murderers Among Us*, 1946), a German film made in the Soviet-controlled sector of Berlin, may be the first fiction film about the Holocaust. A survivor of the camps, again a Catholic, returns to her apartment only to find that she must share it with the former Nazi soldier who now occupies it. The film's title accuses the guilty, but its narrative works to expiate guilt and offer redemption, strategies that fit a communist agenda for the construction of what would become the German Democratic Republic.

In contrast, it was not until *The Diary of Anne Frank* (1959), directed by George Stevens, that a US filmmaker produced a major feature about the Holocaust. Adapted from the Broadway hit, the film garnered three Academy Awards® and was nominated for five others, including Best Picture and Best Director. Capturing the tension of hiding from the Nazis in an Amsterdam attic, the film also works as a serious family drama about intergenerational conflicts and coming of age, although this aspect, found in Anne Frank's original diary, led some to argue that American filmmakers could only approach the Holocaust in terms that were familiar to families of the 1950s.

East European Jewish survivors were able to write and to film Holocaust narratives for their State industries, with Poland and Czechoslovakia providing particularly stunning works. For example, *Obchod na korze* (*The Shop on Main Street*, Ján Kadár, 1965) employs a surrealist sensibility to present Slovak townspeople welcoming the Nazis. A microcosmic look at how economic gain can combine with prejudice to engender a Holocaust, the film is set in a dry goods store run by an aged Jewish widow, played by Yiddish theater star Ida Kaminska (1899–1980). *Pasazenka* (*The Passenger*, Andrzej Munk) is another superb film, completed in Poland in 1963, after the filmmaker's untimely death. When a Polish Auschwitz-Birkinau survivor recognizes a German woman on a passenger ship as her former captor, the film's main story enfolds in flashbacks to the camp. Through its calm, complicit witnessing, similar to that of *Shoah*, this film effectively portrays mass murder in the banal guise of a day's work.

Perhaps influenced by some of this fine European work, Sidney Lumet (b. 1924) made *The Pawnbroker* (1964) from a novel by Edward Lewis Wallant. This film takes a stunning look at the Holocaust trauma of survivor Sol Nazerman (Rod Steiger), once a professor of history in Germany (Poland in the novel), now a pawnbroker in New York, whose memories intersperse the narrative. He recalls an incident from the camp in which an escaped prisoner, Nazerman's friend, who has been tracked down by the German guards and their dogs, is tortured and killed in front of the other prisoners. Another flashback memory shows Nazerman's wife being forced to service Nazi soldiers, a memory evoked by a black prostitute's offering her services to him at his pawnshop. Such associative montages set up a metaphoric parallel between the concentration camp and urban poverty, as well as explore the nature of a survivor's guilt and trauma.

American television has played an important role in representing the Holocaust, notably with the mini-series *Holocaust* (1978) and *Playing for Time* (Daniel Mann, 1980). Melodramatic tropes structure *Holocaust*, as they do *Schindler's List*, but the earlier television serial tries to give a more extensive view of different localities of the Holocaust. By following various members of a Jewish family named Weiss and interweaving their stories with a German lawyer, Eric Dorf, who eventually joins the SS, throughout Hitler's reign in Germany, the serial interweaves victims' and perpetrators' perspectives. Only one of the Weiss's sons survives World War II, while the fate

of the other family members allows the multi-part drama to portray the Warsaw ghetto and three different camps: Auschwitz, Buchenwald, and Terezienstadt. Such multiple-perspective mechanisms are repeated in another television serial, *The Winds of War* (1983), directed by Dan Curtis (1927–2006) and adapted by Herman Wouk from his novel, as well as by its sequel, *War and Remembrance* (1988), again by Curtis and Wouk. Across the two serial works (1,600 minutes in total), we follow Jewish characters who become Holocaust victims, Natalie Jastrow-Henry and her uncle Aaron Jastrow (both played by different actors in the second series—Ali McGraw then Jane Seymour, John Houseman then John Gielgud). Later films, such as *Sunshine* (István Szabó, 1999), used a family melodrama to narrate different perspectives on a sweep of history. Arthur Miller (1915–2005) adapted the autobiography of Fania Fénelon, a member of the Auschwitz prisoners' orchestra, for the TV movie *Playing for Time*. Scenes of an orchestra also appear in *The Passenger*; both films use the existence of the orchestra to underscore the horrendous cultural contradictions in Nazi ideology and practice. These films highlight the ways appreciation of classical music (the Nazis established five orchestras in Auschwitz alone, and each camp had its performing ensembles) coexisted with the ability to commit atrocities, thus underscoring that Western cultural values did not foreclose barbarism. They also highlight the dilemma of the cultural Kapo, the performers who, like the Jewish concentration camp workers, were allowed to live while others died. Against their will, the Kapo were forced to contribute to the running of the camp, to become complicit in genocide. *Playing for Time* dramatizes the anguish of this treacherous position.

Many documentaries, including numerous Academy award winners, have chronicled many aspects of the Holocaust. *Let My People Go* (John Krish, 1961) treats the liberation of the camps, as does *Ihr zent frei* (Dea Brokman and Ilene Landis, 1983). *Genocide* (Arnold Schwartzman, 1981) attempts a comprehensive overview by combining still images and clips with letters and memoirs read as voice-over. *The Long Way Home* (1997) by Mark Jonathan Harris (b. 1941) looks at postwar Jewish refugees. His *Into the Arms of Strangers: Stories of the Kindertransport* (2000) joins a more personal retelling in Melissa Hacker's *My Knees Were Jumping: Remembering the Kindertransports* (1996), about the Jewish children sent to Britain in order to survive.

RECENT HOLOCAUST FILMS

With all the controversy surrounding Holocaust dramas, it is no wonder that a Holocaust comedy whose second half is set in a concentration camp, Roberto Benigni's (b. 1952) *La Vita è bella* (*Life is Beautiful*, 1997), evoked bitter criticism. The film has been likened to the satire in Charlie Chaplin's *The Great Dictator* (1940), although the context through which Chaplin's deflation of Hitler earned its acclaim differs. A scene early in the film in which the hero, Guido (Benigni), comically disrupts a fascist classroom in particular merits the comparison. Like *Schindler's List*, *Life is Beautiful* tries to wrench from the Holocaust context an uplifting narrative of survival and redemption, here specifically by focusing on the extended conceit of a father shielding his son from the horrors of their exportation from Ferrara and internment in a concentration camp by spinning innocent fantasy explanations for horrible events. The film works best as a fantasy because such a shielding would never have been possible, and the truth of the Shoah is that even young children in the camps knew the pain of their existence all too well. To follow this film, one must grant it its moment-to-moment ironies, as each new atrocious aspect becomes a comic fantasy. Whether or not one finds such irony compelling, a fascinating image appears at the end of the film, after the liberation: father and son rejoin the wife on a hill, symbolically reclaiming the land.

In an Italian cultural context, the film can be seen as celebrating Italian Jewish survivors. For Italy, like France, offers a different setting for Holocaust films, one with questions specific to national cultural history. American audiences embraced, but sometimes misunderstood aspects of an earlier Italian film about the Holocaust, Vittorio De Sica's (1901–1974) *Il Giardino dei Finzi-Contini* (*The Garden of the Finzi Continis*, 1970), adapted for the screen by Giorgio Bassani from his important novel, set in his hometown, Ferrara, Italy. The film focuses on an upper-class family in Ferrara, who under the rise of Italian fascism retreat to their enclosed villa, yet where they entertain a few close friends with tennis and social gatherings. Many wondered about the depiction of Jews as upper-class blonds, ignoring the specificity that the film and the novel before it address Jewish assimilation in Northern Italy. The film traces the arrest and deportation of the family along with other Jews. The garden of the title represents the passivity of this family of means, living too long in denial.

Roman Polanski's (b. 1933) *The Pianist* (2002), adapted by Ronald Harwood from Wladyslaw Szpilman's autobiography, masterfully witnesses the Holocaust from hiding. It tells the story of an accomplished musician who becomes subject to the Nazi anti-Jewish laws. Szpilman (Adrien Brody) and his family are forced to move to the Jewish ghetto of Warsaw, and when his family is deported to a death camp, Szpilman is sent to a German forced labor compound. He witnesses the Warsaw ghetto uprising in 1943,

Adrien Brody in Roman Polanksi's* Le Pianiste *(*The Pianist*, 2002). © FOCUS FEATURES/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

followed by the revolt throughout the city begun in August 1944. In an encounter between Szpilman and a Nazi officer among the ruins of one of his hideouts shortly before the Nazi defeat in Poland, the officer begs him to play once more—and lets him live—a sign of the officer's own alienation.

The return of music at the end of *The Pianist* is an example of a trend in some recent Holocaust films to emphasize the return to decency after the depraved onslaught of barbarity. These recent endings contrast with those especially of earlier East European Holocaust films, such as Andrzej Wajda's (b. 1926) *Kanal* (1957), about Warsaw's resistance. This shift cannot just be assumed to come from the passage of time alone, for the pressure of commercial distribution to a contemporary world market weighed on Polanski in ways that were not a factor for his compatriot Wajda. It is striking that Polanski, himself a Holocaust survivor as a child, returned to Poland to tell this story, finally, at this late stage in his career, thus releasing his survivor pain.

SEE ALSO *World War II*

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Maureen Turim

HONG KONG

Hong Kong cinema is shaped by two major factors—geographical location and politics. As a major port and trading center, Hong Kong was the first Chinese city exposed to the invention of cinema. During the "Chinese war against Japanese aggression" (World War II), due to its geographical marginality from China, Hong Kong became the wartime filmmaking capital. Hong Kong's British colonial status also protected it from the subsequent Chinese civil war and the eventual takeover of mainland China by the Communist Party in 1949. The subsequent exodus of money and talents from the mainland provided the base for a permanent filmmaking capital. In the 1980s, after the Sino-British Joint Declaration affirmed the coming (1997) reunification of Hong Kong with China, anxiety permeated the political climate, and Hong Kong cinema, which had established its own subjectivity, found itself in crisis. The new challenge became the process of internationalization, which has required a commercial strategy for combating global competition and a political position to fend off interference from China.

EARLY CINEMA: 1896–1923

According to Hong Kong film historian Yu Mo Wan, among all Chinese societies (the China mainland, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the diasporic communities overseas), Hong Kong was the first to encounter cinema. During early 1896 the Lumière brothers came to Hong Kong to shoot *actualités*—scenes of city life—thus marking the beginning of cinema in China. Later that year the Edison Company also came to shoot film in both Hong Kong and Shanghai, and it edited the footage to form two films, *Shanghai Police* and *Hong Kong Street Scenes*. Their exhibitions were the first commercial screenings in Hong Kong and Shanghai.

Between 1896 and 1903 all film activities (production and exhibition) in Hong Kong were carried out by Westerners. Short films, which came mostly from the United States, were shown in open spaces beside crowded markets. But the rainy weather of Hong Kong proved too much of a challenge, and soon screenings were moved indoors to restaurants and Cantonese opera houses. In 1901 Hong Kong opened its first nickelodeon, He Lio Garden (Joy Garden), a few years ahead of the opening of a similar theater in Shanghai.

Most film scholars take 1909 as the real beginning of Hong Kong cinema. That year saw the first (Hong Kong) Chinese-directed narrative film, *Tou Shao Ya* (Stealing the Roasted Duck), a comedy about a poor man who steals a roasted duck from its plump owner and is eventually caught by the police. It was produced by the Asia Motion Picture Company (headquartered in Shanghai and owned by the American Benjamin Polaski), directed by Leung Sui Bor, and shot in Hong Kong. In 1913 Polaski met another Hong Kong Chinese, Li Man Wei (1893–1953), and together they formed the Wah-Mei (China-US) Production Company. Li would later become the "father" of Hong Kong Cinema.

In 1923 Li, along with his friend Leung Sui Bor, his cousin Li Hai Tsan, and his brother Li Pei Hai, formed the first Hong Kong Chinese-owned production company, Man Sun (Minxin) Motion Picture Production Company. A few years later, he built theaters and studios, thus setting up vertical integration, a complete (albeit unstable, because of the politics of China) infrastructure

Wong Kar Wei. © WARNER INDEPENDENT PICTURES/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

for film production. With Man Sun as a model, smaller film companies rapidly formed. Between 1930 and 1937, the eve of the Japanese invasion of China, some fifty small film companies were making Cantonese films and screening them in Hong Kong, Macau, southern China, Malaya, Singapore, the Philippines, and Chinatowns in Australia, the United States, and Canada. Most of these films were genre movies made with shoestring budgets: comedies, dramas, swordplay epics, and Cantonese operas. Many of these small companies survived for no more than one or two films.

WARTIME AND POSTWAR CINEMA

The Japanese bombed Shanghai in 1932, disrupting film production. By 1937 the film industry in China dispersed from Shanghai to Chungking (the wartime capital) and Hong Kong. Between 1933 and 1941 four hundred Cantonese films were made in Hong Kong, many with patriotic themes. When the Japanese occupied Hong Kong in 1941 production abruptly ceased, though the screening of films, mostly American, continued. By 1943 the occupying Japanese formed a coalition and began to make pro-Japan films without the participation of Hong Kong film companies.

Immediately after World War II ended the Great China Film Company, which had existed before the war, resumed filmmaking in both Cantonese and Mandarin. One year later, a new company, Yung Wah (Yonghua), was formed by a rich, well-educated film enthusiast, Lee Tsu Wing from Shanghai. Yung Wah made Mandarin films that were lavishly supported by money, stars, and directors from Shanghai. Among them were the excellent actresses Li Li-Wah and Lin Dai, and directors Li Han Hsiang (Li Hanxiang; 1926–1996) and Chiang Nam. All of these talents stayed in Hong Kong after the collapse of the company in the early 1950s and became the core group of filmmakers for the later, dominant Shaw Brothers company. Yung Wah's first film, *Guo hun* (*Soul of China*, 1948), was a box-office success. It was directed by Shanghai's Po Man Chun, who later would become one of the most important directors in Chinese film history. In contrast, Cantonese films were made with much less money by smaller companies, and the quality was usually poor.

During this time, a number of left-wing filmmakers came from China to Hong Kong to make films, includ-

WONG KAR WEI
b. Shanghai, China, 1958

Among the Hong Kong New Wave filmmakers, Wong Kar Wei is perhaps the most celebrated by critics. He is a winner of many awards, including a best director award at the Cannes Film Festival for *Chun guang zha xie* (*Happy Together*, 1997). Wong's films are usually narrated by characters' internal monologues, which creates a seemingly haphazard, fragmented postmodern style. They reflect modern living, urban alienation, lost opportunities, transient love relationships, and acute melancholy.

At the age of five Wong and his parents moved to Hong Kong from Shanghai. Since he could not speak the local (Cantonese) dialect, his first few years were spent going to movie houses, which later became his obsession. Upon graduating from Hong Kong Polytechnic, where he studied graphic design, he joined TVB, the most popular local TV production and broadcasting channel at the time, becoming a scriptwriter for TV drama series. The popular TV soap opera series "Don't Look Now" ("Ge Dou Bou," 1982), of which Wong was one of the major writers, attracted quite a bit of attention at the time because of its unusual story. Wong started his film career as a scriptwriter, making his directorial debut with *Wang jiao ka men* (*As Tears Go By*, 1988), which was shown during the critics week at the Cannes Film Festival in 1989. It was unique in its untraditional narrative structure and visual style.

His second film, *A Fei zheng zhuan* (*Days of Being Wild*, 1991), marked the beginning of his long-term partnership with cinematographer Christopher Doyle. It is set in the 1960s, a period that continued to attract Wong in his later films. Although *Days* won five Hong Kong Film Awards, including for best film and best director, its unfamiliar style and story (or, for some, lack thereof) led to its box-office failure. Four years later, Wong tried his hand at a period martial-arts genre film, *Dong xie xi du* (*Ashes of Time*, 1994). During a break from the frustrating production of this film Wong made a quickie, *Chong qing sen lin* (*Chungking Express*, 1994), essentially a prank of two consecutive love stories in which no one seems to get it right. The film, which was endorsed by Quentin Tarantino but was reluctantly distributed by Miramax, soon became a cult film in the United States and Europe, and it raised Wong to auteur status.

Wong works with the same crew and cast (mostly superstars such as Tony Leung, Maggie Cheung, and Andy Lau) for most of his films. His work is marked by mesmerizing visuals that draw attention to themselves and refuse any deep historical reading. His images almost always reside in the contemporary time period even when they are images of the past. Using the strengths of Doyle, whose hand-held camera effectively translates light and shadow into mood and style, Wong's films are about lost moments that sink deeply into one's emotional memory, a (lost) past filtered through the desire of the present. Thus, *Days of Being Wild* is a memory of the 1960s constructed through the experience of modern living in the 1980s, *Chungking Express* is about the 1970s imagined from the metropolitan view of the 1990s, and *Happy Together* is an old-style romance conducted through the culture of twenty-first-century global migration.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Wang jiao ka men (*As Tears Go By*, 1988), *A Fei zheng zhuan* (*Days of Being Wild*, 1991), *Chong qing sen lin* (*Chungking Express*, 1994), *Chun guang zha xie* (*Happy Together*, 1997), *Hua yang nain hua* (*In the Mood for Love*, 2000), *2046* (2004)

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ing the well-known directors Tsoi Chu San, Hsieh Tung San, Pai Yen, and Oa Lin. Among some of their works were *Wild Fire and Spring Wind* (*Ye Huo Chun Feng*, 1948) and *Floating Family* (*Fu Zhai*, 1949).

After 1949, the shipping tycoon Loke Wan To began to pay attention to Hong Kong. Loke's Cathay Organization (headquartered in Singapore), which already controlled the entertainment industries in

Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak, and Brunei, began to buy up theaters in Hong Kong. Later, Loke set up Cathay Film Production in Hong Kong, and was able to dominate the domestic industry between 1957 and 1961. After Loke was killed in a plane crash in 1964, his rival Run Run Shaw soon gained the upper hand.

THE SHAW (MANDARIN) EMPIRE

In 1934, largely due to the unstable political situation in China, the second son of the Shaw family, Runde, had been sent to Hong Kong to set up a branch of Tin Yat, Shaw's film company in Shanghai. From the late 1930s until the Japanese occupation of Hong Kong, a good number of Cantonese films were produced in Tin Yat's Nan Yang Studios, including such classics as *The Tearful Bauhinia* (*Qi Jing Hua*, 1934), *I Have Wronged My Loved One* (*Ge Ge Wo Fu Ni*, 1935), and *Poison Rose* (*Du Mei Gui*, 1935).

In 1954 Cathay (Wah Mou) and Yung Wah, the two biggest companies at the time, were busy building big studios, and preparing even bigger budgets and more lavish (Mandarin) films. (Yung Wah soon went bankrupt, having lost the China market due to ideological clashes with the Communists.) Meanwhile, Runde's company, now called Shaw and Sons, had only two Mandarin directors, Li Han Hsiang (1926–1996) and Ho Meng Wah. Furthermore, he sold the Nam Yang studios and did not do much with his new project, the Clear Water Bay studio construction. Seeing no promising plan from Runde, in 1958 younger brother Run Run Shaw (b. 1907) left Singapore for Hong Kong and became the managing director of the company. He immediately planned for twenty Mandarin films and twelve Cantonese films, and began the construction of the Clear Water Bay studio complex, clearly preparing for serious competition with Lee and Loke. But the swift action of Run Run was not appreciated by Runde, who took over the company again while Run Run started another company, Shaw Brothers (SB). The inaugural film of Shaw Brothers was *Jiang shan mei ren* (*Kingdom and the Beauty*, 1959), directed by Li Han Hsiang and starring Lin Dai (1934–1964), who later became the biggest female star in Hong Kong cinema history. This mega-budget (Mandarin) film was a colossal success, establishing the dominance of Shaw Brothers. By 1961 Run Run Shaw had completed Clear Water Bay (which was run by a staff of close to two thousand), bought up theater chains, built up his star system, established an acting school, and set up technician-training classes. In doing so, he became the first and only person to ever have full control of every aspect of filmmaking in Hong Kong.

During this time and until the 1970s Mandarin films were mainstream. The large population of Chinese refugees who fled the Communist rule in the mainland constituted the majority of the audience. They favored nostalgic stories of their homeland and did not mind—indeed, some preferred—the use of Mandarin in their films. Furthermore, many of the filmmakers themselves were from the mainland, so Mandarin was also their preferred dialect. With strong financial backing from both previously wealthy Shanghai families and the nationalist government in Taiwan, as well as strong talent, Mandarin cinema prevailed even in this Cantonese-speaking community. Some of the classics of the time included *Bu liao qing* (*Love Without End*, 1960), *Liang shan ba yu zhu ying tai* (*Love Eterne*, 1963), *Dubei dao* (*One-Armed Swordsman*, 1967), *Long men ke zhen* (*Dragon Gate Inn*, 1966), and *Hsia nu* (*A Touch of Zen*, 1969). The key directors of the time included Li Han Hsiang, Chang Cheh (1923–2002), and King Hu (1931–1997), with Li being the most versatile in making films in several genres.

Even though Run Run Shaw was a hardworking and insightful leader, his accomplishments owed much to his right-hand man of twenty years, Raymond Chow (b. 1929), who left Shaw in 1970 to form his own company, Golden Harvest. Chow, who was well educated, had a different management style: instead of tight personal control in the manner of Run Run Shaw, Chow adopted a more hands-off approach. Chow's new company became competitive with Shaw when it formed a distribution partnership with Cathay and later contracted Bruce Lee (1940–1973) as its major actor. Its first success was Bruce Lee's *Tang shan da xiong* (*The Big Boss*, 1971). With the sudden death of Lee in 1973, Golden Harvest declined until the arrival of a rising star, the social satirist Michael Hui (b. 1942). In 1974 Hui's wildly popular comedy *Gui ma shuang xing* (*Games Gamblers Play*) proved to be a forerunner of the Hong Kong New Wave. From then on, Golden Harvest was Hong Kong's dominant production house, forming partnerships with US studios and international distributors, including Columbia Tristar and New Line Cinema. Golden Harvest was also successful in its international productions, with box-office hits such as *Enter the Dragon* (1973), *Cannonball Run* (1980), and the *Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles* television series (1990–1993). It also produced almost all of the films featuring Jackie Chan (b. 1954) during the 1980s and 1990s.

HONG KONG NEW WAVE: 1979–1984

The Hong Kong New Wave burst onto the international film scene in 1979. During the late 1970s the film industry in Hong Kong suffered a serious decline in audience numbers, largely due to the popularization of television. Most studios were desperate to find solutions

***Maggie Cheung and Tony Leung in Wong Kar Wei's international hit,* Hua yang nain hua *(*In the Mood for Love*, 2000*).**
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and therefore were willing to innovate. In addition, a new class of nouveau riche formed during the economic take-off of the 1970s were interested in investing in the film industry. Thus, between 1979 and 1980 about thirty to forty new directors made their debuts. All of their films used Cantonese, and many were technically superior to earlier films made by the established studios, and more contemporary in style and theme. Important examples include *Feng jie* (*The Secret*, Ann Hui, 1979), *Liang zhu* (*Butterfly Murders*, Tsui Hark, 1979), *Ming jian* (*The Sword*, Patrick Tam, 1980), and *Fu zi qing* (*Father and Son*, Allen Fong, 1981). Although these films are generically and stylistically heterogenous, one common characteristic of these New Wave films was that they shared a "Hong Kong–centered" sensibility, unlike the films of their refugee predecessors, who had taken Hong Kong as a temporary residence before their final return to China. This generation that grew up in Hong Kong fundamentally changed the look and the nature of its cinema.

Many New Wave productions were creative explorations of social issues and cinematic traditions, but not all were commercially successful. For instance, after several commercial failures Tsui Hark (b. 1950), one of the leading directors of the New Wave, found himself working for a newly formed commercial studio, Cinema City Company, which specialized in combining action with comedy. Its style combined glamorous visuals, fast editing, and modern urban settings. By using big budgets, big casts, and extensive packaging and publicity, it quickly rose to the top in the 1980s. Among its most successful hits were *Zuijia Paidang* (*Aces Go Places*, 1982) and its four sequels. New successful production houses such as Cinema City began to replace the old studio system of Shaw Brothers, which officially closed down production in 1986. Since then the financing of films usually have come from one of the three companies—Golden Harvest, Golden Princess (financier of Cinema City), and D&B Company—which control both production and distribution.

Because industry financing came from a small number of companies, it is not surprising that the New Wave's freedom from strict commercial demands would be short-lived. By the mid-1980s a "Second Wave" was taking shape, working more within the confines of the commercial system while continuing the technological

advances and the social sensibility of the First Wave. The Second Wave was composed of some of the New Wave directors such as Tsui Hark, Yim Ho (b. 1952), and Ann Hui (b. 1947), as well as younger directors such as Mabel Cheung (b. 1950), Clara Law (b. 1957), and Wong Kar Wei (b. 1958). Second Wave films dealt with contemporary issues, particularly those related to the 1997 reunification of Hong Kong with China. Like their First Wave predecessors, many of the Second Wave's works were shown on the international festival circuit, at the Cannes Film Festival, New York Film Festival, and Tokyo International Film Festival. Some major works of this period include *Center Stage* (*Ruan Linguy*, 1992), by Stanley Kwan (b. 1957) and *Floating Life* (*Fu Sheung*, 1996), by Clara Law. Many of its popular productions, such as the *Aces Goes Places* series, beat Hollywood films at the domestic box office. During this time, Hong Kong films dominated the markets of Korea, Japan, Taiwan, and mainland China.

THE CHALLENGE OF GLOBALIZATION

Prompted by anxiety over the imminent 1997 reunification with China, a significant number of Hong Kong's film producers, directors, scriptwriters, actors, and actresses emigrated throughout the 1980s and early 1990s. Some were drained by Hollywood, but many simply gave up their careers. In addition to talent loss, Hong Kong suffered a serious economic downturn during the 1990s, and even the bigger studios such as Golden Harvest were affected. As well, pirated tapes, VCDs, and DVDs flooded the local market. By 1999 audience attendance had hit bottom; the only films that attracted a wide market were Hollywood blockbusters such as *The Lion King* (1994) and *Titanic* (1998).

At the same time, the commercial potential of Hong Kong cinema drew international attention. The success of *Ying xiong ben se* (*A Better Tomorrow*, 1986) by John Woo (b. 1946) in the United States had a lasting impact, popularizing Chinese kung fu in American action movies. Since then, many Hong Kong films have been shown in mainstream (versus art) cinemas in the United States. Directors such as John Woo and Tsui Hark, and actors such as Jackie Chan, Chow Yun-fat (b. 1955), and Jet Li (b. 1963) frequently work in Hollywood on films for global distribution. Chan's *Ngo si sui* (*Who Am I?*, 1998), for example, attempts to connect Hong Kong with the international community in its action-packed story involving a transnational mafia, the CIA, and locations in Africa and Amsterdam. Like many other films made during the 1990s, it also considers the question of identity, but seeks to answer it through a superficial connection with global communities. Since then, Chan has continued to build his world cinema either through local producers, with Hollywood financing (*Rush Hour*, 1998), or by coproduction (*Bor lei jun* [*Gorgeous*], 1999, and *Shanghai Noon*, 2000). Since the late 1990s and early 2000s, coproduction became increasingly necessary, for financing and to facilitate world distribution.

Amidst the gangster fantasies, ghost stories, and absurd comedies (especially those by the popular comedian Stephen Chow [b. 1962]) of the 1990s and 2000s, there were a number of important realist films made by a little-known loner, Fruit Chan (b. 1959), the first and arguably the only independent feature filmmaker of the period. *Xianggang zhizao* (*Made in Hong Kong*, 1997), *Qu nian yan hua te bie duo* (*The Longest Summer*, 1998), and *Liulian piao piao* (*Durian Durian*, 2000) have neither big action nor big stars, but their observations of the lives of ordinary Hong Kong citizens is poignant. The significance of these films for independent filmmaking, which was previously almost absent in Hong Kong, is still unknown. Major companies such as Golden Harvest and other production houses founded in the 1980s are still trying to find ways to adapt to the challenges of the twenty-first century.

SEE ALSO *China; Martial Arts Films; National Cinema*

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HORROR FILMS

Horror films take as their focus that which frightens us: the mysterious and unknown, death and bodily violation, and loss of identity. They aim to elicit responses of fear or revulsion from their audience, whether through suggestion and the creation of mood or by graphic representation. Horror paradoxically provides pleasure, providing a controlled response of fear that is presumably cathartic. Stories of fear and the unknown are timeless, no doubt beginning around the prehistoric campfire. It is around such a fire on the beach at night that John Houseman dramatically recounts the scary legend of Antonio Bay to the engrossed children in the opening of John Carpenter's *The Fog* (1980). With roots in such precinematic forms as medieval woodcuts, Grand Guignol theater, and the gothic novel, the genre has been popular since the beginning of cinema, as evidenced by the fantastic films of Georges Méliès from the first years of the twentieth century. Many of Méliès's short trick films dealt with monsters (a dervish in *Le Monstre*, 1903), ghosts (*Le Revenant, 1903*), magic (*La statue animée*, 1903), and the devil (*Les trésors de Satan*, 1902)—subjects that were to become central to the genre as it developed over time.

Horror films address both universal fears and cultural ones, exploiting timeless themes of violence, death, sexuality, and our own beastly inner nature, as well as more topical fears such as atomic radiation in the 1950s and environmental contamination in the 1970s and 1980s. As Stephen King observes, horror "is extremely limber, extremely adaptable, extremely *useful*" (p. 81). Horror addresses that which is universally taboo or abject but also responds to historically specific concerns. Both kinds of fears are addressed by the main categories of horror, as Roy Huss and T. J. Ross usefully group them: gothic horror, monster terror (overlapping here with science fiction), and psychological thriller. Because horror provides us with manageable experiences of fear, it is one of the most sustained of film genres, as popular today as it has ever been.

EARLY HISTORY

Unlike such genres as the musical and the gangster film, which had to wait for the development of sound, horror movies were an important genre in the silent era. Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818) was filmed as early as 1910, and in France, Louis Feuillade's serial *Les Vampires* (1915–1916) made use of earlier narratives with female vampires. Audiences were familiar enough with horror conventions that by 1927 they were being parodied in *The Cat and the Canary*.

The first significant cycle of horror films appeared in German expressionist cinema, a movement that began with the influential *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari* (*The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*, 1920), directed by Robert Wiene. Its plot involves an evil mesmerist who forces a somnambulist to commit murder. Designed by expressionist artists Hermann Warm, Walter Reiman, and Walter Röhrig, the film contains almost no right angles in its distorted buildings and streets; shadows were painted directly on the walls and floors rather than created by lighting, and the make-up and acting are deliberately stylized. The film's design visualizes the madness of the inmate in the insane asylum who narrates the story. *Caligari* was a significant international hit and inspired the many films to follow.

A specific period or movement of German silent cinema in the 1920s, German expressionism eschewed realism in favor of projecting onto the exterior world abstract representations of intense inner emotion, whether of characters in the narrative or of the artists themselves. Characteristic techniques of German expressionist cinema include an emphasis on extreme angles, chiaroscuro lighting, distorting lenses or sets, and stylized acting and makeup. The films were shot mostly in the studio, many at Universum Film Aktiengesellschaft (Ufa, the largest studio in the country), with an artificial look that deliberately sought to exclude the natural world. Thus German expressionism was a style ideally suited to the horror film, and many of the films dealt with the popular horror themes of psychological breakdown and madness and the supernatural, including *Der Golem, wie er in die Welt kam* (*The Golem: How He Came into the World*, 1920); *Der Müde Tod* (*The Weary Death*, also known as *Between Two Worlds*, 1921); *Nosferatu, eine Symphonie des Grauens* (*Nosferatu, a Symphony of Terror*, also known as *Nosferatu the Vampire*, 1922), the first adaptation of Bram Stoker's *Dracula* (1898); *Der Student von Prag* (*The Student of Prague*, 1926); and *Faust* (1926). Production of expressionist films in Germany peaked in the mid-1920s, and the movement dissipated in the early 1930s with the coming of sound and the emigration of many German directors, cinematographers, actors, and other film workers to the United States as the Nazis rose to power. In Hollywood they worked their way into the studio system, where they contributed significantly to the development and look of the horror film, particularly those produced at Universal, and later in the 1940s to the distinctive style of film noir.

In contrast to German cinema, the comedies and westerns already characteristic of Hollywood in the silent period expressed upbeat and open moods that were unsuitable to the dark and claustrophobic worlds of traditional horror. It was not until much later that Hollywood would turn for inspiration to the strong vein of horror that ran through American literature, from the demonization of native Americans and the wilderness in the fiction of Charles Brockden Brown, James Fenimore Cooper, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and others to the more straightforward horror tales of Edgar Allan Poe and H. P. Lovecraft. But while horror was not a Hollywood priority in this period, Lon Chaney (1883–1930), known as "The Man of a Thousand Faces" for his mastery of makeup, emerged as the first American star of the genre in such roles as Quasimodo in *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* (1923) and *The Phantom of the Opera* (1925), and in eight collaborations with the director Tod Browning. Unique among silent film stars, Chaney was known for portraying monstrous, physically deformed, and psychologically tortured characters.

HORROR IN THE STUDIO ERA

Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde (1920), starring the highly regarded stage actor John Barrymore, helped legitimize the genre in Hollywood, but the genre was not clearly established until shortly after the arrival of sound when Universal Studios produced a cycle of horror films, notably Browning's *Dracula*, with Bela Lugosi, and James Whale's *Frankenstein*, with Boris Karloff, both released in 1931. Lugosi and Karloff became the great horror stars of the 1930s, attaining iconic status in American popular culture. For three decades the studio produced a series of loose sequels and spinoffs, including *The Bride of Frankenstein* (1935), *Frankenstein Meets the Wolf Man* (1943), and *House of Frankenstein* (1944), ending in the 1950s with parodies featuring Abbott and Costello, another important Universal asset. The Universal films were heavily influenced by the *mise-en-scène* of German expressionism: for example, *The Mummy* (1932), another Karloff vehicle, was directed by German cinematographer Karl Freund, who had photographed *Der Golem* and Fritz Lang's *Metropolis* (1926), among others, before emigrating to Hollywood in 1929. Universal was run by Carl Laemmle, himself born in Germany. The popular mythology of Frankenstein's creature, the vampire, the werewolf, and the mummy (the latter invented by the movies) were established and reworked in the studio's horror films.

Although other studios produced the occasional big-budget horror film, such as Paramount's remake of *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (1932) with Fredric March and RKO's *King Kong* (1933), Universal dominated the genre during this period. The major exception was MGM's *Freaks* (1932), directed by Browning. The story involves a traveling circus sideshow and the cruel woman trapeze artist who exploits them. Browning used a group of people with actual physical oddities, and the climax, in which they pursue the trapeze artist in the rain and mud, is particularly chilling. Uniting in camaraderie, the "freaks" are depicted as more humane than the physically normal characters, anticipating the reinterpretation of the monsters that would characterize horror films from the 1960s onward. Evidently this was a radical reversal that was ahead of its time: the film was severely cut for its American release and banned for thirty years in Great Britain.

The war years saw the unwelcome intrusion of real horror on a global scale, and Hollywood movies accentuated the positive to boost morale on the home front. From 1942 to 1946 at RKO, the producer Val Lewton (1904–1951), a former script editor for David O. Selznick,

LON CHANEY

b. Leonidas Chaney, Colorado Springs, Colorado, 1 April 1883, d. 26 August 1930

Known as "the man of a thousand faces," Lon Chaney was the first major star of the horror genre. As the child of deaf-mute parents, Chaney learned the expressive possibilities of pantomime, a skill he brought to the silent screen in a series of bizarre characters, often featuring some variation of grotesque distortion.

After his beginnings as a comedian and dancer in the theater, Chaney went to Hollywood in 1912. He appeared in a steady stream of films from 1914 on, playing villains in formula Westerns as well as a variety of other strange characters, from a French Canadian in *Nomads of the North* (1920) to Fagin in *Oliver Twist* (1922) to a one-eyed hoodlum in *The Road to Mandalay* (1926). Chaney was famous for his skill with makeup, and publicly emphasized the extremes that he would undergo to create his monstrous, distorted outsiders. In *The Penalty* (1920), he plays a criminal kingpin whose legs had been mistakenly amputated, requiring him to wear a painful leg harness so that he could walk on his knees as if they were stumps; in *The Unknown* (1927) he played Alonzo the Armless, a circus knife-thrower, with his arms strapped tightly to his body. As Quasimodo in *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* (1923), he wore a hunch in a harness that had a combined weight of seventy pounds.

Chaney made eight films with director Tod Browning, beginning with *The Wicked Darling* in 1919, and including *The Unholy Three* (1925), *The Unknown*, and *West of Zanzibar* (1928), their last film together. Chaney's skill at physical metamorphosis combined with Browning's gift for macabre horror stories to create a series of films about masochistic men ridden with castration anxiety. This preoccupation reached a peak in *The Unknown*, where the viewer finally discovers that Alonzo really does have arms, which he keeps secret, but then amputates them in a doomed attempt to win the sympathy of the woman he loves.

Chaney's last role was as Echo, a criminal ventriloquist in the remake of *The Unholy Three* in 1930, his only talking film. He used five different voices in the movie, showing that he could make the transition to talkies. But shortly after the film's release, Chaney died from a hemorrhage in his throat. After Chaney's death, his son Creighton changed his name to Lon Chaney Jr. and followed in his father's footsteps by starring in a series of horror films, the most notable of which was his tragic Larry Talbot in *The Wolf Man* (1941).

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

The Hunchback of Notre Dame (1923), *He Who Gets Slapped* (1924), *The Phantom of the Opera* (1925), *The Unholy Three* (1925), *The Unknown* (1927), *West of Zanzibar* (1928), *The Unholy Three* (1930)

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Barry Keith Grant

made a series of nine horror films with several directors, including *I Walked with a Zombie* (1943), directed by Jacques Tourneur, and *The Body Snatcher* (1945), directed by Robert Wise, that exploited ambience and suggestion through economical means. Tourneur's *Cat People* (1942), for example, concerns a young woman, Irena (Simone Simon), who believes the superstition of her Old World village upbringing that she will turn into a dangerous leopard when emotionally or sexually aroused; but there is no transformation scene such as those in horror movies about werewolves and adaptations of *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, in which such scenes are not only a convention but a visual centerpiece. In one scene the woman Irena sees as her rival, swimming alone in an indoor pool at night, hears faint footsteps and sees an indistinct shadow cross the wall, and when the cold and frightened woman goes to retrieve her robe, she finds it shredded, as if it had been ripped by the claws of an animal. Similarly, in *The Leopard Man* (1943), also directed by Tourneur, we hear the violent death of a

Lon Chaney in* London After Midnight *(Tod Browning, 1927). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

teenage girl attacked by the title creature, but all we see is her blood oozing under the locked door of her house.

In the 1950s horror overlapped significantly with science fiction. Cold War and atomic age anxieties produced numerous monster movies with creatures that had mutated or reawakened from eons of slumber because of nuclear radiation and testing. Monsters such as the giant dinosaur of *The Beast from 20,000 Fathoms* (1953), the giant ants of *Them!* (1954), and the creature in *Behemoth, the Sea Monster* (also known as *The Giant Behemoth*, 1959) all are the results of nuclear testing, as is the radioactive cloud that causes *The Incredible Shrinking Man* (1957) to shrink and *The Amazing Colossal Man* (1957) to grow. *The Thing from Another World* (1951) set the tone for the decade's monster movies. Based on a novella by the science fiction writer John W. Campbell, the film sacrifices almost all the scientific reasoning featured in the story to emphasize instead the inarticulate howlings of a vegetable-like creature, who somehow possesses technological knowledge way beyond that of earthlings and is bent on killing humans for their blood.

By the mid-1950s the youth audience had emerged as a significant consumer group, particularly for moviegoing, and many horror films, from *I Was a Teenage Frankenstein* (1957) and *I Was a Teenage Werewolf* (1957) to *The Horror of Party Beach* (1964), were produced with the aim of appealing to adolescent viewers. American International Pictures (AIP), an American film distribution and production company founded in 1954 by James H. Nicholson and Samuel Z. Arkoff, specialized in B movies—teen pics, exploitation films, and horror films such as *The She-Creature* (1956), *Terror from the Year 5000* (1958), and *Attack of the Puppet People* (1958). A few of these were directed by Roger Corman (b. 1926), including the campy *A Bucket of Blood* (1959). One of the independent companies that showed the way in the 1950s toward the strategy of targeting market segments, AIP moved from distribution into production and eventually began making movies with higher production values, beginning in 1960 with Corman's *House of Usher*, a loose adaptation of a Poe short story, which starred Vincent Price and was shot in color and Cinemascope. Corman made several other films for the company based on Poe themes with Price, including *The Masque of the Red Death* (1964), which features cinematography by the British cult director Nicolas Roeg. Also in the 1950s and early 1960s, the exploitation master William Castle (1914–1977) moved from thrillers and westerns into horror with a series of gimmicky horror films including *The Tingler* (1959), *Thirteen Ghosts* (1960), and *Mr. Sardonicus* (1961).

In England, Hammer Film Productions Ltd. released several classic science fiction films along with their other dramas, including *The Quatermass Xperiment* (1955) and *X the Unknown* (1956), but launched in earnest into the production of horror with *The Curse of Frankenstein* (1957), directed by Terence Fisher (1904–1980), a studio stalwart. Hammer went on to produce a substantial series of horror films that revisited the monsters of old, including Frankenstein's creature, Dracula, and the Mummy, through the 1970s, as well as inventing new ones (*The Gorgon*, 1964). The Hammer films revitalized the genre by revisiting but also updating its traditional gothic iconography with a bold use of color and a decidedly modern dose of sexual content. Many of these films starred Peter Cushing and Christopher Lee, who were the most familiar and consistently productive horror stars of the period.

BODY HORROR

The British film *Peeping Tom* (1960) and *Psycho* (1960) radically reconfigured the genre by focusing on psychologically disturbed characters in mundane contexts rather than supernatural situations in gothic settings. *Psycho*, directed by Alfred Hitchcock and adapted from Robert Bloch's 1959 novel, which in turn was based in part on the real-life exploits of multiple murderer Ed Gein, has proven to be perhaps the most influential horror film ever

Michael Redgrave as the ventriloquist attacked by his dummy in the omnibus British horror film* Dead of Night *(Alberto Cavalcanti, Basil Dearden, Robert Hamer, Charles Crichton, 1945). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

made. Set in contemporary motel rooms, hardware stores, and used car lots, Hitchcock's film imagined the site of horror in the quotidian world of the viewer, showing that horrifying violence was an integral part of middle-class America, repressed beneath its seemingly placid exterior. Roman Polanski's *Rosemary's Baby* (1968) and William Friedkin's *The Exorcist* (1973) continued in the same direction, depicting satanism in contemporary New York and Washington, respectively. Both films were big-budget commercial blockbusters, and they helped bring horror more squarely into the mainstream.

In 1968 came the phenomenal box-office success of George A. Romero's independent *Night of the Living Dead*, one of the first midnight movies (which theaters scheduled for special midnight showings after the mainstream films had finished). Made in black-and-white on a small budget, the film became a huge cult success. Its low-budget aesthetic, combined with a new graphic representation of bodily violation—we are shown cannibalistic zombies eating steaming entrails—and its uncompromising violation of numerous horror conventions resulted in the film's powerful effect on viewers. Following in the style of graphic bodily violation introduced by Herschell Gordon Lewis in such films as *Blood Feast* (1963) and *Two Thousand Maniacs!* (1964), Romero's sequel, *Dawn of the Dead* (1978), took graphic violence to a new level, and instituted a cycle of so-called splatter films that focused on bodily violation. A few years before *Dawn*, Tobe Hooper's *The Texas Chainsaw Massacre* (1974) devoted most of its running time to the sadistic torture of its female protagonist. The Canadian filmmaker David Cronenberg made several horror films concerned with bodily invasion, including *Shivers* (also known as *They Came from Within*, 1975), with its repulsive sluglike parasites that enter the body through the range of human orifices; *The Brood* (1979), featuring scenes of monstrous parturition; *Scanners* (1981), in which heads explode in a spray of gristle and blood; and his version of *The Fly* (1986), in which a scientist's body slowly falls away as he metamorphoses into an insect. Splatter was taken to comic extremes in Peter Jackson's *Braindead* (also known as *Dead Alive*, 1992) and Sam Raimi's *The Evil Dead* (1981). Clive Barker's *Hellraiser* (1987) focused intently on the pain of the flesh with scenes of flaying, bondage, and torture.

Following Romero, several young directors established their reputations by working primarily in horror, most notably Brian de Palma (*Sisters*, 1973; *Carrie*, 1976; *Dressed to Kill*, 1980), Wes Craven (*The Last House on the Left*, 1972; *The Hills Have Eyes*, 1977; *A Nightmare on Elm Street*, 1984), Larry Cohen (*It's Alive*, 1974; *God Told Me To* [also known as *Demon*], 1976), and John Carpenter (*Halloween*, 1978; *The Fog*, 1980; *Christine*, 1983, based on Stephen King's novel). Many of these horror movies, like *Psycho* and *Night of the Living Dead*, subverted the genre's traditional distinctions between good and evil, normal and monstrous, critiquing the horrors of mainstream society rather than projecting the monstrous onto the exotic "other." Horror films were thus a significant part of the overall reexamination of genre movies that took place in American cinema in the 1970s.

However, the huge commercial success of Carpenter's *Halloween* spawned a cycle of slasher films that bespoke a much more conservative vision. Most featured elaborate serial killings strung together by weak plots. Slashers typically feature psychotic males, frequently masked like Jason Voorhees in *Friday the 13th* (1980) and its sequels, who set about systematically to kill an isolated group of people, usually teenagers. Often the killer is motivated by a past sexual trauma activated by the sexual promiscuity of the victims he stalks, and the killings often seem to be a punishment for being sexual active or precocious, as is the case in the famous opening tracking shot of *Halloween*. Commonly a handheld camera is used to signify the killer's point of view, yet to what

GEORGE A. ROMERO

b. New York, New York, 4 February 1940

A key figure in the new wave of horror films in the 1960s and 1970s, George A. Romero brought an entirely new sensibility to the genre, drastically reinterpreting some of its classic monsters and infusing it with a political consciousness and ironic self-awareness, as well as a level of explicit gore that had been largely lacking before. His first film was *Night of the Living Dead* (1968), which established a new zombie mythology that has spawned an entire subgenre.

Romero made industrial and commercial films in Pittsburgh before directing *Night of the Living Dead*, which became a cult favorite and one of the first midnight movies. Often serving also as cinematographer, editor, or screenwriter for his films, Romero is clearly an auteur with an original approach to the horror genre. Romero's vision comes through in the offbeat *Knightriders* (1981), a non-horror film that he wrote, edited, and directed. Its far-fetched story about an itinerant band of motorcyclists who operate a fair like a medieval guild is silly as drama, but makes perfect sense as an auteurist expression of the theme of group solidarity against the threat of cultural homogenization—a theme that also runs through his four zombie films.

Romero's earlier horror films, made on minimal budgets, deconstruct many of the conventions of classic horror and examine their ideological assumptions from a more critical and distanced perspective. *Martin* (1977), for example, is a vampire film without a true vampire. The young man of the title has been warped by Old World superstition, his grandfather raising him to believe that he has been cursed to be a vampire. Forcing transfusion on his victims to fulfill what he believes to be his vampiric fate, Martin has been made monstrous by irrational fear. *Hungry Wives* (*Season of the Witch*, 1972), similarly, shows that the very concept of the witch is grounded in patriarchal oppression of women.

Romero's later films, for which he tended to have bigger budgets, have also been less adventurous thematically. *Creepshow* (1982), written by Stephen King, and *Monkey Shines: An Experiment in Fear* (1988) are more conventional and lack the daring of Romero's zombie films, a territory that he has mined for almost forty years. A decade after *Night*, *Dawn of the Dead* (1978) was an apocalyptic masterpiece that raised the bar for splatter effects. Romero also combined comedy and horror in a striking blend that introduced a generation of subsequent horror directors, most notable among them Peter Jackson. *Land of the Dead* (2005) brought the political satire in these films about the American populace as soulless cannibals to the fore.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Night of the Living Dead (1968), *Hungry Wives* (*Season of the Witch*, 1972), *The Crazies* (1973), *Martin* (1977), *Dawn of the Dead* (1978), *Knightriders* (1981), *Day of the Dead* (1985), *Night of the Living Dead* (screenplay, 1990), *Land of the Dead* (2005)

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extent this use of the subjective camera encourages a seemingly amoral identification on the part of the viewer with the murderer rather than his victims has been a subject of much debate. It was slasher films that to a large extent spurred a censorship debate in Great Britain and prompted the passage of the Video Recordings Bill. By the mid-1980s the slasher film was in decline, but self-conscious postmodern slashers such as *Scream* (Craven, 1996) and its sequels, in which the characters are as familiar with the conventions of the genre as the audience, have proved popular.

Horror has been a Hollywood staple since the 1930s, but, in addition to Hammer horror in Great Britain, there are also other national cinemas with rich horror traditions. In Italy, for example, *giallo*, graphic thrillers and horror films, flourished in the 1950s and 1960s.

George Romero at the time of **Dawn of the Dead** *(1978).* © UNITED FILM/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Predating slasher films, the *giallo* ("yellow") takes its name from the color of the covers of pulp detective novels published in Italy in the 1940s and 1950s. The genre includes both police films (*giallo-poliziesco*) and horror films (*giallo-fantastico*), featuring an overtly expressionist stylization. The Italian directors Mario Bava (1914–1980), with films such as *La Maschera del demonio* (*Black Sunday*, 1960) and *Terrore nello spazio* (*Planet of the Vampires*, 1965) and Dario Argento, with such films as *L'Ucella dalle piume di cristallo* (*The Bird with the Crystal Plumage*, 1970), *Profondo rosso* (*Deep Red*, 1975), and *Tenebre* (*Unsane*, 1982) have become cult figures.

In Japanese cinema, both horror films, like *Kurutta Ippeji* (*A Page of Madness*, 1926), *Onibaba* (*The Demon*, 1964), and ghost films, like *Kwaidan* (*Ghost Stories*, 1964), and *Ugetsu monogatari* (*Tales of Ugetsu*, 1953), were prominent. A new wave of Japanese horror films includes Hideo Nakata's *Ringu* (*Ring*, 1998) and *Honogurai mizu no soko kara* (*Dark Water*, 2002), both of which were remade, with mixed success, in Hollywood.

CRITICAL DEBATES

For the film scholar Siegfried Kracauer, German expressionist cinema was both a harbinger and a cause of the rise of fascism in Germany. The films' avoidance of the real world, both visually in the use of stylized studio sets, and narratively in the frequent appearance of monstrous figures like Caligari and Nosferatu who command the will of others, was symptomatic of the German people's turning away from political responsibility and an explanation of their embrace of Hitler. There has been more critical commentary on horror than any other film genre, with the possible exception of the western; and although today Kracauer's interpretations seem rather reductive, they share with all subsequent critical analyses of the genre the fundamental assumption that horror films, like most genre movies, reflect the values and ideology of the culture that produced them. Don Siegel's *Invasion of the Body Snatchers* (1956), for example, about an invasion of alien seed-pods that replace people with emotional replicas, is typically discussed in relation to American contemporary culture in the 1950s. Unlike earlier horror films, *Invasion of the Body Snatchers* imagines infection on an apocalyptic rather than personal scale, as in the vampire myth, a clear reflection of Cold War fears of nuclear destruction. But even as Americans felt threatened by possible nuclear war and Communist infiltration, the film also expresses a fear of creeping conformism at home. *Invasion* makes the commonplace seem creepy, and in the climax a mob of plain-looking townsfolk pursue Miles and Becky out of town in a horrific evocation of the kind of witch-hunting mentality witnessed in the United States just a few years before the film's release. The film's ambiguous ending (how could the FBI or anyone possibly contain the pod invasion, which by now has spread much wider than the town of Santa Mira?) initiated a trend that would continue in the revisionist horror films of the 1960s and 1970s, and is indicative of larger cultural tensions.

In a number of essays published in the late 1970s, Robin Wood set the critical agenda for much of the theory and analysis of horror. He offered a structural model of horror, informed by Freudian theory, built around a fundamental binary opposition of normal and monstrous. Wood was responding to the progressive wave of horror films by such directors as Romero, Hooper, Craven, and Cohen. For Wood, "the true subject of the horror genre is the struggle for recognition of all that our civilization *re* presses or *op* presses" (as quoted in Britton et al., p. 10). He argued that the manner in which any given horror narrative resolves this conflict reveals its ideological orientation, and further, that most movies will be conservative, repressing desire within the self and disavowing it by projecting it outward as a monstrous Other. The monster thus is usually understood as the "return of the repressed." This interpretation applies particularly well to horror stories featuring the premise of the beast within, like *The Wolf Man* (1941) or

Just plain folks turn into zombies in George Romero's apocalyptic **Night of the Living Dead** ***(1968).*** **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

the various versions of *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*. According to such a reading, the monster (representing a challenge to the dominant values of heterosexual monogamy), must be defeated by the male hero in order for him to take his proper place in patriarchy by successfully pairing with the inevitable female love interest, typically represented as the attractive daughter of the scientist or lovely lab assistant. Horror films such as *Frankenstein*, *Dracula*, and *Creature from the Black Lagoon* (1954) follow this narrative pattern.

Wood provides a list of specific Others in the horror genre: women, the proletariat, other cultures, ethnic groups, alternative ideologies or political systems, children, and deviations from sexual norms. All of these have been taken up by critics of the genre over the last two decades, although the last category—deviations from sexual norms—has been the one most frequently explored. However, some feminist critics have shown how horror monsters may be read as projections of masculine desire and anxiety over sexual difference. Following from Wood's perspective, many horror films are about anxieties over masculine performance, with women as the victims of male aggression. However, Carol Clover has argued that horror is potentially empowering for women. Her emphasis on the one female, or "final girl," who often survives the killer's rampage in slasher movies, transforming from terrified screamer to active heroine, killing the killer, has influenced numerous readings of horror films from *Halloween* to *Alien* (1979) and its sequels. Finally, some readings, such as that offered by Harry Benshoff, find in the genre a consistent monstrous representation of queerness and challenges to normative masculinity.

Perhaps because horror tends to raise questions about gender and its "natural" boundaries, women have been relatively important in the genre, first as consumers of gothic novels and later as makers of horror films. Significantly, although women have found it difficult

throughout film history to become directors, they are noticeably prominent in horror film production, as evidenced by Stephanie Rothman's *The Velvet Vampire* (1971) and *Terminal Island* (1973); Amy Jones's take on the slasher film, *The Slumber Party Massacre* (written by Rita Mae Brown, 1982); Katt Shea Rubin's two *Stripped to Kill* movies (1987, 1989) and *Poison Ivy* (1992); Mary Lambert's two *Pet Sematary* movies (1989, 1992); Kristine Peterson's *Body Chemistry* (1990); Fran Rubel Kuzui's *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* (1992); Kathryn Bigelow's *Near Dark* (1987); and Mary Harron's *American Psycho* (2000).

Critics have also examined representations of class and race in horror films. Mark Jancovich has persuasively linked the development of horror to the rise of the bourgeoisie and the dialectic of class. A classic horror film like *King Kong* (1933) evokes the fear of racial miscegenation in the figure of the dark ape, the beast in love with the (white) beauty, while fundamental to Dracula's appeal is his suave aristocratic bearing. Some late-twentieth-century horror films, such as *The People Under the Stairs* (1991), *Candyman* (1992), and *Tales from the Hood* (1995), covering territory explored only occasionally in earlier films such as *I Walked with a Zombie* (1943) and *Blacula* (1972), have addressed issues of racial difference in horror. Questions of race in horror emerged with the casting of a black actor as the hero in *Night of the Living Dead*: killed by redneck vigilantes at the end of the film, his body is unceremoniously tossed onto a bonfire in freeze frames that evoke the contemporary racial violence then erupting across America.

Some critics have extended the psychoanalytic approach to horror beyond the texts themselves to account for the spectatorial pleasures of watching horror films, an act that on the surface might seem inexplicable given that the experience arouses fear rather than pleasure. Critics have also argued that horror films are particularly enjoyed by adolescents because in their awkwardness they can easily empathize with the monsters, who are social outcasts, and because they express in metaphoric form the physical changes—the hairiness of the werewolf, the sexual drive of the vampire—that occur with the onset of puberty. Certainly horror films do function as adolescent rites of passage and socialization, but such theories do not account for the appeal of all horror films. Whatever the particular fears exploited by horror films, they provide viewers with vicarious but controlled thrills, like the fright one gets from an amusement park ride. It is no accident that so many theme park rides are horror oriented. As Bruce Kawin says in his essay "Children of the Light," "A good horror film takes you down into the depths and shows you something about the landscape." Like Charon, who in Greek mythology ferries the souls of the dead, the horror film takes you on "a visit to the land of the dead, with the difference that this Charon will eventually take you home, or at least drop you off at the borders of the underworld" (p. 325).

SEE ALSO *Cold War; Cult Films; Exploitation Films; Expressionism; Fantasy Films; Feminism; Genre; Germany; Great Britain; Makeup; Teen Films; Violence*

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HUNGARY

For a small country with a post–World War I population of around ten million, whose history is filled with wars, revolutions, political repression, and foreign domination, Hungary's achievement in filmmaking is extraordinarily impressive. This history itself has provided a major source of thematic material, as has Hungary's rich literary tradition. Almost from its beginnings, film has been taken seriously as an art in the country. Even in the decades from 1950 to 1990, when the film industry was completely under government control, this control was exerted more lightly and with a greater respect for artistic achievement than in any other country of the Soviet bloc. It might even be said that the market-driven policies that have dominated since 1990 have had a detrimental effect on the overall quality of the country's cinema.

In addition to fiction feature film, Hungary has a strong tradition of documentary filmmaking and also of animation, the latter primarily through the work of the Pannónia Studio and directors such as Sándor Reisenbüchler (1935–2004) and Marcell Jankovics (b. 1941). And, though Hungarian cinema is freely acknowledged to be a director's medium, much of the credit for the achievement of its best films must go to such fine actors as Zoltán Latinovits (1931–1976), Miklós Gábor (1919–1998), Mari Törőkcsik (b. 1935), and György Cserhalmi (b. 1948), and to such superb cinematographers as György Illés (b. 1914), János Kende (b. 1941), Elemér Ragályi (b. 1939), and Lajos Koltai (b. 1946).

THE SILENT ERA

An estimated 460 films were made in Hungary during the silent period, almost all considered lost. Recent rediscoveries and restorations, however, have brought a few representative works to light.

Hungarian film exhibition began with screenings of films by Louis Lumière and Georges Méliès in Budapest cafés. The Urania Scientific Society is credited with the first Hungarian-made film, *A Táncz* (*The Dance*), in 1901. The National Association of Hungarian Cinematographers had been formed by 1909, and some 270 permanent cinemas had been established throughout the country by 1912. The first Hungarian feature film, *Ma és holnap* (*Today and Tomorrow*), directed by Mihály Kertész (1886–1962) (who later gained Hollywood fame as Michael Curtiz), appeared in 1912. Production then expanded rapidly, as did serious intellectual interest in film as expressed in specialist film journals. There was also room for escapist melodramas such as those produced by the prolific Alfréd Deésy (1877–1961), which had little specifically Hungarian about them. His surviving films, *Aphrodite* and *The Young Wife* (both 1918), revel in an "international" style of languid eroticism among wealthy characters, but with a moralistic and even sentimentally religious conclusion. The surviving work of Jenö Janovics (1872–1945) also falls into the category of sexual/moralistic melodrama, with *Din Grozaviile lumii* (The Specter of the World, 1920) issuing dire warnings of the dangers of syphilis.

Sándor (later Alexander) Korda (1893–1956) was a major figure of the time, as critic, director, and producer, though only one of his twenty-four films from this period, *Az Aranyember* (*Man of Gold*, 1918), is known to survive in full. Based, like many other Hungarian films, on a book by the popular nineteenth-century novelist Mór Jókai, it achieves an epic scale through exciting

camerawork, vigorous characterization, and atmospheric lighting, prefiguring Korda's films of the 1930s in Britain. Counterbalancing "entertainment" films were those that focused on social and political injustices. *A Megfagyott gyermek* (*The Frozen Child*, Béla Balogh, 1921) provides an unusual perspective on poverty-stricken, working-class life in Budapest through the sufferings endured by two abandoned children.

The year 1919 saw a major turning-point in the history of Hungarian film, with the nationalization of the film industry under the short-lived Communist government of the Republic of Councils. Thirty-one films were shot or completed in this four-month period, until the overthrow of this government and the White Terror that followed forced many of the most talented members of the film industry to flee abroad. Those who left, then or during a later period, included the directors Korda, Kertész, and Pál Fejös (later Paul Fejos; 1884–1960), the scriptwriter Lajos Biró (1880–1948), and (using the names by which they became commonly known), the actors Peter Lorre (1904–1964), Bela Lugosi (1882–1956), Paul Lukas (1895–1971), and Vilma Banky (1898–1991). Another prominent exile at this time was the film theoretician and scriptwriter Béla Balázs (1884–1949), author of the classic *Theory of Film* (English translation, 1953). After 1991, under the repressive right-wing government, film production declined steadily until, by the end of the 1920s, it was almost nonexistent.

STAGNATION AND CENSORSHIP: 1930–1963

A partial recovery of the industry—in quantity though not in quality–took place throughout the 1930s, assisted by a government levy on the foreign films that now swamped the market. The emphasis was largely on glossy romantic comedies, erotic melodramas, and musicals, the most popular of which was *Meseauto* (*The Dream Car*), directed by Béla Gaál (1893–1944) in 1934. The film with the most lasting appeal was the comedy *Hyppolit, a lakáj* (*Hyppolit, the Lackey*, István Szézely, 1931). In contrast to this trend are two fine films by Paul Fejos, who returned to Hungary after some years in Hollywood to make *Tavaszi zápor* (*Spring Shower*, also known as *Marie, a Hungarian Legend*) and *Ítél a Balaton* (*The Judgment of Lake Balaton*, both in 1932. Official disapproval of the films' explicit social criticism, however, drove Fejos to leave Hungary once more, this time for good. *Hortobágy* (*Life on the Hortobagy*, Georg Höllering, 1936), a mixture of fiction and documentary set on the Hungarian *pustza*, or great plain, is another major work of the period.

The outbreak of World War II, in which Hungary found itself allied with Germany until it made a disastrous attempt to change sides near the end, saw an unexpected increase in film production, combined with a ban on importing American films in 1942. Production increased to a total of some forty or fifty films annually by 1944, almost all of them thrillers, comedies, or sentimental dramas, often with a strongly nationalistic streak and subjected to strict, politically based censorship. Almost the only film of lasting quality to emerge from this period was *Emberek a havason* (People on the Alps, 1942), directed by István Szöts (1912–1998), with its magnificently photographed mountain scenery and a strong social theme based on the contrast between city and country values. The film was attacked by both left and right, and Szöts was unable to make another film until 1947, when his almost equally impressive *Ének a búzamezökröl* (*Song of the Cornfield*) was promptly banned by the Communist-controlled government. Szöts finally left Hungary for Austria in 1957.

In the immediate postwar period, a devastated and barely functioning film industry made only fourteen films between 1945 and 1948. Though private financing of film continued for a time, the feuding members of the postwar coalition government struggled for control of the industry, culminating in a second nationalization by the successful Communists in 1948. The only worthwhile film of this period (apart from the banned *Song of the Cornfield*) was another lasting classic, *Valahol Európában* (*It Happened in Europe*, Géza von Radványi, 1947), with a script by Béla Balázs, who had returned from exile to help reestablish the country's film industry. It is a moving and unsentimental account of how the moral influence of an elderly musician helps a group of boys, orphaned and made homeless by the war, go on to lead civilized and socially productive lives.

Nationalization brought, as for other film industries in the Soviet bloc, a demand for "socialist realism" in the style and content of the cinema: straightforward, uncomplicated narrative, with a clear distinction between "good" (Communist) and "evil" (reactionary and capitalist) characters, and subject matter inspired by "the new spirit of a new era," charting the inevitable victory of Communism over its internal and external enemies. For a few years overt propaganda of this type predominated, occasionally modified and given greater sophistication by the more talented directors. The first film of the new system, *Talpalatnyi föld* (*Treasured Earth*, Frigyes Bán, 1948), is actually one of the better examples, telling its standard story of class conflict in a restrained and powerful manner.

Film directors wishing to work in the industry now had first to graduate from the Academy for Theater and Film Art, established in 1948, and, until 1959, they could offer their services to only one studio, Hunnia (later called Mafilm). The training received in the

Academy was excellent and wide-ranging, and in 1963 four new studios were created, usually headed by a respected figure in the industry rather than a bureaucrat, offering more freedom of subject matter to directors. Nevertheless, throughout this whole period, until the collapse of the Communist system in the early 1990s, every script had to pass over a series of bureaucratic hurdles before acceptance, with the same process being repeated for the finished film.

Hungary's Stalinist years of the early 1950s, marked by political repression, show trials, and imprisonment or execution of "enemies of the people," produced few films of note before 1954–1955, when Felix Máriássy's (1919–1975) *Budapesti tavasz* (Springtime in Budapest, 1955), set during the Soviet "liberation" of the city in 1945; Zoltán Fábri's (1917–1994) *Hannibál tanár úr* (*Professor Hannibal*, 1956); and Zoltán Várkonyi (1912–1979) and Károly Makk's (b. 1925) *Simon Menyhért születése* (The Birth of Menyhért Simon, 1954) infused some freshness, intellectual integrity, and genuine humanity into some of the mandated themes. Várkonyi's *Keserû igazság* (*The Bitter Truth*, 1956), however, which dealt openly with official corruption and negligence, was immediately banned and not released until 1986. The 1956 revolution (officially termed the "Counterrevolution" for the next three decades) against Communist control, and savagely repressed by Soviet tanks, brought a relatively brief clampdown, during which filmmakers concentrated on safe literary adaptations or offered psychological studies on private, nonpolitical themes. Even in this atmosphere, however, *Bakaruhában* (*A Sunday Romance*, also known as *In Soldier's Uniform*, Imre Fehér, 1957), and Fábri's *Körhinta* (*Merry-Go-Round*, 1955), brought a genuine breath of fresh air into the inevitable theme of class conflict.

In 1959 the Béla Balázs Studio was created to allow young filmmakers to produce experimental short films with considerable freedom of style and content. This, together with the impact of neorealism, the French New Wave, and the films of Ingmar Bergman, Federico Fellini, and Michelangelo Antonioni, led to the appearance of a new generation of directors, ready to take advantage of the relaxation in cultural policy at the time, and with a sophisticated understanding of what was happening in the world of cinema outside their own country. It was these filmmakers who inaugurated the great period of Hungarian cinema.

INTERNATIONAL SUCCESS: 1963–1989

By 1963 an overall pattern had emerged under which directors were allowed considerable latitude in subject matter and style, provided they did not directly challenge the government's authority and steered clear of controversial treatment of the 1956 revolution. Although the finest films of this period were rarely box office successes within Hungary, the government promoted and supported them for the cultural prestige they earned abroad, especially at major film festivals, and also out of a genuine respect for their artistry. They were adequately funded, and comparatively few films were banned; the most notorious example, the satire on 1950s bureaucracy, *A Tanú* (*The Witness*, Péter Bácsó, 1969), was finally released ten years later.

The films of this period fall mainly into two groups: the so-called parables, which took some historical incident from Hungary's past and interpreted it so that it had clear affinities with the present day, and films set in the present, which offered cautious criticism of the gulf between official rhetoric and the often grim realities of Hungarian life. One way or another, almost all the major films had a political as well as a private dimension, as in the early, semiautobiographical films of István Szabó (b. 1938), such as *Álmodozások kora* (*The Age of Daydreaming*, also known as *Age of Illusions*, 1964) and *Apa* (*Father*, 1966), which the director himself described as "the autobiography of a generation."

The strongest international impact in the 1960s was made by Miklós Jancsó (b. 1921). Films like *Szegénylegények* (*The Round-Up*, 1965), *Csillagosok, katonák* (*The Red and the White*, 1967), and *Még kér a nép* (*Red Psalm*, 1971), while often dealing with obscure incidents from Hungarian history, fascinated audiences elsewhere with their direct presentation of political oppression and brutality, the stark black-and-white photography of the earlier films, and the sinuously balletic, lengthy camera movements of the later ones. István Gaál's (b. 1933) powerful *Magasiskola* (*The Falcons*, 1970) provided a more abstract, less historically specific allegory of the totalitarian mentality. The theme of collectivization—the forced transfer of individual peasant ownership of the land to collective farming—was handled with intelligence and objectivity by Sándor Sára (b. 1933) in *Feldobott kö* (*The Upthrown Stone*, 1969) and, in visually spectacular but more ambiguous fashion, by Ferenc Kósa (b. 1937) in *Tízezer nap* (*Ten Thousand Days*, 1967). Károly Makk's *Szerelem* (*Love*, 1971) dealt movingly with the return home of a political prisoner in the early 1950s, while *Hideg napok* (*Cold Days*, András Kovács, 1966) tackled head-on one of the most shameful Hungarian actions in World War II, the massacre of hundreds of Serb civilians by Hungarian soldiers in what is now Novi Sad.

A reorganization of production and loosened bureaucratic control in the 1970s brought new themes and approaches. The so-called Budapest School combined the revived interest in documentary with a fictional

MIKLÓS JANCSÓ

b. Vács, Hungary, 27 September 1921

Jancsó grew up in the Hungarian countryside and developed there an interest in folk art that exercised a strong influence on his films. He studied law and ethnography at the University of Kolozsvar and, after a period as a Soviet prisoner-of-war toward the end of World War II, he graduated from the Academy of Theater and Film Art in 1950.

His earliest films were documentaries that conformed to the official requirements of the period, and this was also largely true of his first two features. With *Szegénylegények* (*The Round-Up*) in 1965, however, he abandoned almost completely the dogmas of socialist realism both in theme and style. Set in the aftermath of the Hungarian War of Independence in 1848, it adopts the "Aesopian" tactics favored by directors of the time of using a period setting to comment obliquely on current political and social trends. This was followed by *Csillagosok, katonák* (*The Red and the White*, 1967), set in postrevolutionary Russia in 1918, as small groups of pro- and anti-Soviet soldiers skirmished continuously. *Csend és kiáltás* (*Silence and Cry*, 1967) is set in Hungary in 1919 following the suppression of the short-lived Communist government that seized power after the end of World War I. These films attracted international attention, despite their obscure (to non-Hungarians) subject matter, for their astonishing visual power and the universality of their themes. The cruelties, humiliations, and atrocities inflicted on their victims by those in power are presented in a cold, almost impersonal manner, controlled by rigorously formal framing and complex camerawork.

Over much of the next decade Jancsó divided his time between Hungary and Italy, producing a series of films that continued his investigations into the nature of repressive political power and how to resist it, while moving toward a style that is often purely symbolic and ritualistic, relying heavily on intricately choreographed and lengthy sequence shots. The finest film of this period is acknowledged to be *Még kér a nép* (*Red Psalm*, 1971), set during a period of peasant agitation for land reform at the end of the nineteenth century.

With *Szörnyek évadja* (*Season of Monsters*, 1987) Jancsó moved to a contemporary setting and to visual motifs based on ubiquitous television screens that record the action and also present different perspectives on it. The themes of such films as *Jézus Krisztus horoszkópja* (*Jesus Christ's Horoscope*, 1988) and *Kék Duna keringö* (*Blue Danube Waltz*, 1992) challenge the assumption that freedom from Soviet control in the "New Hungary" will automatically end corruption and the abuse of political power. After returning to documentaries for most of the 1990s, Jancsó resumed feature filmmaking in 1998 with a series of satirical and anarchic comedies. These have proved the most popular of his films to date within Hungary, and the director has been adopted as a guide and inspiration by a new generation of filmmakers.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Így jöttem (*My Way Home*, 1965), *Szegénylegények* (*The Round-Up*, 1965), *Csillagosok, katonák* (*The Red and the White*, 1967), *Csend és kiáltás* (*Silence and Cry*, 1967), *Fényes szelek* (*The Confrontation*, 1969), *Még kér a nép* (*Red Psalm*, 1971), *Szerelmem, Elektra* (*Electra, My Love*, 1974), *Zsarnok szíve, avagy Boccaccio Magyarországon* (*The Tyrant's Heart*, also known as *Il Cuore del tirrano*, 1981), *Jézus Krisztus horoszkópja* (*Jesus Christ's Horoscope*, 1988), *Kék Duna keringö* (*Blue Danube Waltz*, 1992), *Utolsó vacsora az Arabs Szürkénél* (*Last Supper at the Arabian Grey Horse*, 2001)

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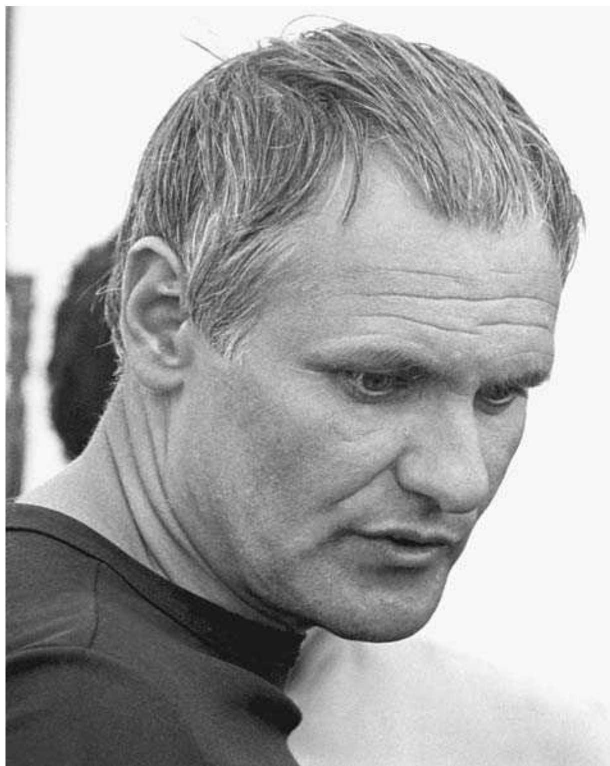
Graham Petrie



Miklós Jancsó. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

approach to produce a series of "pseudodocumentaries" in which an actual incident was recreated using nonactors whose own lives resembled those of the original people involved. *Filmregény* (Film novel, István Dárday, 1977) is perhaps the best-known example of this style, which was also adopted in the early films of Béla Tarr (b. 1955), such as *Családi tüzfészek* (*Family Nest*, 1979). Other trends of the period involved a closer examination of the 1950s and 1956 in particular, with Pál Gábor's (1932–1987) *Angi Vera* (1978), *Szerencsés Dániel* (*Daniel Takes a Train*, Pál Sándor, 1983), Péter Gothár's (b. 1947) *Megáll az idö* (*Time Stands Still*, 1982), and the first of Márta Mészáros's (b. 1931) four "Diary" films, *Napló gyermekeimnek* (*Diary for My Children*, 1984) enjoying considerable international success. Meanwhile, *Szindbád* (*Sindbad*, Zoltán Huszárik, 1971), *Meztelen vagy* (*The Legend about the Death and Resurrection of Two Young Men*, Imre Gyöngyössy, 1971), and *Kutya éji dala* (The Dog's Night Song, Gábor Body, 1983), though not ignoring social issues, presented them in dreamlike, almost surrealistic fashion. And controversial topics such as lesbianism and incest were broached in Makk's *Egymásra nézve* (*Another Way*, 1982) and *Visszaesök* (*Forbidden Relations*, Zsolt Kézdi-Kovács, 1983), respectively.

Increasing financial stringency throughout the 1980s led several directors to make co-productions with other European countries. With the exception of István Szabó's Central European trilogy, beginning with the Oscar®-winning *Mephisto* (1981), few of these films were successful either financially or artistically.

POST-COMMUNIST BLUES: 1989 TO THE PRESENT

The end of Communist rule from 1989 onward also meant the end of government subsidy and control of the film industry. Directors could no longer rely on adequate financial support, entailing no pressure to be commercially successful as long as their work had artistic merit. Moreover, their "oppositional" subject matter, whether direct or oblique, no longer had much relevance in a newly democratic system. The move toward privatization of the film industry was confusing and erratic, complicated by a flood of Hollywood movies that dominated the newly constructed multiplexes, as well as by the challenge of video and television. Co-productions in one form or another became almost mandatory, with a consequent dilution of one of the main strengths of the country's cinema, its strongly nationalistic character.

The immediate result was a drastic drop in the number of feature films produced annually, rarely numbering more than fifteen to twenty, though there was a corresponding increase in documentaries and short films, which could be shot cheaply on 16mm or video. Many of the older generation of directors proved unable or unwilling to adapt to these new circumstances and fell silent. Younger directors tried to compete with Hollywood by choosing overtly commercial subjects filled with crime, violence, explicit sex, and car chases but lacked the technical resources and expertise to carry these through successfully. Yet a tradition of quality filmmaking has continued, helped to some extent by a recent levy on television profits aimed at supporting the film industry, and by the creation in 1991 of the Motion Picture Foundation of Hungary, which provides competitive and partial subsidies to projects considered to have artistic merit.

Some degree of international success in this period was achieved by such films as *Az én XX. századom* (*My Twentieth Century*, Ildikó Enyedi, 1989), *Gyerekgyilkosságok* (*Child Murders*, Ildikó Szabó, 1993), *Woyzeck* (János Szász, 1994), *Szenvedély* (*Passion*, György Fehér, 1998), *Bolse Vita* (Ibolya Fekete, 1996), and *Csinibaba* (*Dollybirds*, Péter Timár, 1997), but the overall bleak and pessimistic tone of many of these films gives them little popular appeal. István Szabó's Canadian co-production *Sunshine* (*A Napfény íze*, 1999), an English-language film, won and was nominated for several European and American

Miklós Jancsó's* The Red and the White *(1967). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

film awards, and Miklós Jancsó attained unprecedented popularity at the age of eighty with a series of anarchic comedies. The most influential of contemporary directors, however, is Béla Tarr, whose films *Sátántangó* (*Satan's Tango*, 1994) and *Werckmeister harmóniák* (*Werckmeister Harmonies*, co-directed by Ágnes Hranitzky, 2000) have attained cult status abroad. Their often inordinate length, however (*Sátántangó* is almost seven hours long), their bleak and melancholy atmosphere, and the slow pace filled with lengthy camera movements have generally restricted their appeal to film festivals and showings at cinematheques and film museums. They prove, however, that the tradition of challenging and subversive Hungarian cinema is not yet dead.

SEE ALSO *National Cinema*

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Graham Petrie

IDEOLOGY

The concept of ideology is often associated with the work of Friedrich Engels (1820–1895) and Karl Marx (1818–1883). In general, Marxists approach cultural forms as emerging from specific historical situations that serve particular socioeconomic interests and that carry out important social functions. For Marx and Engels, the cultural ideas of an epoch serve the interests of the ruling class by providing ideologies that legitimate class domination. "Ideology" is a critical term used in Marxist analysis that describes how the dominant ideas of a ruling class promote the interests of that class and help mask oppression and injustices. Marx and Engels argued that during the feudal period, piety, honor, valor, and military chivalry were the ruling ideas of the reigning aristocratic classes. During the capitalist era, values of individualism, profit, competition, and the market became the dominant ideology of the new bourgeois class, which was then consolidating its class power. Because ideologies appear natural and commonsensical, they often are invisible and elude criticism.

Marx and Engels began their critique of ideology by attempting to show how ruling ideas reproduce dominant societal interests and relations and serve to naturalize, idealize, and legitimate the existing society, its institutions, and its values. In a competitive and atomistic capitalist society, it appears natural to assert that human beings are primarily self-interested and competitive, just as in a communist society; it seems natural to assert that people are cooperative by nature. In fact, human beings and societies are extremely complex and contradictory. Ideology smoothes over contradictions, conflicts, and negative features, idealizing human or social traits like individuality and competition, which are then elevated into governing concepts and values.

MARXIST APPROACHES TO CULTURE AND IDEOLOGY

Many later Western Marxists developed these ideas, although they have tended to ascribe more autonomy and importance to culture than classical Marxism did. Within the Marxian tradition, a more positive concept of ideology, developed by Vladimir Lenin (1870–1924), sees socialist ideology as a positive force for developing revolutionary consciousness and promoting socialist development (Lenin, 1987). For the Italian Marxist theorist Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937), the ruling intellectual and cultural forces of an era constitute a form of *hegemony*, or domination by ideas and cultural forms that induce consent to the rule of the leading groups in a society. Gramsci argued that the unity of prevailing groups is usually created through the state—for instance, the American revolution or the unification of Italy in the nineteenth century. The institutions of "civil society" also play a role in establishing hegemony. Civil society, according to Gramsci, includes the church, school, media, and other forms of popular culture. Civil society mediates between the private sphere of personal economic interests and the family and the public authority of the state, serving as the locus of what Jurgen Habermas (b. 1929) described as "the public sphere."

Gramsci defined ideology as the ruling ideas that constitute the "social cement" unifying and holding together the established social order. While Marxist cultural critics like Gyögy Lukács (1885–1971) tended to see ideology as a manipulative force that helps ensure the rule of the dominant class, Ernst Bloch (1885–1977) instead stressed the utopian dimensions of Western culture and the ways in which cultural texts encode

yearnings for a better world and a transformed society. Bloch's hermeneutic approach to Western culture in books like *The Principle of Hope* (1986) sought out visions of a better life in cultural artifacts ranging from the texts of Homer and the Bible to modern advertising and department store displays. Bloch's utopian impulse challenged film and cultural studies to articulate how culture provides alternatives to the existing world and how images, ideas, and narratives can promote individual emancipation and social transformation.

Bloch developed a type of cultural theory and ideology critique that is quite different from Marxist models that presents ideology critique as a tool for demolishing bourgeois culture and ideology—in effect, conflating bourgeois culture and ideology. This model—found in critiques by Lenin and most Marxist-Leninists—interprets dominant ideology primarily as a process created through mystification, error, and domination. This is contrasted to scientific or Marxist critical theory, in which ideology critique demonstrates the errors, mystifications, and ruling class interest within ideological artifacts, which are then smashed and discarded by the heavy hammer of the ideology critic.

Bloch, however, was more sophisticated than those who simply denounced all ideology as false consciousness or stressed the positive features of socialist ideology. Rather, Bloch sees emancipatory-utopian elements in all living ideologies, and deceptive and illusory qualities as well. For Bloch, ideology is "Janus-faced," or two-sided: it contains errors, mystifications, and techniques of manipulation and domination, but it also contains a utopian residue or surplus that can be used to critique society and to advance progressive politics. Bloch also perceived ideology at work in many phenomena usually neglected by Marxist and other ideology critiques: daydreams, popular literature, architecture, department store displays, sports, clothing, and other artifacts of everyday life. He believed that ideology critique should examine everyday life, as well as political texts and positions and the manifestly political ideologies of films, television, and other forms of mass-mediated culture.

Drawing on Bloch, Herbert Marcuse (1898–1979), and other neo-Marxist theorists, Fredric Jameson (b. 1934) has suggested that mass cultural texts often have utopian moments. He has proposed that radical cultural criticism should analyze both the social hopes and fantasies in film as well as the ideological ways in which fantasies are presented, conflicts are resolved, and potentially disruptive hopes and anxieties are managed (Jameson, 1979, 1981). In his reading of *Jaws* (1975), for instance, Jameson notes that the shark stands in for a variety of fears—uncontrolled organic nature threatening the artificial society; big business corrupting and endangering community; disruptive sexuality threatening the disintegration of the family and traditional values—that the film tries to contain through the reassuring defeat of evil by representatives of the current class structure. Yet *Jaws* also contains utopian images of family, male bonding, and adventure, as well as socially critical visions of capitalism articulating fears that unrestrained big business would inexorably destroy the environment and community.

THE FRANKFURT SCHOOL

The term ''Frankfurt School'' refers to the work of members of the *Institut für Sozialforschung* (Institute for Social Research), which was established in Frankfurt, Germany, in 1923 as the first Marxist-oriented research center affiliated with a major German university (Kellner, 1989). The Frankfurt School coined the term ''culture industry'' in the 1930s to signify the industrialization of mass-produced culture and the commercial imperatives that constructs it (Adorno and Horkheimer, 1972). Its critical theorists analyzed mass-mediated cultural artifacts as products of industrial production, demonstrating that commodities of the culture industry exhibit the same features as other mass-produced objects: commodification, standardization, and massification. The culture industry has the specific function, however, of providing ideological legitimation of existing capitalist societies and of integrating individuals into its way of life.

The critiques of the culture industry developed in T. W. Adorno (1903–1969) and Max Horkheimer's (1895–1973) famous *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1972) contain many, albeit unsystematic, references to Hollywood film. Film in the culture industries has been organized like industrial production and uses standardized formulas and conventional production techniques to mass-produce films for purely commercial, rather than cultural, purposes. Films reproduce reality as it is and thus encourages individuals to adjust and conform to the new conditions of industrial and mass society:

> They hammer into every brain the old lesson that continuous friction, the breaking down of all individual resistance, is the condition of life in this society. Donald Duck in the cartoons and the unfortunate in real life get their thrashing so that the audience can learn to take their own punishment. (Adorno and Horkheimer, 1972, p. 138)

The positions of Adorno, Horkheimer, and other members of the inner circle of the Institute for Social Research were contested by Walter Benjamin (1892–1940), an idiosyncratic theorist loosely affiliated with the Institute. Benjamin, writing in Paris during the 1930s, discerned progressive aspects in new technologies of cultural production such as photography, film, and radio. In "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical

Reproduction" (1934), Benjamin noted how new mass media were supplanting older forms of culture; mass reproduction of photography, film, recordings, and publications was replacing older emphasis on originality and "aura" in works of art. Benjamin believed that freed from the mystification of high culture, mass culture could create more critical individuals capable of judging and analyzing their culture, just as sports fans can dissect and evaluate athletic activities. In addition, Benjamin asserted that processing the rush of images of cinema helps viewers create subjectivities better able to parry the flux and turbulence of experience in industrialized, urbanized societies.

For Benjamin, the proliferation of mass art, especially through film, would bring images of the contemporary world to the masses and would help raise political consciousness by encouraging scrutiny of the world. Benjamin claimed that the mode of viewing film breaks with the reverential mode of aesthetic perception and awe encouraged by the bourgeois cultural elite, who promoted the religion of art. Montage and "shock effects" in film, mass spectatorship, discussion of issues that film viewing encourages, and other factors in the cinematic experience produce, in Benjamin's view, new social and political experiences of art that erode the private, solitary, and contemplative aesthetic experiences encouraged by high culture and its priests. Against the contemplation of high art, the "shock effects" of film produce a mode of "distraction" that Benjamin believed makes possible a "heightened presence of mind" and cultivation of "expert" audiences able to examine and criticize film and society (pp. 237–241).

Benjamin wished to promote a radical cultural and media politics able to create alternative oppositional cultures. Yet he recognized that media such as film could have conservative effects. While he believed that the loss of "aura," of magical force in mass-produced works is progressive and opens out cultural artifacts to increased critical and political discussion, Benjamin recognized that film could also create a new kind of ideological magic through the cult of celebrity and techniques like the close-up, which used film technologies to fetishize certain stars or images. Benjamin was thus one of the first radical cultural critics to look carefully at the form and technology of media culture while appraising its complex nature and effects.

POST-STRUCTURALISM AND THE POLITICS OF REPRESENTATION

Reacting against existential and Hegelian Marxism and the ultra-left political groups influenced by it, Louis Althusser (1918–1990) and a school of structural Marxists developed more "scientific forms" of Marxism and ideology while maintaining their commitment to revolutionary politics. A member of the French Communist Party, Althusser argued in *For Marx* (1970) that Marxism provided scientific perspectives on capitalism that made possible a revolutionary transition to socialism. In *Reading Capital* (1997), he maintained that Marx's scientific critique of capitalist political economy provided the foundations for a theory of society. Althusser's "structuralist Marxism" analyzed relations between the structures of the economy, state, ideology, and social institutions and their grounding in capitalist relations of production—"in the last instance" the determining force of all social life.

Althusser helped shift the discussion of "ideology" to focus on the everyday practices and rituals organized by social institutions that he termed "ideological state apparatuses" (schools, religion, the family, the media, and others). Their material practices, he argued, are parts of a closed system in which individuals are constantly "interpellated" into a social order, becoming unconsciously constituted as subjects by dominant social institutions and discourses. His most widely read essay, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," outlines his basic assumption that experience, consciousness, and subjectivity are themselves effects of an imaginary relationship between an individual and his/her real conditions of existence—a relationship that is constructed by the ideological state apparatuses, which reify social hierarchies and induces people to consent to systems of oppression.

Structuralists, like members of the Frankfurt School, were soon criticized for being too deterministic, for having an impoverished concept of subjectivity, and for missing the complexities and vicissitudes of history. A post-structuralist turn therefore found theorists like Roland Barthes (1915–1980) and the *Tel Quel* group in France turning toward history, politics, and active and creative human subjects, as well as developing a more complex model of textuality. The post-structuralist turn moved away from the more ahistorical, scientific, and objectivist modes of thought in structuralism. The post-structuralist moment was a particularly fertile one, with important theorists like Barthes, François Lyotard, and Michel Foucault writing groundbreaking works on culture and ideology, and younger theorists like Jacques Derrida, Jean Baudrillard, and Paul Virilio entering into their productive periods.

In *Mythologies* (1972, 1957), Roland Barthes critically dissected a wide range of contemporary forms of culture, demonstrating his unique method of ideological interpretation and critique. According to Barthes, the mythology dissected in his essay "Operation Margarine," for example, embodies the fundamental rhetorical and ideological operations of French bourgeois culture. Margarine, in Barthes's account, is a highly artificial substance transfigured by

advertising into a natural, beneficial, and acceptable substitution for butter. Analyzing ads that admit margarine's deficiencies and then trumpet its benefits, Barthes claims that such advertising techniques provide an "inoculation" against criticism of its imperfections. A similar operation, he claims, is typical in discourses on topics like the military, church, and capitalism, in which their limitations are mentioned in order to highlight their necessity and importance for the social order.

Likewise, mythologies obscure history, transforming contingent factors into natural essences, as if it were natural that an African soldier salute the French flag, in Barthes's famous example of a photograph that erases all of the evils of French colonization in an idealized image. Constructing an argument that anticipates postmodern emphasis on difference and otherness, Barthes points out how myths erase what is different and dissimilar, assimilating otherness to nature, as when the image of the French soldier folds the African into the French empire, or margarine ads assimilate an artificial substance into the order of culinary appropriateness. Barthes's method of analyzing rhetorical strategies of media culture and taking apart the mythologies that colonize social life help to produce a critical consciousness in his reader.

Sophisticated new theoretical approaches to the production of the works of film and its production of ideology began emerging in the 1960s, including those analyses published in *Cahiers du cinema* and the extremely influential British journal *Screen*, which translated many key *Cahiers* texts and other works of French film theory, including those of Roland Barthes and Christian Metz. These generated much more sophisticated formal approaches to film (Metz, 1974; Heath, 1981). The *Cahiers* group moved from seeing film as the product of creative *auteurs*, or authors (their *politique du auteurs* of the 1950s), to focusing on the ideological and political content of film and how film transcoded dominant ideologies. At the same time, French film theory and *Screen* focused on the specific cinematic mechanisms that helped produce meaning. These theorists and others analyzed how ideology permeated cinematic form and content, images and narrative, symbols and spectacle (Nichols, 1981; Kellner and Ryan, 1988).

Post-structuralism stressed the text's openness and heterogeneity, its embedded in history and desire, its political and ideological dimensions, and its excess of meaning. The conjunction of post-structuralism in the academic world and new social movements stressing the importance of race, gender, sexuality, and other markers of group identity led to expansion of the concept of ideology to many new dimensions and thematics. British cultural studies, for instance, adopted a feminist perspective, paid greater attention to race, ethnicity, and nationality, and sexuality in response to social struggles and movements (Kellner, 1995).

Earlier Marxist concepts of ideology presupposed a homogenous ruling class that unambiguously and without contradiction articulates its class interests through a monolithic ideology. Since its class interests were thought to be predominantly economic, ideology in this model referred primarily to ideas that legitimated the class rule of capitalists. Ideology was thus viewed as that set of ideas that promoted the capitalist class's economic interests. During the 1960s and 1970s, however, this model has been contested by theorists who have argued that an orthodox Marxist concept of ideology is reductionist because it equates ideology solely with those ideas that serve class or economic interests, leaving out such variable and significant factors as sex and race. Reducing ideology to class interests makes it appear that the only significant domination in society is one of class or economic domination, whereas many theorists argue that sex and race oppression are fundamentally important and indeed intertwined in fundamental ways with class and economic domination.

READING RAMBO IDEOLOGICALLY

Thus many critics have proposed that ideology be extended to cover theories, ideas, texts, narratives, and images that legitimate domination of women and people of color by white men and that thus serve the interests of ruling powers. Such ideology critique criticizes sexist and racist ideology as well as bourgeois-capitalist class ideology. To carry out an ideology critique of *Rambo: First Blood Part II* (1985), for instance, it wouldn't be enough simply to attack its militarist or imperialist ideology and the ways that the militarism and imperialism of the film serve capitalist interests by legitimating intervention in Southeast Asia (Kellner, 1995). To carry out a full ideology critique, one would also have to examine the film's sexism and racism, showing how representations of women, gender, the Vietnamese, the Russians, and so on are a fundamental part of the ideological text of *Rambo*.

In regard to gender, for instance, one might note that Rambo instantiates a masculinist image of gender that defines masculinity in terms of the male warrior with the features of great strength, effective use of force, and military heroism as the highest expression of life. Symptomatically, the woman characters in the film are either whores, or, in the case of a Vietnamese contra, a handmaiden to Rambo's exploits who functions primarily as a seductive force, seducing Vietnamese guards (a figure also central to the image of woman in *The Green Berets*, 1968), or a destructive one, when she becomes a woman warrior, a female version of Rambo. Significantly, the only moment of eroticism in *Rambo*

Sylvester Stallone as John Rambo in* First Blood *(Ted Kotcheff, 1982). © ORION/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

(brief and chaste) comes when Rambo and his woman agent kiss after great warrior feats. Seconds after the kiss, the woman herself is shot and killed—the moral being that the male warrior must go it alone and must thus renounce women and sexuality. This theme obviously fits into the militarist and masculinist theme of the film as well as the representation of ascetic male heroes who must rise above sexual temptation in order to become maximally effective saviors or warriors.

The representations and thematics of race also contribute fundamentally to the militarist theme. The Vietnamese and Russians are presented as alien Others, as embodiments of Evil, in a typically Hollywood manichean scenario that presents the Other, the Enemy, "Them," as evil and "Us," the good guys, as virtuous, heroic, good, and innocent. *Rambo* appropriates stereotypes of the evil Japanese and Germans from World War II movies in its representations of the Vietnamese and the Russians, thus continuing the manichean Hollywood tradition of substituting past icons of evil for contemporary villains. The Vietnamese are portrayed as duplicitous bandits, ineffectual dupes of the evil Soviets, and cannon fodder for Rambo's exploits, while the Soviets are presented as sadistic torturers and inhuman, mechanistic bureaucrats.

The stereotypes of race and gender in *Rambo* are so exaggerated, so crude, that they point to the artificial and socially constructed nature of all ideals of masculinity, femininity, race, and ethnicity. Thus, expanding the concept of ideology to include race and sex helps provide a multidimensional ideology critique, which expands radical cultural criticism while enriching the project of ideology critique.

Ideologies should be analyzed within the context of social struggle and political debate rather than simply as purveyors of false consciousness whose falsity is exposed and denounced by ideology critique. A diagnostic ideology critique looks behind the façade of ideology to see the social and historical forces and struggles that require it and to examine the cinematic apparatus and strategies that make ideologies attractive. Such a model of ideology criticism is not solely denunciatory; it also looks for

socially critical and oppositional moments within all ideological texts, including conservative ones. As feminists and others have argued, one should learn to read texts "against the grain," yielding progressive insights even from reactionary texts.

SEE ALSO *Marxism; Propaganda*

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Douglas Kellner

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VOLUME 3

INDEPENDENT FILM–ROAD MOVIES

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INDEPENDENT FILM

"Independence" is in many ways the Holy Grail in the film business—something most everyone who makes movies strives for but can never quite attain. To be independent in the film business denotes a freedom from something, whether the vicissitudes of the commercial market or the matrix of companies that dominate the production and distribution of motion pictures in America. Such an independence can be attained only by degree. So long as a feature is screened in commercial theaters and/or aired on pay or network TV, so long as it carries a PCA seal or MPAA rating system designation, independence is a relative term.

What then is meant by the term "independent film"? At bottom, independence is attained within either or both of the two principal and intersecting characteristics of the movies as a medium: the artistic and the commercial. Huntz Hall (1919–1999), an actor famous for his appearances in the Bowery Boy B movies of the 1940s, once mused that you can recognize an independent film with a simple test: if the whole set shakes when someone slams a door it's an independent film. Though reductive and true for only the least ambitious of independent pictures, Hall's quip hints at the larger budgetary concerns of the vast majority of independent films. What we have come to recognize as an independent aesthetic—small-ensemble casts, limited use of exterior and location shooting, and an emphasis on conversation over action and exciting special effects stems primarily from an effort to stay within tight budgets. There is a mantra shared by independent directors: "Talk is cheap; action is expensive." When budget considerations loom over a production, it is always cheaper to film two people talking in a room than a car chase or a UFO landing in Washington, D.C.

Independent films are also recognizable by how they are "platformed" in the entertainment marketplace, by the way promotion and advertising is handled, and by selective versus saturation distribution. Big films are released into thousands of theaters all at once, while with some independent titles, only a handful of prints are available for screening at any one time, and they are screened almost exclusively in small, so-called art-house theaters. At every stop along the way in the various commercial venues available for films in the United States, independent films are at once marginal and marginalized. Independence thus assumes a distance from the commercial mainstream that is systematically and industrially maintained.

Two Hollywood adages that inform independence are worth considering here. The first is a bastardization of an H. L. Menken quip: "When they say it's not about the money, it's about the money." In other words, what makes a film independent is its stake in the commercial marketplace: limited access (to big commercial venues) results in almost every instance in limited box office. An independent film is thus defined by the money it makes (not a lot) and the audience it reaches (a select, small group). The second adage is even more to the point: "You take the money, you lose control." It is generally believed that independence has something to do with a refusal to make concessions. To that end, the Independent Spirit Awards, founded by FINDIE (the Friends of Independents) in 1984, annually celebrate the "maverick tradition" of independent film in America. But such a maverick tradition, evinced in some producers' and directors' refusal to kowtow to industry pressures, is founded on the relative commercial inconsequence of the films in question. A degree

of independence is possible only when films make so little money they simply are not worth the studios' time or effort to own or control. The strange fact of American filmmaking, especially in the modern era, is that a director—even an unknown and inexperienced director—can expect to enjoy far more creative autonomy working on a $1.5–3 million so-called independent film than on a $15–30 million studio picture. The minute significant studio investment is in play, the minute significant box-office is at stake, a filmmaker's independence is subject to second-guessing by executives whose primary task is to protect the company's bottom line.

While the relation between independent and mainstream or commercial cinema has been an important question in every nation that has had an established film industry—Japan, India, France, Italy, and the United Kingdom, for example—what follows surveys the history of American independent cinema beginning with the very first alternatives to Edison's early films and the cartel he subsequently founded. Of interest as well are the niche films that proliferated in the early years of studio Hollywood, the Poverty Row B-genre pictures of the 1930s–1950s, exploitation cinema from the 1920s through the 1960s, the so-called new American cinema avant-garde in New York in the 1960s and 1970s, and the various independent cinemas that emerged as Hollywood conglomerized and monopolized the entertainment market after 1980.

INDEPENDENCE IN EARLY AND SILENT AMERICAN CINEMA

So far as most American film histories and the US Patent Office are concerned, movies in the United States began with Thomas Edison (1847–1931). First there were the patents on the Edison Kinetograph (the photographic apparatus that produced the pictures) and the Kinetoscope (the "peep show" viewing machine that exhibited them) in 1891. And then there was the first public demonstration of the Edison motion picture apparatus at the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences in May 1893, the place and date of what most agree was the first publicly exhibited movie. The speed at which things moved from this first showcase (which included the screening of Edison's crude moving picture *Blacksmith Scene,* showing three men, all Edison employees, hammering on an anvil for approximately twenty seconds) to the production of entertaining and occasionally edifying short movies was astonishingly fast. Edison had his Black Maria Studio in New Jersey fully outfitted by the time the Brooklyn Institute showcase was held. His first full slate of movies was available for screening by January of the following year.

In the spring of 1894, Edison renamed his company the Edison Manufacturing Company. The new name highlighted the business of making and selling Kinetoscope equipment that seemed so promising in 1894, and also clarified Edison's vision about the medium and his role in it. Movies were produced not by artists but by experts in the technology of motion picture production. They were made much as other products of industry were made on assembly lines, by nameless, faceless workers toiling on behalf of the company whose name was featured prominently on the product.

American cinema was initially just Edison, but domestic competition in the new medium emerged fairly soon thereafter. Viewing independent cinema as an alternative to a commercial mainstream, it is with these first companies that took on Edison that independent American cinema began. Edison's first real competitor was the American Mutoscope Company, later renamed the American Mutoscope and Biograph Company (routinely referred to simply as Biograph). Biograph was a particularly irksome competitor for two reasons: (1) one of the principals in research and development at the company was William K. L. Dickson (1860–1935), an inventor who resigned from his position at Edison in 1895 after doing most of the work on the Kinetograph and the Kinetoscope; and (2) the company worked in 70mm, a superior format that provided four times the image surface of the Edison and international industry standard of 35mm. With its first slate of films, Biograph courted the carnival crowd. While Edison stuck mostly to documentary short subjects, the Biograph company founders Harry Marvin, Herman Casler, Elias Koopman, and Dickson viewed cinema as first and foremost an attraction. Their first films featured boxing bouts and demonstrations of fire-fighting equipment, but soon thereafter their "bread and butter" became crude gag films (that is, short films that played out a single comic skit).

Once the movies caught on—and it did not take long—several other film companies emerged. In December 1908, when it became clear that such a free market (of independent film producers and distributors) might quickly cost Edison his prominent role in the industry, the inventor created the Motion Picture Patents Company (MPPC) trust. The trust linked the interests of Edison and nine of his competitors: Biograph, Vitagraph, Essanay, Kalem, Selig Polyscope, Lubin, Star Film, Pathé Freres, and Klein Optical. The MPPC effectively exploited key industry patents on motion picture technology to fix prices, restrict the distribution and exhibition of foreign-made pictures, regulate domestic production, and control film licensing and distribution. The trust was supported by an exclusive contract with the Eastman Kodak Company, the principal and at the time the only dependable provider

of raw film stock. By the end of 1908, the ten film companies comprising the MPPC owned and controlled the technology and maintained exclusive access to the raw material necessary to make movies. In 1910, the General Film Company, the key middle-man in the film production/distribution equation, joined forces with the MPPC trust, making an already strong cartel even stronger. With the help of General Film (which purchased studio films and then leased them to theaters) exhibitors could more quickly and more systematically change their programs. To meet the increase in demand for product, the studios ramped up production. Everyone made more money.

But despite such intra- and inter-industry collusion, the MPPC trust's domination of film production, distribution, and exhibition was short-lived. The first big problem for the MPPC arose in February 1911, when Kodak, miffed that it did not have a profit interest in the trust, exploited a clause in the original agreement and began to sell film stock to local independents. These independents had organized into a cartel of their own: the Motion Picture Distributing and Sales Corporation (or Sales Company). The Sales Company "independents," led by Carl Laemmle (1867–1939), William Fox (1879–1952), and Adolph Zukor (1873–1976), were well organized and fiercely competitive.

After the Kodak defection, non-MPPC production units boasted record revenues; by the end of 1911 they accounted for approximately 30 percent of the film market, a reasonably large piece of the pie in the absence of fair and free trade in the film market. To attract such a considerable market share, the independents introduced an alternative product: the multi-reel picture. As early as 1911, the independents were moving toward producing feature-length films. The MPPC trust maintained throughout its existence a strict single-reel, 16-minute standard.

In a landmark case, *The Motion Picture Patents Company v. IMP* (Laemmle's Independent Motion Picture Company), decided in August 1912, a US Circuit Court gave the independents access to formerly licensed and restricted equipment. The victory in court put the independents on a level playing field with the MPPC. By 1914, the MPPC was out of business and the so-called independents took over. Laemmle founded Universal, Fox founded Twentieth Century Fox, and Zukor founded Paramount. In the years to follow, what independent cinema would be independent of, and from, would be the very companies that first insisted upon independence from Edison and his cartel in 1911.

INDEPENDENCE IN CLASSICAL HOLLYWOOD

When the so-called independents successfully bucked the MPPC and became the ruling cartel in the film business, independent cinema became the province of small outfits making movies for small and specific target audiences. For example, as early as 1915, Noble Johnson's (1881–1978) Lincoln Film Company produced films made by and for African American audiences. These so-called "race films," like those directed by the entrepreneurial auteur Oscar Micheaux (1884–1951) (who went door to door to raise money to shoot his movies), played in select urban venues and on the "chitlin circuit" (venues in the Southeast where daily life featured a strict racial segregation). Another alternative independent cinema, Yiddish films, emerged to serve the many Eastern European immigrants in the urban northeast. Featuring dialogue in Yiddish, a language that combines elements of German and Hebrew and was spoken by many first-generation Jewish immigrants, these films had their own stars and exhibition venues. Over forty Yiddish language "talkies" were made between 1930 and 1950.

After the advent of sound, the studios standardized the film program. Going to the movies in the 1930s routinely involved seeing an A (big budget) and a B (low budget) feature, along with a newsreel, perhaps another live-action short (often a comedy) and/or a cartoon. The studios made their own B movies, which were distributed primarily to fill out a bill headlined by the studio's A attraction.

As demand for films to fill out double bills increased, smaller film companies emerged, giving rise to "Poverty Row." Most of the Poverty Row companies were headquartered in Gower Gulch, a small area in Hollywood that was home to the soon-to-be-major studio Columbia, as well as a handful of well-organized and financed smaller studios such as Republic, Monogram, Grand National, Mascot, Tiffany, and some more transient production outfits like Peerless, Reliable, Syndicate, Big-Four, and Superior. The Poverty Row companies filled out film bills with inexpensive formulaic genre pictures. Though far less ambitious than the bigger studios, they made films faster than their better financed counterparts. Speed proved a distinct advantage when responding to fads, such as the singing cowboy rage in the mid-1930s. Republic was quick to exploit the fad with films featuring Gene Autry (1907–1998), such as *Tumbling Tumbleweeds* (1935), and Grand National banked on their singing cowpoke Tex Ritter (1905–1974) in *Sing, Cowboy, Sing* (1937). The B western was extremely popular in the 1930s, as were cowboy stars such as Johnny Mack (1904–1974), Harry Carey (1878–1947), Hoot Gibson (1892–1962), Tom Mix (1880–1940), and the soon-to-be A-list movie star, John Wayne (1907–1979).

B action-adventure films were made to take advantage of the popularity of a previous studio film or current radio show. For example, Republic made an adventure

SAMUEL Z. ARKOFF

b. Fort Dodge, Iowa, 12 June 1918, d. 16 September 2001

In 1979, the Museum of Modern Art in New York held a retrospective tribute to the producer Samuel Z. Arkoff and his company American International Pictures (AIP). At the time, Arkoff seemed an unlikely choice for such an honor. For well over twenty years in the film business he had clung to a single guiding principle: "Thou shalt not put too much money into any one picture." The sorts of films he produced at AIP were as far from the high art world of the museum as one could imagine.

A quick look at Arkoff's oeuvre at AIP between 1954 and 1979 presents daunting evidence of his success as a purveyor of a particular sort of teen-oriented exploitation cinema. He made over 500 films, including *The Fast and the Furious* (1954), *The Day the World Ended* (Roger Corman, 1956), *Hot Rod Girl* (1956), *Shake, Rattle and Rock* (1956), *I Was a Teenage Werewolf* (1957), *The Cool and the Crazy* (1958), *The Pit and the Pendulum* (1961), *The Raven* (1963), *Beach Party* 1963), *Dementia 13* (1963), *Summer Holiday* (1963), *The T.A.M.I. Show* 1965), *The Wild Angels* (1966), *What's Up, Tiger Lily?* (1966), *The Trip* (1967), *Wild in the Streets* (1968), *Three in the Attic* (1968), *Bloody Mama* (1970), *The Abominable Dr. Phibes* (1971), *Boxcar Bertha* (1972), *Blacula* (1972), *Dillinger* (1973), *The Little Girl Who Lives Down the Lane* (1976), and following the sale of AIP to Filmways, *Love at First Bite* (1979), *The Amityville Horror* (1979), and *Dressed to Kill* (1980).

With his long-time partner James Nicholson, Arkoff, a lawyer by training but a huckster by instinct, clung to a simple template, the so-called "A.R.K.O.F.F. formula": *A*ction (excitement and drama), *R*evolution (controversial or revolutionary ideas), *K*illing (or at least a degree of violence), *O*ratory (memorable speeches and dialogue), *F*antasy (popular dreams and wishes acted out), and *F*ornication (sex appeal, to both men and women). Though best known today for the Beach Party films (1963–1965) and his adaptations of Edgar Allan Poe stories (all directed by Roger Corman between 1960–1965), Arkoff should be remembered more for the opportunities he provided over the years to talented writers, directors and actors struggling to make it in Hollywood, including Francis Coppola, Martin Scorsese, Peter Yates, Woody Allen, Robert Towne, Peter Fonda, Bruce Dern, and Jack Nicholson. AIP films inevitably bore the Arkoff stamp, no matter who wrote, directed, or starred in the feature. Though he never directed a film, Samuel Z. Arkoff was one of the most prolific and influential independent filmmakers of the twentieth century.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

The Fast and the Furious (1954), *The Day the World Ended* (1956), *The Pit and the Pendulum* (1961), *The Raven* (1963), *Beach Party* (1963), *The Wild Angels* (1966), *The Trip* (1967), *Wild in the Streets* (1968), *Three in the Attic* (1968)

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Jon Lewis

film set in India titled *Storm Over Bengal* (1938), after *Lives of a Bengal Lancer* (1935) and *The Charge of the Light Brigade* (1936) were successful for the major studios. Grand National produced a series of films featuring "The Shadow," a character on a popular radio suspense show. A tendency to reflect (writ small) the work being produced at the major studios dominated independent B-movie production at the time, suggesting a dependence on (rather than independence from) the studios for raw material. This commitment to simple genre entertainment mirrored the less ambitious aspects of studio filmmaking. Thus the notion that B-movie studios provided an alternative to studio fare seems, at least in the studio era, inaccurate.

Samuel Z. Arkoff. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

While the B-movie studios made films to fill out programs headlined by studio A pictures in exchange for a quick, modest payoff, exploitation filmmakers like Kroger Babb (1906–1980), a savvy carnival huckster, made films that openly defied the strictures of the MPPDA production code. Kroger is best known today for his sex-hygiene film *Mom and Dad* (1945), which dealt with material (venereal disease and teen pregnancy) that mainstream films could not, and did so with frankness and explicitness. Because of its prurient content, *Mom and Dad* could not be shown as part of a larger, legitimate film program. Instead Babb traveled with his film, renting out theaters for a weekend (an arrangement called "four-walling"), and staging his own film shows. Babb advertised his shows with lurid posters (which would have been forbidden by the mainstream industry's Production Code) promising just what the studios could not deliver: "Everything shown. Everything explained." To give the show a semblance of respectability, for many of the screenings of *Mom and Dad* Babb hired an actor to play the part of the noted sexologist Dr. Elliot Forbes, who, after the screening, answered questions from the crowd. Like any good huckster, Babb made a lot of money by never overestimating the intelligence and taste of his audience.

Throughout its existence, exploitation cinema depended upon an apparent defiance of commercial Hollywood, a defiance signaled by its promise of material prohibited in more mainstream fare. One popular exploitation genre in the 1950s was the nudist colony film. Films such as *Garden of Eden* (1955), *Naked As Nature Intended* (1961), and *World without Shame* (1962) showed ample on-screen nudity, which was forbidden by the Production Code. Claiming documentary status of a sort, nudist colony films successfully challenged previous limitations on First Amendment protection for cinema. In the precedent-setting 1957 case *Excelsior Pictures v. New York Board of Regents* attending a New York ban on screenings of *Garden of Eden*, a state appeals court found that nudity per se on screen was not obscene. Such a ruling freed exploitation cinema to go even further. In 1959, the independent filmmaker Russ Meyer (1922–2004) produced *The Immoral Mr. Teas*, a film about a man who gets conked on the head and acquires a gift of sorts, the ability to see through women's clothing.

Meyer's film—made very much with the Excelsior decision in mind—spawned a brief new wave of independent exploitation pictures. These more visually explicit films included a variety of colorfully termed new genres: nudie cuties (suggestive, often light comedies with nudity but no touching, such as *Mr. Peter's Pets* [1962], *Tonight for Sure* [1962], and *Adam Lost His Apple* [1965]); roughies (depicting anti-social behavior as well as nudity, as in *The Defilers* [1965] and *The Degenerates* 1967); kinkies (with revealing titles such as *Olga's House of Shame* [1964], *The Twisted Sex* [1966], and *Love Camp 7* [1969]); and ghoulies (merging kink with gruesome humor, as in *Satan's Bed* [1965] and *Mantis in Lace* [1968]). The common element among all these independent exploiters was on-screen nudity.

Striking a less salacious note, another group of independent filmmakers in the 1950s and 1960s took aim at the burgeoning youth culture and found a ready and willing audience. Chief among the purveyors of this slightly tamer exploitation cinema were Samuel Z. Arkoff (1918–2001) and Roger Corman (b. 1926), who together and then separately released films under the American International Pictures (AIP) and New World banners. Notable among Arkoff's oeuvre as a producer and distributor of low budget exploiters are two film

Peter Fonda (standing, center) in* The Wild Angels *(Roger Corman, 1966), produced by Samuel Z. Arkoff. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

franchises, the Beach Party films (*Beach Party* [1963], *Muscle Beach Party* [1964], *Bikini Beach* [1964], *Beach Blanket Bingo* [1964], and *How to Stuff a Wild Bikini* [1965], all directed by William Asher [b. 1921]); and a series of adaptations of Edgar Allan Poe stories starring the veteran horror film actor Vincent Price (1911–1993) (*House of Usher* [1960], *Pit and the Pendulum* [1961], *Tales of Terror* [1962], *The Raven* [1963], and *The Tomb of Ligeria* [1965], all directed by Corman). While the vast majority of Arkoff's films, bearing titles such as *The Beast with a Million Eyes* (1956) and *Dr. Goldfoot and the Bikini Machine* (1965), were produced quickly and cheaply and paid off modestly at the box office, a few of his later titles—*The Wild Angels* 1966), a motorcycle film starring Peter Fonda that foreshadowed and foregrounded *Easy Rider* (1969), and the sex-farce *Three in the Attic* (1966)—were top-twenty films for their year of release.

With producer credit on well over 300 films in over forty years in the business working for Arkoff at AIP and then at his own company, New World Pictures, Roger Corman became the most important and most successful purveyor of low-brow independent cinema in American motion picture history. Key titles in Corman's oeuvre (in addition to those mentioned above) include his own *A Bucket of Blood* (1959), *Little Shop of Horrors* (1960), and *The Trip* (1967), as well as *Dementia 13* (1963), Francis Coppola's first film as a director.

Another important exploitation filmmaker is George Romero (b. 1940) whose series of zombie films—*Night of the Living Dead* (1968), *Dawn of the Dead* (1978), *Day of the Dead* (1985), and *Land of the Dead* (2005)—have acquired for the director a cult status of sorts. The bloodletting in Romero's films is so extreme that many in his intended audience—young horror film fans, mostly—find them funny. Despite an almost campy appeal,

terrible acting, and low-end production values, many serious critics and reviewers seem drawn to his films as well. They have found the films profoundly political, even "important," contending, for example, that *Night of the Living Dead* offers a commentary on race relations, with its black American hero who is hunted in the end by a white sheriff and his vigilante posse, or that *Land of the Dead* should be seen as a metaphor to post-9/11 hysteria. Romero is unusual among American auteurs in that he has displayed a commitment to his adopted hometown of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, where he shoots and sets most of his films. Romero is one of America's few regional auteurs.

While exploitation filmmakers like Arkoff, Corman, and Romero offered an alternative, independent cinema that pushed the boundaries of good taste and resisted the strictures of content regulation, in the 1960s a group of New York filmmakers emerged offering their own independent alternative to commercial Hollywood filmmaking. The filmmakers in this so-called "New American Cinema" borrowed from avant-garde theater and visual art and from documentary cinema to produce an alternative to the escapist cinema produced on the West Coast. Filmmakers such as Robert Frank (b. 1924) and Alfred Leslie (b. 1927) (*Pull My Daisy*, 1958), Michael Roemer (b. 1928) (*Nothing But a Man*, 1964), Shirley Clarke (1919–1997) (*The Cool World*, 1964), and most famously John Cassavetes (1929–1989) (*Shadows*, 1959; *Faces*, 1968) made avowedly personal films with a seeming disregard for box-office appeal. Employing realist aesthetics and improvisational acting, these films provided an antidote of sorts to the fantasy world perpetuated by the mainstream studios.

Of these New York–based filmmakers, only Cassavetes enjoyed any significant crossover success. For almost three decades, Cassavetes financed his independent films in part from money he made as an actor in mainstream pictures such as *Rosemary's Baby* (1968) and he brought an actor's sensibility to his work. In an effort to create the impression of realism, Cassavetes asked his actors to think, talk, and behave in character. Such an emphasis on improvisation made his films seem slow and talky to the uninitiated, but they nonetheless felt "real" and packed a profound emotional punch. In addition to *Faces* and *Shadows*, notable among his films as a director are *A Woman under the Influence* (1964), *The Killing of a Chinese Bookie* (1976), and *Gloria* (1980), all films about otherwise unexceptional people brought to the end of their rope by the pressures of everyday life.

Historians routinely locate the roots of Cassavetes's rebellion against commercial Hollywood in the avant-garde cinema of the 1930s and 1940s (filmmakers like Ralph Steiner [1899–1986], Paul Strand [1890–1976], and Maya Deren [1917–1961]), but a more proximate source lay in the various, mostly thwarted efforts at independence by movie stars and directors to gain more control over their films and by extension their careers during the so-called classical or studio era. For example, James Cagney (1899–1986), one of Warners' biggest stars, bristled at continued typecasting and broke with the studio. In 1942 he established (with his brother, the producer William Cagney) Cagney Productions, an independent production outfit. Though the move gained Cagney a modicum of freedom and independence, the cost of releasing a film made a distribution deal with a studio a necessity and thus made real independence impossible. The director Fritz Lang (1890–1976) similarly broke with the studios to establish independence, but like Cagney, Lang could not get his films into the marketplace without studio help. Cassavetes seemed to learn from the frustrations of Cagney and Lang and scaled his productions down so significantly that he maintained a degree of autonomy on the far margins of the studio system.

INDEPENDENCE IN THE NEW HOLLYWOOD

During the 1970s, a period historians have since termed the "auteur renaissance," an independent spirit emerged within mainstream, commercial cinema. Directors like Francis Ford Coppola (b. 1939), Martin Scorsese (b. 1942), Robert Altman (b. 1925), Stanley Kubrick (1928–1999), Peter Bogdanovich (b. 1939), Terrence Malick (b. 1943), Brian De Palma (b. 1940), Steven Spielberg (b. 1946), and George Lucas (b. 1944) enjoyed an independence within the system that was unique in American film history. Auteur films like Altman's *M*A*S*H* (1970), Coppola's *The Godfather* (1972), and Spielberg's *Jaws* (1975) made a lot of money for the studios, all of which were struggling after an almost generation-long box-office slump. But the studios' indulgence of the auteur theory was by design temporary; it held executives' interest only as long as was necessary. Once the studios got back on their feet at the end of the decade, they abandoned the auteurs in favor of more formulaic films produced by directors who required and/or demanded less autonomy and independence.

Most of the 1970s auteur directors struggled in the 1980s: Coppola, Scorsese, and De Palma made fewer films and their work had far less impact after 1980; Altman adapted stage plays for art-house release; and Kubrick, Bogdanovich, and Malick went into semi-retirement. The only two directors to continue their ascent were Spielberg and Lucas, and consequently their particular brand of entertainment cinema became the industry template.

Maggie Cousineau-Arndt and David Strathairn in John Sayles's* Return of the Secaucus Seven *(1980). **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

It was counter to this Spielberg-Lucas template that a renaissance of sorts in independent cinema took shape in the 1980s. This indie scene became the site for a new American cinema, one that again mirrored on a smaller scale what had taken place in bigger films, for bigger stakes, just a decade earlier. Consider, for example, the top studio films of 1984: *Ghost Busters*, *Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom*, *Gremlins*, *Beverly Hills Cop*, and *Star Trek III: The Search for Spock*, all of which depended on special effects and/or star-power and were platformed as event films in wide distribution strategies that only a major studio could afford to mount.

The studios' collective embrace of the so-called event film enabled an independent film market to emerge, or perhaps it just made necessary. At a time when the studios were committed to a kind of bottom-line thinking that emphasized cost–benefit analysis (typical of production units under conglomerate ownership in any business), independence became once again a matter of cash and content. Independent films produced and released in 1984 included Jim Jarmusch's (b. 1953) stagey, offbeat comedy *Stranger Than Paradise* (shot in overlong single takes and in black and white); Wayne Wang's (b. 1949) small ethnic picture *Dim Sum: A Little Bit of Heart*, a character study of Chinese Americans; Gregory Nava's (b. 1949) unflinching chronicle of Mexican "illegals," *El Norte*; John Sayles's (b. 1950) futurist parable *Brother From Another Planet*, which tells the story of a drug-addicted alien loose in New York City; Alan Rudolph's stylish neo-noir *Choose Me*; veteran independent filmmaker John Cassavetes's melodrama *Love Streams*; and Robert Altman's adaptation of a one-man stage play about Richard Nixon's last days in the White House, *Secret Honor*.

Independent films the following year included *Blood Simple*, the stark, deadpan neo-noir by the Coen brothers (Joel, b. 1954, and Ethan, b. 1957) that was the talk of the 1985 New York Film Festival; Susan Seidelman's (b. 1952) punk-inspired romantic comedy *Desperately Seeking Susan*; Horton Foote's (b. 1916) regional comedy adapted from his stage play *The Trip to Bountiful*; and Martin Scorsese's *After Hours*, a film that tracks a single eventful night in the life of one very unlucky New Yorker. That a filmmaker of Scorsese's reputation had to turn to the indie scene to make a movie speaks volumes on the state of the industry at the time.

While independence afforded these filmmakers a degree of creative freedom, it also relegated their films to a modest art house release. Very few independent films have crossed over into commercial theaters in any big way. Among the few that have are *Pulp Fiction* by Quentin Tarantino (b. 1963), distributed by Miramax in 1994, which grossed over $100 million, as did the surprise 1999 teen horror picture *The Blair Witch Project* for Artisan. A few film festival winners like Steven Soderbergh's (b. 1963) *sex, lies and videotape* (1989) or David Lynch's (b. 1946) *Mulholland Drive* (2001) have crossed over to modest mainstream commercial successes, but these are rare exceptions. For every crossover success such as *Napoleon Dynamite* (2004), a droll comedy produced for $400,000 that earned over $40 million, there are hundreds of independent films that reach only small audiences and are hurried into DVD and video release. These films seldom turn much of a profit.

Niche films (that is, films produced by and for a very specific and small target market) comprise essential indie product lines, but almost never enjoy crossover success. For example, lesbian-themed films such as *Go Fish* (1994), *The Incredibly True Adventure of Two Girls in Love* (1995), *High Art* (1998), and *Better than Chocolate* (1999), which are thematically similar but very different in tone and content, all earned about the same amount ($2 million). Such relatively dependable but modest payoffs await any reasonable effort at meeting the needs of the lesbian audience, which might be acceptable for a small outfit like TriMark, distributor of *Better than Chocolate*; but for the big studios in the 1990s such action was distinctly small time.

Niche films are consistent, modest moneymakers because niche audiences are starved for films about people like themselves. Many of these films are written and directed by women and people of color—who, in Hollywood studios, are seriously underrepresented behind the camera and in the front office. The ranks of 1980s and 1990s indie filmmaking is a who's who of "minority" and distaff filmmakers: Charles Burnett (*The Glass Shield*, 1995), Lisa Cholodenko, Martha Coolidge (*Valley Girl*, 1983), Sofia Coppola (*The Virgin Suicides*, 2001, and *Lost in Translation*, 2003), Rusty Cundieff (*Fear of a Black Hat*, 1994), Vondie Curtis-Hall (*Gridlock'd*, 1997), Julie Dash (*Daughters of the Dust*, 1991), Tamra Davis (*Guncrazy*, 1992), Cheryl Dunye (*The Watermelon Woman*, 1996), Carl Franklin (*One False Move*, 1992), Leslie Harris (*Just Another Girl on the IRT*, 1992), Nicole Holofcener (*Walking and Talking*, 1996, and *Lovely and Amazing*, 2001), Reginald Hudlin (*House Party*, 1990), Leon Ichaso (*Crossover Dreams*, 1985), Tamara Jenkins (*Slums of Beverly Hills*, 1998), Spike Lee, Kasi Lemmons (*Eve's Bayou*, 1997), Jennie Livingston (*Paris is Burning*, 1991), Maria Maggenti, Gregory Nava, Kimberly Pierce (*Boys Don't Cry*, 2000), Matty Rich (*Straight Out of Brooklyn*, 1991), Nancy Savoca (*True Love*, 1989, and *Dogfight*, 1991), Penelope Spheeris (*The Decline of Western Civilization*, 1981), Susan Seidelman (*Smithereens*, 1982), Jill Sprecher (*The Clockwatchers*, 1997, and *Thirteen Conversations About One Thing*, 2001), Julie Taymor (*Frida*, 2002), Robert Townsend, Rose Troche, Luis Valdez (*Zoot Suit*, 1981), Wayne Wang, and Anne Wheeler. Add to the list above openly gay male directors or directors who specialize in gay-themed films, such as Gregg Araki (*The Doom Generation*, 1995) and Todd Haynes (*Poison*, 1991), and it becomes clear how much and how completely independent cinema, which is showcased almost exclusively at art houses and/or in limited theatrical runs, is at once marginal (to the commercial cinematic enterprise) and marginalized.

Most of even the best-known indie titles—including those that fall into more traditional commercial genres—make far less of an impact at the box office than one might suspect. *The Addiction* (1995), *Bodies Rest and Motion* (1993), *Box of Moon Light* (1997), *The Clockwatchers* (1998), *Fear of a Black Hat* (1993), *Federal Hill* (1994), *Female Perversions* (1997), *Heathers* (1989), *The House of Yes* (1997), *Just Another Girl on the IRT* (1993), *Killing Zoe* (1994), *Matewan* (1987), *Men With Guns* (1998), *Naked in New York* (1994), *Party Girl* (1995), *Simple Men* (1992), and *The Underneath* (1994) are among the most highly regarded, well-known, and popular films, but they all made $1 million or less at the box office—1/100 as much as the average blockbuster.

INDEPENDENCE IN CONTEMPORARY HOLLYWOOD

Auteurism and independence converged in the early 1980s as Hollywood conglomerized and the new Hollywood studios devoted their attention to blockbuster filmmaking. The audacity and creativity that had fueled the Hollywood renaissance of the 1970s got pushed out

JOHN SAYLES

b. Schenectady, New York, 28 September 1950

John Sayles is one of the most important [of] contemporary independent filmmakers. Because his loyal fan base shares his politics, Sayles has consistently been able to provide an alternative to the big bang of the often politically conservative Hollywood blockbuster. Making movies that depend on meaningful conversation and tackle significant moral issues, Sayles has produced films of ideas at a time when they seem sadly lacking in mainstream cinema.

Like his fellow cineastes Francis Coppola and Martin Scorsese, John Sayles got his first big break from exploitation impresario Roger Corman, for whom he wrote a screenplay for the tongue-in-cheek gore-fest *Piranha* (1978). A year later, Sayles earned legitimate success, winning a Los Angeles Film Critics Award for his more personal screenplay, *The Return of the Secaucas Seven* (1980), his debut as a writer-director. *The Return of the Secaucas Seven*, the story of a handful of twentysomethings trying to make sense of contemporary America, established something of a template for Sayles with its emphasis on dialogue and multiple intersecting narratives.

With the money earned for his screenplays for the Corman-produced sci-fi quickie *Battle Beyond the Stars* (1980) and the excellent werewolf film *The Howling* (1981), Sayles wrote and directed *Lianna* (1983), a film about a young woman struggling with her sexual preference. At a time when Hollywood dealt with lesbianism as either kinky or aberrant, Sayles handled the issue with an admirable matter-of-fact realism.

Sayles took on another hot-button issue, labor relations, with his subsequent film *Matewan* (1987), a historical reconstruction of an ill-fated West Virginia coalminers' strike in the 1920s. And in his next film *Eight Men Out* (1988), about the infamous "Black Sox Scandal" of the 1919 World Series, Sayles delivered a similarly heartfelt pro-union message—noteworthy because at the time the anti-union sentiments of Reaganomics held sway in America. While the story pivots on a moral transgression, Sayles focused instead on the exploitation of the players by team owner Charles Comiskey. Though what the players do is wrong, Sayles renders the story in terms that make one crime an inevitable response to another.

Sayles cemented his reputation as a political filmmaker by focusing his attention on race issues. *The Brother from Another Planet* (1984) told the story of a black alien who lands in the inner city and gets hooked on drugs. The ironically titled *City of Hope* (1991) focused on the thorny issue of affirmative action in a small metropolis. *Lone Star* (1996), for which Sayles received an Academy Award® nomination for Best Screenplay, examined Mexican-American relations in a border town and *Sunshine State* (2002) took a long look at the human cost of gentrification at an old Florida beachfront town abutting the one beach where African Americans could swim during segregation.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Return of the Secaucus Seven (1980), *Brother from Another Planet* (1984), *Matewan* (1987), *Eight Men Out* (1988), *Lone Star* (1996), *Sunshine State* (2002)

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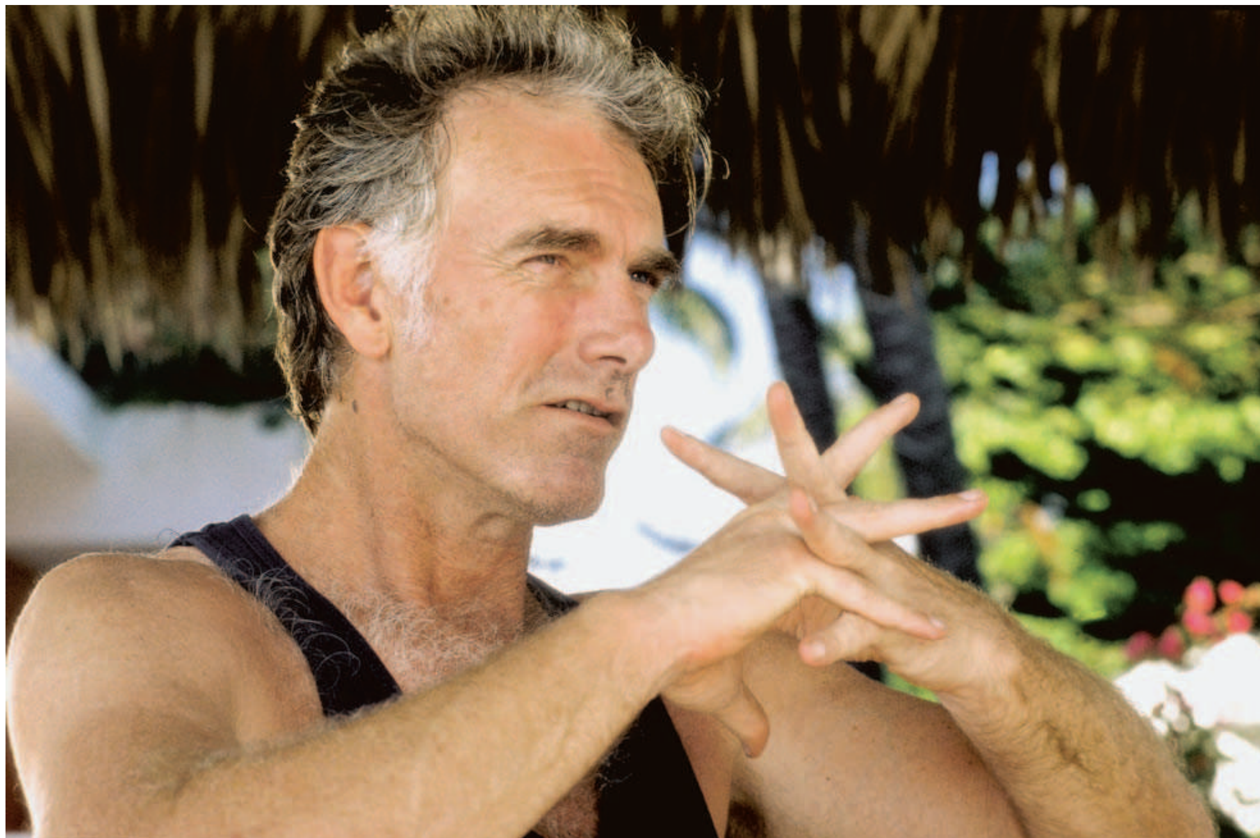
of or at least found a new home on the margins of the studio mainstream. This remained an accurate description of the Hollywood/indie divide throughout the subsequent twenty-five years even as the independent landscape slowly changed.

In the 1990s, in an effort to cash in on the "alternative market," several of the big studios added boutique, so-called indie-labels to their vast entertainment industry holdings. For example, Sony spun-off Sony Classics and Fox added Fox Searchlight. Disney expanded its holdings



John Sayles on the set of Casa de los Babys *(2003).* © IFC FILMS/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

by boldly acquiring Miramax, and in doing so diversified the former family-friendly company into the world of edgy independent fare. These corporate moves rendered "independent" a profoundly misleading term. The studio-owned and operated boutique houses had vast capital resources and even though, like their more independent indie predecessors, they acquired for distribution modest-budgeted, independently produced films often picked up at so-called independent film venues like the Sundance and Toronto Film Festivals, by century's end they had all but cornered the art-house market.

The notion of independence has always been conditional (one is always independent of or from someone or something) and partial (the marketplace has always required certain concessions to the commercial mainstream). But however these contemporary "independent" films were made and marketed they continued to offer a degree of creative freedom and market access to directors working outside the commercial mainstream.

A quick look at the important independent films in the contemporary era reveals a wide range of auteur pictures, genre movies, and niche-audience projects. Prominent among the auteur projects were two films by Quentin Tarantino—his two-part postmodern revenge fantasy *Kill Bill, Vol. 1* (2003) and *Kill Bill, Vol. 2* (2004). Though Tarantino was by 2003 something of a household name and certainly a Hollywood A-list director, his continued association with Miramax and his self-promotion as a renegade Hollywood player was consistent with the concept if not the fact of independence. Much the same can be said for Steven Soderbergh, who continued to alternate projects between the studio mainstream (the popular biopic *Erin Brockovich*) and the more marginal (the political tour de force *Traffic*, 1999).

Other directors similarly interested in forging a place for themselves outside the commercial mainstream and in doing so establishing a unique and uncompromised auteur signature followed Tarantino and Soderbergh's lead. Here again the fact of independence was less significant than the indie reputation one gained by associating oneself with even a boutique indie label. Key players here include the playwright/filmmaker Neil LaBute (the surreal comedy *Nurse Betty*, 1999), Darren Aronofsky (the wildly stylized study of drug addiction, *Requiem for*

a Dream, 1999), Christopher Nolan (the thriller *Memento*, 2000, about a man with no short-term memory caught in the middle of a murder mystery), and Todd Solondz (the sexually explicit college-set drama *Storytelling*, 2001). While opportunities for women directors remained scant in mainstream Hollywood, a number of young female auteurs got the opportunity to direct low budget indie features. Some delved into contemporary questions regarding gender identity (Kimberly Peirce's *Boys Don't Cry*, 1999), while others explored growing up female (Catherine Hardwicke's *Thirteen* and Sofia Coppola's *The Virgin Suicides*, 1999).

A number of indie titles were marketed to large niche audiences, most significantly the youth audience. The most popular indie film of all time was the teen-horror picture *The Blair Witch Project* (1999), a film that to great effect aped the look and style of a typical student film. Several more polished alternative teen horror films followed, many of them played with equal amounts of thrills and satire: Wes Craven's popular *Scream* series–*Scream* (1996), *Scream 2* (1997), and *Scream 3* (2000) and the *Scary Movie* franchise–*Scary Movie* (2000), *Scary Movie 2* (2001), and *Scary Movie 3* (2003)–were all distributed by Miramax's teen-label Dimension Films. While bawdy teen comedies like *American Pie* (1999) and its sequels (*American Pie 2*, 2001, and *American Wedding*, 2003) continued to be a staple among the major studio release slates, a series of darker, more troubling teenpics appeared on the indie circuit, films like Richard Kelly's exploration of adolescent madness *Donnie Darko* (2001), the disconcerting coming of age film *Igby Goes Down* (2002), the nerd satire *Napoleon Dynamite* (2004), the anti-establishment road trip picture *Harold and Kumar Go to White Castle* (2004), and the generation-next coming of age movie *Garden State* (2004).

Making a film on the indie circuit also offered opportunities to mainstream performers, especially movie stars, to acquire something akin to "indie cred." At the very least, it allowed glamorous movie stars a chance to showcase their talent playing "against type." For example, the beautiful African American actress Halle Berry won an Academy Award® for her performance in Marc Foster's *Monster's Ball* (2001). With an unflattering haircut, little makeup, and dingy clothes, Berry played a waitress who has an affair with a racist jailer after her husband is executed. Two years later, the South African model turned star actress Charlize Theron followed Berry's lead winning an Oscar® for her portrayal of the serial killer Aileen Wuornos in Patty Jenkins's *Monster*.

Diversifying into the small indie market has had its advantages for the major film companies. Though many of their boutique titles have not made them much money, they have added much-needed prestige to industry release slates otherwise dominated by empty action pictures. When boutique releases win prizes at festivals like Sundance, Cannes, Venice, Berlin, and Toronto or awards at the Golden Globes or Oscars®, they boost the studio's reputation. Control over the indie-sector also gives the major studios something very close to complete control over the entire American cinema landscape, a degree of control that in the 21st century renders the term "independent" not only conditional but perhaps even obsolete.

SEE ALSO *Art Cinema; Exhibition; Exploitation Films; Producer; Studio System; Yiddish Cinema*

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INDIA

The fact that India annually produces more films than any other nation is frequently acknowledged but easily misunderstood. "Indian cinema" identifies a diverse range of popular and art cinemas regularly produced in at least half a dozen languages for large but distinct audiences within and outside India. For much of the West, Indian cinema was long identified almost exclusively with the work of the Bengali director Satyajit Ray (1921–1992), whose realist films consciously differed from the majority of those made in India. Increased international awareness of the popular Hindi-language film industry in Bombay (now officially Mumbai), known with both affection and condescension as Bollywood, can lead to the inference that all Indian cinema adheres to a song-filled melodramatic formula. Yet reducing Indian cinema to either Ray's art films or a generic *masala* (spicy mix) model misrepresents Indian cinema, as international film critics have begun to point out. Moreover, the complex history of cinema in India—with roots in ancient culture, material origins under British colonialism, and local dominance following independence—also challenges easy generalizations about what is among the world's most heterogeneous as well as prolific national cinemas.

EARLY INDIAN CINEMA

The deepest cultural roots of Indian cinema may be ancient: the Sanskrit epics the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* remain familiar sources for film narratives and allusions, and classical *rasa* (juice, or flavor) aesthetics is sometimes cited to explain the mixture of diverse elements found in popular Indian films. The central visual interaction of Hindu worship, *darshan* (viewing), has also been identified as a cultural source for the regular formal reliance on frontal framing and direct address in popular cinema. Theatrical forms such as the Westernized Parsi (or Parsee) theater and the Marathi Sangeet Natak (musical theater) immediately preceded the arrival of cinema and provided more direct sources for some of the techniques (such as the regular incorporation of song and dance) that distinguish Indian cinema, and these also supplied many of the new medium's first performers and financiers. The mass-produced lithographs of Raja Ravi Varma (1848–1906), often depicting Hindu gods and goddesses in naturalistic forms and settings, were also influential transitional works encouraging the adaptation of Indian visual traditions into the realistic media of early photography and film.

Cinema itself first appeared in India when the Lumière Cinématographe was exhibited in Bombay at Watson's Hotel on 7 July 1896. Screenings in Calcutta and Madras soon followed, and by 1898 the Indian photographers Hiralal Sen (1866–1917) (founder of the Royal Bioscope Company in Calcutta) and H. S. Bhatavdekar (b. 1868) began producing short films and recording popular theater performances. Although he was not the first Indian to shoot or exhibit films, the "father of Indian cinema" is justifiably identified as Dhundiraj Govind (Dadasaheb) Phalke (1870–1944), whose *Raja Harishchandra* (1913), drawn from a story in the *Mahabharata*, initiated feature-length narrative films of distinctively Indian character. According to legend, viewing a film depicting the life of Christ inspired Phalke to put Hindu gods on screen, a motive that aligned him with the *swadeshi* (indigenous) movement demanding independence from Britain through boycott of foreign

goods. Following Phalke's lead, well over a thousand silent films were produced in India, but the fact that few have survived frustrates accurate accounts of the first decades of cinema produced in India.

In 1906 J. F. Madan's Elphinstone Bioscope Company in Calcutta began regular film production, and by 1917 Baburao Painter established the Maharashtra Film Company in Kolhapur. For the following two decades, an expanding studio system would ensure steady film production throughout India: by the early 1930s, major studios such as New Theatres (Calcutta), Prabhat (Pune), and the Bombay-based Kohinoor Film Company, Imperial Film Company, Wadia Movietone, Ranjit Movietone, and Bombay Talkies offered audiences commercially differentiated genres and distinctive stars. Himansu Rai's Bombay Talkies, organized as a corporation, relied on European financing, technology, and talent (notably the German director Franz Osten [1876–1956]); in 1940 Rai's widow and the studio's biggest female star, Devika Rani (1907–1994), took over the company. India's first sound film, *Alam Ara* (1931), directed by Ardeshir M. Irani (1886–1969) for Imperial, firmly established the importance of song and dance sequences in popular Indian cinema as well as the future identification of Indian films along regional lines determined by language. By the following year, V. Shantaram (1901–1990) began to direct innovative films in both Marathi and Hindi for Prabhat (often starring the legendary actress Durga Khote [1905–1991]), demonstrating Indian cinema's quick adjustment to new sound technologies as well as different linguistic markets. However, as Bombay became the center of Indian film production, a variety of spoken Hindi—or Hindustani—would soon establish itself as Indian cinema's dominant screen language.

INDIAN CINEMA AFTER INDEPENDENCE

Amid the deprivations of World War II (including shortages of raw film stock), increased colonial censorship, a devastating famine in Bengal, and the traumatic partition of India and Pakistan upon independence in 1947, the studio system in India came to an end. But the optimism of the era embodied by the first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru (who served from 1947 to 1964), also led to a revitalized Hindi cinema under the impact of new independent production companies established by key directors like Mehboob Khan (1907–1964) and Bimal Roy (1909–1966). In addition, actor-directors like Raj Kapoor (1924–1988) and Guru Dutt (1925–1964) became brand names in the industry: Kapoor created R. K. Films; Sippy and Rajshree Films became the banner for several generations of the Sippy and Barjatya families, respectively; and brothers B. R. (b. 1914) and Yash Chopra (b. 1932) created their own B. R. Chopra and Yashraj production companies. Previously unknown artists dislocated by Partition arrived from the newly created state of Pakistan and rose to stardom as actors, directors, or producers, becoming urban legends. The rich body of films produced in the 1950s, the decade following independence, frequently balanced entertainment and social commentary, the latter often supplied by an infusion of talent affiliated with the leftist Progressive Writers Association and the Indian Peoples' Theatre Association, a talent pool that marshaled cinema for covert political messages before independence and continued to project Nehru's optimism about nation-building for about a decade after independence. Driven by stars and songs, the popular cinema firmly established itself in the daily lives and cultural imaginations of millions of Indians as well as audiences in the Soviet Union, China, and elsewhere. This "golden age" of Hindi cinema was ending just as Satyajit Ray's first films were receiving international attention, and the 1960s would draw sharp distinctions between formulaic commercial cinema and what would be called the New Indian Cinema, the latter signaling both a shift in form and content as well as a reliance on state-sponsored financing never available to mainstream cinema.

The 1970s was a period of rising worker, peasant, and student unrest. In this changing political climate, films became more strident in addressing endemic corruption and the state's inability to stem it, and upheld the victimized working-class hero as challenging the status quo. These films, including *Deewar* (*The Wall*, 1975) and the massive hit *Sholay* (*Flames*, 1975), became the insignia of superstar Amitabh Bachchan (b. 1942), who embodied the "angry young man" during Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's "Emergency" clampdown on civil liberties (from 1975 to 1977) and into the mid-1980s. They departed significantly from 1950s films in their lack of optimism and from 1960s films in the radically truncated attention to the hero's romantic love interest. However, from the late 1980s on, the eclipse of Bachchan's centrality coincided with the revival of romance that returned to the screen as a culture war between the youthful (often Westernized) couple in love and their tradition-bound parents. In record-breaking hits like *Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge* (*The Brave Hearted Will Take the Bride*, 1995) and *Hum Aapke Hain Kaun* (*Who Am I To You?*, 1994), balancing the rights of rugged individualism and duty toward family and community took center stage.

These films arrived against the backdrop of the Indian state's abandoning forty years of Nehruvian socialism for a market-driven "liberalized" economy at the end of the Cold War. Alongside these romance films about the changing family and the private sphere were

RAJ KAPOOR

b. Ranbirraj Kapoor, Peshawar, India (now Pakistan), 14 December 1924, d. 2 June 1988

Raj Kapoor is the quintessential Bombay industry filmmaker of the Nehru era. His career spans the first four decades following independence, from 1947 to 1988, coinciding with Nehruvian socialism. In 1991 socialism was abandoned in favor of "liberalization," opening India's economy to the West. In the 1950s Kapoor translated his own admiration and his generation's enthusiasm for Prime Minister Nehru's vision into extremely popular Hindi films, which he infused with his unique mix of populist politics and sentimentality.

Raj Kapoor's father, Prithviraj Kapoor, was an established film actor by the 1940s, and Raj's career developed rapidly. After minor roles and his debut as a leading man in *Neel Kamal* (Blue Lotus, 1947), he acted in and directed *Aag* (*Fire*, 1948), followed by successes as actor in and director of *Barsaat* (*Rain*, also known as *The Monsoons*, 1949), and as actor in *Andaz* (*A Matter of Style*, 1949), the latter two films pairing him unforgettably with the actress Nargis. In 1951 he launched his own studio, R. K. Films, which his son, Randhir, took over in 1988 (his granddaughters, Karisma and Kareena Kapoor, also joined the film industry in the late 1980s and 1990s, respectively).

Kapoor chose dramatic dichotomies to play up the conflicts that Hindi films emphasize: between city and country, modernity and tradition, West and East, rich and poor. His protagonists, inevitably underprivileged, are drawn inexorably to the city, only to discover the pervasive corruption and danger lurking beneath its glossy surface. This exposition reinforces the protagonist's moral fortitude to surmount his travails and, together with his love interest, surge toward a joyous future while at the same time apparently valorizing "Indian" values. Conscious of international cinema, Kapoor paid homage to Charlie Chaplin by adapting the figure of the tramp, and the narratives unfold from his point of view in the greatest R. K. Films of the 1950s, *Awaara* (*The Vagabond*, 1951) and *Shri 420* (*Mr. 420*, 1955), both of which he starred in and directed. Kapoor became an unofficial ambassador of Indian cinema; he was warmly received in the Soviet Union when he visited in the 1950s, and his popularity spread in the Middle East, China, and Africa, where songs from his films were translated into local languages.

In the postwar era stars were powerful figures, and their offscreen lives mediated the public discourse on morality. Raj Kapoor's extended affair with co-star Nargis was a scandal he circumvented by staying in his marriage and representing himself in the public eye as a "family man," a family that is now virtually a film industry empire built over four generations. Deftly combining "art and commerce"—his functional definition of popular cinema—Kapoor was a phenomenal success in the 1950s and 1960s. In the 1970s and 1980s his output dwindled dramatically. Barring the hit teen romance *Bobby* (1973), in which he did not appear, his often ambitious and thinly autobiographical films from these decades lost touch with the popular mood and failed at the box office, oddly paralleling the troubles besetting the Nehruvian project.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Barsaat (*Rain*, 1949), *Awara* (*The Vagabond*, 1951), *Shri 420* (*Mr. 420*, 1955), *Bobby* (1973), *Satyam Shivam Sundaram: Love Sublime* (1978)

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Corey K. Creekmur
Jyotika Virdi

slick portrayals of the urban (and occasionally the rural) underworld in proliferating gangster films such as *Satya* (1998) and *Company* (2002), which mapped a decaying public sphere and audaciously represented onscreen the actual infiltration of the offscreen film world by underworld "black money" financing and extortion. Although cinema remains extremely popular in India, the increased availability of a films (via video, digital technology, and cable television) outside of India has illuminated the importance of a film's international circulation among

the nonresident Indian (NRI) or diasporic audience in Africa, Australia, Britain, Canada, the Caribbean, and the US. At the same time, hints of a growing non-Indian audience for Indian cinema are evident, in some measure through the emergence of a body of serious criticism on Indian cinema being published internationally.

Critical writing on Hindi cinema has come to focus on how it both reflects and fuels the project of constructing a nation and national identity. Popular cinema, often mistaken for being formulaic and repetitive, mobilizes the nation to maintain the dynamic work of self-reinvention. Hindi film narratives are typically about a protagonist, his family, and a set of stock characters: the hero; his love interest, the heroine; a comic figure, often the hero's sidekick; and the villain, a foil in the narrative, the obstacle the hero overcomes to attain his goal.

The villain's representation is particularly fascinating for the way it changes over the decades: from urban tycoons and village money-lenders in the 1950s and 1960s to "smugglers" violating India's tariff policies in the 1970s, unyielding patriarchs in 1980s romance films, and politicians or terrorists in the 1990s. Villains anchor national discourse, becoming emblematic of threats the nation faces and anxieties the films rearticulate in public discourse. Films from the 1950s tend to cast the rich as powerful and corrupt; the 1970s and 1990s versions of these films display a stylistic sophistication in their exposition of the links between financial and political power held by mobsters and politicians. If the 1950s hero was a benign figure, resolute in his ideals to work with "the system," the 1970s hero openly rebelled against its unfairness or made it work for him. In the 1990s gangster films, the hero's pathology, descent into crime, and fatal end are often the central point of the narrative. A variation on the gangster films tracing the underworld's fascinating topography are the 1990s films tracking the rise and fall of youth, victims of religious fundamentalism turning to terrorism, and action films in which the hero represents state power (law enforcement or the armed forces) putting down such terrorists. Villains and heroes are antagonistic forces: one represents the threat to the nation, the other its containment, thereby keeping the nation center-stage.

In addition to heroes and villains other figures trace the national imaginary. The woman in her role as a mother often stands in for the nation, a figure to be rescued and protected. The mother as an object of pity, exhorting her sons to save her, is rooted in an older moment of nineteenth-century cultural renaissance when Indian art and literature was imbued with anticolonial nationalist fervor. The nation is personified as the mother (*Bharat Mata* or Mother India) in numerous plays, novels, poems, posters, and paintings. Popular Hindi cinema seizes upon this figure and the mother–son bond has powerful cultural resonance, recurring in seminal films, from Mehboob Khan's remake of *Aurat/Woman* (1940) as *Mother India* (1957) to Yash Chopra's *Deewar/Wall* (1975). In the heroine/love interest role, the woman is cast as the repository of the "East," signifying anti-individualism, family and community values, and tradition, as distinct from the "West" and its woman.

TRENDS AND GENRES

The early desire to put Indian stories on screen led pioneers like Phalke to mine the rich tradition of Hindu religious and folk narratives to produce "mythologicals," films that dramatized the popular stories of gods and goddesses. (Eventually rare in Hindi cinema, the mythological would reemerge most prominently via massively popular television serials in the 1980s.) By the 1930s, mythologicals competed with "devotionals" like New Theatre's *Meerabai* (1933) and Prabhat's *Sant Tukaram* (1936), which recounted the inspiring stories of Hindu poet-saints. However, such distinctive religious genres were balanced by the regular production of dramas, comedies, and popular stunt films that translated Western serials and the films of Douglas Fairbanks into Indian locations and idioms. The Anglo-Indian star Fearless Nadia (1908–1996) dominated the stunt genre in films for Wadia Movietone like *Hunterwali* (1935) and *Miss Frontier Mail* (1936). "Historicals," set in the near or distant past, became an especially effective form to both affirm cultural traditions and introduce vast spectacles: historicals set in the Mughal period (1526–1858) like *Shiraz* (1928) or *Humayun* (1945), entranced audiences with their luxurious sets and ornate costumes.

However, following independence, most popular Hindi films would be broadly identified as "socials," set in the present and confronting the meaning of modern Indian identity and society. The roots of 1950s socials can be traced to successful 1930s films in which romantic love faces caste boundaries, as in Rai's *Achhut Kanya* (*Untouchable Girl*, 1936), or class divisions, as in *Devdas* (1935), a film remade prominently in 1956 and again in 2002. By the 1950s, socials, poignant narratives about the crippling effects of cultural barriers in a society rebuilding itself, would parallel contemporaneous Hollywood melodramas dealing with the aftermath of war or the politics of race. Hindi films from this period regularly examined caste, feudalism, the dispossession of peasants, the trauma of urban migration, and alienating urban culture, all within a popular format driven by a star system and the promise of song sequences. These include Guru Dutt's *Pyaasa* (*Thirsty One*, 1957) and *Kaagaz Ke Phool* (*Paper Flowers*, 1959), Raj Kapoor's *Awara* (*Vagabond*, 1951) and *Shri 420* (*Mr. 420*, 1955),

and Bimal Roy's *Do Bigha Zameen* (*Two Acres of Land*, 1953) and *Sujata* (1959), to mention a few.

At the same time, socials maintained their function as entertainment, featuring songs, comic bits, and massively popular stars along with social messages. For instance, the production company Navketan specialized in urban thrillers, such as *Taxi Driver* (1955) and *C.I.D.* (1956), starring co-founder Dev Anand (b. 1923). A notable subgenre of "Muslim socials" explored the significance of India's most prominent minority identity, often relying on the romantic and poetic traditions of Urdu literature to elevate such narratives with stunning song and dance sequences in films like *Mughal-e-Azam* (*The Grand Emperor*, K. Asif, 1960) or *Mere Mehboob* (*My Love*, Rawail, 1963). However, despite this history of distinct genres, the popular Indian film eventually adhered to a formula, the *masala* film, which combined comedy, drama, romance, and action, along with a requisite number of song sequences, in a mix of "flavors" that critics have traced to ancient Sanskrit dramaturgy and aesthetics. For Western viewers, such films can seem fragmented and incoherent because of their shifts in tone and style; but for Indian viewers expecting a range of carefully coordinated attractions, the combination yields a satisfying whole, unlike Western films narrowly confined to a single mood. Typically running three hours and divided by an often cliff-hanging interval (intermission), the mainstream *masala* film allows for both repetitious formula and creative variation.

NATIONAL CINEMA AND REGIONAL CINEMAS

Hindi, a language common to northern India but that varies by region, has had a complex relationship with cinema and national politics. Declared a national language after independence, Hindi has met powerful resistance in southern states. Yet the popularity of Hindi cinema has allowed it to cut across regional and linguistic divisions, giving Bombay cinema a national or "all-India" status distinct from regional language cinemas that usually remain limited to audiences within the states in which they are produced. Emerging as a language of trade in colonial and multilingual Bombay, Hindi was popularized through cinema as Hindustani, a hybrid of Persian-based Urdu and northern Indian dialects, arguably more native to cinema than any distinct region. After independence strains of Urdu associated with Muslim influence were slowly diluted and replaced by Sanskrit vocabulary, identified with the majority's Hindu culture. Hindi film songs especially drew heavily on Urdu, which lends itself to poetry and drama; although this reliance has been reduced in the postindependence period at the cost of some poetic flair, many of the key terms in cinema, especially for discussing the varieties of love, retain Urdu influences. At the same time, some Hindi films have successfully employed the regional Bhojpuri dialect (popularly associated with rustics), and the street slang of contemporary Mumbai has also cropped up in film, commonly mixed with English words and phrases; these trends continue to undermine the easy identification of "Hindi" cinema strictly in terms of its language.

Although Hindi cinema emerged as India's most prominent and broadly popular form, its dominant status as a national commodity has often been challenged by or threatens to obscure the steady production of films in India's regional cinemas, often in annual numbers rivaling or exceeding Bombay's figures. (The claim that India leads the world in film production depends on collapsing these differences into a total national figure.) Although the arrival of sound in Indian cinema eventually isolated the production and distribution of films by linguistic regions, early sound studios often produced films in multiple languages before dubbing became a common practice. Films produced in the major South Indian languages of Tamil and Telegu have generated some crossover artists, exemplified by Mani Ratnam (b. 1956), maker of the controversial *Roja* (1992) and *Bombay* (1995), and the prolific composer A.R. Rahman (b. 1966), both active in the Bombay industry. Ratnam is also among the leading filmmakers who bridged the divergent popular and art cinema by melding their aesthetics in superbly crafted films.

In addition to the Bengali art cinema associated internationally with Satyajit Ray, Ritwik Ghatak (1925–1976), and Mrinal Sen (b. 1923), the regular production of popular Bengali cinema has challenged Hindi cinema in a major urban market like Calcutta. Films produced in the southwestern state of Kerala in the Malayalam language also reflect that state's distinct leftist political history, with the work of directors G. Aravindan (1935–1991) and Adoor Gopalakrishnan (b. 1941) receiving international acclaim. Although relatively small in number, films produced in languages such as Kannada (from Karnataka), Marathi (from Maharastra, which includes Mumbai), Assamese (from Assam), or Oryia (from Orissa) round out an unusually diverse linguistic map, rendering the typical association of a national cinema with a single national language entirely untenable for India. In a few cases, prominent figures such as the actor-director-writer Kamal Hassan (b. 1954) have traversed regional cinemas and worked in Hindi cinema, whereas others find immense success only within a particular context. Moreover, art cinemas produced within any region often share stylistic and thematic affiliations that override the linguistic distinctions that otherwise distinguish popular films by region.

SATYAJIT RAY

b. Calcutta, India, 2 May 1921, d. 23 April 1992

The American premiere of Satyajit Ray's first film, *Pather Panchali* (*Song of the Little Road*), at New York City's Museum of Modern Art in 1955 elevated the director into the pantheon of the world's great humanist filmmakers, and he remains India's most internationally known director. Although the West viewed Ray's first films as essentially Indian, within India Ray's films clearly demonstrated his inheritance of the modernist values of the cosmopolitan Bengali renaissance. Ray was nurtured within a notably artistic family with close connections to the Nobel laureate Rabindranath Tagore (whose work Ray would later frequently adapt to film), and as a young man Ray's taste in movies was fully international.

As a co-founder in 1947 of the Calcutta Film Society, he was a keen student of Soviet and European cinema, especially the Italian neorealist films that directly inspired his first film and their sequels, *Aparajito* (*The Unvanquished*, 1956) and *Apur Sansar* (*The World of Apu*, 1959). Together eventually known as the Apu Trilogy, the three films trace the development of the eponymous central figure from childhood to maturity and fatherhood as he moves from his remote village in Bengal to the holy city of Benares and finally to modern Calcutta, replicating the urbanization of many modern Indians. The Apu Trilogy featured music composed and performed by Ravi Shankar, who would become internationally famous soon thereafter. In the final film of the trilogy, Ray introduced the actors Soumitra Chatterjee and Sharmila Tagore, who would become regular members of Ray's troupe of collaborators, with Chatterjee eventually appearing in fifteen of Ray's films.

The remarkable achievement of the Apu trilogy has sometimes obscured Ray's other works, many of which, including *Jalsaghar* (*The Music Room*, 1958) and *Devi* (*The Goddess*, 1960), function more as psychological explorations than realist dramas. Another group, including *Charulata* (*The Lonely Wife*, 1964), *Shatranj Ke Khilari* (*The Chess Players*, 1977), and *Ghare-Baire* (*The Home and the World*, 1984), explore the social complexities of the recent colonial past with meticulous attention to detail. The full range of Ray's achievement, which his international reputation elides, includes documentaries as well as a series of remarkable and immensely popular children's films featuring the comic duo Goopy and Bagha, characters created by Ray's grandfather decades earlier. Ray was also a writer, publisher, and painter.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Pather Panchali (*Song of the Little Road*, 1955), *Aparajito* (*The Unvanquished*, 1956), *Jalsaghar* (*The Music Room*, 1958), *Apur Sansar* (*The World of Apu*, 1959), *Devi* (*The Goddess*, 1960), *Charulata* (*The Lonely Wife*, 1964), *Goopy Gyne Bagha Byne* (*The Adventures of Goopy and Bagha*, 1968), *Ashani Sanket* (*Distant Thunder*, 1973), *Shatranj Ke Khilari* (*The Chess Players*, 1977), *Ghare-Baire* (*The Home and the World*, 1984)

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FILM MUSIC

Along with extremely popular stars, commercial Indian cinema attracts its massive audience through prominently featured songs, and elaborate song-sequences, in virtually all popular films. Although early sound films relied on singing actors, like the stars K. L. Saigal (1904–1947), Noorjehan (1926–2000), and Suraiya (1929–2004), the eventual development of "playback" recording technology isolated the voice and body, creating an offscreen star system of "playback singers" who provide the singing voices of onscreen stars. Among these, the sisters Lata Mangeshkar (b. 1929) and Asha Bhosle (b. 1933) have virtually defined the female singing voice in Hindi cinema for decades; male playback singers like Mukesh, Mohammed Rafi (1924–1980), and Kishore Kumar (1929–1987) were often closely associated with the

Satyajit Ray. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

leading men for whom they regularly voiced songs. Prominent and prolific music directors such as Naushad, S. D. Burman (1906–1975), and the team of Laxmikant–Pyrelal (Laxmikant [1935–1998] and Pyrelal [b. 1940]), as well as lyricists (often prominent poets), are also familiar to fans and frequently more famous than the actors they support.

Although film songs have been criticized for their impure borrowing of styles (especially in the hands of pop maestros like R. D. Burman, famous for his rock and jazz inflections), they often rely on traditional Indian instruments and song forms (such as the Urdu *ghazal* and Hindu *bhajan*), even as instances of prominently featured electric guitars and disco beats have increased. For a while All India Radio banned film songs in favor of classical music, leading millions to tune in Radio Ceylon, which featured film songs until the national service reconsidered its stance. Dance in Indian cinema also draws on classical traditions as well as the latest Western fads in roughly equal measure. Film songs regularly extend their significance well beyond specific films, and the latest hits as well as evergreen favorites can be heard throughout India as the music of everyday life as well as special occasions. Hit film songs also provide a storehouse of references and allusions for later films, which often evoke familiar lyrics in their titles.

Among the principal attractions of Hindi cinema is the song sequence, commonly referred to as "picturization," which crosses the boundaries between genres. Almost all popular Indian films feature a number of picturized songs, but it is misleading to identify such films as "musicals." Songs rather than films are often grouped by style and narrative function: love songs dominate, but devotional, comic, and patriotic songs all have their place in Indian cinema. A number of the most famous dance sequences in Indian cinema are celebrated for their sheer scale or intricate choreography of dance and camerawork. Some directors have expressed resentment at the unofficial requirement to include song sequences in every film, but others are famous for their ability to creatively picturize songs. Guru Dutt is now legendary for his intricate and highly cinematic song and dance sequences, whereas Yash Chopra initiated a popular trend of picturizing songs in exotic, often European, locations despite the Indian settings of his narratives. Other directors, such as Subash Ghai (b. 1943), are known for wildly comic songs (often allowing the otherwise serious Amitabh Bachchan to cut loose), whereas Mani Ratnam has dared to place his dancing stars among the riot-scarred locations of contemporary political violence.

STARS

Like Hollywood, Indian cinema recognized the commercial value and appeal of stars early on, even though early debates questioned whether respectable women should appear in films. Early stars often had backgrounds in theater, but the first major female stars of Indian cinema before Devika Rani (1907–1994) (the leading lady at Bombay Talkies and eventual head of the studio) were often Anglo-Indian, including Patience Cooper, Sulochana (Ruby Meyers; 1907–1983), and the stunt queen Fearless Nadia (Mary Evans). The melancholic singer K. L. Saigal was the first great male star of the sound era, to be displaced by the more talented actor Ashok Kumar (1911–2001), whose film career lasted for decades. Two of the greatest directors of 1950s Hindi cinema, Raj Kapoor and Guru Dutt, were also stars who conveniently represented opposites poles of light and dark moods. The golden age's female stars, including Nargis (1929–1981), Madhubala (1933–1969), and Waheeda Rehman (b. 1936), often balanced on the tightrope between traditional Indian femininity and Hollywood glamour, while the romantic and often tragic Dilip Kumar emerged in the same period as perhaps Hindi cinema's most enduring leading man. Typically, male stars in India enjoy long careers, whereas many female stars drop out of films when they marry, perhaps to return later to play "mother" roles.

Even the artistically ambitious New Indian Cinema was not immune to a star system, which included actors

such as Shabana Azmi (b. 1950), Smita Patil (1955–1986), and Naseeruddin Shah (b. 1950) (all rising to prominence in the films of Shyam Benegal [b. 1934]). But the overwhelming significance of the Indian film star became most apparent in the mid-1970s, when Bachchan's status as an "angry young man" demonstrated the importance that a single charismatic actor could have for an entire industry. Bachchan's massive popularity defined an era and a new kind of hero through a series of blockbuster films. Following Bachchan's decade-long reign, younger male stars, including Shah Rukh Khan (b. 1965), Aamir Khan (b. 1965), and Hritik Roshan (b. 1974), often represent a globalized and commercial youth culture, while recent female stars such as Madhuri Dixit (b. 1967) and Aishwarya Rai (b. 1973) continue to represent the tension between traditional Indian values and feisty, often erotic, independence.

The popularity of film stars has also led to prominent political careers, especially in Tamil Nadu, where the Tamil film superstars Shivaji Ganesan (1927–2001), Jayalalitha, and M. G. Ramachandran (1917–1987) (known as MGR) balanced film and political careers for decades, frequently blurring their on- and offscreen roles. In Andhra Pradesh, the Telegu cinema superstar N. T. Rama Rao (NTR; 1923–1996) enjoyed a similar career. Some Hindi film stars, including Bachchan, have also dabbled in politics, often controversially, but with less long-term success than that of their South Indian counterparts.

THE STATE AND CINEMA

Although some film stars succeeded in politics, popular Hindi cinema has had an uneasy relationship with the Indian state. The resistance to state-imposed Hindi in education, public administration, radio, and television starkly contrasts with the commercial Hindi cinema's pan-Indian popularity and national status. This is even more significant in the case of Hindi film song lyrics, which are embraced across both linguistic and class boundaries, including the privileged, English-speaking upper echelons, who otherwise typically disdain popular cinema.

State-controlled radio's bid to exclude Hindi film music failed, but historically the state's efforts to regulate the industry through taxation and censorship, though contentious, have been more successful. The Motion Picture Association of India (IMPA), the official body representing industry interests, has consistently but unsuccessfully negotiated for lower taxes. A few low-budget artistic films and occasionally a popular feature film deemed "educational" might receive exemption from the stiff entertainment tax, but a certification by the Censor Board is mandatory for all general theater film releases and appears onscreen. The state assumes moral regulatory authority, insisting on cutting what it deems inappropriate representations of sexuality and violence as well as overtly political content. Hindi cinema has devised awkward strategies to circumvent censorship related to sexuality, creating its own unusual conventions, reminiscent of Hollywood films produced under the Production Code. A ban on screen kissing initially derived from the British censorship code was subsequently accepted by the industry in a curious mode of self-regulation that contrasts with the erotically charged "wet sari" scenes common in song sequences. Standing in for the kiss or intimate love scenes, lyrics, gestures, and body movements creatively suggest the erotics of romance and desire. The Indian state's role as an arbiter of morality and taste is most clearly seen in the patronage it offered cinema through the Film Finance Corporation (FFC), a financial and distribution platform established in 1960 (reconstituted as the National Film Development Corporation, an amalgamation of the FFC and the Indian Motion Picture Export Corporation in 1980), and the Film and Television Institute of India, a training school set up in 1961. Together these contributed to the emergence of art cinema in India suited almost exclusively to the taste and sensibility of the Indian literati.

ART CINEMA

In the 1950s Satyajit Ray's films placed regional Bengali cinema (received as Indian cinema) on the international map, and although other Bengali filmmakers, such as Ritwik Ghatak and Mrinal Sen, shared some of the national attention, Ray's international status gave him undisputed standing as the master of this cinema. The three films of Ray's Apu trilogy—*Pather Panchali* (*Song of the Little Road*, 1955), *Aparajito* (*The Unvanquished*, 1957), and *Apur Sansar* (*The World of Apu*, 1959)—derive their strength from Ray's ability to create indelible moments from a naturalistic, understated style and simple narrative. Each film forces Apu to confront painful losses, which are offset by moments of quiet joy. Critics praised the films for their universal humanism, whereas the former Bombay star Nargis, serving as a member of Parliament, famously denounced Ray for "exporting images of India's poverty for foreign audiences." In 1970 an official art cinema developed in India, helped in no small part by state subsidies and promotion at international film festivals. A handful of directors emerged, filling the space occupied almost exclusively by Ray in the two preceding decades. A pan-Indian and growing middle class expanded Ray's audience beyond Bengal, and in 1977 he made *Shatranj Ke Khiladi* (*The Chess Players*) for a national audience.

Pinaki Sen Gupta (right) as young Apu in Satyajit Ray's* Aparajito *(*The Unvanquished*, 1957). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Subsequently, other art film directors who emerged in the 1970s created a distinct niche in Indian cinema termed "New," "Parallel," or "Art" cinema. Subsequently, other art film directors emerged in the 1970s—Govind Nihalani, Ketan Mehta, Saeed Mirza, M.S. Sathyu, and the most notable among them, Shyam Benegal. Benegal's trilogy *Ankur* (*Seedling*, 1974), *Nishant* (*Night's End*, 1975) and *Manthan* (*The Churning*, 1976) marked the beginning of the twenty-odd feature films he went on to direct. Art cinema's financing, distribution, aesthetics, and audience were in sharp variance with popular cinema. Eschewing popular cinema's musical and melodramatic formulas, the new cinema embraced realism in terse dramatic narratives that were often exposés of corruption among powerful rural landlords, urban industrialists, politicians, or law enforcement authorities. Although its output was a small fraction of that of popular cinema, art cinema received disproportionate attention in part because of its influential consumers, the Indian literati and middle class, but also because its novelty generated genuine enthusiasm in film critics. Critical commentary on cinema emerged along with this cinema, marking the beginnings of Indian cinema literature. Unfortunately, this literature polarized the relationship between popular and art cinema and favored the latter. During the 1990s state subsidies for art cinema diminished considerably, and the search for commercial success led some directors to pay closer attention to popular cinema, at times even adopting its aesthetic strategies.

By the 1990s art cinema had become repetitive and somewhat stagnant and began to morph under the influence of new entrants—diasporic filmmakers, some of whom were second- and third-generation Indians located in Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States. These films' central theme is the cultural dislocation created by migration to the metropolitan centers in the postcolonial era of accelerated globalization. If Ray was the precursor to a broader art cinema that took off in

the 1970s, the antecedent to the generation of diasporic filmmakers is Merchant-Ivory Productions—the combined effort of the producer Ismail Merchant (1936–2005), from India, the director James Ivory (b. 1928), from the United States, and the writer Ruth Prawer Jhabvala (b. 1927), of Polish-German descent, who together have made films about Indo-British encounters during and after the mid-1960s using a more or less fixed ensemble of Indian and British actors. Diasporic cinema since the late 1980s has focused instead on the experiences of middle- and working-class immigrants in their host countries, in particular the ways in which they negotiate cultural distance from the homeland. The audience is both the Indian diaspora and the middle class, a section of which dwells in both domains. Although the quality of these films varies, some auteurs stand out: Srinivas Krishna (b. 1913) and Deepa Mehta (b. 1950) in Canada, Gurinder Chadha (b. 1966) and Hanif Qureshi (b. 1954) in the United Kingdom, and Mira Nair (b. 1957) in the United States. Some auteurs have forged international collaboration around financial investment, distribution, and even talent. In searching for their own distinctive aesthetic, some have tried to appropriate or pay homage to popular cinema by adopting its most significant insignia, the song and dance sequence, whereas others have chosen realism, comedy, or lampoon as their preferred style.

In the twenty-first century, some in Hollywood have been carefully following the lead taken by diasporic filmmakers in collaborating with the mainstream Bombay film industry. Hindi cinema and Hollywood, long functioning in parallel global markets, have begun to take stock of the mutual benefits collaboration might bring. Hollywood is driven by its interest in novelty, lower production costs, and cheaper talent, the same forces behind globalization. For the Bombay industry's new generation of filmmakers, who since the 1990s have energetically experimented with commercial cinema, this presents an opportunity to tie in new sources of international capital, especially after the spectacular losses the industry suffered in 2002, and the lure of a crossover market beyond its domestic and diasporic audience. However, some Indian filmmakers are keen to win this market on their own terms, which to them means preserving the charm, romance, and aesthetic of popular Hindi cinema.

SEE ALSO *National Cinema*

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INTERNET

Although the origins of the Internet can be traced to the 1960s with the founding of the Advanced Research Projects Agency Network (ARPANET) by the US Department of Defense, the medium's significance for the film industry began with the proliferation of the World Wide Web in the mid-1990s. Before the development of the Web, Internet use was limited to text-based communication by a relatively small number of people over slow modem connections. Since the late 1990s, however, high-speed access through Digital Subscriber Lines (DSL) and cable modems into US homes has opened up possibilities for promoting and distributing digitized films and videos over the Internet to a mass audience.

MOVIE PROMOTION ON THE INTERNET

In the summer of 1995, media and advertising executives announced that the Internet had become the "new frontier" in film promotion. Marketing *Batman Forever* (1995), Warner Bros. was the first to promote a major feature film using a Website as the campaign's centerpiece. The Web address (or URL) was included on posters, print and television advertisements, and radio spots, and the *Batman Forever* logo appeared with the URL without elaboration at bus and train stations. The film's Website offered a hypertextual narrative that linked to plot twists and hidden pages for users to discover by correctly answering a series of concealed questions posed by the Riddler, one of the film's main characters. The *Batman Forever* Website also cross-promoted ancillary products from its sister companies, including the soundtrack recording and music videos.

In June 1995 Universal Pictures partnered with leading Internet service providers American Online and CompuServe to present the first live interactive multisystem simulcast to promote a film on the Web with *Apollo 13* star Tom Hanks and director Ron Howard before the premiere. The Website later included special Internet video greetings from some of the film's stars and digital still pictures from the film's Los Angeles premiere. Another notable early example of Internet promotion was the Website for *Mars Attacks!* (1996), by Warner Bros., which included an original fifteen-minute Internet "radio play" about a truck driver who evades Martians while attempting to deliver the only print of *Mars Attacks!* in time for the premiere. In late 1996, the *Star Trek: First Contact* Website received over 30 million hits during its first week of release, at that point the largest traffic ever for a film Website, and by the end of 1996, movie trailers, digitized stills, actor and filmmaker profiles, and computer screensavers were available online for almost every major film released. Web addresses were also commonly included in theatrical trailers, TV commercials, print advertisements, and posters. In 1997 studios were spending approximately $10,000 to produce an independent film's Website and at least $250,000 for blockbuster studio films, which accounted for an extremely small portion of the overall promotional budget.

In 1999 studios began to coordinate Website tie-ins with pay-per-view orders, allowing viewers to "play along" at home through synchronized Web content. Viewers who purchased the December 1999 pay-per-view release of New Line Cinema's *Austin Powers: The Spy Who Shagged Me* were offered an interactive television experience synchronized over the Web. For the

DVD release of *The Matrix* (1999), Warner Bros. scheduled a synchronized screening and Internet chat session with the film's directors. In 1999 Apple Computer launched its very popular movie trailer Web page to promote its QuickTime video software, receiving over 30 million downloads for the Web-based trailers for *Star Wars: The Phantom Menace* (1999) alone.

Throughout 1999, the major studios also established online retail stores in partnership with their studios' other Web operations. Increasingly since the 1980s, the film studios have become part of larger transnational media conglomerates that often have holdings in other industry sectors. The Web is thus inordinately well suited to this structure of convergence and integration, providing a retail and cross-promotional portal to sister and parent company products, services, and subsidiary media outlets.

THE BLAIR WITCH PROJECT PARADIGM AND ONLINE FAN DISCOURSE

The Blair Witch Project (1999) was one of the most profitable films in history when measured by its return on the initial investment. Made for approximately $50,000 and grossing over $100 million in US theatrical box-office alone, this financial victory of a low-budget independent film over the major studio blockbusters instigated a paradigm panic among Hollywood executives due in large part to the important role of the Internet in the film's commercial success. When the mainstream film industry had already begun to create content specific to the Web, Internet promotion was still considered to be supplementary to established media outlets, and the theatrical film was still the main component of the brand or franchise. For *The Blair Witch Project*, however, the Web became the central medium or the primary text for the film's narrative and its reception, as well as its marketing or "franchising" beginning more than a year before the film's major theatrical distribution. In this sense, the Web functioned in the 1990s for *The Blair Witch Project* in the same way that newspapers and magazines did in relation to the earliest commercial cinema in the 1890s by playing a primary role in the film's narrative and its meaning for the audience.

Directors Daniel Myrick and Eduardo Sánchez originally launched *The Blair Witch Project* Website in June 1998 on their production company's Website, Haxan.com. When the independent distributor, Artisan Entertainment, bought *The Blair Witch Project* for $1.1 million from directors Myrick and Sánchez at the Sundance Film Festival in January 1999, the company envisioned exploiting the medium of the Web to compensate for its relative lack of funds for promotion. On April Fool's Day, Artisan relaunched *The Blair Witch Project* Website with additional material, including footage presented as outtakes from "discovered" film reels, police reports, the "back story" on missing film students, and a history or mythology of the Blair Witch legend. The next day Artisan sent 2,000 *The Blair Witch Project* screensavers to journalists and premiered its trailers on the "Ain't It Cool News" Website instead of on television or in theaters.

Although the low-budget or "no budget" quality of *The Blair Witch Project* became an integral part of the film's marketing strategy, shortly after acquiring the distribution rights to *The Blair Witch Project* Artisan spent $1.5 million on Web promotion as part of its $20 million campaign (a significantly greater percentage of the promotional budget than mainstream studio films). Resonating with the film's "mockumentary" style, at the heart of the Web campaign was the blurring of the boundaries between actual and fictional documents through additional "evidence" on the Web and the omission of any explicit admission or demarcation of the promotional material as fiction or as promotional advertising. In addition to the official *Blair Witch Project* Website, unofficial Websites and fan pages elaborated the film's mythology and offered original narratives. Hundreds of *Blair Witch Project* video parodies were distributed through the Web, and several of the film's detractors launched an anti–*Blair Witch Project* Web ring that included a Web page created by a group of citizens from Burkittsville, Maryland, "to explain to the world that Burkittsville was being harmed by a fictional movie set in [their] town." Debates about the film's authenticity filled Web boards, Usenet newsgroups, and online chat rooms.

In an attempt to differentiate its promotion, the May 2001 Internet campaign for the film *Artificial Intelligence: A.I.* adopted *The Blair Witch Project*'s strategy of passing off fictional Web material as the real thing, when the marketers integrated several Websites with hundreds of pages and days' worth of material that mimicked the aesthetic of real sites, such as the Website for the fictional Bangalore World University. These Websites contributed to a larger pretend Evan Chan murder mystery that complemented the film and took place in the future after the film's narrative. These fictional Websites were updated daily and, like the Web campaign for *The Blair Witch Project*, none revealed that they were part of a marketing campaign for *A.I.* Similarly, in August 2001 director Kevin Smith constructed a fake Website bashing his own film *Jay and Silent Bob Strike Back*, replete with fictional testimonials and video from crew members. Many fans mistook it for the real thing and posted emails to the site's creator. For the most part, these attempts to recreate the same kind of marketing success and financial return of *The Blair Witch Project* have been unsuccessful, and it remains an

Heather Donahue in* The Blair Witch Project *(Daniel Myrick and Eduardo Sanchez, 1999), the first film to be promoted largely through the Internet. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

important and exceptional case in film history. Largely abandoning attempts to manufacture authentic word-of-mouth (or word-of-text) interest for their films, it is now common for the major studios to hire agencies and pay employees and fans (or "street teams") to promote films and to spread positive word of mouth online in chat rooms, movie review sites, and discussion boards.

The failure or success of a Web campaign depends in large part upon the target audience and the film's genre. Indeed, many of the examples included here are from genres that appeal to boys and young men, a demographic that comprises a large portion of overall Internet users. To offer another example from the fantasy genre, in 2001 the *Wall Street Journal* maintained that the Website for *The Lord of the Rings: The Fellowship of the Rings* was the most elaborate and visited to date, offering audio and video clips in ten languages, an interactive map of Middle Earth, chat rooms, screensavers, interviews with members of the cast and crew, and links to some of the thousands of existing fan sites. In 2004, the narrative for the *Matrix* trilogy was extended beyond the final filmic installment, *Matrix Revolutions*, in the form of *The Matrix Online*, a video game that also uses the Internet to allow thousands of *Matrix* fans to role-play within and to develop the film's fictional world.

While the *Matrix* is a deliberate example of franchising a brand across different media, films also live on beyond their official narratives through creative fan communities, such as the thousands of pages of online fiction that continue the storyline of *Titanic* (see http://www.titanicstories.com) and hundreds of other films (see http://fanfiction.net), or the active online culture surrounding the *Star Wars* and *Star Trek* films that includes online writings, artwork, games, and fan films or videos. When Lucasfilm threatened legal action against a teenage college student for creating one of the earliest and most

visited *Star Wars* fan Websites, other fans deluged Lucasfilm with angry emails, prompting Lucasfilm to apologize to its fans for the "miscommunication" in a letter posted on the Web. Lucasfilm has since created an official partnership with the Website AtomFilms.com to distribute the many *Star Wars* videos and films produced by fans.

MOVIE DISTRIBUTION AND THE INTERNET

The Internet quickly became a significant retail outlet for the distribution or sale of DVD releases, and by 2001 all of the major film companies had partnered with the Internet Movie Database, or IMDb (www.imdb.com), and leading online retailer Amazon.com to promote new theatrical films, personalize movie showtimes, and sell DVDs. In October 1990, IMDb started as the Usenet newsgroup bulletin board rec.arts.movies to which volunteers would post information about films and discuss movies with other fans. With the advent of the Web, the bulletin board was transformed into one of the most visited sites on the Internet, averaging over 30 million visitors each month and containing over 6 million individual film credits, including information on over 400,000 films, 1 million actors and actresses, and 100,000 directors. The IMDb has also built a strong sense of community among its almost 9 million registered users, who can post to the public discussion forum available for each film and rate a film between 1 and 10. All of this information lends itself to the customized links available for celebrity news and gossip, images of stars, box-office and sales statistics, and Amazon.com for DVD purchases.

In addition to providing easy access to detailed information about films and convenient ways for consumers to purchase DVDs, the Internet also provides a distribution method for alternative or independent fictional films and documentaries. The technical and economic advantages of digitization and online distribution have benefited academics and researchers through the availability of digitized film archives like the Library of Congress Paper Print Collection and the Internet Archive's Movie Archive, which includes the Prelinger Archives. The Internet also serves as a significant medium of distribution for multimedia art, Flash movies, film parodies, home movies or videos, and animated political cartoons. In addition, the distribution and sale of pornographic films and videos online totaled over $1 billion in 2005 and comprised a large portion of total Internet file-sharing volume.

Due to technical limitations of bandwidth and connection speeds as well as legal obstacles surrounding the Internet rights to distribute Hollywood films, the independent "short" has become one of the most common categories of film distributed online, including a large selection of animated shorts. One of the most popular sites for viewing online films is AtomFilms.com, which launched "AtomFilms Studio" in January 2006 to fund independent producers looking to create short films specifically for Internet broadband distribution. In 2005, in addition to streaming content, AtomFilms.com's major competitor, IFILM.com, expanded its distribution methods to deliver video-on-demand (VOD) to cellular smartphones and personal digital assistants (PDAs).

In 2001 BMW premiered its eight-part online promotional series of big-budget, short action films titled *The Hire*, made by such established international film directors as David Fincher, John Frankenheimer, Ang Lee, Guy Ritchie, Kar Wai Wong, Alejandro González Iñárritu, and John Woo, and such stars as Clive Owen, Stellan Skarsgård, Madonna, Forest Whitaker, and Gary Oldman. On its Website, BMW boasted that the films had been viewed over 100 million times before they were removed from the site in 2005, despite the fact that the films were released on DVD in 2003.

Although technical and infrastructural obstacles related to bandwidth and video quality and size may be overcome, Internet copyright issues, Internet distribution rights, and Internet release time "windows"—which traditionally go from theaters, video/DVD, pay-per-view, premium cable, network television, and basic cable—have also complicated online distribution. For instance, the major rights holders (that is, Hollywood studios and entertainment conglomerates) have prevented companies like Netflix from shifting their distribution and rental methods to on-demand streaming and downloading over the Web, although the online DVD-by-mail rental service is still one of the more profitable Web ventures, ending 2005 with about 4.2 million subscribers and sales approaching $1 billion.

Responding to increased consumer demand, and in response to the fact that only 15 percent of worldwide Hollywood film revenues come from box-office profits, and that two-thirds of the income for the six major studios now comes from the home theater divisions, the majors have begun to pursue their own online distribution options by offering feature-length films already available on DVD for legal downloading, including MovieLink (http://www.movielink.com), a joint venture of MGM, Paramount, Sony, Universal, and Warner Bros.; and CinemaNow (http://www.cinemanow.com), financed in part by Lions Gate and Cisco Systems. In December 2005, Apple Computer also began to distribute animated short films from Pixar (co-owned by Apple CEO Steve Jobs), Disney-ABC television programs, and music videos through its popular iTunes music download service. While no feature-length films are included in

Apple's library, the January 2006 purchase of Pixar by Disney may facilitate the distribution of Disney's feature films through Apple's service.

By the end of the summer of 2005, industry analysts and mainstream news outlets were announcing the "death of the movie theater" as industry figures and independent film companies began to question and challenge traditional film release windows. Director and producer Steven Soderbergh (*sex, lies, and videotape* [1989], *Traffic* [2000], *Erin Brockovich* [2000], *Oceans Eleven* [2001]) entered into an agreement with 2929 Entertainment, HDNet Films, and Landmark Theatres to produce and direct six films to be released simultaneously to theaters, DVD home video, and on HDNet high-definition cable and satellite channels. For the 26, January 2006, "stacked release" of the first film from that venture, *Bubble*, 2929 Entertainment agreed to share 1 percent of the home video DVD profits with theater owners who exhibited the film. Another new distribution model of simultaneous releases was announced in July 2005 by ClickStarInc.com, a Web venture between Intel Corp. and Revelations Entertainment, co-founded by actor Morgan Freeman. ClickStar will offer legal downloading of original feature films before they are released on DVD and while they are still in first-run theaters. Freeman's considerable star power, which he is lending to several of the ClickStar films, may give a film enough exposure through its Web release to be distributed through other media, like cable television.

It remains to be seen whether or not the major studios will welcome these new methods of exhibition and release windows for distribution. History suggests that the mainstream entertainment corporations will resist this model since it would change the established profit-making system. Even if video-on-demand over the Web becomes widely adopted, like the rapid adoption of television by consumers in the 1950s and 1960s, predictions about the impending death of the movie theater may be exaggerated or misguided. The film and entertainment industries have a long history of appropriating newly established models of production, distribution, and exhibition, as well as purchasing independent companies that pose a significant threat, as the acquisition of many formerly independent studios by the Hollywood majors attests. In addition, the same companies that own the major film production, distribution, and exhibition outlets are horizontally and vertically integrated companies that already have oligopolies in many of the other media sectors that will distribute these films in the future, including television, cable, and the Internet.

SEE ALSO *Distribution; Fans and Fandom; Independent Film; Publicity and Promotion; Technology; Video Games*

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James Castonguay

IRAN

Most of the directors and films from Iran that are familiar in the West come from postrevolutionary Iran; little is known about the cinema of Iran before the revolution. Yet Iranian cinema is in fact prolific and accomplished. Even though many filmmakers moved out of Iran after the revolution, they still base their films on the people, the culture, and the landscape of Iran.

EARLY YEARS

Mazaffaro Din Shah introduced the moving image to Iran in 1900. Over the first few decades of the new century there were a number of theaters established in the major cities of Iran, but going to the cinema was considered a pastime only for the upper class. One reason was that many of the films being made during this time were commissioned by the shah to document the events of the royal family. With no other films being made, theaters needed something to show, so many foreign films were imported and subtitled in Farsi. The first Iranian feature film was a silent film, *Abi va Rabi* (*Abi and Rabi*, Avanes Ohanian, 1930), and the first Iranian sound film, *Dokhtare Lor* (*The Lost Girl*, Ardeshir Irani, 1932), was made in Mumbai. Its release and box-office success encouraged the production of other films.

In the 1940s film studios were set up in Iran. The Pars Film Studio was owned by Esma'il Kushan, who later directed many other sound films made in Iran, *The Tempest of Life* (1948) and *Prisoner of the Emir* (1949) among them. During World War II strict censorship was imposed on art (including film), and most films of the period derived from traditional Iranian folklore and epic literature, although the few Western films that had infiltrated Iran were also shown. The 1950s saw the studios flourish, but with an emphasis on profit, filmmakers were making cheap films with low production values. It was also at this time that film became more acceptable in Iranian society. In a notable change from the 1940s, films now depicted a society that had been heavily influenced by Western culture and had lost traditional Iranian values. Iran began to produce comedies, melodramas, and action-hero films such as *Velgard* (*Vagabond*, Mehdi Rais Firuz, 1952).

In the 1960s the state finally took control of the entire film industry, and Iranian-made films did not attract the audiences that Western films did. In 1969 two films ushered in what is now known as the Iranian New Wave: *Qaisar* by Mas'ud Kimai (b. 1941) and *Gav* (*The Cow*) by Dariush Mehrju'i (b. 1939). New Wave cinema was popular and influenced many films and filmmaking up until the Iranian revolution in 1978, but most Iranian films were made primarily for domestic audiences.

POSTREVOLUTION

The revolution (1978–1979) had a profound impact on Iranian arts. Films came to be viewed as products of the West and consequently were banned, and many theatres were burned down. Slowly, in the early 1980s, film production began again, but there was heavy censorship imposed on both production and exhibition. Many filmmakers left the country in exile but continued to produce films for the Iranian diaspora. In Iran, censorship guidelines followed strict Islamic doctrines, which demanded the banning of women onscreen as well as behind the

ABBAS KIAROSTAMI
b. Tehran, Iran, 22 June 1940

Abbas Kiarostami is perhaps the most famous of Iranian directors, as well as a poet and photographer. After studying painting at Tehran University, he began designing posters and illustrating children's books, founding the filmmaking section of the Institute for the Intellectual Development of Children and Young Adults (also known as Kanoon), where he made educational films for children and directed commercials while formulating his own aesthetic approach to cinema.

Kiarostami's first feature film was *Nan va Koutcheh* (*The Bread and Alley*, 1970). Although he did make some award-winning films before the Iranian revolution in 1978 to 1979, it was only afterward that Kiarostami's work began to be noticed in the West, winning plaudits from both critics and established directors such as Martin Scorsese and Jean-Luc Godard. In 1997 *Ta'm e guilass* (*A Taste of Cherry*) shared the coveted Palme d'Or at the Cannes Film Festival.

Nearly all of Kiarostami's films are inspired by his immediate experiences, and he always uses nonprofessional actors. The distinction between documentary and fiction is often blurred in his work, and Kiarostami himself resists their neat separation. In the first film of his acclaimed Koker trilogy, *Khane-ye doust kodjastt* (*Where Is the Friend's Home?*, 1987), Kiarostami focuses on a young boy who attempts to return a friend's school notebook before the teacher discovers it missing. The second film, *Zendegi va digar hich* (*Life, and Nothing More*, 1991), depicts the director of the first film and his son returning to the town where the first film was made to look for the actors from the earlier movie, but never finding them. *Zire darakhatan zeyton* (*Through the Olive Trees*, 1994), the final film of the trilogy, is about a film crew making an important scene from *Life, and Nothing More*. All three films are based on real-life events but are fictional and made without a script and with a small crew.

Kiarostami's films break away from conventional narrative, and are completely self-referential, often eschewing a strict chronological structure. *Bad ma ra khahad bord* (*The Wind Will Carry Us*, 1999) is about a filmmaker who thrusts himself into a small town, with the aim of filming a folk ritual that is to take place upon an old woman's imminent death, but it is more about mortality and the director's relation to the material he hopes to film. Employing simple imagery of daily life with an emphasis on the Iranian landscape, Kiarostami is a master of using visual imagery to convey abstract philosophical ideas and his characters' inner struggles of the soul.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Nan va Koutcheh (*The Bread and Alley*, 1970), *Khane-ye doust kodjastt* (*Where Is the Friend's Home?*, 1987), *Zendegi va digar hich* (*Life, and Nothing More*, 1991), *Zire darakhatan zeyton* (*Through the Olive Trees*, 1994), *Ta'm e guilass* (*A Taste of Cherry*, 1997), *Ten* (*10*, 2002)

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camera. Love, which had been an integral theme in Iranian cinema before the revolution (a clear influence of Persian poetry), could no longer be depicted in movies after the introduction in 1983 of Islamic guidelines for filmmakers. Later, when restrictions were slightly loosened and women were allowed back onto the screen in 1987, there was still heavy censorship; for example, actors of opposite sexes were not allowed to touch each other unless they were related in real life. Around this time women filmmakers began to emerge, including Rakhshan Bani-Etemad (b. 1954) (*Kharej az mahdudeh* [*Off Limits*], 1987) and Puran Derakhshandeh (b. 1951) (*Paraneh kuchak khoshbakhti* [Little Bird of Happiness], 1988). In 1987 the Farabi Cinema Foundation was established to ensure that films being produced were of a high quality and not motivated merely by profit.

The end of the Iran-Iraq war in 1988 and the death of Ayatollah Khomeini in 1989 brought change to Iran, and the election of Mohammad Khatami in 1997 gave filmmakers slightly more freedom—Khatami was a

Abbas Kiarostami. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

supporter of the Iranian New Wave and the work of many local directors. Iranian films were seen by more people around the world and won prestigious prizes at film festivals. Jafar Panahi's (b. 1960) *Badkonake Sefid* (*The White Balloon*, 1995) won the Camera d'Or at the Cannes Film Festival, and in 1997 Abbas Kiarostami's (b. 1940) *Ta'm e guilass* (*A Taste of Cherry*) won the festival's Palme d'Or. Many women came out of the shadows and began to establish themselves once again in the industry. Some key figures include Tahmineh Milani and Derakhshandeh.

Most films of this time were funded by the government, though once made, they often were banned from screening in Iran. In terms of style and subject matter, many directors took their lead from European cinemas and movements, particularly Italian neorealism. This is evident in such films as *Kelid* (*The Key*, Ebrahim Forouzesh, 1987) and *The White Balloon*. Social commentary, brought into the arena during the New Wave, continued after the revolution, and many of the films that were not banned revolved around stories of the revolution disguised as adventure stories, such as *Nun va Goldoon* (*A Moment of Innocence*, 1996). These films, based on local people suffering from circumstances not of their own making, tread a fine line between documentary and fiction. Due to budget constraints, a majority of these films were shot on location.

Many filmmakers had opposed the shah during Iran's revolution, believing that if his government were overturned they would be given free reign to produce the films they wanted, and not necessarily purely for profit, but the new, clerical government took away equipment, film stock, and resources from filmmakers in order to control filmic representations of Iranian society. Every film's synopsis, screenplay, cast, and crew, and the completed film, all have to be approved by the censorship board if the film is to be made and exhibited in Iran. Although the Islamic government began a process of Islamization of the arts in 1979, filmmakers and other artists have managed to free themselves from the constraints of official ideology. One way in which artists managed to do this was by moving out of Iran and making diasporic films. Others based their films around children and adventure stories with heavy undertones of heroism and liberal principles. There was a shortage of film theatres in the country due to the burning of cinemas during the revolution, while many that still existed were in very bad condition. With the government in debt and with the United States–led boycott of Iran, the rebuilding and refurbishment of film theatres was low on the government's list of priorities. However, over time, theatres were rebuilt and refurbished. There are many film theatres in the large towns and cities in Iran, but not many in rural areas.

Among the most important directors of the New Wave, Mohsen Makhmalbaf (b. 1957) came to the fore in the 1980s with films such as *Dastforoush* (*The Peddler*, 1987) and *Arousi-ye Khouban* (*Marriage of the Blessed*, 1989). Many of his films were banned from exhibition in Iran: *Gabbeh* (1996), for example, was banned for being rebellious, but his films have been released internationally and very well received. Makhmalbaf has established a production company that allows him to coproduce films with France, and it was under this production house that he produced the directorial debut of his daughter, Samira Makhmalbaf (b. 1980), *Sib* (*The Apple*, 1998). Makhmalbaf's *Safar e Ghandehar* (*Kandahar*, 2001), one of his most popular films, tells the story of Nafas, an Afghan journalist who is exiled to Canada and returns to Afghanistan to find her sister, who is fed up with the Taliban regime. Like many of Makhmalbaf's films, *Kandahar* is a combination of documentary and fiction, using a hand-held camera and other techniques associated with documentaries to give it a greater emotional power. Abbas Kiarostami (*A Taste of Cherry*, 1997) is one of the best-known Iranian directors internationally, although he is not as popular in Iran. Like many other Iranian directors, Kiarostami blends

fact and fiction, using both nonprofessional and professional actors in his films. Along with Makhmalbaf, Kiarostami was one of the founders of the New Wave movement before the revolution. Kiarostami not only directs but also writes his screenplays and edits some of his films. With their combination of painting, poetry, and philosophy, they have been compared to the great works of such directors as Akira Kurosawa and Satyajit Ray.

SEE ALSO *Arab Cinema; National Cinema*

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IRELAND

The indigenous film industry in Ireland tentatively emerged in the 1970s, but it was not consolidated until two decades later, when government funding arrangements were implemented to support production on a long-term basis. Irish filmmakers produce up to ten feature films per year, as well as dozens of shorts. In this regard, Irish filmmaking resembles that of most other medium- and small-scale European industries in which production is the result of a complex structure of national and transnational (especially wider European) funding initiatives. Like so many other European industries, state support for film production in Ireland is designed to promote an indigenous film industry and to develop a more pluralist film culture in a country in which cinema screens are dominated overwhelmingly by Hollywood films.

The fact that filmmaking in Ireland is a fairly recent phenomenon should not, however, disguise the fact that Ireland and the Irish have maintained a major presence in American and British cinema since its inception. This presence has been manifested in terms of personnel (especially actors and directors), but most specifically in terms of theme, setting, and plot. The relatively high profile of Irish themes and stereotypes in American and British cinema has ensured that the representation of Ireland and the Irish has been a major concern for film studies in Ireland. Two traditions in particular have been identified. On one hand, Ireland has tended to be represented in romantic rural terms with great emphasis placed on its beautiful landscapes and seascapes. This has been the most enduring cinematic tradition and one that has recurred with remarkable consistency over time. John Ford's 1952 romantic comedy *The Quiet Man* is the screen's most famous and most enduring example of this tendency. The romanticization of Ireland and the Irish landscape is ingrained in the cinematic cultures of both Britain and America and frequently emerges in both nations' film industries, for example, in the British production *Waking Ned Devine* (1999) or the American *The Match Maker* (1997). Even Robert Flaherty's historically important documentary *Man of Aran* (1934), received initially as a realist documentary on the hardships of Irish rural life, later appeared to viewers as overly heroic and romanticized.

Ireland's long and fractious political relationship to Britain has provided the other recurring cinematic view of Ireland—a land of urban violence and sectarian hatreds where a proclivity to violence seems to form part of the Irish character and to have locked the Irish into an endless and meaningless cycle of murder and revenge. Ford again provided one of the early and most enduring examples of this tendency in his expressionist view of a strife-torn Dublin in *The Informer* (1935). The most celebrated British version of this stricken Ireland is Carol Reed's equally expressionistic Belfast in *Odd Man Out* (1947). In the 1970s and 1980s, when political violence in Northern Ireland escalated, this image appeared with more regularity, sometimes merely as a plot device in otherwise conventional thrillers, such as *Patriot Games* (Phillip Noyce, 1992) or *The Devil's Own* (Alan J. Pakula, 1997).

That indigenous filmmaking developed slowly meant that these two dominant traditions went largely unchallenged in cinematic terms and therefore tended to circulate as markers of a general Irish identity. However, in the twenty-first century these traditional and recurring

images of the Irish have marked a point of departure for indigenous filmmakers attempting to forge a recognizably contemporary Irish cinematic identity.

CINEMA AND THE IRISH DIASPORA

The extraordinarily high levels of emigration from Ireland to the United States during the Irish famine years of the late 1840s meant that the Irish and Irish-Americans made up a significant percentage of early American cinema audiences, especially in the eastern cities, where they tended to congregate. During the early silent era film producers pandered to these audiences with sentimental tales and romantic adventures set in Irish-American communities or in Ireland. These early two- and three-reel films attracted a range of Irish and Irish-American actors, who perfected the stereotypes that defined the cinematic image of the Irish for decades. Although many of these films are now lost, their titles remain to evoke the world of Irish ethnic comedies—Biograph's "Hooligan" one-reelers from 1903, longer comedies and dramas like those made by the Kalem Film Company between 1908 and 1912, and hundreds of films that featured the words "Ireland" or "Irish" in their titles from the 1910s. A randomly chosen selection of such titles includes *The Irish Boy* (1910) and *The Lad from Old Ireland* (1910), *All for Old Ireland* (1915), *A Wild Irish Rose* (1915), *The Irishman's Flea* (1920), *Luck of the Irish* (1920) or the "Cohens and the Kellys" cycle (1920s), the last of which was aimed simultaneously at two ethnic audiences. These films were peopled by amiable drunks and aggressive brawlers, corrupt politicos and honest but dumb cops, Catholic priests and angelic nuns, long-suffering mothers, feisty colleens, and vulnerable, naïve maidens. Although established in the very earliest days of silent cinema, these stereotypical characters continued to populate American genre cinema throughout the twentieth century. They were played by a range of character actors and stars who were either native-born Irish, such as Colleen Moore (1900–1988), Maureen O'Hara (b. 1920), Barry Fitzgerald (1888–1961), Peter O'Toole (b. 1932), Richard Harris (1930–2002), Liam Neeson (b. 1952), Pierce Brosnan (b. 1953), and Colin Farrell (b. 1976), or had an Irish ancestry upon which to draw when necessary: James Cagney (1899–1986), Victor McLaglen (1883–1959), Spencer Tracy (1900–1967), Anthony Quinn (1915–2001), and Errol Flynn (1909–1959).

The Irish diaspora also provided some influential pioneers of American film. In the formative years of Hollywood, for example, Irish-born director Rex Ingram (1892–1950) was a particularly noted stylist who made Rudolph Valentino a star with *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* (1921). Herbert Brenon (1880–1958) was one of the most critically acclaimed of silent film directors, although his career foundered with the advent of sound. The most famous and most enduring of the early pioneers was a second-generation Irish-American, John Ford (1894–1973). Ford was one of the great genre directors of Hollywood who lived his Irishness openly in life as well as on the screen. He peopled his westerns and other non-Irish films with many of the stereotypical characters that early cinema had established. More than anyone, he helped to prolong a romantic Irish-American sense of identity, of which the ultimate expression is *The Quiet Man*, in which he manages the not inconsiderable achievement of both celebrating and gently undermining the outrageous stereotypes of Ireland and the Irish.

The considerable presence of the Irish in early audiences resulted in another historically important development for American cinema. In 1910, the Kalem Film Company became the first American company to shoot on location outside of the United States when it made *The Lad from Old Ireland* in Killarney. The film was produced and directed by Irish-Canadian Sidney Olcott (1873–1949), who recognized the commercial value of showing authentic Irish locations to a nostalgic and homesick audience in the United States. He brought Kalem back to Ireland for two more summer visits in 1911 and 1912, making a range of one- and two-reel films based on old Irish melodramas or depicting historical moments in Ireland's long nationalist struggle against Britain. These fictional films made in Ireland established the use of Ireland as a theme and a location for filmmaking by American and British producers, while little effort was made to develop indigenous production.

INDIGENOUS CINEMA AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

There was one brief period of indigenous filmmaking during the silent period when the Film Company of Ireland made two well-regarded features, *Knocknagow* (1918) and *Willie Reilly and His Colleen Bawn* (1920). Subsequently, except for some semi-amateur films or B-movie quota quickies in the 1930s and government-sponsored informational films in the 1950s, little cinema of any significance was made in Ireland until the mid-1970s. The reasons were mainly economic. Until the 1970s Ireland was a relatively poor country with little capital available for investment in film production. However, there were political and cultural factors as well. The independent Ireland established in 1922 was built on a nationalism that was conservative in politics, Catholic in religion, and almost xenophobic. Because the political and religious establishment regarded the

Jaye Davidson and Stephen Rea in Neil Jordan's* The Crying Game *(1992). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

cinema with suspicion and distaste, it subjected it to the most rigid censorship in Europe until the more liberal 1970s. There also existed a cultural bias against the cinema, which is hardly surprising in a country that celebrates a strong literary and theatrical tradition.

During the early period of Irish independence—from the 1920s to the 1970s—most of the cinematic representations of the country came from the outside. Although some attempts had been made in this period to attract both political and economic interest in filmmaking. The most notable of these were the semi-amateur production *The Dawn* (Thomas Cooper, 1938) and *Guests of the Nation* (Denis Johnston), based on Frank O'Connor's short story of the same title. Both the story and film later inspired Neil Jordan's (b. 1950) highly influential *The Crying Game* (1992). In Northern Ireland in the 1930s actor Richard Hayward attempted to start the film production industry, but there was little economic or political interest, and after a number of small-scale comedies (*The Luck of the Irish* [1936] and *The Early Bird* [1936], indigenous feature filmmaking in Ireland ceased to exist for the next four decades.

During these years, Ireland continued to attract both Hollywood and British productions, and the Irish government established a studio at Bray in County Wicklow to facilitate such inward investment and to encourage further location shooting. The presence of such "outsider" productions inevitably gave rise to aspirations within Ireland itself for a more indigenous form of filmmaking. In the 1960s and 1970s, an increasingly vocal lobby emerged. It was supported in large measure by two influential directors who remained in Ireland after shooting some of their films there: John Huston, an American, and John Boorman, an Englishman. The Irish government finally began to provide very modest state funding for filmmaking in the 1970s and early 1980s. It is hardly surprising that the generation of Irish filmmakers that emerged would respond to both the dominance of cinematic stereotypes from abroad as well as the legacies of the nationalist traditions internally. In other words, the films they produced constituted a radical reassessment of Irish identity. This first wave of indigenous filmmakers included a group of Dublin-born directors—Robert Quinn (b. 1942), Joe Comerford

(b. 1949), Pat Murphy, Cathal Black (b. 1952), and Thaddeus O'Sullivan (b. 1947)—who evinced an avant-garde sensibility and whose films were aesthetically as well as politically challenging. Jordan and Jim Sheridan (b. 1949) were more commercial in their approach and quickly established themselves as directors of international standing. Sheridan's *My Left Foot* (1989) won two acting Academy Awards® for Daniel Day-Lewis and Brenda Fricker, and Jordan won a Best Original Screenplay Award for *The Crying Game*, which long remained the most successful Irish film in the United States.

By 1993, the Irish economy was booming and Ireland had become an affluent society, enjoying the fruits of sustained economic growth. The Irish Film Board, set up originally in 1980, was relaunched with improved funding by a government impressed by the international success of Jordan and Sheridan and committed to the cultural development of Irish cinema. A number of tax incentive schemes were implemented to further stimulate indigenous production, as well as to attract large-scale location shooting to Ireland. The result has been the most sustained period of indigenous film-making ever in Ireland with over 100 feature films produced since 1993. Ireland also continued to attract international productions to its famed locations. Sometimes these were for Irish-themed films, like Ron Howard's lavish *Far and Away* (1992) or John Sayles's more modest *The Secret of Roan Inish* (1994), but often the policy attracted big-budget productions that merely took advantage of the tax concessions and the scenery. For example, Steven Spielberg shot his celebrated Normandy beach scenes for *Saving Private Ryan* (1998) on the beaches of Wicklow, and in 1995 Mel Gibson took advantage of tax incentives to move the production of *Braveheart* from Scotland to Ireland.

The younger directors who emerged in the 1990s proved to be much more commercial in their approach than their predecessors of the 1970s and 1980s and as a result often have produced more light-hearted and youth-oriented films. Nonetheless, the nature of Irishness and a number of other themes stand out. For example, a substantial body of films about urban Ireland exists compared with a cinema once dominated by rural imagery. Such films as the contemporary sex comedy *About Adam* (Gerard Stembridge, 2000), the subversive crime comedy *Intermission* (John Crowley, 2003), and the controversial lesbian/gay view of contemporary Dublin *Goldfish Memory* (Elizabeth Gill, 2003) re-imagine urban Ireland very differently from traditional notions and challenge in both an entertaining and intellectual manner the very notion of "cinematic Ireland." Because the Catholic Church in Ireland was rocked by scandals beginning in the 1990s, a number of films have explored the nature of Ireland's Catholic past, especially the dominance of the Catholic Church in mid-twentieth-century Ireland: *Hush-A-Bye-Baby* (Margo Harkin, 1990), *A Love Divided* (Sydney Macartney, 1999), and *The Magdalene Sisters* (Peter Mullan, 2002). A particular brand of Irish coming-of-age film that, read metaphorically is a comment on Irish society emerging from a period of uncertainty, also emerged: *The Last of the High Kings* (David Keating, 1996) and *The Disappearance of Finbar* (Sue Clayton, 1996). Finally, both established and emerging Irish filmmakers have attempted to revisit the vexed question of violence in Northern Ireland and to explore the legacy of Ireland's militant nationalism in such films as Jordan's *Michael Collins* (1996), Sheridan's *In the Name of the Father* (1993) and *The Boxer* (1997), and David Caffrey's *Divorcing Jack* (1998).

Most of these themes, and many more besides, are treated in the most complex film to emerge in the 1990s. Jordan's *The Butcher Boy* (1997), a film rich in visual imagination that disturbs the audience, subverting the traditional Irish mythologies. At the same time, the complexity and artistic achievement of the film confirm that Irish cinema has emerged from obscurity and assumed a cultural role as significant as the nation's more lauded literary and theatrical traditions.

SEE ALSO *Great Britain; National Cinema*

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Martin McLoone

ISRAEL

Filmmaking in Israel can be traced to the early twentieth century with the documentation of the land by solitary pioneers, such as Murray Rosenberg's *The First Film of Palestine* (1911) and Ya'acov Ben-Dov's *The Awakening Land of Israel* (1923). Commissioned by Zionist organizations, these films were screened in front of Jewish communities worldwide. They showed an embellished image of the land, emphasizing its redemption by the Zionist movement by beginning with images of ruined Jewish historical sites in a desolated land and culminating in lively images of new towns in the Jewish *yishuv* (settlement).

The more prolific filmmaking of the 1930s focused upon Jews who had shed their Diaspora "nonproductive" way of life in favor of communal life and agricultural labor, reflecting the predominance of Zionist socialism. The major filmmakers of this period, such as Baruch Agadati (1894–1976) and Nathan Axelrod, were Russian-Jewish immigrants strongly influenced by Russia's October Revolution (1917). Agadati's *This Is the Land* (1933) is dynamically structured along the lines of the montage sequences of Dziga Vertov and Sergei Eisenstein, contrasting an arid past to a present filled with a vast multitude of Jews, of industrial plants working at full steam, culminating in a call to leave the cities in favor of collective agricultural work on the kibbutz. Axelrod's travelogue *Oded the Wanderer* (1933) emphasizes the social and material progress that the Zionist socialist project has brought to the region. This theme also dominates Aleksander Ford's (1908–1980) *Sabra* (1933), which deals with a drought that sparks an escalating conflict over water between a socialist Jewish commune and an Arab tribe headed by a despotic sheikh. The conflict is resolved when water gushes from the Jews' well for the benefit of all, and is followed by a Soviet-styled epilogue showing tractors ploughing the land, superimposed with the silhouettes of agricultural workers marching toward a utopian future.

Following World War II, the Holocaust became a major theme in the cinematic forging of national identity, by presenting Israel as the last haven for persecuted Jews (while later presenting the state as besieged and facing annihilation). These films, aimed at justifying the need for a Jewish state following the Nazi atrocities, were invariably concerned with the integration of the recently arrived immigrants through their transformation by working the land within a collective. *Earth* (Helmer Lerski, 1946), for example, offers a plethora of images panning an open and fertile land that enfolds the protagonists, infusing in them a sense of liberation from the terrifying past of the ghettoes and death camps still resonating in their minds.

CINEMA SINCE STATEHOOD

The establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 amidst war with the surrounding Arab countries generated deep sociopolitical changes, mostly due to the doubling of the Jewish population within three years of independence (1949–1951) following the massive immigration of Jews from Islamic lands. Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion (1886–1973) shifted his party's Zionist socialism to a centralizing policy termed *mamlachtyut* (statism), which allowed for the rapid industrialization of the country in the course of absorbing the massive immigration. However, this policy resulted in the correlation of ethnic

origin and class, whereby the newly arrived Jews from Islamic lands came to form the lower classes. The state's dominant ideology shifted accordingly, and the image of the *ideal sabra* (native-born Israeli) changed from being a socialist revolutionary to an ethnically mixed Jew who is a loyal citizen and soldier within a beseiged nation. The 1948 "War of Independence" became a central subject in statist ideology and was replicated by a dependent cultural apparatus. Thorold Dickinson's (1903–1984) film *Hill 24 Doesn't Answer* (1956) portrayed the war as part of the long history of Jewish persecution, yet also presented it as the means through which the situation of the Jewish people was changing due to Israel's military resolve, its national independence, and the East–West condensed Jew forged by the inseparable experiences of war and sociocultural intermingling. This intermingling was interestingly dealt with in *Tent City* (Leopold Lahola, 1955), which also absolved the government of any wrongdoing toward the immigrants by blaming the Diaspora past for present hardships and ethnic strife, and by presenting government officials as impartial and authoritative, yet kind and dedicated civil servants. The film also promised a brighter future by showing through rhythmically accelerating editing patterns the ethnically varied citizenry harmoniously joining hands in different projects carried out during the rapid industrialization of the country in the 1950s, a subject recurring in other films that were mostly funded by Israel's major workers' union, Ha'Histadrut.

The expansion of the urban middle classes in the early 1960s, along with a relative geopolitical calm, dated the collectivist rhetoric of the government and the cultural establishment distanced itself from the government. Uri Zohar's (b. 1935) experimental *Hole in the Moon* (1965) and ethnic comedy *Sallah Shabati* (Ephraim Kishon, 1964), for example, offered parodies of Zionist socialism and statism by showing their incompatibility with the daily reality of a grotesquely depicted, yet "real" commercially oriented society. These emergent trends involving notions of art for art's sake and of art as industry gradually began to replace the earlier politically committed and propagandistic films, coming to full fruition after Israel's swift victory in the war of June 1967. Following this war Israelis had a sense of euphoric freedom at the lifting of a previously perceived siege due to the expansion of Israel's borders and the ensuing economic improvement, a function of increased US aid and the cheap Palestinian labor force that poured in from the newly occupied territories. Individualism thrived in the new economic and political situation, and a new generation of filmmakers influenced by the French New Wave and Hollywood began to produce films characterized by excess and lack of subtlety: war films, *burekas* films (comedies focused on interethnic relations), and personal films.

War films celebrated the victory and disavowed the threatening geopolitical implications of the war, focusing upon the heroic and successful deeds of free-spirited, valiant, and arrogant protagonists—in sharp contrast to the collectivist soldier of the films of the 1950s. Uri Zohar's tellingly named film *Every Bastard a King* (1968) includes an unusually long tank battle scene showing the valiant rescue under fire of a wounded soldier by the individualistic hero. Burekas films deceptively reduced the mounting class–ethnic tensions of the period to comic or melodramatic capitalist competition over money and women. *Katz and Carraso* (Boaz Davidson, 1971), which revolves around the competition between an Oriental Jewish family (Carasso) and a Western Jewish one (Katz) over a fat government insurance contract, is emblematic. Personal films reduced interpersonal relations to conflicts stemming mostly from accomplished or frustrated sexual desires. Despite articulating these subjects through the use of New Wave techniques (jump-cuts, asynchronous sound–image relations), the complex existentialism, politics, and subversion of the original films were reduced mostly to voyeuristic glances at Westernized protagonists detached from Israeli reality. A particularly extreme example of this tendency is the experimental *A Woman's Case* (Jacques Katmor, 1969), which offers voyeuristic looks at the naked body of its peculiar woman protagonist through close-ups of her body parts and jump-cuts between them.

AFTER THE 1977 POLITICAL TURNOVER

The threatening social and political processes that began to ripen during the early 1970s erupted into the Israeli consciousness and found filmic expression only after the political turnover that brought the right-wing Likud party to power in 1977 after the sixty-year hegemony of Labor parties. The change resulted from the disillusion with a government that had failed to predict the outbreak of the 1973 October war and remained undecided on the future of the occupied territories, as well as from the resentment toward the Labor party felt by low-income Jews from Islamic lands. This overturn shocked the Labor-leaning populace to which most of the filmmakers belonged and led to their radical politicization. The main focus of fiction films produced during the 1980s was criticism of the Israeli occupation of the densely Palestinian-populated West Bank and Gaza Strip following the intensification of Jewish settlements in these territories and Israel's invasion of Lebanon in 1982. This criticism, however, was confined to a narrow and melodramatic moral resentment, reflecting the overall paralysis of the left in its dead-end conception of reality. Most films

Dana Katz and Arnon Zadok in Uri Barbash's* Beyond the Walls *(1984). **© WARNER BROS./COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

offered a similar story line: a Palestinian Arab and an Israeli Jew, driven by a vague idea that solidarity between the two peoples is possible, decide to act accordingly. However, irrespective of the grounds upon which this solidarity is based, whether academic as in *Fellow Travelers* (Judd Neeman, 1984) or class-revolutionary as in *Beyond the Walls* (Uri Barbash, 1984), their coming together generates reactions from Israeli secret agents, soldiers, and policemen, as well as from Palestinian terror groups, which invariably lead the protagonists to a bitter end. This storyline is played out in jails, mental institutions, or army barracks presented as claustrophobic, labyrinthine, shadowy, and violent, depicting a society under constant threat, whose members are suspicious of each other's conspiracies. The films evidence the split in Israeli society and the paralyzing fear engendered by this split.

The outbreak of the first Palestinian *intifada* (uprising) in 1989 ended this focus on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, perhaps because Israeli filmmakers recognized that their moralistic stand was futile. Israeli films from the 1990s on, produced by a new generation of filmmakers, depicted a decentered Israeli culture through a self-representation of ethnic others that previously had had no voice, evidencing the splintering of Israeli society into various power groups. *Jana's Friends* (1998), directed by Russian-born Arik Kaplun, focuses on the 1990s Russian immigration to Israel, while *Shchur* (1995), scripted by Israeli Moroccan-Jew Hanna Azulai-Hasfari, exalts the return of its protagonist to the mystical aspects of Jewish-Moroccan ethnicity in reaction to her forced secular Israelization during the 1950s. *Late Wedding* (2003), directed by Georgian-born Dover Kozashvili, furthers this splintering trend in its representation of a peculiar Georgian-Jewish ethnicity without any mention of an Israeli-dominant national culture. Most of this film is spoken in Georgian, and most of it is shot in ethnically decorated Georgian interiors, while the few exterior shots

are of parking lots, empty sidewalks, and building staircases alien to the characters. These contemporary Israeli multicultural films mark the dialectical evolution of the representation of ethnic relations from a desired intermingling in the 1950s to today's ethnic splintering, perhaps also implying a dissolution of Israeli cinema's traditional forging of national identity as being that of a besieged nation.

SEE ALSO *Diasporic Cinema; National Cinema; Yiddish Cinema*

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Nitzan Ben-Shaul

ITALY

Given Italy's unparalleled contributions to the visual arts from the twelfth century to the present, it would have been unusual, indeed, if its culture had not made fundamental contributions to the development of film art from the silent era to the present. After being identified with the historical epic in the silent cinema, Italy's film culture was virtually ignored during the fascist period, but the advent of postwar Italian neorealism after 1945 threw Italy into the forefront of modern European filmmaking. Subsequently, a number of the individuals associated with neorealism developed into *auteurs*, and Italy produced several generations of Europe's best art film directors. Italy also contributed a great deal to commercial film genres, such as the spaghetti western, the sword and sandal epic, the *giallo* (horror-mystery), and even the cannibal and zombie cult movies of the late twentieth century.

BEGINNINGS: THE SILENT PERIOD

On 11 November 1895, Filoteo Alberini (1865–1937) applied for a patent on an early device, the Alberini Kinetograph, and between 1909 and 1916, the Italian silent cinema represented a major force in world cinema before the hegemony of Hollywood was firmly established, with major production centers in Turin, Rome, Naples, and Milan. Alberini produced the first feature film with a complex plot—*La Presa di Roma* (*The Taking of Rome*, 1905)—which was based on a patriotic theme, the annexation of the Eternal City in 1870 to the new Italian republic. The next year, CINES, a major production company, was founded, and it rapidly allowed Italian silent films to capture an enormous international market share for a brief period. While Italian silent films reflected a variety of genres, including Roman costume dramas, adventure films, comedies, filmed drama, even experimental or avant-garde works by the Futurists, there is little question that the success of the costumed film set in classical antiquity was responsible for much of the industry's early success. Italy's Roman past, the wealth of classic ruins and grandiose monuments all over Italy, the favorable climate and natural light of the peninsula, plus the relatively low labor costs for huge crowd scenes, all encouraged on-location shooting of costume dramas and interior scenes with lavish neoclassical decors. Important works in this epic vein include *Gli Ultimi giorni di Pompeii* (*The Last Days of Pompeii*, 1908) by Luigi Maggi, *Quo Vadis?* (1913) by Enrico Guazzoni, and the silent cinema's most famous epic by Giovanni Pastrone (1883–1959), *Cabiria* (1914), whose majestic treatment of the Second Punic War introduced the use of the dolly into cinematic practice, influenced D. W. Griffith's *Intolerance* (1916), and subsequently inspired many neomythological or *peplum* films, a staple export item of the Italian industry in the 1950s and 1960s.

In addition to historical epics and filmed versions of themes taken from drama, opera, and history, the Italian cinema quickly developed the star system (the *diva*), a development that naturally led to an increased use of close-ups to convey passionate emotions. Italian *femme fatales* such as Lyda Borelli in *Ma l'amor mio non muore* (*But My Love Won't Die!*, 1913) by Mario Caserini, Maria Carmi in *Sperduti nel buio* (*Lost in the Dark*, 1914) by Nino Martoglio, and Francesca Bertini in *Assunta Spina* (1915) by Gustavo Serena, set an international standard for melodramatic passion. The most memorable male lead was the muscular former

dockworker and taciturn protagonist of *Cabiria*, Bartolomeo Pagano (1878–1947), whose character in that film, Maciste, spawned numerous subsequent imitations that often changed *Cabiria*'s classical setting. For example, Maciste became an Italian soldier during World War I in *Maciste alpino* (*Maciste the Alpine Soldier*, 1916), a modern tourist in *Maciste in vacanza* (*Maciste on Vacation*, 1920), a detective in *Maciste policioho* (*Maciste the Detective*, 1917), and even a visitor to Dante's Inferno in *Maciste all'inferno* (*Maciste in Hell*, 1926) by Guido Brignone, which included memorable special effects and tinted colors to represent the punishments of Hell.

During the silent period, the cinema also attracted the critical attention of key Italian intellectuals. The avant-garde Futurist movement devoted a Futurist manifesto to cinema in 1916, calling for this new art form to avoid the slavish imitation of other art forms and to concentrate on its novel and innovative visual effects (exactly the opposite of what the industry actually did, since it privileged literary adaptations). Some Futurist short films were produced. Other popular writers, such as Gabriele D'Annunzio (1863–1938), who provided the intertitles for *Cabiria*, or Nobel Laureate and playwright Luigi Pirandello (1867–1936), who wrote a famous novel about a movie camera operator and worked to film a number of his successful plays, helped to bring respectability to this upstart art form that had only recently emerged from the atmosphere of the circus and vaudeville show. After World War I, American and European competition almost destroyed the Italian industry completely, forcing production to drop from 220 films in 1920 to less than a dozen works in 1927, just before the introduction of the talkies.

CINEMA UNDER FASCISM: THE ADVENT OF SOUND AND THE INCREASE OF NATIONAL PRODUCTION

From 1922 to 1943, over 700 films were produced, most not really "fascist" films at all but primarily entertainment. Indeed, the fascist regime admired the Hollywood model, not the totalitarian cinemas controlled by dictators in Germany and Russia. When it desired pro-regime propaganda, Mussolini's government relied on radio and short filmed documentaries prepared by LUCE (the Union of Cinematographic Education) and screened with the feature films designed for entertainment. Even in wartime, Italy averaged some 72 films annually between 1939 and 1944, a figure that gives some idea of the large local market for film and its role as popular entertainment. When the Italian industry nearly collapsed after World War I, Italian movie theaters (numbering at one point some 3,000 theaters) were forced to show only foreign films, a situation that was intolerable for the Fascist regime, whose official economic policy was self-sufficiency—that is, autarchy—in all matters economic and cultural. When the Italian government moved to block Hollywood's near monopoly of film distribution within the Italian market, the Hollywood "Big Four" (20th Century Fox, Paramount, MGM, Warner Bros.) withdrew from the Italian market in protest. No longer forced to face overwhelming American economic pressure, the Italian film industry eventually rebounded, filling the void of Hollywood products with nationally produced films.

Outside of Italy, little was known of Italian cinema during the fascist period, and this ignorance encouraged the erroneous idea abroad that the post–World War II Italian cinema had arisen miraculously from the ashes of the war. In retrospect, many important achievements of this era are more clear. Mussolini himself was fond of saying that the cinema was the most powerful art form developed in the modern era. Mussolini's son Vittorio played a major role as the editor of an influential film journal (*Cinema*) that involved such collaborators as the future postwar leftist directors, Luchino Visconti (1906–1976), Michelangelo Antonioni (b. 1912), and Giuseppe De Santis (1917–1997), and it was Vittorio Mussolini's friendship that enabled Roberto Rossellini (1906–1977) to begin to work in the industry. The regime founded a major film school, the Centro Sperimentale di Cinematografia (1935); and it built one of the world's great film production complexes, Cinecittà, inaugurated by Mussolini in 1937. Both of these institutions are still in operation, and with their vast archives, they also serve as repositories of Italian cinematic history. *Bianco e nero*, the official organ of the Centro, and *Cinema* helped to spread information about foreign theories and techniques through translations and reviews. The regime also sponsored university film clubs (Cinegufs) that helped to create a generation of cinephiles. Most of the great directors, actors, technicians, and scriptwriters of the neorealist period received their training during the fascist period, and some postwar stars made their first films in the service of a regime whose policies they would later repudiate after the fall of Mussolini in 1943.

The first Italian sound film was *Canzone dell'amore* (*The Song of Love*, 1930) by Gennaro Righelli (1886–1949). With the advent of the talkies, Italian cinema was dominated by two important directors: Mario Camerini (1895–1981) and Alessandro Blasetti (1900–1987). Camerini's stylish comedies stressed role playing in society, enjoyed intelligent and lively scripts, and first brought together Vittorio De Sica (1902–1974), as an actor, and Cesare Zavattini (1902–1989), as scriptwriter in a classic comedy, *Darò un milione* (*I'd Give a Million*, 1935). Long before De Sica became identified by his neorealist masterpieces scripted with Zavattini, he was

the most popular actor in fascist Italy, playing roles similar to those performed in Hollywood by both Cary Grant and James Stewart. Camerini's most important comedy, *Il Signor Max* (*Mr. Max*, 1937), starring De Sica, established a level of craftsmanship and witty sophistication that rivals the best products of the Hollywood studios during the same period. Blasetti's career represents an entirely different approach to cinema. Frequently abandoning the sound studios at Cinecittà so crucial to Camerini's work, Blasetti created his masterpiece *1860* (*Gesuzza the Garibaldian Wife*, 1934), a patriotic film about Garibaldi. In its original uncut edition, he linked Garibaldi's Redshirts to Mussolini's Blackshirts, first made use of nonprofessional actors and on-location shooting, and pursued film realism—all supposedly original features of the immediate postwar period. Blasetti's *Vecchia guardia* (*The Old Guard*, 1935) employs a similar documentary style in portraying Mussolini's rise to power. Yet, Blasetti also made one of the most beautiful and imaginative of all films during this era, *La Corona di ferro* (*The Iron Crown*, 1941), in which ornately stylized studio sets testify to the technical prowess reached at Cinecittà. Its call for universal peace at a time when the entire world (including Italy) was at war demonstrates how fascist censorship was quite loosely applied to the commercial cinema. Moreover, Blasetti's *Quattro passi fra le nuvole* (*A Stroll in the Clouds*, 1942) prefigured the poetic style of De Sica's postwar neorealism in its simple plot and a Zavattini script.

Italian films made during the fascist period were usually not "fascist" in tone, although they were often nationalistic and patriotic, much like their Hollywood counterparts. The search for realism in the Italian cinema thus began not with the postwar period and the neorealists but, rather, with directors working in the 1930s and the 1940s before the end of World War II. In an important manifesto published in 1933 ("The Glass Eye"), pro-Mussolini journalist Leo Longanesi called for Italian directors to take their cameras into the streets and to produce a non-Hollywood version of Italian everyday life, a film realism that was authentically Italian in content. This interest in realism was specifically the goal of the left-wing Italian fascist intellectuals associated with Vittorio Mussolini's journal *Cinema*, and after the war and the fall of his father's regime, these same individuals continued their interest in film realism but pursued this goal with a Marxist, not a fascist, twist. Not only talented *auteurs* such as Blasetti, but other directors took up Longanesi's call, and the advent of the war added urgency to a realistic view of Italian life on celluloid. A marriage of fact and fiction, documentary and fantasy, soon became the formula for successful films about the war. Francesco De Robertis (1902–1959), his protégé Rossellini, and Augusto Genina (1892–1957), all contributed to this search for realism while making war films. Genina's *Squadrone bianco* (*The White Squadron*, 1936), a film about Italian colonialism in Libya, was shot on stupendous desert locations; his *L'Assedio dell'Alcazar* (*The Siege of the Alcazar*, 1940), a celebration of the Falangist defense of the Alcazar fortress by Franco's troops during the Spanish Civil War, also employed real locations and documentary footage.

The realistic war films of Genina, De Robertis, and Rossellini adopted the formula of the *documentario romanzato* (fictional documentary), combining a fictional-emotional-romantic theme (usually the love affair between a soldier and his lady friend) with the documentary-historical-realistic theme (the war film genre, real locations, documentary photography, some nonprofessional actors). De Robertis's *Men on the Bottom* (1941), made for the Italian navy, employs an editing style indebted to Eisenstein's montage (the Russian's theories had been discussed and partially translated by the film journal *Cinema*) and used nonprofessional actors, the men on board an Italian submarine, to great effect. Rossellini actually produced a trilogy of pro-regime films that we label today his "fascist trilogy," which may be contrasted and compared to the more celebrated "war trilogy" he made in the immediate postwar neorealist period. The first of these three works, *La Nave bianca* (*The White Ship*, 1941), the dramatic tale of life on a hospital ship saving brave Italian soldiers, was shot in collaboration with De Robertis; Vittorio Mussolini collaborated on the script. It was followed in short order by two other films supporting the war effort (the soldiers, sailors, and airmen doing the fighting and the dying, not necessarily the fascist regime): *Un Pilota ritorna* (*A Pilot Returns*, 1942) and *L'Uomo dalla croce* (*The Man With a Cross*, 1943). These three nationalistic films shot to support the troops represent important precursors of Italian neorealism, and another appeared in 1943, the year that witnessed the downfall of Mussolini's regime: *Ossessione* (*Obsession*) by Luchino Visconti (his first feature). Based on a pirated version of James Cain's novel, *The Postman Always Rings Twice* (1934), Visconti created a truly unusual antiheroic protagonist who can easily be seen as a homosexual. This character was indebted to American hard-boiled novels and was diametrically opposed to the kind of "manly" protagonists fascist censors might have preferred. Visconti's long takes and languorous rhythms reappeared in his postwar work and represented a style that was set apart from the more rapid editing techniques in Rossellini's neorealist classics.

POSTWAR NEOREALISM: A BRIEF DECADE

With the fall of Mussolini and the end of the war, international audiences were suddenly introduced to

Italian films through a few great works by Rossellini, De Sica, and Luchino Visconti that appeared in less than a decade after 1945, such as Rossellini's *Roma, città aperta* (*Rome, Open City*, 1945) and *Paisà* (*Paisan*, 1946); De Sica's *Sciuscià* (*Shoeshine*, 1946), *Ladri di biciclette* (*The Bicycle Thieves*, 1948), and *Umberto D.* (1952); and Visconti's *La Terra trema* (*The Earth Trembles*, 1948). Italian neorealist films stressed social themes (the war, the resistance, poverty, unemployment); they seemed to reject traditional Hollywood dramatic and cinematic conventions; they often privileged on-location shooting rather than studio work, as well as the documentary photographic style favored by many directors under the former regime; and they frequently (but not always) employed nonprofessional actors in original ways. Film historians have unfortunately tended to speak of neorealism as if it were an authentic movement with universally agreed-upon stylistic or thematic principles. While the controlling fiction of the best neorealist works was that they dealt with universal human problems, contemporary stories, and believable characters from everyday life, the best neorealist films never completely denied cinematic conventions, nor did they always totally reject Hollywood codes. The basis for the fundamental change in cinematic history marked by Italian neorealism was less an agreement on a single, unified cinematic style than a common aspiration to view Italy without preconceptions and to employ a more honest, ethical, but no less poetic, cinematic language in the process.

These masterpieces by Rossellini, De Sica, and Visconti are indisputably major works of art that capture the spirit of postwar Italian culture and remain original contributions to film language. But with the exception of *Rome, Open City*, they were relatively unpopular within Italy and achieved success primarily among intellectuals and foreign critics. In particular, De Sica was criticized for "washing Italy's dirty laundry in public" by Giulio Andreotti, a Christian Democratic politician who was later to become one of Italy's most powerful prime ministers. One of the paradoxes of the neorealist era in Italian film history, an epoch that lasted no more than a decade, is that the ordinary people such films set out to portray were relatively uninterested in their self-image. In fact, of the approximately eight hundred films produced between the mid-1940s and the mid-1950s in Italy, only a relatively small number (about 10 percent) could be classified as neorealist, and most of these few works were box-office failures. After years of fascist dictatorship and the deprivations of war, Italians were more interested in being entertained than in being reminded of their poverty.

A number of less important but very interesting neorealist films were able to achieve greater popular success by incorporating traditional Hollywood genres within their narratives, thereby expanding the boundaries of traditional film realism. This group of commercially successful works include *Vivere in pace* (*To Live in Peace*, 1947) by Luigi Zampa (1905–1991), a comical view of Germans, Italians, and Allied soldiers at war that cannot help but bring to mind the World War II TV sitcom *Hogan's Heroes*; *Senza pietà* (*Without Pity*, 1948) by Alberto Lattuada (1913–2005), a daring *film noir* about the black market, prostitution, and American racism in postwar Livorno; *Riso amaro* (*Bitter Rice*, 1949) by Giuseppe De Santis, a vaguely Marxist film about proletarian class solidarity that gave birth to the phenomenon in Italy of the "sweater girl" known as the *maggiorata*, making Silvana Mangano (1930–1989) an overnight sensation; and *Il Cammino della speranza* (*Path of Hope*, 1950) by Pietro Germi (1914–1974), a film about poor Sicilian miners migrating to France in search of work. These four films reflect a shift from the war themes of Rossellini to the interest in postwar reconstruction typical of De Sica's best efforts, but they are even more important as an indication of how the Italian cinema moved gradually closer toward conventional American themes and film genres.

THE "CRISIS" OF NEOREALISM AND EXPLOSION OF STYLES AND GENRES

In spite of the fact that Italian intellectuals and social critics preferred the implicitly political and sometimes even revolutionary messages of the neorealist classics, the public preferred Hollywood works or Italian films made in the Hollywood spirit, and even the neorealist *auteurs* soon became uncomfortable with the restrictive boundaries imposed upon their subject matter or style by well-meaning leftist critics. In Italian cinema history this transitional phase of development is often called the "crisis" of neorealism. In retrospect, the period from the mid-1950s to the mid-1960s can be described more accurately as a natural evolution of Italian film language toward a cinema characterized by many different styles and concerned with psychological problems as well as social ones. Crucial to this historic transition are a number of 1950s films by Rossellini, Michelangelo Antonioni, and Federico Fellini (1920–1993). In Antonioni's first feature film, *Cronaca di un amore* (*Story of a Love Affair*, 1950), he borrows a plot indebted to Cain's *The Postman Always Rings Twice*, American *film noir*, and *Obsession,* but his distinctive photographic signature is already evident: characteristically long shots, tracks and pans following the actors; modernist editing techniques that reflect the slow rhythms of daily life; and philosophical concerns with obvious links to European existentialism. Antonioni continued to develop this kind of narrative into the next decade, eventually emphasizing image over narrative storyline.

FEDERICO FELLINI

b. Rimini, Italy, 20 January 1920, d. 31 October 1993

Acclaimed film director, accomplished screenwriter, and cartoonist, Federico Fellini is one of Italy's most celebrated filmmakers. In 1943 he married actress Giulietta Masina, who starred in several of his films.

When World War II ended, Fellini wrote important neorealist screenplays, including Roberto Rossellini's *Roma, città aperta* (*Open City*, 1945)—work that earned him his first Academy Award® nomination, *Paisà* (*Paisan*, 1946) and *L'Amore* (*Ways of Love*, 1948), which contains "Il miracolo" ("The Miracle"); Alberto Lattuada's *Senza pietà* (*Without Pity*, 1948); and Pietro Germi's *Il Cammino della speranza* (*The Path of Hope*, 1950). Subsequently, Fellini launched a series of major works dealing with Italian provincial life that won him international fame, including *Lo Sceicco bianco* (*The White Sheik*, 1952), *La Strada* (*The Road*, 1954), and *Le Notti di Cabiria* (*The Nights of Cabiria*, 1957). The last two films won Oscars® for Best Foreign Language Film. Shortly thereafter, Fellini completed one of the most successful of all postwar European films, *La Dolce Vita* (*The Sweet Life*, 1959), his first collaboration with actor Marcello Mastroianni. The film's title became synonymous everywhere and in numerous languages with the society life depicted by Rome's gossip-column photographers or *paparazzi*, a word Fellini contributed to the English language. Fellini's often imitated but never equaled masterpiece *8½* (1963) cast Mastroianni as Fellini's alter ego and earned a third Oscar® for Best Foreign Film.

Fellini's later films became more personal and thus are linked to the postwar European art film. They deal with such themes as the myth of Rome—*Satyricon* (*Fellini's Satyricon*, 1969) and *Roma* (*Fellini's Roma*, 1971); Italy under fascism—*Amarcord* (1973), a film that won Fellini his fourth Oscar® for Best Foreign Film; and the very nature of art and creativity itself—*E la nave va* (*And the Ship Sails On*, 1983); *Ginger e Fred* (*Ginger and Fred*, 1986); and *Intervista* (*Fellini's Interview*, 1987). As Fellini's art developed beyond his neorealist origins, it began to explore dreams or surrealistic fantasies and to exploit the baroque imagery and sumptuous Cinecittà sets for which his cinema has become justly renowned.

During the last years of his life, Fellini made three television commercials for Barilla pasta, Campari Soda, and the Banco di Roma. They are extraordinary lessons in cinematography and reveal not only his genius, but also his grasp of popular culture. He also exhibited his sketches and cartoons, many of which were taken from private dream notebooks, thus uncovering the source of much of his artistic creativity—the unconscious. Fellini received numerous honors during his lifetime, including twenty-three nominations for Oscars® in various categories (eight of which were successful and four of which were for Best Foreign Film); a special fifth Oscar® for his career achievement (1993); the Golden Lion Career Award from the Venice Film Festival (1985); and dozens of prizes from the world's most important film festivals.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Lo Sceicco bianco (*The White Sheik*, 1952), *La Strada* (*The Road*, 1954), *La Dolce Vita* (*The Sweet Life*, 1959), *8½* (1963), *Giulietta degli spiriti* (*Juliet of the Spirits*, 1965), *Satyricon* (*Fellini's Satyricon*, 1969), *Amarcord* (1973), *Intervista* (*The Interview*, 1987)

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Fellini's early works also continue an evolution beyond neorealist preoccupation with social problems. In *I Vitelloni* (*The Vitelloni*, 1953), a film to which Martin Scorsese's *Mean Streets* (1973) is deeply indebted as a model, Fellini provided a portrait of six provincial slackers, their miserable daydreams, and their humble existence. Instead of indicting his characters for their limited perspectives, Fellini, as in his later films, focused upon the clash of illusion and reality in the dreary lives of his comic figures. Soon afterward, two masterful films

***Federico Fellini on a crane shooting* Roma, (Fellini's Roma, *1972*).** EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

established his international reputation as an *auteur*: *La Strada* (*The Road*, 1954) and *Le Notti di Cabiria* (*The Nights of Cabiria*, 1957). Both works won an Oscar® for Best Foreign Film, and in them both, Fellini moved beyond mere portrayal of provincial life to reveal a new emotional dimension, one motivated by a personal poetic vision and a particular Fellinian mythology concerned with spiritual poverty and the necessity for grace or salvation—concepts that seem to be Catholic but that, in Fellini's works, take on a strictly secular and vaguely existentialist connotation. As Fellini once remarked, he believed the story of one's neighbor was just as important as a narrative about a stolen bicycle (an obvious allusion to De Sica's neorealist masterpiece), and Fellini became the standard-bearer for the transcendence of neorealism by Italian film.

Although he was the neorealist director most directly associated with contemporary events and the use of documentary techniques and nonprofessional actors, Rossellini also joined Antonioni and Fellini in moving Italian cinema toward what he called "a cinema of the Reconstruction," most particularly in a number of films he made with his wife Ingrid Bergman: *Stromboli* (1950), *Europe '51* (*The Greatest Love*, 1952), and *Viaggio in Italia* (*Journey to Italy*, 1953). In each of these important but unpopular films, Rossellini employed one of the most glamorous and famous Hollywood stars in intimate roles that played completely against any traditional treatment of the female movie star in Hollywood, a technique lionized by Rossellini's New Wave fans but rejected by popular audiences as uninteresting.

THE TRIUMPH OF THE INTERNATIONAL ART FILM

In the years between the mid-1950s (when the "crisis" of neorealism had clearly passed) and the mid-1970s (a time of violent social and political upheavals in Italy), the Italian cinema achieved a level of artistic quality, international

popularity, and economic strength that it had never before achieved before and that it would never again reach. Film production continued at well above two hundred films for a number of years, while a prolonged crisis in the American industry reduced Hollywood competition within the domestic market and abroad. Italy could boast a number of distinguished *auteurs* (Antonioni, Fellini, Visconti, De Sica, Rossellini) who were producing their greatest masterpieces. Their films not only fascinated critics and festival audiences but also were highly successful commercially. Such hits as Visconti's *Rocco e i suoi fratelli* (*Rocco and His Brothers*, 1960), *Il Gattopardo* (*The Leopard*, 1962), *La Caduta degli dei* (*The Damned*, 1969), and *Morte a Venezia* (*Death in Venice*, 1971); Fellini's *La Dolce Vita* (*The Sweet Life*, 1959), *8½* (1963), *Satyricon* (*Fellini Satyricon*, 1969), and *Amarcord* (1973); Antonioni's trilogy on modern love *L'Avventura* (1960), *La Notte* (*The Night*, 1961), and *L'Eclisse* (*The Eclipse*, 1962) in black and white and the important color films *Il Deserto rosso* (*Red Desert*, 1964) and *Blow-Up* (1966); and De Sica's *La Ciociara* (*Two Women*, 1960) and *Il Giardino dei Finzi-Contini* (*The Garden of the Finzi-Contini*, 1970) all show highly complex stylistic shifts in films created by four *auteurs* whose origins evolved beyond the simpler neorealist approach of their early work.

De Sica's two films were awarded Oscars® and are highly wrought commercial films, skillful adaptations of literary works that might well have been made in Hollywood. *Two Women* portrayed a woman's horrifying experiences during the war and provided a successful star vehicle for a performance by Sophia Loren (b. 1934) that earned her an Oscar® for Best Actress. *The Garden of the Finzi-Contini* presented a moving portrait of the Holocaust in Ferrara. Both films were far removed from the spirit of the simple storylines about humble people that established De Sica as neorealism's most poetic director. Visconti's films portrayed broad historical themes with lush, opera-like *mise-en-scène*: *The Leopard*, for example, was a pessimistic interpretation of Italy's national unification, while *The Damned* and *Death in Venice* both examined different aspects of German national character from the standpoint of European decadence and modernism. Visconti's films often seem as if they could easily unfold on the operatic stage of La Scala. In Antonioni's films, both those in color and in traditional black and white, photography preempted the central function of traditional plot and character, as his characters came to grips with a sense of alienation and futility in the modern industrial world. Antonioni was particularly brilliant in relating characters to their environments, and he framed his shots as if he were a contemporary abstract painter, asking his audience to consider people and objects as equally important and meaningful.

Fellini's baroque style in *La Dolce Vita*, or his celebration of artistic creativity in *8½*, present broad strokes of fantasy, informed by the analysis of the director's own dreams and his desire to recreate his own bizarre fantasy world. For Fellini, the imagination, rather than reality, had become the cinema's proper domain because only fantasy fell under the director's complete artistic control. Since cinema entailed expression, not the communication of information, its essence was imagery and light, not traditional storytelling. The film *8½* also made an important statement about the nature of film art itself. The harried protagonist of the film, the director Guido, possesses many of Fellini's own traits. The narrative employed by Fellini in this work moved rapidly and disconcertingly between Guido's "reality," his fantasies, and flashbacks to the past of dreams—a discontinuous story line with little logical or chronological unity. Considered by many directors to be the greatest and most original film ever made (*Citizen Kane* may be its only true rival), *8½* has been imitated by directors as different as François Truffaut, Spike Jonze, Joel Schumacher, Woody Allen, Martin Scorsese, Bob Fosse, and Peter Greenaway, not to mention certain episodes of David Chase's TV series *The Sopranos*. *Fellini Satyricon* presented a psychedelic version of the classic novel by Petronius, while *Amarcord* offered a bittersweet portrait of Italian provincial life under fascism, the main characters of which may be considered the parents of the postwar slackers in *The Vitelloni*. *Amarcord* asserted Fellini's belief that Italian fascism displayed the nation's arrested development, its paralysis in adolescence, and the average Italian's wish for a delegation of moral responsibility to others, an unusually ideological position taken by a director who was often criticized for ignoring social problems by his leftist critics.

THE SECOND WAVE: A NEW POST-NEOREALIST GENERATION OF AUTEURS

If Visconti, De Sica, Antonioni, and Fellini dominated the cinema of the period, their international prestige coincided with the rise of an extremely talented group of younger men and women whose early works were indebted to neorealism but characterized by more ideological intentions. The best examples of such works are *Il Vangelo secondo Matteo* (*The Gospel According to Matthew*, 1964) by Pier Paolo Pasolini (1922–1975); *Battaglia di Algeri* (*The Battle of Algiers*, 1966) by Gillo Pontecorvo (b. 1919); *Prima della rivoluzione* (*Before the Revolution*, 1964) by Bernardo Bertolucci (b. 1940); *La Cina è vicina* (*China Is Near*, 1967) by Marco Bellocchio (b. 1939); *Salvatore Giuliano* (1962) by Francesco Rosi (b. 1922);

SOPHIA LOREN

b. Sofia Scicolone, Pozzuoli, Italy, 20 September 1934

Sophia Loren transcended illegitimacy and poverty to become the most famous film star in Italy. After working for Italian pulp magazines, Loren debuted in the movies as an extra in Federico Fellini's *Luci del varietà* (*Variety Lights*, 1950) and then as a slave girl in Mervyn LeRoy's *Quo Vadis?* (1951), shot by MGM in Rome. She first attracted serious attention in a filmed version of the Verdi opera *Aïda* (1953), in which she lip-synched Renata Tebaldi's singing. Loren's busty physique made her one of Italy's most famous *maggiorate* (sweater-girls), along with Gina Lollobrigida and Silvano Mangano.

At first Loren's beauty overshadowed her very real talent as an actress. In Vittorio De Sica's *L'oro di Napoli* (*The Gold of Naples*, 1954), her performance already commands respect. With the help of her husband, producer Carlo Ponti, Loren played a number of Mediterranean roles for Hollywood films, including Stanley Kramer's *The Pride and the Passion* (1957) and Melville Shavelson's *Houseboat* (1958), in which she worked with Cary Grant. In 1957 Loren and Ponti married in Mexico, but Italian divorce law did not recognize the marriage. As a result of marital and financial problems, the couple became the target of Italian paparazzi, and Loren even spent several weeks in an Italian prison in 1982 for tax evasion, a crime that only increased her popularity in Italy.

Loren's Hollywood films with such major stars as Grant, Alan Ladd, Anthony Perkins, and William Holden gave her international visibility. She appeared in both epic costume dramas, such as Anthony Mann's *El Cid* (1961) and *The Fall of the Roman Empire* (1964); in westerns, such as George Cukor's *Heller in Pink Tights* (1960); and in romantic comedies, such as Charlie Chaplin's *A Countess from Hong Kong* (1967) and Robert Altman's *Prêt-à-Porter* (*Ready to Wear*, 1994). No doubt, her Hollywood exposure helped her win an Oscar® for Best Actress in Vittorio De Sica's *La Ciociara* (*Two Women*, 1960), in which she played the courageous mother of a teenaged girl during World War II. Two other De Sica films showcased Loren's talent for film comedy, pairing her with another Italian film icon, Marcello Mastroianni: *Ieri, oggi, domani* (*Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*, 1962), winner of an Oscar® for Best Foreign Film; and *Matrimonio all'italiana* (*Marriage, Italian Style*, 1964).

Loren delivered the greatest performance of her late career for director Ettore Scola in *Una Giornata particolare* (*A Special Day*, 1977), in which she plays an unglamorous and world-weary housewife in fascist Italy, who falls for Mastroianni, only to discover that he is a homosexual. Loren received two career awards: an Oscar® from the American Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences (1991), and a Golden Lion from the Venice Film Festival (1998).

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

L'oro di Napoli (*The Gold of Naples*, 1954), *La Ciociara* (*Two Women*, 1960), *Ieri, oggi, domani* (*Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*, 1962), *The Fall of the Roman Empire* (1964), *Matrimonio all'italiana* (*Marriage, Italian Style*, 1964), *Una Giornata particolare* (*A Special Day*, 1975), *Prêt-à-Porter* (*Ready to Wear*, 1994)

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Il Posto (*The Sound of Trumpets*, 1961) by Ermanno Olmi (b. 1931); *Indagine su un cittadino al di sopra di ogni sospetto* (*Investigation of a Citizen Above Suspicion*, 1969) by Elio Petri (1929–1982); *Padre Padrone* (*Father and Master*, 1977) and *La Notte di San Lorenzo* (*Night of the Shooting Stars*, 1982) by Paolo Taviani (b. 1931) and his brother Vittorio (b. 1929); *Il Portiere di notte* (*The Night Porter*, 1974) by Liliana Cavani (b. 1933); and *Pasqualino Settebellezze* (*Seven Beauties*, 1976) by Lina Wertmüller (b. 1926).

Olmi's touching examination of the loneliness of a young office worker named Domenico in *The Sound of Trumpets* seems closest to the tone of Christian humanism that neorealist films frequently espoused. In its use of nonprofessional actors, its emphasis upon expressive deep-focus shots in office interiors, and its concentration

Sophia Loren. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

upon moments of crisis in the protagonist's life where film time coincides with elapsed narrative time, this simple masterpiece owed an obvious debt to De Sica. Olmi's *L'Albero degli zoccoli* (*The Tree of the Wooden Clogs*, 1978), one of many examples of successful films financed by Italian state television Radiotelevisione Italiana (RAI), an increasingly important source of funding for major Italian works or for co-productions with other national cinemas, returned to a neorealist recreation of peasant life on a farm near Bergamo at the turn of the nineteenth century, employing nonprofessional peasants from the area who speak their local dialect. Its three-hour length allowed Olmi to recreate the slow rhythms of life in a pre-industrial peasant culture much as Visconti did earlier in *The Earth Trembles*.

In contrast to Olmi's simple touch, Rosi moved beyond neorealist presentation of nonrhetorical facts to what he termed a "documented" method of making films. *Salvatore Giuliano* was less a work of fiction than an investigation (*inchiesta*) into the ambiguous historical circumstances surrounding a Sicilian bandit whose career, under the director's close scrutiny, reflected the machinations of the Christian Democratic party, as well as the Mafia. Rosi combined a documentary style with a series of ingenious flashbacks to present a legal brief against Italian political institutions. It was the first of many Italian political films with an anti-establishment tone that appeared during the next two decades. He continued the richly documented briefs against the political system that he began with *Salvatore Giuliano* in a series of excellent works: *Lucky Luciano* (1974) was a probing look into the link between American politicians and the rise of the Mafia in Sicily; *Cadaveri eccellenti* (*The Context*, 1976) contained a chilling Kafkaesque parable about the connection between political power and corruption in Italy, adapted from the novel *Il Contesto* by Leonardo Sciascia, where the image of the Mafia is transformed into a universally comprehensive metaphor for corrupt, absolute power everywhere in the world. Most indebted to the simple storylines of neorealist narrative was Rosi's *Tre fratelli* (*Three Brothers*, 1981), a view of contemporary Italian life seen through the lives of three brothers who return to southern Italy for the funeral of their mother.

Like Rosi, Pontecorvo employed a documentary style in *The Battle of Algiers*, with a narrative structure that used flashbacks and flash-forwards to provide critical commentary on the "facts" the film presents. His careful recreation of a case history of Third World revolution owed an important debt to the style of Rossellini in his early war films and employed a variety of techniques—highly mobile, hand-held cameras employing fast film stock; telephoto lenses common in television news reporting; duplicating the negative of the film in the lab to reproduce the grainy, documentary texture of *Paisan*—to produce a hybrid style indebted not only to Rossellini's photography but also to Eisenstein's special form of ideological montage. Rossellini's neorealist model may also be discerned in *Father and Master* and *Night of the Shooting Stars* by the Taviani brothers. The first work was based upon an autobiographical account of how an illiterate Sardinian shepherd struggled to become a professor of linguistics. The acquisition of standard Italian thus became a metaphor for the acquisition of full citizenship in modern Italian society. *The Night of the Shooting Stars* is a postmodernist reinterpretation of Italian neorealism, a remake of Rossellini's *Paisan*. The Taviani brothers set Rossellini's realistic depiction of the meeting of American GIs and the partisan Resistance during World War II within a child's world of fantasy and imagination.

Although Bertolucci, Bellocchio, and Pasolini were indebted to Rossellini, they were also influenced by the aesthetics of Berthold Brecht (1898–1956) and the cinematic practice of Jean-Luc Godard and the French New Wave. Their relationship to their neorealist heritage was therefore far more ambiguous than might be suggested by

The self-reflexive world of imagination in Federico Fellini's* 8 ½ *(1963). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

simple influence. Pasolini accepted many of the features of neorealism—nonprofessional actors, on-location shooting, contemporary themes, natural lighting—but rejected any attempt to create naturalist cinema that would ignore the mystery of life embodied in religion. He described his love for reality as "philosophical and reverential," not naturalistic. For Pasolini reality included mythology, religion, and dream. The style he developed in *The Gospel According to Matthew*, a biblical film made by a Marxist atheist, can be best described as pastiche, mixing the most disparate cultural and thematic materials. Nothing is more striking about this highly original work than its editing and sense of rhythm, for it is with a continuous process of rapid cuts and the juxtaposition of often jarring images that Pasolini forces us to experience the life of Christ through a new perspective. In his later films, such as *Medea* (1969) or *The Decameron* (1971), Pasolini moved beyond any simple neorealist vision of society and employed literary texts as platforms to launch his theories about how modern capitalist societies have destroyed the virtues of his beloved lower class characters from non-industrial and economically underdeveloped cultures. In the first film, he interpreted Euripides's play as a mythic portrait of the exploitation of the preindustrial regions of the Third World (Medea's world) by Western capitalism (Jason's world). In the second film, Pasolini transformed Boccaccio's panoramic portrait of Florentine middle-class, mercantile culture into an amusing portrayal of the way in which the sexual freedom enjoyed by lower class types from Naples represents a form of human liberation not possible in modern industrialized society.

Bertolucci and Bellocchio presented a fresh view of Italian politics in their youthful works. With *Before the Revolution* Bertolucci adapted Stendhal's *The Charterhouse of Parma* in a poetic and highly lyrical study of a young bourgeois intellectual from Parma who toys with Marxism and eventually prefers a safe, middle-class marriage to revolution or an incestuous love affair with his aunt. Fabrizio, the protagonist of the film, is clearly a reflection of many of Bertolucci's own personal concerns, and like

Bertolucci, he suffers from the "nostalgia for the present." He lives in an era *before* the revolution and is doomed, like so many of Bertolucci's characters, to embrace the coming workers' victory but never to take an active role in it. Bellocchio's artistic perspective is angry and provocative rather than lyrical and elegiac. While Bertolucci's Fabrizio retreats into the protective womb of the Italian family, *China Is Near* attacked the very institution of the family itself, as Bellocchio portrayed a thoroughly dislikable middle-class family in a satire of Italian political corruption. The result was a political allegory attacking the historic compromise between the right and the left in Italy, viewed from the microcosm of a small, provincial family. Bertolucci's *The Conformist* (1970), perhaps his most beautiful work, employed a complicated plot with frequent flashbacks and reliance upon psychoanalytic theories indebted to Wilhelm Reich on the link between homosexuality and fascism, to analyze the birth of a fascist mentality. Bertolucci's mature grasp of his craft was evident in the famous tango scene between two women, with its quickly shifting camera angles, positions, graceful motions, and skillful editing. Bertolucci's controversial *Last Tango in Paris* (1972) continued his exploration of psychoanalytic themes, with a masterful performance by Marlon Brando as an American expatriate who has a deadly love affair with a young girl in Paris.

Elio Petri's *Investigation of a Citizen Above Suspicion*, blending an ideological message with suspense and slick commercial presentation, was awarded an Oscar® for Best Foreign Film. It combined the generic conventions of a police thriller with those of a more abstract, philosophical parable in the manner of Kafka. Like the film inquiries of Rosi, Petri's cinema aimed at a fundamental critique of Italian political power. Two Holocaust films by Cavani and Wertmüller presented radically different views of Nazi concentration camps, the most extreme form of political power ever exercised. In *The Night Porter*, Cavani narrated a controversial story about a female camp inmate who has an affair with a Nazi officer and then reunites with him years later in a sadomasochistic love affair ending in death in postwar Vienna. It is, as the Nazi says, a "Biblical" story, because the young woman asked for the head of another inmate who was annoying her and then danced nude for her Nazi lover in imitation of Salomé. In an entirely different and comic vein, Wertmüller's *Seven Beauties* (1975), for which she received the first Oscar® nomination for a female director, moves in from wartime Nazi Germany to prewar Fascist Italy (Naples). Its main character is a Neapolitan dandy who lives by his wits but whose nefarious deeds eventually cause him to be sent to the eastern front and ultimately to a concentration camp. There, in order to survive, he desperately seduces the obese commandant of the camp, who then forces him to murder his best friend in order to save his own life. Wertmüller's film thus portrays a man whose sole reason for living is to survive, even at the expense of neglecting all moral values. Both *The Night Porter* and *Seven Beauties* explored the moral implications of survival in the evil world of the Gunskirchen Lager concentration camp.

THE *COMMEDIA ALL'ITALIANA*: SOCIAL SATIRE AND CULTURAL CRITICISM

Much of the Italian film industry's success during its most prosperous years was based upon the popularity of film comedies, the *commedia all'italiana*. These genre films were dominated by some excellent commercial directors who acquired auteur status by virtue of their comic genius: Mario Monicelli (b. 1915), Luigi Comencini (b. 1916), Dino Risi (b. 1916), Ettore Scola (b. 1931), and Wertmüller. Furthermore, these directors enjoyed the collaboration of great scriptwriters, such as Age (Agenore Incrocci [1919–2005]), Furio Scarpelli (b. 1919), Tullio Pinelli (b. 1908), and Scola himself. These directors and scriptwriters had at their disposal a troupe of great comic actors and actresses no national cinema outside Hollywood could match: Alberto Sordi, Vittorio Gassman, Marcello Mastroianni, Nino Manfredi, Ugo Tognazzi, Claudia Cardinale, Sophia Loren, Monica Vitti, and Stefania Sandrelli. Once denigrated by Italian leftists as merely "commercial" films without artistic pretensions, Italian comedies often contained more trenchant social criticism than the more acceptable ideologically oriented "art" films of the period. The many excellent works produced from the late 1950s to the end of the 1970s provide an accurate mirror of changing Italian customs and values. They helped to force the average Italian into a greater awareness of conflicting values, by attacking age-old prejudices and questioning the inept rule of governing elites and institutions. They often embodied a black, grotesque vision of contemporary Italian society, and the laughter in these works was bittersweet.

The film that best reflected the combination of comedy and social criticism typical of the *commedia all'italiana* was Germi's *Divorce, Italian Style* (1961). Made before Italian law admitted legal divorce, Germi's satire of Sicilian sexual mores chronicled the comic attempts of a Sicilian nobleman to force his hated wife into adultery, so that he can murder her, receive a light sentence for a crime of honor (hence the film's title), and marry his mistress. Utilizing a complex narrative juxtaposing the director's critical view of this affair with the Sicilian's biased justification of his misdeeds, Germi recreated the oppressive atmosphere of Sicilian provincial life that forces men and woman to commit violent crimes

LINA WERTMÜLLER

b. Arcangela Felice Assunta von Elgg Spagnol von Braueich, Rome, Italy, 1928

After an early career as an actress and puppeteer, Wertmüller encountered Federico Fellini and worked as his unaccredited assistant on *8½*. Immediately afterward, she directed her first feature film, *I Basilischi* (*The Lizards*, 1963), a work that recalls Fellini's *I Vitelloni* (*The Young and the Passionate*, 1953) in its focus upon provincial slackers. After making several comedies under the name George H. Brown featuring singer Rita Pavone and actor Giancarlo Giannini—*Rita la zanzara* (*Rita the Mosquito*, 1966) and *Non stuzzicate la zanzara* (*Don't Sting the Mosquito*, 1967) that met with some success at the box office—Wertmüller made the spaghetti western, *Il Mio corpo per un poker* (*The Belle Starr Story*, 1967).

Her international renown came about because of five incredibly popular political comedies that introduced the pairing of Giannini and Mariangela Melato. *Mimì metallurgico ferito nell'onore* (*The Seduction of Mimi*, 1972), a farce about sex and politics, made the two performers famous, and the subsequent *Film d'amore e d'anarchia* (*Love and Anarchy*, 1973) was a box-office sensation. *Travolti da un insolito destino nell'azzurro mare d'agosto* (*Swept Away*, 1975) aroused the ire of many feminists. This comedy of a rich woman abandoned on a deserted island with a member of the Italian proletariat and their subsequent love affair still arouses passions. A comparison of Wertmüller's *Swept Away* with the embarrassing 2002 remake underscores the quality of Wertmüller's early comic films. Wertmüller's cinematic style was influenced as much by popular Italian culture as by the cinema: a love for puppetry and the *commedia dell'arte* tradition informs her films, most of which employ stereotypical comic figures to criticize society.

Wertmüller's masterpiece, *Pasqualino Settebellezze* (*Seven Beauties*, 1976), which combined political comedy with a dark vision of the Holocaust, received the first Academy nomination for Best Director bestowed on a woman.

Following the unparalleled critical and commercial success of this film, Wertmüller signed a contract to direct English-language films, but her international popularity fell off dramatically with the appearance of *La Fine del mondo nel nostro solito letto in una notte pienad pioggia* (*A Night Full of Rain*, 1979). Subsequent Italian-language films—*Fatto di sangue fra due uomini per causa di una vedova* (*Blood Feud*, 1978), *Scherzo del destino in agguato dietro l'angolo come un brigante da strada* (*A Joke of Destiny*, 1983), *Io speriamo che me la cavo* (*Ciao, Professore!*, 1993), and *Metalmeccanico e parrucchiera in un turbine di sesso e di politica* (*The Worker and the Hairdresser*, 1996)—demonstrated her combination of politics and humor but never matched the popular and critical success of her 1970s films. Besides work in the cinema, Wertmüller has directed operas and made films for Italian television. Since 1988, she has served as an administrator at Centro Sperimentale di Cinematografia, the film school in Rome.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Mimì metallurgico ferito nell'onore (*The Seduction of Mimi*, 1972), *Film d'amore e d'anarchia* (*Love and Anarchy*, 1973), *Tutto a posto e niente in ordine* (*All Screwed Up*, 1974), *Travolti da un insolito destino nell'azzurro mare d'agosto* (*Swept Away*, 1975), *Pasqualino Settebellezze* (*Seven Beauties*, 1976), *Io speriamo che me la cavo* (*Ciao, Professore!*, 1993)

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Peter Bondanella

in order to obtain sexual fulfillment. Another excellent example of *commedia all'italiana* was *Bread and Chocolate* (1973) by Franco Brusati (1922–1993), a grotesque indictment of the conditions experienced by Italian "guest workers" in Switzerland. Perhaps the most interesting comic director was Ettore Scola, who began working in the cinema as a scriptwriter on dozens of comic films produced in the 1950s and the early 1960s. In *We All Loved Each Other Very Much* (1974), *Dirty, Mean and Nasty* (1976), and *The Terrace* (1980), Scola employed a

Lina Wertmüller on the set of **Ciao, Professore!** ***(1992).*** EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

sophisticated metacinematic narrative (a narrative about movie making) to treat the history of Italian cinema itself, examining not only the heritage of neorealism (especially his model Vittorio De Sica) but also the assumptions of *commedia all'italiana*. *We All Loved Each Other Very Much* was the most complex of these films, combining a consideration of the many social and political changes Italy has undergone since the fall of the Fascist regime with an equally comprehensive survey of major developments in the history of postwar Italian film. *Dirty, Mean, and Nasty* presented a humorous remake of De Sica's proletarian fairy tale, *Miracle in Milan* (1950). However, Scola completely altered De Sica's fanciful utopian shantytown and his happy poor, for in Scola's contemporary shantytown every positive characteristic of the poor in De Sica's classic work is reversed. Instead of patient, long-suffering, and downtrodden people, Scola shows us vicious, brutish, mean, and nasty individuals without any redeeming moral values who have become what they are because of a desperate economic system. In *The Terrace* Scola examined the genre so crucial to his own career as a director and scriptwriter, the *commedia all'italiana*, continuing his metacinematic examination of Italian film history by questioning the very possibility of making film comedies.

With a style indebted to Fellini's baroque imagery, Italy's commedia dell'arte, and a political perspective critical of contemporary Italian society, Lina Wertmüller established herself in the 1970s as Italy's most important female director. Her best works were all typical of the *commedia dell'italiana* genre: *The Seduction of Mimi* (1971); *Love and Anarchy* (1972); *Swept Away* (1974); and her previously discussed masterpiece, *Seven Beauties*. Wertmüller's comedies, filled with stock characters and presented with the typical vulgarity of traditional Italian slapstick farce, treated controversial political subjects, such as feminism, women's rights, working-class chauvinism, and the opposition of love and anarchy, with grotesque humor. They frequently highlighted the acting talents of a pair of brilliant comedians, Giancarlo Giannini (b. 1942) and Mariangela Melato (b. 1941). Other important examples of this genre include four films by Monicelli: *Big Deal on Madonna Street* (1958), a parody of a bank robbery film; *The Great War* (1959), a satirical attack on

Sophia Loren and Marcello Mastroianni in* Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow *(Vittorio de Sica, 1963), a comic look at Italian sexual mores. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

patriotism; *The Organizer* (1963), a very funny account of a Socialist labor organizer; and *My Friends* (1975), a classical hilarious collection of cruel Tuscan practical jokes played on stupid people. Equally well-crafted works containing interesting social commentary may be found in Comencini's *Everybody Home!* (1960), a comedy about Italy's withdrawal from World War II; and in two works by Risi: *The Easy Life* (1962), a portrait of postwar Italian cynicism, and *The March on Rome* (1962), a send-up of a fanatic believer in Mussolini who persists even after the fall of Il Duce's regime.

KINGS OF THE Bs: ITALIAN GENRE FILMS

Between the mid-1950s and the 1970s, the Italian film industry produced an enormous number of genre films. The first of these specifically Italian versions of themes more often identified with Hollywood than with Rome was the sword-and-sandal epic, also called the neomythological or peplum film, accounting for 10 percent of Italian production between 1957 and 1964. *Hercules* (Pietro Francesci, 1958) gave birth to a flood of muscle-men pics with body-builders (often Americans, such as Steve Reeves or Gordon Mitchell) playing the lead roles and bearing the classically associated names of Hercules, Maciste, Ursus, Spartacus, and Samson, to name only a few. Perhaps the most skilled of the directors who worked in this genre was Vittorio Cottofavi (1914–1998), whose *The Warrior and the Slave Girl* (1958) and *Hercules and the Conquest of Atlantis* (1960) are classic examples of the genre. Set vaguely in classical times and populated by mindless musclemen and buxom damsels in distress, these works appealed to a predominantly male audience that thrived on violent action and strong, anti-intellectual heroes. The genre flourished during the 1960s and then again briefly in the 1980s, but its production values were far removed from similar works

made in Hollywood, and these films rapidly became cult favorites and the butt of jokes on *Saturday Night Live* satirical skits, which poked pun at the cheap dubbing that allowed actors to speak without moving their lips and to fall silent when they did move. In Italian film history, such films made conscious reference to the far older tradition of silent film epics, such as *Cabiria*.

The other remarkably successful commercial genre during this period was the ''spaghetti'' western, dominated by a great director, Sergio Leone (1929–1989), who virtually revived a dead Hollywood genre with *A Fistful of Dollars* (1964) by a conscious departure from what had come to be known as the ''classic'' western formula. Leone's film owed a debt both to Akira Kurosawa's *Yojimbo* (1961) and to Carlo Goldoni's play *The Servant of Two Masters* (1945). The Stranger, or The Man with No Name (a part that was to make Clint Eastwood an international star), leaves prison and cleans up a border town infested by two rival families: American gunrunners and Mexican bootleggers. Leone plunges his audience into a violent and cynical world far removed from the traditional West of John Ford or Howard Hawks. His hero is motivated by the same greed as the evil bandits, and graphic violence is accompanied by grotesque comic gags and mannered close-ups indebted to Eisenstein. A crucial artistic element is the skillful music of Ennio Moricone (b. 1928), whose unusual sound track composed of gunfire, ricocheting bullets, cries, trumpet solos, Sicilian folk instruments, and whistles became an international best-selling record. The classic western gunfight became, in Leone's hands, a ritualistic act that concludes a narrative cycle and employs a crescendo of music not unlike the close of an aria in a grand opera. This international hit was followed in close order by four other films of the highest quality: *For a Few Dollars More* (1965), *The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly* (1966), *Once Upon a Time in the West* (1968), and *Duck, You Sucker!* (1971). The link between popular film genres in the Italian industry may be discerned from the fact that Leone's first film before he began making his westerns was a colossal peplum, *The Colossus of Rhodes* (1961), no doubt inspired by the success of the Hollywood production of *Ben Hur* filmed in Italy in 1959. More than a few links exist between the musclemen of the peplum and the strong, silent gunfighters of the spaghetti western. Between 1963 and 1973, over four hundred Italian westerns were produced, but none of them had the impact of Leone's works or were made with the same high production values and fine acting. Like the peplum genre, the lesser Italian westerns followed a formulaic pattern, focusing upon a single gunfighter hero, such as Sabata, Django, Ringo, Sartana, and Trinity. Eventually, the genre began to parody itself in such interesting films as *My Name Is Nobody* (Tonino Valerii, 1973); or to incorporate radical political themes, such as *A Bullet for the General* (Damiano Damiani, 1966) or *Don't Touch the White Woman* (Marco Ferreri, 1975). Again, as was the case with the peplum film, the high-water mark of this genre was reached within approximately a decade.

Another popular and low-budget genre that generated enormous profits for the industry and, like the peplum and the western, became an object of cult attention, was the so-called spaghetti nightmare or Italian horror film, often also called the *giallo* (the name being derived from the yellow covers that Italian publisher Mondadori employed on their mystery novel series). Pioneers in this genre were Mario Bava (1914–1980), Lucio Fulci (1927–1996), and Riccardo Freda (1909–1999), whose directorial debut, *Black Sunday* (1960), turned little-known British actress Barbara Steele into a cult-figure ''scream queen.'' Perhaps the most highly regarded horror director is Dario Argento (b. 1940), whose successful works include *The Gallery Murders* (1970), *The Cat o' Nine Tails* (1971), *Deep Red* (1975), and *Suspiria* (1977). Argento's work combined the excessive gore and splatter violence of the traditional B-horror film with extremely elaborate and baroque visual settings. Because of the praise these spaghetti horror films have received from American directors Quentin Tarantino, George A. Romero, and John Landis, as well as writer Stephen King, the best and the worst representatives of this Italian genre remain popular and still command cult followings even larger than those that exist for the peplum or the spaghetti western.

THE DECLINE AND FALL: THE MID-1970s TO THE END OF THE CENTURY

The international success of Bertolucci's *Last Tango in Paris* and Fellini's *Amarcord* may mark the high-water mark of Italian cinema's commercial and artistic success. From the dawn of Italian neorealism to the beginning of the 1970s, Italian cinema was universally regarded as one of the most original and innovative national cinemas, often rivaling Hollywood in its artistic achievements if not always in its commercial success. Subsequently, in 1976 both Bertolucci and Fellini attempted big-budget films, romantic epics more typical of Hollywood productions, the former with *1900*, a historical treatment of the rise of Italian socialism with touches of *Gone With the Wind*, and *Fellini's Casanova*. In spite of their undeniable qualities, neither lived up to expectations. Leone attempted the same leap from Italian production norms to Hollywood blockbuster standards with *Once Upon a Time in America* (1984), challenging the association of American gangsters with Italians by telling the story of Jewish gangsters. Finally, with *The Last Emperor* (1987),

Giancarlo Giannini and Shirley Stoller in Lina Wertmüller's* Pasquelino Settebellezze *(*Seven Beauties*, 1976). **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

Bertolucci scored a bulls-eye, winning nine Oscars® for his epic portrayal of the Emperor of China who eventually becomes a simple citizen and dies during Mao's Cultural Revolution. But the artistic merits of such films could not detract from the air of crisis circulating throughout the industry. Gradually the old lions, the great art film directors, disappeared one by one or simply ceased making interesting films; the economically profitable genre films, such as the peplum, western, or horror film, dried up and became no longer events at the box office but cult collectors' items on video and DVD. International co-productions, such as *Last Tango* or *The Last Emperor*, to cite only the most profitable examples by Italian directors, raised the embarrassing question of whether such films ought to be considered really "Italian" or whether they were more accurately to be labeled as Eurofilms.

Talented Italian directors, actors, and technicians did not disappear (indeed, there was a migration of Italian cameramen, makeup artists, special effects people, and set designers to Hollywood during this period). But Italian film theatres began to close: in 1985, almost 5,000 theatres existed; by 1998, that number was reduced to 2,600. Basically, individual great films continued to be produced, but these films were created within an industry that had become increasingly weaker. In the mid-1970s, Italian-produced films controlled approximately 60 percent of its home market, but by 1993, that figure had dropped to 13 percent. During the 1990s, some 140 to 180 Hollywood films circulated in Italy as opposed to around 100 Italian films, but the Hollywood products gained almost 75 percent of the market share. In 1999, the year that witnessed the international success of *Life Is Beautiful* by Roberto Benigni (b. 1952), only 14 percent of Italian production had any life at the box office at all; many were never distributed or were only screened in ten cities or less. In spite of this depressing situation, Italian films continued to produce some authentic gems in spite of its weak industrial base and the dearth of energetic and skillful producers.

THE THIRD WAVE: A NEW GENERATION FOR THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

A third generation of Italian directors is slowly appearing as younger artists begin to test their strength at the box office and at international film festivals. Their success may well hold out the promise of another Italian "Renaissance" in the cinema in the new century. This group may be described as the "postmodern" generation,

since their works so often cite other films in the Italian or Hollywood cinematic traditions. Such new faces include Benigni; Gianni Amelio (b. 1945), Maurizio Nichetti (b. 1948), Nanni Moretti (b. 1953), Giuseppe Tornatore (b. 1956), Gabriele Salvatores (b. 1950), Silvio Soldini (b. 1958), Marco Tullio Giordano (b. 1950), Giuseppe Piccioni (b. 1953), Gabriele Muccino (b. 1967), and Ferzan Ozpetek (1959). Benigni's *Life Is Beautiful* combined comic techniques learned from Charlie Chaplin's *The Great Dictator* (1940), Fellini's visual style, and Wertmüller's *Seven Beauties* to create a moving but tragicomic vision of the Holocaust. Nichetti married visual techniques learned from television advertising with a parody of De Sica's neorealist classic *Bicycle Thieves* in *The Icicle Thief* (1989). Giuseppe Tornatore's *Cinema Paradiso* (1989) owed much to both Fellini's example and the history of Italian cinema, and like Scola's *We All Loved Each Other Very Much,* it viewed contemporary Italy through the prism of the cinematic past, garnering an Oscar® for Best Foreign Film and enormous audiences all over the world in the process. Salvatores's *Mediterraneo* (1991), another recent Oscar® winner for Best Foreign Film, employed formulas from the *commedia all'italiana* (particularly the satires of patriotism in *The Great War* and *Everybody Home!*) to produce a funny account of inept Italian occupiers of a Greek island in World War II. Salvatores's most recent *I'm Not Scared* (2003) has been widely praised as a moving thriller. Nanni Moretti is perhaps the most idiosyncratic and most talented of this entire generation, producing bittersweet comic works that are closer to film essays than to fictional films. His *Dear Diary* (1994) won the Grand Prize at the Cannes Film Festival: it combined ideas about simple storylines from Zavattini's neorealist theory, political ideas from Pasolini's work, and Fellini's choice of the "mockumentary" genre form. His more recent work, *The Son's Room* (2001), the winner of the Palme d'Or at Cannes, moved from Moretti's usual egocentric but sympathetic narcissism to treat the devastating effects of a young boy's loss on his parents. Piccione's *Not of This World* (1999); Muccino's *The Last Kiss* (2001) and *Remember Me, My Love* (2003); and Soldini's *Bread and Tulips* (2000) are all worthy successors to the glorious *commedia dell'italiana* tradition. Monica Stambrini's *Gasoline* (2001), a lesbian thriller that was a hit at various film festivals around the globe, may be the debut of another Italian feminist director that is even more outrageous than Lina Wertmüller and as equally talented. A number of excellent works by Gianni Amelio—*Open Doors* (1970), *The Stolen Children* (1992), *Lamerica* (1994), and *The Way We Laughed* (1998)—and by Marco Tullio Giordano—*One Hundred Steps* (2000) and *The Best of Youth* (2003)—all offer eloquent testimony that Italian cinema's penchant for social realism has not disappeared.

Perhaps the most unusual of the new faces to appear on the horizon is Turkish-born director Ferzan Ozpetek, whose films are resolutely Italian in character, language, and style but whose Levantine origins are also apparent in their themes: *The Turkish Baths* (1997), *Harem* (1999), *His Secret Life* (2001), and *Facing Windows* (2003). His ability to work within the Italian film industry while coming from another national culture recalls the success of another recent Italian hit with an international flavor, *Il Postino—The Postman* (1994), directed by non-Italian Michael Radford. Incorporating a moving performance by a dying Italian comic star, Massimo Troisi (1953–1994), *Il Postino* was Italian in every conceivable respect but its director's nationality. Perhaps one way Italian cinema may survive into this new century is to become more international and less deeply rooted in native traditions of cinematic art. But such a globalization of Italian cinema would deprive the world of one of the most original and unique film traditions to have arisen in the century-old existence of the cinema.

SEE ALSO *National Cinema; Neorealism; Westerns*

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JAPAN

The Japanese cinema was the first of the great East Asian cinemas to make its way out of the local and into the global. As early as the 1930s one finds Japanese co-productions with Germany, such as *Atarashiki tsuchi* (*The New Earth*, 1937), while Japanese films were winning awards at the Venice International Film Festival in that same decade. Of course, these co-productions and festival appearances link Japan with its wartime Axis allies. Still, though, it indicates Japanese desires for an international presence in the world of cinema. This cinematic globalism is in keeping with Japan's more sinister and tragic desires for a global presence among the imperialist powers starting in the late nineteenth century. It may be no surprise, therefore, to find that Japan—the first East Asian world power of the modern era—is also the first East Asian world cinematic power. Its interest in competing with the advanced industrial nations for a cinematic presence both locally and globally was very much in keeping with its desires for territories and colonies. It is no coincidence, then, that very early in the twentieth century, a popular subject for Japanese films was the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905), and that both documentary and fiction filmmaking were central to Japan's war efforts in the Pacific theater of the 1930s and 1940s, whether celebrating Japan's early victories against the United States or continuing propaganda efforts to convince citizens at home and abroad of the essential justifications for Japan's conquests. At the same time that these cinematic celebrations of war and conquest were being produced, Japan also created a cinema of unique beauty and sensitivity, and it is these films, made just prior to World War II and in the postwar era, for which the Japanese cinema is famously and justifiably celebrated.

EARLY DEVELOPMENTS

As in the rest of Asia, the Japanese were introduced to the cinema through the cameras and cameramen of the globe-trotting Lumière Brothers Company. Film came to Japan in 1897 with the Japanese still flush with victory from the Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895), the first mark that the Japanese campaign of modernization (which meant in some measure increased industrialization and westernization) was working to make Japan an equal member of the European new world order. The Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) was the culmination of this initial phase of societal transformation. Along with increased industrialization and the need for Western-style higher education came increased urbanization, an influx of people into Japan's already rather impressively populated urban centers such as Tokyo and Osaka—moves that proved particularly useful for the growth and development of the new urban entertainment form known as the cinema. This introductory phase of the cinema found Japan the object of the Western gaze as the Lumière cameramen turned an Orientalist eye on Japanese life. As the Japanese themselves began to shoot motion pictures—they began their own efforts around 1898 and by 1900 were manufacturing their own projectors modeled on the Edison machines—it seems inevitable that they, too, would shoot with an eye for the exotic, the uniquely Japanese. This seems a twofold strategy: to see themselves through the eyes of the West, to give the West back an image of Japan created in the West's image through its own technology, but also to begin that process of Nihonjinron (the study of the essence of "Japaneseness"), which would culminate in the actual promulgation not only of specific laws regarding

the content of film, but actual invocations to create a kind of intrinsic or idealized Japan as the 1930s gave way to the 1940s and the expansion of the Pacific War. Even into the modern era, debates over what is (and what therefore is not) "typically" Japanese have continued to swirl around films and filmmakers working in this contested terrain.

The earliest films of geisha dances, popular street scenes, and other bits of exotica were typically exhibited at fairs or in traditional amusement districts in Tokyo, Osaka, and Kyoto. This pattern quickly asserted itself, and by the middle of the first decade of the twentieth century, film in Japan had become primarily an entertainment-oriented, commercial enterprise whose appeal was largely to the urban working and lower-middle classes. With the rapid growth of the larger cities during this period, there was an ample audience not only of the working and middle classes, but also of young people. In other words, the movies could not have asked for a more perfect situation in which to insert itself, and indeed, before too long permanent theaters were built to accommodate film, and companies arose that specialized in the production of motion pictures. The Kinki-kan was converted from live theater to film in 1900, while in 1903 the Denki-kan became the first theater built specifically for film. The Yoshizawa Company, which had started as an equipment manufacturer and turned to production with proto-documentaries at the turn of the century, built a film studio in Tokyo in 1907. At this same time, the Yokota Company began its foray into fiction filmmaking, so that by the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, Japanese cinema was actively engaged in producing and exhibiting films for an increasingly voracious audience. The innovations of the M Pathé Company in 1905—larger theaters, uniformed usherettes, higher admission prices, and the establishment of a trust organization that merged the four top production companies, leading to the formation of Nikkatsu Studios—set the tone for the monopolistic practices that helped the Japanese cinema grow and develop along organized Fordist models of mass production, economies of scale, and contract labor.

Films of this era generally fell into two dominant modes: Kabuki stories and (semi- or pseudo-) documentaries. The Chinese Boxer Rebellion (1898–1900) and, especially, the Russo-Japanese War gave Japanese audiences a chance to explore the world around them with the satisfied air of newly modernized global citizens. It has been claimed that approximately 80 percent of all films made and released in Japan in 1905 were devoted to the Russo-Japanese War, but as the war faded from immediacy, the number of such films dropped. But it is arguable, too, that they dropped because audiences preferred the increasingly sophisticated storytelling of the Kabuki-derived dramas. Certainly that unique institution of the Japanese cinema, the *benshi* (or *katsuben*), derives from this moment with its roots in Kabuki and Bunraku (puppet) theater. Along with the usual musical accompaniment, this narrator, who explained the film, provided live, almost synchronized dialogue, filled in narrative gaps, and otherwise added an audio component to the visuals, giving Japanese cinema a full, multimedia presentation. Kabuki-derived stories gave audiences a chance to see famous actors recreate portions of their well-known roles and even allowed the development of the *rensa-geki* (chain dramas), which integrated filmed portions into live theatrical entertainments.

If the reliance on *rensa-geki* was short-lived as films got a bit longer and audiences became more willing to experience film for its own sake, the *benshi* became virtually institutionalized. Some argue that the relative lateness of sound's arrival in the Japanese cinema (1931) and audiences' willingness to continue to patronize so-called silent cinema was owed to the popularity of the *benshi*, as well as to their numerical strength. In 1927 there were, for example, over seventy-five hundred registered film narrators—testimony to both their popularity and clout. For commentators as otherwise different as Nöel Burch and Joseph L. Anderson, the *benshi* is in many ways the primary reason that the Japanese cinema developed unique storytelling procedures, shooting styles, and pacing. Certainly, it endowed the Japanese cinema with an available tradition where psychological realism and tightly controlled plotting give way to a series of intense scenes and revealing moments; of narrative ellipsis; flat staging; and, for all that, longer films that reproduce the pacing and techniques of Kabuki and Bunraku. Naturally, there are other traditions of Japanese art and culture from which the cinema has drawn, including the novel and painting, but some might argue that a good deal of Japanese cinema's uniqueness stems from this theatrical orientation.

The theatrical orientation of early Japanese cinema extended importantly into the 1920s with the rise of the *shimpa* (new) theater and its frequent adaptation into the cinema. Both Kabuki and *shimpa*, and so, too, the cinema, relied on so-called female impersonator actors (*onnagata*) to play women's roles. But such a convention began to break down with the more intimate presentation of the cinema; the gradual introduction of close-ups; and competition, so to speak, from the naturalist theater known as Shingeki (New Theater). The dominant mode of *shimpa* was the melodrama, a genre that, by definition, may be said to foreground women and women's issues, and so the use of *onnagata* actors became increasingly untenable. Actor-directors trained in Hollywood, such as Kisaburo (aka Thomas) Kurihara (1885–1926), also helped divorce Japan from this particular theatrical

mode, so that after 1922, with the success of *Rojo no reikon* (*Souls on the Road*, 1921), the days of the *onnagata* on film were numbered (though the tradition still continues in Kabuki).

In the early 1920s, Shochiku Studios arose as the primary competitor to Nikkatsu. Relying on Hollywood-style production practices, eliminating the *onnagata*, and producing *shimpa*-style melodramas in order to attract working-class and middle-class women, Shochiku took the competitive edge over Nikkatsu, which specialized in Kabuki-derived action and swordplay movies. It might be said that here lie the origins of Japan's two cinematic mega-genres, the *jidai-geki* (period play) and *gendai-mono* (modern story), although it is true that the Kabuki theater utilizes the same basic divisions. With stars like Matsunosuke Onoue in the 1910s and, even more importantly, Denjirô Ôkôchi (1898–1962) under the direction of Daisuke Ito (1898–1981) at Nikkatsu and Tsumasaburo Bando (b. 1950) working for Shozo Makino (1878–1929) and his son Masahiro Makino (1908–1993), the *jidai-geki* became a foundational genre for the Japanese cinema—a status it would retain well into the 1970s.

But it was in the realm of the *gendai-mono* and its numerous subgenres, such as the tendency film (or *keiko eiga*, which depicts contemporary social problems and issues treated from a generally leftist perspective), the *nansensu* (nonsense) comedies, and especially the *shomin-geki* (stories of the lower-middle class), that the Japanese cinema truly flourished, for it was here that most of the great actors, actresses, writers, and directors of the day made their mark on world cinema history.

THE FIRST GOLDEN AGE

Sound came to the Japanese cinema in 1931 with Heinosuke Gosho's (1902–1981) *Madamu to nyobo* (*The Neighbor's Wife and Mine*), but other masters of the Japanese cinema continued working in silent film into the middle of the decade. But whether silent or sound, the Japanese cinema of the 1930s marks a true Golden Age where the major studios Shochiku and Nikkatsu, along with Toho, which had joined the ranks of the former two through a series of mergers, relied on contract stars and directors who generally worked within consistent and recognizable genres—much like Hollywood in its contemporaneous Golden Age. Toho relied on popular actors and actresses like Kazuo Hasegawa (1908–1984) (who would make over three hundred films over the course of his career), Takako Irie (1911–1995), Setsuko Hara (b. 1920), and child superstar Hideko Takamine (b. 1924) (whose luster would never fade as she would work well into her sixties). Matched by directors like Teinosuke Kinugasa (1896–1982), Hiroshi Inagaki (1905–1980), and Mikio Naruse (1905–1969), Toho could work in both *jidai-geki* and *gendai-mono* to full effect. Shochiku did not have quite the star power of Toho, but its directorial stable is a "who's who" of the Japanese cinema of the 1930s, led by Yasujiro Ozu (1903–1963) along with Heinosuke Gosho, Yasujiro Shimazu (1897–1945), and Hiroshi Shimizu (1903–1966). Working at the studio's Kamata branch, these directors made the world of the lower-middle classes the studio's specialty, whether through comedies like Ozu's *Otona no miru ehon: Umarete wa mita keredo* (*I Was Born But . . .*, 1924), the bittersweet Naruse's *Tsuma yo bara no yo ni* (*Wife, Be Like a Rose*, 1935), or the child-centered masterpieces of Shimizu (for example, *Kaze no naka no kodomo* [*Children in the Wind*, 1937]).

Some directors managed to work outside of the big three of Shochiku, Toho, and Nikkatsu or to play one against the other. Naruse began at Shochiku but moved to Toho, while Sadao Yamanaka (1909–1938)—whose death in combat in China in 1938 marks the greatest directorial loss of the war years—moved to Toho as well, in his case from rival Nikkatsu. Kenji Mizoguchi (1898–1956), meanwhile, managed to carve out a nice career working for independent or semi-independent companies such as Dai-Ichi Eiga, where he made his two masterpieces of 1936—*Naniwa erejî* (*Osaka Elegy*) and *Gion no shimai* (*Sisters of the Gion*). Independent production was not unknown, either. Most famous among such films is surely Kinugasa's *Kurutta Ippeji* (*A Page of Madness*, 1926), an avant-garde film that focuses on a man who takes a job as a janitor in a mental asylum in order to be nearer to his wife, who has been confined after attempting to drown their child, featuring subjective shots of the inmates to the expressionistic locale of the institution itself. The very range of films—anarchic *jidai-geki* featuring alienated *ronin* (unemployed samurai), raucous comedies about college youth, tearful melodramas of lost love or bitter poverty, gentle romances, moving dramas of young children, even musical comedies—speaks to the success of the Japanese cinema.

While not, in fact, a major exporter of films (until it would force its films on its occupied territories during the war), Japan's large population could sustain a self-supporting film industry. Attendance by the middle of the 1930s reached 250 million annually. As was the case with Hollywood in this same period, the major studios either owned major theaters outright or controlled most of them through various contractual and legal obligations. Though this made independent production difficult and exhibition even more so (amateur films and documentary films appear with great regularity in this period but remain firmly outside traditional production and exhibition practices and venues), for the commercial filmmaker

YASUJIRO OZU

b. Tokyo, Japan, 12 December 1903, d. 12 December 1963

It is ironic that Yasujiro Ozu's films were once thought to be "too Japanese" for Western audiences to appreciate. This serious misunderstanding of either Ozu's essential universalism or the West's ability to appreciate Japanese culture made Ozu the last major Japanese director of the postwar era to have his films fully distributed in the West. But once his films became fully available (mostly by the mid-1970s), Ozu became the Japanese cinema's most respected director among film critics and scholars, as well as among a whole generation of independent filmmakers in the US and abroad. Once called "Japan's most Japanese director," Japanese critics have rejected this notion, some even claiming he is hardly very Japanese at all. It is clear that Ozu's cinema is deeply rooted in Japanese traditional culture, yet it is equally true that he has a unique approach to the cinema and an unmatched commitment to a personal worldview. His relentless examination of contemporary Japanese life as lived by ordinary people and a film style that provides endless fascination and a wry sense of humor have proven to have universal appeal and tremendous influence.

Ozu is best known for a series of films dealing with the trials and tribulations of the typical Japanese family and the shifts wrought by changes in postwar culture and the inevitability of time's passing. Thus, his families are not only impacted by the shift away from the multi-generational household amidst the continued urbanization of postwar Japan, but also by the simple fact that children grow up, marry, and start their own families. These elements are seen so unforgettably in *Tokyo monogatari* (*Tokyo Story*, 1953), where the aging parents still living in rural Japan struggle with feelings of disappointment and disillusionment when they visit their seemingly distracted and unloving children in Tokyo. In three remarkable films with essentially the same plot—a daughter's reluctance to get married causes her widowed parent to resort to a veiled threat of remarriage him- or herself to convince the child to wed—Ozu finds his essential theme. Though the father in *Banshun* (*Late Spring*, 1949) and *Sanma no aji* (*An Autumn Afternoon*, 1962) and the mother in *Akibiyori* (*Late Autumn*, 1960) will be all alone (and lonely), the parent must convince the daughter to wed; it is the nature of life, the life cycle in every sense of the term, that parents grow old and children marry so the cycle may begin again.

For all the seeming simplicity of his stories, the complex mechanisms of his narrative procedures and cinematic style endow Ozu's films with a modernist complexity. His use of ellipsis, for instance, tends to de-dramatize the plot. He typically leaves out many would-be important elements—especially in the "wedding" films, where he omits the actual wedding itself. He is also notable for his utilization of 360-degree space, which produces seeming mismatched action, both within the frame and across it. Though Ozu has a reputation for using long takes, it is actually a misperception. Certainly, the contemplative camera positioned just a few inches off the floor and the de-dramatized narratives lend his films a leisurely pace, but there is nothing especially lengthy in his typical shots. Rather, his films unfold at the speed of life and capture it in its essence.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Umarete wa mita keredo (*I Was Born But…*, 1924), *Chichi ariki* (*There Was a Father*, 1942), *Banshun* (*Late Spring*, 1949), *Bakushû* (*Early Summer*, 1951), *Tokyo monogatari* (*Tokyo Story*, 1953), *Higanbana* (*Equinox Flower*, 1958), *Ohayô* (*Good Morning*, 1959), *Ukigasu* (*Floating Weeds*, 1959), *Akibiyori* (*Late Autumn*, 1960), *Sanma no aji* (*An Autumn Afternoon*, 1962)

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Yasujiro Ozu. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

the safety net of popular stars, clear genres, and a well-oiled distribution system provided more than a modicum of freedom to give rise to one of the most remarkable creative periods in all of world cinema history—one matched perhaps only by Hollywood and France during this period, and by the Japanese themselves later in the 1950s.

Always aware of Hollywood and a major importer of American films (a situation that still remains), the Japanese were always conscious of the style and modes of the world's premier film power. One can see, therefore, the clear influence of Hollywood on Japanese cinema of the 1930s—whether in Ozu's *nansensu* comedies, which interpolated Harold Lloyd into stories of contemporary Japanese youthful ambitions, or in Mizoguchi's Warner Bros.—like low-key lighting and semirealistic dramas. Yet the particularities of Japanese film culture render their cinema, along with that of dozens of other first-rate directors, the unique expression of Japanese sensibilities. An overt stylization, what David Bordwell has called "a cinema of flourishes," was allowed to exist alongside and within clearly generic, plot-driven stories. Mizoguchi's long takes and complex camera movements certainly have no derivation from Hollywood in the 1930s—moments of stylistic excess in *Osaka Elegy* and, especially, *Zangiku monogatari* (*The Story of the Last Chrysanthemums*, 1939), are closer in spirit to the films of France's master Jean Renoir, but with a definite Japanese flavor. Yamanaka's *Ninjo kamifusen* (*Humanity and Paper Balloons*, 1938) is a brilliant melding of Shingeki theater and samurai drama to tell a uniquely Japanese story of class oppression and human tragedy. So many films from the Japanese cinema have been lost—virtually everything made before World War I, but even the output of the 1930s has been devastated—by war, by nitrate film deterioration, by carelessness; but what remains bespeaks of a cinema as vibrant as any in the world, yet one that so clearly derives from a unique cultural and aesthetic tradition.

ERUPTION AND INTERRUPTION OF WAR

By 1937, Japan was essentially at war with China. War was inevitable, to anyone with eyes to see, as early as 1931, but by 1937 the military draft and regular excursions into the Chinese heartland indicated that Japan was a nation at war. Cinematic excursions into China became increasingly common as well, with the infamous stardom of Yoshiko Yamaguchi being the most famous instance of the Japanese trying to conquer China on screen and off. A Japanese woman born in Manchuria, Yamaguchi was passed off as a Chinese actress, Li Hsiang-lan, and she appeared in a handful of overt propaganda films inevitably portraying a Chinese woman in love with, rescued by, and otherwise indebted to a Japanese soldier. The effectiveness of propaganda films like *Shina no yoru* (*China Night*, 1940) within China is more than questionable, as Chinese audiences wanted no part of such films. On the Japanese homefront, propaganda was the order of the day by 1940, but Yamaguchi-Li's talent and beauty may have overcome the otherwise obvious intentions behind the film.

Government censorship was always a factor in the production of Japanese cinema. As early as 1925, a centralized state censorship board was established to oversee film content, with particular concerns for public security and morality. Leftist filmmaking of the late 1920s and early 1930s (including many documentaries) encouraged further government intervention in the early 1930s, but it was the ever-increasing social conservatism and imperialistic militarism that led to the Pacific War and the virtual nationalization of the film industry and its heavy censorship by 1940. The production of *kokusaku-eiga* (national policy film) led to the overtly propagandistic nature of the entertainment cinema, while the government forced the merger of the major studios into three concerns: Shochiku, Toho and Daiei (which had

Yasujiro Ozu examined the dynamics of family life in such films as **Tokyo monogatari** ***(*****Tokyo Story*****, *1953).*** EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

taken Nikkatsu Studios under its new corporate banner). In the early period, from 1937 to 1941, a number of interesting films were produced whose overt propaganda value may be questionable. Films like *Five Scouts* (*Gonin no sekkohei*, 1938) and *Mud and Soldiers* (*Tsuchi to heitai*, 1939) seem rather grim in their portrayal of ground combat in China, while *Airplane Drone* (*Bakuon*, 1939) is a rather charming comedy. Masterpieces like Mizoguchi's *Genroku chushingura* (*The Loyal Forty-Seven Ronin of the Genroku Era*, 1941) and Ozu's *Chichi ariki* (*There Was a Father*, 1942) similarly show far less overt propaganda content than Hollywood's rabid anti-Japanese, pro-war films of the 1940s, but other, less well-known films take an anti-Western tack. Toho's all-star, big-budget *Ahen senso* (*The Opium War*, 1943), directed by the prolific Masahiro Makino and starring Setsuko Hara and Hideko Takamine, for instance, is charmingly propagandistic, with Japanese actors portraying the Chinese and British characters that make up the film. But as the war took a turn for the worse, so, too, the film industry declined—resources becoming ever scarcer and filmmakers ever subject to censorship. Ironically, when the war ended and the US Occupation forces arrived, the film industry was subjected to some of the same rigid censorship codes, though put to different ends.

THE SECOND GOLDEN AGE

It is arguable that the Japanese cinema of the 1950s is one of the high water marks in the history of world cinema, where Japan achieved a major international presence in film festivals and in art cinemas and solidified a mass audience at home that led to one of the most prolific periods of film production in the world. This Golden Age began innocently enough as, under US Occupation mandate, the Japanese cinema began producing films favoring democracy and women's liberation while rejecting feudalism and militarism. Under such circumstances, the production of *jidai-geki* took a back seat to films

examining postwar realities, though Mizoguchi's take on the famous woodblock (*ukiyo-e*) artist Utamaro, with his *Utamaro o meguru gonin no onna* (*Utamaro and His Five Women*, 1946), managed a deft combination of period exoticism and women's liberation. Akira Kurosawa (1910–1998) examined social problems in films like *Shizukanaru ketto* (*The Quiet Duel*, 1949), *Yoidore tenshi* (*Drunken Angel*, 1948), and *Nora inu* (*Stray Dog*, 1949), while Ozu continued to refine his perspective on the Japanese family in the process of solidifying an increasingly unique and challenging film style in his postwar masterpieces *Akibiyori* (*Late Autumn*, 1949), *Bakushû* (*Early Summer*, 1951), and *Tokyo monogatari* (*Tokyo Story*, 1953). Indeed, one reason for the Golden Age of the 1950s was the manner in which 1930s masters like Mizoguchi, Ozu, Naruse, and Gosho were joined by the growing ranks of a new generation of filmmakers led by Kurosawa and supported by the likes of Kon Ichikawa (b. 1915), Keisuke Kinoshita (1912–1998), and Masaki Kobayashi (1916–1996), among others.

A stellar lineup of movie stars began appearing in such genres as the woman's film, especially variations such as the *haha-mono* (mother stories), out of which Kinoshita's masterpiece *Nihon no higeki* (*A Japanese Tragedy*, 1953) emerged, and the bar-hostess film, which eventually led to Naruse's sublime *Onna ga kaidan wo agaru toki* (*When a Woman Ascends the Stairs*, 1960). Musicals reappeared in various forms, led by the extraordinary *enka* (folk) singer Hibari Misora (1937–1989), who appeared in over one hundred films in the 1950s. Tough-guy action stars in the mode of Elvis Presley, like Yûjirô Ishihara (1934–1987) and Akira Kobayashi (b. 1937), gave Nikkatsu a unique form with their action films. Toho Studios struck gold with the atom-bomb allegories in the form of the *kaiju-eiga* (monster movie), creating, literally, the biggest star of the decade with *Gojira* (*Godzilla*, 1954)—followed by sequels and fellow giant monsters galore. Daiei Studios succeeded in its own way by making films with great domestic box-office appeal while also producing films rather specifically geared for overseas appeal at film festivals and art houses.

Kurosawa's *Rashomon* (1951), a puzzling film that Toho Studios showed little interest in producing, was made at Daiei to minor recognition at home. But its success at the Venice International Film Festival in 1951 (where it was awarded the Golden Lion) and its Academy Award® for Best Foreign Film more than made up for any domestic disappointment. The film brought Kurosawa instant acclaim, Daiei a great deal of prestige, and the Japanese cinema the kind of worldwide recognition it had long desired. Daiei embarked on a campaign of producing films with an eye toward film festivals and art theater distribution and met with a good deal of success with Mizoguchi's *Ugetsu* (1953) and Kinugasa's *Jigokumon* (*Gate of Hell*, 1953). This penchant for producing period films for the export market had the unfortunate consequence of keeping many of Japan's *gendai-mono* from receiving the kind of institutional support required to break out of the domestic market. Thus, Ozu and Naruse, for instance, were little known abroad compared to Kurosawa and Mizoguchi. Nevertheless, with Daiei leading the way, other studios, too, jumped on the *jidai-geki* bandwagon so that Kurosawa's *Shichinin no samurai* (*Seven Samurai*, 1954) and Inagaki's Samurai trilogy (1954–1956) received both international distribution and prize-winning acclaim. These period films may have functioned to help redeem Japan's image from that of an imperialist power that had waged a bloody and frightful war against its Asian neighbors and against Western powers like the United States and Great Britain. Set in the past, the films clearly removed themselves from the recently completed war and presented images of an exotic culture—colorful costumes, mysterious and beautiful women, elegant interiors decorated with painted screens, and graceful Zen gardens. Yet films like *Rashomon*, *Ugetsu*, and *Gate of Hell* in fact clearly speak to the disaster of the Pacific War—the ruination of Japan's cities; the effects on innocent civilians, especially women; and the trauma of loss and defeat.

By displacing the recent war onto the more distant past, the films could be made palatable to both domestic and international audiences. But no displacement, no tricks, no hidden meanings were required to appreciate the obvious artistry on view. Drawing on pictorial traditions as venerable as *sumi-e* (black and white ink brush painting), *yamato-e* (landscape painting in the Japanese style), and *emaki-mono* (narrative picture scrolls), the Japanese cinema was characterized by a pictorial elegance not seen anywhere else in the world. A propensity for long takes and long shots gave many of the films a stately, leisurely, contemplative pacing that appealed to many young film critics and filmmakers. The creation of mood, of tone, was similarly a unique property of the Japanese cinema. Combined with many theatrical elements, the films presented themselves as the product of a culture that seemed far from the one that waged fierce war on the world. The stylistic experiments of Kurosawa (one of the rare directors who were as comfortable with dynamic montage as he was with long takes) and Ozu (a filmmaker virtually unique, but not *sui generis*, with his graphic matches, narrative ellipses, dramatic deemphases, and singular thematic concern) grew out of a prolific, varied, and exciting cinematic period. One might argue that it was precisely this combination of art film acclaim and domestic box-office appeal that defines this period as not only a Golden Age of Japanese cinema, but a Golden Age of world-class filmmaking.

Akira Kurosawa's* Rashomon *(1950) introduced Western audiences to Japanese cinema. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

AKIRA KUROSAWA

b. Tokyo, Japan, 23 March 1910, d. 6 September 1998

Akira Kurosawa was a child when the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923 leveled the sprawling city of Tokyo. Thus, Kurosawa grew up in a new, modern Tokyo, but one that never lost sight of its past. This struggle between the modern and the traditional is one of the hallmarks of his films—both in terms of the director's veering between period films and modern stories and the way he highlights the need for certain traditional values within modern society; at the same time he brings a distinctly modern perspective to the venerable period film.

It would be hard to imagine the modern American cinema without Kurosawa's palpable influence, whether in the action staging of Sam Peckinpah, Walter Hill, and Martin Scorsese or the distinctive editing patterns that so clearly set off the films of Francis Ford Coppola, George Lucas, and Steven Spielberg. And this is no less true of his influence on internationally acclaimed directors ranging from Italy's Western auteur, Sergio Leone, to Hong Kong's master of balletic violence, John Woo. The strategic use of slow motion, the transformation of Sergei Eisenstein's handling of crowd scenes, the use of jump-cuts on movement, the intermixing of long takes and montage, have all entered the lexicon of the modern action cinema.

It is likely that *Shichinin no samurai* (*Seven Samurai*, 1954) is the single most remade and reworked film in all of world cinema, from Hollywood to Bollywood; *Rashomon* (1951) is as responsible for the modernist move in world cinema as Bergman's *Sjunde inseglet, Det* (*Seventh Seal*, 1957), Fellini's *La Strada* (1956), or Antonioni's *L'Avventura* (*The Adventure*, 1960); and *Yojimbo* (*Yojimbo the Bodyguard*, 1961) may fairly be said to have relaunched the Western in the 1960s. Similarly, Kurosawa's Shakespearean adaptations—*Kumonosu jô* (*Throne of Blood*, 1957), *Warui Yatsu Hodo Yoku Nemuru* (*The Bad Sleep Well*, 1960), and *Ran* (1985)—are generally acknowledged as among the finest filmic transformations of the Bard's classics, *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, and *King Lear*, respectively.

Within the strictly Japanese context, Kurosawa has been one of the few filmmakers willing to tackle an issue generally suppressed in Japanese public art—the atomic bomb. Handled typically by allegory (e.g., *Godzilla*, 1954) or via the fantastic world of anime, the Bomb has been largely taboo in Japanese cinema. Yet in the middle of his career, with *Ikimono no kiroku* (*Record of a Living Being*, 1955), and near the end, with *Hachigatsu no kyôshikyoku* (*Rhapsody in August*, 1991), Japan's best-known filmmaker squarely confronted Japan's most traumatic experience. Kurosawa's willingness to confront tradition, criticize modernization, and tackle taboo subjects made him the leading filmmaker of his generation, and his unequaled command of cinematic language made him one of the most influential filmmakers in the history of the cinema.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Sugata Sanshiro (*Judo Saga*, 1943), *Waga seishun ni kuinashi* (*No Regrets for Our Youth*, 1946), *Nora inu* (*Stray Dog*, 1949), *Rashomon* (1951), *Ikiru* (*To Live*, 1952), *Shichinin no samurai* (*Seven Samurai*, 1954), *Kumonosu jô* (*Throne of Blood*, 1957), *Yojimbo* (*Yojimbo the Bodyguard*, 1961), *Tengoku to jigoku* (*High and Low*, 1963), *Akahige* (*Red Beard*, 1965), *Kagemusha* (*Kagemusha the Shadow Warrior*, 1980), *Ran* (1985), *Madadayo* (1993)

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A NEW WAVE

Some recent critical work has come to question the perhaps too easy and quick assignation of the term "New Wave" (*Nuberu bagu*, *nouvelle vague*) to a group of filmmakers who directed their first efforts at Shochiku Studios around 1960, in particular Nagisa Oshima (b. 1932), Masahiro Shinoda (b. 1931), and Yoshishige Yoshida (b. 1933). With some stylistic and thematic similarities to the French and Polish New Waves of this period, such a comparison made sense, if only from the

Akira Kurosawa on the set of* Kagemusha *(*Kagemusha the Shadow Warrior, *1980). © TOHO COMPANY/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

perspective of public relations and pop journalism. Still, by adding in the contemporaneous efforts by the likes of Shohei Imamura (b. 1926) and Susumu Hani (b. 1928), one can safely claim a historical moment of a clear confluence of interests revolving around the political alignment of Japan with the United States; the alienated state of postwar youth; continued discrimination against Koreans, *burakumin* (untouchables), and the working poor; women's liberation; and the freeing of film form from the Classical and Postwar masters. And while it has been common to claim this New Wave as cresting in 1960, greater historical distance may reveal that a more interesting and truer "wave" of radical filmmaking came about at the end of the decade, not at its beginning.

The very success of the mainstream Japanese cinema of the 1950s enabled studios like Shochiku, especially, but also Nikkatsu, to allow a greater sense of directorial freedom of expression and the breakdown of classic genres. This was exacerbated when the industry began a steep decline after 1963 due, mostly, to the introduction of television. This new medium rather quickly took away one of the industry's stalwart audiences: middle-class women. One way to try and hold on to their remaining audience was the turn to younger directors and their favored theme of youth. With films like *Seishun Zankoku Monogatari* (*Cruel Story of Youth*, 1960), *Furyo Shonen* (*Bad Boys*, 1961), and *Buta To Gunkan* (*Pigs and Battleships*, 1961), among others, something like a new wave appeared. Alienated youngsters rebelling from middle-class society or unable to enter into the promise of economically resurgent Japan, and a film style characterized by neo-documentary techniques, hand-held camerawork, a rejection of the pictorial tradition, all sifted, many times, through a darkly comic lens, certainly marked a break even from those 1950s youth films that are the clear predecessors of the 1960s new wave. But as the decade wore on and the industry could no longer support the radical efforts of younger filmmakers, and as mainstream audiences continued to desert the Japanese cinema, the industry had reached a crisis by the late 1960s. The Art Theatre Guild (ATG) came to the rescue of many of the new wave filmmakers, introducing new production and distribution patterns into the Japanese

cinema. It must be beyond coincidental that the best films of Hani, Shinoda, Yoshida, and even Oshima were made at the ATG, and that even most of their subsequent films take a backseat to the truly original works made there.

The ATG began in the early 1960s primarily as an exhibitor of foreign films—though it did produce *Otoshiana* (*The Pitfall*) in 1962, the first film of acclaimed independent filmmaker Hiroshi Teshigahara (1927–2001). The distribution and exhibition by the ATG of Oshima's *Ninja bugei-cho* (*Band of Ninja*) in 1967, produced by Oshima's own Sozosha Corporation, was something of a surprise hit. Oshima used no live action film footage, but ''animated'' actual *manga* (comic books/graphic novels) panels by enlarging, shrinking, and superimposing or merely through fast editing of stills. The fact that the audience was that greeted this film enthusiastically was largely young should have been a wake-up call to film producers everywhere, but the ATG was the first to heed it. At this same time, the already well-established Shohei Imamura co-produced *Ningen Johatsu* (*A Man Vanishes*, 1967) with the ATG. The film was a modest success—again with a young, restless audience very much ready to embrace underground art, theater, and cinema. By 1968 the ATG would provide that in abundance. Films like Oshima's *Koshikei* (*Death by Hanging*, 1968) and *Gishiki* (*The Ceremony*, 1971) hit at the heart of Japan's social and familial institutions; his *Shinjuku dorobo nikki* (*Diary of a Shinjuku Thief*, 1968) captured the Japanese 1960s as no other film; and Shinoda's *Shinju ten no amijima* (*Double Suicide*, 1969) and Toshio Matsumoto's (b. 1932) *Bara no soretsu* (*Funeral Procession of Roses*, 1969) and *Shura* (*Pandemonium*, 1971) combined the most traditional of Japanese arts—Bunraku and calligraphy, among others—with a decidedly Modernist approach to film.

The importance of the New Wave in the 1960s should not diminish the significance of more mainstream genres, in particular the male-oriented films directed at young and working-class men. If women had abandoned the cinema in favor of television and the overall more home-centered lifestyle mandated in economically successful Japan, filmmakers turned to the samurai film in increasing numbers. Under the impetus of director Kenji Misumi (1921–1975) and star Raizo Ichikawa (1931–1969), a new youth orientation was introduced into the already nihilistic tale of a possessed *ronin* in *Daibosatsu Toge* (*Satan's Sword*, 1960) and two sequels (1960, 1961). This same story would be stylishly engaged later in the decade by Tatsuya Nakadai under the sure-handed direction of Kihachi Okamoto (1923–2005) in a version known as *Dai-bosatsu tôge* (*The Sword of Doom*, 1966). Akira Kurosawa contributed to this newly anarchic and violent tendency of the genre turn with *Yojimbo* (*Yojimbo the Bodyguard*, 1961) and *Sanjuro* (1962), with Toshirô Mifune (1920–1997) as the samurai-with-no-name. The star, Shintaro Katsu (1931–1997), would similarly bring a new dimension to the samurai film, appearing in over twenty films in the decade as the wandering, blind, masseur-master swordsman, Zatoichi. This new-style samurai film prospered into the early 1970s, but by then overexposure on television, the aging of the samurai stars, and the continued decline of the mainstream film industry put a halt to the routine production of these often startlingly original, beautifully realized, artistically surprising genre entries.

Coincident with the new-style samurai film was another male-oriented genre, often filled with more graphic violence than the samurai film. (Though few films can top the *Kozure Okami* series [*Lone Wolf and Cub*, 1970–1972] for sheer swordplay mayhem.) Known as the *yakuza* (gangster) genre film, it became the staple of Toei Pictures, formed in 1951. A complex morality, sometimes seen as conservative—feudalistic notions of duty, honor, and loyalty predominate—merges with a truly nihilistic flavor, as all values except male bonding and camaraderie are called into question by the time of the (inevitable) violent showdown. The superstar Ken Takakura (b. 1931) is a key figure in the genre, especially with his eighteen-part *Abashiri Bangaichi* (Abashiri prison series, 1965–1972), as is Bunta Sugawara (b. 1931), especially as guided by the wily veteran director Kinji Fukasaku (1930–2003) in the multi-part *Battles without Honor and Humanity* series (*Jingi naki tatkai*, 1973–1974). By the middle of the 1970s, overproduction, aging stars, and declining production values, as well as *yakuza* series on television, sheathed the sword of the gangster as it had the samurai earlier.

THE LOST DECADE AND A MINOR RENAISSANCE

The film industry in Japan began a decline in the early 1960s that was staved off by the occasional blockbuster hit; the long-running film series (for example, *It's Tough To Be a Man* [*Otoko wa tsurai yo*, 1969–1995]); or the intervention of independent financing, such as that of the ATG. Nevertheless, by the middle of the 1970s, the Japanese cinema was a shell of its former self, more footage being devoted to the genre of the *roman-poruno* (romantic-pornography) than all other genres combined. In the late 1960s a group of younger filmmakers, such as Koji Wakamatsu (b. 1936), utilized the genre to inject the youthful politics of the New Wave into films like *Violated Women in White* (*Okasareta byakui*, 1967) or *Tenshi No Kokotsu* (*Ecstasy of the Angels*, 1972). Nagisa Oshima took the genre to its logical heights of hard-core pornography with *Ai no Corrida* (*In the Realm of the Senses*, 1976), whose graphic imagery and challenging

TOSHIRÔ MIFUNE

b. Qingdao, China, 1 April 1920, d. 24 December 1997

If Akira Kurosawa is generally credited with introducing Japanese cinema to the West with his *Rashomon* in 1951, perhaps Toshirô Mifune should be credited with making it welcome. He was to the Japanese cinema what Marlon Brando was to Hollywood in the postwar era, a dynamic force to be reckoned with, and it is perhaps this resemblance to Brando—in spirit and dynamism—that enabled films like *Rashomon* and *Shichinin no samurai* (*Seven Samurai*, 1954) to win popular acclaim and Academy Awards®.

Mifune is most associated with Kurosawa, though he was a favorite actor of other major Japanese filmmakers, especially Inakagi Hiroshi. Still, it is undeniable that the sixteen films he made with Kurosawa have entered the annals of world film history as an unmatched body of collaborative work. He rocketed to stardom in Kurosawa's *Yoidore tenshi* (*Drunken Angel*) in 1948 and then appeared in every Kurosawa film from 1949 through 1965, save for the subtle *Ikiru* (*To Live*, 1952). While perhaps best remembered for the boisterous, youthful energy displayed in films like *Nora inu* (*Stray Dog*, 1949), *Rashomon*, and *Shichinin no samurai* (*Seven Samurai*, 1954), or the complete power and command he shows in films like *Kakushi-toride no san-akunin* (*The Hidden Fortress*, 1958), *Yojimbo* (*Yojimbo the Bodyguard*, 1961) and *Sanjuro* (1962), his range as an actor might be unsurpassed in the entire Japanese cinema. He could play a mature doctor as early in his career as 1949 with *Shizukanaru ketto* (*The Quiet Duel*) or as late in his relationship with Kurosawa as *Akahige* (*Red Beard*), released in 1965. He is desperately romantic and helpless in *Donzoko* (*The Lower Depths*, 1957); aging, weak, and tortured in *Ikimono no kiroku* (*Record of a Living Being*, 1955); a successful businessman who loses everything in *Tengoku to jigoku* (*High and Low*, 1963); and as a tormented and remorseful man in the Hamlet-derived *Warui Yatsu Hodo Yoku Nemuru* (*The Bad Sleep Well*, 1960), not to mention being acclaimed as one of the finest incarnations of Macbeth in *Kumonosu jô* (*Throne of Blood*, 1957).

With appearances in Hollywood films like *Grand Prix* (1966) and *Red Sun* (1971), it seems that Hollywood was trying to create its first Japanese star since Sessue Hayakawa in the silent era. Mifune's poor English perhaps got in the way (his voice is dubbed in the Word War II epic *Midway*, 1976), but it is also likely that his portrayal of a taciturn warrior capable of incredible and explosive violence paved the way for another Asian star, Bruce Lee, to break through into the American market just a year or so later. Over the course of his fifty-year career, Mifune appeared in over 180 films, a testament to his never-ending hard work and timeless appeal.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Rashomon (1951), *Shichinin no samurai* (*Seven Samurai*, 1954), *Miyamoto Musashi* (*Samurai, Part I*, 1954), *Muhomatsu no issho* (*The Rickshaw Man*, 1958), *Yojimbo* (*Yojimbo the Bodyguard*, 1961), *Akahige* (*Red Beard*, 1965), *Grand Prix* (1966), *Red Sun* (1971), *Midway* (1976)

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sexual politics netted the film worldwide acclaim and controversy. The rare breakout hit from the *roman-poruno* world and the occasional film by Kurosawa, Imamura, and Shinoda could hardly lay claim to being any further Golden Age or New Wave–like excitement, while only a small handful of new directors emerged in the 1970s and 1980s to launch the Japanese cinema into any new areas, to find new audiences, and to garner much new respect. The situation in the 1980s was so very dismal that critics have come to call this the "lost decade" of the Japanese cinema.

The social satires of Juzo Itami (1933–1997), the son of the pioneer filmmaker Mansaku Itami (1900–1946), stand alone as a directorial achievement in this lost decade. Certainly *Tampopo* (*Dandelion*, 1985), Itami's breakthrough hit in world cinema (though the film was by no means a hit in Japan), is a worthy successor to the stylish delights of Ozu and Kurosawa, by way of the Hollywood Western. Yoshimitsu Morita's (b. 1950) *Kazoku gêmu* (*Family Game*, 1983) similarly struck universal chords with its darkly comic examination of the pressures exerted on the middle-class family by the

Toshirô Mifune. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

notorious Japanese educational system. But such films were too few and far between. Only *anime* (Japanese animation) proved to have the sort of mainstream, blockbuster appeal on which the industry once routinely counted. With feature films, television series, and direct-to-video offerings, *anime* came to dominate the industry the way *roman-poruno* had a decade earlier. (The genre had turned to direct-to-video marketing by the late 1980s, and for better or for worse, little of it was made for the theatrical market.) Even after a mini-renaissance beginning in the mid-1990s, *anime*'s hold on the Japanese imagination remains unbreakable, with director Hayao Miyazaki continually breaking box-office records with films like *Mononoke-hime* (*Princess Mononoke*, 1997), *Sen to Chihiro no kamikakushi* (*Spirited Away*, 2001), and *Hauru no ugoku shiro* (*Howl's Moving Castle*, 2004).

Live-action cinema began its slow reappearance with the emergence of a new generation of filmmakers—trained completely outside of the traditional assistant director system—supported by entirely different modes of production. Indeed, in large measure, renaissance Japanese cinema of the 1990s is a strictly independent movement. With backgrounds in television as performers or directors, in music-video production, in film school education, or in amateur filmmaking, members of this new generation, like its New Wave predecessors, rely largely on the youth audience to support its modest efforts. Some of these films have found their way into the international film festival/art cinema market, but without sacrificing the small, but devoted, domestic audience.

The cinema has largely resurrected itself on the strength of film genres with both domestic and global youth appeal. The horror film, in particular, brought to new heights of attention by the subtle and stylish works of Kiyoshi Kurosawa (b. 1955)—such as *Kyua* (*Cure*, 1997), *Karisuma* (*Charisma*, 1999), and *Kairo* (*Pulse*, 2000)—was extended for the video-game generation with films like *Ringu* (*Ring*, 1998), *Ju-on: The Grudge* (2000), *Honogurai mizu no soko kara* (*Dark Water*, 2002), and numerous others. The Hollywood remakes of these films attest to their universal appeal and have garnered the Japanese originals perhaps even greater attention. Along with the horror film, the action film has taken pride of place in the commercial independent cinema, especially the outré films of Takashi Miike (b. 1960). While he has worked in many genres (including a horror-musical, *Katakuri-ke no kôfuku* [*The Happiness of the Katakuris*, 2001]), his greatest cult success has been with a series of incredibly high energy, ultra-violent gangster films that begin where John Woo's Hong Kong films left off. Films like *Gokudô sengokushi: Fudô* (*Fudoh: The New Generation*, 1996), *Hyôryû-gai* (*City of Lost Souls*, 2000), and *Koroshiya 1* (*Ichi the Killer*, 2001) bear little resemblance to the *yakuza* films of Ken Takakura and Bunta Sugawara, and if they seem less specifically Japanese, it is partly because times have changed and Japan is, in every respect, imbricated at the highest levels in global popular culture. Indeed, it may be that the Japanese cinema has lost its particular "flavor" in the postmodern era, although the occasional throwback film like Hirokazu Koreeda's (b. 1962) *Maboroshi no hikari* (*Maborosi*, 1995) or the increasingly important and impressive oeuvre of Takeshi Kitano (b. 1947), especially his *Hana-bi* (1997), continue to remind the world of the cultural traditions that underline one of the world's most unique and most successful filmmaking nations.

SEE ALSO *Martial Arts Films; National Cinema*

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JOURNALS AND MAGAZINES

Film journals and magazines are central to cinema culture and film consumption. Such publications contain information on developments within the industry, movies in production, and the technical processes behind the creation of a particular look or effect. They also present film reviews, film criticism, and theoretical or cultural analysis, interviews and star profiles, and fan appreciation. Film journals and magazines can be divided broadly into five categories: fan magazines aimed at a specific readership with a focus that is often subcultural; populist film magazines consumed by a mainstream readership; news weeklies or daily papers—tabloids and broadsheets—that devote space to film journalism; trade publications produced for the cinema industry; and academic journals that analyze and debate film and cinema.

FANZINES

Fan magazines and fan bulletins are the most vibrant and diverse part of the film magazine market. Commonly collections of articles and short pieces written and compiled by the fans themselves, these fan publications, or fanzines, sometimes receive mainstream circulation and can be purchased from main street retailers. Mostly, however, they are acquired from speciality shops, fan conventions, or by subscription. A cottage industry of independent publishers caters to a wide variety of specialist and cult interests, with film stars, movies, and prominent genres from both the classical and postclassical periods of film attracting sustained devotion. The number of fanzines available has increased dramatically since the mid-1980s, aided by an accessibility to desktop publishing and improved mail ordering facilities, as well as the growth in cult film and media shops and the explosion in fan fairs. Moreover, since the late 1990s the fan magazine has been extended through the seemingly endless possibilities offered by the Internet and Internet publishing. Online, members of countless subcultural fan communities celebrate, debate, and recollect their movie experiences, all with the speed and directness in communications required by fans who crave immediate interaction with like-minded individuals. The hallmark of these fan sites is the fans' active consumption of, contribution to, and participation in the published text, whether paper or electronic.

The proliferation of fanzines has been greatest in the United States and the United Kingdom, where the horror, science-fiction, and fantasy genres have dominated production. The horror genre is especially suited to independent or underground publishing activities; fans often take a subcultural interest in addressing transgressive images and taboo subjects, and attempt to expose marginal films from the realms of low-budget or exploitation cinema. Two pioneering publications offered an alternative voice proclaiming a fan's passion and indulgence for the horror genre: Forrest J. Ackerman's *Famous Monsters of Filmland* (1958–1983) and Calvin T. Beck's *Castle of Frankenstein* (begun in 1959 as *Journal of Frankenstein*; final issue 1975). *Famous Monsters of Filmland*, associated with classic horror films from the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s, reveled in nostalgia but presented articles and information in a jocular manner.

The editorial approaches of fanzines can vary widely—from the studious, nostalgic, and archival to the sarcastic or anarchic—but they all tend to give an impression of faithfulness and authority in a frank and opinionated way. Notable horror and exploitation

fanzines from the United States include the New York–based *Sleazoid Express* (originally 1980–1983) and *Gore Gazette*, magazines with a fascination for assaultive films from cinema's grindhouses, and for either distinctly low-budget horror or productions with a high visceral content. The Baltimore-based *Midnight Marquee* (begun in 1963 as *Gore Creatures*), focuses on obscure, older, and neglected horrors; in 1995 it also successfully ventured into book publishing. Similarly, Michael Weldon's book *The Psychotronic Encyclopedia of Film* (1983) emerged from his fanzine *Psychotronic*, which was originally established with the intention of reviewing the more unusual films being shown on New York television. Later, in 1989, Weldon aimed for widespread coverage of all films of a bizarre or extreme nature with his second fanzine *Psychotronic Video*. *Video Watchdog*, begun in 1990 by Tim Lucas, has from the beginning carried the cover label "The Perfectionist's Guide to Fantastic Video." Aimed at providing "information" and a "consumer-orientated guide," this unique publication has become an authority on the different prints and versions of films in circulation, providing detailed reviews of video and DVD releases. *Asian Cult Cinema* (begun in 1992 as *Asian Trash Cinema*), like *Video Watchdog*, moves freely beyond the horror genre, providing expertise in the areas of film on which it centers, and most significantly displaying an ambition to provide pan-Asian coverage of genre cinema.

The boom in 1990s horror fanzines was most apparent in the United Kingdom. The two key pioneers were *Shock Xpress* (1985–1989) and *Samhain* (1986–1999). Both began as basic typed and photocopied publications, with *Samhain* in particular carrying fans' artwork; but later they evolved into more sophisticated fanzines with quality reproduction images and color covers. The fanzines that followed include *Dark Terrors* (1992–2002); *Flesh and Blood* (1993–1997); *Necronomicon* (1993–1994); *Delirium* (1993–1997), subtitled "The Essential Guide to Bizarre Italian Cinema"; *The House that Hammer Built* (1996–2002), "The Fanzine that builds into a comprehensive guide to Hammer's Fantasy Films"; and *Uncut* (begun in 1996). British horror fanzines have displayed a much stronger concentration on European horror cinema (especially British and Italian movies) and film and video censorship than their American counterparts. Hammer films have also attracted significant attention with special fanzines such as *Dark Terrors* and *Vintage Hammer*, devoted to discussing and detailing seemingly everything connected to the studio. However, the focus of fanzines on Hammer extends back to the 1970s with the seminal publications *Little Shoppe of Horrors* (begun in 1972 and published in the United States) and *House of Hammer* (1976, later *Halls of Hammer*, final issue 1984, published in the United Kingdom).

PROZINES AND POPULIST FILM MAGAZINES

With the wider availability of new technologies for production, modern fanzines have moved beyond the earlier mimeographed and photocopied publications. *Shock Xpress*, *Flesh and Blood*, and *Necronomicon* continued as edited books; *Samhain* edged closer to the style and content of prozines such as the British-published *Starburst* (begun in 1978), *Fear* (1988–1991), *The Dark Side* (begun in 1990), and *Shivers* (begun in 1992). Prozines, commercially produced publications with a fan focus, exist between fanzines and populist film magazines (those that offer a general cinema coverage). They often feature the work of paid journalists or regular writers and present news coverage, interviews, and images from current film productions supported by publicists. The prozine developed in the 1970s, beginning with the US-based *Cinefantastique* (begun in 1970), with its commitment to scrutinizing the technical and professional aspects of current fantasy film productions, and *Starlog* (begun in 1976), which led a batch of fan publications centered on the new wave of late 1970s science-fiction films. In August 1979 the horror prozine *Fangoria* emerged as a sister publication to *Starlog* and the short-lived *Future Life* (begun in 1978); it became synonymous with the new style of glossy magazines, containing graphic and color images from the horror new wave of the 1980s and celebrations of the ingenious work of the special effects artists.

The British prozines *Starburst* and *Shivers* are published by Visual Imagination, a company with a portfolio of fan and film afficionado magazines that includes *Xposé*, *Ultimate DVD*, *Movie Idols*, and *Film Review*. The latter began in 1950 as *ABC Film Review* and is now the United Kingdom's longest-running general film monthly. Initially sold in the lobbies of the ABC cinema chain, it carried reviews and features on current film releases as well as special items on in-vogue film stars. Such populist film magazines, essentially promotional publications for the film industry, exist in symbiotic relationship with studios, with these film monthlies giving celebrity exposure, film production updates, and generous coverage for new releases, all supported by special access to sets, production shots, and exclusive stories. Fans do actively contribute to the publications through competitions, readers' letters, pen pal ads, and "wanted" notices, but, compared to fanzines, the pages show greater regulation (with content controlled by both the publisher and the film industry).

Among the very first film magazines was the American publication *Photoplay* (1911–1980), which was to go through several name changes in its history and spawn a version designed specifically for the British market. *Photoplay* initially published fiction and novelizations of recent films, a content imitated in cinema's early years

by publications such as *Photo-Play Journal* (1916–1921) and *Photo-Play World* (1917–1920). The first film star, Florence Lawrence, emerged in 1910, and with the increasing interest in film stars throughout the teens and 1920s, magazines came to be dominated by star portraits and profiles, celebrity news and gossip. *Picturegoer* (1913–1960) was the most successful film magazine of its time in the United Kingdom, often featuring special supplements targeting a particular film star. Its name changed several times over the decades, incorporating key words such as "theater," "film," or "picturegoers," reflecting a period of cinema history when film magazines were initially attempting to establish an identity against other popular cultural pursuits. The magazine merged with competing titles as the market adjusted to a field led by fewer magazines. The replacement of some film monthlies with film weeklies indicates the popularity of both cinemagoing and film magazines in the peak period of the late 1920s to the early 1950s. Film magazines' popularity can also be seen in the diversification of titles into those aimed at specific sections of the cinemagoing audience: for instance, the British publications *Boy's Cinema* (1919–1940), which incorporated *Screen Stories & Fun & Fiction* (1930–1935), and *Girls' Cinema* (1920–1932), which was incorporated into *The Film Star Weekly* (1932–1935).

In the 1950s movie ticket sales fell dramatically. Cinema attendance grew again in the mid-1980s, partly as a result of the wave of expensive studio blockbuster films. A new breed of populist film magazines coincided with this change in the film industry, with publications often dealing more with the spectacle of the films and the work of popular directors than with film stars. This is not to say, though, that stars ceased to be marketable factors for film magazines, as magazine covers remain highly dependent on star portraits for their consumer appeal. The new magazines include the US publication *Premiere* (begun in 1987) and the British film magazines *Empire* (begun in 1989) and *Total Film* (begun in 1996). With the postclassical film industry marked by high levels of synergy with other media forms, it is not surprising that these publications devote space not just to films but also to DVDs and relevant books, soundtracks, and Websites, as well as television and computer games. Such magazines are also showing greater confidence in the types of film reviews they print, with reviewers expressing more independent opinions and adopting a style that is a combination of the fanzine writer and the newspaper critic. In fact, these reviewers often write simultaneously for these different publications.

NEWS WEEKLIES, NEWSPAPERS, AND TRADE JOURNALS

Film critics can be powerful figures within the cinema industry. In the United States, for instance, as members of bodies such as the New York Film Critics Circle and the Los Angeles Film Critics' Association, they have voting rights for annual awards ceremonies; winning such awards can greatly enhance the marketability of a successful film. Critics also exert power by publishing reviews in newspapers, news weeklies, and popular magazines and by appearing on television programs. Many of these critics have become celebrated and respected, some notorious, with their opinions at times believed to be a prominent factor in a movie's popular reception. The influential and impassioned critic Pauline Kael, who wrote for the weekly magazine *The New Yorker* from 1967 to 1991, was noted for her independent—often idiosyncratic—opinions. For instance, she was highly critical of *West Side Story* (1961), winner of multiple Oscars®; yet she championed the widely attacked *Last Tango in Paris* (1972). Andrew Sarris and later J. Hoberman reviewed films for New York's weekly newspaper *The Village Voice*. Sarris was initially a writer for the more academic journal *Film Culture* (1958–1992), which was the primary publication for the American film avant-garde. It was in that journal in 1962 that Sarris first employed the term "auteur theory," initially put forth in 1954 by François Truffaut in the French film journal *Cahiers du Cinéma* (begun in 1951). After *The Village Voice*, Sarris served as a critic for the newspaper *The New York Observer*.

Other notable American critics include Jonathan Rosenbaum, film reviewer for the alternative weekly *Chicago Reader*, and Roger Ebert, whose reviews have appeared in the *Chicago Sun-Times* since 1967 and in wide syndication. In the United Kingdom, Alexander Walker served as film critic for London's *Evening Standard* from 1960 until his death in 2003. Like Kael, Sarris, and Rosenbaum, Walker was a respected writer of film books, including a study of the director Stanley Kubrick and a trilogy of books on British cinema. A prolific writer, Walker was not afraid to give a controversial opinon, and as such he was associated with notorious reactions to films such as *The Devils* (Ken Russell, 1971), *Crash* (David Cronenberg, 1996), and *Ôdishon* (*Audition*, Takeshi Miiki, 1999). Christopher Tookey of the *Daily Mail* is also known for condemning certain films deemed confrontational. Many saw Walker, along with reviewers such as Derek Malcolm, who was film critic for *The Guardian* from 1970 until his retirement in 2000, as among the last of a band of journalists to have a genuine knowledge of cinema history. In the United Kingdom and the United States contemporary film reviews often seem designed to provide attention-grabbing quotes for movie advertising. Also, the Internet is growing into an immensely powerful tool in a film's success; the critic Harry Knowles of the Website

PAULINE KAEL

b. Petaluma, California, 19 June 1919, d. 3 September 2001

Pauline Kael was an outspoken, witty, and often unpredictable film critic who wrote for the weekly magazine *The New Yorker* from 1967 to 1991. Regarded as arguably America's greatest film critic, she influenced many, with her group of devotees called the "Paulettes." Her books include *I Lost It at the Movies* (1965), *Kiss Kiss Bang Bang* (1968), *The Citizen Kane Book* (1971), *Deeper into Movies* (winner of a National Book Award, 1973), and *5001 Nights at the Movies* (1982).

After studying philosophy, literature, and the arts at the University of California at Berkeley, she ran an art-house cinema in San Francisco in the late 1950s while broadcasting film reviews for a Berkeley radio station. She wrote film reviews for *Vogue*, *Life*, and *The New Republic* and the film journals *Sight and Sound* and *Film Quarterly*. Although her work, both for film journals and general-interest publications, exhibited an intellectualism, her writing style was notable in that she incorporated her personal experiences as well as slang and put-downs. She was avowedly anti-theory, assailing supporters of the auteur theory for what she saw as their attempt to advance Hollywood directors to the status of artists. She entered into a notorious public debate with Andrew Sarris about the auteur theory, ridiculing Sarris's proposed auteur "theory" with a persuasive deflation of auteurism's critical assumptions, and later on published *The Citizen Kane Book* (1971), in which she offered an account of the production of Orson Welles's film that attempted to show that it was less the product of a single towering auteur than a collaboration among several important artists.

An advocate of good storytelling and powerful acting, she was critical of the conceptual work of European filmmakers such as Alain Resnais, Robert Bresson, and Ingmar Bergman. Drawn to popular culture and films with energy that engaged the viewer's emotions, she blamed television for superficiality in movies after the 1950s and particularly disliked Hollywood's move toward event movies or big action films. She praised the Hollywood genre productions of the 1930s and 1940s and the realism and humanism of the European directors Max Ophüls, Jean Renoir, Roberto Rossellini, and Vittorio de Sica. These values coalesced in a group of films that emerged in the late 1960s and 1970s by maverick directors whom Kael championed, such as Robert Altman, Arthur Penn, and Sam Peckinpah, and the early films of the Hollywood new wave of Francis Ford Coppola, Brian de Palma, and Steven Spielberg. Kael had a sociological approach to movies that took into account the reactions of the general filmgoer. Considering the cinema as essentially an entertainment experience, some would argue that she was less a critic than a reviewer.

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Ian Conrich

www.aintitcoolnews.com has attained the status of a minor celebrity for his unorthodox postings.

Trade journals, the earliest of film publications, are not generally recognized for their film reviews but rather are designed to support the industry through business news and advice on equipment and technical issues. Among the first were the American titles *Moving Picture World* (1907–1927) and *Motion Picture News* (1911–1930) and the British title *Bioscope* (1908–1932). In comparison to other film publications, trade journals have been marked by their longevity, in particular *Motion Picture Herald* (1915–1972); *American Cinematographer* (begun in 1921); *Hollywood Reporter* (begun in 1934), the film industry's first daily trade paper; and, most noticeably, *Variety* (begun in 1905). The latter has become an industry institution: its film reviews are influential, and its style of journalism, consisting of a jargon composed of abbreviations, alliteration, or a rhyming structure, has regularly been adopted as media-speak. *Variety* has even provided a "slanguage"

Pauline Kael. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

dictionary on its website. In the United Kingdom, *Screen International* (begun in 1975) is the key surviving trade publication. Its history can be traced back to *The Daily Film Renter* (1927–1957), which merged with *Today's Cinema: News and Property Gazette* (1928–1957) and became *The Daily Cinema* (1957–1968); *Today's Cinema* (1969–1971); and *Cinema TV Today* (1971–1975). The other major UK trade journal, *Kine Weekly*, which began in 1904 as *Optical Lantern and Kinematograph Journal* and went through several name changes, ceased publication in 1971.

ACADEMIC JOURNALS

Scholars working in the field of film studies, who publish articles on various aspects of film, often rely on trade journals as an archive of information for research on aspects of cinema's history. Historical and empirical perspectives on film are the focus of *Film History* (begun in 1987), the *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* (begun in 1981), and *Early Popular Visual Culture* (begun in 2005, formerly *Living Pictures* [2001–2002]). Other publications are known for their left-wing political positions, such as *Cineaste* (begun in 1967), *Afterimage* (1970–1987), *Jump Cut* (begun in 1974, since 2001 an online journal), *Framework* (published since 1975, but particularly political between 1980 and 1992), and the early issues of *CineAction* (begun in 1985). These journals have been predominantly concerned with independent and experimental fimmaking, Third Cinema, race and gender, and art cinema and documentary film.

Third Cinema is also the concern of a large number of regional publications. In fact, the majority of film journals offering analysis and academic discussion are concentrated on national or regional cinemas. *Cinemaya* (published since 1988 in New Delhi) has been a sustained local voice on the broad questions of cinema across the Asian continent. The Sri Lankan–produced *Cinesith* (begun in 2001) and the New Zealand–produced *Illusions* (begun in 1986) largely deal with contemporary film developments. *Asian Cinema* (begun in 1986), *East-West Film Journal* (1987–1994), and *Journal of British Cinema and Television* (begun in 2004) publish a range of cultural, historical, and theoretical studies across periods in film.

Established academic film journals include *Film Quarterly* (begun in 1945); *Cinema Journal* (begun in 1959); *The Velvet Light Trap* (begun in 1971), concerned mainly but by no means exclusively with American film; *Post Script* (begun in 1971); *Journal of Popular Film and Television* (begun in 1972), concerned with mainstream, often genre-based cinema; and *camera obscura* (begun in 1976), which focuses on the topics of gender, race, class, and sexuality. Although central to film studies, these journals have not been associated with a particular critical school or position.

Screen (begun in 1969), founded by the Society for Education in Film and Television, was noted by the mid-1970s for its important articles on realism, formalism and poststructuralism, theories of ideology, aesthetics, and approaches to semiotics and pyschoanalysis. The journal, which published the first English-language translations of key texts by important theorists including Christian Metz, Roland Barthes, and Bertolt Brecht, inspired publications such as *The Australian Journal of Screen Theory* (1976–1985) and indeed gave rise to the term "screen theory." *Cahiers du Cinéma* was the other major journal to have had a lasting impact on film studies. Established in 1951 by André Bazin, this French journal (available additionally in English for just twelve issues from 1966 to 1967), was responsible for publishing not just debates regarding the *politique des auteurs*, but crucial discussions on film editing and *mise-en-scène*. Its writers included Claude Chabrol, Jean-Luc Godard, and Jacques Rivette, who, together with several other important directors, were later recognized as the French New Wave.

Cahiers du Cinéma was an influence on *Movie* (1962–2000), a British journal that admired a large

group of Hollywood directors (above all Howard Hawks and Alfred Hitchcock) for what it saw as their authorial skill and personal vision. *Movie* paid particular attention to *mise-en-scène* and held that critical analysis in existing British journals, such as the orthodox *Sight and Sound* (begun in 1932), was lacking. *Sight and Sound*, a publication of the British Film Institute, absorbed the *Monthly Film Bulletin* (1934–1991), a sister journal that was a film credits and reviews listing, only a year after the demise of a main UK competitor, *Films and Filming* (1954–1990). *Sight and Sound*'s equivalent American publication was *Film Comment* (begun in 1961), published by the Film Society of Lincoln Center in New York. *Sight and Sound* and *Film Comment* cover foreign films and also devote in-depth discussions to new releases and developments in mainstream cinema. With the Internet now so central to culture, and with film magazines devoted to popular movies dominating the market, these film studies journals face the challenge of remaining both commercially attractive and critically cutting-edge.

SEE ALSO *Auteur Theory and Authorship; Criticism; Fans and Fandom; Film Studies; Star System*

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Ian Conrich

KOREA

The South Korean film industry—producing anywhere between fifty and two hundred feature-length films annually—has been historically one of the world's most active national cinemas. The annual ticket sales figure in 2002 was $105 million (US), $50 million of which were for admissions to domestic Korean films. Between 2003 and 2005 in South Korea, attendance at domestic Korean films exceeded attendance at Hollywood imports, a rarity in a movie-going culture dominated by multiplex theaters. The cinema in Korea has strong roots as a privileged cultural form that has attracted the interests of diverse talents, including novelists, performers, musicians, artists, and intellectuals.

As an economic, political, and military ally of the United States throughout the post–World War II period and during the Korean War (1950–1953), South Korea was exposed to American popular culture through the US military forces and American clubs. Despite import and screen quotas that held foreign films in check, American films could always rely on strong audience identification. Running up against the impressive Hollywood scale of production, Korean films were forced to compete at the box office through low-budget genres like comedies, melodramas, and horror films. Surprisingly, interest in these domestic popular films was quite strong during the postwar years. The only anomalous period was from the mid-1970s to the early 1990s, when the film industry—like other cultural sectors—was placed under vigilant censorship by the military government. A strong strand of auteur-driven films with historically sensitive themes emerged in the 1990s. Most art films are now funded by the Korean Film Commission, which was established by the liberal government of President Kim Dae-jung (1998–2002).

After decades of volatility, the distribution system stabilized in the early years of the twenty-first century. A local conglomerate, Samsung, is one of the largest investors in the Korean film industry. Its subsidiary company, CJ Entertainment, makes direct investment, produces films, distributes local and imported films, operates the CGV multiplex theater chain, and sells the distribution and broadcasting rights of its products on the foreign market. Another film company that has demonstrated impressive growth is Showbox, a financing and distribution firm of entertainment contents, that also operates the Megabox theater chain. These two companies share about 50 percent of the total box office revenue in Korea. Though the passage of a new Motion Picture Law in 1986 has allowed Hollywood companies to distribute their films directly in Korea, the business performances of American companies like Columbia, Twentieth Century Fox, and Warner Brothers in Korea lag far behind CJ Entertainment and Showbox.

EARLY HISTORY

A film screening held in 1899 at the Kyŏngbok Palace in Seoul, when American cinematographer Burton Holmes visited King Kojong, is widely accepted as the first instance of film exhibition in Korea. Though these early film exhibitions were limited to court circles, they soon aroused general curiosity and became widespread mass-entertainment events. Newspapers, as early as 1903, began to aggressively advertise motion picture screenings, sponsored by Western cigarette companies. These public screenings generated so much excitement that the Seoul Electric Company converted its garage in Dongdaemun into a formal movie theater within months of the initial

screenings. Though these exhibition records in Korea are relatively well documented, complications cloud the exact exhibition date of the first Korean film. Japanese colonialism, which began in Korea in 1910, contributed to the loss of records of early Korean films (including the disappearance of all Korean narrative films made before 1943). Many films made in Korea during the colonial period, which lasted thirty-five years, were financed, supervised, and distributed by Japanese entrepreneurs and personnel. Strict film censorship, enacted in 1926, also required every film to obtain approval from the Japanese authorities before it could be screened in Korea. With one notable exception (Tansŏngsa, which still remains in business), all of the successful theaters in Seoul were also owned by the Japanese during the first half of the twentieth century.

Throughout the 1910s and 1920s, efforts were made by Korean businessmen and artists to establish independent film production companies that would free them from Japanese financial and technical dependence. Most of their films struggled to compete against foreign films, but their resilience eventually paved the path for a renaissance of Korean filmmaking. The first filmmaker to achieve true national recognition was Na Woon-gyu (1902–1937), whose film *Arirang* sparked an intense nationalistic film movement. Released in 1926, *Arirang*—written and directed by (and starring) Na Un-gyu—was perhaps the most popular film screened in Korea during the colonial period. A simple story that pits a Korean student against a villainous local bureaucrat who collaborates with the colonial government, the film found loopholes in Japanese censorship. Though he was not a particularly attractive man, Na's persona as an enraged common man tapped into the fury and frustration of colonial Korea. He was not only Korea's first legitimate "pop" icon, he was also the first modern celebrity who was not of *yangban* (aristocratic) origin.

By the time sound technology had arrived in Korea during the mid-1930s, Korean cinema had already suffered a precipitous fall. Once the war escalated in China during the 1930s, Japan abandoned any policies that had allowed expression of Korea's indigenous culture. Less than a handful of films were produced per year during this decade. Na Woon-gyu died in 1937, while only in his thirties; two years later, the Japanese authorities banned the Korean language and Korean names from official use. Though audiences cheered upon hearing dialogue in their native language in the first Korean "talkie," *Chunhyang* (1935, a film based on a popular folktale), the eventual prohibition of the Korean language virtually robbed Koreans of the opportunity to establish their own national identity during the early sound era. Ironically, this delay of the arrival of sound enabled Korean *pyŏnsa*s (*benshi*, live commentators of silent films) to find work even as late as the postwar years. Meanwhile, the Japanese-run Manchurian Film Company, Man-Ei, active during the war years, provided a fertile training ground for many Korean filmmakers who would later become the most important producer-directors of the Korean cinema's Golden Age.

THE GOLDEN AGE OF CINEMA IN SOUTH KOREA

Though several notable films were made during the liberation period (1945–1950), cinema became a mature industry only after the Korean War (1950–1953) had ended. Known as the "Golden Age," cinema was easily the most popular entertainment form during the two decades that followed the Korean War. It had posed some serious competition for Hollywood, not only locally but also in other parts of Asia, including Hong Kong. Throughout the 1960s and the early 1970s, Ch'ungmuro, a district in Seoul, was home to one of the most profitable and active industries in the world, producing at its peak (1968–1971) over two hundred films a year. Nearly half of the 170 million tickets (the entire population was just over 30 million) in 1972, for instance, were sold for the screening of local films.

Among the films that still receive critical attention, most of them were produced around 1960. The creative vacuum that the intellectual community had suffered during the Korean War—through deaths, psychic injuries, and mass defections to the North—had begun to change by the late 1950s and the early 1960s. The trauma of war—along with a rapid pace of modernization, changing roles of gender, and postwar recovery—was a source of dramatic inspiration for many young filmmakers. The films that best represent this unique era, *Hanyŏ* (*The Housemaid*, Kim Ki-young, 1960), *Sarangbang sonnim kwa ŏmŏni* (*The Houseguest and My Mother*, Shin Sang-ok, 1961), *Obalt'an* (*The Stray Bullet*, Yu Hyun-mok, 1961), and *Mabu* (*The Coachman*, Kang Tae-jin, 1961) were all released within a two-year period.

Though every genre of films imaginable—horror, comedy, action thrillers, martial arts, and even musicals—were made and viewed during this period, it was melodrama that was by far the most powerful and successful genre. Caught between the modern ideals of freedom and the traditional mores of chastity and virtuous motherhood, women were often the protagonists whose personal dilemmas punctuated the film's central theme. In Shin Sang-ok's (1926–2006) *The Houseguest and My Mother*, for example, a widow still clothed in traditional *hanbok* has a love affair with a schoolteacher who is a boarder at her house. The film's narrative naturalizes the modern-day desire that drives the mother and the houseguest together, challenging the orthodox moral codes that require widows to remain in mourning their entire lives.

Im Kwon-Taek's romantic epic* Chunhyang *(2000), with Hyo-Jeong Lee and Cho Seung Woo. © LOT 47/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

This vibrant cinematic period came to a screeching halt in 1973 when the military government radically restructured and censored the film industry. For the next twenty years, all surviving production companies had to meet strict government guidelines, which required them to devote themselves, at least partially, to the moral revamping of the nation. As it turned out, these requirements forced the film industry to churn out, on one hand, government propaganda films and "quality films" (awards given to the best adaptations of major literary works), which almost always lost money, and on the other, B-grade erotic movies, which served to make up for this loss.

THE NEW KOREAN CINEMA

When Park Kwang-su (b. 1955) and Jang Sun-woo (b. 1952), the two key directors of the New Korean Cinema, began their careers in 1988, Ch'ungmuro had already lost its earlier glory. Most Korean moviegoers shunned domestic films in the 1980s. Throughout that decade and most of the 1990s, the percentage of the domestic market share for Korean films fell below 20 percent, while Hollywood films brought in the overwhelming majority of box office receipts. The Korean film industry was forced to reinvent itself, against the background of a restless sociopolitical climate. The spirit of democratization during the 1980s influenced many young filmmakers to seriously challenge the status quo. The activist film movement in turn helped cultivate a generation of cinephiles, who were instrumental in the success of film festivals in Pusan, Puchon, and Jeonju and in the diversification of Korean film. Some of the films that best represent this period include Park Kwang-su's *To the Starry Island* (*Kŭ sŏm e kagosipta*, 1993) and *A Single Spark* (*Arŭmdaun ch'ŏngnyŏn Chŏn T'ae-il*, 1996), which are realistic films set against grim historical backgrounds. Jang Sun-woo, on the other hand, refused to be tied to realism and has instead explored questions of representation through the issues of sexuality, desire, and power. Both wry and cathartic, his films, such as *To You, from Me* (*Nŏ ege na rŭl ponenda*, 1994) and *Timeless Bottomless Bad Movie* (*Nappŭn yŏnghwa*, 1997), feature young people in crisis and reveal a strong

IM KWON-TAEK

b. Chang-sŏng, Korea, 2 November 1934 (lunar calendar; by certificate, 1936)

Having begun his career in 1961, Im Kwon-Taek has, as of 2006, directed ninety-nine films, and he remains one of the rare directors to have achieved success in both the domestic box office and international film festivals.

Success eluded Im Kwon-Taek until he was nearly fifty years old. Though a proficient director of various popular genres during the "Golden Age" of the 1960s and the 1970s, Im was considered merely a B-grade studio director. His maturation as a director of art films had been impeded by several factors: government censorship, his social class, his family's ideological affiliations (as leftists), and his regional background (he was born in Chŏlla province, which has historically suffered political oppression). Im imposed self-censorship throughout the early stage of his career, and he steered away from making personal films until the democratization of the 1980s and the 1990s removed sanctions on sensitive political subjects.

Im Kwon-Taek's career is as paradoxical, dramatic, and tumultuous as the history of modern Korea itself. During the 1960s and early 1970s, Im directed films for small companies, often shooting as many as eight films per year. By 1973, the government had centralized the film industry, and Im began to develop as a director by refining his trade without the pressure of the box office. He became known as the director of "quality film," making numerous adaptations of period novels in such films as *Chokpo* (*The Genealogy*, 1978) and *Kippal ŏmnŭn kisu* (*The Hidden Hero*, 1979). From 1981, his films began to garner international recognition. During the 1990s, they diverged along two paths: one that would remain close to art film subjects and another that would utilize genre conventions for popular consumption. For instance, *Sopyonje* (1993) tells the story of an itinerant family of musicians who practice a dying traditional art (*p'ansori*), and the *han* (pent-up grief) that underpins both their music and their lives. While aesthetically uncompromising, the film also tapped deep into the melodramatic impulses that had been lurking beneath the tragic history of modern Korea.

Korean audiences were drawn to *Sopyonje*; it shattered the local box office record, created a national fanfare around *p'ansori*, and restored—albeit briefly—confidence in the commercial viability of art films. Im returned to his successful roots of *p'ansori* seven years later with *Chunhyang* (2000), a musical based on a one-man vocal performance of the famous folktale about a loyal courtesan who remains faithful to her true love. *Chunhyang* and his subsequent film, *Chihwaseon* (*Strokes of Fire*, 2002), a real-life story about a maverick painter of the nineteenth century, garnered commercial successes in the United States and France, and it remains one of the biggest box office successes for Korean films in those two countries.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Chokpo (*The Genealogy*, 1978), *Kippal ŏmnŭn kisu* (*The Hidden Hero*, 1979), *Mandala* (1981), *Gilsottum* (1985), *Tik'et* (*Ticket*, 1986), *Ssibaji* (*Surrogate Mother*, 1986), *Sopyonje* (1993), *Chunhyang* (2000), *Chihwaseon* (2002)

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Kyung Hyun Kim

inclination to debunk cinematic conventions. Both Park and Jang also hold the ignominious record of making two of the most commercially disastrous films in the history of Korean cinema: Park's *Uprising* (*Yi Che-su ŭi nan*, 1999) and Jang's *The Resurrection of the Little Match Girl* (*Sŏngnyang p'ari sonyŏ ŭi chaerim*, 2002).

Widely regarded by critics as the best contemporary Korean director, along with Im Kwon-Taek (b. 1936) and Park Chan-wook (b. 1963), is Hong Sangsoo (Hong Sang-su, b. 1960), whose work is distinguished by deeply personal dramas. Hong's films also often manipulate the linear flow of time, splitting time into segments and repeating them without disrupting the narrative center. The characters in *The Power of Kangwon Province* (*Kangwondo ŭi him*, 1998) and *Virgin Stripped Bare by Her Bachelors* (*O! Sujŏng*, 2000) are unforgettable, as his *mise-en-scène* masterfully selects the intolerably sublime moments from the insignificant everyday.

In the early twenty-first century, it became routine in Korean cinema to distribute a single film to more than

Im Kwon-Taek. © CAROLE BELLAICHE/SYGMA/CORBIS.

500 screens in multiplexes, following aggressive marketing campaigns, to maximize the return of opening weekend box office results. *Shiri* (1999), a spy thriller about North Korean infiltration in the South, sold over 5.7 million tickets, several million more than the previous record holder. This practice radically restructured the entire film industry; in the early 2000s, it was not unusual for local blockbusters to gross over $20 million. Since 2003, Korean films consistently outdraw their Hollywood competitors, representing one of the highest shares of domestic movie consumption in the world. Lee Chang-dong (Yi Ch'ang-dong), the winner of the director's award at the Venice Film Festival for *Oasis* (2002), was appointed minister of culture in 2003.

Korean cinema is at a crossroads: in addition to the international blockbusters, such as *Shiri* and *Silmido* (Kang U-sŏk, 2003), there are provocative independent films, like *Camel(s)* (Park Ki-yong, 2002) and *Invisible Light* (*Kŭ jip ap*, Kim Gina, 2003), which are not included in the standard distribution circuit. Multiplex theaters have redefined what was once a comprehensive film culture, and the box office is ruled by crass comedies about gangster families and oversexed teenagers, making investors reluctant to finance films that are outside the scope of low-risk genre films. The New Korean Cinema, which has the potential to stimulate audiences intellectually, waned at precisely the moment that the industry became commercially rejuvenated.

NORTH KOREA

Though the severe economic hardship of the 1990s forced the centralized film industry to curtail its productivity, cinema continues to serve an important function in North Korean society. Kim Il-Sung, the former leader, and Kim Jong-Il, his heir, took great interest in movies. Kim Jong-Il began his career in the Department of Culture and Propaganda, writing several guidebooks on filmmaking methods during the 1970s that still remain relevant today. Severe limitations on subject matters are imposed because cinema must serve explicit political purposes and underscore official *juch'e* ideology. A North Korean averages about ten trips to see movies per year, but most of these screenings are held as an auxiliary part of cultural or sociopolitical events sponsored by the state. Some of the most accomplished films were produced during the late 1960s and early 1970s. *Sea of Blood* (*P'ibada*, 1968) and *The Flower Girl* (*Kkot p'anŭn ch'ŏnyŏ*, 1972), two classic films of the era, both depict the Manchurian armed resistance of the 1930s during which Kim Il-Sung built his reputation as a young leader of the independence movement.

SEE ALSO *National Cinema*

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Kyung Hyun Kim

LATINOS AND CINEMA

Latinos/Hispanics are people with ancestry in Latin-American countries or the US Southwest, which was part of Mexico prior to 1848. The term "Hispanic," which has been used by the US government since the 1970s, includes people whose ancestry can be traced back to Spain and other Spanish-speaking countries; it tends to emphasize European ancestry. Because many people choose not to trace their ancestry back to Europe, or hail from Latin-American countries that are not Spanish-dominant, the term "Latino" is increasingly a preferred term for individuals of Latin-American heritage. "Latino" also is written as "Latino/a" or "Latina/o"; this designation combines the male designation of Latin*o* in Spanish with the female designation of Latin*a* to emphasize reference to both women and men. For the sake of clarity, the term "Latino" is used here to refer to both women and men.

As individuals with ancestry in countries with radically different histories, cultures, and relationships to the United States, Latinos are a diverse group. These histories contribute to widely varied situations for Latinos in the United States in terms of class, education, and citizenship. Latinos also span a range of races as defined by the US census. Mexican Americans made up the largest group of Latinos in the United States in 2000, comprising about 58.5 percent of all Latinos, followed by Puerto Ricans (10%), Cuban Americans (3.5%), and smaller but rapidly increasing numbers of Latinos of Central and South American descent. While Spanish-language usage is at times a commonality among Latinos, that is not always the case, as US Latinos may or may not speak Spanish.

Latinos have undergone an eventful evolution both behind the scenes and on the screen in American film. The participation of Latinos in American film is increasingly important to film scholarship, as the Latino population in the United States continues to grow rapidly. Latinos currently are the largest nonwhite group in the United States, comprising an estimated 13.7 percent of the population in 2003, according to the US Census Bureau.

LATINOS AND HOLLYWOOD FILM

Historically, Latinos have seldom been the protagonists of Hollywood film stories, and their characters typically have been marginal and underdeveloped when they do appear. The use of stereotypes has been a major facet of Latino film representation, particularly in the era of classical Hollywood. In past decades, Latino characters often were presented as especially sexual, childlike, or aggressive. Although some films exhibited more positive or complex imagery of Latinos, the overall history is not fully known because scholarship in this area is relatively new. Prominent scholars of Latino film representation include Chon Noriega, Charles Ramírez Berg, Ana M. López, Clara Rodríguez, and Rosa Linda Fregoso.

The early negative stereotyping of Latinos in film has a direct relationship to the history of Latinos, and specifically Mexican Americans, in the United States. Mexicans and, later, Mexican Americans were often seen as impediments to the move westward by European settlers in the 1800s; notions of "Manifest Destiny" circulated in frontier literature, and other artifacts of popular culture tended to pose Mexican Americans as inferior in intelligence and integrity and thus unworthy of the rights of citizenship. Early films merely rearticulated these

"American" stereotypes in their imagery of Mexican Americans and Mexicans. Films of later decades extended such stereotypes to Central and South Americans.

In the first few decades after the birth of American film in the late 1890s, a few Latinos in fact were involved in filmmaking or appeared as actors in films. These individuals were all from economically privileged backgrounds and had predominantly Spanish ancestry, however. In this time period there was no centralized film industry; rather, filmmaking consisted of entrepreneurs scattered around the country making silent motion pictures. A few Americans of Latino descent who made early silent films in this capacity included the actresses Myrtle Gonzalez (1891–1918) and Beatriz Michelena (1890–1942), who also produced the adventure films she starred in. As a small number of film production companies rose to dominate the industry in the 1910s and 1920s, Latinos working behind the scenes in film production virtually disappeared, however. They did not reappear in substantial numbers until the 1970s.

The earliest Latino characters appeared in silent westerns; they often played the villainous "greaser" opposing the white hero. Films that capitalized on this storyline included *Tony the Greaser* (1911) and *The Greaser's Revenge* (1914). The term "greaser," which was in popular usage at the time, was then used to describe Mexican bandits and other lazy, untrustworthy Mexican characters. Such representations began the Hollywood pattern of establishing Latino characters as "others" in contrast to whites. These images were not exported to Latin-American countries without protest, however. Complaints and a boycott of Hollywood films by the Mexican government in the early 1920s eventually led film producers to take care to disassociate negative Latino characters from identification with any particular country, leading to pan-Latino representations that typically still were denigrating.

In the mid-1920s there was a boom in opportunity experienced by a few, light-skinned Latino actors and actresses. Inspired by the immense popularity of the Italian actor Rudolph Valentino (1895–1926), the original "Latin Lover," film producers provided opportunities to a few Latinos, including Mexican-born Ramon Novarro (1899–1968), Dolores Del Rio (1905–1983), Gilbert Roland (1905–1994), and Lupe Velez (1908–1944). These actors and actresses were cast in major roles, often as passionate, sensuous Latin Lover types, and became international stars in silent films of the mid- to late 1920s. The Latin Lover image capitalized on notions that Latinos were innately passionate and sexual, particularly in comparison with their Anglo-Saxon counterparts, with this sensuality at times paired with more negative traits of aggression or sadomasochism. These often were actually not Latino roles, moreover, but in fact characters of other ethnicities and nationalities. Latino film characters still were typical villains or servants in this era.

CHALLENGES IN SOUND ERA HOLLYWOOD

The intense popularity of the Latin Lover ended in the early 1930s. In this period, the transition to sound film and shifting American ideologies after the onset of the Great Depression resulted in Latino actors and actresses generally losing the chance to be promoted as stars equal to white Americans. "All-American" stars were favored over foreign or ethnic actors, while Latino actors suffered in relation to American scapegoating of Mexican Americans during this period of unemployment crisis. Now that accents could be heard, Latino actors and actresses generally found themselves marginalized in minor roles or exaggerated their accents to comic effect, as was the case for Lupe Velez in such roles as that of the daffy "Mexican Spitfire" in a popular early 1940s film series. In addition, Latinos typically were not cast in "white" roles, regardless of how fair-skinned they might be. This Hollywood standard reinforced an imaginary racial hierarchy that deemed Latinos nonwhite and non-American. Hollywood film roles for Latinos in the sound era often included only violent and shiftless Latino bandits and cantina girls in westerns. The Latino actors who were cast in more challenging roles and maintained the busiest careers in the studio system–dominated decades of the 1930s and 1940s included former silent film stars Dolores Del Rio and Lupe Velez, Cuban actor Cesar Romero (1907–1994), and Mexican-Irish newcomer Anthony Quinn (1915–2001).

The few leading Latino roles in films often were cast with Anglo actors, a Hollywood tradition that has continued (but decreased) in recent years. Cases of Anglo actors in "brownface" over the decades have included Paul Muni as a hotheaded Mexican American lawyer in *Bordertown* (1935), Marlon Brando's turn as Mexican revolutionary leader Emiliano Zapata in *Viva Zapata!* (1952), Natalie Wood's role as a young Puerto Rican woman in *West Side Story* (1961), and more recently, the casting of non-Latinos in multiple Latino roles in *The House of the Spirits* (1993) and *The Perez Family* (1995).

Some new opportunities arose in "Good Neighbor" films of the 1940s, however. This cycle of films, with story lines set in Latin-American locales, was released just prior to and during the war years of the early 1940s. During this period of the US government's Good Neighbor Policy, the United States sought to encourage ongoing political ties with Latin-American countries. In support of these efforts, Hollywood studios produced and exported films that emphasized the celebration of

Latin-American cultures and themes of friendship and cooperation. They also hoped to recoup some of the financial losses they were incurring while European markets were closed to US film exports. The films produced as a part of this cycle included biographical dramas and Latin-themed musicals, such as Disney's animated film *The Three Caballeros* (1945) and the Twentieth Century Fox musical *Weekend in Havana* (1941). Actors such as Cesar Romero, Lupe Velez, and Ricardo Montalban (b. 1920) found opportunities in this cycle of films, although generally only in minor Latin Lover roles, playing second fiddle to white American leads. Several stars with musical abilities were imported from Latin America to perform in musical numbers and play supporting roles in Good Neighbor musicals. Among the most successful were Cuban performer Desi Arnaz (1917–1986) and singer-actress Carmen Miranda (1909–1955), who was born in Portugal but had grown up in Brazil. Miranda, known for her exaggerated costumes and performance style, appeared in many musicals of the cycle. In musical numbers such as "The Lady in the Tutti Frutti Hat" Miranda came to symbolize the comic, tropical Latina, a stereotype that is widely known today.

A new genre of films that at times represented US Latinos and their social issues, the social-problem film, also appeared in the late 1940s and 1950s. This postwar cycle of films strove for realism and emphasized exposing real-life social inequities. Some of the social-problem films that addressed discrimination faced by Mexican Americans in their communities included *A Medal for Benny* (1945) and *The Ring* (1952). The genre began to wane with the federal government's hunt for communists in Hollywood in this same period. This had a chilling effect, particularly as the film industry blacklisted film professionals whose political beliefs were considered too critical of the United States. The best-known social-problem film with a focus on Mexican Americans, *Salt of the Earth* (1953), in fact was made by blacklisted filmmakers. It related the true story of Mexican-American miners and their wives who had managed to successfully strike against a zinc mine company for unsafe and exploitive working conditions.

As studios became disinterested in making Latin-themed films and social-problem films, Latino actors and actresses again had fewer opportunities. Some, in attempting to maintain their careers, downplayed their Latino heritage. Actors such as Anthony Quinn and the Puerto Rican actor Jose Ferrer (1909–1992) often did not address their heritage in their publicity during these years. Similarly, in later decades actors such as Raquel Welch (b. Jo Raquel Tejada in 1940) and Martin Sheen (b. Ramon Estevez in 1940) changed their names to avoid Hollywood typecasting. Others, such as the Puerto Rican performer Rita Moreno (b. 1931), who began her Hollywood career in 1950, tried to stay true to their ethnic roots, but they struggled with limited opportunities and roles that continued to play on previous stereotypes. Beginning in the 1960s these roles included juvenile delinquents and gang members in urban dramas such as *Blackboard Jungle* (1955) and *West Side Story* (1961), and new versions of the bandit role in Italian and Hollywood westerns, such as Sergio Leone's *Il Buono, il brutto, il cattivo* (*The Good, The Bad, and the Ugly*, 1966) and Sam Peckinpah's *The Wild Bunch* (1969).

ORIGINS OF CHICANO AND LATINO CINEMA

In this same time period, Latinos were beginning to take matters into their own hands with respect to filmmaking. Latino feature filmmaking has its roots in political activism of the late 1960s and early 1970s, and in particular the Chicano and Puerto Rican civil-rights movements. In the 1960s many Mexican Americans and other Latinos became involved with civil-rights activism, fighting for equal rights and respect for Latinos in US social institutions, including the mass media. It was during this period that the term "Chicano" began to be embraced as a label of pride by many Mexican Americans.

The fight for more positive film representations was fought on two main fronts by Chicano, Puerto Rican, and other Latino activists. On one front, Latino media-advocacy groups such as CARISSMA and JUSTICIA protested images that were seen as negative stereotypes and demanded training opportunities and employment for Latinos in the US television and film industries. On another front, some Chicano and Latino activists began producing short films in conjunction with their activism. These films are generally considered the first wave of Chicano, Puerto-Rican, and Cuban-American cinemas. These early activist-filmmakers included Moctesuma Esparza, Sylvia Morales, Jesus Salvador Treviño, Susan Racho, and Luis Valdez (b. 1940). Some were also among the first Latinos to be able to enter film schools and receive formal training.

These films of early Chicano and Latino cinema are notable for their anti-Hollywood and pro-movement ideals of promoting ethnic political consciousness and pride. Manifestos written by proponents and practitioners of early Chicano cinema, for instance, note its aim to serve as an antidote to how Latinos historically had been represented and employed in film. To this end, the tenets of Chicano cinema included a focus on education and uplift of Chicanos and the aim to serve as a countercinema to Hollywood. Many early Chicano films in fact were documentaries produced on shoestring budgets that highlighted social issues and celebrated Mexican-American culture and identity. Such films included

LUIS VALDEZ
b. Delano, California, 26 June 1940

Writer-director Luis Valdez has often been described as the father of Chicano theater and cinema; he also is notable for creating bridges between these creative worlds and Hollywood cinema. The son of migrant farm workers in California, Valdez began his creative career as a playwright while a student at San Jose State University in the early 1960s. When a boycott of California grapes in support of Mexican-American farm workers began in 1965, he returned to his childhood home to participate in the efforts of the United Farm Workers (UFW). In support of the UFW he founded Teatro Campesino (the Farmworkers Theater) in 1965. The theater group served to inform, encourage, and entertain Chicano farm workers with its humorous and socially incisive skits called "actos," often performing on flatbed trucks in the fields. He also produced the short film *I Am Joaquin* (1969), based on an epic poem by Rudolfo "Corky" Gonzales, which celebrated Chicano identity and became an anthem of the Chicano movement.

Several of Valdez's theatrical projects made their way to film and television over the years. The first was *Zoot Suit*, a retelling of the early 1940s "zoot suit riots," during which Mexican Americans suffered injustices at the hands of white American servicemen in Los Angeles. Drawing from interviews and archival research on the related 1942 trial of Henry Leyva and eight other Mexican-American youths in the Sleepy Lagoon murder case, Valdez crafted a play that foregrounded Chicano voices and experience in regional and national theater. *Zoot Suit* was the first play by a Mexican American to be produced on Broadway. As a film, *Zoot Suit* (1981) starred Valdez's brother, Daniel, and costarred Edward James Olmos in one of his first starring roles. Shot in just two weeks on a low budget, the film deftly brings the energy and theatricality of a full-scale musical to the screen. It is seen as a masterpiece of Chicano cinema and has served as an inspiration to a new generation of Latino filmmakers.

The critical success of *Zoot Suit* led to Valdez's second feature film, *La Bamba* (1987), about the 1950s Mexican-American rock singer Ritchie Valens. *La Bamba* was one of the first films distributed by a major studio in an effort to reach the Latino audience; both English- and Spanish-language versions were released by Tri-Star Pictures. Both *Zoot Suit* and *La Bamba* were instrumental in the growing interest in and openness to Latino filmmakers, actors, and film projects.

Valdez continues to live and work with Teatro Campesino in San Juan Bautista, California. He also teaches at California State University, Monterey Bay.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Los Vendidos (1972), *Zoot Suit* (1981), *La Bamba* (1987), *The Cisco Kid* (1994)

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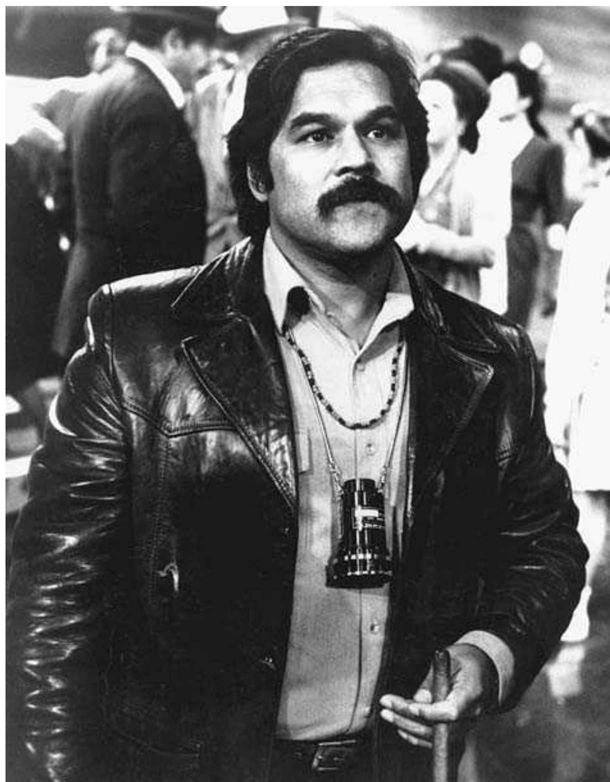
Valdez's *I Am Joaquin* (1969), Treviño's *Yo Soy Chicano* (1972), David Garcia's *Requiem 29* (1971), Racho's *Garment Workers* (1975), and Morales's *Chicana* (1979).

NEW OPPORTUNITIES SINCE THE 1980s

The 1980s and 1990s brought new opportunities for Latino filmmaking and Latino film representation. These shifts took place because of the rising cadre of Latino film professionals entering the mainstream film industry, many of whom had gotten their start in Chicano and other Latino cinemas, as well as the industry's rising interest in the Latino audience. A substantial number of feature films directed by Latino filmmakers were distributed by the major studios in the 1980s; these films were by and large critically acclaimed and earned respectable box-office profits. They included Valdez's *Zoot Suit* (1981) and *La Bamba* (1987), Gregory Nava's



Luis Valdez. © UNIVERSAL PICTURES/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION.

(b. 1949) *El Norte* (1983), *Crossover Dreams* (Leon Ichaso, 1985), *Born in East L.A.* (Cheech Marin, 1987), and *Stand and Deliver* (Ramón Menéndez, 1988). (Latina filmmakers, while they did exist, tended to produce short films outside the Hollywood system during this time period.)

The visibility of Latino-themed feature films led the news media to dub the 1980s the "Decade of the Hispanic" late in the decade. While the period did witness the breakthrough of Latino filmmaking in Hollywood, it did not necessarily amount to long-term change on the part of the studios, as filmmakers continued to struggle mightily to secure financing and distribution of Latino-themed feature-film projects. But the few films that did get made offered Latino actors and actresses some of their most interesting and well-developed roles ever, catapulting several to stardom. Actors and actresses who were showcased in Chicano and Latino films in the 1980s and 1990s included the Mexican Americans Edward James Olmos (b. 1947), Lupe Ontiveros (b. 1942), and Elpidia Carrillo (b. 1963). A number of Latino actors of a variety of nationalities also broke into the mainstream in this decade, playing both Latinos and non-Latinos; they included the Cuban actor Andy Garcia (b. 1956), the Puerto Rican Raul Julia (1940–1994), the Irish-Cuban Mercedes Ruehl (b. 1948), and Maria Conchita Alonso (b. 1957), a Venezuelan of Cuban descent.

With respect to Latino filmmaking, an even greater diversity has been seen in Latino-themed film projects since the 1990s, reflecting the divergent interests of the newest generation of Latino filmmakers. Successful films with Latino themes since the 1990s include *American Me* (1992), directed by Olmos; *My Family/Mi Familia* (1995) and *Selena* (1997), both directed by Nava; and *Real Women Have Curves* (2002), directed by the Colombian filmmaker Patricia Cordoso. Perhaps the most successful Latino filmmaker today is the Mexican-American Robert Rodriguez (b. 1968), who has established a busy and fruitful career working from his studios in Austin, Texas, on projects that include Latino themes and actors but also aim to appeal to a broad US and global audience. His films have included *El Mariachi* (1991), *Desperado* (1995), *Sin City* (2005), and the family-friendly *Spy Kids* series beginning in 2000.

The rising visibility and status of Latinos in the industry, combined with increasing desire on the part of film studios to court the Latino audience, has created a virtual "Latinowood" within the traditionally white Hollywood star system. Since the 1990s the roster of Latino actors with name recognition among non-Latinos and Latinos alike has grown exponentially, and these stars often have greater status and opportunity than Latino actors of previous eras. Contemporary Latino stars include Salma Hayek, Benicio del Toro, Jay Hernandez, Rosario Dawson, Benjamín Bratt, and Michelle Rodriguez. The most powerful and highest-paid Latina in Hollywood today is Nuyorican (New York–born Puerto Rican) multimedia performer Jennifer Lopez. Having found her first opportunities in film and television products helmed by Latinos and African Americans, including the sketch-comedy series *In Living Color* (1990–1994) and the films *My Family/Mi Familia* and *Selena*, Lopez has risen in status to headline her own film projects, often breaking through former ethnic barriers to play roles written for non-Latinas in such films as *Out of Sight* (1998), *The Wedding Planner* (2001), and *Angel Eyes* (2001).

Despite the stardom of a handful of Latinos, the majority of Latino actors continue to face particular challenges, however. A number of factors play into a Hollywood mindset that still puts Latinos at a disadvantage. These include the dearth of Latino film executives and talent agents, and a corresponding lack of Latino creative professionals who might create more complex and positive roles for Latinos to portray. As was documented by a 1999 Tomás Rivera Policy Institute study commissioned by the Screen Actors Guild (SAG), most

A somber scene depicting life in a troubled Guatemalan village in* El Norte *(Gregory Nava, 1983). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Latino actors and actresses find it extremely difficult to secure talent management or find employment in film or television. In 1998 Latinos comprised only 4.3 percent of total SAG membership, and worked on average only 2.9 percent of actors' work days. Latino actors also were generally cast in supporting rather than leading roles, particularly in comparison to white and African American actors. In addition, Latino film stars still tend to be promoted in ways that echo former stereotypes. This includes an emphasis on a supposed, inherent sexiness and passion and the use in publicity of descriptors related to tropical climates, such as "heat" and "spice." Latino actors and actresses thus often still cannot escape age-old patterns of representation, despite their growing status and the wide diversity among them.

Focusing on all of these fronts, several advocacy groups continue to lobby for more positive and complex portrayals of Latinos in film and television and increased Latino employment and promotion in acting, production, and executive roles. These groups include the National Hispanic Media Coalition, the Imagen (image) Foundation, the National Hispanic Foundation for the Arts, and the National Association of Latino Independent Producers. The actors' group Nosotros (us), founded decades ago by the actor Ricardo Montalban, also serves to provide support to Latino actors and actresses in Los Angeles. In addition, a number of industry professionals have emerged as strong advocates for Latino opportunity in film, including the producer Moctesuma Esparza, writer-director Gregory Nava, and actor-producer Edward James Olmos, who are among the handful of Latinos who have the ability to spearhead large-scale feature films today.

SEE ALSO *Mexico; Race and Ethnicity*

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Mary Beltrán

LIGHTING

To begin to appreciate the ways in which lighting can shape the ways we respond to a film, consider the scene in Alfred Hitchcock's *Suspicion* (1941) where a young wife (Joan Fontaine) lies ailing in her bed while her mysterious newlywed husband (Cary Grant) slowly ascends the stairs to her room, advancing through a spiderweb of foreboding shadows. On a small tray he carries a glass of milk that glows with an eerie luminosity. The scene invites us to wonder whether he might be trying to poison his wife. Such mistrust assuredly does not arise from the popular actor's star image; instead, the ominous shadows cast across the set and the covert placement of a light bulb inside the glass combine to arouse unease.

Lighting has come to be an important component of cinema's visual design. It is widely recognized that in film, as elsewhere, it can create a substantial emotional impact. A primordial response to darkness and light is a deep-seated element of human psychology that filmmakers have harnessed in order to influence the ways viewers respond to narrative development. On the one hand, deep shadows can make a character seem untrustworthy or conceal a host of horrors. On the other, bright, diffused lighting can provide comfort and reassurance or create the impression of an angelic countenance. Extremely bright light can cause discomfort, though, and can even be used as a weapon, as in *Rear Window* (1954) and *The Big Combo* (1955), where it dazzles the villains and halts their advance.

Brightness is only one variable of lighting that can contribute to the effect of a scene. The choices the cinematographer makes about what kinds of lights will be used, how many there will be, and where they will be placed all require careful consideration. Moreover, color and black-and-white cinematography each allows for different lighting effects. Colored lighting can give rise to a range of subjective impressions that may be systematically used throughout a film for atmosphere, as in the moody and heavily stylized *Batman* (1989), or for metaphorical significance, as in *Vertigo* (1958) when Scottie (James Stewart) persuades Judy (Kim Novak) to transform her appearance into that of the dead Madeleine (Novak). When she emerges from her bathroom made over into Madeleine's image, she is bathed in a green light, its supernatural associations accentuating the uncanniness of the resurrection of her alter ego.

Film lighting has three main purposes. The first is clarity of image. It is important for viewers to be able to discern all the important elements in the frame. These might range from facial expressions and physical gestures to the presence of significant props. In early cinema this was the sole purpose of lighting, but around 1905 other factors came into play. Lighting's second purpose is a quest for greater realism. Films began to introduce visual schemes that suggested that the lighting came from logical sources within the world depicted. The use of "effects lighting," as it was known at the time, paved the way for the third purpose: the creation of atmosphere or emotional effect. The development of lighting technique as a significant element of *mise-en-scène* became an important tool for manipulating audience responses to characters and narrative events. Increasingly, a repertoire of standardized lighting techniques came to be used for particular dramatic situations and particular lighting styles came to be strongly associated with film genres.

Suggestive lighting in Alfred Hitchcock's **Suspicion** *(1941), photographed by Harry Stradling.* EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

LIGHTING CREWS AND THEIR COLLABORATORS

The person responsible for the design and execution of a film's lighting is the director of photography (known in Britain, tellingly, as the "lighting cameraman"). This feat cannot be accomplished alone, however, so directors of photography, or cinematographers, need to work closely with their own support teams as well as with a range of collaborators in other departments. The cinematographer's main assistant is the gaffer, who is responsible for designing and supervising the rigging of the lights that are required to produce the effects the cinematographer desires. The gaffer is, in turn, assisted by the best boy and a range of electricians and grips who handle the often substantial array of equipment.

The range of lights used can, in themselves, require a large crew. First they must be positioned round the set, either on stands or supported overhead, a task performed by the riggers. During filming, the lights need to be operated, which may include dimming or moving them. Some types of light, such as carbon arcs, require constant monitoring by a dedicated operator. As well as the lights themselves, the lighting department uses a wide range of other apparatus that needs to be set up, monitored, and maneuvered. Flags or gobos, screens that come in a wide range of shapes and sizes, each with a different name, are used to prevent light from shining into the camera lens or onto areas of the set where shadows are required. They also may be used to help prevent microphone stands and other set equipment from casting shadows into the frame. Reflectors are widely used, especially for outdoor shooting, to redirect light in the desired direction. The different colors and substances used to make reflectors determine the type of light reflected. A choice can therefore be made between a sunlight and moonlight effect, for instance. Diffusers—translucent screens, often made of fine mesh or textured glass—are used to soften a hard light source. When shooting with artificial lights, it is possible to place a small diffuser close to the light source, but for sunlight shooting far larger screens may be needed.

Whereas gaffers and grips deal with the mechanics of delivering the lighting, its design is a product of the cinematographer's collaboration with the director. Although some directors have only a limited understanding of lighting equipment and technique, most have clear ideas of the kinds of effects they are looking for. Normally, they seek to create a particular atmosphere as part of their film's look. They also direct the movements of the actors and the camera, and the lighting must respond to each of these for reasons of visual clarity as well as compositional effect. The lighting styles of some directors can be as individually distinctive as those of top cinematographers. Josef von Sternberg (1894–1969), for instance, had very specific ideas about the way his protégé Marlene Dietrich should be lit in films such as *Dishonored* (1931) and *Shanghai Express* (1932) (both photographed by Lee Garmes [1898–1978]) and *Blonde Venus* (1932) and *The Scarlet Empress* (1934) (photographed by Bert Glennon [1893–1967]). More recently, Clint Eastwood's work as a director has been defined by unusually low-key lighting, irrespective of film genre. Like Sternberg and many other directors, Eastwood has shown a preference for repeatedly collaborating with cinematographers who are experienced in delivering his preferred visual style. His most regularly used cinematographer in the 1970s and early 1980s was Bruce Surtees (b. 1937), who was responsible for such films as *The Outlaw Josey Wales* (1976) and *Sudden Impact* (1983). Surtees's former camera operator, Jack Green (b. 1946), then continued in the same visual tradition for thirteen films including *Bird* (1988) and *Unforgiven* (1992). He, in turn, was later replaced by his former chief lighting technician, Tom Stern, who photographed *Blood Work* (2002), *Mystic River* (2003), and *Million Dollar Baby* (2004).

The camera operator is another crew member with whom the cinematographer must work closely. In America, the director of photography often supervises all aspects of cinematography, including the camera and its operator. In Britain there is a greater separation of roles so that the operator is more likely to take instructions from the director. Irrespective of the line of command, though, a close relationship between lighting and camera is crucial. This is partly because the lighting design and camera placement must respond to one another, but also because the film speed (the type of film stock used and the amount of light it needs to register a clear image) affects the level of light required. The exposure time (the duration that the camera aperture is open) and the lighting levels must also be in accord with one another.

Furthermore, the cinematographer must collaborate with the members of the crew who are responsible for the appearance of the people and objects that are to be lit. Early discussions between the production designer and/or art director and the cinematographer can prove immensely beneficial, although they do not always occur. Set design can have important implications for the type and number of lights that are used, and for their positioning. The presence or absence of walls and ceilings in studio sets are especially critical in determining where lights can be positioned. Sets may be designed in such a way as to conceal light sources within the frame. Alternatively, they may incorporate visible light sources, such as table lamps, that suggest a logical motivation for the lighting used. Sometimes the set design may even include cheated lighting effects, such as painted shadows.

Expressionist lighting in* The Big Combo *(Joseph H. Lewis, 1955), photographed by John Alton. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

The use of particular colors in set design, costume, and makeup may also have ramifications for lighting design. Most lights are not pure white but have a slightly colored hue, known as their "color temperature," which can change the appearance of the colors in front of them. This affects black-and-white as well as color photography, since two very different colors may photograph identically in monochrome, or else the same color may appear quite differently depending on the color of the light. For trick effects this has occasionally been used to advantage. One of the most famous instances of a special effect achieved through colored light was the transformation scene of actor Frederic March in *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (1931), which was accomplished without any cuts or in-camera trickery. Instead, the effect was obtained by painting the actor's face with colored makeup. During filming, different-colored filters were moved in front of the lights, the technique gradually revealing the dark shadowed effect of his face paint.

The juxtaposition of dark and light surfaces may also raise lighting issues, since providing the correct amount of lighting for extreme contrasts can prove difficult. White bed sheets, for instance, may "burn up" in a dazzle of reflected light. Illuminating the scene at a lower level is likely to result in the face of someone in the bed appearing underexposed. Colored linen has often proved preferable, therefore, especially when shooting in a black-and-white, a situation that requires cooperation between the cinematographer and the art department.

As well as collaborating with other members of the production crew, the director of photography will normally try to foster a close relationship with the laboratory that develops the film. Both the apparent lighting levels and the color tones can be adjusted during the process of timing

(or grading, as it is known in Britain). By deciding in advance how far this potential will be exploited, the cinematographer can choose to forego difficult on-set lighting setups in favor of emulating their effects in the lab.

LIGHTING TECHNOLOGY AND FILM STYLE

There has always been a reciprocal relationship between technology and film style. The development of different types of lighting equipment and the introduction of new film stocks have both expanded the range of lighting methods and effects available to the cinematographer. Many types of lighting units were first developed for nonfilmic uses, such as street lighting or searchlights. Only later was their potential for producing cinematic lighting effects explored. Although certain styles of film lighting arose in response to technologies that already existed, many other technical innovations were the result of experiments by enterprising cinematographers and gaffers. In some instances, the name of a certain lighting effect has derived from its first use in film. One example is the "obie," a small spotlight that was designed by the cinematographer Lucien Ballard (1908–1988) during the filming of *The Lodger* (1944) in order to conceal the facial scars of actress Merle Oberon. The history of film lighting is a complex chronicle of intersecting influences involving technological and aesthetic innovations, periods of relative stasis, and the gradual development and refinement of existing techniques.

The lighting techniques used in the early cinema of the late 1890s and the first years of the twentieth century were astonishingly primitive in comparison with those used in still photography. Filmmakers of that era did not adopt the range of artificial lighting that was already standard equipment in photographic studios and widely used by photographers to enhance the aesthetic appearance of their work. Instead, filmmakers relied almost entirely on bright daylight. For this reason, when films were not shot on location they were filmed on rooftop sets, or else in studios built with either an open air design or a glass roof. Thomas Edison's famous Black Maria studio, built in 1892, was based on a rotating structure that allowed its glass roof to be maneuvered to follow the direct sunlight. A greenhouse-like studio built by the French filmmaker Georges Méliès (1861–1938) in 1897 that featured both glazed roof and walls and a series of retractable blinds proved to be an influential model for the design of later studios. The availability of many hours of bright sunlight was so important to early filmmakers that it has often been cited as one of the reasons that the American film industry shifted its base from New York to California (although other reasons, such as the wide range of landscapes California could offer for location shooting, also were important).

The use of daylight as the main source of illumination provided visual clarity. It did not allow as many opportunities to create dramatic effects as artificial lighting did, however. Nor did it permit indoor or night-time cinematography. The first uses of artificial lighting have been traced back as far as 1896, when the pioneering German filmmaker Oskar Messter (1866–1943) opened his indoor studio in Berlin. By 1900 the Edison studio in America had begun to make regular use of artificial light to complement naturally available light. Examples of this practice can be found in *Why Jones Discharged His Clerks* (1900) and *The Mystic Swing* (1900). Although the use of artificial lighting was initially confined to replacing or augmenting sunlight in order to provide a clear image, by 1905 filmmakers had begun to explore the creative possibilities of artificial light. In spite of the fact that the technology had long been available, the potential value of harnessing it to further the aesthetic development of film style does not appear to have been recognized in the early cinema.

Two main sources of artificial light were used at this time. One source was arc lights, which produced illumination by means of an electric spark jumping between two poles of carbon. The other was mercury vapor lights, which worked in a way similar to modern fluorescent lighting tubes. These sources allowed the creation of directional lighting, meaning that a chosen area of the set could be lit more brightly than the other parts. As the practical and aesthetic benefits of electric lighting came to be accepted both in America and abroad, some producers adopted it as their primary source of lighting, and the first "dark studio" opened in Turin, Italy, in 1907.

In America, experiments with lighting effects continued, both indoors and out. A range of new techniques were discovered, although no significant technological innovations appear to have been introduced until the 1910s. The director D. W. Griffith (1875–1948) and his cameramen were particularly active in their exploration of lighting effects, which can be found in such films as *Pippa Passes* (1909), *The Thread of Destiny* (1910), and *Enoch Arden* (1911). The last of these is often cited as the film that introduced a significant new technique: the creation of a soft lighting effect on faces by using reflectors to redirect strong backlight. The innovation was claimed by the cameraman Billy Bitzer (1872–1944), although questions have been raised as to whether he was really the first to use this strategy. In the mid-1910s, Griffith also began to make increasing use of high contrast lighting that cast deep shadows across characters and sets. This style had emerged a few years earlier in the Danish and German cinemas. Due to its earlier use by the famous Dutch painter, it is sometimes known as Rembrandt lighting, a term attributed to the Hollywood director Cecil B. DeMille (1881–1959),

who used the technique in films such as *The Warrens of Virginia* (1915) and *The Cheat* (1915).

During the latter half of the 1910s, filmmakers adopted two significant new techniques, both derived from other art forms. One was the use of carbon arc spotlights, which had previously been used in theater and which allowed a strong light to be directed from a distance onto a particular actor or area of the set. The other was the use of diffusing screens, which already belonged to the repertoire of the still photographer. Diffusers could be used to transform a hard light into a soft light that did not cast such severe shadows. The increasing use of soft lighting techniques, whether they relied on reflectors or diffusers, had particular benefits for facial lighting. Soft lighting produced more flattering effects and, with the rise of the star system during this decade, it was becoming ever more important to make the actors look attractive.

The range of lighting sources that were used in film, and a growing appreciation of their potential to create specific effects, encouraged the development of more sophisticated lighting styles. It became common to use a combination of several lights to create a pleasing aesthetic that flattered the appearance of the actors and the sets as well as serving the film's narrative requirements. One of the best known lighting setups is the so-called three-point system, which was used primarily for figure lighting. The brightest of the three lights was the "key" light, which was directed toward the actor's face from the front-side. If this light were used on its own it would leave one side of the face in virtual darkness and cause the actor's nose to cast a large, unflattering shadow. To prevent this from happening, a second softer light known as the "filler" light was directed at the other side of the face. This light was normally positioned close to the camera, on the opposite side from the key light. It helped to balance the composition, reducing the dark shadows cast by the key light while preserving the facial sculpting. A third "backlight" was positioned behind the actor in order to create a halo of light around the hair. This served to separate the actor from the background and also helped to emphasize the fairness of blonde hair, which did not otherwise show up well on the monochromatic film stock that was used until the late 1920s.

A third type of light that came to be used in conjunction with the arc and mercury vapor lights was the incandescent light, which used a glowing metal filament, much like most modern domestic lighting. The cinematographer Lee Garmes (1898–1978) claimed to have used this type of light as early as 1919, although its first use is more commonly identified in Erich von Stroheim's *Greed* (1924), which was photographed by Ben Reynolds (c. 1891–1967) and William Daniels (1901–1970). Whatever the case, it was not until the introduction of panchromatic film stock in 1926 that it came into common use, when it was found that the color temperature of incandescents, or "inkies," was better matched to this stock than was that of the arc lights. Studios were quick to embrace the benefits of incandescents, as these lights required less electrical power and less manpower than other forms of electrical lighting. It was widely predicted that their use could halve the cost of film lighting as well as significantly reduce the amount of time spent in setting up and operating lights during the film shoot. A further decisive factor in the wide adoption of incandescent lights was the temporary abandonment of arc lighting with the coming of sound. Filmmakers discovered that the humming noise emitted by arc lights was picked up by recording equipment. Only in the early 1930s, after a way was found to silence them, were arcs reintroduced as a supplement to the incandescents that had taken their place as standard studio equipment.

The wide range of easily governed incandescent spotlights introduced in the 1930s allowed an ever more precise control of lighting effects. Complex systems were designed to ensure that every detail of the image was carefully governed. In his 1949 textbook, *Painting with Light*, the Hollywood cinematographer John Alton (1901–1996) described an eight-point system for close-up lighting (p. 99). It was based on the three-point system described above but included some extra lights that helped to improve the aesthetic effect. Three were directed at the actors: an "eyelight," which brought out a sparkle in the actors' eyes; a "clothes light," which showed up the details of their costumes; and a "kicker light," which added further definition to their hair and cheekbones and was normally positioned between the backlight and the filler light. Additionally, a "fill light" provided diffused lighting for the entire set while a "background light" illuminated the set behind the actors.

Around 1947 a new lighting aesthetic was introduced that had arisen in response to the techniques used for shooting newsreels during World War II. Shooting combat footage did not allow filmmakers any opportunities to create complicated lighting setups; instead, they had to rely on daylight, or else on a handful of powerful lights that provided a general illumination. The photofloods first introduced in 1940 were ideal for this purpose. Some fictional films began to emulate this rough and ready aesthetic. A wave of documentary-like thrillers ensued, which eschewed such complicated schemes as the eight-point lighting system in the service of greater realism. Many of these, such as *Boomerang* (1947) and *Call Northside 777* (1948), were based on real events and filmed on location.

The 1950s saw a further erosion of the dominance of the lighting techniques that had characterized films of the

JOHN ALTON

b. Johann Altmann, Sopron, Hungary, 5 October 1901, d. 2 June 1996

Regarded as one of Hollywood's most eminent cinematographers, John Alton is best known for his work in film noir during the 1940s and 1950s. His contribution to more than a dozen noirs helped to define their characteristic style of high-contrast black-and-white photography. Alton was also responsible for some very fine work in color, and he received an Oscar® for the ballet sequence of the lavish musical *An American in Paris* (1951). His enduring reputation was cemented further by the publication of his classic textbook *Painting with Light* in 1949, the first book on lighting technique by a Hollywood professional and still one of the most revealing and readable.

Alton's work is characterized by a tendency to use as few lights as possible, an approach that allowed him to create arresting images both quickly and cheaply. The speed with which he worked and his refusal to follow in the established traditions of lighting technique reportedly made him extremely unpopular with other cinematographers and lighting crew members. Nevertheless, his economical working practices and the innovative effects he achieved made him the cinematographer of choice for such renowned directors as Anthony Mann, Vincente Minnelli, Richard Brooks, and Allan Dwan.

John Alton entered the film industry as an MGM lab technician and soon became a cameraman, working for some years in Europe and then in Argentina before returning to Hollywood. The film that first propelled him to the status of an A-list cinematographer was *T-Men* (1947), although he had previously racked up well over forty credits. *T-Men* was the first of his six collaborations with Mann, which would later include *Raw Deal* (1948) and *Border Incident* (1949). While it is considered one of the first "documentary-style" noirs, at times Alton's highly stylized lighting aesthetic anticipates his most famous work: *The Big Combo* (1955).

Like most of the films on which he worked, *The Big Combo* was a low-budget affair whose apparent production values were greatly elevated by the accomplished lighting technique. Alton's sparse lighting sources sometimes bathed faces in light against backdrops of blackness, or else concealed them in deep shadow. In the final shot, now seen as one of noir's most iconic images, he silhouetted the characters against a dazzling white haze. In this scene, as elsewhere, the set dressing is virtually insignificant since the players act out their parts in a world delimited by little other than darkness and light. For the seventeen-minute ballet sequence of *An American in Paris* Alton used some of the same techniques including silhouetting and deep shadows. These effects were sometimes used to draw attention away from cuts, producing dramatic results. Throughout the sequence, the rapid shifts between different lighting effects and colors within a single shot are dazzling.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

T-Men (1947), *Raw Deal* (1948), *He Walked by Night* (1948), *An American in Paris* (1951), *The Big Combo* (1955), *Visions of Light: The Art of Cinematography* (1992)

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1930s and 1940s. One reason for this was the growing popularity of color filmmaking. The range of different hues meant that fewer lights were needed to differentiate between one surface and another. The backlight, which had been used to separate figures from the background plane, passed into near redundancy for a time. It still had other uses, though, one of which was to illuminate rainfall, far more visible when lit from the rear than when lit frontally. Some of the other changes in lighting technique during the 1950s can be attributed to the rapid expansion of television production. Television relied heavily on the use of live, multi-camera shooting on a studio stage. The lighting style that best suited this mode of production was one that offered a bright, even illumination of the whole set. Even though theatrical films continued to light shots with greater individual care than did TV productions, the high-key style associated with television became a widely accepted norm.

John Alton on the set of* The Brothers Karamazov *(1958) with actress Maria Schell. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

In the 1960s and 1970s further changes in the dominant lighting styles of American cinema derived their main influences from trends in European filmmaking. The films of the French New Wave and, in particular, the work of the cinematographer Raoul Coutard (b. 1924), proved especially influential. Coutard first used his trademark technique of "bounced light" when photographing Jean-Luc Godard's *Le Petit Soldat* (1963). It entailed directing photoflood lights toward the ceilings of interiors so that a bright, even light was reflected down onto the scene. This technique came to be widely emulated. A contrasting trend of the late 1960s and 1970s saw many color films adopt a darker, more low-key style than had been used in earlier years. This aesthetic was integral to the somber and pessimistic tone of the narratives that flourished in this era, and Bruce Surtees's work for Eastwood can be seen to typify this vogue.

The most significant change of the late twentieth century was the introduction of HMI (hydrargyum medium arc-length iodide) lights. The HMI was a form of arc lamp that was centered on halogen gas enclosed within quartz and that had the same color temperature as sunlight. After some initial unreliability was solved, HMIs became increasingly popular throughout the 1980s. They remain one of the most popular forms of film lighting today, for both indoor and outdoor cinematography, as they are easy to use and consume relatively little power for the amount of light they produce.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the advent of digital cinema began to have a significant impact on the lighting requirements for certain types of filmmaking. While most theatrical features continue to be produced on 35mm film, which requires far higher levels of light than does the human eye, digital cameras are able to produce a clear image with a very low level of available light. This facility has proved especially popular with documentary filmmakers, as even indoor scenes can now be shot without additional lights. For compositional purposes, supplementary lighting is often preferred, however. Digital filmmaking using available light also has gained favor with filmmakers wishing to adopt a documentary style in the service of enhanced realism, as in the case of Michael Winterbottom's *9 Songs* (2004), a digital feature that was shot entirely on location using only available light.

Fashion in lighting style has varied considerably over the years. Nevertheless, in spite of this historical variation, certain conventions concerning lighting styles have developed.

In *Painting with Light*, John Alton identified three main lighting aesthetics that he designated "comedy," "drama," and "mystery." Comedies, he argued, should be brightly lit with low contrasts in order to create an overall mood of gaiety; dramas should vary their lighting schemes according to the tonalities of the narrative situation; while mystery lighting, used in thrillers and horror films, is characterized by a low-key approach that swathes much of the set in deep shadow. Countless films confirm the dominance of this way of thinking, from the cheerfully illuminated comedies, *Way Out West* (1937) and *Les vacances de Monsieur Hulot* (*Monsieur Hulot's Holiday*, 1953), to the moody chiaroscuro of horror movies like *The Black Cat* (1934) and *La Maschera del demonio* (*Black Sunday*, 1960). The continued relevance of this model is borne out by a project at the University of Central Florida where researchers in the Department of Computer Science have made significant headway in developing a computer system to identify film genres in contemporary American cinema. The programmers used lighting as one of the four formal criteria by which to differentiate genres (the others being color variance, average shot length, and the level of movement within the frame). Such a measurable relationship between lighting and different kinds of narrative shows the extent to which filmmakers have adopted lighting as an important narrational tool, and emphasizes the

Chiaroscuro lighting in* The Black Cat *(Edgar G. Ulmer, 1934), photographed by John J. Mescall. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

fundamental role that lighting plays in shaping the experience of films.

SEE ALSO *Camera; Cinematography; Crew; Film Stock; Production Process; Technology*

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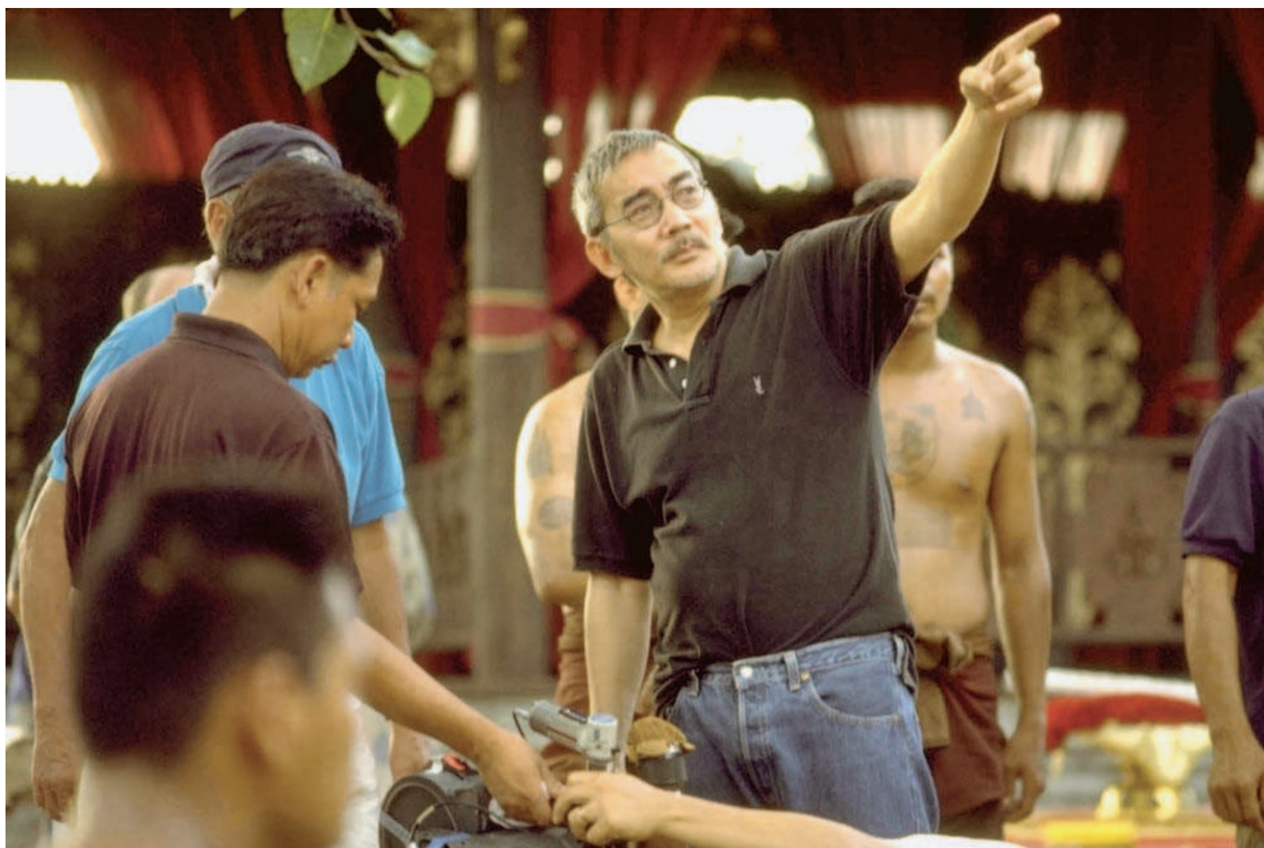
MAINLAND SOUTHEAST ASIA

While the film industries of the countries of mainland Southeast Asia (Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Thailand, and Vietnam) are all distinct, their films and histories do have numerous points of contact, and can be partly understood in regional terms. For example, the films share reference to a common and often tumultuous regional history and a common terrain, and many of them possess themes that bespeak the regional sway of Theravada Buddhism, as well as the former influence of Western colonizers and/or allies. More recently, the industries have all partaken of international financing opportunities and have been influenced by the availability of new, lower-cost video technologies for production and distribution of films.

THAILAND

Within mainland Southeast Asia, the film industry with the most extensive history, as well as with the most activity at present, is that of Thailand. Film screenings put on by traveling foreign exhibitors have been present in Thailand since 1897. A Japanese businessman opened a permanent cinema in Bangkok in 1905, and others followed soon afterwards. Although broadly popular, film was not necessarily seen as a lower-class form of entertainment: not only did its foreign origins endow it with a certain cachet, but members of the royal family also took an interest in it from the time of its arrival. Indeed, it was a member of the royal family, Prince Sanphasat Suphakit, who is credited with being the first Thai filmmaker, shooting footage of royal ceremonies from early as 1900. While a number of filmmakers, both Thai and foreign, shot documentary footage in the silent era, records show only a modest number of fiction films made in Thailand at that time, including the American-produced *Suvarna of Siam* (1923). *Survana* was followed in 1927 by the Thai-produced fiction feature *Chok Sorng San* (*Double Luck*), followed by sixteen other silent features, none of them extant. In 1932 a Thai-produced sound film, *Long Thang* (*Going Astray*), was produced, and in the subsequent decade both films with recorded soundtracks and features with soundtracks performed live, Thai-produced and foreign-made, could be found in Bangkok cinemas.

Perhaps the most remarkable development of the post–World War II era was a turn to shooting feature films in economical 16mm, rather than 35mm, without recorded soundtracks. Just as in earlier decades, these films were presented with live performers offering dialogue and sound effects, and this remained the dominant mode of production through the 1960s. Film viewing took place in traditional film theaters as well as in temporary, open-air cinemas run by traveling exhibitors. Such screenings were commonplace through the 1970s and indeed can still occasionally be found. The most popular movie star in this era was undoubtedly the ever-suave Mitr Chaibancha, who appeared in hundreds of movies between 1956 and 1970 before he died while filming a helicopter stunt. A key director to emerge in this era was Rattana Pestonji, who tried to promote the use of 35mm through his own independent studio. Rattana produced the first Thai film to achieve international festival recognition (*Santi Weena*, 1954), then went on to direct and photograph a handful of stylish films considered key achievements in Thai cinema, including the comedy drama *Rong Raem Narok* (*Country Hotel*, 1957) and the crime film *Prae Dum* (*Black Silk*, 1961).



Prince Chatrichalerm Yukol on the set of* Suriyothai (The Legend of Suriyothai, *2001). © SONY PICTURES CLASSICS/ COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

The 1970s were a time of substantial political and social unrest in Thailand: national power changed hands, sometimes violently, on a number of occasions, and the decade ended with a military-backed administration in power and many left-leaning activists forced into hiding. It is in part out of the turmoil of the decade and the resulting raised social consciousness that a significant new tendency toward making social-issue films arose in the Thai industry. One senior figure (who had worked in the industry since the 1950s) exemplifying this trend was director Vichit Kounavudhi (b. 1922), who distinguished himself with films examining the difficulties faced by women in Thai society (for example, in the melodrama *Mia Luang* [*First Wife*, 1978]) and the hardships of northern ethnic groups (*Luuk Isaan* [*Son of the Northeast*, 1982]). Among the newly emerging directors focusing on social woes at this time were Prince Chatrichalerm Yukol (b. 1942), Euthana Mukdasanit (*Thepthida Bar 21* [*The Angel of Bar 21*, 1978] and *Peesua Lae Dokmai* [*Butterfly and Flowers*, 1986]), and Manop Udomdej (*Prachachon Nok* [*On the Fringe of Society*, 1981] and *Ya Pror Me Chu* [*The Accusation*, 1985]). Though not equally focused on contemporary political issues, Cherd Songsri also distinguished himself at this time as a director concentrating on rural and historical dramas, especially with his highly successful film *Plae Kao* (*The Scar*, 1977).

The start of the 1990s was not, on the whole, a good time for Thai cinema (save perhaps for teen films), in part because of competition from both the video market and Hollywood films, which soon achieved even greater domination on the screens of the multiplexes that started to be built in mid-decade. From 1997, however, feature films from a group of new, younger directors, largely with backgrounds in the Thai advertising industry, began to achieve recognition at international festivals and attention from foreign critics. The first new director to appear on the scene was Nonzee Nimibutr, with his highly successful 1950s crime drama, *2499: Anthapan Krong Muang* (*Dang Bireley and the Young Gangsters*, 1997). He followed this with the box-office record-breaking period horror film *Nang Nak* (1999), which also proved a favorite with festival audiences and achieved some measure of international (especially pan-Asian) distribution. Penek Ratanaruang (b. 1962) made the first in a

PRINCE CHATRICHALERM YUKOL

b. Bangkok, Thailand, 29 November 1942

Prince Chatrichalerm Yukol's work exemplifies a number of trends in modern Thai cinema, such as the interest in social issues in the 1970s, teen-oriented drama in the mid-1990s, and historical drama in the early twenty-first century. At the same time, however, Chatrichalerm is an exception in the attention he has received abroad, his sustained and regular production of films, his films' characteristic use of stylistic flourish, and his willingness to embrace controversial subject matter and imagery (this last made possible in part because of the prince's exceptional social status as the nephew of a former king).

Chatrichalerm's exposure to film began early: his father was a sometime filmmaker, and the prince studied at the University of California–Los Angeles (UCLA), at which time he also worked as an assistant to Merian C. Cooper, the producer of such film classics as *King Kong* (1933) and *The Searchers* (1956). His knowledge of world film history is clear from his films themselves: his first feature, and Thailand's first science-fiction film, *Mun Ma Kab Kwam Mued* (*It Comes with the Darkness*, 1971), is clearly informed by the plots of classic 1950s US science-fiction films, while his *Thongpoon Khokepho* (*Citizen*, 1977), a feature about a taxi driver in search of his stolen vehicle, is a kind of Thai take on *Ladri di biciclette* (*The Bicycle Thieves*, 1948). *Issaraparb Kong Thongpoon Khokepho* (*Citizen II*, 1984) thematically recalls the films of John Ford, a favorite director of the prince.

These international inspirations, however, have been put in the service of distinctively Thai concerns—the second of Chatrichalerm's *Citizen* films, for example, concerns the difficulties of underclass existence in rapidly developing Bangkok, particularly for rural migrants. Before 2001, Prince Chatrichalerm was best known for his social-issue films, dating back to his *Khao Cheu Chan* (*Doctor Kan*, 1973), with its then daring theme of an idealistic young physician facing official corruption; his prostitution drama, *Thepthida Rong Raem* (*Angel*, 1974), with its memorable montage of an upcountry girl's sex work intercut with construction of the rural family home for which her work is paying; and the more recent, harrowingly graphic drama of teen drug abuse, *Sia Dai* (*Daughter*, 1995).

Suriyothai (2001) was unprecedented in both the prince's work and Thai cinema for the massiveness of its budget and scale. Based upon years of research and supported and bankrolled by the royal family, the film goes to great pains to authentically represent the times of the sixteenth-century queen of its title. The film was wildly successful in Thailand, but its international-release version, produced under the supervision of Prince Chatrichalerm's UCLA classmate, Francis Ford Coppola, did not fare as well. The prince subsequently began work on another big-budget historical epic, *King Naresuan*, scheduled for completion in 2006.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Thepthida Rong Raem (*Angel*, 1974), *Thongpoon Khokepho* (*Citizen*, 1977), *Khon Liang Chang* (*The Elephant Keeper*, 1987), *Sia Dai* (*Daughter*, 1995), *Suriyothai* (*The Legend of Suriyothai,* 2001)

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series of quirky, highly stylized dramas of contemporary Thai life in 1997, *Fun Bar Karaoke*, following it up with the dark comedy *6ixtynin9* (1999). Both directors have continued to make films on a regular basis, and both have also been able to garner international co-financing for their films.

As Nonzee and Penek experienced success, producers gradually started investing in more local productions from more new directors. Yongyooth Thongkonthoon's comedy about a (real-life) transvestite volleyball team, *Satree Lek* (*Iron Ladies*, 2000), managed the up to then rare feat of garnering a theatrical release (albeit limited)

in the United States. The co-writer and cinematographer of that film, Jira Maligool, then had a terrific local success as director of a comedy of rural life, *15 Kham Duen 11* (*Mekhong Full Moon Party*, 2002), and went on to produce the even more successful comic-nostalgic childhood romance, *Fan Chan* (*My Girl*, 2003). Aside from comedy, other popular genres have included crime films, horror films, and historical dramas; most significant among the historical dramas has been Prince Chatrichalerm's *Suriyothai* (*The Legend of Suriyothai*, 2001) and Thanit Jitnakul's epic of eighteenth-century Thai-Burmese battles, *Bang Rajan* (2000). Since 2002, Thai producers have also started to release substantial numbers of new direct-to-video features on video compact disc (VCD) and DVD, primarily for the domestic market.

One recent film that seems to hold the potential to raise international awareness of Thai cinema is the martial-arts film *Ong-Bak* (Prachiya Pinkaew, 2003), which made substantial money in Asia and Europe and received a modest release in the United States. Some of the international festival and art-house favorites, however, have paradoxically garnered little interest in their home country. Wisit Sasanatieng's nostalgic, spaghetti-western inspired *Fah Talai Jone* (*Tears of the Black Tiger*, 2000), for example, while generating much interest at Cannes and getting released in DVDs in several markets, was a financial flop domestically. And the stylistically unconventional (and often sexually frank) feature films of Apichatpong Weerasethakul (b. 1970) (*Sud Sanaeha* [*Blissfully Yours*, 2002]; *Sud Pralad* [*Tropical Malady*, 2004]) received only limited play in Thailand until the director won repeated awards at Cannes.

FORMER SOUTHEAST ASIAN COLONIES

As a former colony of France—the country often credited with the invention of cinema—Vietnam was host to film screenings early in cinema history: even in 1898, screenings occurred regularly in metropolitan areas. By the 1920s, major Vietnamese cities had movie theaters showing foreign-produced films, among them films featuring Vietnamese actors and/or locales. A handful of feature films and documentaries were made by Vietnamese producers in the period immediately prior to the Japanese occupation of 1940, but this work was halted in the World War II years. In the subsequent years of war against the French occupiers (1945–1954), culminating in the partition of the country, some 16mm documentaries were made by the resistance, but the birth of modern Vietnamese cinema dates from Ho Chi Minh's establishment of a state-run film organization in 1953. In 1959 the first post-colonial Vietnamese feature, *Chung Mot Dong Song* (*On the Same River*, Nguyen Hong Nghi and Pham Ky Nam), the story of the hardships of a young couple living on opposite sides of the river separating North Vietnam from South, was completed. In North Vietnam in the decade following, various government-sponsored film groups produced a range of features emphasizing revolutionary themes (for example, the struggles against the French; postwar social and economic development), as well as documentaries and scientific films (on topics such as government, construction, and agriculture), and animated films. As fighting with American forces escalated, this struggle became a major theme, and the balance of production shifted more toward documentary, including some works shot on actual battlefields. Some film production was also carried out in the South at this time; among the films were administration-sponsored, anticommunist documentaries and nonpoliticized features, such as romances and comedies.

Within a few years of reunification in 1975, film production levels were on the rebound and filmmakers were increasingly able to address the hardships of wartime life and postwar readjustment in more complex and nuanced fashion. One of the most successful films of the time was *Canh dong hoang* (*The Wild Field*, 1979), a fiction feature by established documentary filmmaker Hong Sen, which closely follows a small family under attack by American soldiers. A key director to emerge during this period and one who has remained active ever since was Dang Nhat Minh, whose *Bao gio cho den thang muoi* (*When the Tenth Month Comes*, 1984) and *Co gai tren song* (*The Girl on the River*, 1987) detail the sacrifices made by women in the war and its aftermath. The latter film concerns a prostitute who is ultimately betrayed by the communist official she had saved during the war. In 1986 a shift in state policy encouraged development of a market economy, which in the case of film meant bringing an end to state subsidies. Given the dearth of available funding, the films that emerged in this context were commercial genre vehicles, often shot on video. Concern arose about the evident decline in the quality of locally produced films, and as a result, new policies were instituted from 1994 to once again subsidize filmmaking, a move that resulted in an increase in feature production. Among the new directors to gain attention in the 1990s for films dealing with contemporary social problems were Le Hoang, Vuong Duc (b. 1957), and Nguyen Thanh Van. But government concern over the low appeal of Vietnamese films locally led to another shift in policy in 2003, with censorship controls relaxed—preapproval is no longer required for scripts—and privately financed production permitted. That the first product of such policies, Le Hoang's *Gai nhay* (*Bar Girl*, 2003), broke all prior box-office records with its depiction of prostitution, drug use, and HIV infection suggests the extent to which

Suppakit Tangthatswasd in Prince Chatrichalerm's epic* Suriyothai *(*The Legend of Suriyothai, *2001). © SONY PICTURES CLASSICS/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

earlier films may have lacked appeal for popular audiences.

In spite of the substantial amount of production activity taking place in Vietnam, the name Western audiences would be most likely to associate with Vietnamese cinema is that of expatriate director-screenwriter Tran Anh Hung (b. 1962), whose skillfully crafted films, while starring Vietnamese actors, are French-financed productions filmed by French technicians. *Mui du du xanh* (*The Scent of Green Papaya*, 1993) was even shot in French studios standing in for Vietnam.

The most internationally visible exponents of Cambodian cinema are likewise those involved in internationally financed works. The best known, both at home and abroad, is the former king himself, Norodhom Sihanouk (b. 1922), a pivotal figure in Cambodia's mid-to-late twentieth-century history. Sihanouk's preferred modes have been documentary and melodrama, the latter generally based around specific events in contemporary Cambodian history; these films often take a tragic turn (as is the case, for example, in *My Village at Sunset*, 1992). His films celebrate traditional Khmer culture and heritage and Buddhist values, though Sihanouk also alludes to Western literature, and valorize those who have worked hard for the nation in times of strife. Another Cambodian filmmaker to whom international audiences have been exposed is the award-winning documentarian Rithy Panh (b. 1964), who fled the Khmer Rouge as a teenager and now resides in France. His work, such as the formally accomplished and unsettling *S21: The Khmer Rouge Killing Machine* (2003), often focuses on the lasting repercussions of the Khmer Rouge rule on Cambodian life.

Records indicate that film screenings first occurred in Cambodia, both in cinemas and in traveling exhibitions, in the 1910s. Sihanouk himself is the first Cambodian filmmaker, having had the means to acquire cinematographic equipment after being placed on the throne by French colonial authorities in 1941. Foreign features were shown in Cambodia with some regularity in the 1950s, in particular contemporary Thai films; these films continued to be a staple until 2003, when the (evidently spurious) reporting of a slight by a Thai actress precipitated anti-Thai riots. By the early 1960s, a few

enterprising filmmakers and producers (Ly Bun Yim being one of the first and most successful) found that locally produced films generated much interest among Cambodian audiences; this audience demand, along with government tax incentives, led to a quick rise in local production. However, many of these films were lost and the industry destroyed during the tumult of the early 1970s and the subsequent period of Khmer Rouge rule. An attempt to resurrect the industry was made in 2001 with the Thai co-production *Kuon Puos Keng Kang* (*Snaker*, Fai Sam Ang). This was a remake of a popular title from the earlier era of Cambodian feature production and based upon a local snake-woman legend similar to those that have been the source of a number of Asian horror films. The pan-Asian success of that film, along with the attention brought to Cambodian shooting locales by the international Hollywood blockbuster *Lara Croft: Tomb Raider* in the same year, helped spur a new boom in local production on digital video. While some have bemoaned the quality of these new, low-budget productions, their popularity has fostered the opening of more than a dozen cinemas since 2001.

Little scholarship has been produced on the cinemas of Laos or Myanmar, though in the case of Laos this is clearly in part because the country has seen only limited filmmaking. Information on the early years of cinema in Laos, a French colony until 1949, is sketchy; the oldest partially extant film is a documentary from 1956. In the period from 1960–1975, when there were internal battles between Western (especially American) and communist-backed regimes, various factions produced propagandistic documentaries supporting their causes. Ten features by independent filmmakers were reportedly produced in this period, but these films did not survive and little is known about them. Subsequently, the government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic (PDR), formed in late 1975, has provided minimal funding to support filmmaking. The most important film to emerge from the Lao PDR has been the 1988 35mm feature *Buadaeng* (*Red Lotus*), a love story focusing on the hardships of life during the civil war era, which has screened at a number of international festivals. That film's Czechoslovakian-trained director, Som Ock Southiphonh, subsequently worked on a number of independent, foreign-financed video documentaries.

Myanmar (formerly Burma), in contrast, has produced many films, but little is known about them. Films were being screened in what was then British-controlled Burma as early as 1910. The first Burmese-filmed documentary is attributed to U Ohn Maung in the 1910s; he went on to direct the first Burmese feature, *Myitta Nit Thuyar* (*Love and Liquor*) in 1920. The first "talkie" by a Burmese director, Toke Kyi's *Ngwee Pay Lo Maya* (*It Can't Be Paid with Money*), was made in 1932. During the 1930s, Burma had numerous independent film producers and screening venues; one estimate puts the number of Burmese films prior to 1941 at 600. While subject to British censorship, some of these films did deal with controversial topics or suggest nationalist sentiments opposed to British policy. Though production naturally fell during World War II, it picked up again following independence in 1948, with on the order of 80 films a year being produced during the 1950s. The industry suffered considerably, however, when a coup brought a socialist military government to power in 1962, after which production houses were nationalized and very strict censorship—which still exists—applied to films. Few contemporary Burmese films have been able to make their way to international festivals; a rare, recent exception is *Chit Chin Nye Paying* (*True Love*, Kyi Soe Tun, 2005), a Japanese co-production about Burmese expatriates living in Japan. A new phenomenon beginning in 2003 that may give a boost to the local industry is digital video, released to theaters on DVD, which offers both lower production costs and improvement in equipment quality over the aging film cameras generally available in the country.

SEE ALSO *National Cinema*

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Adam Knee

MAKEUP

There are three kinds of makeup artists: straight makeup, sometimes called "street," which enhances an actor's features using cosmetics and corrective makeup; character makeup, which transforms an actor through facial prosthesis and other devices; and special effects (FX) makeup, employing mechanical devices such as robotic inserts. All three work closely with the director, cinematographer, and costume designer. Incorporating these three divisions, makeup's complex work can be loosely broken into the two categories of cosmetics and special effects. The former also radicalized the cosmetics industry. Often the two merge, but the makeup industry began with the need to accentuate the face and to deal with the drastic differences between stage and cinema.

Film makeup received no formal recognition until the 1940s and no Academy Award® recognition until 1981, although William Tuttle (b. 1911) was given an honorary Oscar® for *7 Faces of Dr. Lao* (1964) and John Chambers (1923–2001) received one for *Planet of the Apes* (1968). It is now a highly regarded art with a large fan base that follows the careers of artists like Rick Baker and Tom Savini. The craft began in the nascent film industry with stage techniques but quickly adapted to cinema's peculiar problems, especially those posed by film stock, cinematic lighting, and the close-up. The introduction of color in the 1930s caused more difficulties. Technicolor distorted complexion tones and registered color reflections from costumes, even those thrown from one actor's clothing onto another's. As makeup artists addressed a continuous parade of new challenges, makeup evolved by the early 1920s into an indispensable studio department that oversaw wigmakers; hair stylists; cosmetologists; harness makers; wood carvers; and sculptors in plaster, wax, metal, and wire. By the 1960s, science-driven special effects became a major part of makeup, and specialists in all kinds of prosthetics, latexes, rubbers, plastics, solvents, structures, and devices have come under makeup's jurisdiction ever since. Despite its artificial composition, makeup's constant challenge is to seem natural. If it is prosthetic it has to move as if real flesh; if it is historical, it has to conform to the period's look, whether involving heavy makeup or no makeup at all. It also must be remarkably durable, lasting through sweating, kissing, and fighting, under water or fierce lighting. In horror films, it must be powerful enough to scare an audience yet bearable for an actor to wear.

From the beginning, makeup artists have sought to draw out a character's psychology. To do this they have adapted (or contributed) to cosmetic and technological inventions, coped with color problems, and been experts on human anatomy and the potential effects of all varieties of artificial face, skin, and hair. Although makeup covers every kind of look—from well to ill, old to young, hip to demented, gorgeous to hideous—it is the latter two, the gorgeous and the ghastly, that have been emphasized throughout the history of cinema.

HISTORY

Makeup has a long theatrical history. The early film industry naturally looked to traditional stage techniques, but these proved inadequate almost immediately. One of makeup's first problems was with celluloid. Early filmmakers used orthochromatic film stock, which had a limited color-range sensitivity. It reacted to red pigmentation, darkening white skin and nullifying solid reds. To

counter the effect, Caucasian actors wore heavy pink greasepaint (Stein's #2) as well as black eyeliner and dark red lipstick (which, if applied too lightly, appeared white on screen), but these masklike cosmetics smeared as actors sweated under the intense lights. Furthermore, until the mid-teens, actors applied their own makeup and their image was rarely uniform from scene to scene. As the close-up became more common, makeup focused on the face, which had to be understood from a hugely magnified perspective, making refinements essential. In the pursuit of these radical changes, two names stand out as Hollywood's progenitor artists: Max Factor (1877–1938) and George Westmore (1879–1931). Both started as wigmakers and both recognized that the crucial difference between stage and screen was a lightness of touch. Both invented enduring cosmetics and makeup tricks for cinema and each, at times, took credit for the same invention (such as false eyelashes).

Factor (originally Firestein), a Russian émigré with a background in barbering, arrived in the United States in 1904 and moved to Los Angeles in 1908, where he set up a perfume, hair care, and cosmetics business catering to theatrical needs. He also distributed well-known greasepaints, which were too thick for screen use and photographed badly. By 1910, Factor had begun to divide the theatrical from the cinematic as he experimented to find appropriate cosmetics for film. His Greasepaint was the first makeup used in a screen test, for *Cleopatra* (1912), and by 1914 Factor had invented a twelve-toned cream version, which applied thinly, allowed for individual skin subtleties, and conformed more comfortably with celluloid. In the early 1920s panchromatic film began to replace orthochromatic, causing fewer color flaws, and in 1928 Factor completed work on Panchromatic Make-Up, which had a variety of hues. In 1937, the year before he died, he dealt with the new Technicolor problems by adapting theatrical "pancake" into a water-soluble powder, applicable with a sponge, excellent for film's and, eventually, television's needs. It photographed very well, eliminating the shine induced by Technicolor lighting, and its basic translucence imparted a delicate look. Known as Pancake makeup, it was first used in *Vogues of 1938* (1937) and *Goldwyn's Follies* (1938), quickly becoming not only the film industry norm but a public sensation. Once movie stars, delighting in its lightness, began to wear it offscreen, Pancake became de rigueur for fashion-conscious women. After Factor's death, his empire continued to set standards and still covers cinema's cosmetic needs, from fingernails to toupees.

The English wigmaker George Westmore, for whom the Makeup Artist and Hair Stylist Guild's George Westmore Lifetime Achievement Award is named, founded the first (and tiny) film makeup department, at Selig Studio in 1917. He also worked at Triangle but soon was freelancing across the major studios. Like Factor, he understood that cosmetic and hair needs were personal and would make up stars such as Mary Pickford (whom he relieved of having to curl her famous hair daily by making false ringlets) or the Talmadge sisters in their homes before they left for work in the morning.

He fathered three legendary and scandalous generations of movie makeup artists, beginning with his six sons—Monte (1902–1940), Perc (1904–1970), Ern (1904–1967), Wally (1906–1973), Bud (1918–1973), and Frank (1923–1985)—who soon eclipsed him in Hollywood. By 1926, Monte, Perc, Ern, and Bud had penetrated the industry to become the chief makeup artists at four major studios, and all continued to break ground in new beauty and horror illusions until the end of their careers. In 1921, after dishwashing at Famous Players-Lasky, Monte became Rudolph Valentino's sole makeup artist. (The actor had been doing his own.) When Valentino died in 1926, Monte went to Selznick International where, thirteen years later, he worked himself to death with the enormous makeup demands for *Gone With the Wind* (1939). In 1923 Perc established a blazing career at First National-Warner Bros. and, over twenty-seven years, initiated beauty trends and disguises including, in 1939, the faces of Charles Laughton's grotesque Hunchback of Notre Dame (for RKO) and Bette Davis's eyebrowless, almost bald, whitefaced Queen Elizabeth. In the early 1920s he blended Stein Pink greasepaint with eye shadow, preceding Factor's Panchromatic. Ern, at RKO from 1929 to 1931 and then at Fox from 1935, was adept at finding the right look for stars of the 1930s. Wally headed Paramount makeup from 1926, where he created, among others, Frederic March's gruesome transformation in *Dr. Jekyl and Mr. Hyde* (1931). Frank followed him there. Bud led Universal's makeup department for twenty-three years, specializing in rubber prosthetics and body suits such as the one used in *Creature from the Black Lagoon* (1954). Together they built the House of Westmore salon, which served stars and public alike. Later generations have continued the name, including Bud's sons, Michael and Marvin Westmore, who began in television and have excelled in unusual makeup, such as in *Blade Runner* (1982).

MGM was the only studio that the Westmores did not rule. Cecil Holland (1887–1973) became its first makeup head in 1925 and remained there until the 1950s. Originally an English actor known as "The Man of a Thousand Faces" before Lon Chaney (1883–1930) inherited the title, his makeup abilities were pioneering on films such as *Grand Hotel* (1932) and *The Good Earth* (1937). Jack Dawn (1892–1961), who created makeup for *The Wizard of Oz* (1939), ran the department from the 1940s, by which time it was so huge that over a thousand actors could be made up in one hour. William

Lon Chaney did his own makeup for* Phantom of the Opera *(Rupert Julian, 1925). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Tuttle succeeded him and ran the department for twenty years. Like Holland, Chaney was another actor with supernal makeup skills whose horror and crime films became classics, notably for Chaney's menacing but realistically based disguises. He always created his own makeup, working with the materials of his day—greasepaint, putty, plasto (mortician's wax), fish skin, gutta percha (natural resin), collodian (liquid elastic), and crepe hair—and conjured characters unrivalled in their horrifying effect, including his gaunt, pig-nosed, black-eyed Phantom for *Phantom of the Opera* (1925) and his Hunchback in *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* (1923), for which he constructed agonizingly heavy makeup and body harnesses.

AESTHETICS

Makeup helps express narrative elements, and a makeup artist decides how best to convey this information. A historical period's cosmetic oddities, or its lack of them, have to be plausibly recreated for a modern audience. The presentation can be faux-historical, as in *Satyricon* (*Fellini Satyricon*, 1969), which though set in ancient Rome, was conceived, on the director Federico Fellini's insistence, as dreamlike by the consummate costume designer, Piero Tosi (who did not create costumes for the film, only the makeup). Lois Burwell's and Peter Frampton's makeup for *Braveheart* (1995), set in about thirteenth-century Scotland, was accurate though it looked fantastical. Fantasy makeup, such as Benoît Lestang's for *La Cité des enfants perdus* (*City of Lost Children*, 1995) or John Caglione Jr.'s for *Dick Tracy* (1990), sets the mood for the film. Oppositely, Toni G's makeup for Charlize Theron as a hardened prostitute in *Monster* (2003) was a feat of realist metamorphosis that made her look like Aileen Wuornos, the convicted killer on whom the film was based.

Cinema makeup has been an unusual but very effective arena for issues around public prejudice, regarding women's social and sexual status. In the early twentieth century, women benefited from the new caché of stunningly made-up stars on screen. Though creams, powders, and rouges were widely used and advertised (endorsed by theatrical idols such as Gaby Deslys, Sarah Bernhardt, and Lillian Russell), overt makeup had been questioned as déclassé or degenerate by fashion mavens since the turn of the twentieth century. Film makeup revolutionized the social acceptance of cosmetics as early as 1915, making them increasingly respectable for women to wear, and in every decade since, trends in makeup have thoroughly altered society's aesthetic concept.

The makeup artist has at times launched new looks. In the late 1920s the style established by Greta Garbo's arched eyebrows, deep eyes with black-lined eyelid indents, and full mouth banished the tight, down-sloping eyebrows and bee-stung lips of Mary Pickford and the Gish sisters that had been popular in the 1910s. In 1930 Marlene Dietrich's face, already beautiful, was adapted for the top lighting favored by her frequent director, Josef von Sternberg. Paramount's Dottie Ponedel, the first woman in the Makeup Artists guild, plucked Dietrich's eyebrows into single elevated lines, which became the signature look of the 1930s. Shading under her cheekbones accented them until they were hollow enough to appear so on their own. A white stroke under her eyes made them appear bigger. A silver one down her nose diminished its curve. Dietrich passed this trick on to the Westmores, who used it frequently and, when eye shadow was still greasepaint smudges, she showed Ern Westmore how to make it from match soot and baby oil and apply it in the gradual upward motions still used today. Ponedel went to MGM in 1940 to work exclusively for Judy Garland. Ern Westmore gave Bette Davis her signature "slash" mouth (where her top lip's indent was covered by lipstick), and Perc remade her face in over sixty films. "I owe my entire career to Perc Westmore," Davis once stated. Perc Westmore also cut Bette Davis's and Claudette Colbert's trendsetting bangs and Colleen Moore's classic Dutch boy bob, twisted Katharine Hepburn's hair into her ubiquitous top knot, and introduced the red-haired Ann Sheridan to a perfect match of orange lipstick. Sydney Guilaroff (1907–1997), head of hairstyling at MGM from 1935, originated the signature haircuts of Louise Brooks and Marilyn Monroe. Some changes were more drastic. Helen Hunt, Columbia's key hairstylist, painfully raised Rita Hayworth's hairline by electrolysis. A scene in *A Star Is Born* (1954) satirizes these beautifications when Judy Garland accidentally goes through the makeup department's process to suddenly emerge with new features.

Another dimension to social change appears in the provocative use of makeup to disguise race. White men typically have pretended to be black or Asian, often as figures of fun or malice, but by the end of the twentieth century, social ambiguity or political comment underlay some of these representations. The trope of white (and even black) players "blacking up" as racial stereotypes for nineteenth-century minstrel shows passed into vaudeville and film. Though Bert Williams, one of the few black vaudevillians, wore blackface in *Darktown Jubilee* in 1914 because he did so in his stage act, the common character of a white with blackface appeared in such important films as *The Birth of a Nation* (1915) and *The Jazz Singer* (1927). This image has continued through the twentieth century into the twenty-first. Caucasians masqueraded as Asian in the Charlie Chan films of the 1930s and 1940s, and Boris Karloff's (1932) and Christopher Lee's (1965) characterizations as the arch villain Fu Manchu are especially well known. African Americans at times used makeup to modify their skin tones. In the films of African American director Oscar Micheaux from 1919 to 1948, a lightskinned black actor might wear makeup to appear even lighter. In other circumstances, a light-complexioned black actress such as Fredi Washington would wear dark makeup because she photographed too white. In the 1970s, whiteface on black actors began to appear, often to raise questions about racism. In *Watermelon Man* (1970), Ben Lane made up African American actor Godfrey Cambridge as a white man who suddenly becomes black. In the 1980s, 1990s, and early 2000s, "whiting up" appeared in films such as *Coming to America* (1988), where Rick Baker transformed young African American actors Eddie Murphy and Arsenio Hall into old white men; *The Associate* (1996), where Greg Cannom turned Whoopi Goldberg into a middle-aged white man; and *White Chicks* (2004), where Cannom transformed Shawn and Marlon Wayans into young, white, female twins.

Transvestism in films can also have a social dimension, and since the 1990s there has been a shift in its representational meaning as seen in Linda Grimes's transformation of Wesley Snipes, Patrick Swayze, and John Leguizamo into sexy transvestites in *To Wong Foo, Thanks for Everything, Julie Newmar* (1995) and Morag Ross's of Jaye Davidson in *The Crying Game* (1992). More conventional transvestitism appeared in the earlier *Some Like it Hot* (1959), where Emile LaVigne (1913–1990; makeup) and Agnes Flanagan (hair) transformed Tony Curtis and Jack Lemmon into cute women and in *Mrs. Doubtfire* (1993), where Greg Cannom changed the slight Robin Williams into a dowdy, overweight matron. Women have played men less often, but Katharine Hepburn, made up by Mel Berns (uncredited) in *Christopher Strong* (1933), and Hilary Swank, made up

JACK P. PIERCE

b. Janus Piccoulas, Greece, 5 May 1889, d. 19 July 1968

Jack P. Pierce (also known as Jack Pearce or Jack Piccolo) invented the iconic images of Frankenstein, Dracula, the Werewolf, the Mummy, and the Invisible Man during his twenty-one years at Universal Studios. Pierce emigrated to the United States, hoping to be a baseball player, but instead he found itinerant jobs as a nickelodeon manager, cameraman, actor, and stuntman. He entered the world of film makeup in 1910, working for various independent companies until the early 1920s, when he went to Vitagraph and then Fox. In 1926 he came to Universal and in 1928 became its head of makeup when Carl Laemmle Jr. took over the studio.

Pierce's first notable design was the silhouette for Bela Lugosi's Dracula in Tod Browning's *Dracula* (1931). Pierce's genius flourished on James Whale's 1931 version of *Frankenstein*, with Boris Karloff in the lead. For Karloff he made, arguably, the most famous face in cinema. Departing from previous monkeylike Frankenstein depictions (as in Thomas Edison's 1910 *Frankenstein*), Pierce imagined what a nineteenth-century scientist might have created. For months he made sketches and models while researching surgical procedures and electrical experiments of the time. It took Pierce four hours a day to apply Karloff's makeup, layering his head with padding, greasepaint, cotton, and collodian (a solvent that hardens into a shiny elastic), coloring it blue-green to photograph as dead gray, then covering it in paste and baking it to make a flaky appearance. Karloff's forty-pound costume (seventy including the cement shoes) was also made by Pierce. The effect was so successful, the opening credits did not include Karloff's name, only that The Monster was acted by "?" trying to give the impression that perhaps the monster was not an actor but real. The Mummy, also played by Karloff, in Karl Freund's *The Mummy* (1932), was Pierce's favorite. His research of Egyptian embalming and processes of decay brought him to make a crepelike, parchment skin that took eight hours a day to apply.

Pierce was an impeccable example of collaboration with the cinematographer, making lighting integral to his monsters' effect. Light on the Frankenstein visage, with its square head, ridged forehead, and heavy jawline, gave the monster's menace a necessary pathos. Lighting also malevolently animated the Mummy's crinkled skin.

Having never been given a contract, he was fired in 1947 when Universal downsized. Despite the 1950s surge in science-fiction subjects, Pierce never worked again on projects requiring his true ingenuity, only on low-budget films and television programs like *Mister Ed* (1961–1966). Although he died virtually forgotten in 1968, appreciation of Pierce's work was renewed in the first years of the twenty-first century with a DVD tribute, *Jack Pierce: The Man Behind the Monsters* (2002).

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Dracula (1931), *Frankenstein* (1931), *The Mummy* (1932), *The Bride of Frankenstein* (1935)

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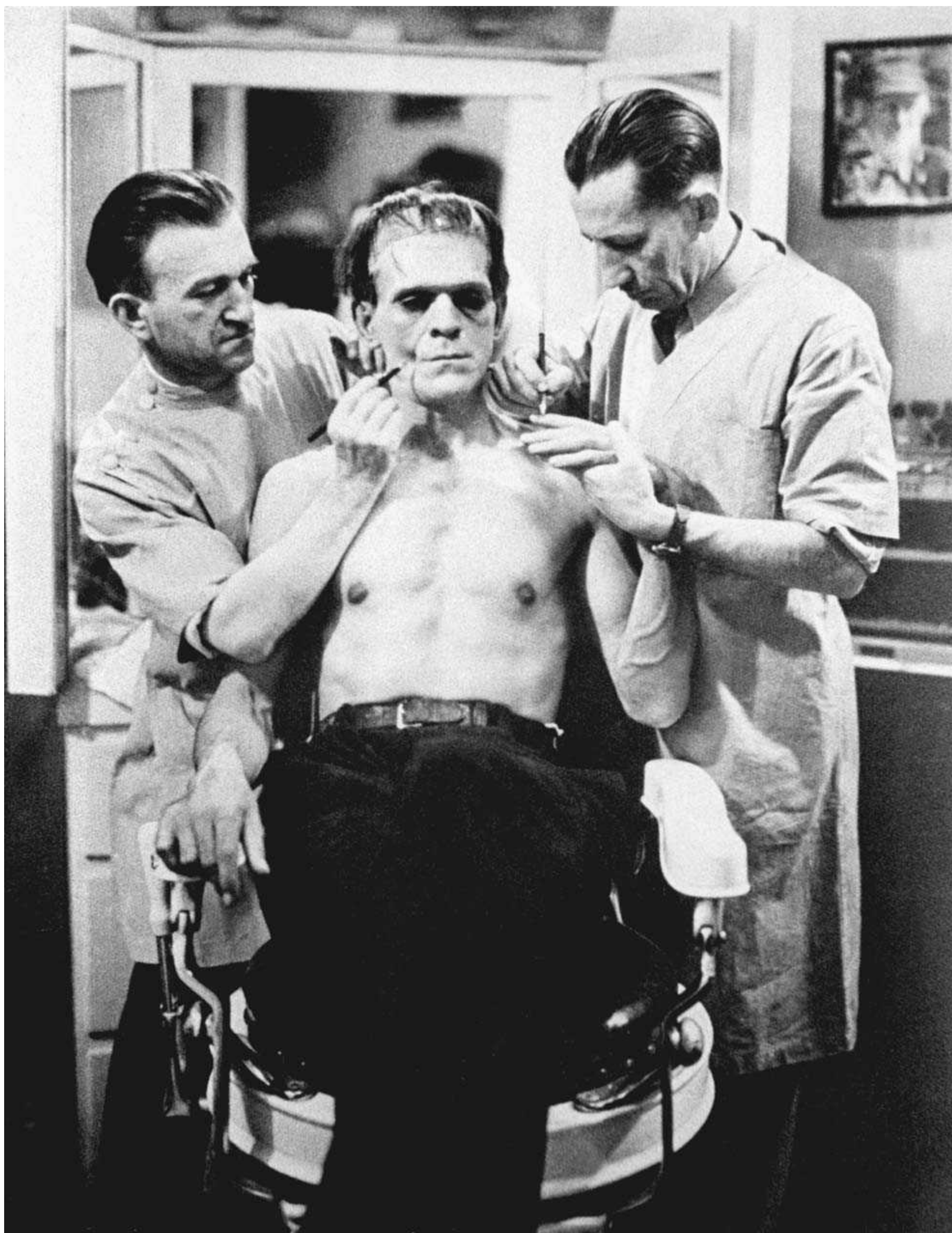
Pierce, Jack. Interview: http://www.hotad.com/monstermania/jackpierce (accessed 8 April 2006).

Drake Stutesman

by Kalen Hoyle in *Boys Don't Cry* (1999), made memorable attempts in films with political undertones.

From the outset, some lasting relationships have existed between stars or directors and their makeup artists. Maurice Seiderman (1907–1989), another Russian with a background in wigmaking, worked with Orson Welles on *Citizen Kane* (1941), *The Magnificent Ambersons* (1942), and *Touch of Evil* (1958). Seiderman invented techniques for aging the Kane character and other principles, involving three-dimensional casts, which were painted in layers to achieve a striking realism. The director Clive Barker has often had FX makeup artist Bob Keen create his unusual villains, such as Pinhead in *Hellraiser* (1987). Chris Walas developed much of David Cronenberg's scare makeup and special effects (*Scanners*, 1981, and *The Fly*, 1986) and Rob Bottin, whose talents run from science fiction to the historical, has collaborated with John Carpenter (*The Thing*, 1982, and *The Fog*, 1980).

Modern FX—using materials such as latex, gelatine, and mechanization—can be traced to the ingenuities of Lon Chaney in the 1920s and those of Jack P. Pierce



Jack Pierce (left) and assistant putting makeup on Boris Karloff for Frankenstein *(James Whale, 1931).* EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

(1889–1968), who in the 1930s devised prototypical monsters in *Frankenstein* (1931), *The Mummy* (1932), and *The Werewolf of London* (1935) for Universal Studios. Pierce and Chaney not only defined the look of their monsters forever but made makeup a box-office draw.

The advent of violent films in the 1960s, including *Bonnie and Clyde* (1967) and *The Wild Bunch* (1969), led the way for the 1970s taste in not-for-the-squeamish horror, while monkey men in films like *Planet of the Apes* (1968), *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968), and *Star Wars* (1977) brought a resurgence of the FX monster. With the popularity of special effects films, most late-twentieth-century FX makeup artists have made specialty careers. Beginning in television (for serials like *Dark Shadows*, 1966–1971), Dick Smith (b. 1922) changed prosthetic makeup forever when, to enable the actor greater mobility, he broke down the basic "mask" into components (nose, chin, eyes) with his groundbreaking work on *Little Big Man* (1970), where a young Dustin Hoffman ages into a very old man, and *The Exorcist* (1973). Rick Baker won the first Oscar® for Best Makeup for his *American Werewolf in London* (1981), considered another makeup landmark. His range of work is wide, from the hairstyles in *How the Grinch Stole Christmas* (2000) to the aging of Cicely Tyson into a one-hundred-year-old woman in *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman* (1974), but he specializes in apelike beings. Stan Winston, who has a star on Hollywood Boulevard, is a master of mechanized human creatures such as the leads in *The Terminator* (1984) and *Edward Scissorhands* (1990). Tom Savini is known as the "King of Splatter" for his work on bloody films such as *Martin* (1977), *Friday the 13th* (1980), and *Dawn of the Dead* (2004).

The latest technological shift in the movie industry, which considerably affects makeup, is digital film. The digital enhancement process can do what was once the provenance of the makeup artist—manipulation of the actor's skin color, texture, and every other aspect of his or her experience. It remains to be seen, though, to what extent makeup's hands-on ability to camouflage, identify, and beautify will be superceded by this technology.

SEE ALSO *Production Process; Special Effects; Technology*

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MARTIAL ARTS FILMS

In common parlance, "martial arts" refers to Asian martial arts—judo, karate, kung fu, tae kwan do. Though the Occident may boast of fighting techniques, both armed and unarmed—boxing, fencing, archery—the term "martial arts" retains its association with Asia. Thus, the martial arts genre is derived from Asian films that focus on the skills, exploits, and philosophies revolving around these particular fighting styles when employed by various recurring figures. Yet if the martial arts as an all-encompassing rubric has come to be applied to any number of fighting styles within and outside of Asia, so, too, the martial arts film has made its way into global film culture. If the martial arts film was originally the specific product of Chinese cinema in the late 1920s, carried over into the Hong Kong cinema after World War II, and reaching its height in the early 1970s in the former British colony, then by the 1980s one could truly claim something like a transnational martial arts genre with films from Japan, Korea, Thailand, India, and the US (among others) clearly working with motifs, character types, and choreography inspired by or derived from the Chinese originals.

The ubiquity of martial arts in films since the 1970s—in the action, police thriller, comedy, war, and science fiction and fantasy genres—makes defining a separate genre difficult. Nevertheless, the genre relies upon a protagonist skilled, generally, in Asian martial arts, whose specific skills must be put to the test in bringing about the resolution of the plot. There are typical and recurring motifs such as an early defeat or setback, receiving further training in the martial arts (usually by an older Asian master), and then testing those skills on lesser opponents along the way to the climactic duel. As a specific genre, the martial arts film has given rise to numerous stories about the training for and participation in a climactic martial arts tournament—a motif derived from Hong Kong films, but one popular in Hollywood as well.

WU XIA PIAN

Chinese martial arts film came to be known as "*wu xia pian*," meaning "films of chivalrous combat." This genre may be said to begin in the popular Shanghai cinema with *Romance of the West Chamber* in 1927. Derived, like many early martial arts films, from a literary source, the film was a sophisticated entertainment in every respect, relying on fairly elaborate special effects and Beijing Opera–style fight choreography. The film's success spawned immediate imitators that drew upon the swashbuckling adventures of Douglas Fairbanks (1883–1939), Chinese literary classics, and the popular martial arts fiction of the period to create a virtual tidal wave of stories of knights-errant and their derring-do. *The Burning of the Red Lotus Temple* (1928) set the pattern for the true martial arts genre with its story of warring martial arts factions, liberal use of special effects, and the presence of women warriors over the course of its (alleged) twenty-seven-hour running time. (The film was released serially.) Governmental dissatisfaction with the escapist and fantastic nature of the series put a hold on the production of martial arts movies in China, a situation further exacerbated by the Japanese occupation of Shanghai during the Pacific War.

The chivalric warrior re-entered Chinese cinema in postwar Hong Kong, with the unprecedented production

of dozens of films starring Kwan Tak-hing (1905–1996) as the legendary doctor–martial artist–Cantonese hero Wong Fei-hung. He is South China's national hero. A historical figure who died in 1924, his students taught students who then became many of the central martial arts directors in the Hong Kong cinema. Rejecting the fantastic, effects-driven, and Beijing Opera–style fight choreography of Republican-era Shanghai, these films featured actual kung fu fighting styles and set the tone for a certain strand of martial arts film—the trained martial artist fighting for the underdog in realistic, if unspectacular, fight scenes.

Made in the Cantonese dialect and with increasingly lower budgets, the Wong Fei-hung films of the 1950s and early 1960s gave way to the bigger-budget, high-intensity cinema developing at the Shaw Brothers studios in the mid-1960s. Turning away from their literary costume pictures, the Mandarin-language studio hit pay dirt with the New Style *wu xia pian* of directors King Hu (1931–1997) and Chang Cheh (1923–2002). King Hu's *Da zui xia* (*Come Drink with Me*, 1966) re-introduced the female knight-errant into Chinese cinema and, although it relied on Beijing Opera–style choreography, its level of violence and the dynamism of star Cheng Pei-pei (b. 1946) proved an immediate jolt to the genre. King Hu continued his career in Taiwan, making stylish swordplay movies like *Long men ke zhen* (*Dragon Gate Inn*, 1967) and *Hsia nu* (*Touch of Zen*, 1969), which slowly introduced acrobatics into the form, especially with the use of trampolines and a deft sense of eye-line matches and spatial contiguity. But it was the films of Chang Cheh, beginning with the Japanese-influenced *Bian cheng san xia* (*Magnificent Trio*, 1966), that revolutionized the genre. Japanese cinema was an important precursor to many of the motifs introduced by Chang Cheh. Akira Kurosawa's (1910–1998) *Sugata Sanshiro* (*Judo Saga*, 1943) pioneered the motif of warring martial arts factions, but it was banned after World War II by American authorities because of its nationalistic undertones. His *Shichinin no samurai* (*Seven Samurai*, 1954) introduced a kind of *wu xia*—gritty, realistic, sometimes grim—to international audiences with its story of heroic, self-sacrificing swordsmen. But it was the Zatoichi films, the Blind Swordsman series beginning in 1962, that set a standard for spectacular swordplay, not to mention the use of a hero with disabilities. Chang Cheh borrowed choreographic and visual motifs from the Japanese cinema and added to this mix a group of athletic young men with martial arts training to form a core of star players who appeared together in film after film featuring violent sword fights within stories of male camaraderie, brotherly revenge, and youthful rebellion. Wang Yu, Ti Lung, David Chiang, Chen Kwan-tai, and Fu Sheng lit up the screen with their intensity, fighting skills, and nascent sense of a new China on screen.

The previously understated sense of a new Chinese masculinity became overt with the appeal of Bruce Lee (1940–1973), whose success in the Hong Kong cinema outshone even that of Chang Cheh's hugely popular films. Rejecting the King Hu style of fight choreography and the big-budget aesthetics of Chang Cheh's Shaw Brothers epics, Lee brought a down-and-dirty look and a new fighting style to films like *Tang shan da xiong* (*The Big Boss*, aka *Fists of Fury*, 1971) and *Jing wu men* (*Fist of Fury*, aka *The Chinese Connection,* 1972). With both power and speed not seen before in martial arts cinema, and a magnetism comparable only to the likes of James Dean, Lee became an instant worldwide success that spread even to Hollywood and helped bring the genre to the fore with *Enter the Dragon* (1973).

EVERYBODY WAS KUNG FU FIGHTING

Early twentieth-century America certainly had its own "martial arts" cinema tradition. Douglas Fairbanks, whose films influenced the Shanghai martial arts movies of the 1920s, virtually invented the swashbuckling, action-adventure genre featuring acrobatic stunts and demonstrations of martial arts like fencing and archery (for example, *The Mark of Zorro*, 1920; *The Three Musketeers*, 1921; *Robin Hood*, 1922; *The Thief of Bagdad*, 1924; and *The Black Pirate*, 1926), setting the tone for the later swashbuckling careers of Errol Flynn, Tyrone Power, and Burt Lancaster.

Yet it was Asian martial arts that really caused a stir upon their introduction into American films in the postwar era. American GIs returning from Asia and the increased Asian presence in the US following the liberalization of the Immigration Act of 1965 began the spread of martial arts across the country. Films like *White Heat* (1949) and *The Crimson Kimono* (1959) drew the connection between the GIs' encounter with Asia and the importation of martial arts into the US. But it was *Bad Day at Black Rock* (1955) that clearly established both the Asian connection with martial arts and the image of a one-armed man easily dispatching opponents bigger and stronger than he. One might argue that this World War II veteran, so memorably portrayed by Spencer Tracy, in turn influenced the famous disabled warriors of the Japanese and Chinese martial arts cinema. Later, Bruce Lee, teaching Hollywood celebrities his evolving kung fu style in the 1960s, memorably introduced the Chinese martial arts through his co-starring role in TV's *The Green Hornet* (1966–1967) and through guest appearances in film and television. While working in Hong Kong for Golden Harvest, Lee expressed interest in starring in the made-for-TV movie *Kung Fu* (1972), but with David

BRUCE LEE

b. Li Xiaolong, San Francisco, California, 27 November 1940, d. 20 July 1973

Bruce Lee is to the martial arts film what Charlie Chaplin is to the silent comedy, what James Dean is to the teen film, and what John Wayne is to the Western, with something of all of them in his timeless screen persona. Decades after his death he remains an icon of international screen culture, still invoked in films the world over.

Lee's family moved to Hong Kong from San Francisco after World War II, and Bruce became a child star in the low-budget Cantonese cinema. Legend has it that he lost street brawls constantly, which inspired him to study Wing Chun kung fu from one of the local masters. Philosophy studies at the University of Washington helped Lee refine the connections between his martial arts and his way of life. His US show-business break came with the role of Kato in the 1966 television series *The Green Hornet*. Legend also has it that Lee's martial arts moves were too fast both for his co-stars to react to and for the broadcast image to reproduce. Lee also began to teach celebrity clients his evolving martial arts style. Hollywood, however, was not yet ready for him.

A trip to Hong Kong in 1971 revealed to Lee that he had become something of a major celebrity based on *The Green Hornet*, which was called "The Kato Show" in the territory. Former Shaw Brothers production chief Raymond Chow, building up his Golden Harvest Studio, offered Lee a much more flexible and lucrative deal than his former bosses, and they produced *Tang shan da xiong* (*The Big Boss*, 1971). More realistic, less polished, and more contemporary in attitude than anything the Shaw Brothers were making, *The Big Boss* was a smash success. It was quickly followed by Lee's most important film, *Jing wu men* (*Fist of Fury*, aka *The Chinese Connection*, 1972). Set against the background of the Japanese occupation of China, the film expresses Lee's rebellious spirit and the best demonstration yet of Lee's flexible martial arts style—including the spectacular use of a little-used weapon in previous martial arts films, the nunchaku, or nunchuks, which came to be as much associated with Lee as his bright yellow track suit.

Lee directed *Meng lon guojiang* (*Way of the Dragon*, aka *Return of the Dragon*, 1972), employing former karate champion and friend Chuck Norris for the film's famous climax in the Roman Colloseum. Then Hollywood called with *Enter the Dragon* (1973), and Lee had his first big-budget smash, but by the time it was released he had died of a cerebral edema. Lee's Hong Kong films show his spirit far better than the slick James Bond–inspired high jinks of *Enter the Dragon*, though arguably the film enabled Lee to reach a wide audience that he has never lost.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Jing wu men (*Fist of Fury*, aka *The Chinese Connection*, 1972), *Meng Lon Guojiang* (*Way of the Dragon*, aka *Return of the Dragon*, 1972), *Enter the Dragon* (1973)

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Carradine in the starring role of the half-Chinese, half-American Shaolin priest may have demonstrated that if America was not ready for an Asian-American television star, it was ready for Asian martial arts. Its four-season run on network television gave American audiences a glimpse into many of the traditions of Shaolin kung fu while enabling the term "grasshopper" (the nickname Master Po gives the young Kwai Chang Caine) to enter comic parlance for a continuing source of humor across genre and media.

The independent smash success, *Billy Jack* (Tom Laughlin, 1971), further helped pave the way for the martial arts genre in the US. Billy Jack, a disillusioned Vietnam War veteran, is a master of the Korean martial art hap ki do, and he uses his deadly skills in the protection of a counterculture, racially mixed school. The theme of corrupt law enforcement running up against an alienated veteran highly trained not only by US Special Forces but also in traditional Asian martial arts set a pattern for a new generation of protagonists.

The *Kung Fu* film and TV series demonstrated American interest in Asian martial arts, and Bruce Lee's starring role in *Enter the Dragon* confirmed it, making Lee a star in Hollywood. Lee's film also set another trend

Bruce Lee in* Enter the Dragon *(Robert Clouse, 1973). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

in motion: the use of multinational, multiracial casts. White, black, and Asian characters in *Enter the Dragon* seemed calculated to bring in the widest possible audience. That all three actors were trained in the martial arts, especially Jim Kelly in his screen debut and, of course, Lee himself, brought a level of intensity and believability to this otherwise fanciful story, which also borrowed a common Hong Kong film structure: the martial arts tournament.

Alienated Vietnam veterans, real martial artists, and the tournament structure would help build a true American martial arts genre, but not before a reliable audience could be identified. Such an audience came from the African American community, which consumed both the Hong Kong imports in the wake of the success of films like *Five Fingers of Death* (1973) and Lee's early efforts. Kelly's stardom (for example, *Black Belt Jones*, 1974) and many low-budget co-productions with Hong Kong studios featuring black and Asian stars (the career of actor Ron Van Clief as "the Black Dragon" is exemplary) show the appeal of kung fu films to black audiences—audiences who would very much help the future careers of white stars like Cynthia Rothrock (whose career began in Hong Kong) and Steven Seagal beginning in the late 1980s.

The rise of the American martial arts film genre, whether through blaxploitation or the films of Chuck Norris in the late 1970s, kept Hong Kong martial arts films off American screens compared to their stunning success from 1973 to 1975. Norris's role in *Good Guys Wear Black* (1978) continued the theme of post–Vietnam era images of highly trained veterans using their violent skills to exorcise the ghosts of Vietnam and to display the cinematic suitability of martial arts. By the middle of the

1980s, martial arts had made its way so far into the mainstream that *Rocky* director John G. Avildsen could turn his attention to a far more unlikely action hero in the diminutive form of Ralph Macchio and turn *The Karate Kid* (1984) into a smash success and another iconic cultural marker. Its training sequences, clear differentiation between the right and wrong way to use martial arts, and climax at a martial arts tournament clearly confirmed that a definitively Asian form had claimed an American counterpart.

MARTIAL ARTS IN GLOBAL CONTEXT

The decline of Hong Kong kung fu cinema in the late 1970s turned out to be temporary. Forever looking for "the next Bruce Lee," Hong Kong cinema finally found him in Jackie Chan (b. 1954), a Beijing Opera–trained martial artist and acrobat whose everyman persona, stunt-happy performances, and Buster Keaton–like use of props returned martial arts to the forefront of Hong Kong cinema beginning with films like *Drunken Master* and *Snake in the Eagle's Shadow* (both 1978). Chan soon after emerged as the most popular star in Asia. Aborted attempts to break into the American market by co-starring in low-budget Hollywood films in the 1980s did not work out—fortunately for him, because when he had finally established a worldwide appeal his next Hollywood forays, like *Rush Hour* (1998) and *Shanghai Noon* (2000), were worthy of his talents.

Chan and Lee were not the last foreign martial artists to make their way into American martial arts film stardom. Jean-Claude Van Damme, "the muscles from Brussels," parlayed his karate champion background into a film career, bursting into stardom with a fairly routine yet extremely violent version of the standard tournament-style film, *Bloodsport* (1988). Films like *Kickboxer* (1989), *Lionheart* (1990), and *Streetfighter* (1994) continued to rely on the tournament structure, although Van Damme did help tie together science fiction with martial arts in successful films like *Cyborg* (1989) and *Universal Soldier* (1992). If Van Damme was a foreign import, Seagal was

Bruce Lee (left) in* The Big Boss *(Lo Wei, 1971). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

an American master of the Japanese martial art of aikido, and he showed it off to good form in a series of police and military actioners, especially *Above the Law* (1988), *Out for Justice* (1991), and his best film, *Under Siege* (1992). Both Van Damme and Seagal saw their careers decline by the turn of the century, but that may be the fate of all aging martial arts stars—even Jackie Chan's career saw a shift away from fighting to special effects stunts.

The popularity of martial arts films in America did not go unnoticed in Hong Kong where the likes of Tsui Hark (b. 1950), Tony Ching Siu-Tong (b. 1953), Johnnie To (b. 1955), and John Woo (b. 1946) revitalized the genre. This time it was the stylistics of King Hu that inspired them in the creation of literally fantastic swordplay films like the *Swordsman* trilogy (1990–1992), *New Dragon Inn* (1992), and *The Heroic Trio* (1993). Women stars like Brigitte Lin, Maggie Cheung, Anita Mui, and Michelle Yeoh—who would become the most important female martial arts star since Cheng Pei-pei—also helped revitalize the genre. Kung fu was kept alive with Jet Li's incarnation of Wong Fei-hung in the *Once Upon a Time in China* series (1991–1997), but in a form far different than anything Kwan Tak-hing would have recognized—though the ideology remained the same. The special effects, acrobatics, and wire work (leading some to call this "wire fu") culminated in the King Hu–inspired international blockbuster *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* (Ang Lee, 2000). For audiences that disdained the likes of Jean-Claude Van Damme or Steven Seagal and who knew nothing of the wonders of *Touch of Zen*, Lee's film brought respectability, if not originality, to the genre. World-class filmmaker Zhang Yimou (b. 1951), anxious to bring a bit more "Chineseness" back to the decentered form, released *Hero* (2002) and *House of Flying Daggers* (2004)—both successful, indicating that for all its Chineseness, the martial arts genre belongs to the world.

SEE ALSO *Action and Adventure Films; China; Hong Kong; Japan*

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MARXISM

Karl Marx's three-volume study *Das Kapital* (1867, 1885, 1894), along with the earlier *Manifest der kommunistichen Partei* (*The Communist Manifesto*, 1848), which he co-wrote with Friedrich Engels (1820–1895), and other works, were important to the nineteenth and twentieth century's numerous class struggles and wars of national liberation. Marx (1818–1883) argued that capitalism, although responsible for technological development and some social achievements, was fundamentally defective in that it was based on profit and human exploitation. Marx believed that capitalism would necessarily become outmoded, although his writings, especially the exhortative *Manifesto*, expressed the conviction that communism—the public control of the means of production—would occur only through human agency, namely revolution; those who benefit from capitalism would not simply step aside and allow the system to be replaced by a system beneficial for workers, the enormous and most productive class that communism would assist. For Marx, who wanted to develop a scientific understanding of the impact of economic systems on humanity, reformism and acts of charity would do little to transform a fundamentally exploitative system such as capitalism into a more just one such as socialism.

Later Marxists such as Vladimir Lenin (1870–1924), Leon Trotsky (1879–1940), Mao Zedong (1893–1976), and Che Guevara (1928–1967) would develop programs of revolutionary action, as would numerous non-Marxists aligned with anticapitalist movements such as anarchism. After Joseph Stalin (1879–1953) established himself as dictator of the Soviet Union following Lenin's death, various Western Marxists such as Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937), György Lukács (1885–1971), Louis Althusser (1918–), Herbert Marcuse (1898–1979), Theodor Adorno (1903–1969), and Max Horkheimer (1895–1973) would rethink Marxism relative to the political issues of the twentieth century, often linking Marxism to such movements as Freudianism to bolster Marxism's radical essence and to challenge forms of social injustice beyond economic formulations of base and superstructure. By the mid-twentieth century Marxism had become connected to the defeat of racism and endorsement of gender equality and sexual liberation. Walter Benjamin (1892–1940), a member of the Frankfurt School of political and social thought, became important to film theory for his essay "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction" (1935–1936), in which he argued that the "aura" of great works become diminished by the process of reproduction. Although this process had a democratizing aspect, it also tended to remove an artwork from its historical-political context. Benjamin followed a solidly Marxist argument that the artwork was very much conjoined to class assumptions.

MARXISM AND EARLY CINEMA

Marxist ideology is anathema to the business-driven film industry of the United States, but its outlook appears in one form or other in a variety of American films. Although the US government and business sector have been adamantly opposed to all forms of socialism, notions of class struggle have appeared in cinema from its inception. Filmmakers partaking of progressive discourse tend in general to appeal to notions of charity and social equality rather than to Marxist revolution. D. W. Griffith's (1875–1948) *Intolerance* (1916) can be

read as one long plea for social justice. One of the epic's highlights is the Jenkins Mill episode, a loose recreation of the Ludlow Massacre of 1914, during which Rockefeller financial interests hired National Guardsmen to assault and kill striking workers at a chemical plant in Colorado; this event outraged many, including conservatives such as Griffith. Early film comedy, especially the works of Charles Chaplin (1889–1977), have strong anti-authoritarian and socialist themes, from Chaplin's short farces such as *Easy Street* (1917), which portray in Dickensian fashion the life of the urban poor, to his feature-length spoof of industrial capitalism, *Modern Times* (1936).

Post–World War I European cinema, especially that of Germany, showed both the effects of the war and the alienated and helpless condition of people under the German class system. Expressionist horror films such as *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari* (*The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*, Robert Weine, 1920) conveyed a modernist sense of humanity's twisted, tormented situation under the standing economic order. Fritz Lang's pioneering science-fiction masterpiece *Metropolis* (1927), with its seminal vision of an ornate city resting atop the underworld city of the workers who maintain it (a notion derived from H. G. Wells's 1895 novel *The Time Machine*), would foreground anxieties over the class struggle that had propelled Russia's October 1917 Revolution.

Indeed, the Soviet Union after the October Revolution would produce the key films extolling the virtues of socialism and communism; these films would also become landmark contributions to the development of the cinema. Lenin, the leader of the Bolshevik revolution, saw cinema as "the most important art," a phrase often repeated in histories of film. Lenin thought that cinema's ability to communicate through images had an innately democratizing aspect, one crucial to the Soviet Union's numerous ethnicities and languages. This idea was intuited by the pioneers of the Soviet cinema, including Lev Kuleshov (1899–1970), whose famous "Kuleshov experiment" emphasized the importance of film editing by demonstrating how the interrelationship of images affected the consciousness of the spectator. The Soviet cinema for the decade following the October Revolution was among the most avant-garde in the world and established a place in artistic modernism. The key figure of the Soviet cinema, and a giant of film history, is Sergei Eisenstein (1898–1948), who fused Marxist dialectics with art movements such as Cubism and Constructivism to produce a challenging, dynamic cinema that served the agitation purposes of the Soviet revolution. His major films, especially *Stachka* (*Strike*, 1925), *Bronenosets Potyomkin* (*Battleship Potemkin*, 1925), and *Oktyabr* (*Ten Days that Shook the World* and *October*, 1927), broke cleanly with the static melodrama characteristic of early cinema—even the innovative films of Griffith—to create a style based on montage, or cinema built around rapidly cut sequences whose images were charged with symbolism and interacted with each other with remarkable sophistication.

Eisenstein's theory of montage became crucial to the cinema, owing its intellectual basis to Marxist dialectics. In contrast to his colleague Kuleshov, Eisenstein felt that images should "collide" rather than merely be "linked" through editing. Eisenstein applied classical dialectical thinking of thesis opposed by antithesis, leading to synthesis, borrowing from Marx the idea that the standing thesis (problem) of society was capital, its antithesis the worker, synthesis the revolution. Eisenstein translated this into an editing structure wherein the thesis is, for example, images of Czarist troops in the Odessa Steps sequence of *Battleship Potemkin*, the antithesis shots images of the population. The ultimate synthesis is not revolution, but rather the awakening of the spectator. Clearly Eisenstein's films, even before his famous montage theory was formulated, were focused on agitation (as is evident in *Strike*, his first major film).

Other important early Soviet directors included Dziga Vertov (1896–1954), whose *kino pravda* ("film truth") movies inspired the *cinema verité* movement first in France and then internationally. Vertov sought to change the style of the documentary and the notion of the real as depicted in bourgeois art. His most radical accomplishment was *Chelovek s kino-apparatom* (*The Man With a Movie Camera*, 1929), which recorded a day in the life of a Soviet city. What could have been a prosaic film was a radical departure for the documentary, embodying various forms of modernism along with the Marxist aesthetics of theorists such as Bertolt Brecht (1898–1956). Vertov used split screens, superimpositions, animation, and above all an attempt to incorporate the viewer into the very process of filmmaking by showing us the operation of the camera and including self-reflexive jokes such as an image of the filmmaker floating with his camera over the city. Vertov challenged bourgeois realism as well as conventional notions of perspective inherited from the Renaissance, which Vertov, like other Marxist artists, believed lulled the audience into a sense of self-satisfaction and consolation as it accepted the singular vision of one inspired "genius."

EUROPEAN CINEMA BEFORE AND AFTER WORLD WAR II

Other manifestations of a Marxist cinema in Europe include the work of the Spanish director Luis Buñuel (1900–1983). His early films *Un Chien Andalou* (*An Andalusian Dog*, 1929) and *L'Âge d'or* (*The Golden Age*, 1930), made in collaboration with the surrealist painter Salvador Dali (1904–1989), combined a Marxist slap at

the bourgeoisie with surrealism's contempt for all social norms. Deeply affected by European fascism, Buñuel, throughout his long career, continued to lambaste bourgeois society with extraordinarily witty satires, the most notable of which include *Belle de Jour* (1967), *Le charme discret de la bourgeoisie* (*The Discreet Charm of the Bourgeoisie*, 1972), *Le Fantôme de la liberté* (*The Phantom of Liberty*, 1974), and *Cet obscur objet du désir* (*That Obscure Object of Desire*, 1977).

Surrealism, like many art movements of the post–World War I avant-garde, had a strong if conflicted Marxist orientation. Buñuel and his old schoolmate Dali had a falling out during their collaboration on *L'Age d'or*: Buñuel, who at the time had strong communist sympathies, meant the film as a deliberate undermining of all bourgeois institutions. Dali, who eventually supported the Spanish fascist dictator Francisco Franco (whose rule ran from 1936 to 1973) and various figures of the European aristocracy, wanted merely to cause a scandal through the use of various scatological and anti-Catholic images. André Breton (1896–1966), the author of the 1946 work *Manifestoes of Surrealism* and the movement's leading theoretician, visited Trotsky in Mexico during the Bolshevik leader's exile in the late 1930s from the Stalin-controlled Soviet Union. During that visit Breton had a brief association with Frida Kahlo, Diego Rivera, and other Mexican avant-garde painters. Breton's concern was to place surrealism as a movement in service of revolutionary action by creating works that would transform bourgeois consciousness. Yet many aspects of Breton were conservative and exclusionary, especially on the subjects of gender and the rendering of sexuality. Breton did not hesitate to "expel" surrealists whose works he deemed effete or gratuitously sexual.

Jean Renoir (1894–1979), perhaps the greatest figure of the French cinema, was a member of the French Communist Party, then a supporter of the Popular Front coalition of various leftist factions. He examined prewar French society from a sophisticated left perspective. His most acclaimed film, *La Règle du Jeu* (*The Rules of the Game*, 1939), offers a class critique in depicting the deceptions and self-deceptions of a marquis, his wife, and their circle of friends, servants, and hangers-on. The film, influenced by Pierre-Augustin Beaumarchais's *The Marriage of Figaro* (1784), presents a decaying bourgeois civilization in microcosm, showing how the facade and cavalier appetites of this society reflect the dominant assumptions that bring about both the horrors of war and the taken-for-granted forms of repression and denial that are the substance of capitalist life. In the 1930s Renoir directed films regarded by many to be his most self-consciously political, including *Boudu sauvé des eaux* (*Boudu Saved from Drowning*, 1932), about a derelict who disrupts a bourgeois household, and *Le Crime de Monsieur Lange* (*The Crime of Monsieur Lange*, 1936), in which a collectively owned comic book company becomes an allegory of communist society and its internal and external opposition.

The German filmmaker Max Ophuls (1902–1957), who worked in Germany, France, Italy, and the United States, is one of the first directors to introduce the ideas of the Marxist playwright and aesthetician Bertolt Brecht to the cinema. Ophuls, like Renoir, took as his subject the examination of bourgeois mores, especially assumptions pertaining to gender relations (which he saw as foundational to economic and all other relations). He used a high degree of camera artifice both to engage the audience and focus it, in the manner of Brecht's theories, on ideas rather than the melodramatic content of his films, from *Liebelei* (*Flirtation*, 1933) and *La Signora di Tutti* (*Everybody's Woman*, 1934) to *La Ronde* (Roundabout, 1950), *Madame de ...* (*The Earrings of Madame de ...*, 1953) and *Lola Montès* (1955), and even his American films. *The Reckless Moment* (1949) is a deceptively simple but comprehensive analysis of American postwar bourgeois society, especially its impact on the female. *Letter from an Unknown Woman* (1948) is one of the cinema's most perceptive meditations on gender relations under patriarchal capitalism, exemplifying the fusion of psychoanalysis and feminism with Marxism in artistic discourse.

Bertolt Brecht, the distinguished Marxist playwright and theorist, was influential on a host of left-oriented filmmakers beyond Ophuls. Brecht's notion of "distanciation," the idea that the illusionist tricks of the filmmaker or theater director should be revealed to the audience so that it might become fully engaged with the assumptions of the author, would influence a generation of artists on various continents. The cleverly anti-bourgeois Hollywood melodramas of Douglas Sirk (1897–1987), especially *All that Heaven Allows* (1954) and *Written on the Wind* (1956), show the Brechtian influence on the expatriated German director through his deliberately artificial-looking color and set design. The French New Wave filmmaker Jean-Luc Godard (b. 1930) is Brechtian through most of his films in the 1960s and early 1970s, which invite the spectator to interrogate the conventions and codes of representational cinema.

In the postwar period the Italian cinema became noticeable for its strongly progressive, leftist sentiment as Italy became so strong a center of European communism that it was targeted for disruption by the US government. The neorealist movement represented by directors Vittorio De Sica (1902–1974) and Roberto Rossellini (1906–1977) (both of whom were Christian and humanist in their orientation—their works were nevertheless embraced by much of the left) became the

most influential style of the period, with its focus on the plight of the poor. De Sica's *Ladri di biciclette* (*The Bicycle Thieves*, 1948) is representative. Luchino Visconti (1906–1976), whose career began within the neorealist style, made *La Terra Trema* (*The Earth Trembles*, 1948), about the hardships of a Sicilian fisherman and his family, with funds from the Italian Communist Party. Visconti, an aristocrat with Marxist convictions, applied his analysis of class to two early-1960s masterpieces, *Rocco e i suoi fratelli* (*Rocco and His Brothers*, 1960) and *Il Gattopardo* (*The Leopard*, 1963). His later films, *La Caduta degli dei* (*The Damned*, 1969) and *Morte a Venezia* (*Death in Venice*, 1971), focused on the decadence and irredeemable nature of the bourgeoisie. *The Damned* drew a connection between industrial capitalism and the rise of fascism. Visconti's work was strongly influenced by Lukács, the Marxist literary theorist, who argued against avant-garde modernism, which he saw as metaphysical and obscurantist in nature, and in favor of realism, for the portrayal of class conflict in art. Visconti's "Lukacsian epics" stick close to the conventions of the nineteenth-century novel, with attention to material reality through period detail to portray the aristocracy and bourgeoisie in various states of decline.

Bernardo Bertolucci (b. 1940) was, until the 1980s, another identifiably political Italian director, whose best-remembered films were very much influenced by the political activity of the 1960s in Europe and the United States. From his first feature, *Before the Revolution* (1964), his films display nostalgia for the old order simultaneous with its denunciation. The disintegration of macho masculinity in the face of a (potentially) revolutionary Europe was central to *Ultimo tango a Parigi* (*Last Tango in Paris*, 1972), Bertolucci's most controversial film, rated "X" in the United States for its rather explicit sex acts and portrayal of sexual relations. Bertolucci's epic *1900* (1976), a portrayal of the rise of Italian communism and the struggle of the peasantry against the aristocracy, may be his defining political statement, after which he gradually abandoned many of his radical convictions.

Gillo Pontecorvo (b. 1919) is among the most prolific and committed of the Italian Marxist directors of the 1960s, his most stunning film being the Italian-Algerian co-production *La Battaglia di Algeri* (*The Battle of Algiers*, 1966), a documentary-like recreation of the Algerian revolt against French colonial occupation. A subsequent film, *Queimada* (*Burn!*, 1968), which gained brief notoriety in the United States because of Marlon Brando's starring role, is a meditation on imperialism in its colonial and neocolonial phases.

France's most radical filmmaker of the 1960s and 1970s is without question Jean-Luc Godard, the central figure of the French New Wave, who combined Brechtian aesthetics with a love of American genre cinema to challenge traditional representational practices and their ideological underpinnings. A writer for the influential French film journal *Cahiers du Cinéma*, Godard was among the critics who championed a reevaluation of the American cinema. *Le Mépris* (*Contempt*, 1963) is Godard's Brechtian reflection on the film industry, for which he had both nostalgic sentiment and considerable revulsion. *Les Carabiniers* (*The Carabineers*, 1963) is Godard's radical condemnation of warfare and imperialism. His most political, antirealist gesture appeared in *Weekend* (1967), an apocalyptic agit-prop collage of events suggesting the decline of capitalist society into barbarism. After the events of May 1968, Godard, by then a committed Maoist, along with Jean-Pierre Gorin (b. 1943), formed the Dziga Vertov Group, a loose filmmaker cooperative that rejected all forms of conventional representation and hierarchal film practices. *Le Vent d'est* (*Wind from the East*, 1970) was the group's anti-Western, a Maoist parable tied to the genre in part through the presence of Gian Maria Volonte (1933–1994), a leading figure of the Italian Communist Party who made an international reputation as the star of Italian Westerns. *Tout va bien* (*All's Well*, 1972) is Godard and Gorin's exploration, done in non-narrative, declamatory style, of events in post-1968 France through a satiric portrayal of a strike in a sausage factory. Although termed Maoist, *Tout va bien*, like other Godard–Gorin films, owed more to Brecht and the early Soviet avant-garde than the socialist-realist works of Maoist China. The film's companion piece, *Letter to Jane* (1972), is composed of one still of the radicalized actress Jane Fonda (featured in *Tout va bien*), her star image and radical posture deconstructed in a voice-over analysis. Since the 1970s, Godard's radical politics have greatly receded, his recent films, such as *Notre Musique* (*Our Music*, 2004), concerned with issues of representation and human conflict, but from a humanist rather than Marxist perspective.

A key filmmaker of the 1960s Marxist tradition is Jean-Marie Straub (b. 1933), who worked for much of his career in Germany. With his wife and colleague Danièle Huillet (b. 1936), Straub created a Marxist aesthetic far closer to minimalism and structural-materialist film than the montage aesthetic of Eisenstein and the Soviet avant-garde. In fact, Straub sought to do away with montage altogether along with most forms of representationalism as he made films composed almost exclusively of prolonged static shots so as to engage the spectator with the material phenomenon of the image, as well as with their own experience of watching the screen. Among the more famous Straub–Huillet films are *Chronik der Anna Magdalena Bach* (*The Chronicle of Anna Magdalena Bach*, 1968) and *Moses und Aron* (*Moses and

PIER PAOLO PASOLINI

b. Bologna, Italy, 5 March 1922, d. 2 November 1975

Pier Paolo Pasolini is among the most challenging and important directors of the postwar European Marxist cinema. A prolific poet and essayist, Pasolini was sometimes confusing in his ideological convictions. His open homosexuality and support of the Vatican's views on abortion caused his expulsion from the Italian Communist Party. His belief in a progressive reading of Christianity motivated his reverential, multicultural film about the life of Jesus, *Il Vangelo secondo Matteo* (*The Gospel According to Saint Matthew*, 1964). Yet his Marxism was caustic, complex but uncompromised.

Accattone (*The Scrounger*, 1961) is Pasolini's tribute to neorealism, with its grim story of a young homeless man begging for money in an urban slum. *Edipo Re* (*Oedipus Rex*, 1967) updates Sophocles's play with a framing device featuring a young soldier's jealous rivalry with an infant boy, making concrete Freud's ideas about the structures of power within the male group. *Teorema* (*Theorem*, 1968) breaks entirely with neorealism in its story—often seen as a radical *Shane* (1953)—of an angelic young stranger who arrives in a bourgeois household, the mere presence of his androgynous countenance tearing the family to bits, suggesting Pasolini's view of the fragility of heterosexual capitalist life. *Porcile* (*Pigsty*, 1969) is a neo-Brechtian film combining a story about a young barbarian in a medieval wasteland with an inter-cut narrative about the machinations of fascist industrialists determining the fate of a perverse son from their palatial neoclassical chateau.

Pasolini's "celebration of life" films, *Il Decameron* (*The Decameron*, 1971), *I Racconti di Canterbury* (*The Canterbury Tales*, 1972), and *Il Fiore delle mille e una notte* (*Arabian Nights*, 1974), exemplified his belief, common to postwar Marxism, in fusing sexual liberation to class struggle, as well as his insistence on narrative experimentation. His final film, *Salò o le 120 giornate di Sodoma* (*Salo, or The 120 Days of Sodom*, 1975), is one of the most controversial works in cinema history. The film recreates the four protagonists of the Marquis de Sade's novel as representatives of the church and state under fascism. They stage an orgy at Mussolini's final outpost in northern Italy, during which they subject a group of captured young people to all manner of sexual degradation, torture, and murder. The film has no specific basis in historical events but is Pasolini's meditation on the psychology of the fascist mind. Through this exploration of sexual libertinage, Pasolini questions the relative sexual freedom of the present world and whether any authentic liberation can exist in a society based on consumerism and exploitation.

Pasolini was brutally murdered on a highway in 1975, ostensibly by a gay hustler, although the case remains open as of this writing. His work remains a milestone for radical cinema. With Godard, he set a standard for innovative, critical uses of Marxism in art.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Accattone (*The Scrounger*, 1961), *Il Vangelo secondo Matteo* (*The Gospel According to Saint Matthew*, 1964), *Uccellacci e uccellini* (*The Hawks and the Sparrows*, 1966), *Edipo Re* (*Oedipus Rex*, 1967), *Teorema* (*Theorem*), 1968, *Porcile* (*Pigpen*, 1969), *Salò o le 120 giornate di Sodoma* (*Salo, or The 120 Days of Sodom*, 1975)

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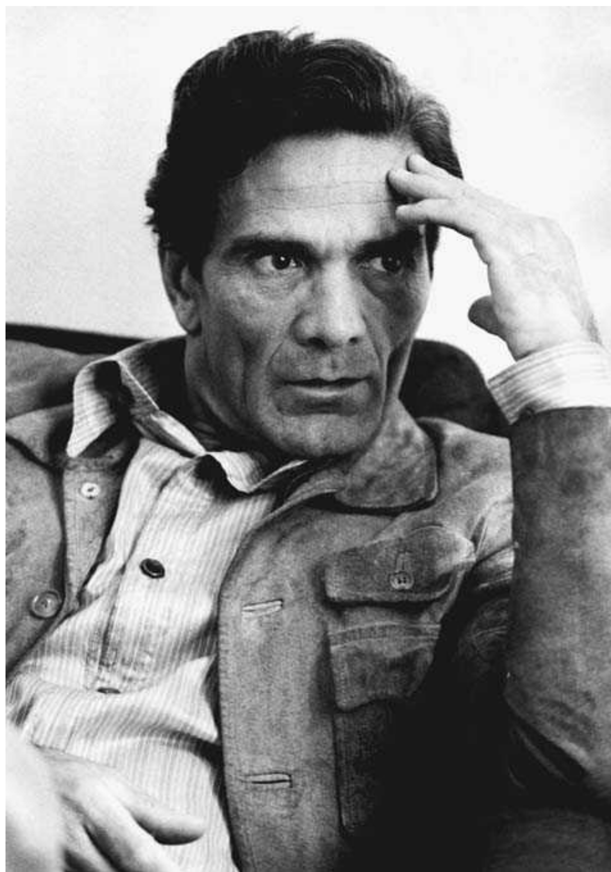
Aaron, 1975). Straub's films were and are infuriating even to committed radicals because of their extremely slow, non-narrative style and apparently apolitical content—Godard was upset with *The Chronicle of Anna Magdalena Bach* for its refusal to engage with the events of the late 1960s, although Straub responded that the film was his contribution to the people of Vietnam in support of their struggle against the United States invasion.



Pier Paolo Pasolini. © HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/ CORBIS.

Constantin Costa-Gavras (b. 1933) might be seen as a crossover figure in the international leftist cinema, working in the United States and France as well as his native Greece. Costa-Gavras made an impression with his 1968 film *Z*, about a coup in Greece that brought a military dictatorship in the 1960s. *Z* resonates with various events of the 1960s, including the assassination of John F. Kennedy. His 1982 film *Missing* was a fictionalized account of the 1972 United States–sponsored coup against Chilean president Salvador Allende and its consequences on a meek American businessman and his family. Since the 1980s Costa-Gavras's political commitments and artistic achievements have been inconsistent.

HOLLYWOOD AND THE LEFT

Marxist and other radical ideologies tended to find their way into the United States cinema following the devastating impact of the Great Depression of the 1930s on American capitalism. Some films embraced a point of view reflecting merely the liberal social policies and outlook of President Franklin Roosevelt (1933–1945), whose New Deal defined the social worldview of several generations. Liberalism, designed to co-opt and diffuse a rising tide of Marxist and socialist activity in the United States during the 1930s, appeared in the films of conservative directors, including John Ford's *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939), and the various populist films of the less reactionary Frank Capra (1897–1991), such as *Meet John Doe* (1941) and *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* (1939). Films such as *Our Daily Bread* (King Vidor, 1934) celebrated the collectivist spirit that accompanied phases of the New Deal and seemed to invoke the stylistics of the Soviet cinema.

World War II caused Hollywood to take complex political turns. Because the Soviet Union was allied with the United States in fighting Nazism, the film industry, working with the Office of War Information, made films that burnished Stalin's image and even helped justify his purges of many of the original supporters of the October Revolution. The most famous and rather bizarre example is *Mission to Moscow* (Michael Curtiz, 1943), about the globetrotting of Ambassador Joseph Davies that becomes a paean to Stalin as ally. After World War II, the Hollywood studios would renounce such films while helping the government condemn various directors, screenwriters, and producers as part of an international communist plot. In the climate of the Cold War, members of the film community were called before the House Un-American Activities Committee, which aimed to root out suspected communists but also to roll back the pro-union, pro-socialist activity of the Great Depression as well as delegitimate Roosevelt's progressive social programs. A "blacklist" was created to purge communists and "fellow travelers" from the cinema. The most notorious phase of this process was the case of the Hollywood Ten, a group of writers and directors including Ring Lardner Jr. (1915–2000), Alvah Bessie (1904–1985), John Howard Lawson (1894–1977), Herbert Biberman (1900–1971), Dalton Trumbo (1905–1976), Albert Maltz (1908–1985), Samuel Ornitz (1890–1957), Edward Dmytrk (1908–1999), Adrian Scott (1912–1973), and Lester Cole (1904–1985), who were sent to prison for refusing to tell HUAC their political sympathies or to "name names" of suspected communists within the industry. Dmytrk and others cooperated with HUAC when released from prison and were therefore allowed to return to work. Others were kept on the blacklist and forced either out of or to the margins of the industry. HUAC activity continued well into the 1950s, gaining new momentum with the activity of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, a late-coming opportunist to the anti-left crusade.

By the late 1950s the hold of the Cold War on Hollywood tended to loosen somewhat with the censuring and early death, in 1957, of McCarthy, and the attempt by high-profile stars and producers to break the

Yves Montand and Jane Fonda in the midst of a workers' strike in* Tout va bien *(*All's Well, *Jean-Luc Godard and Jean-Pierre Gorin, 1972). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

blacklist. Kirk Douglas hired Dalton Trumbo to write the screenplay for his epic *Spartacus* (1960); at approximately the same time, Otto Preminger hired Trumbo to write *Exodus* (1960). Some of the blacklisted filmmakers worked on low-profile projects that received little distribution in their day, such as Herbert Biberman's *Salt of the Earth* (1954), with a screenplay by Michael Wilson (1914–1978; also blacklisted—he would write *Lawrence of Arabia* [1962] but did not gain screen credit for it until years after the film's release), produced by Paul Jarrico (1915–1997), another victim of the witch hunt. *Salt of the Earth*, which recreates a strike by white and Hispanic mine workers in New Mexico, cannot be termed Marxist since it does not challenge the mine owners' right to control resources; but the film has powerful left sentiments and is rather pioneering in its views of race and gender liberation as necessary to class struggle.

American cinema in the postwar period, though rarely explicitly Marxist, often contained powerful condemnations of the intellectual and spiritual bankruptcy of the bourgeois life extolled by 1950s conservatism. Sirk's melodramas are perceptive comments, made by a European émigré observing the scene, on the limits of American middle- and upper-class life, with its social and economic contradictions and forms of repression. The melodrama is, in fact, the filmic site that seems to show, in the context of the 1950s, deep skepticism toward the American ideological program of restoring a sense of normality shattered by the Great Depression. *Picnic* (Joshua Logan, 1955), *Rebel Without a Cause* (Nicholas Ray, 1955), *Bigger than Life* (Ray, 1956), *Some Came Running* (Vincente Minnelli, 1958), *Home from the Hill* (Minnelli, 1960), and *Strangers When We Meet* (Richard Quine, 1960) are all stunning rebukes of American patriarchal bourgeois civilization. Even the Western, Hollywood's traditionally conservative genre, showed the cracks in the postwar ideological facade in films such as *High Noon* (Fred Zinneman, 1952) and *Man of the*

West (Anthony Mann, 1958). Rather like the films of Renoir, Buñuel, and Pasolini, these films and later works of Hollywood seem less involved in offering a revolutionary solution than diagnosing the maladies of life under the capitalist social order.

THE THIRD WORLD

The cinema of Latin America, Asia, and Africa has produced what many critics argue to be the most radical cinema, despite often meager production resources of the overexploited nations interested in participating in cinematic discourse about Western imperialism. Many Third World films of a radical orientation enjoy little if any distribution within the United States; as a consequence, the work of Marxist directors from Latin America or Africa are often lost to all but the most diligent radical scholars. A key example of the problem is *Hora de los hornos* (*The Hour of the Furnaces*, 1967), by the Argentine director Fernando Solanas (b. 1936), with Octavio Getino (b. 1935) and Santiago Alvarez (1919–1998), one of the most radical condemnations, in agitprop form, of American and European imperialism ever filmed, which has yet to appear in the United States in a serviceable video or DVD version. The Cuban filmmaker Santiago Alvarez is perhaps the most renowned documentarian working in a communist country. His rather modest, often satirical agitprop films, such as *LBJ* (1968), and the tributes to Che Guevara and Ho Chi Minh, *Hasta la victoria siempre* (Until the Victory Always, 1967), and *79 primaveras* (*79 Springs*, 1969), are remarkable works partaking fully of the avant-garde tradition in their satirical montage, their caustic condemnation of imperialism, and their celebration of the international struggle for liberation. Another Cuban filmmaker, Tomás Gutiérrez Alea (1928–1996), offers a sophisticated meditation on liberalism and its hypocritical equivocations in *Memorias del subdesarrollo* (*Memories of Underdevelopment*, 1968).

Africa's most renowned radical director is perhaps the Senegalese filmmaker Ousmane Sembene (b. 1923), whose films offer sublime, understated challenges to Western imperialism in a career spanning almost forty years. His *Emitai* (God of Thunder, 1971) is representative of his project of reclaiming African identity as it forces the Western viewer to understand her or his own imagination, and the ways by which this imagination has been projected on Africa. Concerned with the French occupation of Senegal during World War II and a resultant massacre, the film is among the most important postwar challenges by an African filmmaker. Sembene's film *Xala* (*The Curse*, 1975) deconstructs the colonialist mindset as internalized by the colonized—as such, *Xala* is a kind of cinema reflection on the essential thesis of Frantz Fanon's pivotal 1961 study *The Wretched of the Earth*. *Guelwaar* (1992) is an especially relevant comment on conflicts between the Muslim and Christian worlds in contemporary Africa, as it foregrounds the ongoing struggle for freedom from colonialism.

In the Middle East, Iran at the beginning of the twenty-first century seems to have the strongest potential for the production of a radical cinema despite its theocratic government. Dariush Mehrjui (b. 1939) appears an heir to Buñuel in such films as *Baanoo* (*The Lady*, 1999) and *Dayereh mina* (*The Cycle*, 1978). The prolific filmmaker Abbas Kiarostami (b. 1940) has enjoyed much acclaim in recent years for his largely humanist films.

THE 1960s AND AFTER

During the Vietnam War, which by the late 1960s brought a major wave of dissent in the United States, the Hollywood cinema tended to portray a society on the verge of disintegration: Arthur Penn's *The Chase* (1965) and *Bonnie and Clyde* (1967), Dennis Hopper's *Easy Rider* (1969), and Sam Peckinpah's *The Wild Bunch* (1969). Penn's *Alice's Restaurant* (1969) showed sympathy for the youth counterculture of the 1960s. During the 1970s audiences that had witnessed the Vietnam War and the Watergate scandal were drawn to disaster films such as *Earthquake* and *The Towering Inferno* (1974), whose pleasures resided in watching the destruction of symbols of mainstream society. In the horror genre, *The Texas Chainsaw Massacre* (1974) and *Dawn of the Dead* (1978) portrayed the monstrousness of post-Vietnam America. Several films examined the war and its consequences, the most famous of which are *The Deer Hunter* (1978) and *Apocalypse Now* (1979). In the late 1980s, Oliver Stone (b. 1946) made two films about the war, *Platoon* (1986) and *Born on the Fourth of July* (1989), showing the coming-apart of American myth and the social confidence that permitted the war to occur. A common critical view of Marxist film scholars is that few if any Vietnam films examine the role of imperialism and colonialism in shaping war policy.

The Hollywood cinema from the 1960s until the presidency of Ronald Reagan (1981–1989) tended to offer challenges to the American ideological system that sometimes had obvious Marxist aspects. This was due in part to the collapse of the studio system, the rise of independent cinema, and the American crisis in ideological confidence. The tendencies of this new cinema may be best represented in *Heaven's Gate* (Michael Cimino, 1980), an epic rethinking of the Western that saw the winning of the West as class struggle. A new, corporatized studio system developed in the 1980s and 1990s, and adversarial cinema saw a gradual demise simultaneous with the public embrace of the status quo following

the collapse of the Soviet Union. Still, challenges to the political-economic-social order, sometimes of a limited or compromised nature, occasionally appear in the commercial cinema of the new century, including, among others, the films of Todd Haynes, David O. Russell's *Three Kings* (1997), and David Fincher's *Fight Club* (1999).

SEE ALSO *Class; Ideology; Russia and Soviet Union*

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MELODRAMA

Few artistic movements have provoked such strong emotions as has melodrama over the years. From sneers of derision to tears of empathy, melodrama has the peculiar facility to divide and polarize popular and critical opinion. The study of the origin and influence of melodrama in cinema has likewise generated more heated and contradictory debate than perhaps any other area of enquiry within film scholarship and criticism. Melodrama cannot be defined simply as a genre, as it frequently defies attempts at generic classification. Rather, the history of the term's use in film scholarship demonstrates many of the debates and limitations of genre theory.

MELODRAMA AND MEANING

Melodrama is a word with at least three distinct meanings and there has been a tendency in critical debate to slip from one context to another in using the term.

First, melodrama refers to a specific theatrical genre that emerged in Europe, especially France and England, during the late eighteenth century and became extremely popular during the nineteenth century. The term was originally used by Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) to describe his play *Pygmalion* (1770). Rousseau wished to distinguish between the staging of his own production and the popular Italian opera, using the term "mélodrame" to describe a form of drama where music would accompany the spoken word to embellish and accentuate the emotional content of the dialogue. While Rousseau's dramatic innovation was a short-lived phenomenon, it eventually provided the name for a new and popular theatrical genre that emerged as a consequence of licensing legislation introduced for the regulation of theater in the two countries. A further distinction began to be made during the late eighteenth century between the licensed, "legitimate" theater that was legally able to stage plays and the "illegitimate," popular theaters where the spoken word was not permitted. It was in such theaters that a new form of entertainment started to emerge that combined music, dance, drama, and older folk entertainment forms such as pantomime, circus, and harlequinade in ever more sophisticated and spectacular forms. Thus the melodrama was born.

At a narrative level, the melodrama of the period was marked by its concern with complex and sensational narratives involving devices such as mistaken identities, twins separated at birth, stolen inheritances, star-crossed lovers, and the eternal struggle between good and evil, often represented by the virtuous poor being oppressed by decadent aristocrats and, increasingly during the nineteenth century, by the heartless industrialist. Although the licensing acts that contributed to the emergence of melodrama were repealed during the final years of the eighteenth century in France and the early nineteenth century in England, melodrama's popularity was such that it became perhaps the most ubiquitous of theatrical forms during the nineteenth century, developing, during the course of that century, an increasingly sophisticated formal language. Elaborate staging techniques, including the development of technological innovations that enabled rapid scene changes, the use of revolves and pulleys (to produce the effect of parallel action and scenes) and, above all, the use of spectacle became central features of theatrical melodrama. All of these narrative, stylistic, and technical devices,

well established by the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, clearly influenced the development of early narrative cinema, which drew very clearly on the established and popular theatrical genre of melodrama. The work of D. W. Griffith (1875–1948), for example, is clearly indebted to theatrical melodrama; indeed, several of his films, most notably *Orphans of the Storm* (1921), were adaptations of popular theatrical melodramas.

Second, melodrama and "melodramatic" are terms that have a popular, common-sense usage as pejorative descriptions usually relating to a specific performance or narrative style regarded as artificial, excessively emotional, unrealistic, or anachronistic. This use of the term sees melodrama as formulaic, sentimental, old-fashioned, and inferior to "serious" drama; it is often equated with soap opera. This value judgment regarding melodrama has frequently been applied to cinema aimed at a female audience and/or films featuring female protagonists. There is a clear yet problematic link made in such usage between excessive emotion, sentimentality, and the feminine or feminine concerns. This is an issue that many feminist film scholars have discussed, most notably Christine Gledhill, Pam Cook, and Laura Mulvey, all of whom have noted that ostensibly male critics and directors have designated the many so-called "woman's films" of Classical Hollywood as melodrama and as a consequence have diminished the female point of view and the concerns that such films attempt to address. *Stella Dallas* (1937), for example, and *Mildred Pierce* (1945), both regarded as "maternal melodramas," tell stories of mothers who struggle to achieve financial and social acceptance and security primarily for the sake of less than grateful children. *Now, Voyager* (1942), *Dark Victory* (1939), and *Letter from an Unknown Woman* (1948) are archetypical examples of the woman's film as melodrama, with their suffering heroines, themes of lost or unrequited love, and overt emotional appeal. While such films at points perhaps have lacked critical respectability, they have been consistently popular with audiences and closely associated with a group of female stars who continue to epitomize a very particular stylized and emotional performance style associated with film melodrama. Successful actresses such as Joan Crawford (1904–1977), Bette Davis (1908–1989), Barbara Stanwyck (1907–1990), Lana Turner (1921–1995), and Jane Wyman (b. 1914) consolidated their careers starring in such films. Likewise, a succession of directors became associated with the woman's film, including George Cukor (1899–1983), Max Ophuls (1907–1957), Irving Rapper (1898–1999), John Stahl (1886–1950), King Vidor (1894–1982), William Wyler (1902–1981), and Mervin LeRoy (1900–1987).

MELODRAMA AND FILM STUDIES

Melodrama is also a term that has currency within film studies debate that has a sometimes uncomfortable connection with the two understandings of the term already discussed.

The term entered the lexicon of film studies initially through auteurist interests in the work of European émigré directors working in Hollywood during the 1950s, particularly a group of films made by Douglas Sirk (1897–1987) during his years as a contract director at Universal, among them *Magnificent Obsession* (1954), *All That Heaven Allows* (1955), *Written on the Wind* (1956), and *Imitation of Life* (1959). Sirk used the term melodrama to describe a form of drama characterized by high emotion and its affective qualities in an unambiguous and rather ironic manner in order to articulate his own distaste for their overtly sentimental plots. Melodrama at this point was seized upon by a generation of scholars to describe this "rediscovered" form of cinema, and Sirk's films were regarded as the epitome of a newly identified, though far from clearly defined, genre that was more complex ideologically than previously had been thought.

In 1971 Thomas Elsaesser, taking Sirk's lead, argued that the focus of film melodrama of 1950s Hollywood is the bourgeois family and that it is distinguished by a strong sense of ideological contradiction reflecting wider uncertainties, fears, and neuroses prevalent in postwar Eisenhower America. For Elsaesser, this ideological contradiction is expressed in the family melodrama primarily through *mise-en-scène*, music, and performance. From this perspective, *mise-en-scène* is perhaps the most important melodramatic device, filling in the gaps, as it were, between what the characters are unable or unwilling to express. For Elsaesser and other scholars such as Paul Willemen and, later, Thomas Schatz, the *mise-en-scène* in melodrama becomes overburdened with meaning. Anxieties and contradictions not explicitly expressed within the narrative are displaced onto objects, constructing the bourgeois home as a stifling environment for its inhabitants, as in Sirk's and Vincente Minnelli's films. Later in the 1970s Geoffrey Nowell-Smith and Laura Mulvey expanded on this argument, suggesting that the ideological contradictions contained in the family melodrama were so marked that at moments of high tension, narrative coherence breaks down. In effect, they claimed, these contradictions become so intense that they actually ruptured the cohesiveness of the classical narrative structure. As Nowell-Smith notes, "The undischarged emotion which cannot be accommodated in the action, subordinated as it is to the demands of family/lineage/inheritance is traditionally expressed in the music and in

DOUGLAS SIRK

b. Detlef Sierck, Hamburg, Germany, 26 April 1897, d. 14 January 1987

No other director has been more closely associated with the concept of melodrama in cinema than Douglas Sirk. His best known and most financially successful films, produced by Ross Hunter for Universal Studios during the mid-1950s, have become for critics and scholars the archetypical examples of what Thomas Elsaesser describes as family melodrama.

Born into a middle-class family in Hamburg at the turn of the century, Detlef Sierck began his career in the German theater during the years of the Weimar Republic, directing plays by Bertolt Brecht, Georg Kaiser, and Kurt Weill, among others. He became involved in the cinema working as a director for the state-run studio Ufa, directing such notable works as *Zu neuen Ufern* (*To New Shores*, 1937) and *La Habanera* (1937). While many of his contemporaries fled Germany under the Nazi regime, Sierck did not leave until the end of the 1930s. Arriving in Hollywood at the start of the 1940s, Sierck (now known as Douglas Sirk) initially worked for Columbia before becoming a contract director for Universal in 1946. As one of Universal's house directors, he worked on a diverse range of projects ranging from war films and thrillers to westerns, comedies, and musicals, but it was the films he made with Hunter in the 1950s that established Sirk's reputation as the quintessential director of Hollywood melodrama. *Magnificent Obsession* (1954), *All That Heaven Allows* (1955), *Written on the Wind* (1956), and *Imitation of Life* (1959), featuring lavish production design and convoluted narratives concerning doomed romances, improbable coincidences, and tear-jerking denouements, made stars of Rock Hudson, Robert Stack, and Dorothy Malone as well as consolidating the careers of Jane Wyman and Lana Turner.

While popular with audiences, Sirk's films were often condemned by contemporary film critics as examples of the sensationalism and sentimentality of popular cinema. However, in France, the critics of the influential *Cahiers du Cinèma*, notably François Truffaut and Jean-Luc Godard, praised Sirk's distinctive visual style. In the early 1970s a new generation of film scholars, notably Thomas Elsaesser, Paul Willemen, Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, and Fred Camper, "rediscovered" Sirk's films, hailing them as supreme examples of a subversive critique of postwar American society expressed through stylized *mise-en-scène* drawing on irony and Brechtian alienating devices. Sirk's work has influenced many subsequent filmmakers including Rainer Werner Fassbinder, Martin Scorsese, John Waters, Pedro Almodóvar, Jonathan Demme, and Todd Haynes.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Zu neuen Ufern (*To New Shores*, 1937, as Detlef Sierck), *La Habanera* (1937, as Detlef Sierck), *Hitler's Madman* (1943), *Magnificent Obsession* (1954), *All That Heaven Allows* (1955), *There's Always Tomorrow* (1956), *Written on the Wind* (1956), *The Tarnished Angels* (1958), *A Time to Love and a Time to Die* (1958), *Imitation of Life* (1959)

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the case of film in certain elements of the *mise-en-scène*" (Nowell-Smith, p. 73).

Throughout the 1970s and well into the 1980s, critical discussion of film melodrama was constrained by two theoretical paradigms, psychoanalysis and neo-Marxist ideology, framing debate around the terms of reference, concerns, and generic features of melodrama for nearly thirty years, as well as Sirk's preeminent place as director. This critical view of melodrama has additionally had a significant influence on a generation of filmmakers who emerged during the period when film theorists were rediscovering Sirk's work. The most prominent figure to have been influenced by this theoretically informed notion of melodrama was the German New Wave director, writer, and actor, Rainer Werner Fassbinder (1945–1982). Legend has it that Fassbinder first saw a retrospective of Sirk's Hollywood films at a festival in Berlin in 1971 and was so inspired that he instantly drove to

Douglas Sirk. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Switzerland to speak with the retired director in person at his home in Lugano. It is certainly true to say that Fassbinder's work demonstrates some degree of debt to the stylization, alienating devices, and subversive social critique that critics attribute to Sirk's films. This influence is very apparent in films such as *Angst essen Seele auf* (*Ali: Fear Eats the Soul*, 1974) often, incorrectly, seen as a remake of Sirk's *All That Heaven Allows*, in which a socially unacceptable relationship between an older woman and a younger man causes disruption. However, in Fassbinder's film the older woman is an elderly cleaner (Brigitte Mira) who falls in love with a Moroccan laborer (El Hedi ben Salem) rather than Jane Wyman's glamorous widow falling for Rock Hudson's brooding, free-spirited gardener, as in Sirk's film. Throughout Fassbinder's short but extremely prolific career (he made nearly forty films in less than ten years), Sirk's Hollywood melodramas were to become stylistic touchstones that provided a rich source of inspiration. Sirk's use of reflections and onscreen space, for example, are apparent in Fassbinder's *Die Bitteren Tränen der Petra von Kant* (*The Bitter Tears of Petra Von Kant*, 1972) and *Chinesisches Roulette* (*Chinese Roulette*, 1976), the garish use of color is evident in *Lola* (1981) and *Querelle* (1982), ironic social criticism is evident in *Händler der vier Jahreszeiten* (*The Merchant of Four Seasons*, 1972) and *Faustrecht der Freiheit* (*Fox and His Friends*, 1975) and the suffering female protagonist in *Sehnsucht der Veronika Voss* (*Veronika Voss*, 1982) and *Die Ehe der Maria Braun* (*The Marriage of Maria Braun*, 1979).

Sirk's melodramas have also been cited as influences on the work of an even more disparate range of directors, from Martin Scorsese (b. 1942) to John Waters (b. 1946). In recent years the work of the internationally acclaimed Spanish director Pedro Almodóvar (b. 1949) clearly demonstrates the influence of Sirk's films through the use of lavish stylization, lurid color schemes, convoluted narratives, and mannered performances. In films such as *Mujeres al borde de un ataque de nervios* (*Women on the Verge of a Nervous Breakdown*, 1988), *La flor de mi secreto* (*The Flower of My Secret*, 1995), and *All About My Mother* (1999), Almodóvar shows himself to be the natural successor to both Sirk and Fassbinder through his interest in female protagonists and highly emotionally charged and lavishly mounted productions. Todd Haynes (b. 1961), one of the leading figures of the so-called New Queer Cinema and another figure inspired by both Sirk and Fassbinder, gained commercial and critical success with his own revision of Sirk's *All That Heaven Allows* with *Far from Heaven* (2003). For the problem of class, the obstacle that faces the lovers in Sirk's original film, the film substitutes the even more problematic and inflammatory issues of race and sexuality, subjects that the production code would have made it impossible for Sirk's source text to discuss.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN FILM THEORY

Christine Gledhill's forensic introduction to her 1987 edited collection of essays on melodrama, *Home is Where the Heart Is*, outlined the range of debate on the subject until that point and began to open up the possibility for a reconsideration of film melodrama. Primarily, Gledhill discussed the feminist intervention in the debate and pointed to the largely unsuccessful attempts to reconnect film theory with the historical roots of theatrical melodrama. She noted that film studies' notion of melodrama, which is concerned primarily with the domestic and the feminine, has little in common with the theatrical genre of melodrama, which is focused on action, incident, and jeopardy. She called for a more progressive and encompassing engagement with what melodrama is and does in cinema, a call that initially remained largely unanswered, as the model of family melodrama remained entrenched.

By the late 1980s and 1990s, however, such theorists as Linda Williams, Steve Neale, and Rick Altman, as well as Gledhill herself, revisited melodrama to examine these generic assumptions. Steve Neale, for example,

Douglas Sirk's mise-en-scène reveals entrapment and oppresssion in* All that Heaven Allows *(1955). **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

investigated the uses of the term melodrama in the trade press during the Classical Hollywood period in order to find evidence of the term being used to describe the same films that scholars now identified as melodrama. His findings suggested that the term usually was not applied to films set in the domestic environment, with feminine concerns, as it is today. In fact, when the term was used it was typically to describe action-orientated films such as those that would now be called gangster films or thrillers. Second, Neale noted that the so-called "woman's films" of Classical Hollywood were not, as had been suggested, considered inferior to male-oriented genres but often were regarded as serious, high-quality dramas in contemporary reviews. Neale thus called the Film Studies account of melodrama as a genre into question, an issue that he expanded upon more fully in a chapter dealing with the problems of identifying melodrama and the "woman's film" as genres in *Genre and Hollywood* (2000). There Neale called fundamental debates around the notion of genre into question by arguing that film scholars should return to industry-based genere definitions and categorization. While the issues that Neale raised are of considerable importance for the development of film scholarship, their implications seem to be opposed to equally important scholarship.

This point was made by Rick Altman, who questions Neale's approach to genre and suggests that his reliance on industrial classification limits the ways in which films can be read and understood. Altman notes that Neale's research is based on a study of the trade press and not of the film industry itself, which Neale seems to regard as interchangeable. Rejecting Neale's idea of relying on industrial classification as the way to identify genre, Altman argues that film scholarship should open up cinema to interpretations that are not limited by industrial factors. For Altman, melodrama is one of the best

VINCENTE MINNELLI

b. Lester Anthony Minnelli, Chicago, Illinois, 28 February 1903, d. 25 July 1986

Minnelli began his career in the 1930s as a theater costume and set designer in Chicago and on Broadway. The exuberant love of theatrical spectacle, evident in all of Minnelli's work, led to his early employment as a set designer for Busby Berkeley and others before he gained his first chance to direct with the musical *Cabin in the Sky* (1943). Minnelli is perhaps best known to a wide audience as a director of some of the most successful Hollywood musicals of the 1940s and 1950s, including *An American in Paris* (1951), *Ziegfeld Follies* (1946), *The Pirate* (1948), *The Band Wagon* (1953), *Kismet* (1955), *Gigi* (1958), and *Meet Me in St Louis* (1944), the most famous of several creative collaborations with his wife, Judy Garland.

In addition to his considerable popular reputation and commercial success as MGM's premier director of musicals, Minnelli also made a series of dramas that many critics have seen as typifying Hollywood melodrama, including the sensationally lurid *The Bad and the Beautiful* (1952). *Two Weeks in Another Town* (1962) is an overheated depiction of of the Hollywood film industry, while *The Cobweb* (1955) is set in a mental institution and stars Richard Widmark, Gloria Grahame, and Lauren Bacall in a complex love triangle. Others include the family melodrama *Home From the Hill* (1960); *Some Came Running* (1958), with Frank Sinatra as a disillusioned writer returning to his hometown following the war; and the notorious *Tea and Sympathy* (1956), a tellingly repressed and neurotic depiction of homosexual confusion in a boys' school.

Minnelli's films, especially his melodramas, have been the focus of attention for film theorists for a variety of reasons. For some, the rhetoric of Minnelli's musicals exemplifies the stylistic and narrative strategies of the genre; while for others the filmic devices of both Minnelli's musicals and his melodramas demonstrate repressed ideological conflicts and tensions that erupt at moments of high drama through music and *mise-en-scène*. From this perspective, the films may be read through recourse to the psychoanalytic concept of conversion hysteria, which accounts for the excessive and stylized quality of Minnelli's work. For still others, Minnelli stands as a good example of the distinction between the auteur, whose work possesses and is governed by a consistency of artistic vision, and the stylist or metteur en scène, the category that Andrew Sarris claims Minnelli typifies.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Cabin in the Sky (1943), *Meet Me in St. Louis* (1944), *The Clock* (1945), *The Pirate* (1948), *Madame Bovary* (1949), *Father of the Bride* (1950), *An American in Paris* (1951), *The Bad and the Beautiful* (1952), *The Band Wagon* (1953), *Brigadoon* (1954), *The Cobweb* (1955), *Lust for Life* (1956), *Tea and Sympathy* (1957), *Some Came Running* (1958), *Home from the Hill* (1960), *Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* (1962), *Two Weeks in Another Town* (1962)

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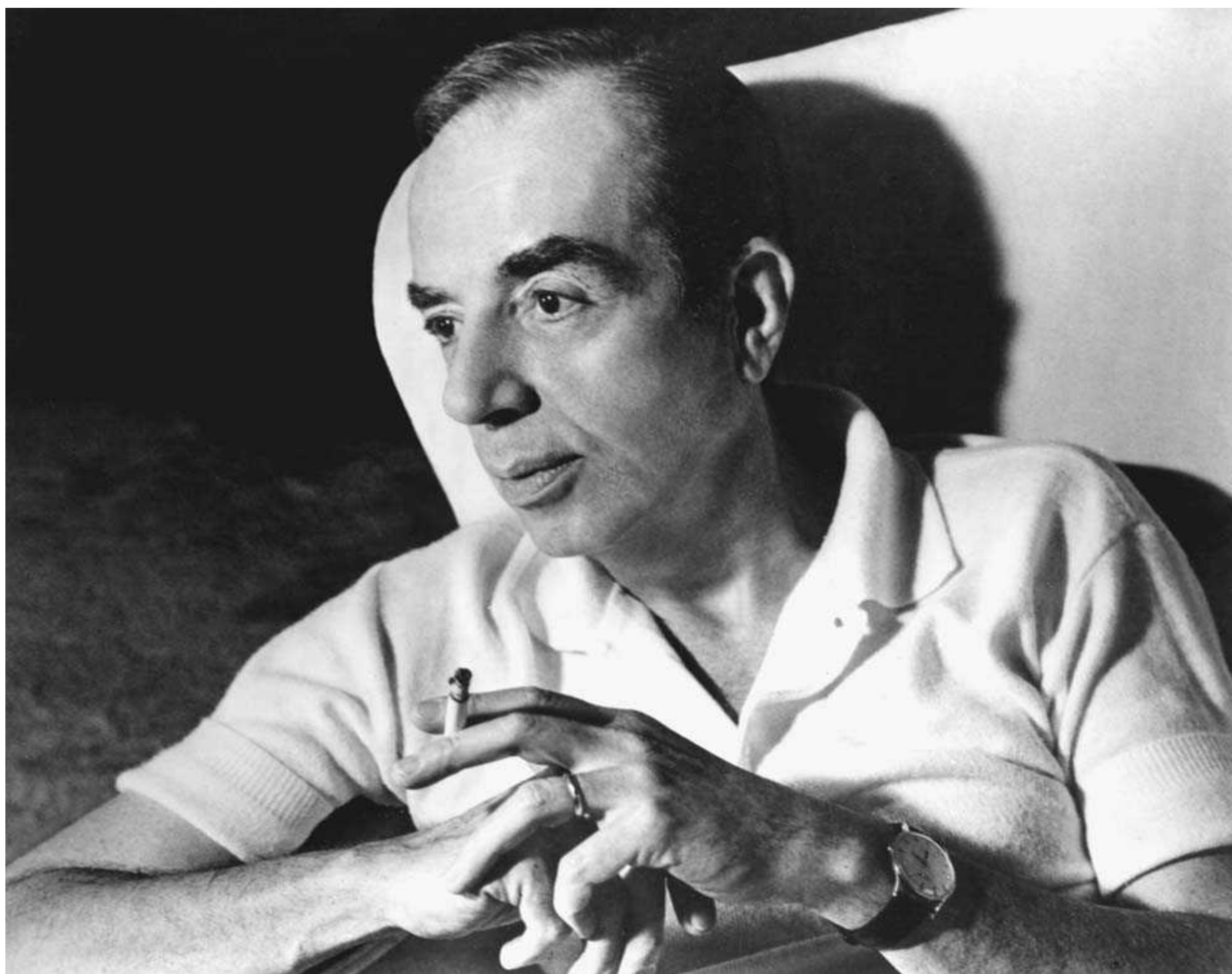
examples of a category largely constructed through film scholarship that has enabled critics to discuss a range of otherwise disparate films. Altman also usefully argues that while film theorists may have formulated the notion of the family melodrama, this idea is not antithetical to the more traditional notion of melodrama based on high drama and action that Neale notes was the industry-based classification. Altman's arguments about melodrama and questions of genre more generally open up a far more inclusive and sophisticated notion of both theoretical terms, which acknowledge that different groups (the film industry, film critics, scholars, audiences) have different conceptions of genre and that specific film genres can be understood only by recognizing them all. Barbara Klinger builds upon this idea in an analysis of Sirk's "classic" melodramas (1993). She suggests that



Vincente Minnelli. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

there is no single definitive meaning to any film or group of films, that in fact all films operate in a "network of meaning" based on the discourses within the film industry and among scholars, film critics, and audiences alike.

The most significant contemporary developments in the melodrama debate have been offered by Linda Williams and Christine Gledhill, both of whom have made an invaluable contribution to understanding of the form, particularly as it relates to issues of feminism. The work of both theorists is informed by Peter Brooks's important study of theatrical and literary melodrama, *The Melodramatic Imagination* (1976), which argues that melodrama is a rhetorical strategy that articulates the struggle between moral forces in the modern world. For Gledhill and Williams, as for Brooks, melodrama is primarily concerned with morality and uses a heightened emotional, visual, and stylistic language to convey and articulate moral dilemmas. Both Gledhill (in *Reinventing Film Studies*, 2000) and Williams argue that it is necessary to look beyond generic boundaries to discuss melodrama and suggest that it is more useful to think about melodrama as a "modality" or an "expressive code." Melodrama is thus more than a genre and is not confined to the established categories of the "woman's film" or the family melodrama, but is a narrative and stylistic register that appears across a wide range of cinematic texts. Williams (1998) goes even further by claiming that melodrama is not merely one of a range of rhetorical devices, but is in fact the dominant mode of American filmmaking.

Williams argues that melodrama is a central feature of American cinema and American culture more generally and can be traced from its roots in the theater through nineteenth-century sentimental and romantic literature, through early cinema in the work of Cecil B. De Mille (1881–1959) and D. W. Griffith and Classical

Hollywood, to the contemporary work of directors such as Francis Copolla and Steven Spielberg. As examples, Williams analyzes Vietnam films such as *The Deer Hunter* (1978) and *Platoon* (1986) as contemporary articulations of the melodramatic mode. This encompassing notion of melodrama opens up a far wider range of texts for analysis as examples of melodrama, enabling the discussion of action films such as *Die Hard* (1988) and *Gladiator* (2000) with their male protagonists and seemingly masculine concerns, within this context. This wider view of melodrama also makes it possible to look outside mainstream Hollywood cinema to find melodrama in, for example, popular Hindi cinema, Chinese cinema, and cinema aimed at marginalized groups in society such as gays and lesbians, testifying to the form's continuing influence and relevance as a distinctive form of cinematic expression.

SEE ALSO *Feminism; Film Studies; Genre; Ideology; Psychoanalysis; Woman's Pictures*

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MERCHANDISING

While there has been merchandise associated with Hollywood films since at least the 1930s, the deliberate production of additional commodities associated with motion pictures has become more common since the 1970s, and accelerated tremendously during the last few decades of the twentieth century. For some films, merchandise provides a lucrative source of additional profits for film companies, sometimes even contributing production funds.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND DEFINITIONS

Until the 1960s and 1970s, relatively little merchandising activity took place in Hollywood, except by the Walt Disney Company. Merchandising started for the Disney brothers with the tremendous success of Mickey Mouse's *Steamboat Willie* (1928). In 1929 the company was offered $300 to put Mickey Mouse on writing tablets. The extra income helped to finance expensive production at the Disney studio. Thus, during the 1930s, a wide range of Disney products appeared in markets around the world, everything from soap to ice cream to Cartier diamond bracelets. Mickey Mouse is often claimed to be the most popular licensed character in the world and still appears on thousands of merchandise items and publications.

Disney continued to develop merchandise connected with its films and film characters over the years. But the Disney Company was the exception, rather than the rule. Though the motion picture industry may have been relatively slow to pick up on merchandising, this type of activity accelerated dramatically during the 1990s and early twenty-first century. The current phase of film-based licensing can be traced back specifically to the merchandising successes of *Star Wars* (1977) and *E.T. the Extra-Terrestrial* (1982), but has continued with the blockbuster, action-figure based films of the 1990s (for instance, *Batman* [1989] and *Spider-Man* [2002]), as well as the successful franchise films in the early twenty-first century (such as *The Lord of the Rings* [2001–2003] and *Harry Potter* [beginning in 2001]). Further merchandising opportunities and close relationships between products and films are presented in films such as *A Bug's Life* (1998) and *Toy Story* (1995), where the film is about toys or characters particularly suitable for toys.

The distinction between tie-ins and merchandise is often blurred, as some merchandise is produced for tie-ins. Merchandise can be defined as commodities based on movie themes, characters or images that are designed, produced, and marketed for direct sale, and not connected to established products or services, as is the case with tie-ins. An example of a tie-in is represented by the promotion of Disney films at McDonald's restaurants, even though there may be some merchandise items involved in such activities. Licensing is the legal act or process of selling or buying rights to produce commodities using specific copyrighted properties. Merchandising can be thought of as the mechanical act of making or selling a product based on a copyrighted property.

There is an extremely wide variety of movie-based merchandise, including items based on a specific movie, character, or theme, or ongoing movie characters and themes. While there has been a strong emphasis on children's toys, games and other items (lunch boxes, school supplies, and so forth), and on video games, other movie-based merchandise includes home furnishings (clocks, towels, bedding, mugs, telephones), clothing, jewelry, stationery items, print material (novelizations

A Star Wars fan dressed as Darth Vader waits for a midnight sale of toys from the new Star Wars movie at Toys 'R' Us in New York City (2 April 2005). © SETH WENIG/REUTERS/CORBIS.

and posters, for example), food (especially cereals and candy), and decorations (such as Christmas ornaments). There are also other, more unusual, less mass-produced items that sometimes accompany (or follow) movie releases, including "art objects" such as prints, sculptures, ceramic figures, and animation sets. For instance, in 2005 one could purchase sculptures of most of the characters from *Lord of the Rings*, including a bronze statue of Gandalf for around $6,500. Other merchandise is based on the celebrity status of Hollywood stars (for instance, products with images with Marilyn Monroe and James Dean are plentiful), or generic movie or studio themes. Indeed, many of the majors feature studio tours, complete with well-stocked gift shops offering a wide range of merchandise featuring their familiar corporate logos.

Movie-based merchandising can be viewed as part of the proliferation of commercialization in Hollywood, the increase in animated features, and the rerelease and remaking of films with readily identifiable, ongoing characters and themes (or franchises). However, this type of activity also is part of a larger, more general merchandising and licensing trend. For instance, entire TV programs and characters—especially those aimed at children—are an obvious and prevalent form of merchandising, while sports teams and players, rock stars, and musical groups have long histories of licensing and merchandising activities.

Licensed products represented $66.5 billion in retail sales in North America in 1990, but had grown to around $110 billion by 2003, according to the International Licensing Industry Merchandisers' Association (LIMA). While exact statistics on the film industry's merchandising revenue are nearly impossible to find, LIMA's *Licensing Letter* estimates that $16 billion is derived annually from sales of entertainment merchandise; another estimate cites $2.5 billion in royalties from entertainment properties in 2001 (Goldsmith, 2002, p. 7).

It is especially difficult to measure the precise revenue from movie licensing accurately due to the move toward

long-term relationship agreements between licensors and licensees. Although entertainment licensing in the merchandising industry has been influenced by the emergence of merchandise based on other types of properties, there is little question, according to many experts, that film licensing continues to dominate the licensing market. Entertainment licensing is also the most concentrated type of merchandise business, with just a few large players (the major movie studios and broadcasting companies, such as Disney, Fox, and Viacom) dominating the licensing activity.

THE MERCHANDISING PROCESS

Film producers and distributors rarely manufacture film-related products themselves, but license the right to sell these products to other companies (called licensees). In most instances there is no risk to the producer or distributor (the licensor) because the licensee incurs all manufacturing and distribution expenses. The producer/distributor typically receives an advance payment for each product, as well as royalty payments, often between 5 and 10 percent of gross revenues from sales to retailers (in other words, the wholesale price). If the movie does not succeed and the products do not sell, the manufacturer is responsible for the loss (Cones, 1992).

The owners of licensable film properties are most often the major film studios. Special licensing divisions often are organized to handle the company's own copyrighted properties, and sometimes those owned by others as well, for example, Warner's Licensing Corporation of America (LCA) and Disney's Consumer Products division. But even smaller successful film producers sometimes become involved in licensing, as represented by Lucasfilm Licensing. Studios' revenues from merchandise vary greatly depending on the films released in any one year. However, these companies have serious interests in merchandising and consumer goods, as indicated by the $2.5 billion revenues reported by Disney's Consumer Products division in 2004, and the 3,700 active licensees handled by Warner Bros. Consumer Products division.

The major studios realize that not only can the sale of movie-related products generate substantial revenue, but the presales of merchandising rights can sometimes contribute to a film's production budget, as in the case of *Lord of the Rings*, when 10 percent of the budget for the trilogy was apparently raised by selling rights to video games, toys, and merchandise companies. In addition, these products can be useful in promoting films and thus movie-based merchandise is often part of the massive, coordinated promotional campaigns often started months before a film's release. Typically, 40 percent of movie merchandise is sold before a film is released.

Although movie-related merchandise often is common, products based on films are sometimes considered risky for merchandisers, as they ultimately may not be successful and often have short life-spans. Licensees may have to take further risks initially by sinking money into a film that is not completed (or sometimes not even started). On the other hand, a studio may need to change a release date, especially to coincide with the lucrative Christmas season or to avoid other competing films.

In addition, studios and licensees have been cautious after some significant losses in the past. For instance, most agree that the huge number of products associated with *Star Wars: Episode I—The Phantom Menace* (1999) was ultimately unproductive. One problem is that Hollywood-related merchandise has a relatively short time to prove itself on retail shelves before the next big property arrives. As Andrea Hein, Viacom's president of consumer products, explains: "Licensing is all about wanting a piece of something. You've got to have the time and place for that property to be nurtured" (Goldsmith, 2000). Evidently, the success of the merchandise is tied directly to the success of the film. A representative of LIMA states that, ". . . marketing and merchandising is [sic] never the major driving force behind a film. If a film's no good, no one will buy the product" (Monahan).

It might be noted as well, that many, if not most, movies do not translate well into merchandise and thus have limited merchandising potential. While the *Star Wars* and *Harry Potter* films produce additional revenues from a seemingly endless stream of merchandise, films like *Saving Private Ryan* (1998) and *Life is Beautiful* (1997) have much less merchandising potential. Musicals such as *Saturday Night Fever* (1977), *Grease* (1978), and *Dirty Dancing* (1987) can earn substantial revenues from soundtrack recordings. Moreover, a hit song can promote a film. In fact, music videos have become important marketing tools. The ideals, of course, are film franchises such as *Star Wars*, *Harry Potter*, and other similar films that continue to inspire additional commodities, and thus, additional profits.

Thus, for many films, licensing represents a potential source of income to film companies and merchandisers. The potential merchandising bonanza represents sizable profits as sales of merchandise licensed from movies continue to grow. While the first *Batman* in 1989 grossed $250 million at the box-office and earned $50 million in licensing fees, subsequent films have generated even more products and produced even more revenues. Recently, the *Lord of the Rings* trilogy is said to have attracted over $1.2 billion thus far in merchandising revenues.

CASE STUDY: *SPIDER-MAN*

The first *Spider-Man* film, released in spring 2002, represents an interesting case of movie merchandising. The character of Spider-Man has existed for almost 40 years,

GEORGE LUCAS

b. George Walton Lucas Jr., Modesto, California, 14 May 1944

Early in his life, George Lucas was interested in car racing; however, a serious accident changed his plans. He studied film at the University of Southern California film school, where he made several student films, including the prize-winning *THX–1138: 4EB* (1967). In 1969, Lucas and Francis Ford Coppola formed American Zoetrope, which produced the full-length version of *THX 1138* (1971).

Lucas went on to form his own company, Lucasfilm Ltd., and in 1973 released *American Graffiti* (written and directed by Lucas). The widely acclaimed and innovative *Star Wars* was released in 1977, after Lucas had established ILM (Industrial Light & Magic) to produce the visual effects. The movie had been turned down by several studios before Twentieth Century Fox agreed to distribute it. In a fortuitous move, Lucas agreed to forgo his directing salary in exchange for 40 percent of the film's box office and all merchandising rights. The movie broke box office records and earned seven Academy Awards®, as well as selling so much merchandise that the *Star Wars* series is credited with influencing the growing trend of merchandise accompanying blockbuster films, and has created huge profits for Lucas.

In 1979, Lucas Licensing was formed to oversee the licensing of products and characters from Lucas's films and claims to be one of the most successful film-based merchandising programs in history. Lucas was also involved with Steven Spielberg in creating the *Indiana Jones* series, another blockbuster series accompanied by merchandising handled by Lucas Licensing. The company claims over $8 billion in consumer sales worldwide, including, according to its website, the best-selling boys' action toys of all time, 60 million books in prints, and more than 60 *New York Times* best sellers, and merchandise sold in over 100 countries. In recent years, Lucasfilm has emphasized entertainment software (a Lucasfilm term commonly applied to video games), which is developed and published by LucasArts, formed in 1982.

Lucasfilm, Ltd. handles the business affairs of the companies in George Lucas's empire, including THX, Ltd., Skywalker Sound, Industrial Light & Magic, and Lucas Productions. It not only produces film and television products, but is also involved with visual effects, sound, video games, licensing, and online activity. Important technical developments from Lucas's companies have included the THX System for motion picture sound, plus many developments in visual effects. The company's creative and administrative headquarters is located at Skywalker Ranch in Northern California.

Lucas is considered one of the most successful directors in the industry, and Lucasfilm can arguably be called one of the most successful Hollywood production companies, with five of the twenty highest-grossing films of all time and seventeen Academy Awards®. The company is estimated to have received $1.5 billion in sales in 2001.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

THX 1138 (1971), *American Graffiti* (1973), *Star Wars* (1977), *Star Wars: Episode III—Revenge of the Sith* (2005)

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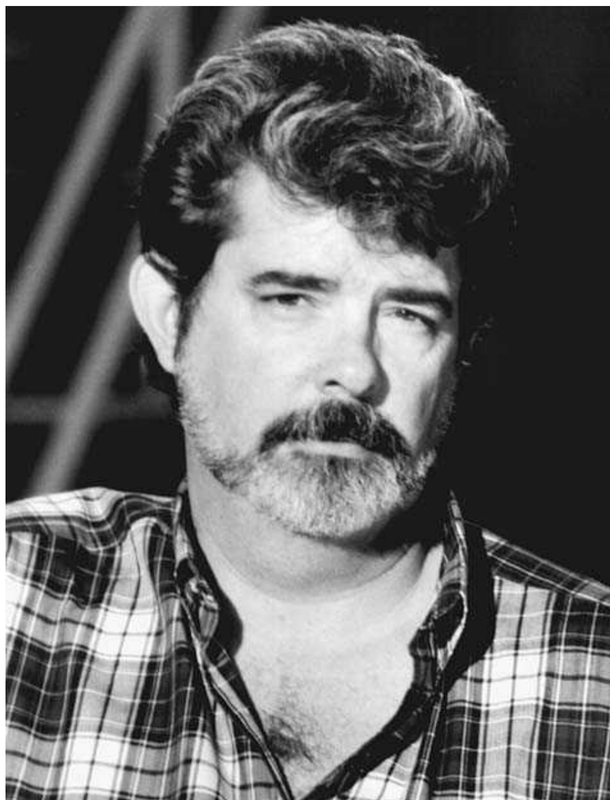
created at Marvel Comics in the early 1960s. Prior to its film debut in 2002, the character had been featured in comic books, multiple cartoons, and briefly, a live-action television show. The comics alone are sold in more than 75 countries and in 22 different languages. In spite of this, it took more than fifteen years for a movie on the character to be made. After a complex history, *Variety* reported that Columbia/Sony acquired the rights to produce a feature (including sequels) and rights to produce a live-action TV series for a cash advance of $10–15 million.

With such a long history, it is not surprising that the film was so highly anticipated. Sony Pictures arranged extensive promotion and planned wide-ranging merchandise for the $139 million blockbuster. *Spider-Man* was to be, as the *Business Week*'s Hollywood reporter put it, "the



George Lucas. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

holy grail" for Sony: a film that would create opportunities for endless tie-ins in the form of fast food, video games, toys, and sequels. The film debuted in May 2002, earning almost $115 million in its opening weekend and over $400 million by the end of November 2002, making it the highest grossing comic book adaptation as well as the highest grossing movie of the summer. Such numbers are particularly impressive in light of estimates that as much as 80 percent of a film's revenue now comes from the sale and rental of videos and DVDs, as well as other merchandising opportunities.

Not surprisingly considering the long, convoluted history that brought Spider-Man to the big screen, the licensing deals for the film were complex as well, with Marvel Enterprises and Sony sharing the royalties in a 50/50 deal managed by the newly formed Spider-Man Merchandising L.P., created in early 2002 to manage the character. In a separate deal, Marvel Enterprises—the publisher of the *Spider Man* comics—also granted the company rights to the comic book version of the hero.

And, so, the merchandising began. The rights to produce every kind of product imaginable were licensed to hundreds of different companies: everything from action figures, games, and dolls to skateboards, bicycles, and birthday party supplies. Spider-Man costumes became the odds-on favorites around Halloween, and "Spidey" images adorned everything from boxer shorts to sheets and comforters. The video game rights were sold to Activision, which produces games not only for Sony's Playstation 2, but also for the Microsoft-owned rival X-Box system and for home computers as well. Sony, Marvel, and the various licensees have benefited greatly from the merchandise bonanza, which continues to attract revenues (as well as prompting lawsuits over the dispersal of these revenues). For instance, a company spokesman reported that toys from Spider-Man (the movie) generated over $100 million in total revenue for Marvel in 2002. Subsequently, *Spider-Man 2* appeared in 2004, generating huge box-office returns and additional merchandise, as well as reinvigorating the market for previous Spider-Man products generally. *Spider-Man 3* began filming in 2005 for planned release in 2007.

SEE ALSO *Publicity and Promotion; Video Games; Walt Disney Company*

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Janet Wasko

MEXICO

The history of Mexican cinema parallels and is inexorably connected to the social and political history of twentieth-century Mexico. Emerging during the modernization project of President Porfirio Díaz (1898–1910), Mexican cinema documented the pomp and circumstance of that dictatorship. It followed the various armies of the Mexican Revolution of 1910–1917 into battle and participated in the post-Revolutionary construction of the nation. Since 1930, the industry's national and international successes and failures have been dependent on the state's ever-changing relations with the United States and on the loyalty and support of its domestic audience. Recently, a number of films have experienced unprecedented international critical and economic success. Yet production levels remain historically low and the bulk of financing is dependent on cautious private investors. Like many national film industries, Mexican cinema faces an uncertain future in the face of the increased globalization of Hollywood.

SILENT CINEMA

As soon as the technology of cinema reached Mexico City in 1896, Mexican entrepreneurs were shooting their own versions of the Lumière brothers' "documentary views" and exhibiting them in theatrical venues to upper-class audiences and in hastily erected tents in isolated villages spread out around the vast rural expanse of Mexico. Mexican film historians have remarked on the itinerant nature of these first film entrepreneurs who traveled across the nation to bring this new cinema of attractions to the Mexican people.

By the end of 1899, there were over twenty-two venues in Mexico City where films were exhibited, and new theaters devoted exclusively to film projection were being constructed. In 1911 the number of motion picture theaters in the capital had jumped to forty. Although the nonfiction genre dominated Mexican cinema during these first two decades, a significant number of fiction films were also produced. The production of narrative films ceased during the Mexican Revolution, but documentaries about strategic encounters between Revolutionary factions and government forces proved very popular with Mexican audiences.

Feature filmmaking resumed after the end of the military phase of the Revolution. In 1917 the actress Mimí Derba (1888–1953) and the producer Enrique Rosas (1877–1920) established Azteca Films and produced five films in that one year. Two years later, Azteca Films released the film—based on a famous public incident—that was to go down in history as the first feature-length "specifically Mexican" narrative film, Rosas's *El automovil gris* (*The Grey Automobile*, 1919). But while Mexican filmmakers produced over one hundred silent features and documentaries between 1898 and 1928, the combination of American control over distribution and lack of state support threatened the future of the Mexican film industry. By 1928, 90 percent of all films exhibited throughout Mexico (as well as the rest of Latin America) were produced in the United States.

SOUND AND THE GOLDEN AGE OF MEXICAN CINEMA

The introduction of sound and the ensuing development of well-equipped film production studios in the 1930s (bankrolled by private investment, government loans, and US money) fostered the Golden Age of the

Mexican film industry. In 1929 and 1930, a total of approximately ten feature films along with numerous shorts and newsreels accompanied by some form of synchronized sound were released. The ultimate success of the industry was made possible with the support of President Lázaro Cárdenas (served 1934–1940). Cárdenas established a protectionist policy that included tax exemptions for domestic film production, and his administration created the Financiadora de Películas, a state institution charged with finding private financing. He also instituted a system of loans for the establishment of modern film studios.

Two major types of films emerged during this period: first, a state-supported cinema that promoted the ambitions of Cárdenas and projected a nationalistic aesthetic and ideology exemplified by films such as *Redes* (*The Waves*, 1936) and *Vamanos con Pancho Villa!* (*Let's Go with Pancho Villa*, 1936), and second, films produced primarily for commercial reasons that resembled Hollywood films in terms of narrative strategies, cinematic aesthetics, and modes of production but drew on Mexican literature, theatrical traditions, and contemporary Mexican themes. Measured in terms of box-office receipts, it was the commercial cinema that proved to be the most popular among Mexican audiences in the 1930s. In 1936 the wildly successful film by Fernando de Fuentes (1894–1958), *Allá en el Rancho Grande* (*Out on the Big Ranch*), was filmed in Mexico City. *Allá en el Rancho Grande* introduced one of the most popular genres in Mexican film history, the *comedia ranchera*, a Mexican version of a cowboy musical that incorporated elements of comedy, tragedy, popular music, and folkloric or nationalistic themes. While the *comedia ranchera* became the most popular genre (in 1937 over half of the thirty-eight films released were modeled on de Fuentes's film), other Mexican genres also enjoyed relative success, including the historical epic, the family melodrama, the urban melodrama, and the comedies of Tin Tan (1915–1973) and Cantinflas (1911–1993).

Despite foreign control of exhibition, domestic film production managed to increase from forty-one films in 1941 to seventy films in 1943. What is more important, Mexico's share of its own domestic market grew from 6.2 percent in 1941 to 18.4 percent in 1945. This period was marked by the emergence of an auteurist cinema practice represented by directors such as Emilio Fernández (1903–1986), whose films included *Flor silvestre* (*Wild Flower*, 1943), a revolutionary melodrama, and *Salón México* (*The Mexican Ballroom*, 1949), an example of the *cabaretera* or dancehall film set in the poor urban barrios (neighborhoods) of Mexico City. Another auteur was Luis Buñuel (1900–1983), who made over twenty films in Mexico between 1939 and 1960, including *Los Olvidados* (*The Young and the Damned*, 1950), *Abismos de passion* (*Wuthering Heights*, 1954), and *Susana* (*The Devil and the Flesh*, 1951).

In 1948 the most popular Mexican film of the Golden Age was released. *Nosotros los pobres* (*We the Poor*), directed by Ismael Rodríguez (1917–2004), starred Pedro Infante (1917–1957) as Pepe el Toro, a widowed carpenter raising his sister's daughter, Chachita, as his own, and caring for his invalid mother in the poor, sprawling neighborhoods of Mexico City. Incorporating elements of comedy and tragedy as well as popular music, Rodriguez's film romanticizes the position of the urban underclass at the same time that it reveals many of the adverse conditions they encounter on a daily basis: prostitution, alcoholism and drug addiction, violence, and disease.

Under Miguel Alemán (1946–1952), Mexico established the Crédito Cinematográfica Mexicano (CCM), whose purpose was to help finance the nation's largest film producers. The CCM quickly moved into production and distribution, buying up studios and movie theaters, challenging the exhibition monopoly held by the American financier William O. Jenkins (1878–1963). The government also instituted a number of protectionist measures that nationalized the Banco Cinematográfico and the CCM and exempted the industry from paying state taxes. In addition, it supported the establishment of state distribution with the institutionalization of Películas Nacionales, S.A., in 1947.

These actions were not enough, however, to prevent the subsequent decline of Mexican cinema in the early 1950s, both in terms of quality and quantity. It became very difficult after World War II for small countries like Mexico to enforce import quotas on foreign films. Hollywood's European markets reopened and the United States withdrew its wartime support of the Mexican film industry. Because all sectors of the industry were either owned or capitalized by foreign investors, this removal of support had an immediate, although temporary, effect on Mexican cinema. Film production dropped from seventy-two films in 1946 to fifty-seven in 1947 while, at the same time, producers turned to tried-and-true formula pictures to draw audiences and ensure profits.

The Banco Cinematográfico became fully nationalized by the 1960s and was responsible for generating most of the financing for feature film production in Mexico. Financing was restricted to those producers who could turn the highest profits, and thus low-budget "quickies" became the films of choice in the industry. Producers who were businessmen rather than filmmakers restricted their product to genres such as soft porn, *rancheros*, and the masked wrestler films that appealed to a largely urban, lower-class audience. In the end, the government's measures did nothing to further the

ARTURO RIPSTEIN
b. Mexico City, Mexico, 13 December 1943

Arturo Ripstein, the son of film producer Alfredo Ripstein Jr., studied filmmaking at Mexico's first film school, the Centro Universitario de Estudios Cinematográficos (CUEC), which opened in 1963 at the National Autonomous University in Mexico City (UNAM). A new generation of filmmakers, including Ripstein, was influenced by Grupo Nuevo Cine, a group of young Mexican film critics who published a journal by the same name in the 1960s, and the films of the French New Wave. According to Ripstein, he decided to be a film director after seeing Luis Buñuel's *Nazarín* (*Nazarin*, 1959). In 1962 Ripstein worked as an assistant to Buñuel on *El Ángel exterminador* (*The Exterminating Angel*), and fours years later he directed his first film, *Tiempo de morir* (*Time to Die*, 1966). One of the most prolific and influential directors of the 1970s and 1980s, Ripstein has directed over twenty-five feature films as well as documentaries and shorts. His films have been screened at many international film festivals, including Cannes, and five of them have been awarded "Best Film" at Mexico's version of the Oscars®.

Ripstein's early films, such as *El Castillo de la pureza* (*Castle of Purity*, 1973), *El Lugar sin límites* (*The Place without Limits*, 1978), and *Cadena perpetua* (In for Life, 1979), introduced two themes that would dominate his films over the next twenty years: the repressive nature of the nuclear family and the destructive nature of Mexican codes of masculinity. His films explore central social and cultural topics such as state and familial authoritarianism and homophobia and feature characters doomed by jealousy, guilt, and a nihilistic worldview.

In 1985, with *El Imperio de la fortuna* (*The Realm of Fortune*), Ripstein began a fruitful collaboration with the screenwriter Paz Alicia Garciadiego. One of their most successful collaborations, *Profundo carmesí* (*Deep Crimson*, 1996), which narrates the love story of an aging gigolo and a homely nurse who embark on a killing spree, is based upon a well-known series of murders that took place in the United States during the late 1940s. *Principio y fin* (*The Beginning and the End*, 1993), also written by Garciadiego, and adapted from the novel by the Egyptian author Naguib Mahfouz, returns to Ripstein's earlier themes as it traces the disintegration of a family following the death of the father. His most recent films include *El Evangelio de las maravillas* (*Divine*, 1998), a Buñuelian-influenced work, and an adaptation of Gabriel García Márquez's novella, *El Coronel no tiene quien le escriba* (*No One Writes to the Colonel*, 1999).

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

El Castillo de la pureza (*Castle of Purity*, 1973), *El Lugar sin limites* (*Place Without Limits*, 1978), *Cadena perpetua* (In for Life, 1979), *Profundo carmesí* (*Deep Crimson*, 1996)

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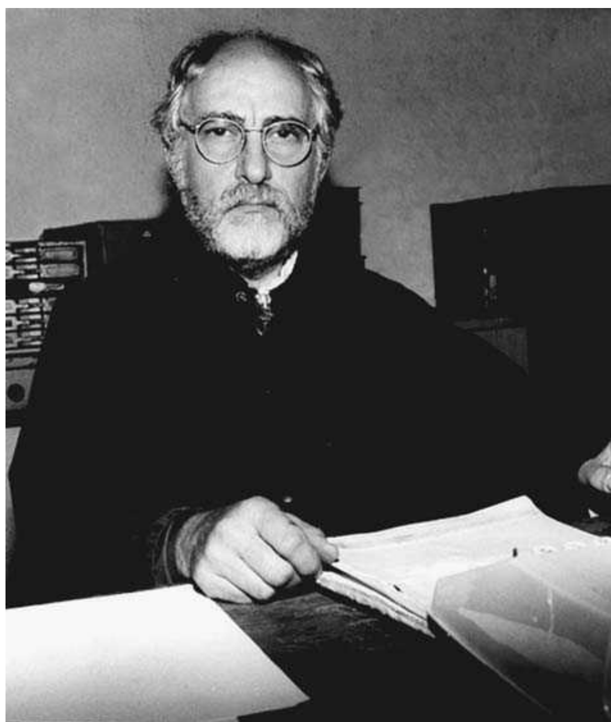
Joanne Hershfield

development of Mexican cinema. Jenkins's monopoly ultimately bought out new distributors and the import quotas were never carried out. Out of 4,346 films screened in Mexico between 1950 and 1959, over half were North American and only 894 were Mexican. This situation continued through the 1960s.

President Luís Echeverría Alvarez (served 1970–1976), who campaigned on a platform of populism and reform, superficially promoted the development of a strong film industry devoted to "national cinema." He supported younger filmmakers who had been left out of the equation during the previous decade and advocated an opening up of Mexican cinema to new ideas. Echeverría oversaw the creation of a national film archive, the Cineteca Nacionál, and the establishment of three state-supported production companies,



Arturo Ripstein. © IMCINE/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

CONACINE, CONACITE I, and CONACITE II. He encouraged co-productions among these studios, private investors, film workers, and foreign companies. Between 1971 and 1976 the number of state-funded feature films increased from five to thirty-five, while privately funded films dropped from seventy-seven to fifteen as private investors refused to invest their money in "socially conscious films" that had little box-office attraction. In 1974 Echeverría oversaw the establishment of the first national film production school, the Centro de Capacitación Cinematográfica, which facilitated the emergence of a new generation of film directors.

However, the next president, José López Portillo (served 1976–1982), reactivated a policy of privatization, thus reversing Echeverría's successes. The Banco Cinematográfica was formally dissolved, and its functions were transferred to a new state agency. López Portillo appointed his sister, Margarita López Portillo, to head the agency. She immediately reduced state financing of films and closed down CONACITE I and II. Again, the Mexican film industry was dominated by low-budget and lucrative comedies, soft porn, and *narcotráfico* (drug traffic) films.

Miguel de la Madrid assumed the presidency in 1982. The creation in 1983 of the Instituto Mexicano de la Cinematografía (IMCINE), whose role it was to manage Mexico's film policy, was hailed as a significant breakthrough for Mexican cinema. However, while IMCINE helped to finance and promote a few independent films, it had a very small budget and could only support one or two films per year. The Institute's first director, filmmaker Alberto Isaac, reorganized the state-run production and distribution companies and the state film school but proved to be a poor manager, and the tenure of his successor, Enrique Soto Izquierdo, was riddled with corruption. Soto Izquierdo failed to implement a workable state film policy and, as a result, most of the films that saw any kind of fiscal success were low-budget "quickies" funded by private investors.

The election in 1988 of Carlos Salinas de Gortari, a Harvard-educated economist, signaled a profound change in the direction of the Mexican economy. Salinas was committed to a free-market ideology, and in 1990 he began negotiating the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) with the United States. Ignacio Durán Loera, the new director of IMCINE, attempted to increase state financing of production through the creation of the Fondo para el Fomento de la Calidad Cinematográfica (Fund for the Promotion of Quality Film Production). While Durán was able to solicit co-production financing from Spain and other foreign investors, it was not enough to keep the industry afloat as state-owned studios and movie houses shut down at the same time that private investors withdrew from the industry. Film production dropped from one hundred films in 1989 to thirty-four in 1991.

However, the international success of IMCINE-financed films such as *Como agua para chocolate* (*Like Water for Chocolate*, 1992), *Amores perros* (*Love's a Bitch*, 2000), and *Y tu mamá también* (*And Your Mother, Too*, 2001) gave Mexican filmmakers recognition and thus access to international financing. (*Amores perros* won numerous awards and grossed $10.2 million in Mexico and $4.7 million in the United States alone.) Perhaps in response to these successes, the Mexican government in 2003 set up a permanent fund with a preliminary budget of $7 million that aims to attract co-production money to support film production. However, today, most of the films and videos in Mexico are still imported from Hollywood. In addition, the Mexican film industry is not just competing with American films or French films, but with multinational co-productions that can generate products with a guaranteed international appeal. It seems that the future of a viable Mexican film industry is dependent on its ability to produce films that appeal to a global audience.

SEE ALSO *Latinos and Cinema; National Cinema*

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MGM (METRO-GOLDWYN-MAYER)

Created via merger in 1924, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM) was in many ways the consummate studio during Hollywood's classical era. With superb resources, top filmmaking talent, and "all the stars in the heavens," MGM factory-produced quality films on a scale unmatched in the industry. The key operatives in that factory system were MGM's producer corps—easily the biggest and the best in the industry—and its studio executives, Louis B. Mayer (1882–1957) and Irving Thalberg (1899–1936), who translated the economic policies and market strategies of parent company Loew's, Incorporated, into a steady output of A-class star vehicles that enabled MGM to dominate and effectively define Hollywood's "Golden Age."

MGM's dominion faded in the postwar era, however, when it failed to meet the monumental challenges facing Hollywood in the 1950s and 1960s. Thus MGM was prey to takeover, and like Paramount, Warners, and United Artists, it was acquired by another firm during the industry-wide recession of the late 1960s. Whereas the other studios were bought by diversified, deep-pocketed conglomerates that enabled them to keep producing and distributing films, MGM had the misfortune to be acquired by real estate tycoon Kirk Kerkorian (b. 1917), who exploited the MGM library and brand name but let the studio languish. Kerkorian would buy and sell MGM three times over a thirty-five-year span, steadily dismantling the studio in the process. A consummate irony of recent film history, in fact, has been the long, slow death of MGM from the 1970s onward, while the industry at large underwent a massive resurgence. Equally ironic in the longer view is MGM's utter collapse in the "New Hollywood," in stark contrast to its dominion over the industry during the classical era.

THE RISE OF METRO-GOLDWYN-MAYER

The creation of MGM was orchestrated by Marcus Loew (1870–1927), who began building a chain of vaudeville and nickelodeon theaters in 1904 and 1905; by 1919, when it became Loew's, Incorporated, it was the leading chain of first-class theaters in the United States, concentrated in the New York area. Loew began to expand beyond film exhibition with the 1920 purchase of Metro Pictures, a nationwide distribution company with modest production facilities in Los Angeles. Two major acquisitions in 1924 completed Loew's expansion into full-scale, vertically integrated operation. The first was Goldwyn Pictures, an integrated company whose major component was its sizable production plant in Culver City. Built in 1915 by studio pioneer Thomas Ince (1882–1924) as the home of Triangle Pictures, the forty-acre expanse featured glass-enclosed stages, a three-story office building, and a full complement of labs, workshops, dressing rooms, storage facilities, and staff bungalows. Cofounder Sam Goldwyn (1882–1974) had been forced out in an earlier power struggle, so Loew was in need of top executives to manage the studio. Thus the second acquisition involved Louis B. Mayer Productions, a small company that focused on A-class pictures and was capably run by Mayer and his young production supervisor, Irving Thalberg (then age twenty-five), who had already supervised production at Universal.

Metro-Goldwyn, as it was initially termed, was run out of New York by Nicholas Schenck (pronounced

LOUIS B. MAYER

b. Eliezer Meir, Minsk, Russia (now Belarus), 4 July 1885 (or possibly 1882), d. 29 October 1957

Mayer was dubbed "Hollywood Rajah" by his biographer, *New York Times* film critic Bosley Crowther, and indeed he was the consummate power not only at MGM but throughout Hollywood during its vaunted Golden Age. Perhaps less creative than the other studio moguls and lacking their passion for movies, Mayer was nevertheless a shrewd administrator with a knack for surrounding himself with top talent—including production executives like Irving Thalberg and his son-in-law David Selznick—and also for maintaining a factory operation that consistently produced quality pictures. He rarely read a script (for that he relied on Kate Corbaley, his personal reader and "storyteller"), nor did he bother with MGM's filmmaking operations. And yet Mayer's taste for high-gloss, wholesome, escapist entertainment, his conservative values, and his naive sentimentality permeated MGM's pictures. He regarded the studio as one big family and himself as its beneficent patriarch, and although he could be a ruthless, quick-tempered tyrant, those within the MGM fold were rewarded with the highest salaries and the best filmmaking resources in Hollywood.

Born in Russia, Mayer migrated to the United States via Canada as a boy, and he broke into the film business with the 1907 purchase of a nickelodeon. He later moved into distribution and eventually went west to start his own production company. Louis B. Mayer Productions was a minor ingredient in the 1924 Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer merger, and it was Mayer's management skills and his capacity to turn out first-class pictures that secured him the role of vice president and general manager. While Mayer ran the studio and managed its legions of contract talent, his protégé Thalberg supervised filmmaking. Together they engineered MGM's rapid rise, with Mayer's administrative acumen, fiscal and ideological conservatism, and predilection for star-studded glamour effectively countered by Thalberg's creative instincts, penchant for risk-taking, cynical romanticism, and confident rapport with writers and directors.

By the 1930s MGM ruled the industry and Mayer was, without question, Hollywood's most powerful figure. MGM's dominance began to slip after Thalberg's death, however, particularly in the 1940s as Mayer relied on an ever-expanding staff of producers and refused to modify the studio's entrenched but increasingly untenable factory operation. The postwar arrival of Dore Schary to oversee production signaled the beginning of the end for Mayer. The two quarreled bitterly, and in 1951, twenty-seven years after presiding over its inauguration, Mayer left the MGM lot without a trace of fanfare. He tried his hand at independent production, without success, and also tried to regain control of a struggling MGM in 1957, but the effort failed and he died a few months later.

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"skenk"), the chief executive of Loew's, while all production operations were managed by the "Mayer Group"—Mayer, Thalberg, and attorney Robert Rubin—whose value was underscored by an exceptional merger agreement giving them 20 percent of the studio's profits, and also by the addition of "Mayer" to the official studio title in 1925. MGM made an immediate impression with two major hits that year, *Ben-Hur* and *The Big Parade*, and it began a rapid rise to industry dominance in the late 1920s alongside Paramount, Fox, and the equally fast-rising Warner Bros. Key to that rise were its astute management and efficient production operations, its well-stocked star stable and savvy exploitation of the star system, and its effective coordination of production and marketing strategies.

The entire MGM operation was designed to deliver a steady output of A-class star vehicles to the first-run (major metropolitan) market, and particularly to Loew's theaters. The merger brought a few established stars like Lon Chaney (1883–1930), Lillian Gish (1893–1993),

Louis B. Mayer. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Ramon Novarro (1899–1968), and Marion Davies (1897–1961) to MGM, which quickly developed a crop of new stars including John Gilbert (1899–1936), Joan Crawford (1904–1977), Norma Shearer (1902–1983) (who wed Thalberg in 1927), and Greta Garbo (1905–1990). MGM also signed New York stage stars Marie Dressler (1868–1934) and brothers John (1882–1942) and Lionel Barrymore (1878–1954), enhancing the prestige value of its films while also appealing to Loew's predominantly New York–based clientele. During the 1920s, Mayer and Thalberg developed a dual strategy of lavish spectacles and more modest star vehicles, with the latter frequently centered on romantic costarring teams. After Gilbert burst to stardom in the downbeat war drama *The Big Parade* and rapidly developed into a romantic lead, for instance, MGM successfully teamed him with Swedish import Greta Garbo in *Flesh and the Devil* (1926), *Love* (1927), and *A Woman of Affairs* (1928).

MGM was among a group of leading studios that resisted the move to sound—Thalberg in particular deemed it a passing fad—but it had the resources and capital to convert rapidly once the talkie boom exploded. By mid-1928 sound effects and musical scores were added to its films (along with three roars from trademark Leo the Lion before the opening credits), and a year later MGM's full conversion was punctuated with its "All Talking! All Singing! All Singing!" musical, *Broadway Melody*, a huge hit that won the 1928–1929 Academy Award® for best picture—the first of many top Oscars® for the studio during the classical era. Other early sound hits included *Anna Christie* ("Garbo Talks!"), Greta Garbo's 1930 sound debut opposite sixty-year-old Marie Dressler playing a hard-drinking waterfront floozy, and *Min and Bill* (1930), a waterfront fable costarring the unlikely team of Dressler and Wallace Beery (1885–1949), which carried them both to top stardom.

By 1929 MGM was on a par with Paramount, Fox, and Warner Bros. in terms of revenues and resources, but with one notable exception: Loew's theater chain, which was crucial to MGM's domination of the industry during the Depression. In the early 1920s, Loew and Schenck had decided against wholesale theater expansion, holding the number to about 150 first-class downtown theaters while Warner and Fox pushed their totals above 500 and Paramount to well over 1,000. The decision to maintain a relatively small theater chain meant that the cost of sound conversion was considerably lower and, even more importantly, Loew's/MGM was not saddled with the enormous mortgage debt that devastated its chief competitors when the Depression hit.

RULING 1930s HOLLYWOOD: DEPRESSION-ERA DOMINANCE

MGM's domination of the movie industry in the 1930s was simply staggering, fueled by both the consistent quality of its films and the economic travails of its rivals. Three of the five integrated majors, Fox, Paramount, and RKO, declared bankruptcy, and Warners forestalled that same fate only by siphoning off a sizable portion of its assets. Loew's/MGM, meanwhile, turned a profit every year during the 1930s while its assets actually increased. From 1931 to 1940, the combined profits of Hollywood's Big Eight studios totaled $128.2 million; MGM's profits were $93.2 million, nearly three-quarters of the total. Equally impressive was the consistent quality and critical recognition of MGM's films. During the 1930s, MGM accounted for nearly one-third of the Academy nominees for Best Picture (27 of 87 pictures), winning four times; its actors drew roughly one-third of the best actor and best actress nominations as well, with six male and five female winners. During the first ten years of the Motion Picture Herald's Exhibitors Poll of top box-office stars (1932–1941), just under one-half (47 percent) of those listed were under contract to MGM—including Clark Gable (1901–1960), the only actor listed all ten years.

GRETA GARBO

b. Greta Lovisa Gustafsson, Stockholm, Sweden, 18 September 1905, d. 15 April 1990

The first and most important of MGM's remarkable pool of female stars during the classical era, Greta Garbo personified the studio's notion of glamour and style. A beautiful but large and ungainly woman, she was most often photographed either from a distance or in close-up—the better to display the elegance of her surroundings (she often appeared in costume dramas or in exotic locales) or, more importantly, to capture her exquisite face and ethereal personality. She appeared in only two dozen Hollywood films, all of them at MGM, before her sudden retirement in 1942. By then she was already a living legend whose myth had transcended her stardom—a myth that only intensified after her retirement.

Born and raised in poverty in Stockholm, Garbo stumbled into film acting, enjoyed early success (as Greta Gustafsson) in Sweden and Germany, and in 1925 was recruited by Mayer while he was scouting talent in Europe. She became Greta Garbo at MGM and was an immediate success in *The Torrent* (1926), and then broke through to top stardom teamed with John Gilbert in *Flesh and the Devil* (1926). The two reteamed in several huge hits, although Gilbert's star faded while Garbo's rose even higher in the sound era—beginning with *Anna Christie* (1930), in which MGM announced "Garbo Talks!"—as her husky Swedish intonations added to her exotic, aloof mystique.

Garbo was MGM's most valuable (and highest paid) star in the 1930s, and her films were virtually assured of box-office success not only in the United States but overseas as well, particularly in Europe. Her forte was lavish dramas of ill-fated romance that emphasized her remote, enigmatic beauty. Indeed, Garbo herself was a larger-than-life figure who excelled playing legendary historical and literary heroines in films like *Mata Hari* (1931), *Queen Christina* (1933), *Anna Karenina* (1935), *Camille* (1936), and *Conquest* (1937). She worked with a wide range of leading directors, including Clarence Brown in a half-dozen films, but her key MGM collaborators were those responsible for the "look" of her films, notably cinematographer William Daniels, costume designer Adrian, and art director Cedric Gibbons, all of whom worked on nearly every one of them.

Garbo's career took two significant, unexpected turns during the prewar era: first in her successful shift to romantic comedy ("Garbo Laughs!") in *Ninotchka* (1939), and then her sudden retirement after another comedy, *Two-Faced Woman* (1941). The latter was a rare box-office disappointment, due largely to cuts demanded by the Catholic Legion of Decency. Garbo spurned repeated efforts to coax her out of retirement in later years, living out her signature entreaty, "I want to be alone."

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

The Torrent (1926), *Flesh and the Devil* (1926), *A Woman of Affairs* (1928), *Anna Christie* (1931), *Susan Lenox (Her Fall and Rise)* (1931), *Mata Hari* (1931), *Queen Christina* (1933), *Anna Karenina* (1935), *Camille* (1936), *Conquest* (1937), *Ninotchka* (1939), *Two-Faced Woman* (1941)

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A prime example of MGM's house style in the 1930s was *Grand Hotel*, an all-star ensemble drama featuring Garbo, John Barrymore, Joan Crawford, Wallace Beery, and Lionel Barrymore; it was a solid commercial hit and won the Oscar® for Best Picture of 1932. The film emphasized glamour, grace, and beauty in its polished settings as well as its civilized characters—all of whom are doomed or desperate, but suffer life's misfortunes with style. Indeed, *Grand Hotel* in many ways was about the triumph of style, expressed not only by its characters but also by cinematographer William Daniels (1901–1970), editor Blanche Sewell (1898–1949), recording engineer Douglas Shearer (1899–1971), art director Cedric Gibbons (1893–1960), and costume designer Adrian (1903–1959). Each was singled out, along with director Edmund Goulding (1891–1959) and playwright William Drake (1899–1965), in the opening credits of the film, aptly enough, because they were in fact the key artisans of the distinctive MGM style, vintage 1932.

Greta Garbo in **Anna Karenina** *(Clarence Brown, 1935).* EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

The one individual whose name did not appear was Irving Thalberg, who disdained screen credit but was, without question, the chief architect of the MGM house style. In the 1920s and early 1930s, the studio exemplified the "central producer system" that dominated Hollywood at the time. While Louis Mayer handled studio operations and contract negotiations, Thalberg and his half-dozen supervisors (chief among them Harry Rapf [1882–1949], Hunt Stromberg [1894–1968], and Bernie Hyman [1897–1942]) oversaw the actual filmmaking. And although Thalberg eschewed screen credit, his importance to the studio was widely recognized. A 1932 *Fortune* magazine profile of MGM flatly stated: "For the past five years, M-G-M has made the best and most successful motion pictures in the United States," and that success was directly attributed to Thalberg. "He is what Hollywood means by M-G-M, … he is now called a genius more often than anyone else in Hollywood." The studio's success was due in part to "Mr. Thalberg's heavy but sagacious spending," noted *Fortune*, which ensured "the glamour of M-G-M personalities" and the "general finish and glossiness which characterizes M-G-M pictures."

There were other subtler components as well. Thalberg was obsessed with "story values," taking an active role in story and script conferences, and assigning up to a dozen staff writers to a film. He also relied heavily on preview screenings to decide whether a picture required rewrites, retakes, and reediting, and thought nothing of assigning different writers and even a different director to the task. This evinced an ethos of "teamwork" at MGM and generated remarkably few complaints, since the contract talent was so well compensated and so deftly handled by Thalberg and Mayer. Thalberg also had a penchant for "romance" in the form of love stories or male-oriented adventure—or preferably both, as in costarring ventures like *Red Dust* (1932) and *China Seas* (1935) with Gable and Jean Harlow (1911–1937). Another important factor was Thalberg's impeccable and oft-noted "taste," which was evident not only in his inclination for the occasional highbrow prestige picture but also in his ability to render frankly erotic stories and situations (as in the Gable–Harlow pictures just mentioned) palatable to Hollywood's Production Code and to mainstream audiences.

While many of these qualities remained essential to MGM's house style well into the 1940s, Thalberg's overall control of production diminished by the mid-1930s. His ill health and an internal power struggle at Loew's/MGM, spurred by both Mayer's and Schenck's growing resentment of Thalberg's authority, led to a shake-up in studio management in 1933 and a steady shift to a unit-producer system, whereby a few top executive producers—principally Thalberg, David Selznick (1902–1965) (Mayer's son-in-law), and Hunt Stromberg—supervised high-end features, while Harry Rapf and a few others handled the studio's second-rank films. Thalberg went along with the change, and both he and Selznick thrived under the new setup, particularly in the realm of prestige-level costume dramas and literary adaptations—Thalberg's productions of *Mutiny on the Bounty* (1935), *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Camille* (both 1936), for instance, and Selznick's *David Copperfield* (1934), *Anna Karenina*, and *A Tale of Two Cities* (both 1935). Stromberg proved especially adept at launching and maintaining successful star-genre cycles, as with the Jeanette MacDonald–Nelson Eddy operettas (for example, *Naughty Marietta*, 1935, and *Rose Marie*, 1936) and the Thin Man series with William Powell (1892–1984) and Myrna Loy (1905–1993). Many of Stromberg's productions were directed by the prolific W. S. (Woody) Van Dyke (1889–1943), including the first four Thin Man films and six MacDonald–Eddy musicals; Van Dyke's thirty Depression-era credits also included *Tarzan the Ape Man* (1932), *San Francisco* (1935), and *Andy Hardy Gets Spring Fever* (1939).

MGM's success continued under this new production regimen, and in fact its profits in 1936–1937 returned to the record levels enjoyed before the

Greta Garbo and John Barrymore in* Grand Hotel *(Edmund Goulding, 1932), a showcase for MGM's stars.
EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Depression. But the studio was severely shaken by Selznick's departure for independent production and, far more importantly, by Thalberg's sudden, untimely death (at age 37) in September 1936, which marked the end of an era for MGM and a far more radical change in both the production operations and the studio's distinctive style.

THE MAYER REGIME

Mayer assumed complete control of MGM after Thalberg's death, managing the studio as well as production through a committee system that swelled rapidly in the late 1930s, adding several levels of bureaucracy to the filmmaking machinery. Where Thalberg had managed production with a "staff" of a half-dozen supervisors, Mayer by 1940–1941 required forty highly paid producers and production executives. This was a disparate lot, including some with no filmmaking experience, although it also included some of Hollywood's premier producers and hyphenates—Joe Mankiewicz (1909–1993) and Dore Schary (1905–1980), who rose through the screenwriting ranks, for instance, or Robert Z. Leonard (1889–1968) and Mervyn LeRoy (1900–1987), who came up as directors (LeRoy at Warner Bros.). Despite the freedom and authority being enjoyed by top directors at other studios, not to mention the growing ranks of independents, MGM remained a producer's studio where even top directors like King Vidor (1894–1982), George Cukor (1899–1983), and Victor Fleming (1889–1949) had very little authority over their pictures. And under Mayer's production-by-committee system, the producers themselves enjoyed little creative leeway as MGM's output became increasingly conservative and predictable. There were occasional exceptions, like LeRoy's first MGM project *The Wizard of Oz* (1939), an ambitious, innovative, and costly film that was distinctly out of character for MGM at the time. In fact, the studio's only other notable high-risk project was David Selznick's independent production, *Gone with the Wind* (1939), which MGM partially financed and distributed.

The clearest indication of the conservative turn and risk-averse market strategy under Mayer was MGM's increasing reliance on upbeat film series like the Hardy Family films that rolled off its assembly line at a remarkable rate—one every three to four months from 1938 to 1941—and vaulted Mickey Rooney (b. 1920) to the top position on the Exhibitors Poll of box-office stars, just ahead of MGM's Clark Gable and Spencer Tracy. The Hardy films, along with the Dr. Kildaire, Thin Man, Tarzan, and Maisie series, were produced by Joe Cohn's low-budget unit. Mayer prohibited any use of the term "B film" on the lot, and in fact the casts, budgets, running times, and access to the first-run market of MGM's series films qualified them as "near-A's" by industry standards. Mayer let Dore Schary create a unit to produce high-quality, moderately budgeted films, and its two biggest hits, *Journey for Margaret* (1942) and *Lassie Come Home* (1943), developed two new child stars—Margaret O'Brien (b. 1937) and Elizabeth Taylor (b. 1932), respectively—and reinforced the wholesome family values espoused by the Hardy films.

Mayer also favored more wholesome depictions of love, marriage, and motherhood, as seen in the rapid wartime rise of Greer Garson (1904–1996) and her frequent costar, Walter Pidgeon (1897–1984), in *Mrs. Miniver* (1942), *Madame Curie* (1943), and *Mrs. Parkington* (1944). Garson and Pidgeon were among several costarring teams that embodied Mayer's idealized version of on-screen coupling—a far cry from the hard-drinking, wise-cracking Nick and Nora Charles of the early Thin Man films, let alone the openly sexual (and adulterous) Gable and Harlow in films like *Red Dust* and *China Seas*. As Rooney began to outgrow his Andy Hardy role, he teamed with Judy Garland (1922–1969) in a cycle of energetic show-musicals—*Babes in Arms* (1939),

Vivian Leigh and Hatti McDaniel in* Gone with the Wind *(Victor Fleming, 1939), distributed by MGM. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

Strike Up the Band (1940), *Babes on Broadway* (1941), and *Girl Crazy* (1943)—directed by Busby Berkeley (1895–1976) and produced by Arthur Freed (1894–1973). A more mature and far more credible couple, Katharine Hepburn (1907–2003) and Spencer Tracy (1900–1967), began their long-time partnership in *Woman of the Year* (1942), the first of six teamings for MGM in the 1940s.

During the war, MGM reduced its output by about 30 percent and benefited from the surging movie business along with other major studios, but to a lesser extent due to its continued output of high-gloss, high-cost productions and its smaller theater chain. In fact, Loew's/MGM revenues during the war years were not significantly higher than in the peak Depression years, and in 1946, the height of the war boom, MGM's profits of $18 million were dwarfed by Paramount's $39.2 million. MGM continued to spend lavishly, but its dominion over the industry clearly was ending, as its profits lagged far behind Fox and Warners as well as Paramount in the late 1940s, and its critical cachet faded as well. Oscar® nominations and critical hits became rare, and the MGM house style looked increasingly anachronistic in the postwar era of film noir and social-problem dramas.

One bright spot for MGM was its musical output, which during the postwar decade comprised one-quarter of its releases (81 of 316 films) and more than half of Hollywood's overall musical production. Several staff producers specialized in musicals, including Joe Pasternak (1901–1991) and Jack Cummings (1900–1989), but the individual most responsible for MGM's "musical golden age" was Arthur Freed, who after the Rooney–Garland cycle had a breakthrough with *Meet Me in St. Louis* (1944), an ambitious Technicolor production starring Garland and directed by Vincente Minnelli

(1903–1983). That film's success enabled Freed to assemble his own unit whose distinctive emphasis on dance utilized the talents of choreographers Gene Kelly (1912–1996), Stanley Donen (b. 1924), and Charles Walters (1911–1982), all of whom Freed developed into directors.

The currency of the Freed unit's "dance musicals" was established in late-1940s films like Minnelli's *The Pirate* (1948), Walters's *Easter Parade* (1948), and Donen-Kelly's first co-directing effort, *On the Town* (1949), and the cycle reached a sustained peak in the 1950s with such classics as *An American in Paris* (Minnelli, 1951), *Singin' in the Rain* (Donen-Kelly, 1952), *The Band Wagon* (Minnelli, 1953), *It's Always Fair Weather* (Donen-Kelly, 1955), and *Gigi* (Minnelli, 1958). Freed's musicals were critically and commercially successful, but they also were symptomatic of the profligate production operations that were squeezing MGM's profit margins. The studio could scarcely afford *not* to produce them as its postwar fortunes ebbed, however, and thus the cycle became, in effect, the last bastion of MGM's classical-era operations and house style, the last manifestation of its fading industry rule.

Mayer was a major advocate of Freed and the lavish musical cycle, predictably enough, and one of the acute ironies of MGM's postwar era is that the Freed unit far outlasted the Mayer regime—and subsequent regimes as well. By 1948 Nick Schenck realized that Mayer was fundamentally incapable of adjusting to the rapidly changing postwar conditions. He stubbornly adhered to the studio's entrenched production policies and bloated management setup, he openly criticized the industry trends toward realism and social drama, and he was reluctant to work with the growing ranks of independent filmmaking talent. Schenck was equally concerned about other developments, particularly declining theater attendance, the government's antitrust campaign, and the emergence of television, which threatened the studio system at large. In an effort to cut costs and bring MGM in sync with the changing industry, Schenck demanded that Mayer "find another Thalberg." Thus Dore Schary, the RKO production chief and former MGM writer-producer, was hired in 1948 as MGM's vice president in charge of production.

The Mayer–Schary union was troubled from the start, due to Mayer's adherence to the studio's entrenched operations and the two executives' very different sensibilities. Schary's liberal politics irked the arch-conservative Mayer—no small matter in the age of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), Senator Joseph McCarthy, and the nascent Cold War—but even worse, in Mayer's view, was Schary's taste in films and his proclivity for freelance talent. The rancor reached a flashpoint over Schary's support of two projects with freelance writer-director John Huston (1906–1987), *The Asphalt Jungle* (1950) and *The Red Badge of Courage* (1951). The former was a downbeat, realistic crime thriller with an all-male ensemble cast that Mayer publicly castigated. But the film was a hit, prompting Schary to approve *The Red Badge of Courage*, an adaptation of Stephen Crane's bleak Civil War novel. Mayer refused to finance production, forcing Schary to go to Schenck for approval, and when the film ran over budget and then died at the box office, Mayer demanded Schary's ouster. Schenck backed Schary, however, and in May 1951 Mayer was forced out of the studio that bore his name.

STRUGGLE, DECLINE, AND DISMEMBERMENT

Mayer's departure scarcely improved MGM's fortunes. Schenck and Schary were both out by the mid-1950s, leading to a quick succession of top executives at both Loew's and MGM. Mayer himself attempted to regain control in 1957, but the effort failed and he died late that year—just before MGM announced the first annual net loss in its history. The studio moved very tentatively into TV series production and was among the last to open its vault to television syndication, although MGM did lease *The Wizard of Oz* to CBS for a color broadcast in October 1956, making it the first Hollywood film to air on prime-time network television. The program was a ratings hit, and another signal of an industry transformation that was leaving MGM behind. Loew's/MGM fought the Supreme Court's 1948 *Paramount* decree, the anti-trust ruling that mandated theater divorcement, to the bitter end, with Loew's finally divesting of MGM in 1959. The studio enjoyed one of biggest hits ever that year in *Ben-Hur*, but subsequent big-budget remakes of *Cimarron* (1960), *King of Kings* (1961), and *Mutiny on the Bounty* (1962) were disappointments.

MGM produced a few major hits in the 1960s, notably *Dr. Zhivago* (1965) and *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968). The latter, directed by Stanley Kubrick (1928–1999), provided major impetus to the auteur-driven New American Cinema of the late 1960s, as did MGM's earlier release of Michelangelo Antonioni's (b. 1912) *Blow-Up* (1966). But the studio had no real stake in this movement, nor did it pursue any other production or marketing trends during the late 1960s, when it was plagued by frequent changes in leadership and struggles for corporate control. These struggles culminated in 1969, a year in which MGM posted its biggest loss ever ($35 million) and was taken over by Las Vegas mega-developer Kirk Kerkorian. Though Paramount, Warner Bros., and United Artists were acquisition targets as well, they were bought by diversified conglomerates, which

allowed them to continue operations despite the industry-wide recession. Kerkorian, conversely, was a financier and real-estate tycoon who was primarily interested in MGM for its brand name and the value of its library, and had no inclination to underwrite its failing movie production–distribution operation.

Kerkorian immediately installed former CBS president James T. Aubrey (1918–1994) to run the studio, with instructions to cut costs and reduce output. One result was MGM's successful run of low-budget "blaxploitation" films, notably *Shaft* (1970) and its various sequels and television spinoffs. But soon Aubrey began to dismantle the studio, auctioning off a treasure trove of memorabilia and archival material, and selling the MGM backlot for real-estate development. The most drastic move came in 1973, the year that Kerkorian opened his MGM Grand Hotel and Casino in Las Vegas (then the largest hotel in the world), when Aubrey sold MGM's distribution operation to United Artists, which had been acquired in 1967 by Transamerica, and announced that MGM would produce only a few pictures per year.

Thus, just as the movie industry began its economic recovery, MGM ceased operating as a major Hollywood producer-distributor. Its most successful pictures at the time, aptly enough, were *That's Entertainment!* in 1974 and its 1976 sequel, documentary celebrations of MGM's past glories. While MGM foundered in the late 1970s, Kerkorian's real estate business thrived, enabling him to purchase United Artists in 1981 when that studio was reeling after the *Heaven's Gate* debacle, as huge cost overruns on an unreleasable film forced UA into bankruptcy. Returning to active distribution, Kerkorian ramped up production at "MGM/UA" after the merger, although few films of any real note were produced by the company until 1986, when it was purchased by Ted Turner (b. 1938)—who then promptly sold UA and the MGM trademark back to Kerkorian, and sold the MGM lot to Lorimar, a major television producer.

Thus began an even more intense period of chaos, confusion, and legal wrangling for MGM, during which time the company repeatedly changed hands, was in continual litigation over the ownership of its library and several of its key movie franchises, and was increasingly difficult to define as a "studio"—particularly after Lorimar sold the lot (in 1989) to Warner Bros. MGM produced a few hits like *Thelma & Louise* (1991) and was involved in the theatrical or home-video distribution of many others, including United Artists' James Bond films (*Golden Eye*, 1995; *Die Another Day*, 2002). After ownership passed from Turner to Kerkorian and then in the early 1990s to Italian financier Giancarlo Parretti (then owner of Pathé's film operation) and to Credit Lyonnais (which foreclosed on Parretti), Kerkorian put together a consortium to repurchase MGM in 1996. That led to further acquisitions, particularly in MGM's library holdings, which became sufficiently robust to attract multiple offers. In 2004 Kerkorian sold MGM to a media consortium whose principals included Sony (which bought Columbia Pictures in 1989) and the cable giant Comcast for $4.8 billion.

This acquisition finally aligned MGM with a global media conglomerate, but it scarcely signaled a return to active motion picture production. Sony and Comcast clearly were interested in MGM for much the same reason as Kerkorian had been previously—that is, for its brand name and library holdings (along with the James Bond and Pink Panther franchises that MGM acquired via UA). And the amount the new owners paid well indicates the value of "branding" and "software" in the current media era. Thus, even as the Sony group announced plans to reduce MGM's output to only a few films per year, it is quite likely that the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer name (and logo), along with its classic films, will maintain their currency, and will serve too as constant reminders of Hollywood's Golden Age.

SEE ALSO *Star System; Studio System; United Artists*

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MISE-EN-SCÈNE

Mise-en-scène is what we see in a film; editing is what we do not. These are simplified definitions, but they emphasize two essential things: the basic building blocks of a film—the shot and the cut—and the complexities of each that allow a film to achieve its texture and resonance. Mise-en-scène concerns the shot, though we need to keep in the back of our minds that editing—putting two shots together—affects not only how a film's narrative is structured but how the shots are subsequently understood by viewers.

The term "mise-en-scène" developed in the theater, where it literally meant "put into the scene" and referred to the design and direction of the entire production, or, as "metteur-en-scène," to the director's work. The term was brought into film by a group of French film critics in the 1950s, many of whom would become directors and constitute the French New Wave in the 1960s. One of these critics-turned-directors, François Truffaut, used the term negatively to describe the directors of the French "Tradition of Quality," the rather stodgy French films that appeared after World War II. New Wave theorists felt that these films merely translated novels into movies. André Bazin, perhaps the most influential film critic since Sergei Eisenstein (1898–1948) (the revolutionary Russian filmmaker who, despite his theoretical focus on a particular form of editing called montage, was a master of mise-en-scène), was much more positive in his use of the phrase, and the discussion of mise-en-scène here flows from his observations.

ELEMENTS OF MISE-EN-SCÈNE

Mise-en-scène is generated by the construction of shots and the ways that they lead to visual coherence, across the edits from shot to shot. It includes all the elements in front of the camera that compose a shot: lighting; use of black and white or color; placement of characters in the scene; design of elements within the shot (part of the process of production design); placement of camera vis-à-vis characters in the set; movement of camera and/or actors; composition of the shot as a whole—how it is framed and what is in the frame. Even music may be considered part of mise-en-scène. While not seen, at its best music enhances the visual and narrative construction of the shot.

Cinematic mise-en-scène refers to how directors, working in concert with their cinematographers and production designers, articulate—indeed, create—the spatial elements and coordinates in the shot and succeed in composing well-defined, coherent, fictional worlds. Composition and the articulation of space within a film carry as much narrative power and meaning as its characters' dialogue. Mise-en-scène is thus part of a film's narrative, but it can tell a larger story, indicating things about the events and characters that go beyond any words they utter.

Mise-en-scène can also be an evaluative term. Critics may claim a film does or does not possess mise-en-scène. For example, if a film depends entirely on dialogue to tell its story, if its visual structure is made up primarily of a static camera held at eye level on characters who are speaking in any given scene, if its lighting is bright, even, and shadowless, it lacks mise-en-scène. On a more subjective level, if a viewer's eyes drift away from the screen because there isn't much of interest to look at, the film lacks mise-en-scène. Such a film may succeed on other levels, but not visually; it is constructed not in the camera

but in the editing room, where the process is much cheaper because actors are absent. Films with good dialogue, well-constructed narrative, and scant mise-en-scène can still be quite effective. But these are rare—as rare as well-written films.

Journalistic reviewers may care little about mise-en-scène. They are rarely concerned with the look of films and focus mostly on whether or not the story or characters seem "real." They may term visually centered works "arty" or say they have interesting "camera angles." Filmgoers may simply want to be entertained and not care about how a film is constructed. But dedicated filmmakers and filmgoers, like talented novelists and readers, want complete, self-contained, detailed cinematic worlds that are at the time open to the viewers' own worlds and experiences. Such people will find satisfaction in the visual complexity of mise-en-scène.

FILMMAKERS AND MISE-EN-SCÈNE

Mise-en-scène has preoccupied filmmakers in several countries and periods. German expressionism developed immediately following World War I. In painting, writing, and filmmaking, expressionism was a mise-en-scène cinema, expressing the psychological turmoil of the characters in terms of the space inhabited by its characters. Major representatives of German expressionism in film include Robert Wiene's *Das Kabinett des Doktor Caligari* (*The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*, 1920) and F. W. Murnau's *Nosferatu, eine Symphonie des Grauens*, the first Dracula movie (1922). These and many others created a dark and anxious visual field, uneasy and frightening. German expressionism had enormous influence when its practitioners moved to the United States: Murnau's *Sunrise* (1927); Universal Studio's horror films of the early 1930s such as *Frankenstein* (1931), *Dracula* (1931), and their sequels; *Citizen Kane* (1941); the film noir genre of the 1940s; *Psycho* (1960); and *Taxi Driver* (1976). These, among others, borrowed their idea of mise-en-scène from German expressionism, though it was not the only influence on these films.

Later directors developed highly individualized mise-en-scènes. Michelangelo Antonioni (b. 1912), for example, created an extremely intricate and eloquent mise-en-scène in films such as *Il Grido* (*The Cry*, 1957), *L'Avventura* (*The Adventure*, 1960), *La Notte* (*The Night*, 1961), *L'eclisse* (*The Eclipse*, 1962), *Il deserto rosso* (*Red Desert*, 1964), *Blow-Up* (1966), and *Professione: reporter* (*The Passenger*, 1975). As Rosalind Krauss has noted in *The Optical Unconscious*, Antonioni, like the American abstract expressionist painters of the time (Jackson Pollock and Mark Rothko, for example) reversed the usual conventions of foregrounding the human figure against a background (pp. 2–27). Antonioni believed that the background—or, in his case, the character's environment—should be foregrounded, the characters constituting only one part of the mise-en-scène, which defined them by where they were, what was around them, and how they were observed by the camera.

Architecture is Antonioni's essential point of reference; the themes of his films were not reducible to plot but rather explore how the spaces inhabited by his characters explain their predicaments—something they themselves cannot adequately do in words. Antonioni framed characters in windows and often composed them among buildings that loomed strangely over them. In his color films, color itself defined situations. The belching yellow smoke from factories in *Red Desert*, the camera that unexpectedly drifts away from a character to follow a blue line running along the ceiling in the same film, create moods that allow viewers to understand the characters visually in ways that they don't understand themselves. Like an abstract expressionist painter, Antonioni worked to rid his work of the individual human figure. At the end of *The Eclipse*, the two central characters promise to meet at a certain location. They do not, and the last ten minutes of the film are composed of a collage of almost abstract cityscapes peopled, when at all, by anonymous faces. The camera's attention, however, focuses on things: water dripping from a drain; sprinklers watering a field; a horse-drawn sulky carrying a man across the street; a building wrapped completely in mats. This is an abstract vision of unexplained, anxiety-producing images. A hint is offered in a newspaper headline that reads "Atomic Bomb." Free-floating anxieties of the post-atomic world diminish the human figure in light of events not under the control of individuals.

HITCHCOCK

Alfred Hitchcock (1899–1980) was a master of suspense achieved through mise-en-scène. In his best films, the actors were part of a greater visual plan. *Psycho* (1960) is a perfect example. It holds an almost involuntary, hypnotic grip on viewers because it touches on a primal fear of unknown terror and seemingly unstoppable madness. It works profoundly and economically because Hitchcock makes a convincing visual case for a claustrophobic world of fear and psychosis communicated not merely through action but through the visual construction of that world.

Hitchcock built his mise-en-scène with abstract visual pattern of verticals and horizontals—like Antonioni, he drew upon modern techniques of painting. The pattern is prefigured in the credit sequence and provides a blueprint for almost every shot that follows, culminating in the horizontal presence of the motel against the verticality of the old dark house. This rigid pattern is partly responsible for the shock that occurs when the pattern is

Expressionist mise-en-scène in F. W. Murnau's American film,* Sunrise *(1927). ® ™ AND COPYRIGHT © 20TH CENTURY FOX FILM CORP./COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

broken, as in the arcing thrusting of the knife, or Marion Crane's blood flowing in circles down the drain in the shower. Visual rhymes abound throughout the film: movements up and down the stairs; the famous parlor scene where Norman Bates and his stuffed birds silently expose the "surprise" of the film's climax. The entire film is shot within a tightly controlled gray scale—a dull, oppressive world in which the normal, "outside" world barely existed. Sequences like the opening one in the hotel room, Marion's office, and her road trip to the Bates motel were composed to make Marion seem entrapped. When Hitchcock's camera creeps up the steps or tracks from Marion's dead eye to the money on the table, it does not open out space but further closed it down. Everything is of a visual piece; the film's puzzle gets pulled together before our eyes.

In *Vertigo* (1958), Hitchcock, like many mise-en-scène filmmakers, created a careful color scheme and situated characters in the frame so that viewers knew what was happening to them by the way they were seen. The characters were part of the larger, carefully articulated spatial configurations that Hitchcock developed in order to indicate to the audience what was not said outright. The main character of the film, James Stewart's Scottie, reacts during the first half of the film under the influence of a lie and his infatuation based on that lie; in the second half, he responds through a kind of psychosis caused partly by having being fooled. This crucial narrative information is presented to us through spatial placement: the way he is seen in the frame, what he looks at, who looks at him. He is not an actor as much as he is part of the mise-en-scène.

MOVING CAMERAS AND LONG TAKES

The moving camera is a major factor in the creation of mise-en-scène, because it opens up space, traversing and

Characters are only part of the mise-en-scène in Michelangelo Antonioni's **La Notte (The Night,** ***1961*****).** EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

redefining it. The camera can pursue characters or precede them, show them as powerful, or reduce their power. The moving camera does what cutting cannot do: make space whole. Orson Welles (1915–1985) and Stanley Kubrick (1928–1999) were masters of the moving camera. Welles's *Touch of Evil* (1958) and his adaptation of Kafka's *The Trial* (in the film *Le procès* [*The Trial*, 1962]) created dark, nightmarish worlds through which his camera snaked and insinuated itself, allowing nothing to escape the viewer's gaze, while at the same time creating confusing spaces that seemed to be unconnected. Both Welles and Kubrick created labyrinthine spaces—literally: in Kubrick's *The Shining* (1980), the camera snakes its way through the hedge maze, where Jack becomes trapped and freezes; figuratively, in *The Trial*, Joseph K. wanders through the dark maze of the Law. Movement in both of these directors' films creates a mise-en-scène of ultimate entrapment; their characters are swallowed up in the world the camera creates for them.

Along with the moving camera, another important element of mise-en-scène is the long take. Nowhere is the opposition between shot and cut more apparent than when a filmmaker allows a scene to continue unedited, actors acting, viewers observing. The long take can be used for sheer technical brilliance, as in the over-four-minute take in the Copacabana sequence of Martin Scorsese's *GoodFellas* (1990), where the camera moves with the characters down the stairs, through the kitchen, and into the club, all kinds of action and dialogue occurring along the way. It can be deadly serious, as in the tracks through the trenches in Kubrick's *Paths of Glory* (1957) or the extraordinary movement with the jogging astronaut in the centrifugal hall of the spaceship in *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968). Neither of these sequences is especially long, though the track through the trenches is

persistent, intercutting shots of Col. Dax's intent face moving through the line of soldiers with his view of them. But these and all moving-camera long takes are marked by intensity and energy—visual signs of their character's purpose and ultimate failure, not to mention their director's creativity.

LATER USES OF MISE-EN-SCÈNE

Mise-en-scène remains somewhat rare in Hollywood filmmaking, because it is expensive, and worst of all (in the studio's eyes), it calls attention to itself rather than allowing the screen to become a transparent space in which a story gets told. But some contemporary directors are emerging with a recognizable visual style that is all but synonymous with mise-en-scène. David Fincher (b. 1962) is one. *Se7en* (*Seven*, 1995), *The Game* (1997), and *Fight Club* (1999) set up consistent visual palettes and compositional structures for their fictional worlds. *Seven* was filmed in color, but Fincher and his cinematographer, Darius Khondji, manipulated it so that almost every shot is washed with a yellow-green tint—an unpleasant look that, along with the darkness and unending rain, express the grimness of the film's universe. Fincher also used a pattern to control his mise-en-scène: here and in other of his films, he constructed his shots along a horizontal line to complement the wide-screen format he used. As in *Psycho*, everything was bound: composition and camera movements occur along the line that set boundaries for an otherwise unlocalized world. *Seven* is set in an unnamed city, gray and always raining. At the end of the film, after a relatively short drive, the characters find themselves in a desert strung with power lines. Like an expressionist film, *Seven* creates a state of mind, but not an individual one. Instead, like *Psycho*, its mood is one of universal anxiety.

The most important reason to emphasize mise-en-scène was and remains a director's sense of opposition to the largely anonymous style of Hollywood filmmaking and its rapid, invisible editing. The creation of a coherent and articulate mise-en-scène is a means to personal expression. From the quiet domestic spaces of the Japanese director Yasujiro Ozu (1903–1963), who defines his characters by what surrounds them, to the vertiginous, shadowy spaces of the worlds created by Orson Welles, to the abstract cityscapes of Antonioni and the imprisoning interiors of the German filmmaker Werner Rainer Fassbinder (1945–1982), to the expressive compositions and camera movements created by Martin Scorsese (who uses Fassbinder's cinematographer, Michael Ballhaus), creative filmmakers have developed alternatives to Hollywood's illusory realism through mise-en-scène. The technique, like other modernist ones, foregrounds rather than hides the medium's processes. Choosing angles, moving a camera, deciding how the camera should be positioned and the scene dressed and lighted are among the things that cinema, and no other single art, can do. These cumulative aesthetic decisions are the marks of great filmmakers as they create complete and coherent fictional worlds.

SEE ALSO *Auteur Theory and Authorship; Direction*

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Robert Kolker

MUSIC

"Film music" as a term has come to refer to music composed or expressly chosen to accompany motion pictures. The practice of pairing music and image is as old as cinema itself. In fact, Thomas Edison imagined motion pictures as visual accompaniment to the music produced by his phonographs. From the first motion pictures projected to Paris audiences in 1895 to the widescreen, Dolby Digital Surround Sound films of today, music has been a persistent element in the filmic experience. It has been improvised and it has been scored; it has been experienced as live and as recorded performance; it has consisted of both original and previously composed music; and it operates differently from country to country, culture to culture, and genre to genre. The musical, for instance, like the concert film and the musical biopic, has a set of conventions that foreground music. Through all of its various guises, however, film music can be characterized by its expressive power to shape the meaning of the image and to connect the audience to the film.

Film music serves many purposes: it grounds a film in a particular time and place; creates mood and heightens atmosphere; characterizes the people on-screen and helps to define their psychology; delineates abstract ideas; relays the film's theme; and interacts with the images to sell a film economically. Film music engages with the deepest and most profoundly unconscious levels of the audience; it is a crucial part of the apparatus through which a film engages with cultural ideology; and it largely serves these purposes without drawing conscious attention to itself.

Of course, differences in historical and cultural traditions shape music's effect on the film audience. For instance, in the classical Hollywood style, certain of film music's functions have been emphasized over others, giving Hollywood scores a distinctive and recognizable structure. But music's expressive power crosses many borders, and the ability to resonate emotion between the spectator and the screen may well be film music's most distinguishing feature. Films, of course, have various techniques for conveying emotion, including dialogue, expressive acting, close-ups, diffuse lighting, and aesthetically pleasing *mise-en-scène*. Film music, historically, has been the most reliable and efficient of them. Music embodies the emotion that the image represents, prompting audiences to recognize that emotion and connect to the characters on the screen. Film music thus engages audiences in processes of identification that bond them to the film. The tremolo strings accompanying a suspenseful murder or the pop song heard under a love scene both embody the emotion that the on-screen characters feel and prompt the audience to identify with and share that emotion.

HOW FILM MUSIC WORKS

How film music works in relation to the image was a lively subject of debate among the first critics to consider the subject seriously. Beginning in the 1930s, classical film theorists as well as the first historians of film music posited that film music either paralleled or counterpointed the visual image. Even today, much popular writing on film music perpetuates this model, limiting film music's function to commentary: music either reinforces or undercuts the visual image. But in the 1940s, the composer Hanns Eisler (1898–1962) and the philosopher and music critic Theodor Adorno, in one of the

earliest and most important studies of film music, *Composing for the Films* (1947), raised objections. Eisler and Adorno pointed out the futility of conceptualizing film music in terms of the image: "A photographed kiss cannot actually be synchronized with an eight-bar phrase" (p. 8). The model based on the assumption that music either parallels or counterpoints the image, of course, cannot account for music that responds to what is not evident in the image, its subtext; moreover, it assumes that the visual image is a direct and unproblematic form of representation. Contemporary film music scholars have posited a different model for film music's operation in which music and image are interdependent, sharing power to shape meaning. As Claudia Gorbman put it in her pioneering study, film music works by anchoring the image, shutting off certain readings and emphasizing others, policing the ways in which the audience interprets the film.

Film music is, of course, music, and as such it brings to its functioning in film the basic principles of music: melody, harmony, rhythm, meter, volume, tempo, form, timbre, and instrumentation. Music derives its power largely from its ability to tap into conventions derived from these principles. Conventions, shared between composers and audiences, harness musical affect to concrete meaning through the power of association; through repetition, conventions become ingrained in a culture as a kind of collective musical experience. Composers can use conventions as shorthand to produce specific and predictable responses on the part of listeners. For example, brass instrumentation, because of its association with the military, is linked to heroism and became a staple of Hollywood scoring in historical epics, especially swashbucklers. When John Williams (b. 1932) relies on the brasses in his score for *Star Wars* (1977) rather than electronic instrumentation or futuristic musical sounds, he underscores the heroic arc of the film and connects the narrative, not to the genre of science fiction, but to the great swashbucklers of the classical Hollywood era. Composers can also deliberately contradict conventions to unsettle an audience. The waltz, for instance, has historical associations of lyricism and romance; yet Bernard Herrmann (1911–1975) chooses a waltz to accompany the deterioration of a marriage in the breakfast montage of *Citizen Kane* (1941), an unconventional choice that dramatically underscores the couple's failed romance. Film music also has at its disposal the conventions of song, especially lyrics. When Quentin Tarantino chooses the 1970s pop rock hit "Stuck in the Middle With You" to accompany a graphically violent scene in *Reservoir Dogs* (1992), his unconventional musical choice, coupled with the song's innocuous lyrics, creates disturbing effects.

Musical conventions change across history and culture and operate differently from one musical style to another. Some composers depend on conventions more than others, and some refuse to use them at all. But musical conventions generate responses so strong that listeners are affected by them whether they are consciously aware of it or not. In fact, film music can short-circuit listeners' processes of conscious recognition and create meaning on something less than a fully conscious plane. Thus film music is one of film's most potent tools to shape and control our response to what we see.

The origins of musical accompaniment to moving images, and the evolution of this pairing over the course of film history, point to a psychic realm that needs to be considered in order to understand fully the ways in which film music works. This realm is the unconscious. Psychoanalysis seeks to understand the operation of the unconscious and in the 1970s and 1980s French and North American theorists used psychoanalysis to bring music into focus. From our earliest moments inside the womb, we experience the elements of music: the rhythmic patterns of our mother's heartbeat, breathing, and pulse as well as the pitch and dynamics of her voice. After birth, the newborn continues in a blanket of aural stimulation, including and especially the mother's voice experienced as music. (Think of the ways in which language itself incorporates musical elements such as rhythm, pitch, dynamics, and intonation.) From a psychoanalytic viewpoint, the reason why music is so pleasurable and indeed a central part of human experience is that it is experienced as repressed longings for a return to the original state of fusion with the mother. For critics adhering to this approach, film music both stimulates and encourages us to regress to that complete sense of satisfaction and pleasure. This facet of film music transpires in the unconscious and is thus inaccessible to our conscious selves. But it cannot be discounted in a study of what pleases and engages us when we listen to film music.

A theoretical investigation into the pleasures and power of film music also, however, leads in an outward direction, into culture. Beginning in the 1920s, Marxist critics associated with the Frankfurt School, especially Adorno, and other German intellectuals such as the playwright Bertolt Brecht (1898–1956) and the composer Ernst Bloch (1885–1977), began to examine the nexus of economics, politics, and culture that shapes music as a social discourse. The Frankfurt School maintained that all art, including music, is a form of cultural ideology, largely reinforcing but potentially resisting or subverting the dominant ideological values of a culture. In staking out this position, the Frankfurt School attacked long-held assumptions about music's autonomous function,

BERNARD HERRMANN

b. New York, New York, 29 June 1911, d. Los Angeles, Calfornia, 24 December 1975

Bernard Herrmann was a Hollywood rebel—cantankerous, combative, and brilliant. Working both inside and outside the studio system, he managed to put his unique stamp on a series of films for a variety of directors. His scores, sometimes brooding and anxious, sometimes sweeping and lyrical, sometimes jarringly modern, and sometimes lushly romantic, are always inventive (and some of them are decidedly more interesting than the films they "accompany").

Arriving in Hollywood with Orson Welles and the Mercury Theater in 1941, Herrmann scored *Citizen Kane* and, in 1942, *The Magnificent Ambersons*. Angered by studio changes to his *Ambersons* score, he insisted that his name be removed from all prints of the film. He would in later life proclaim that Welles was the only director he worked with who knew anything about music. He is most well known, however, for a series of films he scored for Alfred Hitchcock.

Herrmann championed modern music throughout his life, and his music for Hitchcock bears its imprint: unusual instrumentation (the all-string ensemble for *Psycho* [1960]; the all-brass ensemble for the discarded *Torn Curtain* [1966] score); arresting rhythms (the opening moments of *Psycho*, the fandango from *North by Northwest*, 1959); dissonant harmonies (the shower scene from *Psycho*), and polytonality (the famous *Vertigo* [1958] chord—two perfectly conventional chords, in two different keys, played together). Never reticent about expressing himself, Herrmann parted ways with Hitchcock over the *Torn Curtain* score, which Herrmann completed but Hitchcock discarded under pressure.

Reclusive and uncompromising, Herrmann spent a significant portion of his creative life working outside Hollywood, scoring films internationally and composing and conducting music for the concert hall and operatic stage. He adamantly protested being defined as a film composer, preferring instead to be known as a composer who also scores films. At the end of his life, Herrmann found himself rediscovered by the young directors Brian De Palma and Martin Scorcese. He died the night he finished conducting his score for Scorcese's *Taxi Driver* (1976). Herrmann's final collaboration with Scorcese would be a posthumous one: the director reused Herrmann's 1961 score for *Cape Fear* when he remade the film in 1991.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Citizen Kane (1941), *The Magnificent Ambersons* (1942), *The Day the Earth Stood Still* (1951), *Vertigo* (1958), *North by Northwest* (1959), *Journey to the Center of the Earth* (1959), *Psycho* (1960), *Cape Fear* (1961), *Obsession* (1976), *Taxi Driver* (1976), *Cape Fear* (1991)

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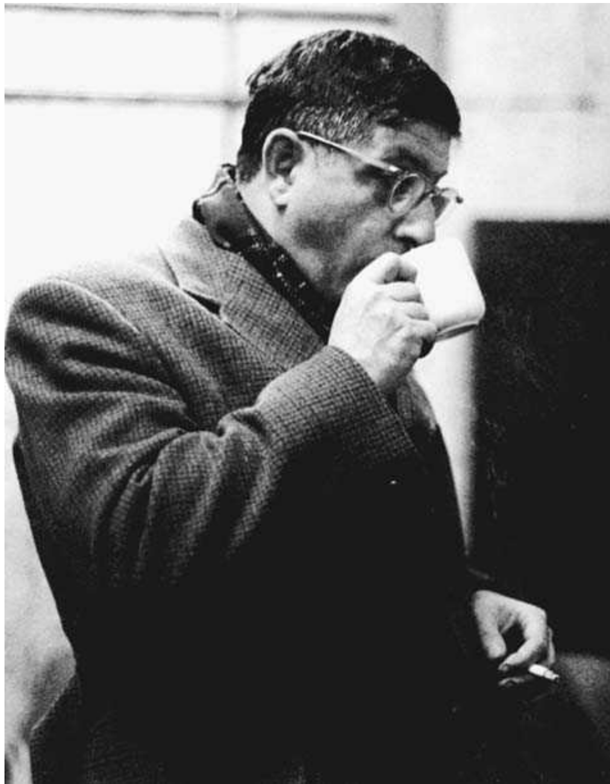
Kathryn Kalinak

the unique creativity of the composer, and the ability of the individual subject to resist cultural ideology. For these critics, music served a political function under advanced capitalism: to pacify dangerous, anarchic impulses by lulling listeners into an acceptance of (or at the very least, a diversion from) their social conditions, thereby supporting the status quo. Even something as seemingly countercultural as rock music has been studied through this perspective by contemporary British and American cultural studies critics. Adorno, in collaboration with Eisler, extended this argument to the film score. Music holds the film together and masks its material constitution as a technological product. Film music's adhesion stems from its exceptional ability to create and resonate emotion between the screen and the spectator. In so doing, film music distracts spectators from the two-dimensional, often black and white, and sometimes silent images. Thus film music fulfills a potent ideological function: to promote the audience's absorption into the film. The audience is thus positioned to accept, uncritically, the ideology circulating through the film. Indeed, Eisler and Adorno refer to film music as a drug.

That art serves a political function was a radical notion, and in postwar America it raised suspicions.



Bernard Herrmann. THE KOBAL COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Eisler, working as a composer in Hollywood, paid the price for his leftist views. He became a target of the Communist "witch hunts," was summoned before the House Un-American Activities Committee for alleged communist activities, and deported. That art is inextricably tied up with politics is clearly evidenced in the lives of many of the composers cited here, whose music, careers, and even lives were threatened and sometimes claimed by political events of the twentieth century.

Considering the form and practice of film music as an ideological mechanism has profound consequences for our understanding of how film music works within individual films as well. This ideological function of film music has been an especially rich site of investigation for contemporary film music scholars who have examined how such ideologically loaded concepts as gender, sexuality, race, and ethnicity are encoded through music. Cultural ideology manifests itself in a work of art in indirect ways, operating on less than a conscious plane. Yet the results of that process, though complex, sometimes contradictory, and often elusive, are clearly audible. Can you recognize North American "Indian music" when you hear it and what does it mean when you do? Hollywood composers depended on a set of clichéd musical conventions to represent Indians on screen but also to encode a response consistent with the dominant cultural ideology of the era. Tomtom rhythms, descending melodic contours, and harmonies built on fourths and fifths were powerful indicators of the primitive, the exotic, and the savage. (It should be noted here that genuine native American music is not on offer.) In *Stagecoach* (1939), for instance, when the camera pans from the stagecoach wending its way through the western landscape to the Indians poised on a bluff, the "Indian music" we hear tells us not only of the Indians' presence but of their threat. Despite the fact that *Stagecoach* takes place during a period of western history when the government repeatedly reneged on its treaty obligations to many tribes, it is the Indians who are positioned as savage and untrustworthy. As culture changes, however, so does the film score. In *Dances with Wolves* (1990) the cliches for "Indian music" have been replaced by John Barry's (b. 1933) symphonic themes for the Lakota composed in the romantic idiom of the classical Hollywood film score.

MUSIC IN SILENT FILM

Film music was largely live in the silent cinema but its practice was specific to the various cultures and nations where it was heard. In the United States phonograph recordings were sometimes used in early film exhibition; in Japan the tradition of live narration extended throughout the silent period. The notion of pairing film and music had a number of antecedents, among them the nineteenth-century stage melodrama. The conventional explanation for the use of music in silent film is functional: music drowned out the noise of the projector as well as talkative audiences. But long after the projector and the audience were quieted, music remained. Music eventually became so indispensable a part of the film experience that not even the advent of mechanically produced sound could silence it (although for a few years it looked as though it might). Film is, after all, a technological process, producing larger-than-life, two-dimensional, largely black and white, and silent images. Accepting them as "real" requires a leap of faith. Music, with its melody, harmony, and instrumental color (not to mention the actual presence of live musicians), fleshes out those images, lending them credibility. Further, music distracts audiences from the unnaturalness of the medium. Adorno and Eisler even posit that film music works as a kind of exorcism, protecting audiences from the "ghostly" effigies confronting them on the screen and helping audiences, unaccustomed to the modernity of such sights, "absorb the shock" (*Composing for the Films*, p. 75).

The history of musical accompaniment in the United States has yet to be fully written, but this

Bernard Herrmann scored the shower scene in Alfred Hitchcock's* Psycho *(1960) entirely for strings. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

important work has begun. Martin Marks, a musicologist and silent film accompanist, finds that original scores existed as early as the 1890s. The scholar Rick Altman shows that in the crucial early periods of silent film exhibition, continuous musical accompaniment was not the normative practice, and he provides compelling evidence that accompaniment was often intermittent and sometimes nonexistent. The US film industry began to standardize musical accompaniment around between 1908 and 1912, the same period that saw film's solidification as a narrative form and the conversion of viewing spaces from small, cramped nickelodeons to theatrical auditoriums. Upgrading musical accompaniment was an important part of this transformation; attempts to encourage the use of film music and monitor its quality can be traced to this era. Trade publications began to include music columns that often ridiculed problematic accompaniment; theater owners became more discriminating in hiring and paying musicians; and audiences came to expect continuous musical accompaniment.

Initially, accompanists, left to their own devices and untrained in their craft, improvised. Therefore the quality of musical accompaniment varied widely. The single most important device in the standardization of film music was the cue sheet, a list of musical selections fitted to the individual film. The most sophisticated of them contained actual excerpts of music timed to fit each scene and cued to screen action to keep the accompanist on track. As early as 1909, Edison studios circulated cue sheets for their films. Other studios, trade publications, and entrepreneurs began doing the same. Musical encyclopedias appeared, containing vast inventories of music, largely culled from the classics of nineteenth-century western European art music and supplemented by

original compositions. Encyclopedias like Giuseppi Becce's influential *Kinobibliothek* (1919) indexed every type of on-screen situation accompanists might face. J. S. Zamecnik (1872–1953) composed the *Sam Fox Moving Picture Music* series (1913–1923). It included not only a generic "Hurry Music," but "Hurry Music (for struggles)", "Hurry Music (for duels)"; and "Hurry Music (for mob or fire scenes)." Even treachery was customized for villains, ruffians, smugglers, or conspirators. Erno Rapee's *Encyclopedia of Music for Pictures* (1925) offers music for scenes from Abyssinia to Zanzibar (and everything in between). Popular music of the day was also featured in silent film: in illustrated songs during the earliest periods of film exhibition; as ballyhoo blaring from phonographs to lure passersby into cinemas; and in "Follow the Bouncing Ball" sing-alongs, popular in the 1920s. It is not surprising that popular music crossed over into accompaniment.

Much more work needs to be done on the impact of geography (neighborhood vs. downtown settings; the urbanized east coast vs. the less populated western states) and ethnicity and race (the place of folk traditions, ragtime, jazz) on musical accompaniment. By the teens, however, silent film accompaniment had developed into a profession, and the piano emerged as the workhorse of the era. The 1920s saw the development of the mammoth theatrical organ, like the Mighty Wurlitzer, and motion picture orchestras, contracted by the owners of magnificent urban picture palaces. Orchestral scores, music transcribed for the orchestra, developed during the late silent era. Orchestral film scores based on original compositions were rare in the United States, but there are some famous international examples (not all of which, unfortunately, have survived): Camille Saint-Saëns's (1835–1921) *L'Assassinat du duc de Guise* (1908), Arthur Honegger's (1892–1955) *Napoléon* (1929), Dmitri Shostakovich's (1906–1975) *Novyy Vavilon* (*The New Babylon*, 1927), Erik Satie's (1866–1925) *Entr'acte* (1924), and Edmund Meisel's (1894–1930) *Bronenosets Potyomkin* (*Battleship Potemkin*, 1925), blamed for causing riots at the German premiere and banned. Most orchestral scores, however, were compiled from existing sources, largely nineteenth-century Western European art music. The first American orchestral score, generally acknowledged as *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), was a compilation by Joseph Carl Breil (1870–1926) and the film's director, D. W. Griffith, raiding such classics as Richard Wagner's (1813–1883) *Ride of the Valkyries*, from his opera *Die Walkure*, and Edvard Grieg's *In the Hall of the Mountain King*, from his *Peer Gynt* suite no. 1.

Wagnerian opera and Wagner's theory of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* (total artwork) were early influences on accompanists. Wagner argued that music in opera should not be privileged over other elements and should be composed in accordance with the dramatic needs of the story. Accompanists envisioned film music as performing the same function. Especially influential was Wagner's use of the leitmotif, an identifying musical passage, often a melody, associated through repetition with a particular character, place, emotion, or even abstract idea. Silent film accompanists often used the leitmotif to unify musical accompaniment, and during the period of film's transformation into a narrative form, leitmotifs became an important device for clarifying the story and helping audiences keep track of characters. However, Eisler and Adorno, among other critics, argued that the leitmotif was inappropriate for such short art forms as films.

Spurred by reconstructions in the 1970s of silent film scores by scholar-conductors such as Gillian Anderson and by screenings of the restoration of Abel Gance's *Napoléon*, silent film has enjoyed a resurgence. The rebirth of the silent film with musical accompaniment has made it possible for audiences today to feel something of the all-encompassing nature of the silent film experience. Original scores have been rescued from oblivion, and new scores have been created. Some of these restorations exist in recorded form and boast the original music: *Broken Blossoms* (1919), scored by Louis Gottschalk (1864–1934); *Metropolis* (1927), scored by Gottfried Huppertz; *Chelovek s kino-apparatom* (*The Man with a Movie Camera*, 1929), with a recreation of the director Dziga Vertov's (1896–1954) score by the Alloy Orchestra. Other restorations feature newly composed scores: *The Wind* (1928), scored by Carl Davis; *Stachka* (*Strike*, 1925), scored by the Alloy Orchestra; and *Sherlock, Jr.* (1924), scored by the Clubfoot Orchestra. Giorgio Moroder (b. 1940) used disco in his restoration of *Metropolis* in 1985. But the most exciting development has been the success of silent screenings with live musical accompaniment at film festivals, in art museums, on college campuses, and sometimes even in renovated silent film theaters.

THE CONVERSION TO SOUND

Most filmmakers responded to the coming of sound by transplanting the live, continuous musical accompaniment of silent film to the mechanically produced soundtrack. Standardizing and upgrading the quality of musical accompaniment was one of the most compelling reasons for Warner Bros. to invest in Vitaphone, an early sound reproduction system. Warner Bros. hired the New York Philharmonic to record the studio's first sound feature, *Don Juan* (1926). Al Jolson's ad-libbing in their second Vitaphone venture, *The Jazz Singer* (1927), not only put the "talk" in "talking pictures" but ushered in a new aesthetic possibility: realism. Sound, specifically dialogue

and sound effects, could now be used to heighten the impression that films captured reality. Musical accompaniment challenged this aesthetic, and thus the common practice in Hollywood in the transition years between silent and sound expunged background music entirely. Most films made during this period either have no musical score at all or include only music visibly produced within the world of the story. And yet the power of film music could not be ignored. Many films go to absurd lengths to include musical accompaniment "realistically." In Josef von Sternberg's crime drama *Thunderbolt* (1929), for instance, prisoners just happen to be practicing music in their cells (von Suppe's *Poet and Peasant*) during the film's climax.

Some filmmakers and composers proved more adventurous. In Hollywood, the composer Hugo Riesenfeld (1879–1939) used two different musical mediums simultaneously (a jazz band and a small orchestra) for distinctive effects in *Sunrise* (1927). Charlie Chaplin (1889–1977), who composed the music for some of his films, continued the practice of continuous musical accompaniment well into the 1930s for films such as *City Lights* (1931) and *Modern Times* (1936). In France, the director René Clair (1898–1981) used musical effects to replace naturalistic sound in *Le million* (*The Million*, 1931) and *Sous les toits de Paris* (*Under the Roofs of Paris*, 1930); Maurice Jaubert (1900–1940) used electronic manipulation to produce an arresting musical cue for a slow-motion sequence in Jean Vigo's *Zéro de conduite* (*Zero for Conduct*, 1933). Eisler scored Joris Ivens's documentary *Nieuwe gronden* (*New Earth*, 1934) using naturalistic sound for the machines but music for the humans. In Britain, Arthur Benjamin (1893–1960) experimented with orchestration techniques to compensate for the problems in early sound recording, reducing the number of strings and even creating pizzicato from tuba and piano. And in Berlin, at the German Film Research Institute, experiments in scoring techniques for sound film produced filmic equivalents for musical principles, such as the dolly-in and dolly-out for crescendo and decrescendo and superimpositions for dissonant chords. Perhaps it was these experiments that Arnold Schoenberg (1874–1951) was thinking of when he was approached by Hollywood. The story goes that he expressed interest if he could complete his score first and the film could be made to fit his music. It is tempting to consider Fritz Lang's *M* (1931) in this light, where the mesmerizing circularity of the motif from Grieg's *In the Hall of the Mountain King*, whistled by the murderer, finds its reflection in a series of circular visual motifs.

By the 1930s it was clear that sound film would replace silent film as the norm, and that film music fulfilled an important function in sound film. Sometimes cautiously and sometimes boldly, filmmakers began reintegrating background music. In Hollywood, music could be heard connecting sequences, underscoring dramatic moments, and providing accompaniment for the credit sequences (main title and end titles). But ultimately it was a giant gorilla that taught Hollywood the importance of film music. Worried about the credibility of the eighteen-inch models used in the creation of the monster in *King Kong* (1933), the film's director, Merian C. Cooper (1893–1973), asked Max Steiner (1888–1971) to write music to bring Kong to life. And bring Kong to life he did, scoring over three-quarters of the film's one-hundred-minute runtime. The success of *King Kong* validated Steiner's saturated scoring techniques. In 1934 the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences added the originally composed film score as an award category.

THE CLASSICAL HOLLYWOOD FILM SCORE

Hollywood has dominated filmmaking as an institutional practice, and its model for the use of music in film has had a determining influence on the history of film music. This influence can be traced to the classical studio era, roughly from the early 1930s to the 1960s. A wave of academic interest in film music that began in the 1980s has focused on the classical Hollywood film score with several important books devoted to the subject. In the 1930s several key composers—most importantly Steiner, Erich Wolfgang Korngold (1897–1957), and Alfred Newman (1901–1970), but also Dmitri Tiomkin (1894–1979), Miklós Rózsa (1907–1995), Bronislau Kaper (1902–1983), and Franz Waxman (1906–1967)—rose to prominence for their work in films. All but Newman had emigrated from Europe, many fleeing Hitler and the rise of fascism. (Korngold was Jewish, and his family had a narrow escape from Austria.)

The classical Hollywood film score follows a set of conventions so as to help tell the film's story and to engage the audience in the world that the story creates. To this end, music was subordinated to narrative and rendered unobtrusive through techniques developed both to mask its entrances and exits and to subordinate it to dialogue. Music served several important functions nonetheless: sustaining narrative unity by covering over potential gaps in the narrative chain (such as transitions between sequences and montages); controlling connotation; fleshing out mood, atmosphere, historical time, geographic space, and characters' subjectivity; connecting the audience emotionally to the film; and heightening screen action, often through mickey-mousing, or directly synchronizing screen action and music. (The term comes from the making of Disney animated films, where characters move in exact time to the music—think of Mickey conducting the brigade of brooms in *The Sorcerer's*

Apprentice sequence in *Fantasia* [1941]). The medium of the classical film score was symphonic; its musical idiom derived from late romanticism, with its structure dependent on the leitmotif. Outstanding examples of the form are too numerous to list, but highlights include Korngold's *The Adventures of Robin Hood* (1938), Newman's *Wuthering Heights* (1939), and Steiner's *Gone with the Wind* (1939), the last with over three hours of music.

Studio filmmaking in the classical Hollywood era emphasized efficiency, following an assembly-line mode of production with a highly specialized division of labor. Work on the score began when the film was in rough cut and was usually completed within three to six weeks. (There were exceptions: Korngold, for one, got more time.) The process began with a spotting session to determine in which "spots" to place the music. Composers produced sketches of the music, but orchestrators (and sometimes arrangers for songs and choral material) produced the finished version of the score. (Again there were exceptions: Herrmann orchestrated all his own film scores.) The top Hollywood composers established long-term relationships with orchestrators or arrangers they trusted: Korngold with Hugo Friedhofer (1901–1981) (who would go on to become an important composer himself), Tiomkin with choral arranger Jester Hairston (1901–2000). Some composers had the privilege of conducting their own work, but usually it was the studio's musical director who conducted. Often, especially on "B" pictures, teams of composers, arrangers, and orchestrators worked together, so screen credit can be misleading. On *Stagecoach*, five composers shared screen credit, seven worked on the score, and four received the Academy Award® that year for Music (Scoring). Ultimately, the producer had the final approval over the score and the studio owned any music written for its films.

Hollywood's mode of production did not accommodate individuality, perfectionism, or complaint. And yet some composers managed all three. Caryl Flinn argues that it was just these conditions and the sense of artistic frustration that they fostered that drove Hollywood composers to romanticism, with its idealized focus on the individual, the transformative nature of creativity, and art's transcendence over social and historical reality.

The symphonic film score remains an option for composers, especially in studio big-budget, action-adventure films and historical epics. The phenomenal success of John Williams's scores, such as *Jaws* (1975), *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* (1977), and especially the first *Star Wars* trilogy (1977–1983), has been instrumental in revitalizing both the symphonic medium and a neoromantic idiom. Composers who work in the form include Jerry Goldsmith (1929–2004), Danny Elfman (b. 1953), James Horner (b. 1953), and Howard Shore (b. 1946), as well as composers who established their careers abroad, such as John Barry, Nino Rota (1911–1979), Ennio Morricone (b. 1928), Maurice Jarre (b. 1924), Georges Delerue (1925–1992), and Patrick Doyle (b. 1953), to name but a few. Even in films with more contemporary musical styles and instrumentation, it is interesting to note the extent to which classical scoring principles remain. Amid the rock scoring of *The Matrix* trilogy (1999–2003), for instance, the leitmotif for Neo, the protagonist, can be heard in a classically inflected, symphonic arrangement.

THE CLASSICAL SCORE AND BEYOND: INSIDE AND OUTSIDE HOLLYWOOD

In the 1940s and 1950s the classical film score began to undergo an evolution when the next generation of film composers arrived in Hollywood. With them came more contemporary musical language from the worlds of art music and popular music that opened up the stylistic possibilities of the Hollywood score. Largely American by birth and by training, composers such as Herrmann, David Raksin (1912–2004), Alex North (1910–1991), Elmer Bernstein (1922–2004), Leonard Rosenman (b. 1924), and Henry Mancini (1924–1994) incorporated American vernacular music (folk song and jazz), elements of modernism (dissonance, polytonality, serial music), and the popular song in their film scores. Later, composers from the world of art music brought postmodern musical techniques. And in the 1950s, concurrent with many of these developments, rock 'n' roll arrived.

Folk song had become a subject of interest to American art music composers in the 1930s. Rejecting the experimental techniques of modernism, composers such as Aaron Copland (1900–1990) sought to define a uniquely American idiom and turned to folk song and its distinctive melodies and harmonic textures. Copland's *Billy the Kid* (1938), *Rodeo* (1942), and *Appalachian Spring* (1942) are prototypical examples of this "American" sound, which crossed over into film in the scores for *Of Mice and Men* (1940) and *Our Town* (1940), by Copland, and for the documentaries *The Plow That Broke the Plains* (1936), *The River* (1938), and *Louisiana Story* (1948), by Virgil Thomson (1896–1989). Perhaps because the western as a genre focuses so transparently on American values, its scores have tended to favor this approach. Tiomkin's scores for *Duel in the Sun* (1946) and *Red River* (1948), and Richard Hageman's (1882–1966) for several John Ford westerns, especially *Fort Apache* (1948) and *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* (1949), are exemplary. A more recent example of the use of this American sound can be heard in Randy

JOHN WILLIAMS

b. Long Island, New York, 8 February 1932

With well over a hundred major feature films to his credit to date, the American-born and -trained John Williams may well be the most recognizable film composer in the Western world. He began his career as a studio pianist and arranger, working with the composers Alfred Newman, Dimitri Tiomkin, Franz Waxman, Bernard Herrmann, and Henry Mancini, and went on to become Hollywood's most successful composer as well as one of its most prolific (although he has not caught up with the legendary Max Steiner and his 350-plus credits). Largely responsible for the revival of the symphonic film score written in a neoromantic style, and for adapting the film orchestra to the modern recording studio, Williams is a connection to Hollywood's classical era.

More important, Williams has raised the visibility (or to be more precise, the audibility) of the film score. In an era when much of the music heard at the movies is almost immediately forgotten, Williams's music has entered the popular consciousness—the shark motif from *Jaws* (1975), the theme from *Star Wars* (1977), the five-note melody through which aliens and earthlings communicate in *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* (1977). Indelibly identified with the *Star Wars* films, Williams has scored all six of them. He once described them as silent movies, and indeed the music is an important part of these films' success. At the age of seventy-three, he completed over two hours of music for the last installment, *Revenge of the Sith* (2005).

In 1975 Williams began what would prove to be his most enduring partnership, with the director Steven Spielberg. This collaboration on over two-dozen films across a variety of genres has given Williams a premiere showcase for his work. Although less known for his art music, Williams has pursued a career on the concert stage as a composer and conductor, wielding the baton at the Boston Pops from 1980 to 1993. He remains Hollywood's preeminent film composer.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Jaws (1975), *Star Wars* (1977), *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* (1977), *The Empire Strikes Back* (1980), *Raiders of the Lost Ark* (1981), *JFK* (1991), *Jurassic Park* (1993), *Schindler's List* (1993), *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone* (2001)

FURTHER READING

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Kathryn Kalinak

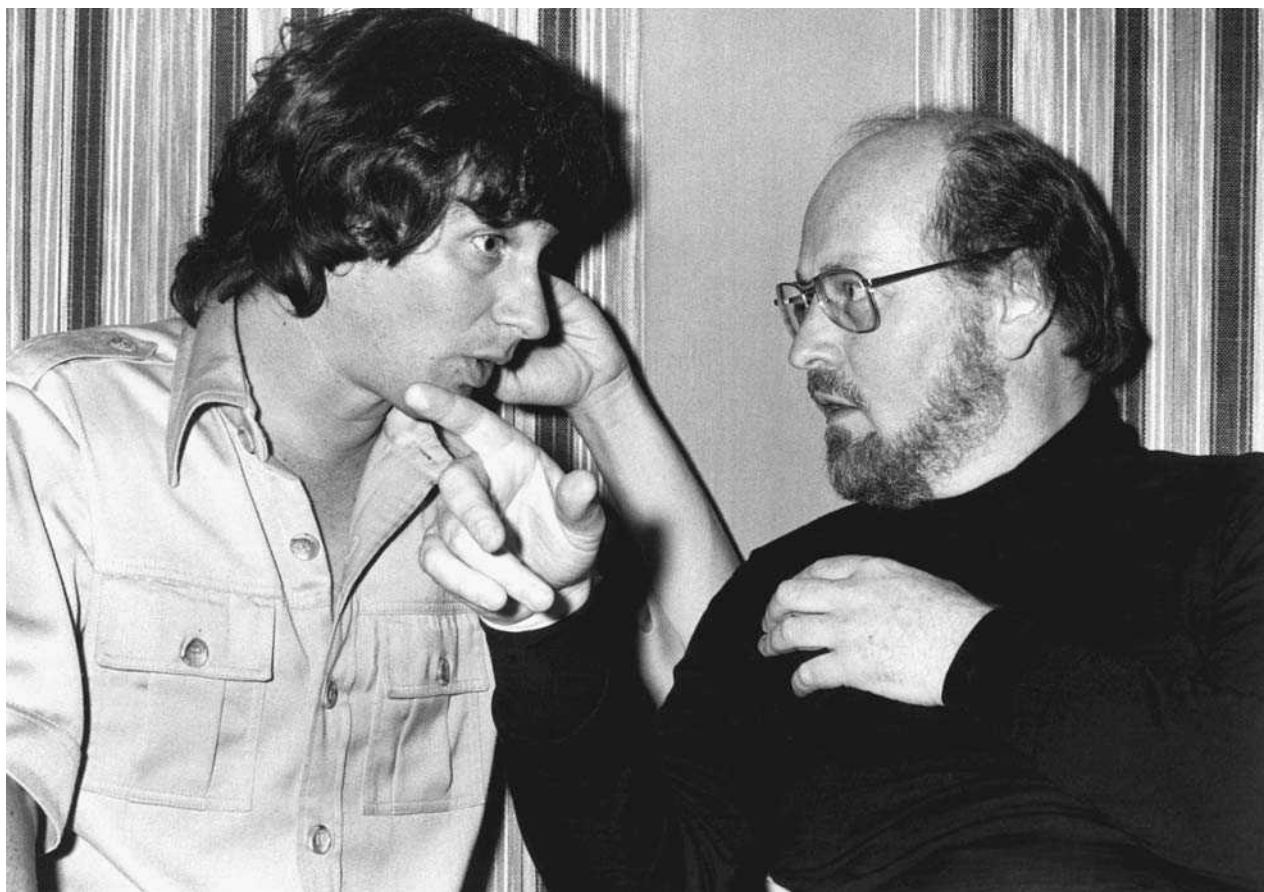
Newman's (b. 1943) score for *The Natural* (1984). Contemporary composers have opened up the focus on American folk song to include various types of world music. Elliot Goldenthal (b. 1954), for instance, himself a student of Copland, uses Mexican folk traditions and indigenous instruments in *Frida* (2002).

Beginning in the 1950s, jazz proved another possibility, especially for films set in urban environments. In edgy urban dramas, jazz exploded onto the soundtrack in scores such as *A Streetcar Named Desire* (1951), by Alex North (1910–1991); *The Man with the Golden Arm* (1955), by Elmer Bernstein; *Touch of Evil* (1958), by Mancini; and in numerous biopics about (white) jazz artists such as *Young Man with a Horn* (1950) and *Rhapsody in Blue* (1945). Krin Gabbard makes the case that this focus on white jazz artists provides a key to understanding American ideology of race, gender, and sexuality. Later filmmakers such as Robert Altman (b. 1925) and Clint Eastwood (b. 1930) (who also composes film scores) have used jazz to great effect. Hollywood did turn its attention to black jazz performers in *Mo' Better Blues* (1990) and biopics such as *Lady Sings the Blues* (1972), about the singer Billie Holiday, and *Bird* (1988), about the saxophone legend Charlie Parker. Jazz on the soundtrack was initially associated with urban decadence; the extent to which it has shed this association remains an interesting question. A number of jazz artists have themselves scored films: Duke Ellington (*Anatomy of a Murder*, 1959), Charles Mingus (*Shadows*, 1959), Herbie Hancock (*Death Wish*, 1974), and Joshua

Redman (*Vanya on 42nd Street*, 1994), among others. But the premiere showcase for African American jazz performers in American film may well have been the live action and animated shorts, produced in the 1930s and 1940s, featuring jazz greats Duke Ellington, Cab Calloway, Louis Armstrong, Fats Waller, Bessie Smith, and Billie Holiday. The racism of the era is strongly in evidence in many of them. In cartoons produced by the Max Fleischer studio, for instance, jazz artists found themselves captured not only by animated form (Cab Calloway was a walrus) but by numerous racial stereotypes.

The introduction of rock 'n' roll occurred simultaneously with these developments. First heard on a feature film soundtrack when Bill Haley's song "Rock Around the Clock" was used under the titles of *The Blackboard Jungle* (1955), rock 'n' roll was initially limited to teen pics and used to target young audiences. In the 1970s soul could be heard on the soundtrack in films like *Shaft* (1971), for which Isaac Hayes wrote the songs as well as the background score. Rock 'n' roll ultimately functioned as a pressure point on the classical Hollywood film score and was an important influence in a new type of scoring that would emerge in the 1960s, the compilation score.

In the 1940s and 1950s, modernist musical techniques, such as dissonance, atonality, striking rhythms, and unconventional instrumentation, made their way into Hollywood film scores such as Rózsa's for *Spellbound* and *The Lost Weekend* (both 1945, and both making use of the theremin, one of the first electronic instruments), and Rosenman's for *East of Eden* (1955) and *Rebel Without a Cause* (1955). The cutting edge of modernism, serial music, can be heard in Rosenman's score for *The Cobweb* (1955). Initially, electronic instrumentation was limited to horror films and science fiction or used for specific psychological effects (dream sequences, for instance), but it moved into the mainstream and high visibility with Giorgio Moroder's score for *Midnight Express* (1978) and Vangelis's for *Blade Runner* (1982). In the late twentieth century Philip Glass (b. 1937) brought minimalism out of the world of art music and into the film score. Characterized by repetitive musical



Director Steven Spielberg (left) and John Williams discuss the score for* Close Encounters of the Third Kind *(1977).
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Howard Shore conducting the music for* The Lord of the Rings: Return of the King *(Peter Jackson, 2003). © NEW LINE/ COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

figures that disturb conventional notions of rhythm and time, Glass's mesmeric music first attracted attention in *Koyaanisqatsi* (1983) and *The Thin Blue Line* (1988). Glass's work in Hollywood has been limited (*The Hours* in 2002 is his most high-profile score), but not his influence: the distinctive techniques of minimalism (but with more conventional tonality) can be heard in many Hollywood films.

THE USE OF POPULAR SONG

The rise of the popular song precipitated the most fundamental and lasting changes to the Hollywood film score. Popular music had been used in film accompaniment from the beginning; by the 1920s studios began promoting songs written expressly for their films, known as theme songs, through sheet music and record sales. Popular songs appeared in sound film, too. Sometimes they were performed on-screen, as by Dooley Wilson, singing "As Time Goes By," in *Casablanca* (1942), and sometimes they were heard emanating from on-screen nightclubs or radios. In the 1930s and 1940s, songs were sometimes culled from a score's themes with lyrics hastily added to tap into additional profits. Raksin's leitmotif for the title character of *Laura* (1944) became "Laura," with the addition of Johnny Mercer's lyrics. The large-scale promotion of theme songs, however, was a product of the 1950s and the phenomenal success of Tex Ritter's "Do Not Forsake Me" from *High Noon* (1952). Theme songs were everywhere, now heard in films complete with their lyrics, cross-promoted on radio, television, and on record, and generating huge revenue for the studios.

The popularity of soundtracks dates from this era, although there are some interesting earlier examples, such as Disney's *Snow White* (1938). Often composed in advance of the score, theme songs had a determining influence on both the shape and sound of Hollywood films in the 1950s and 1960s. Mancini created many of the most memorable songs of the era, such as "Moon River" from *Breakfast at Tiffany's* (1961). Yet Mancini never defined himself as a songwriter, considering song melodies as motifs to be exploited in the scoring process. Jeff Smith argues persuasively that the theme song did not undermine classical scoring principles, positing that scores based on theme songs fulfilled the primary

functions of classical film music: to attend to the needs of the narrative and to connect the audience to the film emotionally and psychologically. Classical scoring depended to a large extent on musical conventions to generate audience response and to lend meaning. Theme songs shifted away from those conventions to make use of popular culture, with lyrics providing an additional layer to make the meaning of a film resonate.

In the 1960s, new scoring possibilities produced a hybrid of the theme score and rock 'n' roll—the compilation score. Compiled scores consist of a collection of existing songs, often used in their original recorded format and largely derived from noncinematic sources (usually popular music but also opera and classical music); these can be supplemented by original songs and orchestral background scoring. The compilation score has brought cinema full circle, harking back to the days of silent cinema when accompanists would select music from a variety of sources, including popular song. The compilation score for Quentin Tarantino's *Kill Bill: Vol. I* (2003), for example, contains Nancy Sinatra's cover of Sonny and Cher's "Bang Bang" and songs by Isaac Hayes, Tomoyasu Hotei, Charlie Feathers, Al Hirt, Quincy Jones, Meiko Kaji, and a cue from Herrmann's score for *Twisted Nerve* (1968). Other notable compilation scores feature various kinds of popular music: rock 'n' roll (*Easy Rider*, 1969), disco (*Flashdance*, 1983), rap (*Dangerous Minds*, 1995), country (*Nashville*, 1975), popular standards (*Sleepless in Seattle*, 1993) and eclectic mixes (*Apocalypse Now*, 1979, which includes Wagner's *Ride of the Valkyries* and the Rolling Stones' "[I Can't Get No] Satisfaction.") Cross-promoted on radio, MTV, and various recording mediums, soundtracks now precede a film's release and may produce higher profits than the film itself.

Compilation scores have brought dramatic changes to film scoring. Responsibility shifts from the composer to the producer or director (to name just two examples, Tarantino and Woody Allen), who select the music for their films themselves. The choice may fall to a music supervisor, whose job includes clearing copyright for the final selections. Compilation scores also present some formidable challenges to traditional film scoring. Because songs have a structural autonomy of their own, they sometimes do not correspond directly to the image track. Additionally, audiences may perceive songs on a more conscious level than background orchestral scoring. Preexisting songs also trail with them not only a cultural history, but often a personal history, triggering memories and experiences that may be at odds with the film's dramatic needs. Anahid Kassabian views this change as liberating, as compilation scores have opened up possibilities for alternative voices (especially women and minorities) to be heard. Interestingly, the job of music supervisor has opened up economic space for women. While female composers' access to Hollywood has been limited in the past (Elizabeth Firestone and Ann Ronnell found some work in the classical studio era) and more are doing so at present (Shirley Walker, Rachel Portman, Anne Dudley), women now dominate the ranks of music supervisors in Hollywood and thus have more access to film music than they had in the past. But even with these changes, compilation scores continue to respond to the image track, exploiting the associations that songs generate to fulfill some of music's most conventional functions: to create mood, heighten atmosphere, aid in characterization, establish time and place, and relay theme.

INTERNATIONAL FILM: OTHER TRADITIONS, OTHER PRACTICES

Outside Hollywood, national cinemas the world over have adopted and adapted film music to fit their own particular needs, sometimes emulating conventional Hollywood practice, sometimes departing from it in distinctive ways, sometimes ignoring it altogether. As compared to Hollywood, international film, historically, has been characterized by a less capital-intensive and elaborate machine for the production and distribution of film. Funding is different, relying more on government subsidies than sales, and many national cinemas have been or are protected from competition by legislation (import quotas, for instance). International directors have also been more interested in using composers from the world of art music, resulting in more stylistic diversity. In Britain, Arthur Bliss (1891–1975), Arthur Benjamin, and William Walton (1902–1983) each composed important early film scores. Most memorable are the scores for the futuristic *Things to Come* (1936), by Bliss; *The Man Who Knew Too Much* (1934), by Benjamin and containing his original composition "The Storm Cloud Cantata" (retained by Herrmann in his score for the remake in 1956); and several of Laurence Olivier's adaptations of Shakespeare, including *Hamlet* (1948) and *Henry V* (1944), by Walton. Benjamin Britten and Ralph Vaughn Williams (1872–1958) composed scores for British documentaries in the 1930s and 1940s, with *Song of Ceylon* (1934) an important example. Michael Nyman (b. 1944) scored a series of films for Peter Greenaway, including *The Cook, the Thief, His Wife & Her Lover* (1989), and Patrick Doyle did the same for Kenneth Branagh, including his adaptations of *Henry V* (1989) and *Hamlet* (1996).

Maurice Jaubert worked prominently in early French sound film, with Jean Vigo, René Clair (*Quatorze Juillet*, [*July 14*, 1933]), and Marcel Carné (*Le Jour se lève*, [*Daybreak*, 1939]), before his untimely death during

SERGEI PROKOFIEV

b. Sontsovka, Ukraine, Russia, 23 April 1891, d. Moscow, USSR (now Russia), 5 March 1953

It is sometimes described as one of the greatest film scores ever written; it is often described as one of the worst soundtracks ever recorded. The score for *Alexander Nevsky* (1938), one of three films that the Russian composer Sergei Prokofiev scored for the legendary director Sergei Eisenstein, is to this day one of cinema's most striking and memorable film scores.

Like many international film composers, Prokofiev, born in Ukraine but raised in St. Petersburg, had an established reputation in art music when he turned to film scoring. His work with Eisenstein on *Nevsky* was a collaboration in the fullest sense of the word: some of the film was shot to Prokofiev's music and some of Prokofiev's music was composed to Eisenstein's footage. In *The Film Sense*, Eisenstein wrote that Prokofiev found the inner essence of the images, capturing the dynamic play of the frame's graphic content instead of merely illustrating action on the screen. The film was conceived to honor a medieval Russian hero and to ignite Soviet passions against Germany on the eve of World War II. Eisenstein, in trouble with Soviet authorities, had not made a film in years; Prokofiev, who lived extensively abroad before returning to Moscow in 1936, was finding his career similarly stalled. When Stalin himself asked to see the film, Eisenstein and Prokofiev hastily finished a rough-cut of the film's image track and soundtrack to meet with his approval. (Stalin liked the film, at least initially; *Nevsky*'s fortunes would rise and fall with the Soviets' shifting political alliances during World War II.) In fact, it is highly likely that this rough-cut version is the film we see and hear today. Given the state of Soviet sound recording in the 1930s, the speed with which the score was recorded, and the size of the orchestra that performed it, the soundtrack is crude at best. Today, symphony orchestras around the world have accompanied screenings of *Alexander Nevsky* live in the concert hall, giving Prokofiev's score the performance it deserves.

On what turned out to be his last concert tour of the West in 1938, Prokofiev found himself in Hollywood, with his wife and children back in Moscow as collateral against his return. Touring Disney Studios, he met with Walt Disney himself to discuss the animation of *Peter and the Wolf*, one of Prokofiev's most enduring concert pieces, for *Fantasia* (1940). That idea would come to fruition not in *Fantasia*, however, but in *Make Mine Music* (1946), in which the *Peter and the Wolf* segment becomes Prokofiev's only "Hollywood" film score.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Lieutenant Kije (1934), *Alexander Nevsky* (1938), *Ivan the Terrible, Part I* (1944), *Ivan the Terrible, Part II* (banned 1946, released 1958)

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World War II. But George Auric (1899–1983) proved France's most prolific and versatile composer of the pre- and postwar eras. In France he scored *Le Sang d'un poète* (*The Blood of a Poet*, 1930), *La Belle et la bête* (*Beauty and the Beast*, 1946), and *Orphée* (*Orpheus*, 1950) for the avant-garde filmmaker Jean Cocteau; in Britain, *The Lavender Hill Mob* (1951); and in Hollywood, *Roman Holiday* (1953). Maurice Jarre established his career in France in the 1950s and 1960s and catapulted to the top of the international "A" list with scores for *Lawrence of Arabia* (1962) and *Doctor Zhivago* (1965). The French New Wave brought a new set of French composers to the fore, including Pierre Jansen (b. 1930), who scored over thirty films for Claude Chabrol, and Georges Delerue, who worked with Jean-Luc Godard (*Le Mépris*, [*Contempt*, 1963]), Alain Resnais (*Hiroshima mon amour*, 1959), and François Truffaut (eleven films, including *Jules et Jim*, 1962) before embarking on an international career, scoring *Il Conformista* (*The Conformist*, 1970), and eventually settling in Hollywood. Among the most striking film scores of the twentieth century are those for several Godard films that capture the unconventionality and iconoclasm of the director's filmmaking style: Martial Solal's (b. 1927) jazzy score for *À bout de souffle*

Sergei Prokofiev. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

(*Breathless*, 1960); Michel Legrand's (b. 1932) truncated theme and variations for *Vivre sa vie* (*My Life to Live*, 1962); Antoine Duhamel's (b. 1925) score for *Weekend* (1967), which features a concert pianist in a barnyard; Gabriel Yared's (b. 1949) score for *Sauve qui peut (la vie)* (*Every Man for Himself*, 1980), where characters in a shoot-out run past the orchestra playing the score; and *Prénom Carmen* (*First Name: Carmen*, 1983) with its mix of Beethoven, Bizet, and Tom Waits. The much-noticed score for *Diva* (1981) features a stylish mix of opera and techno, with recording itself becoming a part of the plot.

Hans Eisler worked in Germany and France before and after his stint in Hollywood, composing original and unconventional scores such as those for *Kuhle Wampe oder: Wem gehört die Welt?* (1932) and the documentary *Nuit et brouillard* (*Night and Fog*, 1955). Peer Raben (b. 1940) lent a distinctive sound to the work of Rainer Werner Fassbinder in several films, including *Die Ehe der Maria Braun* (*The Marriage of Maria Braun*, 1979) and *Berlin Alexanderplatz* (1980). In Italy, Nino Rota forged an extremely important collaboration with Federico Fellini, as did Ennio Morricone with Sergio Leone. In the Soviet Union, Shostakovich continued to score films, including Grigori Kosintsev's *Hamlet* (1964) and *King Lear* (1975). Serge Prokofiev's (1891–1953) famous collaboration with Sergei Eisenstein resulted in the scores for *Alexander Nevsky* (1938) and *Ivan Groznyy* (*Ivan the Terrible*, part 1, 1944; part 2, 1958). In India, Ravi Shankar (b. 1920) scored Satyajit Ray's (1921–1992) Apu trilogy, and Ray himself scored his *Ashani Sanket* (*Distant Thunder*, 1973) and *Ghare-Baire* (*The Home and the World*, 1984). In Indian popular cinema, composers, arrangers, and "playback singers" like Lata Mangeshkar and Asha Bhosle (who dub songs for the stars), rank high in a film's credits and achieve enormous popularity in their own right: a film's success can often depend on the "hit" status of its songs. In Japan, Fumio Hayasaka (1914–1955) collaborated with Akira Kurosawa on many of his early films, including *Rashômon* (1950), *Ikiru* (*To Live*, 1952), and *Shichinin no samurai* (*Seven Samurai*, 1954). Tôru Takemitsu (1930–1996), whose extraordinary range encompasses a variety of historical styles, worked in Japan with Hiroshi Teshigahara on *Suna no onna* (*Woman of the Dunes*, 1964), with Kurosawa on *Dodesukaden* (1970) and *Ran* (1985), and with Nagisa Oshima on *Tokyo senso sengo hiwa* (*The Man Who Left His Will on Film*, 1970); in France he worked on the omnibus film *L'Amour à vingt ans* (*Love at Twenty*, 1962); and in Hollywood, at the end of his life, he scored *Rising Sun* (1993). The director Teinosuke Kinugasa (1896–1982) composed and recorded a score for his 1926 surrealist film *Kurutta Ippeji* (*A Page of Madness*) almost fifty years after its initial release. And Ryuichi Sakamoto crossed over from the world of popular music to the soundtrack with his score for Oshima's *Merry Christmas Mr. Lawrence* (1983).

MUSIC AND ANIMATION

Music for animation has long suffered from critical neglect despite being the form of film music that many viewers first encounter. It diverges significantly from other film music practices. In the United States, for instance, although it developed concurrently with classical scoring principles (sometimes, as in the case of Warner Bros., at the same studio) and even shared composers and techniques, music for animation operates in a fundamentally different way. From the beginning, music for animated films was characterized by stylistic diversity (jazz, swing, pop, modern, and even serial music), an eclectic approach to musical genres (mixing opera, jazz, pop songs, and classical music), and an indifference to the leitmotif and other unifying strategies (in Warner Bros. cartoons, for instance, music emphasizes the cuts). Animated films were often created in "reverse," with the music composed in advance of the images, and decades before the classical score exploited popular songs, the

Sergei Prokofiev worked closely with filmmaker Sergei Eisenstein on the score for* Alexander Nevsky *(1938). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

cartoon soundtrack was filled with them. The golden age of film animation in the United States spans the years from the conversion of sound to the breakup of the studio system, and during that period Disney Studios pioneered a number of important technical advances: mickey-mousing, a crucial model for the integration of music and action for classical Hollywood composers; the tick system, which facilitated precise synchronization and which developed into the click track, a standard operating procedure in Hollywood; and the forerunner of today's surround sound, Fantasound, a stereophonic multitrack recording and playback system that surrounded the audience in sound by positioning speakers around the theater.

But, ultimately, it was the composers who defined the form. Carl Stalling (1891–1972), who composed over six hundred cartoon scores in his career. Stalling began in the late 1920s with Disney scoring many of the early Mickey Mouse shorts and helped to inaugurate the *Silly Symphony* series, where classical music was accompanied by animated images. (The trajectory of the *Silly Symphonies* led to *Fantasia*, a box office failure at the time but much beloved today.) Later at Warner Bros., Stalling transformed the house style by creating a pastiche of quotes, some only a few measures long, from a number of sources and in a variety of styles. Scott Bradley (1891–1977) at MGM experimented with twelve-tone composition for *Tom and Jerry* cartoons, once stating, "I hope that Dr. Schoenberg will forgive me for using *his system* to produce funny music, but even the boys in the orchestra laughed when we were recording it" (quoted in Goldmark, p. 70). At UPA in the 1950s, Gail Kubik (1914–1984) adroitly exploited percussion in his scores for the *Gerald McBoing Boing* series. The rise of television and the cost-saving measures attending the breakup of the studios signaled the end of the golden age, when the US animation industry, with some exceptions, transferred largely to television. The renaissance of Disney feature animation in the 1980s continued the practice of modeling Disney films and their scores after musicals, although as *South Park: Bigger, Longer, & Uncut* (1999) reminds us, animated musicals do not have to be conventional. Internationally, music for animation has achieved high visibility in Japan, where soundtracks for Japanese animation, anime, have become

an important part of the Japanese recording industry. Some of these soundtracks mix traditional Japanese and Western musics in interesting ways. Shoji Yamashira's *Akira* (1988), for instance, combines Buddhist chant, taiko drumming, and synthesizers. Film scholars and musicologists have begun to turn their attention to "cartoon music," and books on animation now often include attention to the score.

CONCLUSION

Film music, as the composer David Raksin (1912–2004) put it, "makes the difference. There's no doubt about that. All you have to do to get the point of film music across to the skeptical is to make them sit though the picture *without* the music" (quoted in Kalinak, p. xvii). This is exactly what Herrmann did during the production of *Psycho*. Hitchcock did not think the shower sequence should be accompanied by music; Herrmann thought otherwise and asked for the opportunity to score it. Hitchcock, not entirely satisfied with the shower sequence himself, was open to the experiment. Later, Herrmann screened two versions: one accompanied only by sound effects, the other, accompanied only by music. Hitchcock chose the latter, resulting in one of cinema's most powerful and arresting moments, a grisly murder made even more horrific by the shrieking violins that accompany it. Not all films use music, but the vast majority of films from every corner of the globe from the nineteenth century to the twenty-first have exploited it. All evidence points to its persistence well into the future.

SEE ALSO *Animation; Ideology; Musicals; Silent Cinema; Sound; Studio System; Technology*

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MUSICALS

As a distinct genre, the film musical refers to movies that include singing and/or dancing as an important element and also involves the performance of song and/or dance by the main characters. Movies that include an occasional musical interlude, such as Dooley Wilson's famous rendition of "As Time Goes By" in *Casablanca* (1942), generally are not considered film musicals. By this definition neither would *American Graffiti* (1973), which, while featuring a continuous soundtrack of rock oldies coming from car radios in the nostalgic world of the story, has no performances by its ensemble cast.

The movie musical exploits more fully than any other genre the two basic elements of the film medium—movement and sound. In melodrama, although the characters' intense emotions are expressed through stylistic means (*mise-en-scène*, lighting, music), their feelings are often repressed; by contrast, in film musicals characters are uninhibited and outwardly express emotion through song and dance. Gene Kelly's (1912–1996) famous refrain in *Singin' in the Rain* (1952), "Gotta dance," refers not only to his own inclination in that specific film but to the genre as a whole. Classical musicals depict a utopian integration of mental and physical life, of mind and body, where intangible feeling is given form as concrete yet gracious physical action. Whether the characters in musicals are feeling up or down, whether they are alone or in public, they are always able to fulfill their desire or to feel better by dancing or singing. In his influential discussion of entertainment, Richard Dyer cites the film musical specifically for its utopian sensibility, which he defines as its ability to present complex and unpleasant feelings in simple, direct, and vivid ways (Altman, 1981).

With the exception of some comedies, the musical is the only genre that violates the otherwise rigid tenets of classic narrative cinema. Just as Groucho Marx addresses some of his wisecracks directly to the camera, so characters sing and dance to the camera, for the benefit of the film viewer, rather than any ostensible audience within the film's story. As well, often the music accompanying singing stars conventionally comes from "nowhere"—outside the world of the film—another violation of the rules of realism that govern almost all other genres. The scene in *Singin' in the Rain* where Kelly adjusts the lighting and switches on a romantic wind machine on an empty soundstage to set the mood before proclaiming his love for Debbie Reynolds in the song "You Were Meant for Me," acknowledges the conventions of artificiality that characterize performance in musical films.

THE RISE OF THE FILM MUSICAL

In the United States the film musical, with its combination of song and dance numbers woven into a narrative context, evolved from the non-narrative entertainment forms of minstrelsy, vaudeville, Tin Pan Alley, British music hall, and musical theater. Many of the composers of musicals wrote popular tunes for sheet music published by the numerous music companies located on the block of 29th Street between Broadway and Fifth Avenue in New York City, commonly known as Tin Pan Alley. Minstrel shows, the most popular form of music and comedy in the nineteenth century, featured white actors performing in blackface. Minstrelsy, which lasted well into the twentieth century, was built on comic racial stereotypes, and its influence may be seen directly in early film musicals starring Al Jolson (1886–1950) and

Eddie Cantor (1892–1964), both of whom performed in blackface on the stage and then carried their "burnt cork" personas into film. The last of three parts in any minstrel show was a short comedy sketch with music, often a parody of a contemporary hit, and it was also a clear predecessor of what would evolve into musical theater as epitomized by Broadway in New York City and then in Hollywood cinema. Minstrelsy's practice of racial segregation (there were both all-white and all-black minstrel shows) was mirrored by the practice of producing segregated film musicals featuring all-black casts, like *Hallelujah* (1929), *Cabin in the Sky* (1943), *Carmen Jones* (1954), and *The Wiz* (1978).

The film musical has always borrowed from musical theater. Many film adaptations drew on theatrical musicals, or contain songs borrowed from them, and many performers, choreographers, composers, lyricists, and directors moved from musical theater to film musicals. Jerome Kern (1885–1945) and Oscar Hammerstein II's (1895–1960) *Show Boat* was adapted for the screen no less than three times—in 1929, 1936, and 1951.

When synchronized sound was introduced in 1927, the musical immediately became one of the most popular film genres. Opening in October 1927, *The Jazz Singer*, often cited as the first feature-length sound film and the first film musical, was a sensational hit. The movie, which featured established Broadway star Al Jolson, was in fact mostly a silent film with seven musical sequences added, including such signature Jolson tunes as "Mammy" and "Waiting for the Robert E. Lee." The story of a young Jewish man who abandons his future as a cantor and, against his father's wishes, becomes a popular singer was the stuff of melodrama; it was the talking and singing that audiences remembered.

Jolson's famous ad-libbed line, "You ain't heard nothin' yet," seemed to announce not only *The Jazz Singer*, but the arrival of the musical genre itself. In the 1930s numerous Broadway composers, including Irving Berlin (1888–1989), Cole Porter (1891–1964), Richard Rodgers (1902–1979), Lorenz Hart (1895–1943), and George (1898–1937) and Ira Gershwin (1896–1983), happily came to work in Hollywood on the many musicals suddenly being churned out by the studios. Hollywood pundits observed that Greta Garbo and Rin Tin Tin were the only stars who were not taking singing lessons. The rush of the studios to convert to sound and to produce musicals to exploit the new technology is treated humorously in the plot of *Singin' in the Rain*: when the attempt to make a sound film with silent film star Lina Lamont (Jean Hagen) results in disaster because of her thick Brooklyn accent, Don Lockwood (Gene Kelly) and Cosmo Brown (Donald O'Connor) save the film by changing the romantic adventure they were making, "The Dueling Cavalier," into a musical titled *The Dancing Cavalier* and dubbing Lamont's voice with that of Kathy Selden (Debbie Reynolds). Ironically, Reynolds's own voice was in actuality dubbed by another singer, Betty Royce.

As the industry quickly converted to sound, several distinct subgenres of the musical emerged. Revue musicals, containing a loosely joined series of acts with a minimal plot, carried over the variety format of vaudeville. *The King of Jazz* (1930), for example, is structured around a series of songs, dances, and comedy sketches by popular stars of the day introduced by bandleader Paul Whiteman; the various numbers and acts have no relationship or connection apart from Whiteman's claim that many of the disparate performances have combined in the great "melting pot of music" to create the new sound of jazz. *The Hollywood Revue of 1929* featured almost every star in MGM's famed lineup (as well as the debut of Nacio Herb Brown's "Singin' in the Rain"), while Warner Bros. trotted out many of its stars for *Show of Shows* (1929) and Paramount did the same with *Paramount on Parade* (1930). Operettas also were popular, with Sigmund Romberg (1887–1951) and Oscar Hammerstein II's *The Desert Song* (1929), starring John Boles and Myrna Loy, the first to be filmed. By 1934, the operetta was already the target of parody in *Babes in Toyland*, with comic duo Stan Laurel and Oliver Hardy. Later came musical biographies such as MGM's lavish *The Great Ziegfeld* (1936), starring William Powell as legendary American impresario Florenz Ziegfield, Jr. (1867–1932); *Yankee Doodle Dandy* (1942), with James Cagney cast against type as songwriter George M. Cohan (1878–1942); *Night and Day* (1946), with Cary Grant as composer Cole Porter; and *Love Me or Leave Me* (1955), starring Doris Day as singer Ruth Etting.

The first film director to distinguish himself in the musical genre was Ernest Lubitsch (1892–1947), a Jewish-German director who came to Hollywood in 1923. Lubitsch made a series of musicals and comedies that combined sophistication and sex. *The Love Parade* (1929), set in the imaginary European kingdom of Sylvania, paired French star Maurice Chevalier (1888–1972) and Jeanette MacDonald (1903–1965). In 1932, Lubitsch reunited Chevalier and MacDonald in *One Hour with You* (co-directed by George Cukor), a remake of his own earlier hit comedy, *The Marriage Circle* (1924). Another of Lubitsch's comedies, *Ninotchka* (1939), was remade as *Silk Stockings* (1957) by Rouben Mamoulian, who in the 1930s had followed Lubitsch's lead and paired Chevalier and MacDonald in *Love Me Tonight* (1932).

The backstage musical, in which the story is set in a theatrical context involving the mounting of a show, has

proven the most durable type of film musical. The premise provides a convenient pretext for the inclusion of the production numbers that, after all, constitute the film musical's primary appeal. MGM's *Broadway Melody* (1929), the first genuine film musical, was a backstage musical about two sisters seeking fame in the theater. The film won the Academy Award® for Best Picture in 1929 and established the formula for the many backstage musicals to follow, including such memorable Warner Bros. musicals as *42nd Street* (1933), and *Golddiggers of 1933* (1933). Although the backstage format declined with the rise of the "integrated musicals" in the 1950s, it continued through the war years and informed such later and otherwise different musicals as Baz Luhrmann's (b. 1962) *Moulin Rouge* (2001), starring Nicole Kidman and Ewan McGregor, and *8 Mile* (Curtis Hanson, 2003), starring rap singer Eminem and Kim Basinger.

POLITICS AND FANTASY

In the 1930s, musicals proved to be a particularly amenable genre both for addressing and escaping the urgent problems of the Great Depression, into which America had plunged only two years after the appearance of *The Jazz Singer*. The very nature of dance itself suggests a sense of social harmony, for dancing partners move in step with each other, and in film musicals (unlike live theater) dances are always done perfectly and with apparent spontaneity. Yet while dance was a useful metaphor of communal order, the lavish spectacles created by Hollywood musicals also took audiences' thoughts away from the deprivations in their own lives.

The backstage musicals offered optimistic stories of disparate characters working together for the common good that served as timely social fables. In these musicals, the narrative problems encountered in putting on the show become a metaphor for the necessary national effort and sacrifice required to turn around the troubled economy. In *42nd Street*, for example, as the show's opening approaches, everyone sacrifices in the interest of the collective goal. The ambitious chorus girl (Ginger Rogers) declines her golden opportunity to play the lead part because she knows Ruby Keeler is better suited for the job, and the intended star (Bebe Daniels), now sidelined with a broken ankle, overcomes her jealousy and resentment toward Keeler and sends her onstage with a stirring speech. This pro-social thrust of the Depression-era musical is explicit in the climatic "Shanghai Lil" number of *Footlight Parade* (1933) when the chorines, like a college football cheering section, turn over cards to reveal first the Blue Eagle of the National Recovery Administration, and then the face of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

At the same time, musicals are entertaining fantasies that tend to deal with social issues metaphorically, through the dynamics and musical performance, rather than directly. The climactic number of *Gold Diggers of 1933*, "Remember My Forgotten Man," about jobless veterans of World War I and featuring a parade of tired and wounded soldiers as part of Busby Berkeley's (1895–1976) choreography, is a startling exception that proves the rule. By contrast, during World War II Betty Grable (1916–1973) lifted the morale of American servicemen with such charming, nostalgic musicals as *Tin Pan Alley* (1940) and *Coney Island* (1943), while Bob Hope and Bing Crosby starred in a series of musical comedy "road" pictures, beginning with *The Road to Singapore* (1940), that tacitly endorsed American imperialism around the world. It is no coincidence that, during the height of the war in 1943, 40 percent of the films produced in Hollywood were musicals.

In 1957 *Silk Stockings* managed to reduce the contemporary political tensions of the Cold War to the play of heterosexual seduction and conquest. "Music will dissolve the Iron Curtain," asserts the confident, red-blooded American (Fred Astaire [1899–1987]) as he sets out to woo the cold-blooded commissar (Cyd Charisse [b. 1921]). But the image in *Swing Time* (1936) of Astaire riding a freight train in top hat and tails graphically suggests the extent to which social reality in the film musical was pushed aside in favor of upbeat fantasy. It is precisely in such romantic fantasies, rather than in social consciousness, that the film musical discovered its essential charm and appeal.

LOVE, ROMANCE, AND SEX

Just as the primary subject of popular music is love, so the great theme of the film musical, like Shakespearean comedy, is romance, which it tends to depict according to the honeyed clichés of pop music. Typically, love in the musical from *Flying Down to Rio* (1933) to *Moulin Rouge* is of the wonderful "some-enchanted-evening" variety, where lovers are depicted as destined for each other, and after an inevitable series of delays and obstacles, they get together and presumably live happily ever after. In *An American in Paris* (1951), Gene Kelly is inexplicably blind to the obvious charms of Nina Foch but irredeemably smitten with Leslie Caron upon his first view of her.

The film musical allows dance to work as a sexual metaphor, for when a couple dances well—as they always do in musicals—two bodies move in graceful harmony. As a sexual metaphor, dance offers an appealing fantasy, for it suggests that making love is always as smooth as, say, dancing is for Astaire and Rogers. Also, the dance metaphor neatly solved the problem of censorship for

One of Busby Berkeley's lavish production numbers in* Dames *(Ray Enright, 1934). **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

Hollywood better than the discreet but more obvious and cumbersome cliché of a kiss and a fade-out.

Beginning with the cycle of nine musicals starring Astaire and Ginger Rogers (1911–1995) made by RKO in the 1930s, the genre offered a series of model romantic relationships. Typically in the Astaire–Rogers films, the two stars are initially attracted to each other but unable to come together due to some comic misunderstanding. The narrative conflict is resolved when the couple's differences are reconciled, generally through the mediating power of musical performance, resulting in the couple's union. Rogers makes this clear enough to Astaire in the first film of their series, *The Gay Divorcee* (1934), when she sings to him about "The Continental," in which "You tell of your love while you dance." In *Top Hat* (1935) Astaire and Rogers play out their courtship through dance in the "Isn't This a Lovely Day (To Be Caught in the Rain)?" number, where the pair tests each other out through dance steps and then finally dance together on an empty bandstand, where they are waiting out a thunderstorm. The Astaire–Rogers films worked so well because the two performers were equal partners in the dance numbers, neither one dominating the screen when they danced together.

In the Astaire–Rogers films, as in many musicals, the male character represents unchanelled sexual desire, but inevitably he becomes monogamous and romantic in the end. In *Top Hat* Astaire is a ladies' man who proclaims, in response to comic foil Edward Everett Horton's suggestion that he get married, that he has "No Strings," that "I'm fancy free and free for anything fancy." Later, his aggressive dancing in his hotel room disturbs Rogers in the room below, and when she comes up to protest, he immediately falls in love with her. After she leaves, he sprinkles some sand on the floor and does a soft-shoe that soothes her to sleep, his initially aggressive and indiscriminate desire literally softened by her femininity. Similarly, when Astaire sings "They Can't Take That Away from Me" in the climax of *Shall We Dance* (1937) amid a sea of women all wearing identical

Ginger Rogers masks ("If he couldn't dance with you, he'd dance with images of you," she is told), Rogers joins the crowd, momentarily reveals her true self, and then makes Astaire search her out by unmasking and rejecting the others before they can dance alone.

In *The Pirate* (1948) Serafin (Gene Kelly) is initially depicted as sexually active and indiscriminate. His first song, "Niña," expresses his desire for all beautiful women, whom he refers to with the Spanish word for the generic "girl." Kelly's athletic dance in this number gives a choreographed shape to his robust masculinity as he climbs poles and trellises. By the end of the film Manuela (Judy Garland) tames Serafin with romantic love, so that they can come together and joyously perform the finale, claiming, "The best is yet to come." If the western hero rides off into the sunset and the detective hero walks alone down those mean streets, in the film musical characters are almost always united in the end. The genre's vision of romance is nothing less than, to quote the title of one film musical, *Seven Brides for Seven Brothers* (1954).

THE "GOLDEN AGE"

In musicals the energy and effort put into the musical numbers have always tended to outweigh the requirements of the narrative or "book." Already in 1933 the choreography of *Flying Down to Rio*, featuring a musical climax wherein the "dancers" perform with their waists and feet anchored to the wings of swooping airplanes, clearly exceeded any sense of narrative realism and, as such, paved the way for Berkeley's more elaborate choreography. In Berkeley's musicals, the scale of the production numbers could not possibly be mounted in the constricted space of the theater stage on which they are supposedly taking place, and his giddy overhead shots do not disguise the fact that the production numbers are designed for the cinema, not the audience within the film.

Such musicals as *Broadway Revue of 1929*, *The Great Ziegfeld*, and *The Goldwyn Follies* (1938) pushed the musical more toward spectacle than story. By contrast, producer Arthur Freed (1894–1973), who produced more than thirty quality musicals between 1939 and 1960, mostly for MGM (and who also wrote many of the lyrics, including those for "Singin' in the Rain"), tended to approach the film musical instead as an organically integrated whole. In Freed's musicals, beginning with his first, *The Wizard of Oz* (1939), the book and the musical numbers have strong connections; songs, often initiated by a character's strong emotions, arise out of the story and even advance the plot, rather than merely interrupt it, as was too frequently the case in the genre. In *The Bandwagon* (1953), for example, Astaire's performance of "A Shine on Your Shoes" enables him to acknowledge the loneliness he feels upon his return to Broadway, which he thinks has passed him by, while in *It's Always Fair Weather* (1955), an advertising executive (Dan Dailey), disgruntled about the superficial banter in the advertising agency where he works, finds rhythms in his colleagues' jargon ("Situation-wise and saturation-wise") and turns it into a cathartic song and dance.

According to critical consensus, the musicals produced by Freed represent the height of the genre's Golden Age, roughly from the end of World War II through the 1950s. Freed's unit at MGM included, among others, performers Kelly and Judy Garland, directors Stanley Donen (b. 1924) and Vincente Minnelli (1903–1986), choreographer Michael Kidd (b. 1919), and screen-writing duo Betty Comden (b. 1919) and Adolph Green (1914–2002). These artists, along with many others, were collectively responsible for such recognized classics as *The Wizard of Oz*, *Cabin in the Sky*, *Meet Me in St. Louis* (1944), *On the Town* (1949), *An American in Paris*, *Singin' in the Rain*, *The Bandwagon*, *It's Always Fair Weather*, and *Silk Stockings*, among others.

Television, which was introduced commercially in the United States in 1947, had by the 1950s become serious entertainment competition for Hollywood. Partly in response, Hollywood embraced technology as yet unavailable to film, particularly color and wide-screen format, both of which became more common. The wider image was particularly appropriate for the lavish scale of many film musicals, as were the exaggerated hues of Technicolor for the idealized fantasies of the musical's production numbers. *An American in Paris* exploits color in its production design inspired by French Impressionist paintings, while the climactic twelve-minute "Girl Hunt" ballet in *The Bandwagon*, a homage to hard-boiled detective fiction, is rendered in appropriately garish colors that accent the pulp quality of the novels.

DECLINE AND CHANGE

Despite the utopian optimism of the genre, the musical began to founder later in the 1950s. Beginning in the second half of the decade, the genre began to suffer a surprising decline in production, quality, and popularity. In 1943, Hollywood studios released 65 musicals, but a decade later the number was down to 38, and in 1963, only 4. It is true that by the late 1930s, rising costs were making the production of lavish musicals prohibitive; yet it was not this economic constraint that threatened the musical's existence. After he left Warner Bros., Berkeley made musicals at MGM, beginning in 1939 with *Babes in Arms*, showing that even with greatly reduced budgets musicals could still be both innovative and commercially

Michael Kidd, Gene Kelly, and Dan Dailey in the famous dance with garbage can lids in* It's Always Fair Weather *(Kelly and Stanley Donen, 1955). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

successful. People may have had more reason to sing in the rain in the immediate postwar period than during the tensions of the Cold War in the 1950s and 1960s, but the difficulties of the Depression and the war years had stimulated the musical rather than stifled it.

Rather, the rapid decline of musicals in the late 1950s was at least partly the result of an ever-widening gap between the music used in the movies the studios were making and the music an increasing percentage of the nation was actually enjoying, namely, the new rock 'n' roll. After World War II, the big bands became economically unfeasible, and small combos began electrifying their instruments and playing uptempo rhythm and blues, which white artists such as Bill Haley and Elvis Presley popularized with mainstream white audiences. The 1950s witnessed the invention of the teenager, a demographic that for the first time was the targeted audience of movies, as suggested by developments in other genres during the period, such as the cycle of horror films that included *I Was a Teenage Werewolf* (1957), *Teenage Monster* (1958), *Teenage Cave Man* (1958), and *I Was a Teenage Frankenstein* (1959). By the 1960s, the youth audience—the same group that constituted rock's primary audience—accounted for the majority of the commercial film audience. Obviously Hollywood needed to incorporate rock music into its films in order to attract the majority of its potential audience. In addition, by the 1970s Hollywood studios were being bought by entertainment conglomerates that also owned record labels. Within less than twenty years, rock came to dominate the genre's big-budget glossy releases, either in terms of the music or of the stars. As a result, the genre changed drastically from the classic musicals of the 1930s and 1950s.

In the late 1960s, after the British invasion had made rock music even more popular, such musicals as *Doctor*

BUSBY BERKELEY

b. William Berkeley Enos, Los Angeles, California, 29 November 1895, d. 14 March 1976

Busby Berkeley was an innovative choreographer who freed dance in the cinema from the constraints of theatrical space. In Berkeley's musical numbers, the confining proscenium of the stage gives way to the fluid frame of the motion picture image, and dances are choreographed for the ideal, changing point of view of a film spectator, rather than for the static position of a traditional theatergoer.

Berkeley conducted drills for the army during World War I and trained as an aerial observer—two experiences that clearly shaped his approach to dance on film, in which the chorines are deployed in symmetrical patterns and manipulate props rather than execute traditional dance steps. After the war Berkeley gained a reputation as a Broadway choreographer, which in1930 led to an invitation from Sam Goldwyn to direct the musical sequences of *Whoopee!*, starring Eddie Cantor. In "The Indian Dance" sequence of the film, Berkeley shot the Goldwyn Girls from overhead, creating an abstract, kaleidoscopic effect—a technique that would become his most famous trademark.

Several more musicals for MGM (Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer) with Eddie Cantor followed, as well as a few dramatic films, before Berkeley moved to Warner Bros., where over a period of six years from 1933 to 1939 he choreographed and/or directed 19 musicals, including *42nd Street* (1933), *Gold Diggers of 1933* (1933), and *Dames* (1934). After returning to MGM in 1939, Berkeley made another string of inventive hit musicals, beginning with *Broadway Serenade* (1939) and including three films starring Judy Garland and Mickey Rooney. The plots of Berkeley's musicals are relatively slight, little more than pretexts for the dance numbers wherein Berkeley allows his visual imagination to soar.

Feminist reviewers have criticized Berkeley's choreography for making women the objects of erotic voyeurism. For example, *Gold Diggers of 1933* opens with the chorines, including a young Ginger Rogers, singing "We're in the Money" clad in nothing but large coins. The "Pettin' in the Park" number in the same film features Dick Powell using a can opener to gain access to Ruby Keeler's metal-clad body. The famous sequence from *The Gang's All Here* (1943), featuring Carmen Miranda as "The Lady in the Tutti-Frutti Hat" and a line of chorus girls waving giant bananas, may be the essential Berkeley sequence, combining his surreal visual style with an overblown Freudian symbolism that prefigured camp. Nevertheless, in a commercial cinema dominated by narrative and the conventions of realism, Berkeley managed to free the camera from the mere recording of surface reality to create a lyrical vision of musical plenitude that has never been equaled.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

42nd Street (1933), *Gold Diggers of 1933* (1933), *Footlight Parade* (1933), *Dames* (1934), *Babes in Arms* (1939), *Strike Up the Band* (1940), *Babes on Broadway* (1941), *The Gang's All Here* (1943), *Take Me Out to the Ball Game* (1949)

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Dolittle (1967), *Hello, Dolly!* (1969), *Paint Your Wagon* (1969), and *Goodbye, Mr. Chips* (1969) were commercially unsuccessful while, by contrast, the two Beatles films directed by Richard Lester, *A Hard Day's Night* (1964) and *Help!* (1965), brought an invigorating freshness to the genre and were huge box-office successes. In the early 1970s, with the exception of *Fiddler on the Roof* (1971), most other musicals in the classical mold, such as *1776* (1972) and *The Little Prince* (1974), did not fare well commercially. Conversely, *Woodstock* (1970), a documentary about the legendary 1969 rock concert, and *American Graffiti*, with its soundtrack of rock oldies, were big hits at the box-office.

The romantic ideology shared by the classic musical and traditional pop music was threatened by the more straightforward eroticism of both rock music and

Busby Berkeley. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

contemporary dance. The first rock song to appear in a movie was Haley's "Rock Around the Clock" in *The Blackboard Jungle* (1955), where it is associated with juvenile delinquency rather than romance, and in its day was considered shocking. Certainly by the time of *Dirty Dancing* (1987), dancing "cheek to cheek" meant something entirely different than when Astaire sang it to Rogers in *Top Hat*. Even so, eventually rock was made more acceptable by the romantic vision of the musical genre, as shown in nostalgic rock musicals like *Grease* (1978).

Because of their race, black rock musicians did not appear in mainstream musicals as leads. In the musicals in which they appear, Chuck Berry and Little Richard portray themselves, not unlike Louis Armstrong did in *High Society* (1956). White rock star Presley played fiery, rebellious characters that spoke to his real-life persona in his first films, *Loving You* (1957), *Jailhouse Rock* (1957), and *King Creole* (1958); but in time Presley was transformed into a nice all-American boy in a series of largely indistinguishable and innocuous musicals with tepid pop music, the best of which are *G. I. Blues* (1960) and *Blue Hawaii* (1961). In Presley's final film, *Change of Habit* (1969), he is cast as a crusading ghetto doctor, socially acceptable enough that Mary Tyler Moore can contemplate leaving the convent for a secular marriage with him without alienating the movie audience. Teen idol Frankie Avalon appeared with former Musketeer Annette Funicello in a series of beach musical comedies like *Beach Blanket Bingo* (1965) that were similarly inoffensive.

With the exception of *The Girl Can't Help It* (1956), which featured established Hollywood stars and excellent production values, early rock musicals were for the most part low-budget affairs that betrayed the film industry's condescending attitude toward rock music. Most of these films fell back on the old backstage formula, featuring several rock acts built around a story of a rock concert being mounted at the local high school. In *Don't Knock the Rock* (1956), for example, rock 'n' roll has been banned because adults distrust it. Alan Freed arrives to host "A Pageant of Art and Culture" by the town's teenagers, displaying classic paintings and then performing a series of traditional dances, concluding with a demonstration of the Charleston. The old squares see the folly of their ways and come to accept rock 'n' roll, which is depicted as harmless fun. In these rock musicals, reminiscent of earlier backstage musicals, people of different generations and with different values come together, closing the generation gap through the binding power of musical performance.

Some rock musicals were adapted from the stage, such as *Jesus Christ Superstar* (1973) and *Hair* (1979), while a few sought to achieve a unified experience of music and visuals, most notably Ken Russell's *Tommy* (1975), adapted from the rock opera by The Who, and Alan Parker's *Pink Floyd: The Wall* (1982). The psychedelic style of these films influenced the postmodern style of music videos that in turn has influenced contemporary film musicals. Whereas the dancers in earlier musicals are presented in long takes and full shots that displayed their performances in real time, dance numbers in such musicals as *Flashdance* (1983), *Moulin Rouge* (2001), and *Chicago* (2002) tend to be built from numerous short shots combined with dizzy montage effects and peripatetic camera movement. *Flashdance*, which stars Jennifer Beales as an improbable dancer and steel welder, thus was able to substitute a body double for Beales in the dance sequences. In case viewers might suspect trickery because of its editing, the film *Chicago* includes a note in the end credits that explicitly states that all the actors, including normally dramatic performers such as Richard Gere, sang and danced for themselves. This more dynamic visual style seems a suitable accompaniment for the more frenetic types of contemporary dance that have replaced the older styles of tap and ballroom dancing represented by Astaire and even by the more modern dance of Kelly.

FINALE

Partly because of the nature of their national cultures, some countries have produced almost no film musicals.

GENE KELLY

b. Eugene Curran Kelly, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 23 August 1912, d. 2 February 1996

An actor, dancer, choreographer, and director, Gene Kelly was a key figure in the golden age of the Hollywood musical, particularly for the string of musicals he made in the 1940s and 1950s at MGM. Whereas Fred Astaire was the master of ballroom dancing, Kelly, with his background in sports, brought a more muscular style to dance in film.

Having established himself on Broadway starring in the stage musical *Pal Joey*, Kelly was brought to Hollywood by the producer David Selznick. His film debut was in Busby Berkeley's *For Me and My Gal* with Judy Garland in 1942. After appearing in several minor musicals, such as *Thousands Cheer* (1943); dramatic features, such as *The Cross of Lorraine* (1943); and the noirish *Christmas Holiday* (1944), in which he plays a murderer, Kelly was lent to Columbia to co-star with Rita Hayworth in *Cover Girl* (1944), in which he dances with his own reflection to visualize his character's inner conflict.

As a result of *Cover Girl*'s success, MGM cast Kelly in *Anchors Aweigh* (1945), for which he earned an Academy Award® nomination for best actor. Subsequently he emerged with the producer Arthur Freed's unit as a leading man and star of some of the greatest American film musicals of all time. Some of Kelly's best dances were only possible on film. In *Anchors Aweigh* Kelly dances with an animated Mickey Mouse; in *Singin' in the Rain* (1952), which he co-directed with fellow choreographer Stanley Donen, he dances in a studio downpour, splashing his feet in holes arranged in advance to catch the rain in puddles; and in *It's Always Fair Weather* (1955, also co-directed with Donen), Kelly, Michael Kidd, and Dan Dailey dance on a studio street with metal garbage can lids on their feet. The location photography in the opening montage, accompanied by singing on the soundtrack, was also a first for a Hollywood musical.

For his work in *An American in Paris* (1951), Kelly received a Special Academy Award® for his "extreme versatility as an actor, singer, director, and dancer, but specifically for his brilliant achievements in the art of choreography on film." In the latter part of his career, Kelly directed the big-budget musical *Hello, Dolly!* (1969), starring Barbra Streisand, and several specials for television, including a musical version of *Jack and the Beanstalk* (1967), as well as a number of nonmusicals, including *The Tunnel of Love* (1958); *Gigot* (1962), showcasing Jackie Gleason as a mute janitor; and the mild sex comedy *A Guide for the Married Man* (1967). In the 1970s Kelly became less active but was introduced to a new generation of moviegoers in the compilation films *That's Entertainment* (1974) and *That's Entertainment II* (1976).

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

For Me and My Gal (1942), *Anchors Aweigh* (1945), *The Pirate* (1948), *On the Town* (1949), *Summer Stock* (1950), *An American in Paris* (1951), *Singin' in the Rain* (1952), *Brigadoon* (1954), *It's Always Fair Weather* (1955)

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Germany produced some operettas in the 1930s but largely avoided the genre subsequently. In France, René Clair (1898–1981) experimented with the musical early on with *Sous le toits de Paris* (*Under the Roofs of Paris*, 1930) and *À nous la liberté* (*Liberty for Us*, 1931), and Jacques Demy (1931–1990) updated the operetta with *Les Parapluies de Cherbourg* (*The Umbrellas of Cherbourg*, 1964), in which all the dialogue is sung. Yet apart from the United States, the only other country to have produced a sustained tradition of film musicals is India, which is also the largest film-producing country in the world.

Within Indian cinema, the idea of a film musical is rather different than in the Hollywood tradition, but the genre's cultural impact has been even greater. About 90 percent of commercial feature films made in India have incorporated musical production numbers. Indian films

Gene Kelly in* Summer Stock *(Charles Walters, 1950).
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typically have several song and dance sequences as part of their entertainment appeal, whether the genre is a romantic melodrama or a crime film. And just as the genres are disparate, so are the musical styles, mixing traditional Indian dance music, American jazz, or Caribbean rhythms. In Indian popular culture, film music holds a prominent place, dominating sales of discs and tapes. Indian movie stars lip-sync the songs, and the actual vocalists, known as "playback singers," such as Lata Mangeshkar have become recording stars in their own right.

In the United States, the similar centrality and importance of the film musical in American film history is clear when one considers the many stars who became famous primarily or initially through their roles in musicals, including Judy Garland, Mickey Rooney (b. 1920), Shirley Temple (b. 1928), Jeannette MacDonald and Nelson Eddy, Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers, Gene Kelly, Deanna Durbin (b. 1921), and Cyd Charisse, as well by the fact that a number of directors, particularly Vincente Minnelli, Stanely Donen, Busby Berkeley, Ernst Lubitsch, and Baz Luhrmann also became known for their work in the genre, the latter two producing important musicals after integrating into the Hollywood system. Many singers have crossed over from popular music to movies, from Frank Sinatra and Elvis to Madonna, Johnny Depp, and Eminem.

Despite the vast cultural changes that have taken place since the 1930s, when the film musical first appeared, the genre has remained popular. After Malcolm McDowell shockingly sang "Singin' in the Rain" while brutally raping and beating a defenseless couple in their home in Stanley Kubrick's *A Clockwork Orange* (1971), some musicals such as *Pennies from Heaven* (Herbert Ross, 1981) and *Dancer in the Dark* (Lars von Trier, 2001) have sought to give the film musical a darker and more cynical vision of the world rather than the genre's traditional utopianism. *Chicago*, which shares with these two musicals a bitter view of the world as corrupt and brutal, won the Academy Award® for Best Picture in 2003. While film musicals likely will never be as popular as they were during the 1930s through 1950s, the genre has continued to adapt to the demands of popular culture.

SEE ALSO *Choreography; Dance; Genre; India; Music; Romantic Comedy*

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NARRATIVE

Perhaps no term is more central to film history, criticism, and theory than "narrative." Yet narrative is hardly specific to the cinema. Storytelling is a defining trait of human experience and communication. Much of the world's information has always been delivered in story form, whether recounted as personal experience, historical events, imagined fiction, or a mix of all three. Art, entertainment, and instruction have all relied on narrative structures regardless of their form or media, yet the cinema, appearing as it did in the late 1800s, quickly proved itself particularly adept at incorporating and adapting a wide variety of narrative strategies from literature, theater, photography, journalism, and even comic strips. From the beginning, telling stories clearly was a major concern for filmmakers. Almost as quickly, the cinema's ability to present intriguing stories was evaluated by critics and audiences alike. Thus, narrative has always been a key component in how we watch, think about, and write about the cinema, and the history of that narrative theory is a fascinating side of film studies.

DEFINING FILM NARRATIVE

Among the first widely seen motion pictures were the amazing fifty-second films by Louis Lumière (1864–1948) and his camera operators. One of the more famous was the *Arrivée d'un train en gare a La Ciotat* (*Arrival of a Train*, 1896), in which the camera records the train pulling into the station, passengers descending and boarding, and bystanders interacting with the travelers. But does a single shot of a train arriving count as a narrative? For most critics, the minimal criteria for determining the presence of narrative include a series of events in some cause–effect order. Causality suggests temporal, spatial, and thematic links as well. Thus these events, "a train arrives, doors open and passengers climb out, a woman runs past holding a small child's hand, a man with a bundle walks after them," provide only the barest markers of narrative. One contemporary newspaper reporter actually embellished his account of the film: "The travelers all look pale, as if they were seasick. We do not recognize characters so much as known types: the petite maid, the butcher boy, and the young man with a humble bundle who has left his village in search of work" (Aubert, p. 225). In recreating the film experience for the readers, the reporter has inserted tiny bits of inferred story material, even generating a feeling of malaise for the arriving passengers and a personal history and goal for the man with the bundle, who now becomes a central character. Thus, critical definitions of film narrative necessarily touch on formal elements of storytelling, but also upon the audience's role in perceiving and comprehending the presented material in those tales.

Narrative is generally accepted as possessing two components: the story presented and the process of its telling, or narration, often referred to as narrative discourse. Story is a series of represented events, characters (or agents for some), and actions out of which the audience constructs a fictional time, place, and cause–effect world, or diegesis. In the Lumière short, the material elements include the arrival of the train, the scurrying of rushed passengers, the gestures of the railway workers, the steam emitted from the engine, even the moving shadows beneath people's feet. Out of these rather minimal visual objects and actions, the viewer generates tiny story events, including any effects that the train has on the people on the platform. The narrative discourse is

evident in strategies of presentation, especially the camera position, which offers a view of the action that emphasizes perspective and depth, but also allows the viewers to watch the faces and movements of a number of the people involved. However, Lumière's film offers a very low level of narrative development, in part because of the short length and paucity of story events, but also because of the absence of other narration devices, including plot ordering, *mise-en-scène* choices, editing, sound effects, intertitles, or camera movement. As films expanded in length and technical options, narrative strategies increased as well. Stories could develop more complex characterization, thematic concerns, and temporal development, along with increasing devices for the narrator to manipulate and present those events.

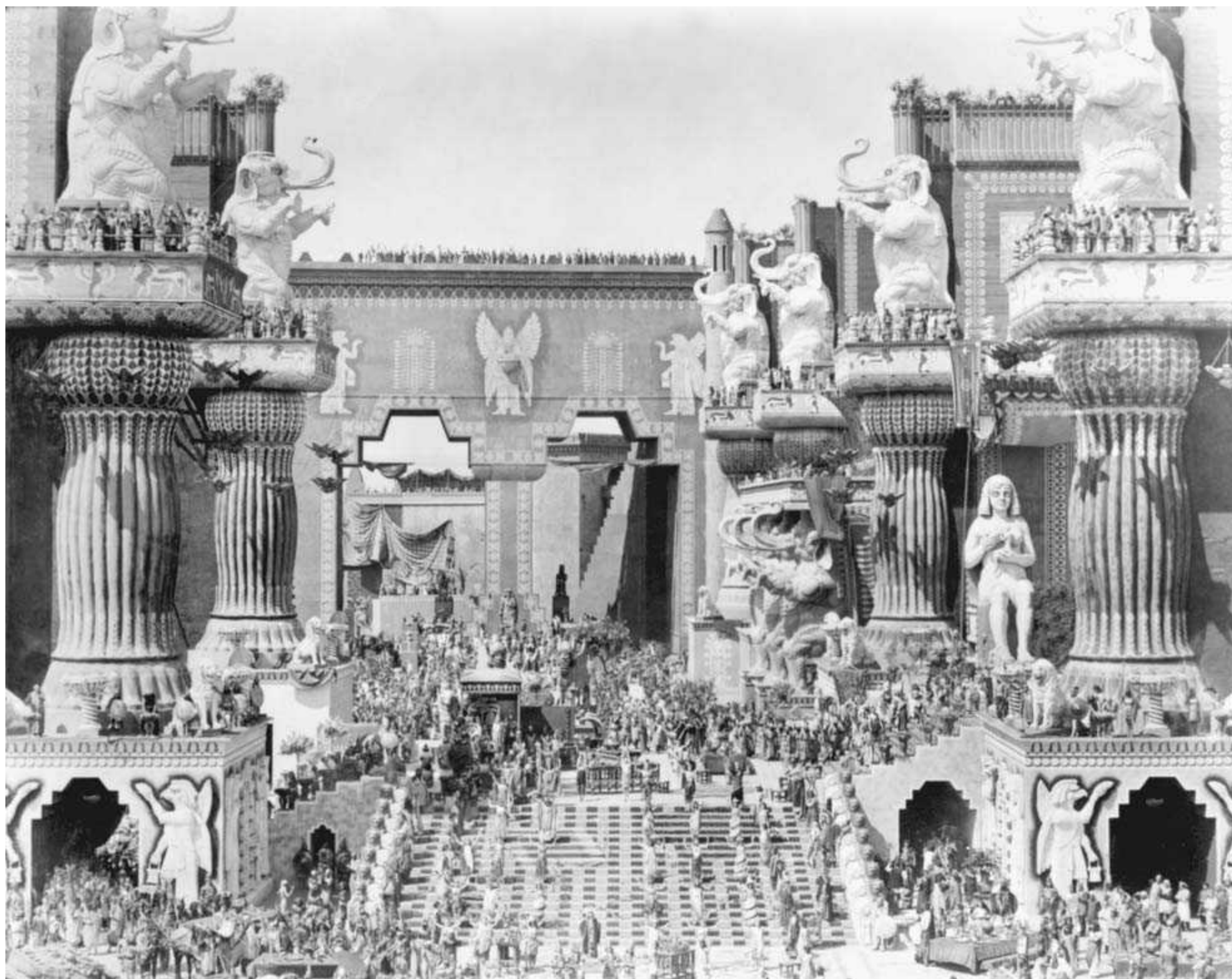
While many sorts of films employ some storytelling strategies, when we speak of narrative film we are typically referring to fiction films. However, before moving to fiction films completely, we should acknowledge that French film theorist Christian Metz has famously argued that on one level, all films are fiction films. All cinematic experience is based by definition on illusion. Motion pictures are fundamentally still images projected onto a flat screen. Nothing moves and there is no real depth of space, yet we cannot help but "see" movement and spatial cues as the film is projected. The entire process is based on a fiction that what we see is actually present. We know Cary Grant is long dead, we know that we are only seeing his shadowlike image projected on a screen, and yet we see and hear him in an illusory three-dimensional world in which he moves in front of and then behind his desk, right there in front of us. Lumière films, Cary Grant laughing, or a bird chirping in a sex education documentary are all based on an illusion, an absence, that is only possible thanks to the cinematic apparatus and the audience's perception system. From this perspective, the fiction film is a specific type of cinema based on the content of the images and sounds rather than their material traits. The fiction film, the subject of narrative history, theory, and criticism, assumes a spectator who not only sees movement where none really exists, but also constructs characters, time, space, and themes.

Narration is a set of representational, organizational, and discursive cues that deliver the story information to the audience. The fiction film should be thought of as a text, a collection of narrative systems, each of which functions and exists in its own history, with its own stylistic options. For instance, during the 1940s, it became stylistically fashionable for American crime dramas to tell their stories out of order, often with voice-over narrators recounting some past events via flashbacks. Many of those crime dramas were also filmed with increasingly expressionistic sets, lighting, and acting styles. The resulting film noir movies are distinguished by certain shared, generic, story events and discursive strategies alike. Their narrative context was quite different from that of Lumière's train film. Narratives must always be studied in relation to history, including the history of film style, modes of production, and the history of narrative theory itself.

TOWARD A HISTORY OF FILM NARRATIVE

While the cinema was born out of a collection of scientific, industrial, and aesthetic initiatives, its narrative potential quickly came to drive its commercial viability. Alongside "actuality" (*actualité*) movies, such as most of the Lumières, there quickly grew short chase films and "trick" films, including the many highly influential movies by Georges Méliès (1861–1938). Méliès pioneered an entire subgenre of movies in which camera tricks combine with theatrical settings to allow characters to disappear before our eyes, fly through the air, or even lose their heads. *Le Voyage dans la lune* (*A Trip to the Moon*, 1902) proved exemplary in presenting a series of scenes, edited end to end, each filled with a combination of painted stage sets equipped with trap doors and fantastic transformations exploiting in-camera editing tricks. He brought the spectacle of magic acts into the cinema, exploiting film's abilities to exceed the limits of real time and space in the theater. Similarly, chase films quickly became a staple of early filmmaking, in part because they too were well suited to a medium with no sound and only fledgling techniques for characterization or plot development.

Chase films followed the logic of comic strips, with a simple initial situation that leads through a series of accumulating visual gags. A typical scenario might include a dog stealing a string of sausages from a butcher, who gives chase, knocking over pedestrians as he goes, who then pursue him as he pursues the dog, with the number and variety of collisions and participants increasing steadily. One version is Pathé Studios' *La Course des sergents de ville* (*The Policemen's Little Run*, 1907). These films, like more melodramatic variations, such as *Rescued by Rover* (1905), take full advantage of early cinema's strengths, including its ability to show rapid movement and edit together a string of chronological events. These films were structured much like live-action comic strips, with individual shot sequences replacing the static comic frames. Many early narratives retold formulaic tales or condensed stories that were already well-known to the audience, so that there would be no need to explain character relations or motivations. Simplified reenactments of the crowning of a monarch, scenes from famous plays (*Hamlet*, for example) or novels (such as *Uncle Tom's Cabin*), or even Bible stories could be just as comprehensible as chase films full of visual gags.



Ancient Babylon as depicted in one of the four stories in D. W. Griffith's* Intolerance *(1916). **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

The film historian Tom Gunning has found early cinema's tendency toward spectacle and illusion as evidence that it is more a "cinema of attractions" than a cinema straining to tell stories. Many cinema pioneers shared the same impulse as that of carnival or vaudeville acts. Their task was to present highly exhibitionistic entertainment shows that would grab and hold the spectator's attention. Films would be organized as a series of displays, occasionally linked by some story line that allowed for a logic of scene-to-scene ordering. Characterization, however, was often kept to a minimum, and the films' success was measured more by their effects than their stories or themes. Previously, some film histories had simplistically reduced much of early cinema to a series of baby steps toward an arsenal of effective fictional devices. More recently, however, historians of early cinema have labored productively to clarify the differences between film practice before 1910 and the subsequent, more narratively constructed, and voyeuristic silent cinema. Nöel Burch has labeled the early tendencies toward a unique film practice as a Primitive Mode of Representation, a mode that repeatedly defies and frustrates narrativity.

From the beginning, cinema was exploited for its ability to display processes in real time, which privileged documentation and instructional filmmaking, but most exploration of the medium, including avant-garde investigations of film's more abstract or formal potential, has historically been reworked and adapted for narrative purposes. The 1910s was a transitional decade for motion pictures throughout the world. The exhibition of films became more standardized into programs, typically featuring narratives to anchor the screening, though the bill also included documentaries and eventually animated

cartoons. By the middle and late 1910s, it was the feature narrative presentation that lured audiences to the movies, thanks in large part to new theaters, stars, and the establishment of new genres that all attracted more middle-class spectators. With the increased length of films and the rise of specialized motion picture studios, American cinema, in particular, came to be built on corporate models, with division of labor, boards of directors, and prescribed slates of annual production quotas. Along with that, it began to concentrate on predictable, efficient stories and styles. Internationally, specialized film studios were being built that allowed more evocative lighting designs and facilitated increasingly intricate camera movements and set construction. A more conventional, commercial narrative cinema was in place by 1920 that was easily distinguishable on every level from the shorter, now somewhat radically diverse films of 1910. This new norm for narrative filmmaking became known as the classical realist cinema, and its dominant American form was the Classical Hollywood Cinema.

CLASSICAL REALISM

The rise of this more realist cinema owes to a great many factors and influences, but it is clearly tied to the increasingly industrial base of the cinema that built upon narrative traits from the nineteenth-century novel and the well-made theatrical play. Narrative unity was built around character psychology within a rational world where events were relatively plausible, even in genres such as the adventure film. The "realism" of classical realist cinema was a product of numerous cultural and now cinematic codes and conventions. Further, the specific ability of the cinema to record and edit representational images lent great power to the credible presence of the characters and their fictional actions and worlds. The steady development toward an increasingly narrative cinema brought some more conservative forces to bear on film practice, especially with the more industrial, studio production norms. Burch and others label this an Institutional Mode of Production because of its privileging of consistent thematic, spatial, and temporal parameters. Clearly, the most successful model for this international classical realist cinema was the Classical Hollywood Cinema.

The formation of classical Hollywood narrative has been explained by David Bordwell, Janet Staiger, and Kristin Thompson, who argue that classical story construction went hand in hand with developments in the mode of production and new conventions in film style. The classical narrative is organized around a goal-driven protagonist whose desires determine the cause–effect ordering of the plot, which often comes to include a second, embedded plot line. Saving the western town from the outlaws may also involve helping out and finally falling in love with the school marm, for instance. Minor characters typically help or hinder the protagonist's progress. Moreover, the time and space serve the story, which is often generic or formulaic, and there is clear closure with the protagonists achieving or failing to achieve their goals. During the 1910s in particular, Thompson points out that the move to feature-length films forced filmmakers to look to short stories and novels more and more for guidance in character and plot developments. Simultaneously, film techniques had to adapt to the challenges posed by longer narratives. Editing and camera techniques, along with lighting, acting gesture, and even set construction, worked toward clear methods of delivering story information.

With the rise of studio productions and more standardized storytelling, writers and directors functioned increasingly as narrators, guiding the audience's attention with film language as well as written inter-titles. More and more, unity of purpose and even redundancy were built into the presentation of fictional worlds, moving storytelling away from the series of tableau shot sequences and lack of closure that characterized much of the primitive film aesthetic. Increasingly, time and space were constructed around characterization, themes, and plausible plot ordering, with eyeline matches or dissolves clearly delineating the protagonist's perceptual attention or thoughts. Analytical editing, and especially shot-reverse shots, concentrated the audience's attention upon the interplay between actors while systematically unifying a functional diegetic time and space, or the world of the fictional character. After the established dominance of the classical cinema, first in the United States and then internationally, the free play of tableau space and other key components of the primitive aesthetic only resurfaced in consistent form in various avant-garde movements. Classical realist cinema, building as it did upon representational codes for verisimilitude and stories that stressed plausibly motivated human agents, became the foundation for commercial narrative cinema worldwide.

The arrival of sound added greatly to narrative cinema's arsenal. Recording natural sound, which later became known as direct sound, provided "real" documentary-quality sound. However, sync-sound recording was quickly found to require some manipulation to appear natural and at the same time serve the story. Sound design was tested for ways it could reinforce the narrative, delivering essential information such as dialogue and key sound effects and music, while repressing potential distractions. Sounds were carefully selected to guide the spectator's attention to specific characters or events and to fit the diegetic space. Even interior scenes began to have distinctive mixes, so that a conversation inside an office building in one scene should have a

D. W. GRIFFITH

b. David Wark Griffith, La Grange, Kentucky, 22 January 1875, d. 21 July 1948

D. W. Griffith's status in the history of the cinema is unique. Griffith grew up in a family that romanticized the mythic Old South and its values—his father was a Confederate Civil War hero—and he also prized Victorian literature and melodrama. Initially an actor, Griffith pursued playwriting, then shifted into writing for motion pictures, quickly earning a job as director at Biograph in 1908. No other director's career has gone through such extreme shifts in critical reception. For most of the twentieth century, Griffith was heralded as the founder of American cinema's narrative traditions, thanks primarily to his steady stream of over four hundred innovative short films and then *The Birth of a Nation* (1915). Subsequent features, especially *Intolerance* (1916) and *Broken Blossoms* (1919), were also praised for their story construction and technical sophistication. He was credited with adapting nineteenth-century narrative devices for the cinema and bringing genre, character development, and continuity editing into Hollywood movies. Publicity surrounding Griffith helped forge the mythical image of the motion picture director as creative genius.

Griffith's career parallels the growth of narrative cinema. He was there every step of the way as movies shifted from shorts to spectacular features, from a cottage industry to the classical studio system. Starting in 1908, Griffith brought together an efficient production team. Their films, including *The Lonely Villa* (1909), *The Lonedale Operator* (1911), and *The Musketeers of Pig Alley* (1912), reveal a constant updating of techniques for delivering story information clearly and emotionally. Griffith refined staging, shot composition, scene-to-scene organization, and editing rhythm to build character, suspense, and logical time–space relations. *The Birth of a Nation*, *Intolerance*, and *Broken Blossoms* exploited early cinema's full arsenal of storytelling techniques, including cross-cutting, rhythmic editing, and manipulative *mise-en-scène. The controversies surrounding The Birth of a Nation* also proved the cultural power of cinema. However, by the 1920s, Griffith's career was uneven at best. His two early sound films were failures, and after *The Struggle* (1931), he never directed again.

Since the 1980s, Griffith's status has been in nearly steady decline, or at least dramatic reassessment. An important renaissance of early film history has systematically rediscovered and reinserted other individuals, films, and social forces as crucial formative influences on the development of American and world cinema. Moreover, the insights of cultural studies made it impossible to continue forgiving the sexism and vicious racism at the core of his work while at the same time praising his craft and romanticizing his life. For many today, Griffith represents much that was wrong with Hollywood, American ideology, and even dominant film histories of the past. Nonetheless, Griffith's films remain key texts for understanding the development of narration in cinema. Theorists interested in film language point to their shot scale and editing patterns as important markers of a developing cinematic code system, while others look to Griffith as a canonical source of gender and genre construction in cinema.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

The Lonely Villa (1909), *A Corner in Wheat* (1909), *Enoch Arden* (1911), *The Lonedale Operator* (1911), *The Musketeers of Pig Alley* (1912), *Judith of Bethulia* (1913), *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), *Intolerance* (1916), *Broken Blossoms* (1919), *Way Down East* (1920), *Orphans of the Storm* (1921), *America* (1924)

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Richard Neupert

D. W. Griffith in 1919. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

different timbre than dialogue in a restaurant or a phone booth. For instance, early on in *His Girl Friday* (Howard Hawks, 1940), Walter (Cary Grant) and Hildy (Rosalind Russell) walk through a busy newspaper office to meet Bruce (Ralph Bellamy). In an earlier scene the newspaper office was louder, with typewriters banging away in the background, establishing the diegetic space. But this time the sound effects are more muted, since the louder noises would distract from the conversation. Similarly, when the characters move on to a lively restaurant setting, the noises are reduced to clinking plates and glasses on their table only. When Walter is surprised by some bit of dialogue, the entire restaurant seems to go silent, ensuring that the audience notice how the normally chatty Walter is suddenly rendered speechless. The editing rhythm and shot scale reinforce the importance of this moment, as Walter has to think fast to change the course of the conversation and thus events. When he leaves the table to call his office from a small phone booth, the sound ambiance reflects a supposedly cramped space, though of course Grant is merely crouching in a set on a large sound stage. Conventions for classical sound mixes were established quickly to generate stable sound–image relations for delivering a causally motivated, codified, and classical diegesis.

Not all realist cinema had to be so formulaic and generic, however, and one of narrative cinema's most important theorists, André Bazin, specifically analyzed the realistic value of cinematic technique. Bazin, while often very complimentary of conventional narrative cinema, preferred films that broke away from formulaic tropes. He believed that the essence and strength of the cinema lay in its ability to capture key aspects of lived experience. Cinema's narrative potential would be best fulfilled by films that engage the spectator in ways comparable to real-world perception and understanding. The world is complex and often ambiguous, thus cinema should exploit tactics that can preserve some degree of those rich qualities and reward the spectator's active attention. Longer takes were often preferable to manipulative editing. In fact, Bazin lamented that classical Hollywood cinema had become too predictable in its editing by the late 1930s, reaching what he labeled its equilibrium profile, the point at which Hollywood films moved too smoothly forward, like a mature river, without digging deeper into the terrain. Cinema, to connect with reality, had to renew itself constantly, and Bazin found that by the 1940s, rejuvenation was occurring in the use of long takes and deep space compositions by Orson Welles (1915–1985) and William Wyler (1902–1981) in the United States, but especially in movies by Jean Renoir (1894–1979) in France and the neorealists in Italy. These directors carried the cinema back to its mission of delivering time and space in more authentic ways. For realist critics such as Bazin, once classical realism became so widespread, it lost much of its ability to reveal spontaneity and truth to the spectator.

A wide array of directors and national cinemas forged alternative styles in reaction to or isolation from the classical conventions of realism as well. Post–World War II film practice in particular boasted a lively and engaged modern art cinema. Directors as varied as Federico Fellini, Ingmar Bergman, Akira Kurosawa, Alain Resnais, and Agnès Varda offered more subjective fictional worlds with complex, even contradictory characterization. The Art Cinema foregrounded stylistic choices and the filmmaker's presence, often constructing diegetic worlds full of ambiguity. Some modernist directors touted their experimental styles as closer to the uncertainty of lived experience, while others distanced themselves from concern with the real world and explored the cinema's formal potential. Working in their wake, the classical realist cinema incorporated some of these innovations, and its notions of plausibility and complexity certainly changed across time, but it typically remained centered on generic tales of goal-oriented protagonists. Since the 1980s, American independent cinema has tended to bridge the extremes of classical cinema and previous modern art film tactics.

NARRATIVE THEORY

Under the influence of more modernist film practice, as well as political and culturally inspired theory of the 1960s and 1970s, film criticism began to question systematically the cinema's ideological functions. Classical realism was one of the first sites to be investigated. In the pages of the British journal *Screen*, Colin MacCabe was representative of the growing resistance toward notions of classic realism, a resistance motivated by French Marxist and psychoanalytic theories, especially the work of Louis Althusser and Jacques Lacan. MacCabe and others argued that cinema cannot reveal the real as if it were some transparent window onto the world. Rather, film must be analyzed as a set of generally contradictory discourses. Theorists pushed for analyzing the wide range of discursive markers in realist films, which had become the dominant aesthetic of narrative cinema, but they also renewed attention to films that violated the classic realist norms and thus worked against easily consumed notions of the real.

The French journal *Cahiers du cinéma* had already turned much of its attention in the late 1960s and early 1970s away from conventional narrative cinema and toward the more marginalized forms of cinema verité, Third World political cinema, and especially the narrative experimentation by Jean-Marie Straub (b. 1933), Danièle Huillet (b. 1936), and Jean-Luc Godard (b. 1930). For *Cahiers*, film practice was only valuable if it undercut the illusionism of classic realism and foregrounded the labor of production. *Tout va bien* (*All's Well*, 1972), which opens with a scene in which Godard writes checks to cover the necessary expenses of film production, became an exemplary film for critics attacking classic realist narratives. It constantly acknowledged its constructed nature, it overtly concerned itself with the politics and economics of everyday decisions, was made by a collective (the Dziga Vertov Group), and defied representational norms of both documentary and fiction filmmaking. By this point, *Cahiers du cinéma* was so actively opposed to conventional narrative norms that it had stopped reviewing any commercially released movies. Much of this highly politicized narrative theory prided itself on its strict Marxist foundations, but others, including the director François Truffaut (1932–1984), argued it had become so elitist that the articles were impenetrable for anyone lacking a Ph.D. in political science. The discourse of film theory and criticism had entered a new, more academic phase that drew from the demanding changes in the fields of linguistics, philosophy, and psychoanalysis.

One of the most significant shifts in narrative analysis began in the 1960s with the French theorist Christian Metz, who built upon linguistic theory, including that of Ferdinand de Saussure, to bring structural analysis into film scholarship. Metz, along with Roland Barthes, set the groundwork for much of subsequent work on narrative, including the shift toward discourse analysis. Adopting methodology from the field of semiotics, Metz began looking for how the cinema could be said to signify, or generate, meaning. Signification is a dynamic process that depends upon material signifiers, which for cinema include representational images, titles, spoken language, dissolves, and music and their range of signifieds, or denotative and connotative meanings. Signifying practice became the term for how movies told stories. Metz started by evaluating cinematic equivalents to language and systematically defined codes at work in cinema, much as Roland Barthes defined codes in literature. With *S/Z* (1970) in particular, Barthes pointed out that realism depended upon a system of textual, intertextual, and extratextual codes. Narrative analysis must include breaking down a text's codes of signification, but it also involves looking at cultural contexts and restrictions.

The assumption is that language is a social force struggling to shape how we think and act. Realism was a suspect mode of culturally determined, ideological discourse, and the reader or spectator must struggle to decode the text's systems or risk blindly submitting to its logic. If realist novels offered an illusory, coherent bourgeois worldview to naturalize culture's status quo, classical cinema, with its visual and audio power to "represent accurately," would have even more cultural power. Thus, realist cinema had to be attacked for its strategies of masquerading the fictional as natural. Metz and many others began to analyze the convincing "impression of reality" generated by strong cinematic cues, and a second stage of structuralism, more interested in intertextual and extratextual codes of spectatorship and ideology, became a central component of narrative theory.

In the 1970s and 1980s, many narrative theorists increasingly shifted from defining the narrative instance to explaining the process known as enunciation. One influential linguist was Émile Benveniste. For Benveniste, story (*histoire*) tries to hide its marks of communication, presenting itself in an impersonal, objective manner. By contrast, discourse includes markers of narration. In literature, the difference could be simplified down to whether the narration presents its information as given facts or includes references to a narrator, as in "I-you." The process of address, enunciation, structures the spectator's relation with the text. The enounced is always a product of enunciation, which, like language, is a social process. The analyst uncovers these marks of communication, which many classic realist films try to disguise and cover over. Thus, enunciation theory concentrates on syntax and

cinematic modes of address that might be equivalent to those in verbal communication and calls for unmasking texts that pretend to tell their stories naturally. From this perspective, classic realist texts deceitfully pretend to be objective when they are actually complex, culturally determined discourses.

Renewed debate surrounding the specificity of cinema merged with interest in linguistics, psychoanalysis, and cultural studies and localized attention onto the cinematic apparatus and the spectator, or film subject. French and British theorists as varied as Jean-Louis Baudry, Colin MacCabe, Raymond Bellour, Jean-Louis Comolli, and Stephen Heath became increasingly concerned with the cinema's ability to "position the subject." Lacanian notions of subjectivity, based in part on the developmental move from imaginary to symbolic stages, privileged interest in point of view structures in the cinema. One assumption was that just as the young human subject was positioned by cultural structures, the film subject was determined by cinema's forms and modes of address. Baudry and others questioned the camera lens as a tool of ideology, built as it was to replicate monocular perspective and transform the social individual into a spectatorial subject. Now, Lumière's film of a train pulling into the station could be seen as a means for organizing and perhaps taming the social spectator. Further, Bellour explored how character desire and its submission to the "law" in classical cinema, and the films of Alfred Hitchcock in particular, structure narrative films as Oedipal journeys, replaying our inherent struggles for subjectivity. Metz too investigated the cinema as an "imaginary signifier" that satisfied, repeatedly, the spectator's regressive, voyeuristic drives.

The cinematic spectator was not only defined by the visual structures of the cinema, but narratives became evaluated for how they reinforced or challenged dominant cultural issues. If spectators were positioned visually, they were also positioned culturally within the mythic or symbolic structures of dominant ideology. Narratives, and commercial classical narratives in particular, became suspect for reinforcing bourgeois, typically patriarchal perspectives. The spectator could thus be doubly positioned, once by the apparatus, a second time by socially determined, and determining, narrative structures. Narrative and spectatorship thus became key concerns for feminist theorists. Laura Mulvey, Mary Ann Doane, and Annette Kuhn in particular directed feminist attention beyond the narrative surface of patriarchal mainstream cinema. Issues of race, class, and gender went beyond cataloging types of representations and were analyzed throughout the cinema's camerawork, editing, soundtrack, and plot structures.

While much of the theoretical legacy of enunciation theories of narrative, psychoanalysis, and cultural studies continues to thrive and inform film studies, it often reduces narrative analysis to serving as symptoms for larger social issues. Some narrative theorists, including Seymour Chatman, remained focused on the processes specific to cinematic narration. Work on intertextuality and narrative, much of it inspired by the literary theorist Gérard Genette, proved particularly pertinent to film studies. Moreover, the theorist and historian David Bordwell argued that enunciation theory remains too deeply indebted to verbal communication to be fully applicable to the cinematic experience. These new perspectives have led to rigorous investigation into motion picture narratives and challenges to recent theories of spectatorship. Many narrative theorists refused to reduce spectators to passive, predetermined subjects, but rather posited active participants in the production of meaning. Bordwell argued for a cognitive-based investigation of film practice and found that Russian Formalism, with its precise attention to story, plotting, and style, provided a methodology that functions well with cognitive vocabulary to reveal how spectators perceive and process cinematic images and sounds to comprehend narrative. Films deliver motivated cues and spectators apply an array of cognitive schemata to construct and understand fictional film worlds. Murray Smith enlivened the area of spectator identification, offering a highly functional grid to understand how films cue audiences to sympathize and identify with fictional characters. Cognitivism has contributed strongly to the rethinking of narrative films in relation to concrete models of human perception and comprehension.

CONCLUSIONS

There are many ways to think historically about narrative cinema. There is the history of storytelling itself, from presenting a train pulling into a station to the rise of the classical realist film, the modern art cinema, and the thousands of alternative individual filmmakers working to challenge the limits of mainstream narrative. But there is also the intricate history of how film criticism and theory have addressed the cinema. Strangely, within the debates over realism, artifice, personal expression, and cultural determinations, certain directors return over and over as examples. Two of the most important filmmakers, for a wide range of narrative critics, have been Alfred Hitchcock and Jean-Luc Godard. No other directors figure so prominently in narrative theory of the past fifty years. Hitchcock's masterful narration provides many of the most canonical scenes for analysis from any perspective, and Godard's work has systematically challenged both commercial narrative cinema norms and film criticism's vocabulary. The heart of narrative

film is still the cinematic practice that makes defining story, narration, and the role of the spectator so fascinating. The history of narrative film remains forever intertwined with the history of film production, film criticism, and the theorizing of the spectator, whose glorious task remains to perceive, decipher, and finally comprehend the stories generated by those still, two-dimensional images flashing upon the movie screen.

SEE ALSO *Criticism; Early Cinema; Editing; Ideology; Realism; Semiotics; Structuralism and Poststructuralism*

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Richard Neupert

NATIONAL CINEMA

Before investigating the constituent elements of "national cinema," the concept of the nation must first be broached. Contrary to its attendant mythology, the nation is not an organic, homogeneous, unitary entity. Through political struggle, the unitary notion of nation is produced culturally, selected into existence from such heterogeneous and conflicting materials as language, race, ethnicity, religion, social class, gender, and sexuality to masquerade as the oneness that is the mythical terrain of the national. For Etienne Balibar, social formations reproduce themselves as nations in part by fabricating a "fictive ethnicity" that stands in for the national ethnic composition (p. 96), while Homi Bhabha views the nation as "an impossible unity" (1990, p. 1). One of the most influential contemporary theorists of nation, Benedict Anderson, maintains that nations are "imagined communities," arguing that the advent of "print-languages laid the bases for national consciousness" by making possible a symbolic gathering of the nation (pp. 6, 44). Adapting Anderson's notion of the nation as a "horizontal comradeship" produced by print culture, Ella Shohat and Robert Stam suggest that the movie audience "is a provisional 'nation' forged by spectatorship" (p. 155). Noting that Anderson's thesis is premised on literacy, Shohat and Stam argue that cinema could play a more assertive role than print culture in fostering group identities, as it, unlike the novel, is not dependent on literacy and is consumed in a public space by a community of spectators (p. 155).

Anderson and Shohat and Stam are gesturing toward the work ideology performs through cultural forms in hailing or recruiting subjects to recognize themselves as members of the national community, as national subjects. In the case of cinema, one of the most infamous examples of this kind of ideological work is found in the Nazi propaganda film *Triumph of the Will* (1934), which disciplines its audience members to recognize themselves as subjects of a new National Socialist, Aryan Germany. Here cinema is a component of what Balibar describes as "the network of apparatuses and daily practices" instituting the individual as "*homo nationalis* from cradle to grave" (p. 90). Implicit in every national cinema, however, is its antination (Rosen, p. 391)—in the case of Nazi Germany, the Jews, homosexuals, and gypsies whose differences from the fictitious heterosexual Aryan nation cast them out of the terrain of the national and into the death camps. Historically, part of cinema's nation-building role has been to document the nation's others as those held at the limit of national belonging, as abject: for example, the African American in D.W. Griffith's *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), the Native American in Edward Sherriff Curtis's *In the Land of the Headhunters* (1914), or the Arab American in James Cameron's *True Lies* (1994) and Edward Zwick's *The Siege* (1998).

NATIONAL CINEMA, POLITICAL ECONOMY, AND IDEOLOGY

National cinema frequently takes on the responsibility of representing the nation to its citizens for the purpose of communicating what constitutes national identity in the context of an overwhelming flow of cinematic images from a globally aggressive Hollywood industry. In 1993, a year in which all the major Hollywood distributors earned more theatrical revenues offshore than domestically, some prominent European filmmakers

insisted that the new General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) treaty include national film-importation quotas. This was not the first time quotas have been implemented to protect fragile national film cultures from the most financially successful film producer on the planet. The United Kingdom, for instance, attempted to protect British and British empire filmmakers from Hollywood with the Cinematograph Films Acts of 1927, 1938, and 1948. One of the most extreme examples of Hollywood's monopolistic incursions into foreign markets is Canada, which the US industry views as part of its domestic market and where less than 2 percent of all screen time is given over to Canadian film. In the interests of nation building and maintaining national cultures, countries such as Canada (National Film Board of Canada, Telefilm Canada), Australia (Australian Film Development Corporation), Britain (National Film Finance Corporation), France (Centre nationale de la cinématographique), and Italy (National Association for the Cinema and Similar Industries) have created various state institutions to fund and produce national cinemas. This suggests that these states see cinema beyond its commodity value, as, after Fredric Jameson, a socially symbolic act where "the production of aesthetic or narrative form is to be seen as an ideological act in its own right, with the function of inventing imaginary or formal 'solutions' to unresolvable social contradictions" (*The Political Unconscious*, p. 79).

The idea that Hollywood is somehow alien to the film cultures of most nations is troubled, however, by a number of prominent film studies scholars such as Thomas Elsaesser, Stephen Crofts, and Andrew Higson. Elsaesser argues that Hollywood is a major component of most national film cultures where audience expectations shaped largely by Hollywood are exploited by domestic producers. Many national cinemas translate Hollywood genres into their own national contexts, or, as Tom O'Regan writes, "indigenize" them (p. 1). Perhaps the most obvious and well-known examples of indigenizing genres are the Italian "spaghetti" westerns of Sergio Leone and Sergio Corbucci starring Clint Eastwood. Canadian and Australian directors have also adapted the western to narrativize national cultural materials in *The Grey Fox* (1982, Canada) and *Road to Saddle River* (1993, Canada) and, more famously, *Crocodile Dundee* (1986, Australia). Another highly successful Australian indigenization of Hollywood genre is the *Mad Max* series (1979, 1981, 1985, Australia) and its reconfiguration of the road movie in a postapocalyptic antipodean context.

One of the more critically and commercially successful practitioners of genre indigenization is France's Luc Besson. Besson first ventured into Hollywood territory with *Nikita* (1990), a made-in-France variation on the American action film. Following the international box-office success of *Nikita*, Besson took on the American film industry by shooting *The Professional* (1994), a French version of the Hollywood gangster drama, in English on location in New York, with French lead Jean Reno. The film went on to gross more than $19 million in the US market alone. Besson's subsequent film, *The Fifth Element* (1997), was a $90 million science-fiction epic starring Hollywood actor Bruce Willis. With the involvement of US distributors Columbia Pictures and Sony Pictures Entertainment, *The Fifth Element* opened widely, on 2,500 American screens in its first weekend of release. These shifts in setting from Paris to New York, to a futuristic New York and, finally, to outer space, beg the question of whether or not the term "French national cinema" is a useful or adequate descriptor to apply to these two films, for in what ways may they be said to represent the nation space of France?

A similar problem is raised by the work of Australian director Baz Luhrmann, who played with American genre and capital when his production company coproduced *Moulin Rouge* (2001) with Twentieth Century Fox. Although the film is shot on a Sydney soundstage with Australian lead Nicole Kidman and a largely Australian production team, the film is not set in the nation space of Australia, but the mythical, digitally generated space of *fin de siècle* Paris as seen through the lens of the Hollywood musical as reimagined by an Australian auteur. An Australia/United States co-production, *Moulin Rouge* ruptures the "stable set of meanings" or codes that Higson associates with conventional understandings of the term "national cinema" (Higson, 1989, p. 37). *Moulin Rouge*, not unlike Besson's *The Professional* and *The Fifth Element* in their ambiguous relationship to France, steps outside of an easily recognizable Australian nation space. Commenting on what he views as the limiting imagination of "national cinema," Higson argues that "when describing a national cinema, there is a tendency to focus only on those films that narrate the nation as just this finite, limited space, inhabited by a tightly coherent and unified community closed off to other identities besides national identity" (Higson, 2000, p. 66). Besson's films and *Moulin Rouge* are what Higson would term "transnational" on the bases of their production and distribution; but just as importantly for Higson, their variant receptions globally as these are inflected by cultural context (pp. 68–69). This difference in cultural context exists not only outside of nations, but also within them.

COLONIAL/POSTCOLONIAL CINEMAS

Cinema was exploited by imperialist nations such as Great Britain to represent Britannia's globalizing domination of its dominions and territories in films such as the Empire Marketing Board's *One Family: A Dream of*

Real Things (1930), in which a white child travels the empire but makes identifications only with white settlers. In the 1920s nascent nations such as the Dominion of Canada, a former colony in the act of becoming a nation, practiced a cinema of internal colonialism that legitimated the white domination of the country's indigenous peoples in ethnographic documentaries such as *Nass River Indians* (Marius Barbeau, 1928).

Postcolonial cinema attempts to disrupt such national cinemas and denaturalize them as colonizing entities, thereby articulating the discourse of contested indigenous nations. In Canada, Abenaki filmmaker Alanis Obomsawin documents the continuing violence of the Canadian nation-state against Indigenous First Nations in *Kanehsatake: 270 Years of Resistance* (1993) and *Incident at Restigouche* (1984). In Australia, *Rabbit-Proof Fence* (Phillip Noyce, 2002) tells the story of the white Australian nation's attempt to steal a generation of Aboriginal children from their culture, while Tracey Moffatt's *Nice Colored Girls* (1987) represents the exploitation of Aboriginal women by white men. New Zealand filmmaker Lee Tamahori explores the tensions between Maori identity and contemporary New Zealand culture in *Once Were Warriors* (1994). Moffatt's and Obomsawin's oppositional work might well be considered in the context of Third Cinema's anti-imperialist ideology and aesthetic. Although Third Cinema is generally understood to engage the neo-neocolonial paradigm of a hegemonic US cinema, the vision of two of the movement's foundational thinkers, Fernando Solanas and Octavio Getino, is certainly in line with the films of Moffatt and Obomsawin.

NATIONAL/TRANSNATIONAL CINEMAS: UNITED STATES, INDIA, HONG KONG

Cultural context frames an understanding of US cinema as both national and transnational. Within the United States, Hollywood produces a national cinema characterized by what Ulf Hedetoft, after Mette Hjort, describes as a thematic national "aboutness": films shot through with an American worldview (p. 281). The example par excellence of this US national cinema is, of course, the classical Hollywood western, a colonizing narrative of national becoming and belonging, a nation-building genre articulating the aggressive and perpetual US expansionism of Manifest Destiny that displaces Native Americans in films such as *Stagecoach* (1939), *The Searchers* (1956), and *How the West Was Won* (1962). While the Hollywood western can and has been received as a celebratory visualization of historical nation by a majority of Americans, it represents the genocidal destruction of indigenous nations for the American Indian.

Outside of the United States, Hollywood, as US transnational cinema, is a sign of US global expansion economically and ideologically. *Independence Day* (Roland Emmerich, 1996), a film with a worldwide gross of more than $813 million, sees the convergence of the American national and the global through its transformation of July 4, a national holiday celebrating the birth of the American nation, into a global holiday marking a US-led world order of "liberation" from oppressive forces: this time, aliens from outer space. Such films, however, are translated into different viewing cultures by their audiences. Using the American, French, and Danish receptions of Steven Spielberg's patriotic epic *Saving Private Ryan* (1998) as case studies, Danish critic Ulf Hedetoft argues that "foreign" audiences reinterpret US national cinema from within their own cultural optic: "'Hollywood' (as well as other national cinemas of international reach) is constantly undergoing a (re)nationalization process, temporally and spatially, a process which does not stamp out the US flavor of these cinematic products, but which negotiates their transition into and assimilation by 'foreign' mental visions and normative understandings" (pp. 281–282).

US national/transnational cinema cannot be reduced to Hollywood product, however dominant it may be. It is also comprised of the kind of independent and regional filmmaking that often troubles dominant US understandings of gender, sexuality, race, class, and history, and that is celebrated by Robert Redford's Sundance Film Festival. However, independent cinema is increasingly coopted by Hollywood, as was evidenced by the "mainstreaming" of independent producer Miramax in its 1993 sale to Disney. The potential cost of such mainstreaming of independents materialized in Disney's controversial refusal to distribute Miramax's *Fahrenheit 9/11* (2004), Michael Moore's anti-Bush documentary, through its subsidiary Buena Vista. Hollywood itself is certainly not a bounded homogeneous entity, and has produced such nation-demythologizing films as *The Parallax View* (1974), *Three Days of the Condor* (1975), *Missing* (1982), and *Good Night, and Good Luck* (2005).

It is important to remember that US cinema is not the sole national cinema to extend its reach globally, to function transnationally. Indian cinema, principally Bollywood, has the second largest market share in global film distribution next to the United States. The Indian industry eclipses Hollywood in its staggering rate of production: in excess of 25,000 features since 1931. The notion of a pan-Indian national cinema centered in Bombay further complicates our understanding of the term "national cinema." Since the end of the 1980s, 90 percent of India's domestic film production has been in regional languages. In addition to the cinema of Bombay (vernacular Hindi/Urdu), Indian cinema is composed of at least eight regional cinemas: Bengali, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam, Assamese, Manipur, and Oriya.

Gurinder Chada's **Bend it Like Beckham** ***(2002) challenges assumptions about British national cinema.*** ®™ AND COPYRIGHT © 20TH CENTURY FOX FILM CORP./COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

India exports its cinema to global diasporic audiences, as well as taking sizeable market shares in West Africa, Egypt, Senegal, China, Russia, and other territories.

Hong Kong is in some ways a national cinema without a nation, a transnational cinema that has functioned historically as an export industry servicing a global Chinese diaspora and making successful incursions into the markets of Indonesia, Malaysia, the People's Republic of China, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan, and Thailand. In 1993 Hong Kong was the world's third largest producer of films, surpassed only by India and the United States. Given its formation within a British colonial territory (1898–1927), Hong Kong and its cinema has long functioned as other to national Chinese cinemas produced by the People's Republic of China and Taiwan, offering conflicting visions of Chinese imagined communities.

DIASPORIC CINEMAS

The myth of the nation as a homogeneous, bounded, unitary, static, and stable entity is exploded in what Rosen would term its antinational cinema or the cinema of its others as this can be located in queer cinema such as Canada's *Zero Patience* (1993), and diasporic cinema such as the United Kingdom's *Khush* (1991), a film that combines sexual difference from the British mainstream with the racial and cultural differences of the South Asian diaspora living in England. Cinema of the diaspora disrupts and re-visions the national cinema along lines of heterogeneity and plurality by representing those others to the nation who have been dispersed from their homelands through economic migrancy and the legacies of colonial imperialism.

For example, Gurinder Chadha's documentary *I'm British But . . .* (1989) challenges essentialist notions of Britishness and its constituent elements—Englishness, Irishness, Scottishness, and Welshness—by tracking the lives of four Brits of Asian heritage living in the United Kingdom's four countries. When these people of color speak their identifications with the countries in which they live, they do so in the distinct dialects of England, Northern Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, thus inhabiting what had, historically, been overdetermined as a white linguistic space. Chadha's subsequent film *Bhaji on the*

Beach (1993) further inhabits the symbolic order of British national space by inserting Indo-English women into Blackpool, Britain's archetypal holiday space, and in *Bend It Like Beckham* (2002) football (soccer), Britain's national game, historically a white patriarchal preserve, is played by a South Asian girl. Not unlike *Khush* or *Zero Patience* and their queering of the national, *Bend It Like Beckham* also grapples with sexual difference through both South Asian and white middle-class British responses to homosexuality. This example of a diversified British screen has been embraced by both British and international audiences, making it one of British cinema's most commercially successful films.

In Canada questions of belonging, racism, and intergenerational and cultural conflicts shape Mina Shum's exploration of the Chinese-Canadian community in Vancouver in *Double Happiness* (1994). Not unlike *Khush*, Richard Fung's tape *Orientations* (1984) challenges any notion of a homogeneous diaspora in his interviews with Asian lesbians and gay men living in Toronto. Srinivas Krishna's satirical *Masala* (1991) circles around the question of home for the diasporic Indo-Canadian community in the wake of the 1985 Air India bombing by exploring the failures of official multiculturalism and their ramifications for two families. Krishna's film challenges historically fossilized understandings of Canada as a white nation by combining a diverse range of cultural materials including Bombay cinema, music video, Hollywood cinema, Canadian hockey, and Canadian state apparatuses. Deepa Mehta complicates further these blurred lines of national cinema identity with *Sam and Me* (1991) and *Bollywood/Hollywood* (2002), films about racial and cultural difference set in multicultural Canada, as well as Canadian-produced films set in India and Pakistan. For example, Mehta charts the painful and violent birthing of India and Pakistan nations through her representation of the 1947 partition in *Earth* (1998), while *Fire* (1996) explores a claustrophobic, regulatory heterosexuality forbidding sexual intimacy between two Hindu women. Mehta's queering of the Hindu nation, of "Mother India," resulted in Hindu fundamentalists setting fire to cinemas in India projecting the film. Production on the third film in Mehta's "elemental" trilogy, *Water*, was shut down in 2000 by Hindu extremists anxious about this Indo-Canadian's representation of the Indian nation.

National cinema, then, is clearly a multifaceted and conflicted object of study. National cinema refers to a group of films produced in a specific national territory, and also serves as a descriptor for the intellectual work of academics who attempt to read and write a critique of national cinema as a field of inquiry given that the nation is less unitary than heterogenous.

SEE ALSO *Canada; Colonialism and Postcolonialism; Diasporic Cinema; France; Great Britain; Ideology; Propaganda; Race and Ethnicity*

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Christopher E. Gittings

NATIVE AMERICANS AND CINEMA

The representation of Native Americans in mainstream films throughout movie history corroborates the story of colonization of indigenous peoples and their homelands beginning in the sixteenth century, with Spain, France, England, and Portugal claiming ownership of "America" and the "New World." There are more films than books written about Native Americans, whose designated film role became known as the "Indian." The "Indian" in movie portrayals established a film stereotype that continues to serve the marketing interests of the highest-grossing entertainment industry today. In 1995, with reported earnings of $31.9 billion that year, the Walt Disney Company released an animated version of *Pocahontas*, a story perpetuating the view of "Indians" as obstacles to British explorers arrived to civilize the "New World."

MOVIE INDIANS

The popular use of the term the "American West" by early historians was a natural segue for what became the "western" film genre identified by film historians. Classic "westerns" in the 1930s and 1940s featured recognizable plots in which tension and ambiguity are expressed by white settlers as they came into contact with the wilderness and "Indians" who were portrayed as uncivilized and violent. John Ford (1894–1973), the master European American filmmaker who began making movies during the silent era, produced many western films; his most famous silent western, *The Iron Horse* (1924), featured eight hundred Pawnee, Sioux, and Cheyenne Indians along with twenty-eight hundred horses, thirteen hundred buffalo, and ten thousand Texas steers. The film was a mythic version of the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869. Ford almost singlehandedly rewrote American Western history by codifying conventions of the western genre, including those related to the representations of Indians in such films as *Stagecoach* (1939), *Drums Along the Mohawk* (1939), *My Darling Clementine* (1946), *Fort Apache* (1948), *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* (1949), *Rio Grande* (1950), *The Searchers* (1956), and *Cheyenne Autumn* (1964), his farewell to the western film tradition he helped found.

Of the Ford films, *The Searchers* openly promoted a white European American perspective, invoking a deep-seated anti-Indian sentiment buried in the character of Ethan Edwards, portrayed by actor John Wayne. The story concerns the murder of white families and children and the theft of a surviving female child by Comanche "Indian" raiders. While professing to understand the Indians, Ethan demonstrates a racist thirst for revenge, as when he points and shoots at the eyes of an already dead Comanche warrior so that, according to "Indian" belief, he cannot enter heaven. This is in marked contrast to the next scene, showing a proper Christian burial for a white man. The film offers numerous negative biases regarding the "Indian," whereby viewers begin to think that Indians deserve to be punished or exterminated to make way for white settlement. This is most obvious in the story line's focus on the search for the stolen child, Debbie, who is now a young adult (Natalie Wood). Ethan's open hatred for Indians plays into his derision for Martin (Jeffrey Hunter) who was taken in by Debbie's family and has Cherokee blood. Martin's compassion for Indians is brought to a standstill during their search when Martin is given a fat Indian wife who is used as comic relief. The Indian woman expects to sleep with Martin but instead he kicks her, causing her to roll down

a hill, making her the butt of the joke. Ethan and Martin continue their quest by locating Debbie, who is found living in an Indian camp with an Indian chief, Scar (Henry Brandon). The unacceptability of this scenario is such that Ethan would rather see her dead than allow her to stay with her Indian captors. It is true that Ethan changes his mind about killing Debbie at the last moment, but this "rescue" is an ironic happy ending that at once provides narrative closure and invites questioning about Ford's use of racist stereotypes to promote sympathy for white settlement in the West.

Ford's films are often cited for his cinematic use of the Southwest's desert topography, which he made famous by framing his characters within the naturally sculptured land formations called Monument Valley. Ford's use of that landscape also established the West as an empty wilderness just prior to being colonized by white settlement. Similarly, Ford's *Cheyenne Autumn* endorses Manifest Destiny in that the wilderness must be "tamed" by the imprisonment of Cheyenne Indians by the US military. Although numerous film critics have suggested that *Cheyenne Autumn* was Ford's apology to Indians for his earlier negative portrayal of them, this view is not warranted. In the film, defeated Indians fight with one another, captured by the army and held captive until their fate is decided by a US official in Washington, D.C. Also, white actors portrayed key roles as Cheyenne chiefs in the film and a Mexican woman who gave birth to Cheyenne sons was played by the Mexican actress Delores Del Rio.

The popularity of the major studios' western films peaked during World War II; the commercial availability of television in the late 1940s led to a reduction in the number of big-budget westerns filmed on location. Actual Native Americans appearing in Hollywood westerns as warring "Indians" became victims of exploitation by white filmmakers, who transported them from their reservations to work in Hollywood, paying them with alcohol and tobacco to appear in battle scenes. The history of Indian movie extras being financially exploited and mistreated by white filmmakers was consistent with the mass exploitation of Native Americans during the "settling" of the West. Since the inception of Hollywood cinema, not one Native American has sustained a career as a film director, including James Young Deer (d. 1946), a Winnebago (a tribe also referred to as Ho Chunk) who directed *Yaqui Girl* (1910), and Edwin Carewe (1883–1940), a Chickasaw, who directed the first version of *Ramona* (1928).

NATIVE AMERICANS IN MOVIES

Despite the fact that a diversity of indigenous peoples had a legal and historical significance in the formation of every new country founded in the western hemisphere, in the United States and Canada the term "Indians" became a hegemonic designation implying that they were all the same in regards to culture, behavior, language, and social organization. The view of Indians as savage and uncivilized was repeated in early films and crystallized the image of "Indians" as dangerous and unacceptable to the normative lives of European immigrants whose lives appeared in films to be more valuable than those of the indigenous people they were colonizing. Mainstream films featuring Indians have been glacially slow in changing any part of this running narrative of conquest. Native Americans today seek to rectify and balance the one-sided, stock image of Indians as ignorant, distrustful, and undesirable through continued work in the film industry.

The availability of acting roles for Native Americans to portray "Indians" in films was essentially limited to westerns, which came complete with stock accoutrements of feathers and buckskin dress that accommodated at least four distinct Indian tribes: Apache, Cheyenne, Comanche, and Sioux. In the 1950s and into the 1960s, western films featured more sympathetic native characters, but even here Indians were played by white actors, including Jeff Chandler, who received an Academy Award® for his portrayal of Apache leader Cochise in *Broken Arrow* (1950).

By 1970, divided social opinion about the Vietnam War gave further impetus to this trend in films such as *Little Big Man* (1970). The film featured Native American chief Dan George (1899–1981), an Aboriginal Squamish from Canada, as one of the main characters. Directed by Arthur Penn, *Little Big Man* received high acclaim for Chief George, but it was the white actor Dustin Hoffman who received the most attention as the film's primary protagonist, Jack Crabb. However, *Little Big Man* was a breakthrough in that it was a major film with a Native American in a major speaking role. In the 1960s, the political upheavals in the United States resulting from both antiwar protests and civil rights issues set a precedent for agitated Native Americans who became involved in open resistance in an effort to call attention to the social consequences of colonial policies that left many Native Americans destitute and impoverished on Indian reservations. The American Indian Movement (AIM) held protests in front of theaters showing films about Indians they felt glamorized the demise of Indians, such as *A Man Called Horse* (1970). Also, during the early 1970s, other commercial films that capitalized on the social climate of the times involved a retelling of a historical massacre of the Cheyenne in *Soldier Blue* (1970), and the story of a half-blood Indian Vietnam War veteran named *Billy Jack* (1971).

Kevin Costner and Graham Greene in Costner's* Dances with Wolves *(1990), which seemed a step forward in its depiction of Native Americans. © ORION PICTURES/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

In the 1990s *Dances with Wolves* (1990), directed by and starring Kevin Costner, was perhaps the most popular western of the decade that featured Indians. Costner's film changed the shooting location of earlier westerns, using some one thousand buffalo, five hundred Indians, and as many horses in the high plains of South Dakota, the homeland of the Sioux, rather than Monument Valley. The film used native actors to speak Lakota, the indigenous language of the Sioux, and often positioned the camera inside Indian tipi lodges and in the encampment where a white female, captured as a child, was now fluently speaking and behaving as an Indian; these features added to the film's feeling of authenticity. The film almost romanticizes the ending scene where the Lakota are hiding out in the mountains, trying to escape their inevitable fate at the hands of Manifest Destiny as the US Cavalry pursues them, the last free Sioux Indians on the Plains. *Dances with Wolves* signaled to Native Americans that no major change had actually taken place in films, as the basic tenets of white domination and colonization were still shown as inevitable, even if tragic, and Indians forever resigned to defeat on reservations set aside for them by a colonial power.

In the early 1970s the anthropologists Sol Worth and John Adair taught a group of Navajo youths how to shoot and edit films, and left to their own approach, they produced a series of seven films described in the book, *Through Navajo Eyes*, originally published in 1972. In the 1990s young, educated, and highly motivated Native Americans were encouraged by the success of *Dances with Wolves* to seek to produce their own successes. However, the opportunities to work in mainstream films were limited to working as "Indian extras"; thus, few chances to actually produce or direct their own films did not materialize. However, the desire by individual Native Americans to make their own films became stronger. Between 1990 and 2000, a Native American film movement was born, with numerous Native Americans enrolled in film schools while others strived to complete college degrees in all fields of study, with particular emphasis in law, medicine, and the sciences.

The director Chris Eyre and the writer-producer Sherman Alexie embarked on a film project that could have only happened after many previous and unsuccessful attempts by other Native Americans to produce a feature film backed by a major studio or production company. Eyre graduated from New York University's film program, and Alexie received a degree from Washington State University and became a writer. His critically acclaimed serial novel, *The Lone Ranger and Tonto Fist Fight in Heaven* (1993), provided the groundwork for Eyre to collaborate with Alexie on *Smoke Signals* (1998), about a contemporary native community with a mostly native cast. The film was purchased by Miramax Films distribution after its debut at the Sundance Film Festival and released in mainstream theaters. Since its success, Eyre and Alexie have continued to produce films independently. Eyre's subsequent films include *Skins* (2002) and *Skinwalkers* (2002), and Alexie directed *The Business of Fancydancing* (2002). Hopefully, these and subsequent native-made films will in time help reframe the historical misperception of indigenous peoples.

SEE ALSO *Ideology; Race and Ethnicity; Westerns*

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Beverly R. Singer

NATURE FILMS

Nature filmmaking has a long and mobile history, from its pre-cinematic roots in nineteenth-century photographic traditions to its current status as a genre found most commonly on television, and perhaps most spectacularly in large-format IMAX cinema. Now only rarely seen in conventional theatrical release, nature films have alternatively enjoyed significant popular presence and languished in obscurity. Despite the genre's uneven presence in theaters, its thematic occupations can be clearly periodized. From the earliest years of cinema through the 1930s, nature filmmaking most often took the form of expedition travelogues, in which flora appeared as terrain to be crossed over, and fauna as objects to be filmed, captured, or killed. Meanwhile, noncommercial scientific filmmakers developed techniques through which animal behaviors could be observed and recorded for scientific study. Post–World War II nature filmmaking returned with the animal as subject, the human rendered either invisible or on standby as steward of the most fragile facets of an invaluable environment. Near the end of the twentieth century, the genre, on screens small and large, proliferated in new forms, fusing readily with reality-based and fictional genres.

EARLY HISTORY

Nature filmmaking derived from experiments in representing animals by motion-study photographers such as Eadweard Muybridge (1830–1904) and Etienne Jules Marey (1830–1904), naturalist-photographers such as Cherry Kearton (1871–1915), and Victorian "camera-hunters," who shot photographic images instead of or as well as trophy kills while on safari in colonized regions of Africa. Early-cinema actualities were often filmed using exotic captive animals, as in Louis Lumière's *Lions, London Zoological Garden* (1895); during hunting expeditions, as in *The Polar Bear Hunt in the Arctic Seas* (Pathé Frères, 1910); or in feature action-oriented conflicts between human society and domesticated animals, as in Edison Kinetoscope's *Cockfight* (1894), *The Burning Stable* (1896), and *Electrocuting an Elephant* (1903). For the latter film, Edison staged the execution of Topsy, an elephant at Coney Island's Luna Park, who had killed an abusive handler. Violent sensationalism was thus already established as a defining feature of the nature film by the dawn of the twentieth century.

Nickelodeons and early movie theaters showed these films as newsreels. Some were comprised of authentically gathered footage. Others were staged using captive animals in controlled settings and passed off as films of fact to unsuspecting audiences. *Hunting Big Game in Africa* (1909), shot in William N. Selig's Chicago studio, employed a Teddy Roosevelt look-a-like, several African American actors who posed as African porters, and an off-screen gunman whose job it was to kill a lion that Selig's studio had bought from a zoo. The film, released while the ex-president was on safari, was far more successful than *Roosevelt in Africa* (1910) by Cherry Kearton, who did travel briefly with "T.R.'s" party. Critics for *Variety* and *The Moving Picture World* panned Kearton's authentic short as dull and, erroneously, as partly faked, further reinforcing the high standards for blood-spilling action to which the genre would be held—as well as its low ethical standards, in a market that too often failed to distinguish nefarious hoax from natural history.

Staged or authentic—often in combination—the expedition film adapted rapidly to a changing marketplace,

soon appearing in the form of footage meant to accompany live lectures, feature-length silent and sound films. As early as 1912, the feature-length *African Hunt* (Paul J. Rainey), earned a respectable half million dollars. By the 1920s, the market for such films was dominated by the prolific husband-and-wife team of Martin (1884–1937) and Osa Johnson (1894–1953).

Martin Johnson first sailed to the South Pacific as a cook aboard Jack London's *The Snark*. Back home in Kansas, he met and married Osa Leighty at the theater where he gave slide-lectures featuring photographs taken on the trip. The couple soon sailed to the New Hebrides (now Vanuatu). Footage from the trip became *Among the Cannibal Isles of the South Seas* (1918). Martin lectured alongside the film for a week at the Rivoli Theater in New York; a two-part version was distributed with intertitles replacing the live lecture. While these projects were dubious renderings of Melanesian social practices, critics were enthusiastic. Nevertheless, distributors who tended to see the ethnographic mode as too commercially risky encouraged the Johnsons to seek more tried-and-true subjects.

The Johnsons first turned to wildlife in *Jungle Adventures* (1921), shot in Borneo. Impressed by their work, Carl Akeley, the innovative taxidermist then collecting specimens for the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH)'s Hall of African Mammals, offered the Johnsons support on behalf of the museum. With AMNH's support, the Johnsons completed their best-known film, *Simba* (1928), which they made over the course of a four-year expedition and which featured cavalcades of animal species (and indigenous tribespeople, employed as porters and encountered in the course of the expedition) little known to American moviegoers. Despite its ostensibly educational mission, the film also contained the action that audiences expected: the intrepid couple approach their subjects armed with both camera and rifle. Martin cranks the camera as rhinoceros, later elephant, and eventually lion charge. At the last possible moment, Osa appears to kill each oncoming animal. Most animals killed in the Johnsons' films actually fell to off-screen marksmen, and cutaways of Martin helming the film camera and Osa aiming her weapon were staged following the filmed encounters.

The Johnsons' success—*Simba* earned some $2 million—would not last. Concerned that as independents they would find fewer opportunities as the powerful studio system increasingly integrated production, distribution, and exhibition, the Johnsons produced their next film, *Congorilla* (1929), for the Fox Film Corporation. Scenes poking fun at indigenous Africans and reports that the Johnsons had captured gorillas for use in the film without proper authority from the colonial government of the Belgian Congo sullied their reputation and standing with the AMNH. The Johnsons continued to make films (*Baboona*, 1935; *Borneo*, 1937) until Martin's death in 1937; subsequently, Osa cobbled together *Jungles Calling* (1937) and *Tulagi and the Solomons* (1943) from old footage, and then reworked the same material as a syndicated television series in the early 1950s.

But the controversy surrounding the Johnsons' work paled compared to that elicited by the titillating *Ingagi* (1930), banned by the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America for attempting to pass off the Selig Studio in Los Angeles as an African location, a costumed actor as a gorilla, and white actresses in blackface as indigenous Africans.

While *Congorilla* and *Ingagi* scandalized, Paul L. Hoefler's *Africa Speaks* (1930) strove to reinvigorate the expedition film, touting its use of sound technology as a first for the genre. The much-parodied *Africa Speaks* (Edgar Bergen and Charlie McCarthy, Abbott and Costello, and Porky Pig appeared in send-ups of the film) drew on genre traditions, mixing wildlife with ethnographic footage as racist comic relief, using rear-screen projection to enhance dramatic action, even incorporating staged scenes in which the party's Maasai gun bearer appears to be killed by lions, which are then shot by Hoefler and sidekick Harold Austin.

This decline into hoary formulae occurred alongside shifting patterns of production and distribution, economic and political conditions that affected the leisure travel from which these films derived, and new priorities for independent nonfiction filmmakers. Nevertheless, remarkable nature filmmaking continued to take place, much of it outside the United States. Noteworthy figures from British scientific and cinematic worlds collaborated on *The Private Life of the Gannet* (1934), an unusual divergence from the expedition format. The film focused on a colony of diving birds located on an island off the Welsh coast rather than on the adventures of the naturalist-filmmakers trekking after them. The biologist Julian Huxley (1887–1975) wrote the script for the short film, which was produced by Alexander Korda (1893–1956) to be released with his own *Scarlet Pimpernel* (1934); John Grierson (1898–1972) shot the final scenes.

Meanwhile, scientists and naturalists produced vast stores of nature films that would be used by researchers and distributed within the largely educational, nontheatrical market. These films tended to focus on single species—most notably *Ethology of the Greylag Goose* (Konrad Lorenz, 1938) and *The Social Behavior of the Laughing Gull* (Gladwyn Kingsley Noble, 1940), which skillfully captured animal behaviors on film and made them available to specialists, students, and interested amateurs for future study. In France, the experimental filmmaker Jean Painlevé (1902–1989) advanced

ARNE SUCKSDORFF

b. Stockholm, Sweden, 3 February 1917, d. 4 May 2001

Arne Sucksdorff was Sweden's leading documentary filmmaker. His career began with studies in the natural sciences and painting, but he devoted himself as a young man to photography and film. His first short film, *Rhapsody in August* (*Augustirapsodi*, 1939), completed when he was only twenty-two years old, led to a contract with Svensk Filmindustri, then Sweden's leading studio.

Throughout the 1940s, Sucksdorff examined Swedish wildlife in short films produced for the studio, including *En Sommarsaga* (*A Summer's Tale*, 1941), *Reindeer Time* (1943), *Gull* (*Trut*, 1944), and *En kluven värid* (*A Divided World*, 1948). Foreshadowing the direction his work would take in the 1950s, *The Shadow of the Hunter* (1947) and *Shadows on the Snow* (1949) staged encounters in which hunters track but decline to shoot deer and bear, respectively. These works closely observed and dramatized animal behavior, treating animals as characters locked in life-or-death struggles, punctuated by humor and tenderness, and carried along by florid musical scores. Sucksdorff accomplished first what Walt Disney's True-Life Adventures are often credited with innovating—and without the advantages of Disney branding or budgets; while the True-Life Adventures hit the silver screen in Technicolor, Sucksdorff worked throughout his career in sumptuous black-and-white tones and eschewed windy voice-over narration in favor of pictorial storytelling.

Sucksdorff also took on urban and ethnographic subjects in the Oscar®-winning *Människo i stad* (*Rhythm of a City*, 1946), *Uppbrott* (*The Open Road*, 1948), and *Vinden och floden* (*The Wind and the River*, 1950). In *Journée scandinave* (*The Living Stream*, 1950), the filmmaker traced the flow of goods and services throughout Scandinavia in a project co-produced by the Economic Cooperation Administration to promote the postwar Marshall Plan. He first tackled feature filmmaking with *Det stora äventyret* (*The Great Adventure*, 1953), casting his sons and himself in important roles. In the film, which won awards at the Cannes and Berlin film festivals, nature and culture collide as two young farm boys raise an otter that must eventually be returned to the wild. Sucksdorff followed *The Great Adventure* with *En Djungelsaga* (*The Flute and the Arrow*, 1957) and *Pojken i trädet* (*The Boy in the Tree*, 1961), his last film shot in Sweden.

In 1962 Sucksdorff relocated to Brazil to teach filmmaking under the aegis of UNESCO. He stayed for nearly three decades, writing volumes but completing only one film, *Mitt hem är Copacabana* (*My Home Is Copacabana*, 1965), which earned the Best Director Guldbagge Award back in Sweden. Sucksdorff did, however, contribute charmingly intimate scenes of penguins nesting, mating, and raising their chicks to the otherwise tedious fiction film, *Cry of the Penguins* (*Mr. Forbush and the Penguins*, 1971).

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

A Summer's Tale (1941), *The Shadow of the Hunter* (1947), *A Divided World* (1948), *Shadows in the Snow* (1948), *Det stora äventyret* (*The Great Adventure*, 1953), *Cry of the Penguins* (*Mr. Forbush and the Penguins*, 1971)

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underwater cinematography with shorts such as *The Sea Horse* (1934) and *Freshwater Assassins* (1947). In Sweden, Arne Sucksdorff (1917–2001) completed the first film of his prolific and innovative career in 1939. At the end of the 1940s, nature filmmaking would return, in new forms, in the United States.

THE NATURE FILM IN THE POST–WORLD WAR II PERIOD

How Walt Disney (1901–1966) got into nature filmmaking is the stuff of Disney legends. Disney's inspiration for the True-Life Adventures may have been wildlife footage that Disney animators sketched from while

***Arne Sucksdorff in 2001 with the Oscar® he won in 1949 for* Rhythms of a City.** AP IMAGES/LEIF-ERIK NYGARD.

developing *Bambi* (1942). Maybe Disney was inspired by nature itself, while on vacation in Alaska. Or perhaps the move was more calculated: nature filmmaking provided an affordable means (compared to labor-intensive animated films) through which Disney could continue to produce new titles during a general downturn in the film industry. In any case, Disney hired the amateur filmmakers Alfred and Elma Milotte to gather the footage that would become *Seal Island* (1948). In 1949, this short bacame the first of many in the True-Life Adventure series to win an Academy Award® (in a documentary category) and to enjoy a surprisingly lucrative theatrical release. To capitalize on its success, Disney expanded the series to include the shorts *Beaver Valley* (1950), *Nature's Half-Acre* (1951), *The Olympic Elk* (1952), *Water Birds* (1952), *Bear Country* (1953), *Prowlers of the Everglades* (1953), and *Islands of the Seas* (1960), as well as the features *The Living Desert* (1953), *The Vanishing Prairie* (1954), *The African Lion* (1955), *Secrets of Life* (1956), *White Wilderness* (1958), and *Jungle Cat* (1960).

The series repopularized the nature film in a form that was new in a number of ways. First, the True-Life Adventures melded close observations of animal behavior that was already endemic to scientific nature films, footage gathered through both patient fieldwork and frequently imperceptible stagings, and dramatic storylines derived from already classic Disney formulae. While the series employed scores of scientific advisors and nature filmmakers, it was overseen by directors and writers such as James Algar (1912–1998), who had worked on Disney classics such as *Fantasia* (1940) and *Bambi*. Under Disney control, the classic form of the nature film shifted from expedition travelogues based on human activities to the struggle for survival or the coming of age of anthropomorphized animal protagonists.

Most of the True-Life Adventures featured North American wildlife and landscapes, whereas pre–World War II expedition films had emphasized more exotic locations. The True-Life Adventures hinted far more often than their expedition predecessors that wild species were not endlessly plentiful and expendable but instead threatened by shrinking habitats and other factors as well as inherently valuable. They also infused explicit conservationist values into the genre. Despite these innovations, which influenced later generations of nature filmmakers, Disney jettisoned the constraints of nonfiction and launched a short-lived True-Life Fantasy series with the squirrel story *Perri* (1957). In the long term, the Disney studio favored fictional stories employing trained animals—mostly cats and dogs—interacting with humans.

NATURE AS A TELEVISION GENRE

Even as Walt Disney returned nature films to movie theaters, the wider film industry began facing competition from the new medium of television in the post–World War II era. In 1945, the Lincoln Park Zoo's director, Marlin Perkins (1905–1986), began taking animals to a Chicago TV station for occasional live broadcasts. By 1949, Perkins had convinced the local NBC affiliate, WNBQ, to help transform the staid show-and-tell format by shooting at the zoo itself, under the title *Zoo Parade*. By the time the show was cancelled in 1957, a few episodes had also been filmed in African conservation parks. Perkins and other nature filmmaking pioneers, such as Jacques-Yves Cousteau (1910–1997), who began contributing oceanographic segments to CBS's *Omnibus* series in 1954, and David Attenborough (b. 1926), in his first of many series for the BBC, *Zoo Quest* (1954–1964), moved out of the studio and zoo and into the field with film crews in tow. The technological, aesthetic, and narrative features of cinematic and televisual nature filmmaking for a time became more or less indistinguishable. Perkins's next series, *Mutual of Omaha's Wild Kingdom*,

which premiered on NBC in 1963 and continued in syndication until 1988, visited conservation parks worldwide, where his crew sometimes participated in tagging animals for research purposes, adding fast-paced chase scenes and action, harking back in style (if differing in purpose) to pre-war expedition films.

Nature filled a niche for programming that was educational as well as entertaining. CBS launched the long-running *National Geographic Specials* in 1965; ABC began to host *The Undersea World of Jacques Cousteau* specials in 1968; Bill Burrud's *Animal World* (1968–1980) and a host of imitators joined *Wild Kingdom* in the market for half-hour syndicated programs after the Federal Communications Commission forced the networks to acquire some of their programming from independent sources. But in the 1970s, with the relaxation of the federal Financial Interest and Syndication Rules, commercial demand for the genre waned. The Public Broadcasting System (PBS) became the primary home in the United States for nature filmmaking: in 1974, the science-oriented series *NOVA* premiered with Oxford Scientific Films' "The Making of a Natural History Film," which had been made for BBC-2's series *Horizon* as its first episode. In 1975, the series *National Geographic Specials* moved to PBS. In 1982, PBS redoubled its commitment to nature subjects, adding the series *Nature* (produced by WNET and frequently airing programs acquired from or coproduced with the BBC Natural History Unit), David Attenborough's *Life on Earth*, and Marty Stouffer's *Wild America* to its schedule.

It took a booming cable television industry to reposition nature as a TV genre with commercial potential. In 1985, The Discovery Channel went on the air with a schedule full of nature, science, and exploration documentaries. The cable Discovery Channel was then a fledging upstart; it eventually became one of the most widely distributed of cable channels, reaching almost 90 million homes in the United States and another 385 million homes in some 160 countries. Discovery used nature as a kind of flagship, consolidated under the series title *Wild Discovery*. Thanks to its heavily promoted, high-rated specials, such as the annual Shark Week, other cable channels began to follow suit. These successes laid the groundwork for the launch of a spin-off channel, Animal Planet, in 1996. Animal Planet is a joint venture involving the BBC in global markets and features classic wildlife filmmaking. It has made minor celebrities of a new generation of on-camera hosts (foremost, Steve Irwin of *The Crocodile Hunter*, a hit for the channel launched in 1996); provides hours of programming about pets as well as "wild" animals; eagerly hybridizies nature with other genres, including so-called reality TV (*Animal Cops*, beginning 2002), game, and talent shows (*Pet Star*, beginning 2002); and frequently consists of productions shot on video rather than on film. The Discovery–BBC alliance has also resulted in high-profile programs such as *Walking with Dinosaurs* (1999) and *Walking with Prehistoric Beasts* (2001), speculative dramatizations about the daily lives of long-extinct life forms rendered through computer-generated imagery, and *Blue Planet: A Natural History of the Ocean* (2002), a gorgeously produced eight-part survey of marine life.

When Animal Planet reached global markets, National Geographic Television countered by partnering with NBC and News Corporation to launch its own cable channel, first shown in the United Kingdom, Europe, and Asia in 1997–1998, and reaching US markets in 2001. Nature now sprawled throughout television, as both broadcast and cable channels experimented with cost-cutting "reality-based" and other nonfiction genres and competed ever more fiercely for demographic niches (especially for that of young adult males) thought to cluster around this kind of programming. In 1991, the Turner Broadcasting System (TBS) hosted Attenborough's popular BBC series *The Trials of Life*; the highbrow *National Geographic Specials* returned to NBC in 1995; the Fox broadcast network dabbled with lowbrow miniseries and specials such as *When Animals Attack* (1996–1997); and MTV's *Jackass* crew remade itself as *Wildboyz* (2003–2004), which set its roughhousing stunts amid wildlife (and sometimes ethnographic) filmmaking conventions.

NATURE ON BIG (AND REALLY BIG) SCREENS

While animal programming boomed on TV, nonfiction nature ventures in theatrical distribution remained scant, with the exception of an emerging specialty market. In the 1970s, the IMAX Corporation had introduced a new 70mm cinema format; theaters capable of screening the towering image were installed mainly in natural history and science museums. Both format and context proved particularly friendly to sweeping land- and seascapes. Accordingly, many IMAX films have featured nature subjects, such as *Beavers* (1988), *Blue Planet* (1990), *Everest* (1996), *Island of the Sharks* (1999), *Jane Goodall's Wild Chimpanzees* (2002), and the 3-D *Bugs!* (2003). Occasionally the format has turned to computer-generated imagery and dramatic storylines, as in *T-Rex: Back to the Cretaceous* (1998) and *China: The Panda Adventure* (2001).

Once animal TV proliferated and nature subjects found new outlets in large-format cinema, filmmakers with careers in other genres began straying into nature productions. For example, the French-German television network Arte premiered *Impressionen unter Wasser* (*Impressions of the Deep*) by Leni Riefenstahl

Bart the Bear (right) and York the Bear starred in Jean-Jacques Annaud's* The Bear *(1988). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

(1902–2003), director of Nazi propaganda films including *Triumph of the Will* (1935) and *Olympia* (1938), as part of a celebration of Riefenstahl's hundredth birthday in 2002. After waterbound dramatic features such as the aquatic sci-fi flop *The Abyss* (1989) and the stunning success of *Titanic* (1997), James Cameron (b. 1954) began to experiment with documentary and undersea projects in the IMAX format, eventually directing *Aliens of the Deep* (2005). Others borrowed nature filmmaking techniques and aesthetics for animal-centered dramas. *L'Ours* (*The Bear*, 1988), by the eclectic French director Jean-Jacques Annaud (b. 1943), employed Bart the Bear, who also appears in *Legends of the Fall* (1994) and a dozen other films, as an adult male who adopts an orphaned cub. Entirely a fiction, *The Bear* contains many features derived from classic Disneyana: as in *Bambi*, the animal protagonist's mother is killed, while the surrogate father and the cub evade hunters; the coming-of-age narrative also echoes elements of the True-Life Adventures. Annaud's second dramatic wildlife feature, *Deux frères* (*Two Brothers*, 2004), features an equally unlikely tale of twin tiger cubs, separated upon their mother's death, abused in captivity, then reunited and returned to the wild.

Few late twentieth- and early twenty-first century nonfiction feature films enjoyed theatrical releases: *Microcosmos* (1996), a lush exploration of insect life produced by the French actor Jacques Perrin, was distributed by Miramax in the United States to disappointing earnings of $1.4 million. Discovery briefly tried its hand with *The Leopard Son* (1996), filmed by the Baron Hugo van Lawick, which opened even more modestly and was quickly recast as a Discovery Channel special and home video title. Still, nature filmmakers continued to brave the theatrical market. *Le Peuple migrateur* (*Winged Migration*, 2002), produced and directed by Perrin and released by Sony, earned $10 million in the United States. The film, containing footage obtained from inventive aerial camera units, and sometimes using imprinted geese, ducks, cranes, and storks hand-raised for use in the film, suggested that significant audiences could still be drawn to theaters around especially spectacular nature projects. Miramax timidly edged the BBC Natural History Unit's *Deep Blue* (2005), a less impressive

follow-up to the *Blue Planet* series by veteran Alastair Fothergill, into theaters, while *La Marche de l'empereur* (*March of the Penguins*), directed by Luc Jacquet for Bonne Pioche, was released in the United States by Warner Independent and National Geographic films in 2005 to wide acclaim. *March*, said to have been made for $2 million, earned $70 million in the United States within three months, was awarded an Academy Award® in 2006, and became a best-seller as a home video release. Despite these exceptional theatrical releases, nature remains in the twenty-first century a predominately televisual genre.

SEE ALSO *Animal Actors; Documentary; Walt Disney Company*

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NEOREALISM

The period between 1943 and 1945 in the history of Italian cinema is dominated by the impact of neorealism, which is properly defined as a moment or a trend in Italian film, rather than an actual school or group of theoretically motivated and like-minded directors and scriptwriters. Its impact nevertheless has been enormous, not only on Italian film but also on French New Wave cinema and on movies in diverse parts of the world.

HISTORICAL ORIGINS OF ITALIAN NEOREALISM

With the fall of Mussolini's Fascist regime in 1943 and the end of World War II, international audiences were suddenly introduced to Italian films through a few noteworthy works by Roberto Rossellini (1906–1977), Vittorio De Sica (1902–1974), and Luchino Visconti (1906–1976). Italian directors, newly freed from Fascist censorship, were able to merge a desire for cinematic realism (a tendency already present during the Fascist period) with social, political, and economic themes that would never have been tolerated by the regime. Neorealist films often took a highly critical view of Italian society and focused attention upon glaring social problems, such as the effects of the Resistance and the war, postwar poverty, and chronic unemployment. Continuing a trend toward realism that had already been initiated during the Fascist period by prewar directors such as Alessandro Blasetti (1900–1987), Augusto Genina (1892–1957), and Francesco De Robertis (1902–1959), these new postwar faces—dubbed neorealists by critics who praised the "new" realism they believed such directors sought to create—rejected, in some instances, traditional dramatic and cinematic conventions associated with commercial cinema in both Rome and Hollywood. Some (though very few) even wanted to abandon literary screenplays altogether to focus on improvisation, while most preferred to chronicle the average, undramatic daily events in the lives of common people with the assistance of a literate script. But almost all neorealists agreed that the "happy ending" they associated with Hollywood was to be avoided at all costs.

Neorealism preferred location shooting rather than studio work, as well as the grainy kind of photography associated with documentary newsreels. While it is true that, for a while, the film studios were unavailable after the war, neorealist directors shunned them primarily because they wanted to show what was going on in the streets and piazzas of Italy immediately after the war. Contrary to the belief that explains on-location shooting by its supposed lower cost, such filming often cost much more than work in the more easily controlled studios; in the streets, it was never possible to predict lighting, weather, and the unforeseen occurrence of money-wasting disturbances. Economic factors do, however, explain another characteristic of neorealist cinema—its almost universal practice of dubbing the sound track in post-production, rather than recording sounds on the supposedly "authentic" locations. Perhaps the most original characteristic of the new Italian realism in film was the brilliant use of nonprofessional actors by Rossellini, De Sica, and Visconti, though many of the films accepted as neorealist depended upon excellent performances by seasoned professional actors.

Some film historians have tended to portray neorealism as an authentic movement with universally agreed-upon stylistic or thematic principles. In fact,

Italian neorealist cinema represents a hybrid of traditional and more experimental techniques. Moreover, political expediency often motivated interpretations of postwar neorealism that overlooked the important elements of continuity between realist films made during the Fascist era and realist films made by the neorealists. After 1945, no one in the film industry wanted to be associated with Mussolini and his discredited dictatorship, and most Italian film critics were Marxists; neorealism's ancestry was thus largely ignored.

The most influential critical appraisals of Italian neorealism today emphasize the fact that Italian neorealist cinema rested upon artifice as much as realism and established, in effect, its own particular realist conventions. All too many early assessments of Italian neorealism focused lazily upon the formulaic statement that Italian neorealism meant no scripts, no actors, no studios, and no happy endings. In the 1964 edition of his first resistance novel, *Il sentiero dei nidi di ragno* (*The Path to the Nest of Spiders*, 1947), Italo Calvino (1923–1985) reminded his readers that Italian neorealism was never a school with widely shared theoretical principles. Rather, it arose from a number of closely associated discoveries of an Italian popular culture that had traditionally been ignored by "high" Italian culture. Neorealist film and literature replaced an official cinema and literature characterized by pompous rhetoric and a lack of interest in the quotidian and the commonplace.

Critics unanimously regard a small group of films as the best examples of this brief moment in Italian film history: Rossellini's *Roma, città apperta* (*Rome, Open City*, 1945) and *Paisà* (*Paisan*, 1946), both of which were scripted by Federico Fellini (1920–1993); De Sica's *Sciuscà* (*Shoeshine*, 1946), *Ladri di biciclette* (*The Bicycle Thieves*, 1948), *Miracolo a Milano* (*Miracle in Milan*, 1951), and *Umberto D* (1952), all scripted by Cesare Zavattini (1902–1989); and Luchino Visconti's *Ossessione* (*Obsession*, 1943) and *La terra trema: Episodio del mare* (*The Earth Trembles*, 1948), respectively, loose adaptations of James Cain's 1934 novel *The Postman Always Rings Twice* and Giovanni Verga's *I Malavoglia* (*The House by the Medlar Tree*, 1881).

In retrospect, the appearance of Visconti's *Obsession* made it clear that something original was brewing within Italian cinema. Assisted by a number of young Italian intellectuals associated with the review *Cinema*, Visconti took Cain's "hard-boiled" novel (without paying for the rights) and turned the crisp, first-person narrative voice of the American work into a more omniscient, objective camera style, as obsessed with highly formal compositions as Visconti's protagonists are by their violent passions. Visconti reveals an Italy that includes not only the picturesque and the beautiful but also the tawdry, the ordinary, and the insignificant. Simple gestures, glances, and the absence of any dramatic action characterize the most famous sequence in the film: world-weary Giovanna (Clara Calamai) enters her squalid kitchen, takes a bowl of pasta, and begins to eat, reading the newspaper, but falls asleep from exhaustion. Postwar critics praised neorealist cinema for respecting the duration of real time in such scenes. Equally original in the film is Visconti's deflation of the "new" man that Italian Fascism had promised to produce. Even though the film's protagonist, Gino, is played by Fascist Italy's matinee idol, Massimo Girotti (1918–2003), his role in the film is resolutely nonheroic, and he has implicit homosexual leanings as well. Even Visconti's patron and friend Vittorio Mussolini rejected such a portrayal of Italian life. Interestingly enough, Vittorio's father, Benito Mussolini, had screened the film and did not find it objectionable.

Though *Obsession* announced a new era in Italian filmmaking, at the time very few people saw the film, and few realized that the aristocratic young director would have such a stellar career. It was the international success of Rossellini's *Rome, Open City*, which so accurately reflected the moral and psychological atmosphere of the immediate postwar period, that alerted the world to the advent of Italian neorealism. With a daring combination of styles and moods, Rossellini captured the tension and the tragedy of Italian life under German occupation and the partisan struggle out of which the new Italian republic was subsequently born. *Rome, Open City*, however, is far from a programmatic attempt at cinematic realism. Rossellini relied on dramatic actors rather than nonprofessionals. He constructed a number of studio sets (particularly the Gestapo headquarters where the most dramatic scenes in the film take place) and thus did not slavishly follow the neorealist trend of shooting films in the streets of Rome. Moreover, his plot was a melodrama in which good and evil were so clear-cut that few viewers today would identify it as realism. Even its lighting in key sequences (such as the famous torture scene) follows expressionist or American film noir conventions. Rossellini aims to provoke an emotional rather than an intellectual response, with a melodramatic account of Italian resistance to Nazi oppression. In particular, the children present at the end of the film to witness the execution of partisan priest Don Pietro (Aldo Fabrizi) point to renewed hope for what Rossellini's protagonists call a new springtime of democracy and freedom in Italy.

Paisan reflects to a far greater extent the conventions of the newsreel documentary, tracing in six separate episodes the Allied invasion of Italy and its slow process through the peninsula. Far more than *Rome, Open City*, *Paisan* seemed to offer an entirely novel approach to film realism; in fact, when future young directors would cite Rossellini as their inspiration, they would almost always

CESARE ZAVATTINI

b. Luzzara, Italy, 29 September 1902, d. 13 October 1989

Italian journalist and writer of screenplays for Italian neorealist cinema, Cesare Zavattini is known especially for his collaborations with director Vittorio De Sica. After completing a law degree at the University of Parma, Zavattini wrote two successful novels—*Parliamo tanto di me* (Let's Talk A Lot About Me, 1931) and *Il poveri sono matti* (The Poor Are Crazy, 1937)—before writing the script for Mario Camerini's classic social satire, *Darò un milione* (*I'll Give a Million*, 1935), starring Vittorio De Sica. In his lifetime, Zavattini completed 126 screenplays, 26 of which were for De Sica as director or actor.

He also provided screenplays for such figures as Alessandro Blasetti, Giuseppe De Santis, Luchino Visconti, and Alberto Lattuada, but his work with De Sica established Zavattini as the leading exponent of Italian neorealism in the decade immediately following the end of World War II. But it was the four neorealist classics created by the two friends that made film history: *Sciuscà* (*Shoeshine*, 1946), an account of the American occupation that earned the first award for foreign films bestowed by the American Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences; *Ladri di biciclette* (*The Bicycle Thieves*, 1948), a tale of postwar unemployment that received an Oscar® for Best Foreign Film; *Miracolo a Milano* (*Miracle in Milan*, 1951), a fantastic parable about the class struggle in a fairy-tale Milan; and *Umberto D* (1952), a heart-rending tragedy about a lonely pensioner and his dog.

Zavattini became the outstanding spokesman for neorealism, advocating the use of nonprofessional actors, a documentary style, authentic locations as opposed to studio shooting, and a rejection of Hollywood studio conventions, including the use of dramatic or intrusive editing. He wrote contemporary, simple stories about common people. In particular, he felt that everyday events provided as much drama as any Hollywood script could produce by rhetorical means or that any special effects and dramatic editing might create. Nevertheless, after neorealist cinema evolved in the late 1950s, Zavattini wrote screenplays for De Sica that enjoyed great commercial success: *Ieri, oggi, domani* (*Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow*. 1963), a social satire that garnered an Oscar® for Best Foreign Film and featured a legendary striptease for Marcello Mastroianni by Sophia Loren; *La ciociara* (*Two Women*, 1960), an adaptation of an Alberto Moravia novel about the horrible effects of war, which won Loren an Oscar® for Best Actress; and *Il giardino dei Finzi-Contini* (*The Garden of the Finzi-Continis*, 1970), the narration of the destruction of the Jewish community in Ferrara before World War II, which won De Sica his fourth Oscar® for Best Foreign Film.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Sciuscà (*Shoeshine*, 1946), *Ladri di biciclette* (*The Bicycle Thieves*, 1948), *Miracolo a Milano* (*Miracle in Milan*, 1951), *Umberto D* (1952), *La ciociara* (*Two Women*, 1960), *Ieri, oggi, domani* (*Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow*, 1963), *Il giardino dei Finzi-Contini* (*The Garden of the Finzi-Continis*, 1970)

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refer to *Paisan*. Its grainy film, the awkward acting of its nonprofessional protagonists, its authoritative voice-over narration, and the immediacy of its subject matter—all features associated with newsreels—do not completely describe the aesthetic quality of the work. Rossellini aims not at a merely realistic documentary of the Allied invasion and Italian suffering. His subject is a deeper philosophical theme, employing a bare minimum of aesthetic resources to follow the encounter of two cultures, resulting in initial misunderstanding but eventual brotherhood.

The third part of Rossellini's war trilogy, *Germania anno zero* (*Germany Year Zero*, 1948), shifts the director's attention from war-torn Italy to the disastrous effects of the war on Germany. It was shot among the debris of the ruins of Hitler's Berlin before reconstruction. The director's analysis of the aftereffects of Hitler's indoctrination of a young German boy, who eventually commits suicide, reflects Rossellini's ability to empathize with human suffering, even among ex-Nazis.

Compared to the daring experimentalism and use of nonprofessionals in *Paisan*, De Sica's neorealist works

Cesare Zavattini. DAVID LEES/TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES.

seem more traditional and closer to Hollywood narratives. Yet, De Sica uses nonprofessionals—particularly children—in both *Shoeshine* and *The Bicycle Thieves* even more brilliantly than Rossellini. In contrast to Rossellini's dramatic editing techniques, which owe something to the lessons Rossellini learned from making documentaries and studying the Russian masters during the Fascist period, De Sica's camera style favored the kind of deep-focus photography normally associated with Jean Renoir and Orson Welles. *Shoeshine* offers an ironic commentary on the hopeful ending of *Rome, Open City*, for its children (unlike Rossellini's) dramatize the tragedy of childish innocence corrupted by the world of adults, the continuation of a theme De Sica began in one of his best films produced before the end of the war, *I bambini ci guardano* (*The Children Are Watching Us*, 1943). The moving performances De Sica obtains from his nonprofessional child actors in *Shoeshine* arise from what the director called being "faithful to the character": De Sica believed that ordinary people could do a better job of portraying ordinary people than actors could ever do.

De Sica's faith in nonprofessional actors was more than justified in his masterpiece, *The Bicycle Thieves*, which also employs location shooting and the social themes of unemployment and the effects of the war on the postwar economy. The performances of Lamberto Maggiorani as Antonio Ricci, the unemployed father who needs a bicycle in order to make a living hanging posters on city walls, and Enzo Staiola as Bruno, his faithful son, rest upon a plot with a mythic structure—a quest. Their search for a stolen bicycle—its brand is ironically Fides ("Faith")—suggests the film is not merely a political film denouncing a particular socioeconomic system. Social reform may change a world in which the loss of a mere bicycle spells economic disaster, but no amount of social engineering or even revolution will alter solitude, loneliness, and individual alienation. De Sica derived an equally eloquent performance from a nonprofessional in *Umberto D*, a heart-breaking dissection of the terrible effects of poverty and old age in Italy during the Christian Democratic postwar period, when pensions were destroyed by inflation. Even though De Sica was never a leftist (his concern for the poor and his desire for social change were motivated more by charity than by ideological fervor), such works as these two neorealist masterpieces were viewed very negatively by conservative politicians, such as future premier Giulio Andreotti, who remarked famously that dirty laundry is not washed in public.

De Sica's *Miracle in Milan* abandons many of the conventions of neorealist "realism." Not only does the film rely upon veterans of the legitimate theater for its cast, but De Sica also employs many special effects not generally associated with neorealism's pseudodocumentary style: superimposed images for magical effects, process shots, reverse action, surrealistic sets, the abandonment of normal notions of chronological time, and the rejection of the usual cause-and-effect relationships typical of the "real" world. In spite of the fact that Zavattini, De Sica's scriptwriter, once made a famous pronouncement that "the true function of the cinema is not to tell fables" (a view that became associated with Italian neorealism and that tended to obscure the very real fables that this cinema invented), *Miracle in Milan* is, in fact, a fable that begins with the traditional opening line, "Once upon a time ..." and revolves around a comic parable about the rich and the poor. The result is a parody of Marxist concepts of class struggle. De Sica and Zavattini show us poor people who are just as selfish, egotistical, and uncaring as some wealthy members of society once the poor gain power, money, and influence. At the conclusion of the film, the poor mount their broomsticks and fly off over the Cathedral of Milan in search of a place where justice prevails and common humanity is a way of life. *Miracle in Milan* stretches the notion of what constitutes a neorealist film to the very limits.

Maria Pia Casilio and Carlo Battisti in Vittorio de Sica's* Umberto D *(1952), scripted by Cesare Zavattini. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Visconti's *The Earth Trembles* reflects both the literary theories of naturalism in Verga's fiction and the Marxist views of Antonio Gramsci. Praised by Marxist critics in Italy for its progressive stance, Visconti's adaptation of the well-known novel by Giovanni Verga conforms to the traditional definition of Italian neorealism better than other equally famous works of the period. No studio sets or sound stages were used, and the cast was selected from the Sicilian fishing village of Aci Trezza, the novel's setting. Visconti preferred the more realistic effects of the Sicilian dialect and synchronized sound to the traditional Italian practice of postsynchronization of the sound track. While the film's theme underscores the need for revolution among Italy's poor, the visuals of this unusual masterpiece stress the cyclical, timeless quality of life in Aci Trezza—a Homeric view of the world rather than a Marxist one. There is a formalism in Visconti's camera style: slow panning shots with a stationary camera and long, static shots of motionless objects and actors bestow dignity and beauty on humble, ordinary people.

CRITICAL RECEPTION AND LEGACY

While the key works of Italian neorealism helped to change the direction of the art form and remain today original contributions to film language, they were, with the exception of *Rome, Open City*, relatively unpopular in Italy. They were far more successful abroad and among filmmakers and critics. In addition, it became more and more difficult to make neorealist films, as political pressures to present a rosy view of Italy limited government financing from the ruling Christian Democratic party. One of the paradoxes of the neorealist era is that the ordinary Italians whom such films set out to portray were relatively uninterested in their onscreen self-image. In fact, of the approximately eight hundred films produced

between 1945 and 1953 in Italy, only a relatively small number (about 10 percent) could be classified as neorealist, and most of these works were box office failures. The Italian public was more interested in Italian films that employed, however obliquely, the cinematic codes of Hollywood or in the vast numbers of films imported from Hollywood itself.

When recognizable traditional Hollywood film genres were mixed with neorealist themes, greater box office success was assured. Examples of this development within neorealism toward commercial film genres include *Vivere in pace* (*To Live in Peace*, Luigi Zampa, 1947); *Senza pietà* (*Without Pity*, Alberto Lattuada, 1948), scripted in part by Fellini; *Riso amaro* (*Bitter Rice*, Giuseppe De Santis, 1948)—the neorealist exception, a box office hit; and *Il cammino della speranza* (*The Path of Hope*, Pietro Germi, 1950). Films such as these continued the shift away from the war themes of Rossellini to the interest in postwar reconstruction typical of De Sica's best efforts, but they are even more important as an indication of how the Italian cinema moved gradually closer to conventional American themes and film genres. Neorealist style in these films becomes more and more of a hybrid, combining some elements identified with neorealism with others taken from the commercial cinema of Hollywood or Rome.

Besides resistance at the box office, where ordinary Italians preferred Hollywood works or Italian films with a Hollywood flavor, even the most famous neorealist directors soon grew restless at the insistence on the part of Italian intellectuals and social critics that films should always have a social or ideological purpose. In Italian cinematic history this transitional phase of development is often called the "crisis" of neorealism. In retrospect, it was the critics who were suffering an intellectual crisis; Italian cinema was evolving naturally toward a film language concerned more with psychological problems and a visual style no longer defined solely by the use of nonprofessionals, on-location shooting, and documentary effects. Three early films by Michelangelo Antonioni (b. 1912), Fellini, and Rossellini are crucial to this development. *Cronaca di un amore* (*Story of a Love Affair*, 1950), Antonioni's first feature film, is a film noir in which the director's distinctive photographic signature is already evident, with its characteristic long shots, tracks, and pans following the actors, and modernist editing techniques that attempt to reflect the rhythm of daily life. Fellini's *La Strada* (1954), awarded an Oscar® for Best Foreign Language Film, is a poetic parable that explores a particular Fellinian mythology concerned with spiritual poverty and the necessity for grace or salvation (defined in a strictly secular sense). Rossellini's "cinema of the reconstruction" in *Viaggio in Italia* (*Voyage in Italy*, 1953), starring Ingrid Bergman, marks his move away from the problems of the working class or the partisan experience to explore psychological problems, middle-class protagonists, and a more complex camera style not unlike that developed by Antonioni.

Neorealism's legacy was to be profound. The French New Wave (Jean-Luc Godard, François Truffaut, Jacques Rivette, Eric Rohmer) embraced neorealism as proof that filmmaking could be possible without a huge industrial structure behind it and that filmmakers could be as creative as novelists. In particular, they appreciated the psychological move beyond neorealist themes in Antonioni and Rossellini. In India and Latin America, the classics of neorealism inspired filmmakers to shoot simple stories about ordinary people. In Brazil, for example, the Cinema Novo movement was clearly indebted to Italian neorealism, especially in such works as Nelson Pereira dos Santos's *Rio 40 Graus* (*Rio 40 Degrees*, 1955) or Anselmo Duarte's *O Pagador de Promessas* (*Payer of Promises*, 1962). In India, Satyajit Ray's debt to Rossellini, Visconti, and De Sica in the so-called "Apu trilogy"—Pather Panchali (1955), *Aparajito* (1957), and *Apur Sansar* (1959)—has been frequently confirmed by the director's own testimony. Even in Hollywood in the immediate postwar period, such important works as Jules Dassin's *The Naked City* (1948) and Edward Dmytryk's *Christ in Concrete* (1949) show the direct influence of neorealism's preference for authentic locations within the American tradition of film noir.

Most importantly, however, a second generation of Italian directors reacted directly to the model of the neorealist cinema. The early films of Pier Paolo Pasolini (1922–1975), Bernardo Bertolucci (b. 1940), Marco Bellocchio (b. 1939), Paolo (b. 1931) and Vittorio (b. 1929) Taviani, and Ermanno Olmi (b. 1931), particularly those shot in black and white, returned in some measure to the conventions of documentary photography, nonprofessional actors, authentic locations, and social themes. But this second generation also combined lessons from their neorealist predecessors with very different ideas taken from the French New Wave, and they were far more committed (with the exception of Olmi) to an aggressively Marxist worldview. Olmi continued to be true to the neorealist preference for nonprofessional actors in such important works as *Il posto* (*The Sound of Trumpets*, 1961), *I fidanzati* (*The Fiancées*, 1963), *L'albero degli zoccoli* (*The Tree of the Wooden Clogs*, 1978), and *Il mestiere delle armi* (*Profession of Arms*, 2001). The neorealist heritage may still be detected, with a postmodern twist, in the cinema of Nanni Moretti (b. 1953), such as *Caro diario* (*Dear Diary*, 1993) and the more recent *La stanza del figlio* (*The Son's Room*, 2001).

SEE ALSO *Italy; Realism; World War II*

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NETHERLANDS

About one thousand feature-length fiction films and some hundreds of long documentaries have been made in the Netherlands, with heydays for the fiction film in the teens, 1930s, 1970s, and 1990s. In spite of this rather modest production, Dutch cinema may boast of several international achievements: such directors as Joris Ivens (1898–1989) and Paul Verhoeven (b. 1938) are internationally known, such films as *De Aanslag* (*The Assault*, Fons Rademakers, 1986) and *Karakter* (*Character*, Mike van Diem, 1997) won Academy Awards®, and Dutch animated film as well as the Dutch Documentary School stand in good international repute.

EARLY DUTCH CINEMA

The Netherlands has always been more a country of film exhibition and distribution than of film production. French cinema, and subsequently other, mostly European, films dominated Dutch screens in the early years. After a modest start, the number of cinemas and the demand for film exploded in the Netherlands after 1910. F.A. Nöggerath Jr. made several dramas, among which was the first feature fiction film, *Ontrouw* (*Infidelity*, Louis Chrispijn Jr., 1911), and Alfred Machin (1877–1929) made fiction films full of clumps, mills, and fishermen for Pathé. A first heyday occurred during World War I, when the country's neutral status created possibilities for producers. The most prolific was Maurits Binger's Hollandia Studio, whose stars, Annie Bos (1886–1975) and Adelqui Migliar (1891–1956), were beloved, yet it ran into trouble after the war. Of the silent Dutch films only a mere fraction are extant.

In 1921, exhibitors and distributors united in the Dutch Cinema Union (NBB), bastion of the Dutch film world for half a century; in the same year Abraham Tuschinski opened his Amsterdam movie palace. In the 1920s–1930s, American and German cinema dominated the Dutch screens. From 1927, the Dutch Filmliga started to show avant-garde films, including the marvels of modernist editing, Ivens's *De Brug* (*The Bridge*, 1928), about a Rotterdam railway bridge turned into a constructivist work of art, and *Regen* (*Rain*, 1929), a city-symphony-like cine-poem about a shower in Amsterdam. During the Depression, Ivens made such sociopolitical documentaries as *Borinage* (1933), about miners in South-Belgium, followed by antifascist documentaries in Spain and China. In 1934, Ivens added *Nieuwe gronden* (*New Earth*), an anti-capitalist comment on his former rather apolitical—if visually dynamic—documentary *Zuiderzeewerken* (*Zuiderzee*, 1930). After the closing of the inner sea and the winning of the land, the grain harvested there was dumped into the sea to keep prices artificially high during the Depression. In order to make his statement, Ivens interspliced his own images with newsreel footage, a strategy that he often used subsequently. In 1946, *Indonesia Calling*, Ivens's plea for the independence of Indonesia, caused a split with the Netherlands. For ten years, he worked on union films in Eastern Europe, and he won the Golden Palme at the Cannes Film Festival with the lyric *The Seine Meets Paris* (1957). He described the effects of the Cultural Revolution in China in *Comment Yukong déplaça les montagnes* (*How Yukong Moved the Mountains*, 1976), and he also made his last film, *Une Histoire de vent* (*A Tale of the Wind*, 1988), in China.

The sound film arrived relatively late in the Netherlands. Distributors opted for subtitling instead of dubbing, but audiences wanted to hear Dutch. The period piece *Willem van Oranje* (*William of Orange*, 1934) was the first Dutch sound feature, but audiences preferred *De Jantjes* (*The Tars*, 1934), based on a popular musical. Until 1940, thirty-seven Dutch features were made, of which twenty-one were directed by German immigrants, including Ludwig Berger, Max Ophüls, and Douglas Sirk. When in 1934 Dutch technicians protested against the many foreigners, the immigrants were required to have Dutch assistants. Film was private investment; the government had implemented censorship in 1928, but it did not stimulate production. The influence of the stage was stronger in Dutch cinema than elsewhere; most actors were stage players and scripts were based on plays. The German occupation ended this productive period. However, during the Occupation eighteen German fiction films were produced in the Netherlands, and though thirty-two Dutch cinemas were bombed, spectators flocked to see films. Attendance grew massively during the war years, 1942–1943. The immediate postwar years were a golden era for exhibitors, as attendance increased drastically, reaching in 1946 an all time high of 88.7 million admissions. It then remained stable around 63 million from 1950 on, apart from a peak in 1956, partly due to the Dutch box-office hit *Ciske de Rat* (1955). It then gradually went down each year from the late 1950s on, suffering from the rise of television, introduced in 1951. In the postwar era, American cinema absolutely ruled Dutch screens, with Dutch cinema second in line in the 1970s and in the most recent years.

POSTWAR CINEMA

In the 1950s, few Dutch fiction films were made for lack of money and equipment, but the Dutch documentary flourished instead. In 1952, Bert Haanstra (1916–1997), Max de Haas, Ytzen Brusse, and Herman van der Horst (1910–1976) received a collective award at the Cannes Film Festival; Van der Horst was awarded the Grand Prix for his *Shoot the Nets* (1952). This Dutch Documentary School made films about postwar reconstruction in the Netherlands and about nature. The documentarists created rhythmic plays of image and sound, using extreme camera angles and spectacular editing. A highlight was Haanstra's *Glas* (*Glass*, 1958), which won an Academy Award® in 1960. His candid camera films, including *Alleman* (*Everyman*, 1963), were internationally popular. His fiction film debut, *Fanfare* (1958), remained the best-attended film in Holland until the release of Verhoeven's *Turks fruit* (*Turkish Delight*, 1973).

In 1956, the NBB and the government founded the Production Fund in order to stimulate feature film production. Fons Rademakers (b. 1920) made his debut with *Village on the River* (1958), a playful series of stories about a country doctor, which received an Oscar® nomination; eventually, Rademakers won an Academy Award® for *The Assault*. In *Als twee druppels water* (*The Spitting Image*, 1963), he demythologized the role of "resistance heroes" during World War II, and in *Max Havelaar* (1976) he treated another national trauma: the colonial past. With these tasteful literary adaptations Dutch fiction film came to maturity.

In 1958, the Dutch Film Academy was founded. The first wave of graduated students were inspired by the French New Wave. Within a few weeks and with a minimal budget, Pim de la Parra (b. 1940) and Wim Verstappen (1937–2004) produced *De Minder gelukkige terugkeer van Joszef Katus naar het land van Rembrandt* (1966), shown in Cannes. They pleaded for continuous film production and produced thirteen feature films from 1965 to1973. Martin Scorsese was co-writer for their thriller *Bezeten—Het gat in de muur* (*Obsessions*, 1969). *Blue Movie* (1971) candidly shows how an ex-convict, who missed the sexual revolution, catches up. Verstappen defended himself successfully against a ban of the film, which sped up the ending of traditional censorship. Frans Weisz (b. 1938), who studied at both the Dutch Film Academy and the Roman film school Centro Sperimentale di Cinematografia, made his feature debut with the experimental *Het Gangstermeisje* (*A Gangster Girl* or *Gangstergirl*, 1966), then achieved commercial success with genre movies, such as *De Inbreker* (*The Burglar*, 1972). From *Charlotte* (1980) on, Weisz worked in a more personal style, in which the theater, the Holocaust, and the traumas of Jewish survivors are recurrent subjects.

Experimental documentary makers broke new ground in the early 1960s. In contrast to earlier Dutch documentary, humans were treated less as metaphors and more as individuals. Louis van Gasteren (b. 1922) analyzed his own shots of police violence against an innocent student in *Omdat mijn fiets daar stond* (*Because My Bike Stood There*, 1966). Jan Vrijman's (1925–1997) *De Werkelijkheid van Karel Appel* (1962) was reviled in the Netherlands but won a Golden Bear in Berlin. In 1988, Vrijman co-founded the International Documentary Film Festival, which, together with the International Film Festival Rotterdam (founded 1972), is the biggest Dutch film festival. Johan van der Keuken (1938–2001) made intimate portraits, such as *Beppie* (1965), after which more socially engaged, associatively edited, and metadocumentary-like documentaries followed. He reassembled his images drawn from reality into recalcitrant,

Jeroen Krabbé and Rutger Hauer in Paul Verhoeven's popular* Soldaat von Oranje *(*Soldier of Orange*, 1977). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

poetic, or contemplative compositions, such as *I Love $* (1986) and *Amsterdam Global Village* (1996).

Until the 1970s, animation cinema meant commissioned filming. For Philips, George Pal (1908–1980) made puppet animation in the 1930s, and Joop Geesink (1913–1984) and Marten Toonder (1912–2005) peaked their animation production in the 1950s. Since the 1970s, Paul Driessen and Gerrit van Dijk have produced free animation films for adults. In addition, *Le Château de sable* (*The Sand Castle*, Co Hoedeman, 1977), *Anna en Bella* (Børge Ring, 1984), and *Father and Daughter* (Michael Dudok de Wit, 2000) have won Academy Awards®.

The year 1971 was a turning point in Dutch film history. The success of *Blue Movie* was surpassed by Verhoeven's *Wat zien ik* (*Diary of a Hooker*, 1971), and his *Turkish Delight* (1973) is the most successful Dutch film ever, with 3.3 million spectators. The film, about a wild but doomed romance, caused a sensation with its energetic pace, its new stars Rutger Hauer (b. 1944) and Monique van de Ven (b. 1952), and its explicit nudity. Thanks to these and Verhoeven's subsequent all-time high Dutch box-office hits, such as *Keetje Tippel* (1975) and *Soldaat van Oranje* (*Soldier of Orange,* 1977), Dutch cinema knew palmy days, with films focusing on the German occupation, the colonial past, and (homo)sexual emancipation. Such actors as Rutger Hauer and Jeroen Krabbé (b. 1944) broke through internationally. Verhoeven and his director of photography, Jan de Bont (b. 1943), left for Hollywood. In the United States, Verhoeven made the science fiction films *RoboCop* (1987) and *Total Recall* (1990) and the erotic thriller *Basic Instinct* (1992), among others. His films were criticized for their provocative use of sex and violence. De Bont established his Hollywood reputation with the action thrillers *Speed* (1994) and *Twister* (1996).

From 1971, Dutch cinema attendance went slightly up again, reaching a minor peak in 1978—the year of *Grease* and *Saturday Night Fever*. Hereafter it dropped

again and this time more radically, lasting through the early 1990s. The lowest attendance was in 1992 (13.7 million), after which it slowly rose. After 1976, Dutch cinema gradually changed with the rise of a new generation of film directors, including Ate de Jong (b. 1953) and Orlow Seunke (b. 1952). Jos Stelling (b. 1945) adapted the medieval play *Mariken van Nieumeghen* (1974), but he switched afterwards to absurdist tragicomedies, like *De Illusionist* (*The Illusionist*, 1983). In 1981, he founded the Dutch Film Festival, where the most important awards for Dutch cinema are given. In the early 1980s, many films flopped; too many directors were beginners and money was lacking. The government provided two new financial injections, the Fund for Dutch Cinema and the Coproduction Fund Internal Broadcasting. In 1993, the former merged with the Production Fund into the Netherlands Film Fund, which saw an increase in ways of film funding. The prestige of Dutch cinema rose with Academy Awards® for Rademaker's *The Assault*, Marleen Gorris's (b. 1948) *Antonia's Line* (1995), and Mike Van Diem's (b. 1959) *Character*. The comedy hit *Flodder* (1984) by Dick Maas of First Floor Features (FFF) inspired two sequels and a TV series, yet public attendance at both FFF productions and at Dutch films in general remained variable. The FFF produced some twenty films, among which number two absurdist comedies by Alex van Warmerdam, *Abel* (*Voyeur*, 1986) and *De Noorderlingen* (*The Northerners*, 1992). FFF built a studio complex in Almere (near Amsterdam), but it was sold after a series of flops.

In 1998 the Ministry of Economics introduced the CV-arrangement, which allowed private investors a tax reduction. The film industry thus received 200 million Euros in five years. Expensive productions such as *The Discovery of Heaven* (2001) by Krabbé became possible. The share of Dutch films screened domestically rose from 3.7 percent in 1997 to 13.6 percent in 2003. In 2003, 20 percent of Dutch-released productions were children's films; in 2004 this was 25 percent. Since the 1950s, Henk van der Linden (b. 1925) directed films for children matinees, and since 1972 Karst van der Meulen specialized in the genre too, just as Ben Sombogaart (b. 1947) has done more recently. Sombogaart's *Abeltje* (1998) was the first adaptation of the popular children's books of Annie M.G. Schmidt by producer Burny Bos (b. 1944). Bos also produced the sparkling film *Minoes* (Vincent Bal, 2001), in which a cat changes into a girl. Johan Nijenhuis's youth-oriented film *Costa!* (2000), was popular, in part, because of its young soap stars, Katja Schuurman and Georgina Verbaan.

With little means, new directors made unusual films: Robert Jan Westdijk made *Zusje* (1995), Paula van der Oest made *Zus* (2002), and Eddy Terstall made *Simon* (2004). An imported trend is that of refilming classic TV series, such as *Ja zuster, nee zuster* (*Yes Nurse, No Nurse*, 2002). Another trend is films based on true events, such as *Van God Los* (*Stir Crazy*, 2003), about a criminal youth gang in the Catholic South, and *06/05* (2004), about the murder of politician Pim Fortuyn. Shortly after the shooting of the later film, director Theo van Gogh (1957–2004) was himself murdered by a Muslim extremist. The problems of a multicultural Dutch society are the focus of Van Gogh's *Cool!* (2004), and *Shouf shouf habibi!* (Albert ter Heerdt, 2004) takes an ironic but endearing look at Dutch Moroccans. The CV-arrangement ended in 2003, and although the budget of the Film Fund was raised, the result has been lower attendance, less productivity, and a bleak future for Dutch cinema.

Nowadays, some 30 Dutch films per year are produced and shown, against an average of 115 American movies and 70 European movies (Dutch films excluded). In 2004 75% of the distribution market was taken in by the Dutch distribution branches of American companies (UIP, Warner Bros., Disney/Buena Vista, Columbia/TriStar, and Fox); UIP owns 20% of the market. The biggest independent Dutch distributors are A-Film and RCV. The American majors distribute Dutch films occasionally. In 2004, the Netherlands had 243 cinemas and art houses, with 690 screens and 114,880 chairs. Fewer Dutch citizens visit the cinema, but those who do tend to go more frequently.

SEE ALSO *National Cinema*

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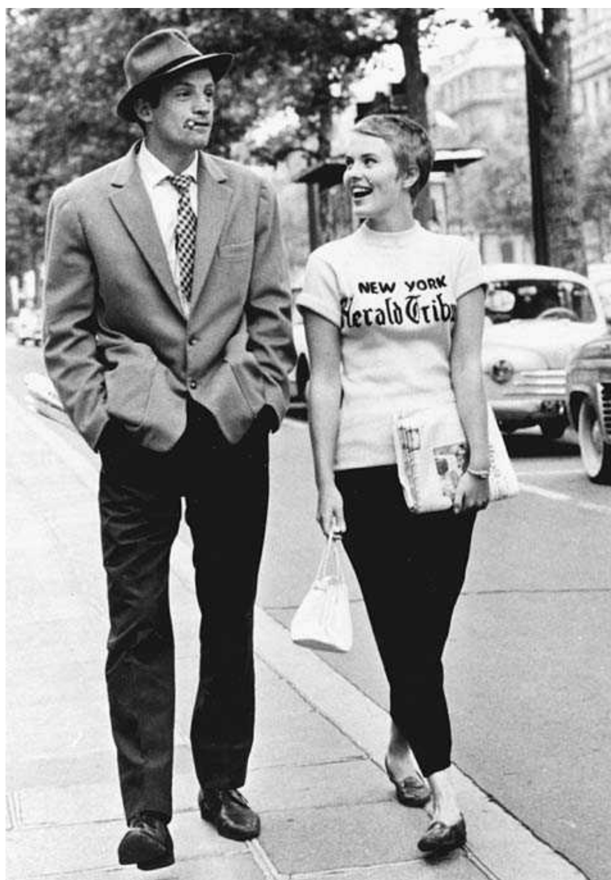
NEW WAVE

The period from the mid-1950s to the late 1960s was a turbulent one in many parts of the world. While African and Asian countries struggled for and gained independence from colonial powers, the United States expanded its own "imperial" interests in Southeast Asia and Latin America, with important effects on the colonial powers themselves. In Europe—East and West—there was widespread political and cultural upheaval, culminating in the violent events of 1968. Cinema was no exception to the general sense of change in the cultural realm and was an important contributor to it. The period saw a number of "new waves" in cinema in different countries, but the best known—and the one that gave its name to the others, sometimes also referred to as "new cinema" or "young cinema"—was the French *nouvelle vague*, generally considered to have surfaced in 1958–1959 and to have had decisive effects on French cinema, as well as other national cinemas, at least until the mid-1960s, although its influence and reputation lasted much longer and continues today.

FRENCH FILM CULTURE IN THE 1950s

The phenomenon of the *nouvelle vague* is rooted in the fact that between 1958 and 1962 some one hundred filmmakers, mostly a little under or over thirty years of age, made and brought out their first feature films. Such a sudden influx of young, new directors was unprecedented in any national cinema. Most French directors in the mid-1950s had established themselves and a style of "quality" cinema in the 1930s and 1940s. New directors found it hard to enter the industry; those who did often attended the official French film school, L'Institut des Hautes-Etudes du Cinéma (IDHEC) and then served long apprenticeships as assistants. Along with established actors and screenwriters, well-equipped studios and experienced technicians, art directors and directors of photography, this typical path encouraged a safe, studio-bound, script-heavy, often literary cinema—the kind of cinema that François Truffaut (1932–1984) subjected to blistering attack in a polemical 1954 essay in the film journal *Cahiers du Cinéma* (no. 31, January 1954). In "A Certain Tendency of French Cinema," Truffaut branded such cinema *la tradition de qualité* (quality tradition) and *le cinéma de papa* (Daddy's cinema), while praising the *auteurs*, or authors, whose vision and style were personal and individual. The *politique des auteurs*—the *auteur* polemic or policy—singled out for praise French directors like Jean Renoir, Robert Bresson, Jacques Tati, Jacques Becker, Jean Cocteau (as well as Italian directors like Roberto Rossellini and Luchino Visconti and other European filmmakers like Ingmar Bergman, Carl Dreyer, Luis Buñuel, and, more controversially, American directors like Howard Hawks, Anthony Mann, Nicholas Ray, Samuel Fuller, and the British Alfred Hitchcock).

Truffaut and several of his critic colleagues from *Cahiers du Cinéma*—Jean-Luc Godard (b. 1930), Claude Chabrol (b. 1930), Eric Rohmer (b. 1920), and Jacques Rivette (b. 1928)—consciously set out to oust the *cinéma de papa* with their own youthful cinema and establish themselves as *auteurs*, using their critical writing as preparation for filmmaking. At the Cannes Film Festival in May 1959 the *nouvelle vague* was officially recognized as having arrived: Truffaut's debut feature *Les 400 coups* (*The 400 Blows*) won the Prize for Direction and Alain Resnais's (b. 1922) first feature, *Hiroshima mon amour*, though not in official competition (for



Jean-Paul Belmondo and Jean Seberg in Jean-Luc Godard's* À bout de souffle *(*Breathless*, 1959), one of the films that launched the New Wave. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

censorship reasons)—and though eliciting much vocal opposition—won the International Critics' Prize. Though these awards did signal a vital change, the "triumph" of the *nouvelle vague* at Cannes should not be overemphasized: the main prize, the Palme d'Or, went to Marcel Camus's *Orfeu Negro* (*Black Orpheus*), the Special Jury Prize to Konrad Wolf's East German–Bulgarian *Sterne* (*Stars*), and the acting prizes to the three male actors in Richard Fleischer's *Compulsion* and to Simone Signoret for her performance in the British *Room at the Top*. In fact, Chabrol had already had some commercial success with his first feature film, *Le Beau Serge* (*Handsome Serge*, 1958), and was about to release his second, *Les Cousins* (*The Cousins*, 1959; and some earlier films could be regarded as marking the arrival of a "new wave"). Also in 1959–1960, several important first features were released—Godard's controversial *À bout de souffle* (*Breathless*, 1960), Rohmer's *Le Signe du lion* (*The Sign of Leo*, 1959), and Rivette's *Paris nous appartient* (*Paris Is Ours*, 1960).

Many have argued that this group of *Cahiers* critics turned filmmakers (though they had all made—sometimes not very good—short films during the 1950s) *were* the *nouvelle vague*. Indeed, when these films were shown widely on big screens, and with commercial success, they had a disorienting effect on the mainstream French film industry. But it is unlikely that, on their own, this handful of directors making their first features, albeit in a tight time frame, would have had such an impact. The *Cahiers* group of filmmakers also became known as the "Right Bank" (of the river Seine) group, in contradistinction to the loosely designated "Left Bank" group, generally slightly older, associated with Resnais and Agnès Varda (b. 1928), Chris Marker (b. 1921), and perhaps Georges Franju (1912–1987). Before Resnais's success with *Hiroshima mon amour*, in some cases since the 1940s, these filmmakers had won admiration for their short and more political films ("Left" and "Right" also had these connotations). Notable among these were Resnais and Marker's study of colonialism and art, *Les Statues meurent aussi* (*Statues Also Die*, 1953), Resnais's study of the concentration camps, *Nuit et brouillard* (*Night and Fog*, 1955), Franju's striking films about animal slaughter (*Le Sang des bêtes* [*Blood of the Beasts*], 1949) and the Paris military hospital (*Hôtel des Invalides*, 1952), and Marker's critical travelogues *Dimanche à Pékin* (*Sunday in Peking*, 1956) and *Lettre de Sibérie* (*Letter from Siberia*, 1957). Making short films of this kind, along with the changing atmosphere of French cinema from 1958 to 1962, opened up possibilities for these directors to make their first features: Franju's *La Tête contre les murs* (*The Keepers*, also known as *Head Against the Wall*, 1959) and *Les Yeux sans visage* (*Eyes Without a Face*, 1959); Varda's *Cléo de 5 à 7* (*Cleo from 5 to 7*, 1961); and Marker's *!Cuba Sí!* (Cuba Yes, 1961) and *Le Joli mai* (Pretty May, 1963). Resnais was able to continue making controversial features like *L'Année dernière à Marienbad* (*Last Year at Marienbad*, 1961) and *Muriel ou Le temps d'un retour* (*Muriel, or the Time of Return*, 1963).

Needless to say, other filmmakers graduated to features at this time who could not be said to belong in either group or camp—directors such as Jean Rouch (1917–2004), whose background was in anthropological filmmaking, with *Moi un noir* (*I, a Negro*, 1958), *La Pyramide humaine* (*The Human Pyramid*, 1961) and *Chronique d'un été* (*Chronicle of a Summer*, 1961, co-directed with Edgar Morin); Jacques Demy (1931–1990), with *Lola* (1961) and *La Baie des Anges* (*Bay of Angels*, 1963); and Jacques Rozier (b. 1926), who followed short films, including the striking 1958 film about young people on the Côte d'Azur *Blue Jeans*, with his first feature *Adieu Philippine* (1962). And caught up, as it were, in the *nouvelle vague* were a number of more

conventional directors who had served their time as assistants and fortuitously found themselves making their first features at this time and benefiting from the general buzz being generated—directors like Philippe de Broca (1933–2004), Michel Deville (b. 1931), Claude Sautet (1924–2000), and Edouard Molinaro (b. 1928).

These bare facts about who made what when, and what the filmmakers' backgrounds were, are easy to record, but they do not begin to touch on a crucial question: How was it that an established industry could be upset so decisively—and *was* that industry in fact decisively upset? A related question concerns the conditions and circumstances that enabled these new filmmakers to make their films. Moreover, what was *new* about the *nouvelle vague*, insofar as it is possible to talk generally about a diverse group of films and filmmakers who nevertheless have something in common?

FRENCH CINEMA AND THE NEW WAVE

In social terms, the 1950s—in France as elsewhere—saw the growth of youth culture and the beginnings of the displacement in politics and culture of the war and postwar generation by a new generation. The term *nouvelle vague* was coined by the journalist Françoise Giroud in 1958 in the weekly news magazine *L'Express* for a series of articles about the new generation emerging in France as the Fourth Republic got under way, not just in cinema but in politics and culture in general. The sudden and very visible emergence of the new filmmakers in 1958–1959 meant that what Giroud had noted as a general phenomenon became attached uniquely to cinema.

There were perhaps good reasons why the most striking manifestation of this New Wave should make itself felt in cinema. France had a long tradition of taking popular culture—perhaps especially, cinema—more seriously than did the United States and Britain. This was particularly true of the post–World War II period, with its lively, often polemical, culture of film criticism and reviewing both in specialized journals like *Cahiers du Cinéma* and its main rival *Positif*, both founded in the early 1950s, and in the daily and weekly press. At a time when the audience for mainstream cinema was declining, this culture was sustained by—and helped to sustain—a network of ciné-clubs and subsidized *art et essai* cinemas—art houses—dedicated to showing both repertory cinema and more noncommercial cinema. In Paris, Henri Langlois's Cinémathèque Française regularly screened historical material of all kinds, allowing for the discovery, or rediscovery, of past cinema. Cinémathèque screenings were given a lot of attention in the pages of *Cahiers*, whose critics regarded it as their equivalent of a film school. When the New Wave broke, there was an audience eager to see these new films and an infrastructure within which they could be seen, discussed, and argued about—*Cahiers* and *Positif* were often in sharp disagreement about the worth of the new films.

The state played a role in film production in France through the Centre National de la Cinématographie (CNC), founded in 1946 to help regenerate French cinema, with a role in the financing, distribution, and censorship of films, as well as in professional training, archiving, the selection of films for festivals, and so on. Before 1959 the way in which loans were advanced rewarded established producers and directors, although there was some encouragement of short filmmaking. In the late 1950s, with mainstream French cinema in crisis, there were changes in the way films were subsidized: in 1959 control of the CNC passed from the Ministry for Information to the Ministry for Cultural Affairs, then headed by the literary icon André Malraux (1901–1976), and state subsidy became more varied, including the *avance sur recette* (interest-free advance against box-office revenue), awarded on the basis of submission of technical details and a synopsis, and a guarantee of profits from foreign distribution. In addition, prizes and grants were awarded: for example, Truffaut's 1958 short *Les Mistons* (*The Kids*) cost 5 million francs and was awarded 4.5 million francs after completion, while Chabrol's first feature *Le Beau Serge*, which cost 46 million francs, was awarded 35 million francs. Both directors, having been their own producers, immediately reinvested their awards in new projects—Truffaut in *The 400 Blows* and Chabrol in *Les Cousins*. Although these new and varied forms of subsidy helped to generate the New Wave, they still tended to favor a relatively traditional approach to filmmaking, rather than the less script-based, more improvised approach of a director like Godard.

The New Wave filmmakers benefited from what was effectively a new wave of adventurous producers willing to take risks, who either graduated from short films to features with the new filmmakers or got a new lease on life through them. Pierre Braunberger (1905–1990), a veteran producer of Buñuel and Renoir in the 1920s and 1930s, was hardly a newcomer, but he had produced several Resnais shorts in the 1950s and now took risks with films like Jean Rouch's *Moi un noir*, Truffaut's second feature *Tirez sur le pianiste* (*Shoot the Piano Player*, 1960) and Godard's *Vivre sa vie* (*My Life to Live*, 1962). Godard was equally indebted to producers such as Georges de Beauregard (1920–1984), who enabled him to make *À bout de souffle*, *Le Petit soldat* (*The Little Soldier*, 1963), *Les Carabiniers* (1963), *Le Mépris* (*Contempt*, 1963), *Pierrot le fou* (1965), and other films, and Anatole Dauman (1925–1998), who enabled him to make *Masculin, féminin* (1966) and *2 ou 3 choses que je sais d'elle* (*Two or Three Things I Know About Her*, 1967). De Beauregard also produced Demy (*Lola*), Varda

JEAN-LUC GODARD
b. Paris, France, 3 December 1930

From the mid-1950s Jean-Luc Godard was a critic (a highly idiosyncratic one) at *Cahiers du Cinéma*, with André Bazin, Eric Rohmer, Jacques Rivette, François Truffaut, and Claude Chabrol. Godard and his *Cahiers* colleagues made some short films in the 1950s but learned about cinema by watching and writing about cinema. As Godard has said, "All of us at *Cahiers* thought of ourselves as future directors. Frequenting ciné-clubs and the Cinémathèque was already a way of thinking cinema and thinking about cinema. Writing was already a way of making films."

Godard's first feature, *À bout de souffle* (*Breathless*, 1960), helped announce the definitive arrival of the *nouvelle vague*, provoking both exhilaration and consternation by its wayward story and its cinematic treatment—fragmented narrative; long, often handheld, mobile takes; jump-cut editing. Godard rapidly became the *enfant terrible* of the French New Wave, committed to formal experimentation and rejecting script-based filmmaking. He often began a day's shooting with a few notes and ideas and improvised both script and camera work. He was also committed to productivity, making thirteen features from 1960 to 1967. Although some of Godard's films seem lightweight, *Vivre sa vie* (*My Life to Live*, 1962), *Les Carabiniers* (*The Carabineers*, 1963), *Bande à part* (*Band of Outsiders*, 1964), *Une femme mariée* (*A Married Woman*, 1964), and others were major low-budget works reflecting on contemporary society and radically questioning conventions about style and meaning, sound and image. Godard continued to experiment on higher-budget, wide-screen, color productions like *Le Mépris* (*Contempt*, 1963). *Pierrot le fou* (1965) was a quintessentially Godardian work—reflexive, stylized, lyrical, autobiographical, funny, restless, desperate. *2 ou 3 choses que je sais d'elle* (*Two or Three Things I Know About Her*, 1967) was an audacious mix of essay, documentary, and fiction.

After the more political *La Chinoise* and *Weekend* (both 1967), and the near-revolution of May 1968, Godard abandoned his art-house audience for a militant, deconstructionist "Counter Cinema" attacking bourgeois society and bourgeois cinema with films like *Vent d'est* (*Wind from the East*, co-directed by Jean-Pierre Gorin, under the aegis of the Dziga Vertov Group, 1970), but later tried to reconnect to art-house audiences with the magisterially Brechtian *Tout va bien* (*All's Well*, 1972).

Although Godard has continued to make acclaimed films into his seventies—*Sauve qui peut (la vie)* (*Every Man for Himself*, 1980), *Je vous salue, Marie* (*Hail Mary*, 1985)—his reputation rests primarily on his experimental work from the 1960s and 1970s. The radical inspiration provided by the *nouvelle vague* is essentially the inspiration provided by Godard, who has generated one of the largest bodies of critical analysis of any filmmaker since the mid-twentieth century.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

À bout de souffle (*Breathless*, 1960), *Vivre sa vie* (*My Life to Live*, 1962), *Les Carabiniers* (*The Carabineers*, 1963), *Le Mépris* (*Contempt*, 1963), *Bande à part* (*Band of Outsiders*, 1964), *Une femme mariée* (*A Married Woman*, 1964), *Pierrot le fou* (1965), *Masculin, féminin* (*Masculine, Feminine*, 1966), *2 ou 3 choses que je sais d'elle* (*Two or Three Things I Know About Her*, 1967), *Weekend* (1967), *Le Vent d'est* (*Wind from the East*, 1970), *Tout va bien* (*All's Well*, 1972), *Sauve qui peut (la vie)* (*Every Man for Himself*, 1980), *Je vous salue, Marie* (*Hail Mary*, 1985), *Éloge de l'amour* (*In Praise of Love*, 2001)

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Jim Hillier

Jean-Luc Godard. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

(*Cléo de 5 à 7*), and Rivette (*La Religieuse* [*The Nun*], 1966, and *L'Amour fou*, 1969), while Dauman was otherwise more involved with the Left Bank group, producing Marker's *Lettre de Sibérie* and *La Jetée* (*The Pier*, 1962) and Resnais's *Muriel*.

The New Wave filmmakers could achieve what they did only by seizing the opportunities opening to them and freeing themselves from some of the constraints of the mainstream industry. These constraints had to do with practicalities on the one hand, and ways of thinking on the other. On the practical side, it was recognized that the New Wave films found ways around the obstacles posed by union requirements on minimum technical crews, as well as the obstacles to location shooting and various censorship matters, while rejecting some of the things that had been assumed to be absolute requirements, like established stars and the fetish of technical "quality." In terms of ways of thinking, Truffaut—on the verge of breaking through with *The 400 Blows*—stated his position in a striking 1958 review of a cheaply made Japanese film, *Juvenile Passion*: "Youth is in a hurry, it is impatient, it is bursting with all sorts of concrete ideas. Young filmmakers must shoot their films in mad haste, movies in which the characters are in a hurry, in which shots jostle each other to get on screen before 'The End,' films that contain their ideas." He then suggested that the IDHEC should buy a copy of *Juvenile Passion* and show it to students on the first Monday of every month

> to keep them from acquiring the mentality of assistants. And what is the assistant's mentality? It can be summed up: "I am finally going to make my first film; I am terrified of falling on my face; I have allowed a script and actors to be imposed on me, but there is one thing I won't give in on, and that is time; I demand fourteen weeks of shooting, thirteen of them in the studio, because if I can use time and film as much as I want, I will be able, if not to make a good film, at least to prove that I can make a film." *Juvenile Passion* was shot in seventeen days. (Truffaut, 1978, pp. 246–247)

This begins to suggest what sort of films the New Wave filmmakers wanted to make and what was new about them; but there were also contemporary developments in filmmaking technology that were having an impact in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The development of lightweight, more mobile, and thus more easily handheld cameras like the Arriflex and the Éclair opened up new possibilities for shooting methods, while more sensitive film stocks made it possible to shoot without excessive artificial lighting. At the same time, the miniaturization made possible by transistors led to lightweight sound equipment that could record sync sound on location more simply. There were implications here for the quality of the image as well, as for the cost of feature filmmaking and for the traditional craft specialization of the past. These various liberating developments were exploited by a new generation of brilliant cinematographers, all of whom came to features with the New Wave: most prominently, Raoul Coutard (b. 1924) (who worked extensively with Godard and Truffaut), Henri Decaë (1915–1987) (who worked with Truffaut and Chabrol), and Sacha Vierny (1919–2001) (who worked with Resnais). Coutard had been a still photographer and worked in documentary and newsreel prior to 1959, a background that informs the look of the films he shot. Although the new technology was often associated with the greater professional use of 16mm—with which most of the 1950s short filmmakers had some experience—with a few exceptions (such as the compilation film *Paris vu par …* [*Six in Paris*], 1965), New Wave features were invariably shot on 35mm but nevertheless benefited from these new possibilities. These developments, though not unique to France, had a significant impact, with more immediate implications for documentary filmmaking than for fiction—for example, they were crucial to the emergence and development of American "direct cinema." But some of the distinctions between fiction and documentary became blurred in both the French New Wave and in some of the other new waves that followed. In France the improvisations/documentaries of Jean Rouch—*Moi un noir*, *La Pyramide humaine*, *Chronique d'un été*—exerted considerable influence on a number of fiction filmmakers, notably Godard, much of whose work fuses or blurs fiction and documentary.

WHAT WAS NEW ABOUT THE NEW WAVE?

Expressing in general terms what made the New Wave new is inevitably very difficult, given that the filmmakers did not consciously form a movement or group with a unified aesthetic agenda and might be better considered as a loose grouping of disparate filmmakers brought together, to some extent, by historical accident. Truffaut, retrospectively, claimed that for him the *nouvelle vague* meant, simply, "to make a first film with a reasonably personal theme before you were 35"; he reduced the movement to a few stylistic or production features in commenting that in *Un Homme et une femme* (*A Man and a Woman*, 1966) the director Claude Lelouch (b. 1937) "shoots with a hand-held camera and without a carefully planned script: if he isn't part of the *nouvelle vague*, then it doesn't exist" (Hillier, 1986, p. 107). Similarly, Rohmer claimed that the greatest innovation was "making films cheaply" (Hillier, 1986, p. 87). Even the *Cahiers* "group" was probably more a group as critics than as filmmakers, when their different sets of interests and concerns immediately began to set them apart from each other.

Even so, we can say that Godard, Truffaut, and the *Cahiers* group in general felt that mainstream French cinema—excluding the French *auteurs* they admired—had lost touch with everyday French reality (something they valued in the contemporary Italian cinema of Rossellini and others). This did not mean that they wanted to make problem pictures about contemporary French society; rather, they felt that filmmakers should show and talk about what they knew best at first hand—the everyday life around them. Writing in *Arts* in April 1959, Godard noted the irony that Truffaut had been debarred from an official invitation to the Cannes film festival as a critic in 1958 but that *The 400 Blows* had been selected by Malraux as France's only official entry in 1959: "for the first time a young film has been officially designated by the powers-that-be to reveal the true face of the French cinema to the entire world" (Godard, 1972, p. 146). Addressing the ranks of the old directors of the *cinéma de papa*, having castigated the camera movements, subject matter, acting, and dialogue of their films, Godard put it this way: "We cannot forgive you for never having filmed girls as we love them, boys as we see them every day, parents as we despise or admire them, children as they astonish us or leave us indifferent; in other words, things as they are" (Godard, 1972, p. 147). The films of Godard, Truffaut, Chabrol, Rohmer, and Rivette tend to forgo "big" subjects in favor of demonstrating a familiarity with the recognizable mores of everyday French life centered on streets, bars, shops, apartments, and on family life and male–female relations, sexual and otherwise, often among young people. Their films evoked a strong sense of what contemporary France—particularly, though by no means exclusively, Paris—looked and sounded like. Location shooting was a major factor here, aided by a responsiveness to the way people talked: the use of slang and swear words in Godard's *Breathless* proved offensive to some sectors of the audience while ringing wholly true, of course, to others.

THE RENEWAL OF FILM FORM

However, this might suggest that the films were naturalistic, observational studies of contemporary French life. Although this was an important component—*The 400 Blows*, for example, seems a clear descendant of the Italian neorealism of Vittorio De Sica and Cesare Zavattini, though more personal and autobiographical in tone—other elements, potentially at odds with naturalism, combined with it. For example, the *Cahiers* critics' love of American cinema did not mean that they made films remotely like American ones, but American cinema—and cinema in general—served as a point of reference both for the films and their characters. Thus, Truffaut's second feature, *Shoot the Piano Player*, combined an evocative sense of contemporary place, time, and character with elements of the gangster film, melodrama, and comedy—a veritable "explosion of genre," as Truffaut put it; *Breathless* uses Humphrey Bogart and the American crime film (dedicated as it is to the B-movie studio, Monogram) as a point of reference, but from the point of view of a thoroughly French and contemporary (anti-)hero.

Having reproached the *cinéma de papa* for losing any sense of what was cinematic about the cinema, New Wave directors were also concerned that audiences should experience their films, in a variety of ways, *as cinema*. This could mean a variety of things. The directors expressed their passion for, and pleasure in, cinema through the exuberant and often flamboyant ways they embraced the possibilities of the medium, as well as through references to scenes and characters in films they loved. Godard said that he wanted to give the feeling that the techniques of filmmaking were being just discovered for the first time. *Breathless* jettisons much conventional narrative continuity, with jump cuts and narrative elisions, random actions, long takes, and the like, while *Shoot the Piano Player* introduces an array of cinematic devices, such as sudden big close-ups, subtitles, and irises, borrowed freely from film history. Such strategies gave the early New Wave films a modernity and lightness of touch, and an improvised or spontaneous feeling, very different from the rather literary, ponderous, studio-bound films that typified mainstream French cinema in the 1950s. Truffaut's style soon became more conventional, and Rohmer and Chabrol did not really abandon or continue to question narrative conventions; but Godard remained consistently iconoclastic and experimental beyond the main period of the *nouvelle vague*. *My Life to Live* is both a fiction about the life of a prostitute—in a series of Brechtian tableaux—and at the same time a systematic exploration of the function and meaning of camera movement, editing, narrative, and sound. *Two or Three Things I Know About Her* is both a fiction and a documentary essay about the reorganization of Paris as well as a rigorous examination of film form and the director's decision-making process. Rivette later placed himself well beyond the mainstream with long-form improvisations like *L'Amour fou* (1968, over four hours long), *Out One: Spectre* (1973, in four-hour-plus- and twelve-hour versions) and the more commercial but still experimental *Céline et Julie vont en bateau* (*Celine and Julie Go Boating*, 1974, over three hours), often using theater as a metaphor for cinema. Effectively, Truffaut, Chabrol, and Rohmer, having helped to put the cat among the pigeons, integrated into mainstream French production, making bourgeois films for bourgeois audiences; only Godard and Rivette continued to fly the flag of radical experimentation. Godard in particular responded to the political turmoil of May 1968 and its aftermath with highly politicized and theoretical as well as formally radical films like *Le Vent d'est* (*Wind from the East*, 1970), before trying to regain a wider audience with *Tout va bien* (*All's Well*, 1972).

In Resnais's *Hiroshima mon amour* the *Cahiers* group recognized a different kind of modernity and modernism than they claimed for their own work—though Godard and Rivette very soon represented different versions of modernism in cinema. Rohmer acclaimed it a "totally new film" and Resnais as "the first modern film-maker of the sound era" (Hillier, 1985, p. 61). Resnais's strategies of montage and parallelism made him appear the successor to Sergei Eisenstein and other 1920s Soviet modernists, while the equivalent to—and even advance on—then current strains of modernism in the French novel. This was not surprising, given that Resnais directed scripts by leading writers of the *nouveau roman* ("new novel"; a literary movement of disparate styles but concerned above all with time and the effects of modern technology) writers like Marguerite Duras (1914–1996) (*Hiroshima mon amour*), Alain Robbe-Grillet (b. 1922) (*Last Year at Marienbad*), and Jean Cayrol (1911–2005) (*Muriel*, *Night and Fog*). At the same time, Resnais's stylized use of ambiguity, subjectivity, poetic voice-over, flash inserts, camera movement, and sound marked his work as far removed from naturalism; his subject matter—much more obviously "weighty" and philosophical, with themes like war and the nuclear age, time and memory—made his work more recognizably "art" cinema than seemed at first the case with the work of the *Cahiers* group. Accordingly, Resnais's work and that of other Left Bank directors—despite the intense controversy generated by *Hiroshima mon amour* because of its subject and the demands it made on its spectators—was more readily accepted as art cinema both in France and elsewhere. Many critics who had problems working out what kind of "art" Godard was making had no such difficulties with Resnais, even if—as happened most notably with

ALAIN RESNAIS
b. Vannes, France, 3 June 1922

An amateur 8mm filmmaker in his teens, Resnais studied briefly at film school and in the 1940s worked as a cameraman and editor. His first 35mm short film, *Van Gogh* (1948), was followed by other films about art: *Guernica* (1950), *Gauguin* (1951), and *Les Statues meurent aussi* (*Statues Also Die*, co-directed with Chris Marker, 1953). Resnais, usually his own editor, edited Agnès Varda's 1954 innovative medium-length first feature *La Pointe-courte*, often considered a forerunner of the French *nouvelle vague* (New Wave). Resnais gained significant recognition for two later short films centered on memory: *Nuit et brouillard* (*Night and Fog*, 1955) juxtaposes contemporary color footage of an overgrown Auschwitz with black-and-white historical footage, while the commentary meditates on time, memory, and responsibility; and *Toute la mémoire du monde* (All the Memory in the World, 1956) explores the French national library.

Resnais's first feature, *Hiroshima mon amour* (script by Marguerite Duras), was shown out of competition at the 1959 Cannes festival. Both its story—a Frenchwoman's brief liaison with a Japanese man in Hiroshima in the present juxtaposed with her memories of a love affair with a German soldier in occupied France during World War II—and its form caused controversy. Resnais's film rethinks narrative time, inter-cutting present and past, with stylized camera work and a poetic, stream-of-consciousness voice-over. With Marker and Varda, Resnais formed the core of the Leftist and more modernist "Left Bank" group of the New Wave (the "Right Bank" group being formed by the former *Cahiers du Cinéma* critics).

Hiroshima mon amour was central to establishing the artistic credentials and commercial viability of the New Wave worldwide. Resnais's second feature, *L'Année dernière à Marienbad* (*Last Year at Marienbad*, 1961, from a script by Alain Robbe-Grillet), proved even more controversial, with its subjective and opaque construction of time and narrative—critics argued endlessly about what it all meant. Resnais continued his thematic interest in memory and time with *Muriel ou Le temps d'un retour* (*Muriel, or The Time of Return*, 1963, script by Jean Cayrol) and *La Guerre est finie* (*The War Is Over*, 1966, script by Jorge Semprun). Some critics have found the systematic ambiguity and formalism of Resnais and the *nouveau roman* (new novel) writers he chose to work with too intellectual and lacking in passion.

Many of Resnais's later films, usually also collaborations with writers—for example, with David Mercer on *Providence* (1977) and Alan Ayckbourn on *Smoking/No Smoking* (1993)—have been admired, some critics arguing that his work after the 1980s has become more personal. Resnais has continued to make interesting films into his eighties, but his reputation rests primarily on his uncompromisingly modernist works under the *nouvelle vague* umbrella in the period from 1959 to 1966.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Nuit et brouillard (*Night and Fog*, 1955), *Hiroshima mon amour* (1959), *L'Année dernière à Marienbad* (*Last Year at Marienbad*, 1961), *Muriel ou Le temps d'un retour* (*Muriel, or The Time of Return*, 1963), *La Guerre est finie* (*The War Is Over*, 1966), *Je t'aime, je t'aime* (1968), *Providence* (1977), *Mélo* (1986), *Smoking/No Smoking* (1993), *On connaît la chanson* (*Same Old Song*, 1997)

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Jim Hillier

Alain Resnais. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Last Year at Marienbad—no one seemed quite sure what it all meant or what it was all about.

WHEN WAS THE NEW WAVE?

Of course, many New Wave filmmakers had their own individual styles—Demy's intensely romantic, enclosed fictional worlds and lyrical camera movements and use of music, Franju's strain of surrealism, Rouch's improvised documentaries. In a sense, that was the point: these were individual filmmakers with their own visions and styles rather than a group with unified aims and ideas, other than to be different from and more personal than the earlier mainstream. Just as it is difficult to characterize the *nouvelle vague* as a movement, it is very difficult to identify when the *nouvelle vague* came to an end. Most of the most important filmmakers who emerged at the time simply continued to make films and develop and change: Godard, Rivette, Rohmer, Chabrol, and Resnais, for example, continued to work into their seventies and eighties. It can probably be said, however, that the period in which so many young filmmakers were able to make their first features ended in 1962–1963, in this sense making the *nouvelle vague* period, or its most intense manifestation, quite short at four or five years. But then it is equally difficult to locate precisely when the *nouvelle vague* began. If it is dated from Chabrol's *Le Beau Serge* in 1958, or Cannes in 1959, what about Louis Malle's (1932–1995) *Ascenseur pour l'échafaud* (*Elevator to the Gallows*), made in 1957 (though not released until 1958), and his controversial *Les Amants* (*The Lovers*, 1958), both distinctly New Wave in both subject matter—contemporary sexual mores—and in look? Malle, formerly an IDHEC student and then an assistant, does not quite fit the New Wave profile (insofar as there is one—though having been assistant to both Jacques Cousteau and Bresson, his experience as an assistant was hardly conventional). But both films were photographed by Henri Decaë, cinematographer on four of Chabrol's early films and on Truffaut's *The 400 Blows*, and starred Jeanne Moreau (b. 1928), who was strongly associated with the New Wave (though she had acted in French films since 1949). Moreover, *The Lovers* was designed by Bernard Evein (b. 1929), later the art director for Chabrol, Demy, Godard, and Truffaut and someone who helped to define the New Wave film's look. But if Malle's first features are to be considered part of the New Wave, then why not also Roger Vadim's (1928–2000) early films, including his first, *Et Dieu . . . créa la femme* (*. . . And God Created Woman*, 1956)? Vadim had served a more conventional apprenticeship as assistant in the postwar period. The career of Brigitte Bardot (b. 1934), kickstarted by Vadim's film though she had already appeared in several others, only occasionally intersected with the New Wave, and the career of its cinematographer, Armand Thirard (1899–1973), had begun in the 1930s. All the same, when the film appeared the *Cahiers* critics saw in it something of the looser, unpolished style and the contemporary sexual mores that they found lacking in most French cinema of the time. Looking even farther back, Varda's first (medium-length) feature, *La Pointe-courte* (1956), made outside the structures of the industry (and therefore never properly distributed), was low-budget, shot on location, audaciously paralleled fiction and documentary, and was edited by Resnais; and Jean-Pierre Melville (1917–1973), a kind of spiritual father to the *nouvelle vague*—Godard gives him a cameo role as a film director in *Breathless*—had made films like *Le Silence de la Mer* (The Silence of the Sea, 1949) and *Bob le flambeur* (*Bob the Gambler*, 1955) independently, on location, on low budgets.

By 1962–1963 Truffaut, Godard, Chabrol, Rohmer, Rivette, Resnais, Varda, Marker, Demy, Rouch, and Malle all had established themselves as major directors of international reputation, though in several cases their most important work was still to come. But from that point they are discussed, increasingly, as individual filmmakers rather than as members of a group or movement.

Their work owed a considerable debt not only to a new generation of producers and cinematographers, as noted, but also to a new generation of actors (Jean-Paul Belmondo [b. 1933], Jeanne Moreau, Jean-Claude Brialy [b. 1933], Bernadette Lafont [b. 1938], Emmanuelle Riva [b. 1927], Anna Karina [b. 1940], and others), who, even when, like Moreau, they had been actors before the New Wave, became very much the faces of the new films; new composers like Michel Legrand and Georges Delerue; and new art directors like Bernard Evein, all of whom also helped give the New Wave a distinctive look and sound. Although the New Wave and the turnabout in French cinema it sparked remains a potent legend today, as a phenomenon it was clearly mostly over, its "victory" achieved. At the same time, the way the New Wave came about and some of the "liberation" from old cinema it represented continued to exert considerable influence both within France and beyond.

THE GLOBAL IMPACT OF THE FRENCH NEW WAVE

The impact of the *nouvelle vague* was such that its films were seen very widely. This undoubtedly had important effects on and implications for young filmmakers in many parts of the world. The widespread distribution and enthusiastic reception of the films helped to create conditions in which innovative work in other countries could be made, seen, and discussed. Compared to the 1950s, there was a veritable explosion of films that rejected old subjects and, usually, old forms as well—certainly insofar as they strived for "gloss" and perfection—often marked by a blurring of fiction and documentary and increasingly politicized as the 1960s progressed. More or less contemporary with the French New Wave was the so-called "British new wave," at its height approximately 1959 to 1963, with directors like Tony Richardson, Lindsay Anderson, John Schlesinger, and Jack Clayton. Also given the "new wave" title by critics was the new cinema emerging in Czechoslovakia, at its height in the period from 1963 to 1968, with directors like Miloŝ Forman, Vera Chytilová, Jaromil Jireŝ, Evald Schorm, Jan Nêmec, and Jiří Menzel; other Eastern bloc countries also saw the emergence of innovative work, with directors like Roman Polanski and Jerzy Skolimowski in Poland; Miklós Jancsó, András Kovács, and István Szabó in Hungary; and Dusăn Makavejev and Aleksander Petrović in Yugoslavia. In Western Europe new filmmakers appeared: Bernardo Bertolucci, Marco Bellocchio, Ermanno Olmi, Pier Paolo Pasolini, and Francesco Rosi in Italy; Bo Widerberg and Vilgot Sjöman in Sweden; and later, Risto Jarva and Jaakko Pakkasvirta in Finland. In Germany the 1962 Oberhausen Manifesto, openly indebted to the *nouvelle vague*, called for a new indigenous German cinema of *auteurs* and attacked their own "Daddy's cinema"; with the introduction of loans for first features and the establishment of a film school in the mid-1960s, the New German Cinema began to emerge. Alexander Kluge's *Abschied von gestern* (*Yesterday Girl*, 1966) was followed by films by Volker Schlöndorff, Jean-Marie Straub and Danièle Huillet, Rainer Werner Fassbinder, Werner Herzog, and Wim Wenders. Farther afield, in Japan Nagisa Oshima was making his first films in 1959–1960; in Brazil, Cinema Nôvo saw its beginnings in 1961–1962 with first features by Glauber Rocha and Ruy Guerra; the early to mid-1960s brought the first features by Claude Jutra, Gilles Groulx, and Jean-Pierre Lefebvre in Quebec; in India, the radical 1960s work of Ritwik Ghatak was followed by the early work of Mrinal Sen and Shyam Benegal.

The political and cultural turbulence of the late 1950s and 1960s that followed the birth and baptism of the French New Wave was to be seen very clearly in these new cinemas. Inevitably, the French New Wave was seen as a major influence on the various new waves, new cinemas, and young cinemas that came after it. In several cases the "new wave" label was borrowed to associate these movements with the French New Wave, whether as a marketing tool or a broad critical category. What is the relationship of these new waves to the French New Wave? Although in all cases there was some relationship, or connection, or influence, in reality the question is very difficult to answer.

The *nouvelle vague* showed that, given the right circumstances, young filmmakers could change dramatically the face and reputation of a country's cinema without working their way up by the conventional routes. The *nouvelle vague* also showed that there were different kinds of stories to tell and radically different ways to tell them—lessons not lost on young filmmakers in Czechoslovakia or Brazil or Quebec. But should the *nouvelle vague* be seen as the instigator of and chief influence on the various new waves and new cinemas that followed in the 1960s, or as one manifestation—though perhaps the earliest and most visible, and important because of that—of seismic changes taking place in cinema and society in different parts of the world at roughly the same time? The 1950s and 1960s saw developments in cinema and other areas of culture that had a global impact, such as the potent legacy of neorealism, the precipitous decline in audiences for Hollywood and other mainstream cinemas under the impact of television and the emergent art cinema, the growth of youth culture, the development of new technologies in cameras, film stock, and sound recording, and the increasing accessibility of both the ideas and the practice of Bertolt Brecht (1898–1956). In the political realm, the end of

one kind of empire and the development of another and the consequent shift in the balance of global power, the rise of the New Left in the West and challenges to Soviet-imposed socialism in Eastern Europe, also had global effects. These new forces combined with more specifically national contexts—very different in, say, Britain, or Czechoslovakia, or Brazil—to produce changes in national cinemas that were marked as much by their similarities as by their differences.

It may also be that the cultural and economic imperatives that so often drive cinema result in cyclical efforts to liberate or "purify" the medium from the accumulation of unquestioned conventions that went before. In such a perspective, the French New Wave followed in the steps of, and shared some of the concerns of, Italian neorealism, while the Danish Dogma 95, for example, draws on the *nouvelle vague* as a crucial reference point.

SEE ALSO *Film History; France; National Cinema*

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NEW ZEALAND

New Zealand's filmmaking industry has been marked by defined periods of activity and inactivity, local expression and international exposure. This can be observed to varying degrees in most non-Hollywood cinemas and developing film industries, though it has become particularly noticeable for New Zealand, which has made around 220 feature films, approximately 90 percent of these since only 1978.

In the prewar period New Zealand's film industry was a mixture of local innovation and foreign productions maximizing the country's location possibilities. Despite the economic differences between then and now, these factors remain significant to contemporary productions of computer-generated imaging (CGI) effects and spectacular action, with which New Zealand has become associated. Most strikingly, *The Last Samurai* (2003), *The Chronicles of Narnia: The Lion, the Witch, and the Wardrobe* (2005), and Peter Jackson's *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy (2001–2003) and *King Kong* (2005) were filmed in New Zealand, utilizing its production capabilities and postproduction facilities, and bringing unprecedented global attention to this national cinema. There is, though, a danger that New Zealand will become known only for fantasy films, mythical narratives, and epic historical dramas depicting foreign lands. And while this one aspect of this national cinema is celebrated, locally financed films with more modest budgets, and stories with social and cultural relevance to the local communities, are struggling for overseas distribution. New Zealand's is, therefore, a cinema which is increasingly visible but simultaneously continuing to face the challenge of exporting many more of its films that have not been widely seen.

FORMATIVE YEARS

New Zealand's relative geographical isolation did not prevent New Zealanders from experiencing film at the same time as countries in the Western world. In 1896 an Edison Kinetograph brought the first moving pictures, and in 1898 A. H. Whitehouse began filming events such as *The Departure of the Second Contingent for the Boer War* (1900), the earliest surviving New Zealand film. By 1910 New Zealand's first purpose-built cinema, King's Theatre in Wellington, had been constructed. New Zealand's first feature film was *Hinemoa* (1914), produced and directed by George Tarr (1881–1968) at a cost of just 50 New Zealand pounds. Over the next twenty years another nineteen features were produced or filmed in New Zealand, though less than half of these titles exist today as complete or surviving prints. Moreover, seven of these films—for instance, Raymond Longford's *The Mutiny of the Bounty* (1916) and Gustav Pauli's *The Romance of Hine-Moa* (1926)—were foreign productions, romantic or dramatic stories often involving the Maori in key roles and developed against a backdrop of New Zealand's unique scenery. The history of early New Zealand film is entwined with Australia's, with filmmakers such as Raymond Longford (1878–1959), Beaumont Smith (1881–1950), Harrington Reynolds (1852–1919), and Stella Southern involved in film production in both countries.

Any consideration of New Zealand's prewar film pioneers would begin with the work of Edwin Coubray (1900–1997), Rudall Hayward (1900–1974), and Jack Welsh. *Down on the Farm* (1935), generally regarded as New Zealand's first talkie feature, employed Welsh's sound system, which he had developed successfully in

1930. Welsh's system is a development of the Coubray-tone system of sound-on-film recording, which was first presented at a private film screening of Coubray-tone News in 1929. Coubray, like Hayward, had made short films throughout the silent period, with community comedies often proving popular. These comedy shorts were made in the late 1920s when times were hard, and they employed local sides and members of the community cast in stories that were then shown in neighborhood cinemas. Hayward had worked in Australia under Longford, and in New Zealand he made community comedies such as *Winifred of Wanganui* (1928), *A Takapuna Scandal* (1928), and *Daughter of Invercargill* (1928). Throughout his long career he made seven feature films: *My Lady of the Cave* (1922), *Rewi's Last Stand* (remade in 1940, 1925), *The Te Kooti Trail* (1927), *The Bush Cinderella* (1928), *On the Friendly Road* (1936), and *To Love a Maori* (1972).

Hayward and director and producer John O'Shea (1920–2001) are the central feature filmmakers between the 1930s and the 1970s. Just four New Zealand feature films were made between 1941 and 1972, and three of these were directed by O'Shea: *Broken Barrier* (1952, co-directed with Roger Mirams), *Runaway* (1964), and *Don't Let It Get You* (1966). These movies are further examples of innovative New Zealand filmmakers producing screen fictions with limited budgets and resources. They reflected O'Shea's deep commitment to the development of a strong identity for New Zealand, and were all made by Pacific Films, which Mirams and Alun Falconer had established in 1948. Prior to this, the only film production house in New Zealand was the National Film Unit (NFU), which was established in 1941 following a recommendation from documentary filmmaker John Grierson (1898–1972) during his visit to the country in 1940. The NFU produced documentaries, newsreels, and government promotional films. Its output continued a strong tradition of nonfiction film in New Zealand, where scenics (filmed natural views) and actualities, or event films (the recording of a significant occurrence, such as a disaster, festivity, or royal visit) had dominated.

The NFU, like Pacific Films, became a training ground for the next generation of New Zealand filmmakers. Making their feature debuts in the 1970s and 1980s were directors such as John Laing, John Reid, Paul Maunder, Gaylene Preston, Barry Barclay (b. 1944), and Sam Pillsbury, as well as the actor Sam Neill (b. 1947), all of whom spent their formative years at these two Wellington-based production houses. In addition, there was the Auckland-based Alternative Cinema group of filmmakers, such as Geoff Steven and Leon Narbey, who were notably artistic and experimental in their work. There was also the Acme Sausage Company/Blerta group of filmmakers, such as Geoff Murphy (b. 1946) and Bruno Lawrence (1941–1995), who were initially a traveling commune of performers and entertainers and later became associated with mainstream movies and action and comedy genre productions depicting countercultural behavior. These four groups were behind the new wave of New Zealand filmmaking that emerged in the mid- to late 1970s.

THE NEW WAVE AND BEYOND

New Zealand's new wave of film production can be traced to 1977 with the establishment of the Interim Film Commission (the New Zealand Film Commission was established in 1978), which was developed from the observed model of the Australian film industry and the Australian Film Development Corporation, which began in 1970. The year 1977 is also significant because of the release of the Acme Sausage Company/Blerta feature *Wild Man* (directed by Murphy), and Roger Donaldson's (b. 1945) political thriller *Sleeping Dogs*. The impact of *Sleeping Dogs* in particular emphasized the need for government support for a feature film industry, and amongst the initiatives introduced was a system of tax breaks. A boom in production followed, with filmmakers exploiting what was soon known to be a tax loophole; the high number of international coproductions that ensued is an indication of the financial incentives that could be gained then from filming in New Zealand. The loophole was closed in 1982, but films could still benefit under the old system if they were completed by September 1984, and this led to a rush of film productions and the release of twenty-three features in 1984 and 1985. The new wave effectively came to an end with the release of the last of these tax-break films in 1986. Many argued that the industry had been damaged by an Americanization of product and a stifling of local creativity, and by films that appeared to be led primarily by financial incentives.

During this period, though, New Zealand's cinema received significant international attention for films such as Murphy's *Goodbye Pork Pie* (1981). Murphy's next film, *Utu* (1983), a New Zealand "western" set during the nineteenth-century Maori Wars, and Donaldson's follow-up to *Sleeping Dogs*, *Smash Palace* (1982), a melodrama which showcased the acting ability of the iconic Bruno Lawrence (possibly New Zealand's most celebrated screen performer), gained critical and theatrical success in the United States. A year later, Vincent Ward's (b. 1946) *Vigil* (1984), one of New Zealand's few art-house productions, became the first New Zealand film selected to be screened in competition at the prestigious Cannes Film Festival; it perhaps marks the maturing of this national cinema.

An international hit,* Once Were Warriors *(Lee Tamahori, 1994) examined the lives of contemporary Maori. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

New Zealand films of the new wave had been predominantly testosterone-fueled action dramas, dominated by male protagonists, stunts, and car chases. One result was the New Zealand road movie, with *Goodbye Pork Pie* the prototype; other examples included *Carry Me Back* (1982) and *Shaker Run* (1986), films which foregrounded geographical representations of the country while examining male relationships. This is partly a reflection of the male film industry and the influence of countercultural performers such as the Blerta group. It is also the result of an industry that attempted to enter the international mainstream with commercial films that spoke the language of the genre-driven, high-energy narratives of foreign markets. Murphy and Donaldson, who had demonstrated their skill at making this type of film, were attracted to Hollywood in the second half of the 1980s. Others such as Pillsbury, Ward, and David Blyth (b. 1956), followed with a mixture of US-made television episodes, television movies, and theatrical features. For instance, Pillsbury, who had directed the New Zealand features *Scarecrow* (1982) and *Starlight Hotel* (1987), made *Free Willy 3* (1997) in the United States. Murphy and, in particular, Donaldson, have had the most recognizable successes in the United States, Murphy with *Young Guns II* (1990) and *Under Siege 2* (1995), and Donaldson with *Cocktail* (1988), *Species* (1995), and *Dante's Peak* (1997).

In the latter stages of New Zealand's film renaissance clear challenges to the hegemony of the *Pakeha* (European) male filmmaker came from a number of directions. The first fiction feature directed solely by a woman was Melanie Read's *Trial Run* (1984), which just preceded the release of Yvonne Mackay's children's-book adaptation *The Silent One* (1984) and Gaylene Preston's *Mr. Wrong* (1985). Read's and Preston's films are both psychological thrillers, and recognizably part of a continuing tradition of the Kiwi Gothic, a cinema of isolation and despair in which personal space is threatened by forces that prevent settlement and in which a powerful landscape is seemingly alive. The first fiction feature made principally by Maori was *Ngati* (1987), directed by Barry Barclay with a predominantly Maori cast and crew. A year later Merata Mita (b. 1942), who had directed the powerful protest documentaries *Bastion*

Point Day 507 (1980) and *Patu!* (1983), made the fiction feature *Mauri* (1988). Barclay's films stress the importance of community, while Mita's work challenges the myth of a racially harmonious New Zealand. Representations of the indigenous culture continued in the award-winning and commercially driven *Once Were Warriors* (1993), a brutally realistic urban social drama which was then the biggest box-office success at New Zealand cinemas, and *Whale Rider* (2002), with its picturesque small-town views, which earned an Oscar® nomination for its lead actress, Keisha Castle-Hughes. But the success of these two films cannot disguise the fact that Maori filmmaking continues to lack production opportunities.

Lee Tamahori's (b. 1950) *Once Were Warriors* was released around the same time as Jane Campion's (b. 1954) Oscar®-nominated *The Piano* (1993) and Peter Jackson's (b. 1961) critically applauded *Heavenly Creatures* (1994), which marked a departure from Jackson's earlier graphic horror productions *Bad Taste* (1987) and *Braindead* (1992). The 1990s was a boom period for the New Zealand film industry, but it seemed to smother the films that followed as they tried to emulate the previous successes. Tamahori soon left for Hollywood, where he has since directed films such as the James Bond installment *Die Another Day* (2002), and Campion also focused on working overseas. Jackson, seemingly almost alone, remained at home, and instead brought Hollywood to New Zealand with vast foreign investment for epic films requiring CGI effects that could be created at his Wellington-based WETA studios. But New Zealand film is not just hobbits, Kong, and Narnia: directors such as Harry Sinclair (*The Price of Milk*, 2000), Brad McGann (*In My Father's Den*, 2004), and Glenn Standring (*Perfect Creature*, 2005), along with *Whale Rider*'s Niki Caro (b. 1967) represent a new group of filmmakers capable of making films featuring New Zealand content that appeal to an international audience.

SEE ALSO *Australia; National Cinema*

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PARAMOUNT

Paramount Pictures stands as the consummate Hollywood studio, a veritable paradigm for the industry at each stage of its development, from its founding in the early twentieth century as an integrated production-distribution company to its twenty-first century status as a key subdivision within Viacom's vast global media empire. During the classical Hollywood era, Paramount built the world's largest theater chain to become the dominant vertically integrated studio, while cultivating stables of contract talent and an amalgam of trademark star-genre formulas rivaled only by Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM). The studio's dominance was so pronounced, in fact, that it was the prime target of the US Justice Department's antitrust campaign—the epochal "Paramount case," which resulted in the postwar disintegration of the studio system and the end of Hollywood's classical studio era. Paramount struggled through the postwar era and was the first studio to succumb to the conglomerate wave of the late 1960s, when it was bought by Gulf + Western. This marked a shift in Paramount's focus toward television series production, although its film division soon regained its footing with a succession of huge hits like *Love Story* (1970) and *The Godfather* (1972).

Paramount eventually returned to movie industry prominence on the combined strength of successful film franchises—the Star Trek, Indiana Jones, and Beverly Hills Cop films, for example—along with a steady output of hit TV series. These have been the dominant elements of the studio's "house style" in the New Hollywood era, which also has seen Paramount undergo significant—and symptomatic—structural changes. During the 1980s, Gulf + Western steadily siphoned off its nonmedia holdings and transformed itself into Paramount Communications. Then, in the 1990s, as Hollywood underwent a second epochal conglomerate wave, Paramount was acquired by the global media giant Viacom. Any semblance of a distinct house style steadily faded after the Viacom purchase, as Paramount became simply one of many media divisions in a media empire that included Blockbuster, MTV, Showtime, Simon & Schuster, and eventually (crucially) CBS—along with literally scores of other media and entertainment units. Paramount Pictures remains a key holding and vitally important "brand" within the Viacom empire, of course, although the Paramount of the new millennium is a far cry from the film conglomerate cobbled together by Adolph Zukor (1873–1976) nearly a century earlier.

PARAMOUNT AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE HOLLYWOOD STUDIO SYSTEM

Paramount Pictures was created in 1916 through the merger of two prominent film production companies, the Famous Players Film Company and the Jesse L. Lasky Feature Play Company, and a nationwide film distributor, Paramount. Famous Players was created in 1912 by Adolph Zukor, a Hungarian immigrant who started in the penny arcade and nickelodeon business in New York in the early 1900s. Based in New York City, Famous Players enjoyed early success producing and distributing multi-reel ("feature-length") films and developing a star-driven market strategy, and soon the fledgling company was competing with the likes of Fox and Universal. Meanwhile, three young filmmaking entrepreneurs, Jesse Lasky (1880–1958), Samuel Goldfish (1882–1974) (later Goldwyn), and Cecil B. DeMille (1881–1959), launched a production company in Hollywood in 1913 and scored

JOSEF VON STERNBERG

b. Jonas Sternberg, Vienna, Austria, 29 May 1894, d. 22 December 1969

Born in Vienna, raised and educated in both Austria and the United States, Josef von Sternberg was one of several contract directors who brought a distinctly European inflection to Paramount's house style. In Sternberg's case the accent was notably Germanic. He fashioned a unique Hollywood expressionism, with its play of light and shadow, sensuous images and exotic production design, sexual symbology and frank eroticism. Sternberg's best films—all made for Paramount between 1930 and 1935—often were set in foreign locales and were populated by cynical, dissolute outcasts; they generally were weak on plot but remarkably strong on style and characterization. And they all starred Marlene Dietrich, whose rapid rise in Hollywood coincided with Sternberg's, and whose screen persona was perhaps the most essential component of his inimitable style.

Sternberg learned filmmaking in various departments during the silent era, and added the "von" to his name once he started directing. He signed with Paramount in 1926 and scored an early hit with *Underworld* (1927), a seminal Hollywood gangster saga scripted by Sternberg's frequent collaborator Jules Furthman. In 1929 a career-defining (and life-altering) assignment took Sternberg to Germany to direct a Paramount-Ufa coproduction, *Der Blaue Engel* (*The Blue Angel*, 1930), Ufa's first sound film. The film was tailored for German star Emil Jannings, but he was utterly eclipsed by Dietrich, whom Sternberg discovered singing in a cabaret and cast as the wanton temptress, Lola Lola.

The film was a sensation in Europe, and by the time it was released in the United States, Dietrich had been signed by Paramount and had finished her first Hollywood picture, *Morocco* (1930). Thus began a stunning five-year, six-picture run of Sternberg-Dietrich collaborations that included *Dishonored* (1931), *Shanghai Express* (1932), *Blonde Venus* (1932), *The Scarlet Empress* (1934), and *The Devil Is a Woman* (1935). Each was a technical tour-de-force and a bold, sensual love story, although the crucial romance involved Sternberg's camera (which he often operated himself) and Dietrich's extraordinary screen presence. Sternberg enjoyed complete authority over these films, assembling a production unit at Paramount whose key figures were Furthman, costume designer Travis Banton, art director Hans Dreier, and cinematographers Lee Garmes and Lucien Ballard. Sternberg's only non-Dietrich film during this stretch was the 1931 adaptation of Drieser's *An American Tragedy*, which he wrote, produced, and directed.

The Deitrich films marked both the sustained peak but also the culmination of Sternberg's career. He left Paramount in 1935, never to return—and never to work again with Dietrich or recapture the success they had enjoyed at Paramount. His subsequent films seemed empty and self-indulgent without Dietrich, and his headstrong arrogance made it increasingly difficult to find work.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Der Blaue Engel (*The Blue Angel*, 1930), *Morocco* (1930), *Dishonored* (1931), *Shanghai Express* (1932), *Blonde Venus* (1932), *The Scarlet Empress* (1934), *The Devil Is a Woman* (1935)

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Thomas Schatz

a major hit in 1914 with their first feature production, *The Squaw Man*. That same year, as the movies were rapidly becoming a major entertainment enterprise, W.W. Hodkinson (1881–1971) formed a nationwide distribution company, Paramount Pictures, to release the films produced by Famous Players, Lasky, and others.

Zukor quickly recognized the advantages of an integrated production-distribution setup, and he moved with the kind of savvy, ruthless aggression that made him the prototypical Hollywood "mogul." By 1915 Zukor already had begun integrating the star system with the practice of "block booking," using the films of Mary

Josef von Sternberg, 1934. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Pickford (1892–1979) and other top stars to leverage the sale of an entire production slate, and he began to see the logic of a bicoastal production operation wed to a nationwide distribution machine. In 1916 Zukor engineered the merger of Famous Players-Lasky and Paramount, and within a few months he forced Goldfish and Hodkinson out, assuming complete control as president of the sprawling enterprise (with Lasky as vice president in charge of production and DeMille as "director general," the studio's top contract filmmaker).

Paramount's subsequent success was truly staggering. Zukor signed top stars like Douglas Fairbanks (1883–1939), William S. Hart (1864–1946), and Fatty Arbuckle (1887–1933), and brought other production companies into the Paramount fold as well, increasing the company's output to over a hundred feature films per annum. Although scarcely a centralized studio, given its far-flung production operations, and not yet a vertically integrated company, Paramount was eminently successful as a producer-distributor—so successful, in fact, that other companies like Fox and First National developed their own vertically integrated production-distribution-exhibition setups simply to compete. These countermoves induced Zukor to move more forcefully into film exhibition, an effort that began in earnest in 1919 and culminated in the 1925 acquisition of the nation's top exhibitor, the Chicago-based Balaban and Katz theater chain, giving Paramount 1,200 theaters. The success of its massive operation enabled Paramount to acquire an enviable stable of stars—notably Gloria Swanson (1897–1983), Rudolph Valentino (1895–1926), Clara Bow (1905–1965), Mae Murray (1889–1965), Pola Negri (1894–1987), and John Barrymore (1882–1942)—and to maintain its dominance through the height of the silent era, when the studio produced scores of top hits, ranging from Valentino vehicles like *The Sheik* (1921) and *Blood and Sand* (1922) to western epics like *The Covered Wagon* (1923) and DeMille spectacles *The Ten Commandments* (1923) and *The King of Kings* (1927).

After the Balaban and Katz merger, Zukor and Lasky developed a more coherent production operation based primarily on the West Coast. In 1926 Paramount moved into a larger and better equipped Hollywood facility that became its production headquarters, with B. P. Schulberg (1892–1957) installed as head of production (under Lasky). This setup proved eminently successful, enabling Paramount to begin functioning as a centralized studio and to cultivate a more coherent, recognizable house style. While centralized production and capable studio management were crucial, the emergence of Paramount's house style in the late 1920s and early 1930s was the company's extraordinary talent pool—a pool that deepened considerably during the Lasky-Schulberg regime, as two distinct waves of new contract talent signed on in the late 1920s. The first came as the new studio regime coalesced, and included directors Josef von Sternberg (1894–1969), Rouben Mamoulian (1897–1987), and Ernst Lubitsch (1892–1947) (all signed in 1927), and top stars like Harold Lloyd (1893–1971), Gary Cooper (1901–1961), Claudette Colbert (1903–1996), Frederic March (1897–1975), and Maurice Chevalier (1888–1972). The second wave came with Paramount's rapid conversion to sound, when the studio recruited talent from vaudeville, radio, and the stage—notably W. C. Fields (1880–1946), the Marx Brothers (Chico [1887–1961], Harpo [1888–1964], Groucho [1890–1977], and Zeppo [1901–1979]), Bing Crosby (1903–1977), George Burns (1896–1996) and Gracie Allen (1895–1964), and the inimitable Mae West (1893–1980).

Paramount rode the talkie boom to unprecedented heights, reaping industry-record profits of $18.4 million in 1930 (and out-earning all of the other majors), only to suffer financial collapse a year later under the weight of oversized budgets, the costly conversion to sound, and the massive debt service associated with its huge theater chain. After net losses of $21 million in 1932—another industry record—Paramount declared bankruptcy in

Marlene Dietrich and Gary Cooper in Josef von Sternberg's stylish* Morocco *(1930). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

early 1933. The financial turmoil led to a massive executive shake-up in which Zukor was stripped of power (but retained as board chairman), while Lasky, Schulberg, and other top executives including Schulberg's second-in-command, David Selznick, either left or were fired. Theater czar Sam Katz was installed as chief executive by the Chicago and New York financiers who guided the studio out of bankruptcy, and he was succeeded in 1936 by his former partner Barney Balaban (1887–1971), who would successfully guide the company for some three decades. The Balaban regime returned the studio to stability, although Paramount had managed to remain productive and relatively successful during its three-year recovery from financial collapse.

The Paramount house style that took shape in the late 1920s and early sound era continued to develop more or less unabated throughout the 1930s, despite the studio's financial and administrative tumult, which involved a succession of production bosses, including Lubitsch for a brief period in the mid-1930s. Like the other majors, Paramount's house style was geared to a range of star-genre formulas; but the studio was unique in that these generally were handled not by unit producers but by specific directors who were granted considerable creative autonomy and control—as with von Sternberg's highly stylized Dietrich melodramas (*Morocco*, 1930; *Shanghai Express*, 1932; *Blonde Venus*, 1932; *The Scarlet Empress*, 1934; *The Devil Is a Woman*, 1935), for instance, and Lubitsch's distinctive musical operettas with Jeanette MacDonald (*The Love Parade*, 1929; *Monte Carlo*, 1930; *One Hour With You*, 1932; *The Merry Widow*, 1934). While the key elements in these star-genre units were director and star, other filmmakers were crucial as well: writer Jules Furthman (1888–1966) and cinematographer Lee Garmes (1898–1978) on the Dietrich films, for example, and the production design by Hans Dreier (1885–1966) on all of the films directed by both Lubitsch and von Sternberg during this period.

Another important element of the studio's emergent house style was its markedly "European" dimension, which was a function of Paramount's market strategy and talent resources. Zukor had expanded international operations throughout the 1920s, setting up a worldwide distribution system and investing in production and distribution systems overseas, particularly on the Continent. Paramount owned considerable stock in Germany's Ufa studios, where it actively coproduced pictures and cultivated talent that might be "imported" to Hollywood. Lubitsch, Dietrich, and Dreier were German recruits, and Mamoulian was trained in Russia. Von Sternberg was born in Vienna and raised in the United States, but the German influence was quite genuine; in fact, he had discovered Dietrich while directing Ufa's first sound film, *Der Blaue Engel* (*The Blue Angel*), a Paramount coproduction that became a huge international hit in 1930.

Paramount's European dimension was countered in the 1930s by two significant generic (and stylistic) trends. One involved the studio's heavy investment in comedy during the early sound era, best typified perhaps by its run of Marx Brothers romps: *The Cocoanuts* (1929), *Animal Crackers* (1930), *Monkey Business* (1931), *Horse Feathers* (1932), and *Duck Soup* (1933). W. C. Fields, Burns and Allen, Jack Oakie (1903–1978), and Mae West all contributed to this trend, whose roots ran deeply into American vaudeville, as did a number of contract directors like Leo McCarey (1898–1969) (*Duck Soup*; *Belle of the Nineties*, 1935; *Ruggles of Red Gap*, 1935) and, later in the decade, the vastly underrated Mitchell Leisen (1898–1972) (*Hands Across the Table*, 1935; *The Big Broadcast of 1937*, 1936; *Easy Living*, 1937; *Midnight*, 1939). The second crucial Paramount trend was its signature DeMille epics, which actually were on hiatus from the mid-1920s to the early 1930s, when the studio's most distinctive house director left for independent status and a brief stint with MGM. DeMille returned in 1932 to produce and direct a succession of historical spectacles, concentrating on biblical and ancient epics earlier in the decade (*The Sign of the Cross*, 1932; *Cleopatra*, 1934; *The Crusades*, 1935) before shifting to epic Americana (*The Plainsman*, 1937; *The Buccaneer*, 1938; *Union Pacific*, 1939).

DeMille's shift to American subjects in the late 1930s was directly related to changes and uncertainties in the international marketplace, particularly the political turmoil and the threat of war in Europe. Anticipating the loss of the Continental market and determined to contain costs, the ever pragmatic Balaban ordered Y. Frank Freeman, the studio production chief hired in 1938 from one of Paramount's theater subsidiaries, to severely cut production expenses, including high-paid talent as well as film budgets, and to shift the studio's emphasis away from more lavish and exotic productions in favor of lighter fare designed for the domestic market. This proved to be an ideal adjustment to the wartime social and economic conditions that transformed the industry in the 1940s and returned Paramount to a position of unchallenged supremacy.

THE WAR BOOM, THE PARAMOUNT DECREE, AND THE EARLY TELEVISION ERA

The US "war economy" (full employment, round-the-clock factory operations in major cities, severe restrictions on travel and entertainment) helped induce a complete reversal in Paramount's fortunes. A decade earlier, its massive theater chain concentrated in major markets (where the mortgages were heaviest) had financially strapped the company; now its chain generated enormous revenues and profits, enabling the studio to cut back production and concentrate increasingly on the booming first-run market. Between 1940 and 1945, Paramount's feature film output fell from 48 releases to 23, while its revenues rose from $96 million to $158.2 million, and its profits surged from $6.3 million to a record $15.4 million. The war boom continued into 1946, Hollywood's best year ever, when Paramount's profits reached a staggering $39.2 million on only 22 releases—accounting for fully one-third of the Hollywood studios' profits ($119 million) in that all-time record year.

Paramount's enormous prosperity during the war era was fueled by its films, of course, which enjoyed critical as well as commercial success despite the radical changes in its house style and the departure of so many top stars and directors. Balaban's cost-cutting campaign and shift away from Paramount's long-standing emphasis on the European market (and style) led to the departure in the late 1930s of contract stars Dietrich, Colbert, Cooper, March, Carole Lombard (1908–1942), and Mae West, and directors von Sternberg, Lubitsch, and Mamoulian. Bing Crosby and Barbara Stanwyck (1907–1990) remained, as did director Mitchell Leisen, all of whom accommodated Paramount's changing production and market strategies. DeMille stayed on as well, although his epic bent was sorely limited by war-related budgetary and material constraints. Paramount's vacated star stable was quickly filled with a new crop of stars, notably Ray Milland (1905–1986), Bob Hope (1903–2003), Dorothy Lamour (1914–1996), Fred MacMurray (1908–1991), Paulette Goddard (1910–1990), Veronica Lake (1919–1973), and Alan Ladd (1913–1964). Several important new directors emerged as well, most notably Preston Sturges (1898–1959) and Billy Wilder (1906–2002), both of whom rose from the studio's ranks to become two of the foremost "hyphenate" writer-directors in Hollywood.

Harpo, Chico, Groucho, and Zeppo Marx spoof the absurdity of war in* Duck Soup *(Leo McCarey, 1933). **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

Sturges quickly established himself as a master of dark comedy, offbeat romance, and acerbic dialogue, and as one of the most prolific filmmakers in the A-film ranks as well, turning out eight pictures in four years for Paramount, including several of the very best Hollywood films of the war era: *The Lady Eve* (1941), *Sullivan's Travels* (1941), *The Palm Beach Story* (1942), *The Miracle of Morgan's Creek* (1944), and *Hail the Conquering Hero* (1944). Wilder, meanwhile, started somewhat slower before delivering some of the era's most powerful dramas, including *Double Indemnity* (1944) and *The Lost Weekend* (1945). Leisen continued to turn out quality romantic comedies and melodramas at a prodigious rate (12 pictures from 1940 to 1945), while DeMille managed only two lackluster pictures during the same period. Much of the studio's success came with films that teamed particular stars—the pairing of Alan Ladd and Veronica Lake in two noir thrillers, *This Gun for Hire* and *The Glass Key* (both 1942), for instance, and the teaming of Crosby, Hope, and Lamour in the hugely successful run of "road pictures" (*Road to Singapore*, 1940; *Road to Zanzibar*, 1941; *Road to Morocco*, 1942; et al.). Crosby and Hope enjoyed tremendous success during the war in a wide range of films, with Crosby in particular emerging as a true cultural phenomenon, considering his concurrent success in the radio and recording industries. His most successful film for Paramount, and its biggest wartime hit, was as a crooning priest in *Going My Way* (1944), a quasi-independent project produced, directed, and written by freelancer Leo McCarey.

GARY COOPER

b. Frank James Cooper, Helena, Montana, 7 May 1901, d. 13 May 1961

A consummate American screen hero of Hollywood's classical era and the archetypal "strong silent type," Gary Cooper spent roughly the first half of his career at Paramount, where he paid his dues as a studio contract star and, in the course of the 1930s, rose to top stardom. Cooper enjoyed sufficient clout by the late 1930s to demand a nonexclusive contract with Paramount, and within a few years he was essentially a freelance star. Thus many of Cooper's most memorable roles, including his Oscar®-winning performances in *Sergeant York* (1941) and *High Noon* (1952), were done elsewhere. But during the early years at Paramount, Cooper did some of his best work and steadily refined his distinctive screen persona: the tall, laconic, hesitant but steadfast hero whose diffident honesty and physical beauty masked an undercurrent of anxiety and self-doubt. He established a remarkable acting range as well, handling comedy, romantic drama, and action-adventure roles with equal assurance.

Cooper broke into films as an extra in silent westerns—due largely to his genuine skills as a horseman. He soon signed with Paramount and appeared in some twenty supporting roles before starring in his breakthrough hit, *The Virginian* (1929), his first talkie, in which he famously intoned, "When you say that—smile." The picture clinched his early stardom and led to a succession of similar roles in 1930 and 1931, until the western was downgraded to B-movie status. Cooper did star in one of the Depression era's few "A" westerns, *The Plainsman*, a 1936 biopic of Wild Bill Hickok and his first film for Cecil B. DeMille, and he helped facilitate the resurgence of the western in 1940 with another DeMille epic, *North West Mounted Police*, and *The Westerner*, one of many films Cooper did for independent producer Sam Goldwyn.

During the western genre's decade-long hiatus, Cooper played action-adventure roles for Paramount in films like *The Lives of a Bengal Lancer* (1935), *The General Died at Dawn* (1936), and *Beau Geste* (1939). Cooper also proved to be a serviceable romantic costar in films like *A Farewell to Arms* (1932) and *Peter Ibbetson* (1935). But the real surprise was his emergence as a top comedy star in films like *Design for Living* (1933) and *Bluebeard's Eighth Wife* (1938), both directed by Ernst Lubitsch; on loan to Columbia in the Capra-directed *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town* (1936); and on loan to RKO in the Hawks-directed *Ball of Fire* (1941). By 1941 Cooper was a freelance star, and although he stayed busy throughout the 1940s and 1950s, remaining one of Hollywood's top box office stars, his only subsequent work for Paramount was in the Goldwyn-produced *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1943) and in DeMille's *The Story of Dr. Wassell* (1944) and *Unconquered* (1947).

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

The Virginian (1929), *Design for Living* (1933), *The Plainsman* (1936), *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town* (1936), *The General Died at Dawn* (1936), *Beau Geste* (1939), *Sergeant York* (1941), *The Pride of the Yankees* (1942), *High Noon* (1952)

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Paramount's tremendous success continued into the early postwar era, although it became evident as the Justice Department revived its antitrust campaign against the studios that its glory days were numbered. In May 1948 the Supreme Court issued its momentous *Paramount* decree, which cited Paramount Pictures as the first defendant because the company's domination and manipulation of the movie marketplace had been most pronounced. Unlike several of the other Big Five integrated majors (i.e., MGM, Twentieth Century Fox, Warner Bros., and RKO, which also owned theater chains), Paramount readily complied with the Court's demand to divorce its theater chains, splitting in late 1949 into two corporate entities, Paramount Pictures and United Paramount Theaters (UPT). Besides disintegrating the company, the *Paramount* decree also dashed Balaban's plans to exploit the emergent television medium. Paramount had been actively pursuing

Gary Cooper, 1934. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

television broadcasting for over a decade in various ways, notably its purchase of television stations in Chicago and Los Angeles, and its investment in video pioneer DuMont, which involved video projection in theaters as well as delivery of Paramount films to the home. The antitrust ruling enabled the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to prohibit the studios from active participation in the burgeoning TV industry, however, so Paramount Pictures sold off its television and video interests while UPT became a major investor in the ABC television network.

Hollywood's general postwar decline was especially pronounced for Paramount, whose profits fell from over $22 million in 1948 to just $3 million in 1949. The studio survived through a two-pronged strategy of "bigger" films and independent productions. DeMille effectively initiated the postwar blockbuster trend with *Samson and Delilah*, released in late 1949 just weeks before the Paramount-UPT split, and he sustained it with *The Greatest Show on Earth* (1952) and *The Ten Commandments* (1956), which earned an astounding $34.2 million. Meanwhile, the studio realized major hits via financing-and-distribution deals with independent producer-directors like George Stevens (1904–1975) (*A Place in the Sun*, 1951; *Shane*, 1953) and Alfred Hitchcock (1899–1980) (*Rear Window*, 1954; *To Catch a Thief*, 1955; *The Man Who Knew Too Much*, 1956). Paramount was the last of the majors to acquiesce to network television, opening its vault to TV syndication in 1958 and moving tentatively into telefilm series production. The studio faded badly in the early 1960s due to a succession of costly flops and the ongoing erosion of the movie-going audience. This led to Balaban's removal and the 1966 purchase of Paramount by Gulf + Western—the first of several studio buyouts by huge nonmedia conglomerates in the late 1960s, and a crucial step in the transition from the Old Hollywood to the New.

PARAMOUNT IN THE NEW HOLLYWOOD: BLOCKBUSTER FRANCHISES AND GLOBAL CONGLOMERATES

The Gulf + Western buyout relegated Balaban to an emeritus role (along with Zukor), as the irrepressible Gulf + Western founder Charles Bludhorn took command of the company. The early Bludhorn era saw an increase in television series production, accelerated by the 1969 acquisition of Desilu, and the unexpected installation of Robert Evans (b. 1930) as head of motion picture production. Both proved to be good moves. The television division generated new hit series (*The Brady Bunch*, 1969; *Happy Days*, 1974, et al.), while the Desilu acquisition gave Paramount several established series like *Mission: Impossible* (1966–1973) and particularly *Star Trek* (1966–1969) which, upon cancellation as network series, became hugely successful in syndication during the burgeoning cable era—and later, of course, spawned successful movie franchises. Evans, meanwhile, immediately emerged as one of the chief architects of an "American New Wave"—an auteur-driven cinema geared increasingly to the era's youth and counter cultures. Paramount's output under Evans included *Rosemary's Baby* (1968), *Goodbye Columbus* (1969), *Love Story* (1970), *The Godfather* (1972), *The Godfather Part II* (1974), and *Chinatown* (1974). Evans left for independent production in the mid-1970s, but Paramount's success continued—indeed, accelerated—under Barry Diller and Michael Eisner. The studio continued to mine the youth market with films like *Saturday Night Fever* (1977) and *Grease* (1978), and enjoyed critical as well as commercial success with films like *Heaven Can Wait* (1978), *Ordinary People* (1980), *Reds* (1981), and *Terms of Endearment* (1983).

Paramount also pursued mainstream audiences with calculated blockbuster fare and a big-screen "franchise" strategy—that is, movie series generated by high-cost, megahits like *Star Trek: The Motion Picture* (1979),

Raiders of the Lost Ark (1981), and *Beverly Hills Cop* (1984). *Raiders*, produced by George Lucas (b. 1944) and directed by Steven Spielberg (b. 1946), launched the highly successful "Indiana Jones" films in a partnership with Lucasfilm Limited, as well as a TV series coproduced by Lucasfilm, Spielberg's Amblin Entertainment, and Paramount. The studio coproduced the Beverly Hills Cop films with a company owned by star Eddie Murphy (b. 1961), whose long-term relationship with Paramount generated many other box-office hits (*48 Hours*, 1982; *Trading Places*, 1983; *Coming to America*, 1988). The Star Trek series was in a class by itself as an entertainment franchise. Its lineage includes ten feature films, four subsequent live-action TV and cable series, an animated series, and a literally incalculable number of media tie-ins and licensed products—including an entire book division at Simon & Schuster, a Paramount (now Viacom) subsidiary.

Bludhorn's death in 1983 brought Martin S. Davis in as chief executive officer of Gulf + Western, and a year later Frank Mancuso took over the studio (as Diller left for Fox and Eisner for Disney). Paramount continued to surge, reclaiming its top spot among Hollywood studios, fueled primarily by its hit-spawning movie franchises, along with hit TV series like *Family Ties* (1982–1989) and *Cheers* (1982–1993), and a run of box-office surprises including *Top Gun* (1986), *Crocodile Dundee* (1986), *Fatal Attraction* (1987), and *Ghost* (1990). Meanwhile, Gulf + Western steadily "downsized" to focus on media and entertainment, and in 1989 the parent company's title was officially changed to Paramount Communications. The same year, Paramount attempted a hostile takeover of Time Inc., but the publishing giant opted to merge with Warner Communications. So Paramount continued to look for a suitable partner as a media mergers-and-acquisitions wave swelled in the early 1990s, eventually submitting to a $10 billion buyout (initiated in 1993 and consummated in 1994) by Viacom, a global conglomerate controlled by Sumner Redstone. Viacom had been expanding at a truly incredible rate since Redstone took over the media giant in 1987, and the process continued throughout the booming 1990s. Besides buying Paramount, Viacom also acquired Blockbuster Video in 1994, launched the UPN cable network in 1995, and closed out the decade with the $50 billion acquisition of CBS (formerly Westinghouse) in 1999. The purchase of CBS was a telling irony in modern media annals, in that Viacom was created in 1971 when the FCC had forced CBS to spin off its syndication division.

Paramount continued to produce top movie hits in the 1990s, including *Mission: Impossible* (1996) and its sequel (2000), and the phenomenally successful *Forrest Gump* (1994). But the hits were less frequent and many of its biggest hits were cofinanced and thus shared with other studios—most notably *Titanic* (1997) with Twentieth Century Fox and *Saving Private Ryan* (1998) with DreamWorks. The studio's success after the CBS merger has been even more sporadic, leading to considerable turnover in the executive ranks—with the sole exception of Redstone himself, who became board chairman and CEO in 1996 (at age 73) and has maintained power over the ever-expanding Viacom empire into the new millennium. The sheer size of this global media giant as of the early 2000s is staggering. It includes over a dozen film and television production companies (including Paramount Pictures and Paramount Television); the Paramount Film Library (over 2,500 titles); over a dozen broadcast and cable networks (including CBS, UPN, MTV, Showtime, the Comedy Channel), along with 40 owned-and-operated stations and some 300 affiliates; the world's number one video rental chain (Blockbuster, with over 8,500 stores); shared ownership of over 1,000 movie screens worldwide; a global distribution partnership with Universal (UIP); amusement parks in the United States and Canada; over a dozen publishing entities (including Simon & Schuster and Scribners); a radio operation (CBS Radio and Infinity) with 180 stations; a music publishing company that holds the copyright on over 100,000 song titles; the number one billboard advertising company in the United States and Europe (Outdoor Advertising), and so on.

While the Paramount "brand name" remains vital to Viacom's success, and the studio's movie products continue to drive the parent company's entertainment product lines, the studio is scarcely on par with the Paramount of old—even the Paramount of the 1970s and 1980s—given the structure, complexity, and general sprawl of the media conglomerate at large. Paramount is hardly able (or expected) to sustain an identifiable house style, which would require stable management and resources, including talent on both sides of the camera, and thus the only consistent "markers" of its style are the signature franchises. The sheer size of the media giant has become so great, in fact, that Redstone in early 2005 proposed it be split into two publicly traded companies: Viacom (which will include Paramount Pictures and the powerhouse MTV network) and CBS (which will include Paramount Television and the other television, cable, and home-video holdings). The Viacom board approved the split in June 2005, and the 82-year-old Redstone told the press, "The age of the conglomerate is over." While that claim is dubious, the split may signal a new chapter in the saga of Paramount Pictures.

SEE ALSO *Star System; Studio System*

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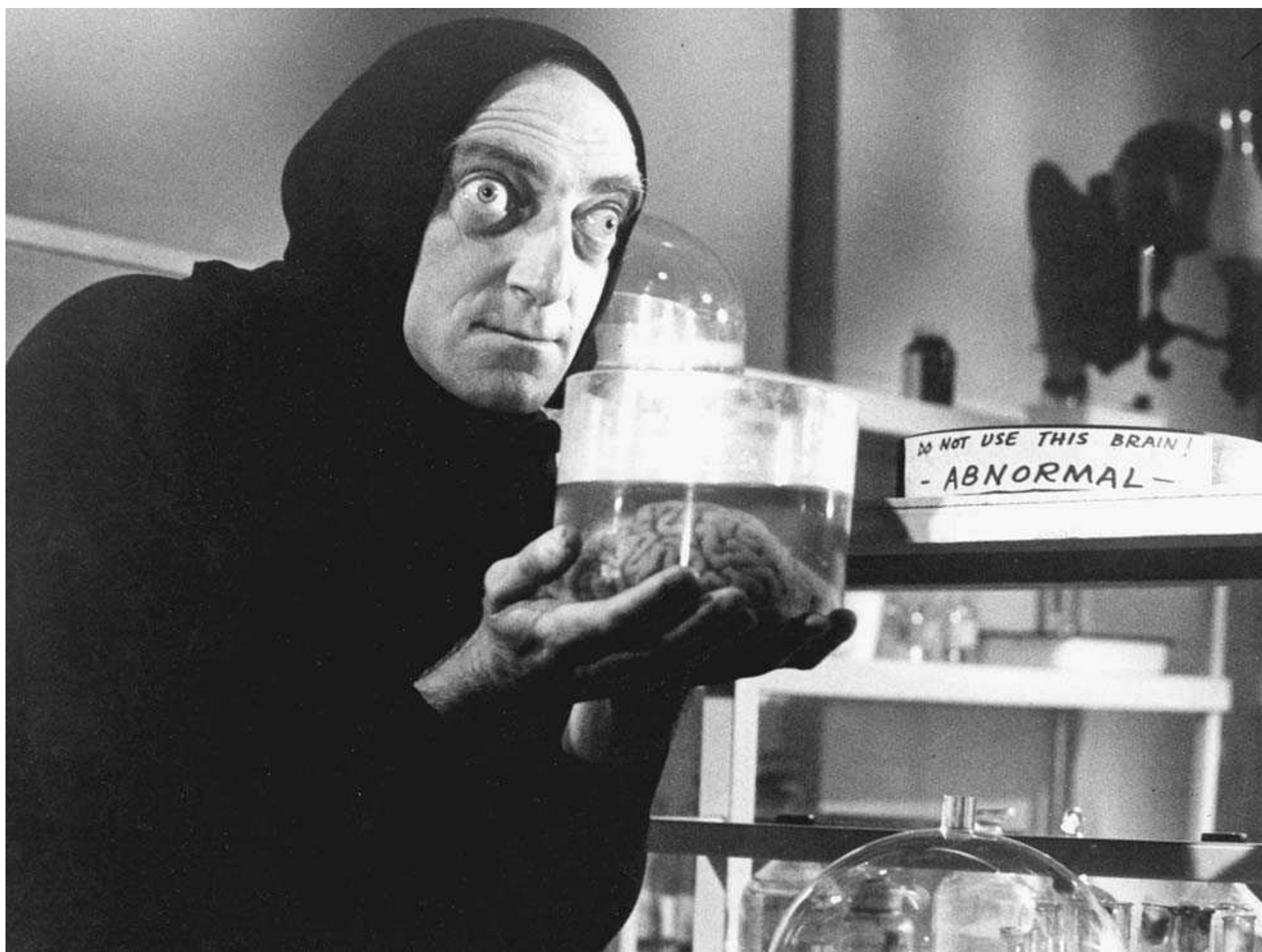
PARODY

Parody is a comic technique that imitates a previous text for the purposes of ridicule. For instance, in the film *The Great Escape* (1963) the character played by Steve McQueen is repeatedly thrown into solitary confinement (''the cooler'') where he bounces a baseball against the wall to pass the time until his release. In the parody film *Chicken Run* (2000) the chicken Ginger gets sentenced to solitary confinement in a coal bin and bounces a rock against one wall to pass the time. The camera angle, the character's posture, and the sound of the ball bouncing off the wall all replicate the familiar scenes in *The Great Escape*. In order for this moment to function as parody for the audience, the spectator must be aware of the cinematic precedent, and able to connect it to the imitation (for the many young children who enjoyed *Chicken Run*, a coal bin is just a coal bin). There also must be a twist or element of comic difference to the imitation—in this case, the fact that the prisoner is a chicken and not a soldier.

The word ''parody'' comes from ancient Greek theater, and it translates as ''beside'' (*para*) ''song'' (*ode*)—that is, roughly, ''this song must be understood beside that one.'' It describes a mode of address, rather than a genre per se. The term can be used to define an entire film, such as *Airplane!* (1980), which is a parody of the disaster movie. But the word can also be used to describe any technique by which one film references another for humorous effect. Though *Monsters, Inc.* (2001) is not itself a parody, it does include a slow-motion shot of the monsters entering the factory floor, which parodies a similar shot of astronauts exiting the mission control building in *The Right Stuff* (1983).

Film parodies can spoof specific films: for instance, Buster Keaton's *The Three Ages* (1923) is a parody of D. W. Griffith's *Intolerance* (1916). They can focus on individual filmmakers, like *High Anxiety* (1977) does with Alfred Hitchcock. Or they can take on the films of an entire era, style, or mode of filmmaking, as in *Silent Movie* (1976). But by far the most popular targets of film parodies are genres: *Lust in the Dust* (1985) spoofs the western; *Naked Gun: From the Files of Police Squad* (1988), the police drama; *This Is Spinal Tap* (1984), the documentary; *Love and Death* (1975), the historical drama; *Dead Men Don't Wear Plaid* (1982), film noir; and *South Park: Bigger, Longer, and Uncut* (1999), the Hollywood musical, among many others. Genres are a rich source of parodic inspiration because they tend to offer both a rigid set of conventions that can be easily reproduced and ridiculed and a wide range of original films from which to draw iconic scenes and characters.

Parody is frequently connected to satire, a form of comedy that emphasizes social criticism. While the target of parody is a text or set of texts, the target of satire is the society that produced those texts. Because genres, stars, and cinematic conventions express social values, these two forms of comedy intersect in significant ways. For instance, in the sports-film parody *Dodgeball: A True Underdog Story* (2004), the dodgeball finals are televised on ESPN8, and the announcer provides this introduction to the tournament in Las Vegas: ''A city home to a sporting event that is bigger than the World Cup, World Series, and World War II combined.'' The language parodies television's broadcast conventions, often reproduced in the sports movie, which tend to oversell the importance of a single sporting event. So the genre



Young Frankenstein *(Mel Brooks, 1974) parodies Universal's earlier* **Frankenstein** *(James Whale, 1931).* ® ™ AND COPYRIGHT © 20TH CENTURY FOX FILM CORP./COURTESY EVERETT REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

convention (dramatic intro) expresses a social value (the importance of sport). By parodying the excessive language of the dramatic intro, the film also offers a satiric perspective on the American obsession with athletic competition.

PARODY IN CLASSICAL HOLLYWOOD FILM

Literature, song, and the stage all boasted a well-developed tradition of parody long before cinema was invented, so it is no surprise that as soon as recognizable film traditions had been developed, they were subject to caricature. Cecil B. DeMille's feature *Carmen* was released in October 1915, and by December of that same year, Charles Chaplin's *Burlesque on Carmen* was in theaters. Through the 1910s and 1920s, parody emerged as a staple format for comic shorts. Ben Turpin used his peculiar cross-eyed appearance as the source of humor in his short *The Shriek of Araby* (1923), a parody of heartthrob Rudolf Valentino's popular romantic drama, *The Sheik* (1921). Stan Laurel used parody very effectively in his solo efforts such as *Dr. Pyckle and Mr. Pride* (1925) and the western spoof *West of Hot Dog* (1924), which anticipated the Laurel and Hardy western parodies of the 1930s such as *Them Thar Hills* (1934) and *Way Out West* (1937).

Among the most accomplished of silent parodists was Buster Keaton (1895–1966), whose films tended to use the source text as a general structure, while the comedy itself was drawn from Keaton's inventive physical humor, often in tension with the narrative frame. Keaton's western spoof *Go West* (1925) describes a city slicker's assimilation into ranch life and his affection for a young cow, "Brown Eyes," which he saves from the slaughterhouse. In the film there is a scene in which the cowboys enact the western cliché of the bunkhouse poker game, and one of them points a gun at Keaton and snarls a famous line from *The Virginian* (1923), "When you call me that, SMILE." Because Keaton ("the great

stoneface") is famous precisely for not smiling, or indeed expressing any emotion at all, he responds by slowly lifting the corners of his mouth with two fingers, a gesture that mimics Lillian Gish's character trying to force a smile for her abusive father in D. W. Griffith's *Broken Blossoms* (1919). The multiple layers of parody and self-referentiality in this moment point to Keaton's use of cinematic history and conventions to add richness to his comedy through parodic reinterpretation.

The sound era provided new conventions for parody, and again the short film tended to lead the way with Laurel and Hardy, the Three Stooges, and especially Abbott and Costello spoofing popular films in their short comedies. Abbott and Costello went on to develop a series of feature-length parodies in which they meet Frankenstein in 1948, the Invisible Man in 1951, Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde in 1953, and the Mummy in 1955. Animated films also made generous use of parody, as when Dave Fleischer's Betty Boop took on Mae West in *She Wronged Him Right* (1934) and Tex Avery took on the gangster picture with *Thugs with Dirty Mugs* (1939). Chuck Jones (1912–2002) had a particular flair for animated parody, directing *Rabbit Hood* (1949), *The Scarlet Pumpernickel* (1950), and *Transylvania 6–5000* (1963), among many others.

The conventional approach to parody in the studio era was to drop an outsider or innocent into a film in which the other characters are playing their parts more or less straight, making the source text simply a context for the comic's gags. Bob Hope's (1903–2003) parody films, including the noir spoof *My Favorite Brunette* (1947) and the western spoofs *The Paleface* (1948) and *Son of Paleface* (1952), cast the comic as a hapless coward caught up in genre-based plots. In *The Paleface*, for instance, Hope plays a dentist named Painless Peter Potter who against his better judgment is drawn into gun battles with outlaws and Indians. The film's comedy emerges from the contrast between the conventional western hero—brave, strong, resourceful—and the nervous, wisecracking Potter, who says of his guns, "I hope they're loaded. I wish I was, too." In this way, genre conventions remain essentially intact, while the character who cannot comply with those conventions is the principal source of comedy.

PARODY IN THE AGE OF TELEVISION

Given how parody thrived in the short films of the studio era, it is unsurprising that television sketch comedy has also specialized in creating short, pithy burlesques of popular films. Early examples include Sid Caesar's *Your Show of Shows* (1950–1954) and, later, *The Carol Burnett Show*, (1967–1978) which produced brilliant parodies of familiar Hollywood films, with titles like "Went with the Wind," "Sunnyset Boulevard," and "Mildred Fierce." These were followed by *Saturday Night Live* (1975–), *Second City Television* (1976–1981), and *In Living Color* (1990–1994), among others. A training ground for comic writers and actors, sketch shows continue to employ parody as a staple element of their formats, often using guest stars to mock their own well-known work. This trend has helped speed up the process by which popular forms are broken down and ridiculed through imitation, and it has contributed to the increasingly widespread use of parody in recent film comedies, which nearly always cannibalize one or more other texts in creating their comic effects.

Former stand-up comic and television writer Mel Brooks (b. 1926) reinvented parody for a new era when *Blazing Saddles* (cowritten with Richard Pryor, among others) and *Young Frankenstein* were released, both in 1974. Brooks and his contemporaries abandoned the previous generation's tactic of dropping a comic figure into a conventional generic frame. Brooks essentially inverted the structure of Hope's *The Paleface* in his western spoof *Blazing Saddles*. The two protagonists of the latter film, Sheriff Bart and the Waco Kid, are the film's most heroic, competent, and indeed sane characters in the midst of a western town populated by caricatures of western types (a lecherous and stupid governor, racist townsfolk, a monstrous thug, a lisping saloon singer). Brooks thereby rendered the western itself ridiculous in ways that previous parodies rarely aspired to or achieved.

After Mel Brooks's breakthrough films, a number of other filmmakers began turning out popular and significant parody features in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The team of Jim Abrahams and David and Jerry Zucker wrote the cult classic *Kentucky Fried Movie* (1977), followed by the breakaway hit *Airplane!*, which layered on the gags at a breakneck speed, often punctuating a pseudoserious conversation in the foreground with a ludicrous sight gag in the background. The team of Christopher Guest and Rob Reiner followed up in 1984 with the pioneering mockumentary *This Is Spinal Tap*, which combined realistic cinéma vérité film technique with the outrageous story of an aging British rock band. These devastatingly funny films together helped reinvigorate American film comedy and established new traditions that would be highly influential in the years to come.

Commercial parody films from since the 1980s have been defined most clearly by a sense of anarchy—that anything may happen, or any object may enter the frame at any time. Genre still provides a general frame for most contemporary parodies, but lines, scenes, and sequences will notably abandon the source text in order to reference another film, or even an unrelated aspect of popular

MEL BROOKS

b. Melvin Kaminsky, Brooklyn, New York, 28 June 1926

Mel Brooks began his career doing stand-up in the Catskills, in upstate New York, where he befriended Sid Caesar, host of the TV series *Your Show of Shows* (1950–1954). The talented Brooks quickly moved into television writing, where he often worked on skits for Caesar that parodied popular genres of the day. Brooks first became famous for his "Two Thousand-Year-Old Man in the Year 2000" routine, a mock interview which he performed with Carl Reiner onstage, on a bestselling record, and on television. In 1964 he went on to cocreate (with Buck Henry) the popular television series *Get Smart* (1965–1970), a parody of the spy film genre filled with outrageous James Bond-style gadgets such as the famous "shoe phone."

After this distinguished television career, Brooks wrote and directed his first feature, *The Producers*, in 1968. The film toys outrageously with the limits of parody when the title characters stage a grotesque Broadway musical, *Springtime for Hitler*, hoping it will flop. The fictional show, which features swelling music and an earnest young chorus singing about the joys of the Third Reich, unexpectedly succeeds when audiences interpret it as a brilliant parody rather than a lousy romance. His later films drew from this pleasure in the grotesque and the absurd, relying on the juxtaposition between the earnest clichés of a source text and the juvenile irreverence of Brooks's humor. In *Young Frankenstein* (1974), the stuffy young Dr. Frankenstein sings "Puttin' on the Ritz" with his marginally articulate monster, while dancing a soft shoe. In *History of the World: Part I* (1981), the character Oedipus is greeted with the words "Hey Motherfucker!" The only line in *Silent Movie* (1976) is spoken by the famous mime Marcel Marceau. In *Spaceballs* (1987) the guru Yogurt takes time out from his mystical mission to explain how the film's real money is made through merchandising: "*Spaceballs* the lunch box, *Spaceballs* the breakfast cereal, *Spaceballs* the flamethrower."

Such moments have earned Brooks both avid fans and equally fierce detractors, particularly as his jokes became more repetitive and broader over the course of the 1980s and 1990s. He made several commercially unsuccessful attempts to branch out, notably in a remake of Ernst Lubitsch's *To Be or Not to Be* (1983) in which he costarred with wife Anne Bancroft, and in the social problem comedy *Life Stinks* (1991). Though he hasn't directed a film since the moderately successful *Dracula: Dead and Loving It* in 1995, Brooks has found phenomenal new success with a 2001 Broadway musical version of *The Producers*, for which he wrote the lyrics, music, and book. The recipient of a screenwriting Oscar® for *The Producers*, as well as several Emmys, Grammys, and Tonys, Brooks is indisputably one of the most versatile and influential comic minds of his generation.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

The Producers (1968), *Blazing Saddles* (1974), *Young Frankenstein* (1974), *Silent Movie* (1976), *High Anxiety* (1977), *History of the World: Part I* (1981), *To Be or Not to Be* (1983), *Spaceballs* (1987), *Robin Hood: Men in Tights* (1993), *Dracula: Dead and Loving It* (1995)

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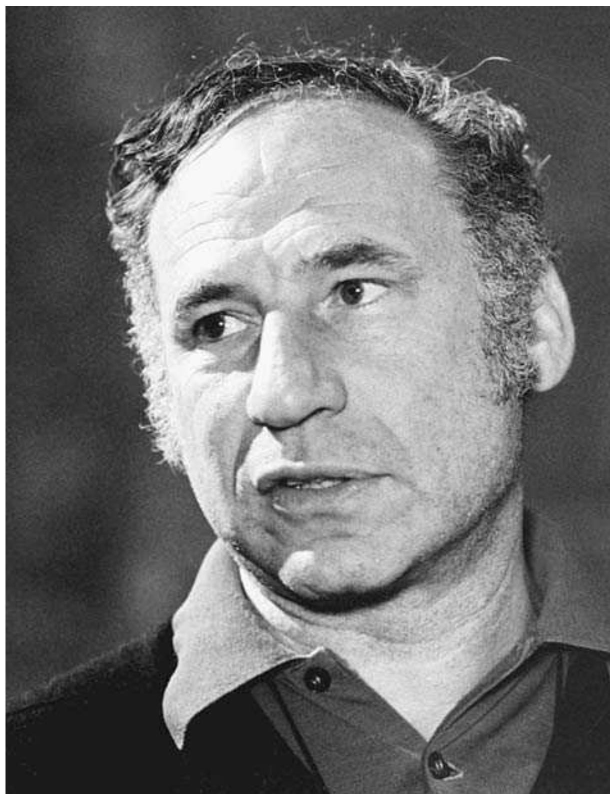
culture. For instance, in *Scary Movie 2* (2001), one character tries to calm another by assuring her "Cindy, this is just some bones. Would you run from Calista Flockhart?" The information the spectator needs to make sense of this reference comes not from the horror genre the film spoofs, but rather from a television series. In *Hot Shots: Part Deux* (1993), a succession of paratroopers jumps out of a plane, each yelling "Geronimo!" as he begins his fall. Suddenly, an Indian chief leaps out of the plane, yelling "Me!" Contemporary parody has developed a kind of randomness, a narrative and stylistic spirit of anarchy. It is not uncommon for the source text to provide only the broadest outlines of a narrative, while the gags are drawn from other sources throughout popular culture.

Parody films have become popular and conventional enough to spawn sequels: two *Hot Shots* films, three *Naked Guns*, three Austin Powers films, and four *Scary*



Mel Brooks. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Movies. In a kind of apt reversal of TV's tendency to spoof classic films, films are now parodying old television shows, with *The Beverly Hillbillies* (1993), *The Brady Bunch Movie* (1995), *Scooby Doo* (2002), *Starsky and Hutch* (2004), and *The Dukes of Hazzard* (2005) in recent years. These films are mostly reviled by critics, and the predominance of parody in contemporary comedy has been received as evidence that filmmakers have run out of ideas or that studios find such films a safe investment.

A notable exception to this trend has been the many carefully crafted and often subtle mockumentaries that have found modest success in American theaters. Woody Allen (b. 1935) used the form quite broadly in his 1969 film *Take the Money and Run*, using a deep-voiced narrator to contrast the zaniness of his character's crime spree. But the versatile Allen then brought a new precision to the documentary parody with the very different *Zelig* (1983), a portrait of a mentally disturbed man in the roaring 1920s. This film recreates the look of old film clips and newsreels with remarkable technical precision. The film never blinks in its pretense that Leonard Zelig was a real historical figure, even recruiting noted real-life writers such as Susan Sontag and Saul Bellow to give straight-faced commentary on Zelig's cultural import. A notable heir to this tradition is Christopher Guest, whose recent mockumentaries *Waiting for Guffman* (1996), *Best in Show* (2000), and *A Mighty Wind* (2003) lovingly recreate the look of cinéma vérité documentary. Handheld cameras and improvisational acting from a talented ensemble cast create the impression of candor, a slice-of-life documentary. But the films profile characters involved in a peculiar undertaking (amateur talent shows, dog shows, and folk singing, respectively) who take their avocation far too seriously, revealing the outrageous idiosyncrasies of seemingly ordinary people.

PARODY AND THE POSTMODERN

Though parody has ancient roots, it has taken on a particularly central role in the comic forms of the irony-soaked postmodern present because it foregrounds quotation and self-referentiality. Marxist literary critic Fredric Jameson has argued that postmodernity has replaced conventional parody with a process that should rightly be defined as pastiche. While parody implies a norm against which the imitation must be read, pastiche is a form of imitation that is detached from an authoritative precedent, and thus lacks a satiric impulse. By treating the original as a style only, devoid of history and context, pastiche is a uniquely postmodern play of pure discourse. For instance, there have been dozens of films over the years that have parodied the scene in *From Here to Eternity* (1953) where a couple lies on the beach as the waves wash over them—so many that it is no longer necessary to have seen the original to understand the reference. In fact, none of *Airplane!*'s three directors had seen the film when they spoofed it in their movie. In a postmodern context, pastiche reduces the past to a set of empty icons, increasingly lacking a real sense of history.

Drawing on the work of Jameson, among others, critic Dan Harries argues that the large number of increasingly standardized commercial parody films of the last few decades have helped take the bite out of parody, rendering it a more sterile and complacent mode of comedy than it has been in the past. Harries has devised a useful list of six techniques through which contemporary parody achieves its effects, and he argues that these techniques have ultimately drained parody of much of its transgressive function, making predictable and toothless what was once original and subversive. These six techniques are:

1. *Reiteration* is the process by which the parody establishes its connection to the source text, using, for example, horses to evoke the western, handheld cameras to evoke the documentary, and so on. Many

parodies take great care in reproducing the iconic elements of the source genre.

2. *Inversion* is a way of using an element of the source text in an ironic way, so that it means the opposite of its intended meaning. *Cannibal: The Musical* (1996) evokes one convention of the Hollywood folk musical by having the whole community come together for a lively production number at the end, but inverts the intended meaning of that finale with the lyrics, "Hang the bastard, hang him high," creating an ironic juxtaposition of cheerful harmony and grotesque bloodlust.
3. *Misdirection* is the process by which the conventions of the source text are used to create a set of expectations in the spectator which are then reversed or transformed by the parody. In *Scary Movie 3* (2003) the character played by George Carlin explains his sad history in conventional melodramatic terms, "My wife and I wanted a child, but she couldn't get pregnant," then when the spectator has been misdirected to expect a sentimental story, instead he offers the punchline, "Neither could I."
4. *Literalization* is a technique that takes a naïve approach to the source text, as though it were readable only literally and not through the lens of convention. This process can be applied to narrative elements, as in *Robin Hood: Men in Tights* (1993) when Robin cries out to the crowd "Lend me your ears," at which point the crowd starts throwing actual ears at him. Literalization can also parody a conventional film technique; for instance, there is a shot in *Scary Movie* when the camera tracks toward the screaming heroine into such a tight close-up that the lens strikes the actress on the head and she exclaims "Ouch!," making the camera's presence in the film suddenly literal.
5. *Extraneous inclusion* uses elements that do not belong in a conventional generic image in order to render it strange. For instance, in *Hot Shots*, the hero has taken refuge on an Indian reservation, which is presented through conventional cinematic images such as buffalo, beads, and buckskins. That image is then made strange through the extraneous inclusion of a doorbell on the teepee and pink bunny slippers on the protagonist.
6. *Exaggeration* takes an aspect of the source text and renders it absurd through excessive emphasis. This technique can apply to simple objects, like the enormous helmet worn by the character Dark Helmet (Rick Moranis) in *Spaceballs* (1987). It can also apply to narrative or stylistic conventions, as in *The Naked Gun*, which references the discreet Hollywood practice of cutting away from sex scenes to symbolic images of curtains blowing in the breeze or fireworks exploding. The montage of images in this love scene (flowers opening, a train entering a tunnel, an atom bomb exploding into a mushroom cloud) is both more suggestive and more extensive than the convention permits.

Parody has often been interpreted as a tool which helped audiences see through the frozen conventions and ideological agendas of different genres. Harries argues that the growing conventionality of parody has reduced much of its power to free the spectator from the ideological traps of genre: as he rhetorically asks, "do we really become 'liberated' after watching an hour and a half of *Spaceballs* ?" On this question, the jury is still out.

SEE ALSO *Comedy; Genre; Postmodernism*

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PHILIPPINES

Philippine cinema generally has not taken center stage outside the region, which is a curious phenomenon since the Philippines has had a film tradition longer than most countries, has been one of the world's top ten movie producers for years, and has battled with governmental and other entities over issues common to the industry globally.

Imported film shorts were shown in Manila in 1897, and the following year a Spanish army officer filmed and showed scenes of the city. By 1909, the country already had three studios, and then two years later, a board of censorship and an association to oppose censorship. In 1912, two features made by Americans Harry Brown, Edward M. Gross, and Albert Yearsley, who resided in the Philippines, were released within one day of each other: *La Vida de José Rizal* (*The Life of José Rizal*) and Yearsley's *El Fusilamiento de Dr. José Rizal* (*The Execution of Dr. José Rizal*).

Credited with being the father of the Philippine film industry, however, is José Nepomuceno, an engineer who ran the country's most successful photography studio. In 1917, Nepomuceno sold his lucrative studio, read up on movies, and started Malayan Movies. His first works were documentaries; in 1919, he made *Dalagang bukid* (*Country Maiden*), considered the first truly Filipino picture. Nepomuceno remained a major force in the industry for nearly 45 years, producing more than 300 films and founding at least seven studios.

One of the studios he helped establish was Sampaguita Pictures, which became one of the Big Four (with LVN Pictures, Lebran, and Premiere Productions) that dominated Philippine films in the post-World War II years. When Sampaguita was launched in 1937, the big studio concept, reminiscent of Hollywood with its star system and genre films, was beginning. By 1939, at least eleven film companies were in operation, producing fifty films that year—the fifth highest total in the world. With the beginning of World War II, the industry nearly closed, partly because the Japanese believed Philippine movies were too attached to the United States.

THE FIRST GOLDEN AGE AND AFTER

As was the case with newspapers and magazines, film companies mushroomed after liberation in 1945, growing to at least forty by 1952. The Big Four, in existence by 1946, soon dominated the industry, retaining a workforce of ten thousand and controlling over 90 percent of the production, distribution, and exhibition of Filipino movies. But the industry was on the verge of change: as a five-year (1950–55) strike hit Premiere, artists and technicians defected to start their own companies and the Big Four lost its bargaining power. By 1958, there were one hundred movie firms and within a few years, of the Big Four, only Sampaguita remained.

In the 1960s, the industry was completely transformed. The Big Four had ceased production; independents dominated, most of them in films solely for profits; and citizens became indignant about a crime wave that had possible links with movie viewing. Also, the content of movies worsened, providing only an orgy of escapism, and the star system was pushed to the limit with actors dominating over directors.

The studio system had made filming a planned affair where Big Four directors lined up a variety of genres for

wider appeal. Independents short on capital had to recover their investments quickly, which they did by copying the last box-office hit. As a result, the 1960s gave rise to many copies of foreign films with Filipino cowboys, samurai, and kung fu masters, James Bonds (Jaime Bandong), and bold sexual movies, *bombas*, featuring young starlets who bared all on screen. Veteran director Lamberto V. Avellana labeled the audiences for such slam-bang, blood-and-guts, sex-filled quickies as *bakya,* a pejorative term for a low-class audience, which refers to the moviegoers who wear *bakya,* native wooden clogs. An especially big year for *bombas* was 1971, when most of the 251 Filipino movies were sex-oriented.

Of the major genres, action and melodrama—of a soap opera type—were (and still are) the most popular; between 1978 and 1982, for example, they accounted for 47 percent and 33 percent, respectively, of the total. Tracing its origins to early theatrical forms, the action film includes a strict sense of morality, an idealized code of honor, and a set of traditional values. Most melodramas come from *komiks* (comic books); in fact, for years, 30 to 40 percent of big studios' scripts came from this source. *Komiks* make successful movies because of their presold audiences. They are adapted to film by making *komiks* characters look like movie stars who then play the screen role, and by selling an idea to a *komiks* publisher who brings it out in printed form. During the last few weeks of the *komiks* serialization, the movie version appears with a climax that may or may not be the same as the magazine.

The Ferdinand Marcos dictatorship of 1965–1986 was both bad and good for film because it played roles that restricted, regulated, and facilitated the industry. For example, between 1975 and 1980, the Philippine government cracked down on films encouraging subversion, violence, pornography, and crime, revamped the censorship board, and instructed producers to redefine industry guidelines to support so-called Philippine values; but it also supported the showing of Filipino movies, built the controversial University of the Philippines Film Center and established the Manila International Film Festival.

Government involvement escalated in the last years of the Marcos regime with the creation of the Motion Picture Development Board, which was to oversee four major bodies—the Film Fund, Film Academy of the Philippines, Film Archives, and the Board of Standards. Next came the strengthening of censors' powers in 1981, and the establishment of the Experimental Cinema of the Philippines a year later, headed by one of the Marcos daughters. Film personnel, fearing the nationalization of the industry, demonstrated in the streets against these measures under the aegis of an artists' coalition, Free the Artist Movement, started by director Lino Brocka (1939–1991).

A NEW WAVE

In 1982, the government's censoring agency was strengthened again, arbitrarily accusing films it believed were not in line with Imelda Marcos's "true, good, and beautiful" campaign of being subversive. Among these films was *Bagong Boy Condenado* (*New Boy Condenado*) because of its depiction of a girl being raped by a man in uniform and scenes portraying Philippine poverty. Because they dealt with slums, poverty, and other less-than-beautiful aspects of the "New Society," Brocka's films suffered from government scissors and proclamations. His *Bayan ko: Kapit sa patalim* (*Bayan Ko: My Own Country*, 1985) was disallowed as the Philippine entry in the Cannes Film Festival unless he cut scenes of protest rallies.

With *Maynila: Sa mga kuko ng liwanag* (*Manila in the Claws of Neon*, or *The Nail of Brightness*, 1975), Brocka forged a new direction in Philippine cinema, one that treated film as art, not *bakya*: the film introduced a new trend toward realism and social consciousness, experimented with directorial and acting techniques, and developed new talent. In this fold were Brocka, Ishmael Bernal (1938–1996), Behn Cervantes, Eddie Romero (b. 1924), Mike De Leon (b. 1947), and others who tackled issues such as labor exploitation, marginal people in Manila, poverty, national identity, and the unwanted US military bases in the Philippines.

The "new wave" of aesthetically and politically attuned films did not last, dissipated by the regression of film to formulaic, escapist melodrama, action, and *bomba* types, and the untimely deaths of Brocka and Bernal in the early 1990s. Although the government of Corazon Aquino (1986–1992) dismantled some of the repressive Marcos film infrastructure and legislation, it did little to encourage artful filmmaking or to halt the slide to *bakya*-oriented movies.

Throughout the 1980s, the Philippines ranked among the top ten film-producing countries of the world, although the number of features continued to drop. The industry was beset with problems, some brought on by the monopolization of nearly all aspects of production, distribution, and exhibition by three film studios—Regal, Seiko, and Viva. Major stars were signed to large, exclusive contracts by the big studios, depleting movie budgets and forcing smaller producers out of existence. Filmmaking was increasingly tainted by what scriptwriter Clodualdo Del Mundo Jr. termed the "stench of commercialism."

CONTEMPORARY FILM

The stress on commercialization and monopolization has had debilitating effects on the profession. There are too few trained actors and actresses, and stories are based on "hot" stars, especially those willing to undress. Less expensive, quicker, and easier to produce, sex films thrive, making up well over half of a year's total production and taking on their own persona—typed as FF ("fighting fish"), *penekula* (derived from "penetration"), ST ("sex trip," featuring young actresses having sex at socially appropriate times), and TT ("titillating," with split-second frontal nudity), and featuring actresses who are named after soft drinks or hard liquor, such as Pepsi Paloma, Vodka Zobel.

There have been breakaways from these genres, particularly the works of Marilou Diaz-Abaya (b. 1955), such as *José Rizal* (1998), on the life and death of the national hero; *Muro-ami* (*Reef Hunters*, 1999), on child labor in the fishing industry; and *Bagong buwan* (*New Moon*, 2001), about personal loss in war-torn Mindanao. Starting in the late 1990s and continuing into the present, a new generation of filmmakers has come into prominence. Among its members are Chito S. Roño, who made three thrillers in 1995 alone and later did *Bata, Bata . . . Paano ka ginawa* (*Child . . . How Were You Made?*, or *Lea's Story*, 1998); Joel Lamangan, whose most successful work was *The Flor Contemplación Story* (1995), based on the true story of an overseas worker who killed her Singapore boss; and José Javier Reyes, a prolific filmmaker who wrote and directed twenty-one movies between 1991 and 1996. Also encouraging is the increasing number of independent directors of films and videos who are working either on the periphery or outside the mainstream. These include Raymond Red (b. 1965), who made two historical films, *Bayani* (*Heroes*, 1992) and *Sakay* (1993), and Nick Deocampo (b. 1959), who finished *Mother Ignacia, ang uliran* (*Mother Ignacia, the Ideal*) in 1998. These and other nonmainstream directors have experimented with format, technique, and content, and, increasingly, they hail from areas outside Manila, such as the Visayas or Iloilo.

After the 1997–98 economic debacle, film had a short-lived rebirth. In 1999, the Philippines was the fourth largest film producer in the world, but the number of productions has dwindled precipitously—to eighty-nine in 2001, and fewer since then. A number of factors—some old, some new—account for the slump, including the expensive star system, prohibitive taxation (at least seventeen different taxes that take as much as 30 to 42 percent of earnings), the lack of a quota on imported foreign films, rampant film piracy enhanced by technology, and censorship. Both *Toro* (*Live Show*, 2001) and *Sutka* (*Silk*, 2000) were censored, and, at times, President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo (served beginning 2001) directly intervenes in the filmmaking process. Escalating production costs, especially in the face of the tenuous national economy, continuing government turmoil, and decreasing cineplex audiences have forced some major studios to cut back production schedules. The industry has also faced stiff competition from cable television, video, DVDs, and VCDs.

These are critical times for Filipino film, but they are not necessarily fatal. With the increased worldwide interest in Asian cinema (particularly from China, Hong Kong, India, South Korea, and Taiwan)—and the global tendency of film to reinvent itself through universally appealing content, lavish multifunction theaters, clever capitalization schemes, digital technology, and tie-ins with other media and visual forms—some hope can be held out for film from the Philippines.

SEE ALSO *National Cinema*

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POLAND

As a result of successive partitions of the country by Russia, Austria, and Prussia, Poland had not been as an independent entity for well over one hundred years until 1919, shortly after World War I. The foreign domination of a fiercely nationalistic people—essentially renewed with the German occupation of 1939–1945 and continued by Soviet control of 1945–1989—has strongly influenced the country's cinema even up to the present day and has led to a filmic production heavily dependent on political and historical themes. This nationalistic impulse has been strengthened by subject matter drawn from Poland's rich literary tradition and the fiction and drama of Henryk Sienkiewicz, Stefan Żeromski, Bolesław Prus, Władysław Reymont, Stanisław Wyspiański, and Adam Mickiewicz who have provided an endless source of material. As with other countries of the former Soviet bloc, however, the renewed independence of the post-1989 period has produced almost as many problems in Poland as it has solved, and the disappearance of a state-subsidized (and controlled) system of filmmaking has led to a kind of free-market anarchy that has little respect for either politically-oriented themes or, indeed, for art.

Although Poland has never suffered the mass exodus or silencing of its finest talents as, for example, Czechoslovakia did after 1968, many important directors have chosen to work, either permanently or occasionally abroad but not always for political reasons. Since the 1970s, major figures such as Roman Polański (b. 1933), Jerzy Skolimowski (b. 1938), and Walerian Borowczyk (1923–2006) have created much of their finest work outside Poland. The country's best-known filmmaker, Andrzej Wajda (b. 1926), has made several co-productions in other European countries, as has Krzysztof Zanussi (b. 1939), while Krzysztof Kieślowski's (1941–1996) most famous films were made in France. With a few exceptions, such as Pola Negri (1894–1987), Poland has produced few internationally acclaimed film stars, though Zbigniew Cybulski (1927–1967) achieved widespread recognition during his brief lifetime, and such fine actors as Daniel Olbrychski (b. 1945), Bogusław Linda (b. 1952), Maja Komorowska (b. 1937), and Krystyna Janda (b. 1952) have worked frequently in other European countries.

THE SILENT ERA AND THE 1930s

Polish audiences were exposed to the films of Thomas Edison and the Lumière brothers in 1895 and 1896 before domestic production began a few years later. Early Polish films took the form of newsreels or similar factual material, such as the medical subjects and short documentaries of Polish life produced by Bolesław Matuszewski, who also wrote theoretical articles on the new medium and proposed the establishment of a film archive as early as 1898. The first short narrative film, *Powrót Birbanta* (*The Return of a Merry Fellow*, 1902), was directed by Kazimierz Prószyński (1875–1945), an important pioneer of film technology. This was followed in 1908 by the first short feature, *Antoś pierwszy raz w Warszawie* (*Anthoś for the First Time in Warsaw*), and a spate of literary adaptations, comedies, and melodramas, few of which have survived. During this period, the Sfinks Film Studio turned out patriotic and sensationalist works and several Yiddish films, and the anti-Russian epic *Kościuszko pod Racławicami* appeared in 1913. The leading director of the time was

Aleksander Hertz (1879–1928), and production flourished particularly—and surprisingly—during the war years of 1914–1918. Pola Negri (originally Barbara Apolonia Chałupiec) made eight popular erotic melodramas before leaving in 1917 for Germany and then Hollywood. Another leading female star of the period, Jadwiga Smosarska (1898–1971), specialized in roles that portrayed suffering and sacrificial womanhood, such as in *Trędowata* (*The Leper*, 1926).

The immediate postwar period and the 1920s saw increasing American, French, and German domination of production and distribution. Homegrown films focused on patriotic, anti-German, and anti-Russian themes along with literary adaptations. Józef Piłsudski's coup d'état in 1926 had little effect on film production, but few films of lasting merit were produced. *Wampiry Warszawy* (*The Vampires of Warsaw*, Wiktor Biegański, 1925) was popular and *Huragan* (*Hurricane*), directed by Józef Lejtes (1901–1983) in 1928, proved to be the country's first international success. In 1924, the literary critic Karol Irzykowski published *Dziesiąta Muza* (*The Tenth Muse*), and although it was an early major theoretical work on film aesthetics, Polish filmmaking continued to rely largely on well-worn farcical, melodramatic, patriotic, and sensationalistic themes. Production fluctuated between a low of ten features in 1931 to a high of twenty-seven in 1937.

The conversion to sound came slowly, with the first Polish talkie, *Moralność Pani Dulskiej* (*The Morality of Mrs. Dulska*), appearing only in 1930, and initially resulted largely in highly theatrical works lacking any real sense of film style. Meanwhile, from 1929 to 1930, a group of avant-garde filmmakers and theorists—including Aleksander Ford (1908–1980), Wanda Jakubowska (1907–1998), Stanisław Wohl (1912–1985), and Jerzy Toeplitz (1909–1995)—argued for a more "socially useful" type of filmmaking than what was currently typical. Although their START (Society of the Devotees of the Artistic Film) group was dissolved in 1935, it provided the basis for the revitalized Polish cinema of the post-1945 period, especially in the films of Ford and Jakubowska. Ford's second feature, *Legion Ulicy* (*The Legion of the Streets*, 1932), and his co-directed *Ludzie Wisły* (*The People of the Vistula*, 1937) attracted particular attention. Józef Lejtes and Juliusz Gardan (1901–1944) (especially with his 1938 *Halka*) became important directors, Jadwiga Smosarska remained a popular actress, and the comic actor Adolf Dymsza (1900–1975) starred in films such as *Dwanaście Krzeseł* (*Twelve Chairs*, 1933) and *Antek Policmajster* (*Police Chief Antek*, 1935). The producer Joseph Green (1900–1996) brought about a revival of Yiddish cinema with such films as *Yidl mitn Fidl* (*Yiddle with His Fiddle*, 1936) and *Dybuk* (*The Dybbuk*, 1937).

On the political front, a nonaggression pact between Poland and Germany in 1934 was followed by the death of Piłsudski in 1935 and the establishment of a military dominated "Government of the Colonels." Then came the German invasion of 1 September 1939, followed by yet another partition as the country was divided between Germany and the Soviet Union.

FROM WORLD WAR II TO MARTIAL LAW: 1939–1980

No new Polish films were produced under the German occupation; audiences could see only German and Italian films or Polish films from the prewar period. Many major figures in the industry emigrated, either to the West or to the Soviet Union; others joined the resistance, where several were killed or imprisoned; and still others collaborated with the occupying authorities. The Warsaw Uprising of August 1944 resulted in the near-destruction of the non-Communist resistance, and the Government of National Unity that had been formed in 1945 was replaced in 1947 by one dominated by pro-Soviet Communists. The film industry was nationalized with the formation of Film Polski in November 1945 under the direction of Aleksander Ford, and the Łódź Film School (soon to become world famous) was established in 1948 with Jerzy Toeplitz as rector. The country's frontiers were readjusted, shifting its territory to the west and resulting in a more homogeneous and strongly Catholic population.

The basic infrastructure of the film industry had been destroyed during the war, many leading personnel were lost, and relatively few cinemas survived. Only thirty-eight features were made between 1947 and 1955, and, after an initial period of liberalization, ideological conformity was imposed and Socialist Realism, with its standardized plots and subject matter and distaste for experimental or unconventional techniques, became the only acceptable film style. Some films of genuine quality emerged nevertheless, such as Ford's *Ulica Graniczna* (*Border Street*, 1949), set in the Warsaw Ghetto, and *Piątka z Ulicy Barskiej* (*Five Boys from Barska Street*, 1954), which deals with juvenile delinquency. Jakubowska's partly autobiographical and strongly pro-Soviet *Ostatni Etap* (*The Last Stage*, 1948) was set in Auschwitz. Wajda's *Pokolenie* (*A Generation*, 1955) introduced a major talent, though its politics were later to be judged too "correct" and compromised.

The Poznań riots of 1956 brought about a change of government under the previously disgraced Władysław Gomułka, and a short period of relative liberalization followed characterized by the work of the so-called Polish School. The film industry was reorganized into eight "units" run by the filmmakers themselves, though

Zbigniew Cybulski (left) in Andrzej Wajda's* Ashes and Diamonds *(1958). **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

ultimate control of theme and style remained with the government's censors. (This system persisted, with some variations and setbacks, to the end of the Communist era.) Foreign films were imported on an increased scale, influencing younger directors in particular. The resulting creative outburst displayed diversity of style and subject matter rather than uniformity. Although political, literary, and historical themes predominated, there was also room for personal, introspective, and psychological studies, and the Black School of documentary provided criticism of bureaucracy and exposed social problems.

Wajda's *Kanał* (1957) and, especially, *Popiół i diament* (*Ashes and Diamonds*, 1958), starring the charismatic Zbigniew Cybulski, were huge international successes and established the director as both celebrating and demystifying Polish "romanticism" in flamboyant and memorable visual images. Andrzej Munk's (1921–1961) more skeptical and antiheroic *Człowiek na Torze* (*Man on the Tracks*, 1957) and *Eroica* (*Heroism*, 1958) announced a talent that may have been even finer but was cut short by the director's early death in 1961. Wojciech Has (1925–2000), with *Pożegnania* (*Farewells*, 1958); Jerzy Kawalerowicz (b. 1922), with *Pociąg* (*Night Train*, 1959) and *Matka Joanna od Aniołów* (*Mother Joan of the Angels*, 1961); and Kazimierz Kutz (b. 1929), with *Krzyż Walecznych* (*Cross of Valor*, 1959), all laid the foundations for prestigious and long-lasting careers in the industry.

Despite tightened censorship after 1960 and attacks on "subversive" Western influences, a new generation of directors attempted a more realistic, personal, and skeptical approach to the traditional themes and to explorations of Polish identity and moral dilemmas. The two leading figures here were Roman Polański, with *Nóz w Wodzie* (*Knife in the Water*, 1962), and Jerzy Skolimowski, with his semiautobiographical early films, such as *Walkower* (*Walkover*, 1965); both directors attacked the conformism and false heroics of Polish society, filtered largely through class or generational conflicts. Both were invited to work in Western Europe, initially in France. Polański then moved to Hollywood, until legal reasons brought him back to France. Skolimowski too

had worked in the United States but returned to Poland in 1967 to make the strongly critical *Ręce do Góry* (*Hands Up!*). When it was promptly banned, he continued his career in Britain and the United States, returning to Poland after the fall of Communism to produce a largely unsatisfactory new version of that film.

Literary adaptations and epic productions such as Ford's *Krzyżacy* (*Black Cross*, 1960) and Kawalerowicz's *Faraon* (*Pharoah*, 1966) flourished, though Ford, like many others, emigrated to Israel in 1968 following a series of officially sanctioned anti-Semitic campaigns. Following worker riots in Gdańsk in 1970, a change of government saw Edward Gierek replace Gomułka, and another brief period of liberalization ensued. Several highly stylized, often symbolic, films appeared, sometimes with "Aesopian" undercurrents that criticized contemporary society within an allegorical or historical framework. Some of the more notable of these are Andrzej Żuławski's (b. 1940) *Trzecia Część Nocy* (*The Third Part of the Night*, 1971), Janusz Majewski's (b. 1931) *Lokis* (*The Bear*, 1970) and *Zazdrość i Medycyna* (*Jealousy and Medicine*, 1973), Kazimierz Kutz's *Sól Ziemi Czarnej* (*Salt of the Black Earth*, 1970) and *Perła w Koronie* (*Pearls in the Crown*, 1972), Wojciech Has's *Sanatorium pod Klepsydrą* (*The Hour-Glass Sanatorium*, 1973), Edward Żebrowski's (b. 1935) *Szpital Przemienienia* (*Hospital of the Transfiguration*, 1978), Walerian Borowczyk's (1923–2006) *Dzieje Grzechu* (*Story of a Sin*, 1975), and Wojciech Marczewski's (b. 1944) *Zmory* (*Nightmares*, 1979). Marczewski's *Dreszcze* (*Shivers*, 1981) was banned, however, as was Żuławski's *Diabeł* (*The Devil*, 1972), and the latter director then left to live and work in France.

Several major figures emerged in this period: Krzysztof Zanussi demonstrated his austere style and concern with moral choices and problems in *Iluminacje* (*Illumination*, 1973) and *Bilans Kwartalny* (*The Quarterly Balance*, 1975); Krzysztof Kieślowski (1941–1996), after several controversial and sometimes banned documentaries, provided similar social criticism in his feature *Amator* (*Camera Buff*, 1979); and Felix Falk's (b. 1941) *Wodzirej* (*Top Dog*, 1978) satirized social climbing and careerism. Agnieszka Holland's (b. 1948) *Aktorzy Prowincjonalni* (*Provincial Actors*) appeared in 1979, as did Filip Bajon's (b. 1947) *Aria dla Atlety* (*Aria for an Athlete*). The groundbreaking films of the period, however, were Wajda's *Człowiek z Marmuru* (*Man of Marble*, 1977) and *Człowiek z Żelaza* (*Man of Iron*, 1981), whose strong political themes both reflected and contributed to another bout of worker unrest and led to the formation first of KOR (Committee to Defend the Workers) and then of Solidarity in 1980.

"THE CINEMA OF MORAL CONCERN" AND THE FALL OF COMMUNISM: 1980–1989

Increased social unrest following the deposition of Gierek in September 1980 led to the imposition of martial law under General Wojciech Jaruzelski in October 1981 and the subsequent arrest of Solidarity leaders, including Lech Wałęsa. The country's grave economic problems, including food shortages, remained unresolved. Enthusiasm for the election of Archbishop Karol Wojtyła as pope in 1978 followed by his visits to his native country in 1979 and 1983 also helped to undermine the legitimacy of the secular authorities. Several controversial films were banned—most notoriously Ryszard Bugajski's (b. 1943) *Przesłuchanie* (*Interrogation*, 1982), which attacked the police-state mentality that seemed to be returning to the country—and screenings of films from the West declined sharply. Meanwhile, television and video, together with overtly commercial films such as *Sexmisja* (*Sexmission*, Juliusz Machulski, 1984), were beginning to drain audiences from serious attempts to understand the country's problems. Nevertheless, Zanussi, Holland, and Kieslowski continued to act as the country's moral conscience in films that examined themes of conformism, corruption, cynicism, and cronyism. Zanussi and Holland, along with Wajda, made important co-productions in France and Germany (Zanussi's *Rok Spokojnego Slonca* [*The Year of the Quiet Sun*, 1984], Holland and Wajda's *Danton* [1982] and *Eine Liebe in Deutschland* [*A Love in Germany*, 1983]). Zanussi also had a brief and unhappy experience working in the United States. Kieślowski emerged as an internationally acclaimed figure with his masterly *Dekalog* (*Decalogue*, 1988), originally made as ten hour-long films for television, though they were subsequently released for cinema screenings as well. Taken together, these emerged as a comprehensive study of contemporary Polish society, examined with acute psychological insight into moral flaws and weaknesses, and also occasional triumphs.

By 1989, the failure of both the Communist experiment and martial law itself had become too obvious to ignore any longer; free elections in 1989 swept Jaruzelski from power, replacing him with a government under the control of Solidarity. The film industry, which had begun its own reorganization in 1987 with a new film law, was now removed from state control completely, forcing filmmakers to receive only minimal state subsidies and to rely increasingly on private financing and commercial success for survival. Previously banned, or "shelved," films such as Bugajski's *Interrogation*, Jerzy Domaradzki's (b. 1943) *Wielki Bieg* (*The Big Race*, 1981), and Holland's *Kobieta Samotna* (*A Woman Alone*, 1981)—controversial, courageous depictions of the events and conditions prevailing in Communist

ANDRZEJ WAJDA

b. Suwałki, Poland, 6 March 1926

Andrzej Wajda remains first among equals in a remarkable pantheon of Polish directors working since World War II, contributing more than any other director to Polish national cinema. Director of more than forty-five films and forty theater productions in Poland and worldwide, he received an Oscar® for lifetime achievement in 2000, characteristically and modestly accepting it as a tribute to all of Polish cinema.

Wajda's early career was deeply affected by his experience of the Polish Holocaust as it affected both Poles and Polish Jews during is youth. He studied painting at Kraków's Academy of Fine Art until 1949 and then joined the Łódź Film School, graduating in 1953. Wajda became assistant to Aleksander Ford on *Piątka z Ulicy Barskiej* (*Five Boys from Barska Street*, 1954), made during the dying phase of Socialist Realism. In 1955, he directed the first part of his famous war trilogy, *Pokolenie* (*A Generation*), followed by *Kanal* (1957) and his early masterpiece, *Popiół i diament* (*Ashes and Diamonds*, 1958).

Until 1989, Wajda had to negotiate the propagandistic demands of the state censorship and funding system even as his Polish audience looked to him for information about its latest imprisonment, having lost its independence for many of the previous two hundred years. He accomplished this through a stylistic hybridity that at the time was seen by some as eclectic and baroque. For instance, in the film *Lotna* (1959), aesthetics overshadowed the film's meaning. This honest film about the brutality of the first day of World War II in Poland turned into a stunning portrayal of Polish cavalry attacking German tanks.

His next great period began with *Wszystko na sprzedaż* (*Everything for Sale*) in 1969, a requiem for his work with iconic actor Zbigniew Cybulski and a reflexive meditation on film. *Krajobraz po bitwie* (*Landscape After the Battle*) in 1970 continued his career-long attempt to grapple with Holocaust representation. His adaptation of Stanisław Wyspianski's *Wesele* (*The Wedding*) in 1973 continued his engagement with the Polish literary canon. This period concluded with the diptych of *Człowiek z marmuru* (*Man of Marble*) in 1977 and *Człowiek z żelaza* (*Man of Iron*) in 1981. Both films described the corruption of the Socialist system and the rise to power of the political opposition in Poland.

After the revolution of 1989, Wajda became a senator until 1991, confirming his place at the interface of politics and culture in Poland. In 1990, he made *Korczak*, one of his finest but perhaps most controversial films. Further work includes his elegiac reading of the national epic poem *Pan Tadeusz* by Adam Mickiewicz (1999) and another adaptation of a Polish classic, *Zemsta* (*Revenge*, 2002), a comedy starring Roman Polański.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Pokolenie (*A Generation*, 1955), *Kanal* (1957), *Popiół i diament* (*Ashes and Diamonds*, 1958), *Wszystko na sprzedaż* (*Everything for Sale*, 1969), *Brzezina* (*The Birchwood*, 1970), *Ziemia obiecana* (*Promised Land*, 1975), *Człowiek z marmuru* (*Man of Marble*, 1977), *Panny z Wilka* (*The Young Ladies of Wilko*, 1979), *Człowiek z żelaza* (*Man of Iron*, 1981), *Danton* (1983)

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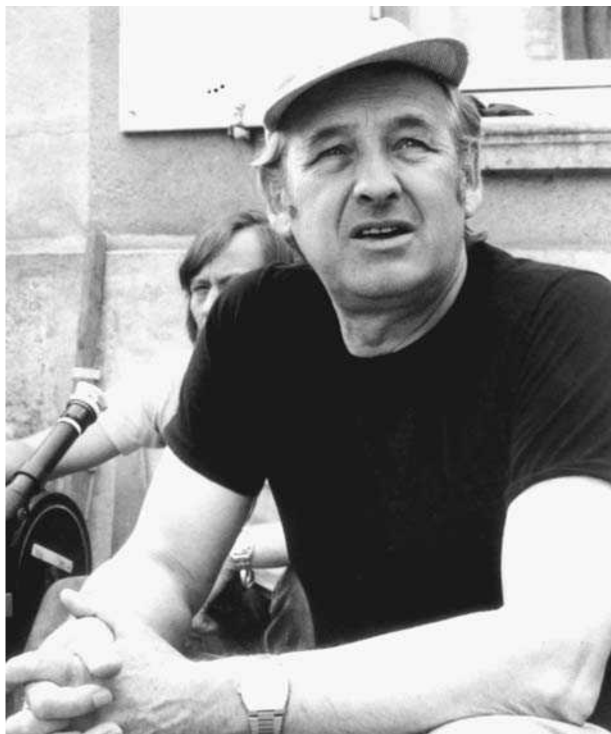
Poland—were released, and Poland witnessed the formation of many independent studios in place of the old film units. Some of the most important studios at the time were Filip Bajon's Dom, Jerzy Kawalerowicz's Kadr, Tadeusz Chmielewski's Oko, Janusz Morgenstern's Perspektywa, Bohdan Poręba's Profil, Krzysztof Zanussi's Tor, Janusz Machulski's Zebra, Jerzy Hoffman's Zodiak, and the Karol Irzykowski Film Studio. As in other countries of the former Soviet bloc, however, audiences seemed to have opted for escapism and sensationalism rather than intellectual and political challenges, and the results of these changes have been, at best, mixed.



Andrzej Wajda on the set of* Danton *(1982). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

FILM IN POLAND AFTER 1989

Several major directions of the New Polish Cinema of this era can be observed: mafia films, primarily in the early 1990s; films about the nation's recent past; comedies; and personal films and documentaries. The so-called mafia films were aimed at creating an alternative to American cinema while the other types employed entirely new, nonconventional approaches and themes in their presentation of the altered social and political realities of Poland. Moreover, these films moved away from strictly national themes (such as those characteristic of Wajda and Kutz, for instance), seeking a more universal appeal.

The early 1990s were characterized by the emergence of many important films dealing with the recent past. Robert Gliński (b. 1952), for instance, produced an award-winning film about Polish citizens deported by Stalin to Kazakstan, *Wszystko co Najważniejsze* (*All That Really Matters*, 1992); other lauded films that honored Poland's recent past are *Przypadek Pekosińskiego* (*The Case of Pekosiński*, Grzegorz Królikiewicz, 1993), *Pokuszenie* (*Temptation*, Barbara Sass, 1995), and Kazimierz Kutz's *Płulkownik Kwiatkowski* (*Colonel Kwiatkowski*, 1995). Other important films of the 1990s are *Dług* (*The Debt*, Krzysztof Krauze, 1999) and *Poniedziałek* (*Monday*, Witold Adamek, 1998), as well as two other films by Kutz: *Zawrócony* (1994) and *Śmierc jak Kromka Chleba* (*Death as a Slice of Bread*, 1994).

The recognizable comedy trend of the 1990s is represented by films such as *Kolejność Uczuć* (*Sequence of Feelings*, Radosław Piwowarski, 1993), as well as the amusingly political films *Rozmowy Kontrolowane* (*Controlled Conversations*, Sylwester Chęciński, 1991), and *Uprowadzenie Agaty* (*Hijacking of Agata*, Marek Piwowski, 1993). Finally, personal films and documentaries, many of these by women filmmakers, contribute to the complexity and wealth of themes presented in the 1990s. The honest, engaging films of Andrzej Barański (b. 1941), Jan Jakub Kolski (b. 1956), and Andrzej Kondriatuk (b. 1936), present provincial Poland in a poignant, touching manner.

Not every filmmaker, however, could find a voice in this new reality. Older masters such as Falk, Kawalerowicz, and Wajda had great difficulty finding new themes and new aesthetics that could interpret the rapidly changing reality around them, for neither their films' themes nor their aesthetics matched the expectations of young audiences. International success came chiefly to Kieślowski, whose 1990s films were co-produced with French and Swiss companies, moved away from political or social content and concentrated on larger human issues. Slow-moving and mysterious, films such as *Podwójne Życie Weroniki* (*The Double Life of Veronique*, 1991) and the *Trzy Kolory* trilogy (*Three Colors*, 1993–94), are widely admired by audiences in Europe and elsewhere and situate Kieślowski with Ingmar Bergman and Federico Fellini—among the great philosophers of cinema.

Jerzy Stuhr (b. 1947), who played major roles in the films of Kieślowski and Holland, carries on the tradition of reflexive film in *Historie Miłosne* (*Love Stories*, 1997), *Tydzień z Życia Męczyzny* (*A Week in the Life of a Man*, 1999), and *Duże Zwierzę* (*Big Animal*, 2000). Only scarcely alluding to the social realities of Poland in the late 1990s, these films deal with the general issues of love, responsibility, ethics, and morality. Stuhr realistically presents conflicts between public and private spheres in people's lives, depicts the mentalities of both large cities and small towns, and gently advocates tolerance and forgiveness.

The years surrounding the new millennium have brought some optimism to Polish cinema. Among the most important twenty-first-century trends are new adaptations of the Polish literary canon and the return to powerful "social content" films. In the first group, Hoffman's *Ogniem i Mieczem* (*With Fire and Sword*, 1999) and Wajda's *Pan Tadeusz* (*Pan Tadeusz: The Last Foray in Lithuania*, 1999) and *Zemsta* (*The Revenge*,

2002) have proved to be the most commercially successful. In the second group, *Cześć Tereska* (*Hi, Tereska*, Gliński, 2001) and *Edi* (Piotr Trzaskalski, 2002) have shocked audiences with their bleakness. The style of the personal film, made popular in the 1990s also continues to be fashionable; for instance, Zanussi's *Życie Jako Śmiertelna Choroba Przenoszona Drogą Plciową* (*Life as a Fatal Sexually Transmitted Disease*, 2000) is widely acclaimed, having both startled and gripped spectators with its brutal honesty about people's indifference to the fate of the incurably ill.

In the twenty-first century, Polish cinema maintains its lead among its East-Central European peers. The films of promising new Polish filmmakers such as Gliński, Kolski, and Krauze continue to dominate international festivals and gain recognition and acceptance among European audiences.

SEE ALSO *National Cinema*

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POPULISM

In the context of film studies, discussions of Populism tend to downplay the history of the People's Party of the United States, whose organizers themselves helped coin the adjective "Populist" from the Latin *populus* in seeking a less unwieldy journalistic handle. Rather, film critics emphasize a more generally majoritarian sensibility ("The Folklore of Populism," "The Fantasy of Goodwill") typically associated with the New Deal-era films of Frank Capra (1897–1991), especially the "Populist Trilogy" of *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town* (1936), *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* (1939), and *Meet John Doe* (1941).

Apart from the Capra-Populism conflation, the only sustained tradition of linking the Populist Party with film involves Victor Fleming's 1939 film version of L. Frank Baum's *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*, though the argument that Dorothy's silver shoes refer allegorically to the "Free Silver" platform plank dear to mining state Populists is undercut in *The Wizard of Oz* by the shift from silver to ruby slippers. Still, it is hard to deny the New Deal resonances of the MGM Wizard's FDR-like pronouncements about the dynamics of courage in the face of soul-daunting circumstances. (By contrast, some see Baum's novel as *anti*-Populist, with the Wicked Witch of the West standing for "capital-P" Populism, an equation made plausible by the prominence of female orators among Populism's organizers and advocates.)

THE MYTH OF POPULISM

To discuss populism *as myth* usually means attending to its retrogressive "Agrarian Myth" elements. From the internationalist perspective of classical Marxism, populism is simply the agrarian myth in action—in venues as disparate as Russia, India, and Latin America—and is inherently reactionary for naturalizing "peasantness" as definitive of a "national" or "ethnic" essence. The American derivation of this small-p populism typically sees the Populist Party as a single episode of a much larger political saga pitting Hamiltonian finance capitalists against Jeffersonian yeoman farmers. Nature, in this picture, is pastoral, Edenic, so that rural hardship is chiefly attributed to conspiratorial elites—bankers, railroad executives, intellectuals—and the urban political machines they control. An obviously influential instance of this agrarian resentment is D. W. Griffith's *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), where the specter of an alien political regime disempowering a native rural aristocracy leads to the birth of the Ku Klux Klan.

Two literary movements or genres are often invoked in charting the populist conflict between rural and urban interests: the "cracker-box" philosopher-humorist tradition stretching from Seba Smith (1792–1868) through Mark Twain (1835–1910) to Will Rogers (1879–1935), and the middle-brow and middle class, mostly magazine fiction of the 1920s and 1930s (Clarence Budington Kelland, Damon Runyon, Rose Wilder Lane, Joel Chandler Harris, Irvin S. Cobb). Capra's *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town* combines both strains, in that Gary Cooper's Longfellow Deeds is a common-sense Yankee sage who writes greeting card verse and derives from a story by Kelland.

Scholarship since the 1990s on Will Rogers and Capra alike gives reasons for doubting the strict equation of film populism and political reaction, though Capra's *Lost Horizon* (1937) has been seen as epitomizing the agrarian desire to eschew the modern "rat race" in favor

of an orientalist "Shangri-La"-cum-"chicken ranch." Indeed, some writers have linked the geography of Capra's "Valley of the Blue Moon" Himalayan utopia to Leni Riefenstahl's proto-fascist "Mountain" films (for example, *The Blue Light* [1932]), as exhibiting the more atavistic strain of the Agrarian Myth. And there is a long list of more natively "American" films in which a near-link of populism and fascism is suggested, including Capra's *Meet John Doe* and *All the King's Men* (Robert Rossen, 1949).

THE ECONOMY OF POPULISM

To emphasize the sins of populism—its nativism, its temptation to anti-Semitism in deploring the power of the "money interests" and intellectuals—displaces to the point of denying the economic conditions that gave rise to the Populist Party. After the Civil War, increased production of grains and silver drove commodity prices down and made it increasingly difficult for tenant farmers to make loan payments. In response, self-help farmers' cooperatives advocated (among other things) government control of railroads and a graduated income tax.

Two Hollywood genres depict economic issues relevant to Populism, both associated chiefly with the American 1930s. One is the western, in which banks and railroads and land disputes—many of them historically contemporary with the rise of Populism—come under repeated scrutiny. Though scholarship of the early twenty-first century on 1930s B-westerns points to the conflation of nineteenth- and twentieth-century time cues (cow ponies, motor cars) as confirming the link between the economics of Populism and those of the "Popular Front" New Deal, the best known Populist western is John Ford's *Stagecoach* (1939), wherein a well-fed frontier banker absconds with a recently received payroll and spouts Hooverite slogans ("The government must not interfere with business") while complaining about bank examiners to his fellow passengers.

Another western often associated with Populism is *Jesse James* (Henry King, 1939); what sets Jesse on the path to outlawry is the railroad's strong-arm attempt to take over the family farm, resulting in his mother's death, which Jesse repays by sticking up the railroad, and a bank or two for good measure. Later westerns evoking the rural crises that led to the farmers' revolt of the 1880s and 1890s include *Shane* (George Stevens, 1953) and *Heaven's Gate* (Michael Cimino, 1980). A resonant instance of this tradition is *McCabe & Mrs. Miller* (Robert Altman, 1971), in which William Devane's politically ambitious lawyer invokes William Jennings Bryan, the Populist (and Democratic) Party's 1896 presidential candidate, by way of encouraging McCabe (Warren Beatty) to stand fast against Wild-West corporate thuggery ("McCabe strikes a blow for the little man").

A second strain of movie Populism linked to the 1930s involves films that treat Depression-era agricultural dilemmas directly. *Our Daily Bread* (King Vidor, 1934) literally depicts an agricultural cooperative, as a city couple organizes other down-and-outs to help work the land they are (effectively) tenanting. *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town* features a whole army of dispossessed farmers, who see Longfellow's homestead giveaway scheme as their last chance. The "Kansas" portions of *The Wizard of Oz* evoke Depression-era agricultural anxieties. Ford's *Tobacco Road* (1941) depicts an almost surreal clan of Georgia farmers who are saved from eviction when the cash-strapped landlord himself pays the banker to let them stay for one more crop. *The Southerner* (Jean Renoir, 1945) similarly delineates the plight of field hands who turn to tenant farming to improve their lot.

Pride of place in this tradition obviously goes to Ford's *The Grapes of Wrath* (1940), one of Hollywood's most radical examinations of the kind of agricultural tragedy—narratively the result of "dust bowl" weather but visually the fault of a bank and its Eisensteinian bulldozer—that drove farmers in the 1880s and 1890s to organize. The tradition continues in later films—*Bonnie and Clyde* (Arthur Penn, 1967) and *Thieves Like Us* (Robert Altman, 1974)—where Depression-era outlawry is sympathetically linked to economic hardship and dispossession. And the agricultural iconography on view in *Our Daily Bread* is repeated in "Farm Crisis" movies of the 1980s, *Country* (Richard Pearce, 1984), *The River* (Mark Rydell, 1984), and *Places in the Heart* (Robert Benton, 1984), the last of which is also set in the 1930s.

CAPRA AND POPULISM

The equation of Capra and Populism is perennial but distorting. The most direct link involves *Meet John Doe*, where the montage of the growth of the John Doe clubs emphasizes—via maps and musical cues—the South and the Midwest, regions where Populism was most influential, thus lending chilling credibility to the "iron hand" third party presidential ambitions of media tycoon D. B. Norton (Edward Arnold). In view of Norton's ersatz Populism, it should be remembered that the "pastoral" is itself an urban genre or fantasy. Deeds finds his farmers in New York City, after all, and it is only in Washington, D.C. that Jefferson Smith finds his mature populist voice.

That aside, Capra's "populism" has less to do with the Populist Party than with the "American Dream" version of the Agrarian Myth and its anxious, highly-charged belief in the benevolence of Nature and of human nature. To the extent that "Capraesque" and "populist" are synonymous post-Capra, the Capra legacy

involves a volatile combination of cosmic benevolence and go-for-broke political idealism.

The political strain is evident in the "neo-Capra" movies of the Clinton era—*Hero* (Stephen Frears, 1992), *The Distinguished Gentleman* (Jonathan Lynn, 1992), *Dave* (Ivan Reitman, 1993), *The Hudsucker Proxy* (Joel and Ethan Coen, 1994), *The American President* (Rob Reiner, 1995), and *Bulworth* (Warren Beatty, 1998)—which self-consciously appropriate narrative situations and democratic iconography from Capra's "Populist Trilogy," though rarely with as great a sense of consequence as Capra and his writers (chiefly Robert Riskin [1897–1955]) derived from their circumstances.

The "cosmic benevolence" feature, obviously, derives from the guardian angel framework of *It's a Wonderful Life* (1946). Though Capra's was not the first 1940s film to employ an angelic guardian or mentor—*Here Comes Mr. Jordon* (Alexander Hall, 1941) and *A Guy Named Joe* (Victor Fleming, 1943) come to mind, each of which was eventually remade, the former by Warren Beatty and Buck Henry as *Heaven Can Wait* (1978), the latter by Steven Spielberg as *Always* (1989)—it is probable that the "fantasy of goodwill" phrase stuck to Capra because only heavenly intervention could save James Stewart's George Bailey from himself and also because such narrational sleight-of-hand, for which *Wonderful Life*'s "heavenly projection room" conceit is so wonderfully apt, emphatically confirms the sense in which all of Capra's political morality fables require breathlessly miraculous conversions to arrive at their variously problematic conclusions.

The subjunctive mode of *It's a Wonderful Life*, in which a given life is depicted as being haunted or redeemed by an alternative existence, is also basic to Capra's political fables—in each his populist hero is effectively kidnapped from his ordinary life into some other one—and the dreamlike aura, always on the edge between nightmare and wish fulfillment, rarely dissipates. Hence the frequency with which "time travel" fables like *Peggy Sue Got Married* (Francis Ford Coppola, 1986) or *Field of Dreams* (Phil Alden Robinson, 1989) are described as "Capraesque," and the appellation can as readily be applied to "ghost stories" like *Ghost* (Jerry Zucker, 1990) or *The Sixth Sense* (M. Night Shyamalan, 1999), or to sci-fi films like *Back to the Future* (Robert Zemeckis, 1985) or *Contact* (Robert Zemeckis, 1997), or to *The Majestic* (Frank Darabont, 2001), where cinema is depicted as a source of individual and communal, even political, renewal after a period of personal and cultural amnesia.

It has been claimed that cinema's photographic capacity to "naturalize" fantasy marks the medium itself as "populist" in the regressive sense. It is equally as true that cinema's capacity to haunt our present life with a picture of another world that seems uncannily like our own yet just beyond reach marks it as "populist" in the best sense, as appealing to the better angels of our nature. An American Dream, indeed.

SEE ALSO *Great Depression*

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PORNOGRAPHY

Pornography is a genre that involves the representation of sexually explicit scenarios and is created for the purpose of bodily arousal. The genre employs a particular set of conventions to distinguish ''soft-core'' from ''hard-core'' porn. The history of moving-image pornography can be traced from the earliest moments of filmmaking, including single-reel exhibitionist films common to primitive silent cinema. Over time, pornography moved from being exhibited in men's clubs (as stag films) to developing more elaborate narratives that were subsequently shown in grindhouse, sexploitation, and X-rated theaters across the United States. During the late 1970s, the US adult film industry was one of the first areas to take advantage of new videotape technology, and the consumption of sexually explicit materials moved from theatrical exhibition to the home. Since the onset of both digital video disc (DVD) production and Internet services, the production and distribution of pornographic film and video in the United States has grown into a multibillion dollar industry.

The history of moving-image pornography also includes an understanding of the legal parameters that tend to determine the representation, production, and distribution of the genre. The changing definition of obscenity plays an important role in delineating soft-core and hard-core pornography, and evolving cultural attitudes toward porn are connected to trajectories in the women's movement and gay and lesbian activism. In the twenty-first century, almost any sexual practice and/or fetish can be found represented in some niche of the soft-core and hard-core pornographic industry.

BRIEF HISTORY

Before the development of motion picture technology, photographic pornography was available all over the world through the distribution of nude photographs. In the late nineteenth century, Eadweard Muybridge's (1830–1904) motion studies, in the form of a series of stop-motion photographs accompanied by a lecture, were some of the first experiments in pornographic representations—although these motion studies were distinctly soft core as they simulated sexual relations and showed no close-ups or penetration. Images such as two nude women posed together, either smoking a cigarette or being doused in a tub of water, differed markedly from the same motion studies of naked or near-naked men, posed alone either running or jumping. Any titillation occurring from these representations was safely contained by the contextualizing discourses of science and technology.

Mainstream cinematic representations, such as Edison's *The Kiss* (1896), were chaste, but more explicit pornographic films (known as stag films) were also made in the primitive era of filmmaking (1896–1911). These films comprised a single reel (approximately 15 minutes), were silent, black and white, and contained very little narrative structure. These primitive films were more interested in technologically representing authentic bodily movements than creating coherent stories; primitive films were thus termed exhibitionist in the way that they displayed images for consumption and represented documented bodies in motion.

Even after mainstream filmmaking moved out of the primitive era, pornographic films still maintained these primitive attributes. One of the earliest extant American

stag films, *A Free Ride* (dated by the Kinsey Institute as from 1917 to 1919), employs an introductory setup of a man and two women driving in the country. As they take turns relieving themselves in the woods, the crude editing and title cards indicate that the women become turned on watching the man, and the man is aroused by subsequently watching them. These scenes are followed by various close-ups of fellatio, male ejaculation, and a woman being penetrated during intercourse while lying down and standing, all shown in a disjointed manner divorced from narrative structure and narrative modes of identification. Extreme close-ups of genitalia, filmed in an almost clinical manner, are referred to as "meat shots." Through numerous close-ups these films tend to employ a type of theatrical frontality, in which the spectator is often directly addressed by the bodies on camera—a presentation with some historic connections to striptease.

Stag films were primarily (and illegally) exhibited in European brothels and exclusively male clubs in the United States (though sometimes female guests were invited) at gatherings known as smokers. While the reasons behind these group screenings were social and sexual, future exhibition of primitive or stag films became much more solitary. Later stag films or loops, shot largely in color, could be found in adult arcades, where coins would be repeatedly fed into a slot so that the disjointed spectacle could continue as the spectator watched the footage in a private booth. As pornographic films grew to feature length, their narratives became more coherent and sophisticated, supplanting stag films as the standard for explicit sexual representations.

Until 1957, in the United States the distribution of pornography was under state control. American law has differentiated obscenity, which is disgusting or morally unhealthy material, from pornography, which is a representation of sexuality, and there have been problems with the inconsistencies of definition. The First Amendment was generally understood to protect all forms of speech with any social value, while communities could impose some regulation on materials they deemed harmful. Most states in turn allowed communities to maintain tight controls on pornography, while the US Post Office, as mandated by the notorious Comstock Act of 1873, which made it illegal to mail any "obscene, lewd, or lascivious material," regularly searched the mails for offensive material, which had been defined to include information on contraception. This policing of the mails began to wane around 1915, which was a high point in the stag film's popularity.

The first pornography case heard by the US Supreme Court was *Roth v. United States* (1957). In upholding the government's powers, Justice William Brennan defined pornography as "material which deals with sex in a manner appealing to prurient interest." At this time, the term "hard core" entered legal discourse. Brennan also defined pornography as exciting "lustful thoughts" or "a shameful and morbid interest in sex" which could be determined by "community standards." Pornography was considered unprotected speech as it was "without redeeming social importance." Roth proved minimally useful as community standards were difficult to establish and prurient interests were hard to determine. The Court subsequently tried to clarify its standard in *A Book Named "John Cleland's Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure" v. the Attorney General of Massachusetts* (1966), claiming that obscenity had to be "*utterly* without redeeming social value"; but again, this "social value" was difficult to determine. Consequently, the Court began overturning obscenity prosecutions unless the material was sold to minors or advertised in a way that emphasized its sexual nature (*Redrup v. New York*, 1967). Simultaneously, discourses on sexuality were becoming more prevalent and commonplace, as Alfred Kinsey's work at the Kinsey Institute in the late 1950s and Masters and Johnson's research in the late 1960s attest. These cultural changes, combined with a new obscenity standard, led to the easier availability of increasingly explicit sexual materials and fed the campaign against the Warren Court and activist judges.

These obscenity decisions played a role in Richard Nixon's successful presidential election campaign (which was invested in attacking the Supreme Court). However, even Nixon's interest in returning to tradition was subverted by the changing nature of motion picture pornography, as the form moved from stag reels, largely consumed by men, to publicly screened feature films attended by men and women, of which Gerard Damiano's *Deep Throat* (1972) was the most notorious example. Nevertheless, the widespread popularity of these films in theatrical venues was short-lived, as a more conservative Supreme Court attempted and partially succeeded in turning back obscenity laws. In *Miller v. California* (1973) and its companion case, *Paris Adult Theatre I v. Slaton*, 413 US 49 (1973), Justice Warren Berger redefined obscenity by weighing the pornographic materials' social value against its offensiveness and, most importantly, brought the community standards test back to a local (rather than a national) level. State and local governments' power to control sexually oriented materials increased, as the state could act "to protect the weak, the uninformed, the unsuspecting, and the gullible" from their own desires. Still, the ways in which pornographic and obscene materials were perceived and illegalities were prosecuted varied from community to community, and state to state. At the same time, the increased presence of sexuality in public discourse made it difficult to align

Protestors outside a theater playing* Deep Throat *(Gerard Damiano, 1972). © UNIVERSAL/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

sexually explicit films with pornography lacking redeeming social importance.

Hard-core pornography's legitimacy followed a trajectory of sexually explicit films that historically and culturally tested the boundaries of what was allowed. The late 1950s and early 1960s were seen as the heyday of the sexploitation film—soft-core pornographic films that contained copious nudity. These cheaply made American films were known for their spectacular representations of sex (and sometimes violence). One of the earliest "nudie cuties" was Russ Meyer's (1922–2004) *The Immoral Mr. Teas* (1959), which featured a delivery man who, after visiting a dentist, develops X-ray (or X-rated) vision, enabling him to see fully dressed women in the nude. Radley Metzger's (b. 1929) distribution company, Audubon Films, also offered risqué exploitation films, but his foreign pictures, such as Danish filmmaker Mac Ahlberg's *Jag—en kvinna* (*I, a Woman*, 1965), maintained higher production values and a more elite reputation.

In the mid- to late 1960s, the "beaver film" became popular. These films were similar to the illegal stag film in that they consisted of short loops where women stripped and then displayed extreme close-ups of their naked pubis. Beaver films were mostly shown in peep-show arcades and sold through private mail order. "Action" beaver films either showed a woman fondling herself, or another woman touching a woman's genitals and performing cunnilingus; nevertheless, these films did not show hard-core "action," defined as penetration by penis, finger, or tongue. Another form of sexually explicit film of the period was the educational sex documentary. For example *Dansk sexualitet* (*Sexual Freedom in Denmark*, 1969), which ostensibly documented Denmark's burgeoning (and legal) pornography industry, was shown in exploitation and grindhouse theaters. Audiences who went to see these films could watch hard-core pornographic action—including erect penises and penetration—under the guise of gaining knowledge.

With the influx of hard-core film representations in the early 1970s, the feature-length, hard-core pornographic film became prevalent, heralding the rise of "porno chic." *Deep Throat* opened in the summer of 1972 and played at the New Mature World Theater in

Times Square, a typical exploitation theater. Starring Linda Lovelace as Linda, and Harry Reems as her sexologist doctor, the film tells the story of a woman unable to reach sexual fulfillment (that is, orgasm) through sexual intercourse. In the course of her examination, she is found to have her clitoris in her throat and can only climax through the process of "deep throating," where the throat is opened in order to envelop the penis during fellatio. *Deep Throat* stands out as one of the first films that intertwines a cohesive narrative with hard-core sex scenes; critics reviewed the film (often negatively) in the mainstream press, and the film was shown in theatrical venues for audiences of both men and women. The film's success encouraged other notable releases in 1972, ostensibly known as the "golden age of porn": The Mitchell Brothers's *Behind the Green Door*, starring Marilyn Chambers (a former Ivory soap model), and Damiano's *The Devil in Miss Jones*, with Georgina Spelvin and Harry Reems were the most well known.

HETEROSEXUAL HARD-CORE CONVENTIONS

While the stag film and various striptease loops of the primitive era and beyond had already introduced the "meat shot," or extreme close-up of female genitals, it was not until *Deep Throat* that the ubiquitous "money shot" became a staple of hard-core film. Speaking to the documentary truth of the sex act, the visible ejaculation of the male performer allows the truth of male sexual pleasure to become visible. Notably, *Behind the Green Door* contains an extensive, slow motion ejaculation scene, enhanced by psychedelic colors and special effects. The necessity for these penis close-ups is facilitated by numerous scenes of heterosexually-oriented fellatio and scenes of penetrating intercourse where the penis is withdrawn prior to orgasm and then ejaculates onto the female partner—on her breasts, her buttocks, or her face (known as a facial).

Since female porn performers do not have the same visible evidence of orgasm as men, hard-core films make up for this lack by enhanced, nonsynchronous post-dubbed soundtracks where women aurally reveal their pleasure through a series of moans and cries of encouragement; these sound effects also verify the realism of the image shown onscreen. Furthermore, the camera's focus, when not intent on meat or money shots, often stays on the ecstatic reactions of the woman's face as another indicator of sexual pleasure and desire. Thus, for much of the golden age, porn films rarely needed to employ classically "handsome" male actors. The ability to remain erect (or maintain "wood") throughout a scene and ejaculate on command in front of cameras was a challenge that limited the pool of male porn performers. One of the most famous was John Holmes (also known as Johnny Wadd), a performer well known for his exceptional penis size (estimated to be between ten and fourteen inches); he starred in such films as *Johnny Wadd* (1971), *The Life and Times of the Happy Hooker* (1974), and *All Night Long* (1976). Before dying of AIDS in 1988, Holmes had starred in more than 220 pornographic films.

Classic feature-length, hard-core porn films (from the 1970s and early 1980s) have been compared to Hollywood musicals, both in terms of how they alternate scenes of narrative with moments of spectacle and in terms of how their narratives create utopias. Some of the more typical scenarios common to the heterosexual hard-core theatrical film are masturbation scenes, straight sex (male-to-female with penetration through intercourse), lesbianism, oral sex (either cunnilingus or fellatio), ménage à trois (threesomes), orgies, and anal sex. While most of these particular sexual numbers are inserted into typical heterosexual hard-core films, the films with elaborate narratives usually culminate in a final sex scene that displays ultimate fulfillment. For example, in *The Opening of Misty Beethoven* (1976) when Dr. Seymour Love (Jamie Gillis) finds Misty Beethoven (Constance Money) giving hand jobs in a Paris porn theater, his enthusiasm to transform her, Pygmalion-style, into a sophisticated sexual performer motivates a series of training sessions and tests, as Misty becomes increasingly skilled. Over the course of the film, Misty and Seymour develop feelings for each other, and the film culminates in a straight sex number as their heterosexual desire for each other is fulfilled.

Golden era hard-core pornographic films were usually shot with color film, employed fairly cohesive narratives, and were shown in X-rated theatrical venues. This type of film exhibition did inhibit some of porn film's masturbatory potential, and the placement of porn theaters in unsavory or dangerous neighborhoods often hindered women from attending pornographic films. Unsurprisingly, when video technology began to take hold in the late 1970s, the adult film industry pushed for home video's increased development, thereby opening the porn market to more women and couples and creating a wider variety of niche markets aimed at the individual porn spectator—interracial, gay, lesbian, bisexual, girl-on-girl, fetish, and so on. Also, as technology became more accessible in the mid- to late 1980s, the amateur market took off as all variety of couples shot their own porn films and distributed them through amateur porn companies such as Purely Amateur, Home Maid, and Amateur Home Video of California. Additionally, the genre of Gonzo porn—where the camera operator or director takes an overt part in the action, either by talking to the actors or by being a performer himself or herself—popularized by directors such as John Stagliano (also known as Buttman) proliferated due to the accessibility of hand-held and mobile camera equipment.

RADLEY METZGER
b. New York, New York, 21 January 1929

American director, producer, writer, editor, and distributor, Radley Metzger is known for making erotic films. The majority of his work is in soft-core pornography, although he made five sophisticated, hard-core pornographic films between 1975 and 1978.

Metzger initially studied acting and during the Korean War edited propaganda films. Later he dubbed foreign films and soon worked for foreign film distributor Janus Films, where he edited trailers for Bergman, Antonioni, and Truffaut films. At Janus he met Ava Leighton, who would become his partner in distributing art house and foreign films through his own company, Audubon Films. Metzger's first film, *Dark Odyssey* (1961), was a box-office and critical failure, and afterward he focused on distributing and re-editing (for US release) a series of fluffy erotic films that combined light nudity with French sophistication. These films included Pierre Foueaud's *Mademoiselle Strip-tease* (*The Nude Set*, 1957), André Hunebelle's *Les Collégiennes* (*The Twilight Girls*, 1957), and José Antonio de la Loma's *Un Mundo para mi* (*Soft Skin on Black Silk*, 1959)—all starring French sex kitten Agnes Laurent. In 1966, Metzger purchased and re-cut his biggest box-office success, Mac Ahlberg's Danish erotic film *Jag—en kvinna* (*I, a Woman*, 1965).

Following the popularity of his re-edited imports, Metzger began making his own erotic films, beginning with *The Dirty Girls* in 1964. Still, Metzger's career as a director did not really take off until *Carmen, Baby* (1967). Based on Prosper Mérimée's 1896 novel *Carmen*, it was the first of many adaptations that Metzger used as sources for his erotic films, adding to their veneer of high culture. One of Metzger's most visually striking and controversial films, *Therese and Isabell* (1968), photographed in sumptuous black and white, tells in flashback the illicit love story of two Catholic schoolgirls. Metzger followed this film with *Camille 2000* (1969), his version of the celebrated novel by Alexandre Dumas *fils*.

While Metzger's films were often labeled sexploitation, his unique combination of art film aesthetics and spectacular art direction and costume/set design put his films on a par above grindhouse fare. Still, once pornographic films became more acceptable (and accessible) to mainstream adult moviegoers, Metzger decided to take a step towards more sexually explicit representations. His crossover film, the couple-swapping romp *Score* (1973), featured more explicit lesbian and bisexual scenes, but it was not until *The Private Afternoons of Pamela Mann* (1975) that Metzger, under the pseudonym Henry Paris, began to make hard-core pornographic films. Nevertheless, Metzger's hard-core films were exceptionally beautiful narrative features, utterly unique to the genre, as is clear in his most famous hard-core film, *The Opening of Misty Beethoven* (1976).

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Carmen, Baby (1967), *Therese and Isabell* (1968), *Camille 2000* (1969), *The Lickerish Quartet* (1970), *Score* (1973), *The Punishment of Anne* (aka *The Image*, 1976), *The Opening of Misty Beethoven* (1976)

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With the onset of home video availability, the structure and style of hard-core pornographic films began to evolve. Films no longer had to hold the attention of a group audience in the same manner, and many narratives became much more episodic, with sex scenes often only connected by a similar theme or performer. The structure of these films, combined with the home VCR, allowed home viewers to rewind, fast-forward, and pause on favorite scenes—and viewing could cease once orgasm was achieved. Hard-core porn shot on video also became much less expensive to produce, and often porn's *mise-en-scène* suffered as a result—costumes would often be dispensed with and scenes could be shot on identical and rather barren sets. Still, some filmmakers, such as Andrew Blake (*Night Trips* [1989] and *House of Dreams* [1990]) and Michael Ninn (*Sex* [1994] and *Latex* [1995]) insisted

Radley Metzger. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

on using film stock and making high-quality porn films that appealed to the couples market. More avant-garde filmmakers, including Rinse Dream (Steven Sayadian), created distinctive films utilizing experimental and art film aesthetics, as in *Nightdreams* (1982) and *Café Flesh* (1982).

Hard-core pornographic films tend to steal iconography from many familiar genres—horror, film noir, westerns, and science fiction. Yet the "porn comedy" is often a parody in name only, as films such as *Black Cock Down*, *Finding Nympho*, *Frosty the Blowman*, *Hairy Pooper and the Sorcerer's Bone*, *Lawrence of a Labia*, and *Ordinary Peepholes* do not retain a connection to their parodied text beyond their title. Films and videos that retain their parodic edge rely on the viewer's knowledge of the original text, such as in *Sex Trek III: The Wrath of Bob* (1995), which plays on *Star Trek: The Wrath of Khan* (1982), and *The Ozporns* (2002), which parodies the hit reality show *The Osbournes* (2002–2004).

THE MEESE COMMISSION AND THE SEX WARS—DISCOURSES ON PORNOGRAPHY

In 1970, under President Nixon, a commission on pornography had determined that pornography, unlike violence, had no measurable ill effects. Beginning in 1986, during President Reagan's last two years of office and into the first Bush administration, the Commission on Pornography, headed by Attorney General Edwin Meese, made significant strides in prosecuting and demonizing pornography. Ostensibly, new laws and an Obscenity Task Force were aimed at child pornography, but the elaborate new record-keeping requirements (combined with extensive legal fees) were intended to drive producers of sexually explicit materials out of business. Established in 1987, the National Obscenity Enforcement Unit attempted to eliminate as much sexually oriented material as possible. Frequently the unit would force plea bargains and settlements on defendants who wished to avoid prosecution; in one instance, plea negotiations with the Adam & Eve Company demanded that the company stop selling even mild soft-core porn, including marriage manuals like *The Joy of Sex* (1972). A federal circuit court ultimately ruled that the Unit did violate the company's First Amendment rights. During the late 1980s, the unit also began "Operation Porn Sweep," pursuing major producers of porn videos. One of the most notorious cases that undermined the adult film industry was that of Tracy Lords, an underage actress who had been working for several years in the industry under a false name. Her illegal status rendered almost all of her work "child pornography," and the films were either seized or destroyed in order to avoid prosecution. The industry lost millions of dollars and suffered extensive fees due to this case alone.

Unlike the 1970 commission, which relied upon the analysis of scientific data, the Meese Commission relied on anecdotal presentations in order to make its claims. Some of the more significant testimonies and claims were presented by such anti-pornography feminists as Andrea Dworkin, Catherine MacKinnon, and Robin Morgan. These women, initially forming in the 1970s as Women Against Violence in Pornography, were invested in the belief that all pornography was degrading to women, and that the consumption of porn by men maintained a causal relationship to the violence perpetrated on women in contemporary society. Indeed, for anti-porn feminists, violence was inherent in the heterosexual sex act, and any women who might enjoy fantasies of violence or submission were considered victims of false consciousness. During this period, Dworkin and MacKinnon drew up city ordinances, most notably for Indianapolis, that ostensibly censored pornography, openly recognizing that pornography's postures and acts were demeaning to women. (While these city ordinances were ultimately rendered unconstitutional, Canada eventually drafted laws against pornography that drew upon the Dworkin-MacKinnon model). Due to anti-porn's vocal presence, hard-core pornography did indeed evolve,

so that representations of rape and violent coercion were not allowed in films that showed penetration.

What resulted from this fusion of feminism and right-wing social moralizing was the subsequent scapegoating of unorthodox or alternative sexual practices, which were thereby rendered perverse. Thus the sexual role-playing characteristic of butch/femme relationships and sexual practices involving bondage or sado-masochism quickly came under fire. During the mid- to late 1980s, and in the midst of backlash against the women's movement, anti-porn feminists represented a popular media force, and various members (including Gloria Steinem) were held up as the definitive feminist perspective throughout the United Stattes. Unsurprisingly, this vision of white, middle class, educated feminism did not account for the diversity of women concerned with issues of sexuality. Many of these tensions became pronounced at the notorious Barnard Conference "Towards a Politics of Sexuality" held in New York City in 1981; the subsequent divisiveness that held sway for many years in the feminist movement became known as The Sex Wars. Opposed to anti-porn views stood anti-censorship feminists, who believed that different sexual practices were defensible and that censoring some types of pornography would create a hierarchy of these differences. While these women were not necessarily amenable to all forms of pornography, they did hold to beliefs that the censorship of sexual materials would create overwhelming limitations on sexual expression and the pursuit of sexual knowledge. Since then, with the continuous growth of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender activism and acceptance, along with what might be considered the "pornification" of mainstream commercial culture, anti-porn feminism has fallen out of fashion and hard-core pornography has grown increasingly acceptable.

Since the onset of the home video boom, legal porn's exhibition and consumption has been largely relegated to the private, as opposed to, the public sphere. Subsequently, DVD and streaming video technology available on the Internet has increased the accessibility of hard-core sexual representations; and with the emergence of sophisticated cellular phone technology, porn viewing will become highly mobile as well. In turn, hard-core pornography has gained new legitimacy, with porn actresses hosting special shows on the E! Entertainment Network. Mainstream films have explored the adult film industry, including *Boogie Nights* (Paul Thomas Anderson, 1997) and *Wonderland* (James Cox, 2003), and performers have become the topic of several mainstream documentaries, including *Porn Star: The Legend of Ron Jeremy* (Scott Gill, 2001) and *Inside Deep Throat* (Fenton Bailey and Randy Barbato, 2005). The dividing line between art and pornography has become increasingly blurred as foreign directors such as Catherine Breillat (b. 1948) have made dramatic films that feature hard-core penetration and employ male porn actors, such as Rocco Sifreddi (*Romance* [1999] and *Anatomy of Hell* [2004]). Even more dramatically, porn superstar Jenna Jameson released the national bestseller (co-written with Neil Strauss) entitled *How to Make Love Like a Porn Star: A Cautionary Tale* (2003).

The perception of the soft- and hard-core pornographic industries has also changed substantially in academic circles, especially after the publication of Linda Williams's groundbreaking book on the hard-core film genre, *Hard Core: Power, Pleasure and the "Frenzy of the Visible"* in 1999. Williams's book, which analyzes the cultural and social debates surrounding pornography and examines the theoretical discourses that affect porn's definitions and meanings, was the first text to seriously analyze hard-core pornography as a film genre. Since its publication, academic courses devoted to analyzing sexually explicit representations have emerged across the United States, and what is known as Third Wave Feminism has come to embrace issues of sexual expression and pleasure as fundamental to feminist identity. Books on gay male porn, such as Thomas Waugh's *Hard to Imagine*, and histories of exploitation cinema, like Eric Schaeffer's *"Bold! Daring! Shocking! True!"*, have opened the door to further explorations of both soft- and hard-core pornographies by academics, students, and porn consumers alike. Still, in the twenty-first century the United States is mired in what are known as The Culture Wars, and the divisions over popular and acceptable representations of sexuality are so intractable that dissension over pornography's production, distribution, and consumption will continue to splinter cultural opinions for years to come.

SEE ALSO *Censorship; Exploitation Film; Feminism; Gender; Sexuality*

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POSTMODERNISM

It is now a truism to say that the term *postmodernism* has been stretched to the breaking point. Defining postmodernism has often proved a messy task because of the sundry ways in which the term has been used in application to an astounding diversity of sociocultural phenomena. Building facades, gallery artwork, political and advertising campaigns, historical periods and sensibilities, and philosophies are referred to as indicative of postmodernism. To add to the confusion, some thinkers consider postmodernism as a symptomatic appearance or strategy found in some or many recent cultural products, while others regard our very age as intrinsically postmodern. In approaching the concept, then, it is best to look at how the term has been used and how it differs from the "modern," and which features of recent and current filmmaking, film theory, and film reception might be identified as postmodern. In brief, postmodernism may be thought of as an attitude which eschews an essential, transcendent subject, rejects teleology and historical destiny, and discredits faith in totalizing grand narratives. In art, specifically film, this postmodern attitude has been described as having precipitated (negatively or positively, respectively) either the exhaustion or the playfulness that produces intertextuality, self-referentiality, pastiche, a nostalgia for a mélange of past forms, and the blurring of boundaries between "high" and "low" culture.

THEORIZING THE POSTMODERN

Vis-à-vis film, postmodernism has not led to a particular school or method of theoretical analysis, as for example psychoanalysis, Marxism, or structuralism have. This is unsurprising: writers on the postmodern see life and society as fractured and recycled circulations no longer able to be summarized into unified theoretical frameworks. Theorists of the postmodern have much more so contributed to our understanding of film by unsettling the assumptions and certainties of earlier theories that underpinned how film has been conceptualized.

It is on these terms that Jean-François Lyotard's *The Postmodern Condition* (1984) addresses our society. Lyotard designates the postmodern as a questioning attitude to the "metanarratives" of Western thought. By "metanarratives" Lyotard means the hegemonic paradigms for human organization and behavior, such as Marxism, Christianity, science, fascism, or language. In this basic sense his work is aligned with the fundamental tenets of poststructuralist thought. Furthermore, Lyotard's definition of the postmodern suggests that he understands the modern to be the Enlightenment project of system, reason, order, and symmetry found in the philosophies of Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), Voltaire (1694–1778), and John Locke (1632–1704), rather than the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century artistic modernism typified by the architecture of the Bauhaus school or classic narrative cinema. Since "postmodern" has become to some extent a negative epithet used to describe naïve, ahistorical cultural products, it is important to note the attitude theorists of the postmodern take towards their object of inquiry. Lyotard, for example, views the postmodern condition as fundamentally ambivalent. He does not suggest that we are experiencing a postmodern age that has neatly superseded the modern one; for him, the postmodern does not signify the end of modernism but rather a new thinking in relation to modernism.

Unlike Lyotard, Jean Baudrillard, another important theorist of the postmodern, sees its development as decidedly negative. He bemoans above all the way in which media images and signs have usurped real experience for the modern subject. Although Baudrillard focuses on television as the distribution nexus for these images, his critique of the circulated image does have bearing on the postmodern and cinema. Baudrillard reads twentieth-century history as the transition from a manufacturing-industrial society to an order based upon communication and the circulation of signs. Baudrillard claims that not only is our world cluttered with these images, but also, crucially, that these signs have become our reality. In this capitalist "hyperreality" of simulations, referentiality has dissolved; images no longer have any connection to what they are supposed to represent; signs are more real than reality itself. By this logic, Baudrillard claimed in 1991 that the Gulf War (1990–1991) did not take place. With night-vision images of bombings in Iraq and Kuwait, for Baudrillard the Gulf War was little more than a virtual video game consumable in bite-sized doses.

According to Fredric Jameson, postmodernism is characterized by its emphasis on fragmentation. Fragmentation of the subject replaces the alienation of the subject, modernism's calling card. Unlike Lyotard, Jameson sees postmodernism as the successive stage to the high-art modernism of the early twentieth century. Postmodernist works are often characterized by a lack of depth, which has been replaced by a surfeit of surface. Also distinctive of the late capitalist age is its focus on the recycling of old images and commodities. Using examples from cinema, Jameson catalogs key features of postmodern culture: self-referentiality, irony, pastiche, and parody (*Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, 1991). He takes to task Hollywood films which pillage film history and thereby create a flat kind of spatialized temporality. Jameson refers to this cultural recycling as *historicism*—the random cannibalization of various past styles. For example, Jameson argues that a neo-noir film such as *Chinatown* (1974) simulates the past through references to older films in a way that erases historical depth—with stylistic gestures without deeper meaning—and thus fails to recreate a "real" past. The actual organic tie of history to past events is thus lost. Many are careful to call Jameson a "theorist of the postmodern" rather than "postmodern theorist" because of the clear "metanarrative" that informs his thinking: Marxism. Adopting a stance on postmodernism, so Jameson argues, means taking a position on multinational capitalism.

POSTMODERNISM AND FILM

Before addressing the postmodern features of individual films—by far the more common approach to the postmodern in film that scholars have employed—one should take note of the postmodern nature of technology and distribution in the film industry today. In Hollywood's golden age, a typical film was shot on 35mm celluloid by one of a handful of studios. The cast and crew were under contract to that studio. When the film was finished, prints were copied and sent out to cinemas, which then projected the film for customers who paid a fixed price to see it, typically as part of a larger program. Today the situation is much different. Films are often shot on a digital format by the major studios (now subsidiaries of multinational corporations), but also by independent studios, independent filmmakers, or even amateurs (*The Blair Witch Project* [1999]). Stars are no longer bound to long-term contracts with the major studios. They, and also most of a film's cast and crew, have agents who negotiate rates per feature, not to mention publicists who try to generate press for them so as to elevate their prestige among fans and in the industry and thereby their salaries. Today studios bombard cinemas with prints according to saturation-release strategies. *Star Wars: Episode III—Revenge of the Sith* (2005) opened with a staggering 18,700 prints around the world, including 9,700 in 3,700 North American theaters. Some studios will only provide prints to multiplexes who agree to show the film a certain number of times per day. With the transfer to digital technology, it has been predicted that in the near future "prints" will be e-mailed or beamed via encoded satellite channels directly to cinemas—assuming cinemas will exist in the future. It is now much more likely that one will watch a given film on DVD, video, TV, in an airplane, or downloaded (legally or illegally) via the Internet. Films are now shown with a number of advertisements before the film and, increasingly, in the film itself. The famous sequence from *Wayne's World* (1992), when Wayne overtly holds a Pepsi and intones that it is the "choice of a new generation" with a wink and a nod, is doubly postmodern. First, it is an example of product placement—the (usually) discreet integration of a name, product, packaging, or logo into a film—advertising, entertainment, and "art" are merged. Second, it cannily responds to the increasing cynicism vis-à-vis such marketing ploys, letting the audience in on the joke even while the film still benefits financially from it.

This portrait of the current film industry provides several entry points into a discussion of the postmodern, including the transition from celluloid to digital filmmaking. In classic film theory, the ontological basis for cinema—that is, how many film theorists accounted for its existence—was the celluloid format: light (and actors, trees, a set, or whatever stands before the camera) hits the film stock filtered through a lens and is recorded on the celluloid. André Bazin called this process the unveiling

GUY MADDIN

b. Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada, 28 February 1956

Guy Maddin's films contain uncanny worlds that, at once strange and familiar, are archives of film and culture references from high to low. Born and raised on the Canadian prairies, Maddin is the best-known exponent of "prairie modernism," which developed around the Winnipeg Film Group.

Aesthetically, Maddin betrays a fondness for black-and-white cinematography and a silent-film look lit from a single source. But color footage often intrudes at unlikely places, accompanied by intentionally discordant music and ambient sounds. Errors in continuity or film equipment in the shot are par for the course in Maddin movies, which have been filmed in abandoned warehouses, a grain elevator, a foundry turned garbage depot, or in his mother's beauty salon. Capturing the essence of a Maddin film is difficult. *Archangel* (1990), for example, takes place in the Russian city of the title during World War I and involves several cases of mistaken identity. The plot is conveyed with visual references to F. W. Murnau and Josef von Sternberg, aged film stock, crackling soundtrack, and strange breaks in the action. All suggest a film that appears to be a relic from the 1920s, but with 1990s irony. *The Saddest Music in the World* (2003) is a fable set in 1933 Winnipeg: a brewing magnate with beer-filled glass legs announces an international contest to perform the world's most sorrowful song. Part imaginary (film) history, part madcap musical melodrama, *The Saddest Music in the World* is an offbeat film that is unmistakably postmodern.

In interviews, as in his films, Maddin refers to influences as diverse as Pablo Picasso, the film director Douglas Sirk, the punk group the Ramones, Mexican wrestling movies, hockey star Mario Lemieux, the 1933 musical *Footlight Parade*, Euripides, and Mary Pickford. His short *The Heart of the World* (2000), commissioned for the 2000 Toronto International Film Festival as part of its Preludes series by ten Canadian directors, is perhaps his masterpiece. In a mere six minutes he perfectly captures the style and tropes of Soviet montage cinema of the 1920s.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Tales from the Gimli Hospital (1988), *Archangel* (1990), *Careful* (1992), *Twilight of the Ice Nymphs* (1997), *The Heart of the World* (2000), *Dracula: Pages from a Virgin's Diary* (2001), *The Saddest Music in the World* (2003)

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potential of film, the possibility to depict reality. For Siegfried Kracauer, another realism theorist, by recording and exploring physical reality, film "redeems" reality. What then, does the digital format, which depends on the transformation of light information received through the lens into combinations of 0s and 1s and can be recorded and copied without data loss, mean? For Baudrillard, this new configuration would surely serve as an example of how film has become pure simulacra: the distinction between original and copy is lost. The digital age of cinema represents its introduction into hyperreality. For theorist Paul Virilio, the digital revolution signals the further substitution or displacement of reality, in which a technological or virtual reality replaces the human one and the distinction between factual and virtual becomes meaningless.

In addition to the postmodern features of film as an industry and medium, how might individual films themselves be postmodern? Intertextuality, self-referentiality, parody, pastiche, and a recourse to various past forms, genres, and styles are the most commonly identified characteristics of postmodern cinema. These features may be found in a film's form, story, technical vocabulary, casting, *mise-en-scène*, or some combination of these.

Perhaps the most renowned postmodern director is Quentin Tarantino. The dialogue of films such as *Reservoir Dogs* (1992) and *Pulp Fiction* (1994) rely heavily on seemingly meaningless chatter about TV shows, pop music, B movies, and celebrity gossip. In *Jackie Brown* (1997) Tarantino cast the actress Pam Grier, relying on her past image as a sex symbol in 1970s

Guy Maddin. © IFC FILMS/ZUMA/CORBIS.

blaxploitation films such as *Coffy* (1973) and *Foxy Brown* (1974) in order to channel that legacy into his own film. This postmodern casting move has also been used famously by directors such as Pier Paolo Pasolini, who in his *Mamma Roma* (1962) cast Anna Magnani as the title character, consistently quoting and twisting the iconic image she acquired in Roberto Rossellini's *Roma, Città Aperta* (*Rome, Open City*, 1945). Jean-Luc Godard's casting of Fritz Lang as the director in *Le Mépris* (*Contempt*, 1963) is similar. Tarantino has made it a hallmark of his cinema, drawing on former stars such as John Travolta in *Pulp Fiction* and Darryl Hannah in the *Kill Bill* films (2003–2004).

Tarantino's casting is an example of postmodern intertextuality—a work's quoting, plagiarizing, or alluding to other films or cultural artifacts—a phenomenon that abounds in postmodern cinema. For example, in the first few minutes of *Lola rennt* (*Run Lola Run*, 1998), Lola (Franka Potente) receives a phone call from her boyfriend Manni that he needs money desperately. Lola throws up the telephone receiver, which director Tom Tykwer films in slow motion, alluding to the famous cut from the bone to the space station in Stanley Kubrick's *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968). She then lets out a glass-shattering scream, just like Oskar's in Volker Schlöndorff's *Die Blechtrommel* (*The Tin Drum*, 1979). The two sentences at the beginning of the film, "the ball is round" and "the game lasts for ninety minutes," are famous quotations from Sepp Herberger, a well-known German soccer coach. Finally, the painting which hangs over the casino scene is of Kim Novak's back, alluding to the painting in *Vertigo* (1958) that Novak's character obsessively stares at in the museum.

The system of allusion and quotation such as that found in *Run Lola Run*—which mixes both "high" art and "low" popular cutlture from various time periods and cultures—is a typical feature of postmodern cinema, and is often referred to as *pastiche*. For Jameson, parody refers to the use of various styles, genres, or texts for a critical purpose, while pastiche is a blank form of parody, blithely mimicking past forms without an underlying critical perspective. This distinction may be construed as problematic, however, since whether a film engages in parody or pastiche with its intertextuality is largely a matter of interpretation. Does *Jackie Brown* meditate on the legacy of blaxploitation films in the presence of Pam Grier, or does she merely constitute an in-joke for the initiated? Is *Run Lola Run* an attempt to come to terms with (German) film history, or are the allusions empty gestures of an exhausted film industry? The answers to these questions are hardly clear-cut.

Many argue that the postmodern has also infiltrated the narrative form of many films. Unlike in Hollywood's heyday, when the plot was transmitted in the most seamless fashion possible, many twenty-first century films, both Hollywood and independent, strive for a narrative that defies linear logic. *Run Lola Run* presents three different scenarios for Lola's quest to save her boyfriend, and she seems to learn from the past attempts, a narrative configuration that some have likened to the logic of a video game rather than a typical feature film. Likewise, films such as *Blind Chance* (1987), *Sliding Doors* (1998), and *Melinda and Melinda* (2004) present alternative stories. *Rashomon* (1950) and *Jackie Brown* are films in which a single story is told from several different perspectives, but *Jackie Brown* parodies Kurosawa's canonical modernist experiment in *Rashomon* by relocating these point-of-view sequences from the epic landscapes of a Japanese forest and ruined temple to the banal setting of a nondescript US shopping mall. Other films use postmodern intertextuality as the sine qua non of their narratives. *Forrest Gump* (1994) is unthinkable without the fictional Forrest's postproduction insertion into documentary footage of real US presidents and celebrities; Woody Allen's imaginary history *Zelig* (1983) works along similar lines. These films function by blurring the boundaries between fact and fiction, history and story. Finally, some see the blockbuster's "narrative" to be a consequence of the postmodern.

Guy Maddin's allusive* Archangel *(1990). © ZEITGEIST FILMS/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Rather than functioning as a cause-and-effect story, the blockbuster often organizes itself as a series of attractions (special effects, explosions, car chases) that spectators anticipate and enjoy. What the film is "about" becomes inconsequential or, at best, secondary, to a string of shocks designed to overload the senses.

The matter of style is another tricky question in the context of postmodern cinema. Is the "machine-gun" editing in Darren Aronofsky's *Pi* (1998) and *Requiem for a Dream* (2000), Guy Maddin's *The Heart of the World* (2000), and MTV music videos necessarily or equally postmodern? How are these projects different stylistically from early Soviet filmmaker Sergei Eisenstein's *Stachka* (*Strike*, 1925), *Bronenosets Potyomkin* (*Battleship Potemkin*, 1925), and *Oktyabr* (*Ten Days that Shook the World* and *October*, 1927)? The question of intention, taboo in poststructuralist thinking, might nonetheless help us here. Whereas the modernist Eisenstein made his films as propaganda tools aimed to garner support for a metanarrative (Leninism), Maddin is much more interested in evoking the mood or style of Soviet montage filmmaking, but with tongue firmly planted in cheek.

Finally, production design is often cited as a yardstick of postmodern cinema. Whereas the modernist architecture of Le Corbusier and the Bauhaus school called for a marriage of form, function, and social utility, examples of postmodern architecture might mix elements reminiscent of the Renaissance, baroque, neoclassical, Gothic, and modernist in the same facade. So too, for example, does Bo Welch create Gotham City in Tim Burton's *Batman Returns* (1992), which pays homage to several German expressionist films along with art deco and other stylistic touches. The dystopic Los Angeles of Ridley Scott's *Blade Runner* (1982) has often been cited as the postmodern cine-city par excellence. The film's production design cites numerous historical influences

including, most obviously, film noir. As Giuliana Bruno has noted, the city in *Blade Runner* is not a vision of ultramodern skyscrapers and orderly, mechanized interiors, but rather a hodgepodge aesthetic of recycled decay ("Ramble City").

It is ironic that in spite of theorists' desire to proclaim the end of grand narratives in the age of postmodernism, there is the tendency in their writings to generalize and universalize the postmodern nonetheless. But the generation of Lyotard, Jameson, Baudrillard, and Virilio, which diagnosed the postmodern largely as an inevitable symptom of cultural exhaustion or capitalistic excess, is giving way to a younger generation of theorists less eager to predict doomsday scenarios. D. N. Rodowick, for example, has outlined a philosophy of the transition from analog to new media technologies which acknowledges the new ontological basis for digital films without claiming that this new basis must signify the end of referentiality, as Baudrillard has.

SEE ALSO *Parody*

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PRE-CINEMA

The cinema's prehistory is frequently narrated though the enumeration of various technologies whose invention slowly but surely led to moving pictures. Indeed, the capacity to produce and project moving pictures did depend on notable inventions such as photography, flexible roll film, intermittent mechanisms for projectors, and forms of artificial illumination such as limelight and electric light. However, it is important to keep in mind that the cinema itself was rarely, if ever, the goal of the scientists, experimenters, entertainers, and photographers who developed the optical toys and screen entertainment that ultimately made moving pictures mechanically feasible. They had other objectives in mind—such as proving a scientific hypothesis about human vision and locomotion or expanding on the aesthetic and commercial possibilities of painting and photography. Moreover, the history of cinema must take into account certain social, cultural, and political changes during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which enabled the success of commercialized leisure, such as magic lantern shows, panoramas, and, ultimately, the cinema.

During the Enlightenment in eighteenth-century Europe, experimentation in optics and physics led to the development of the scientific and mechanical principles on which many forms of nineteenth-century visual culture are based. In turn, the French and American Revolutions and the decreasing importance of the church and monarchy in everyday life created new opportunities to develop secular culture, democracy, and the bourgeois and middle classes. The spread of popular education in the latter half of the nineteenth century, particularly in the United States, fostered literacy and intellectual curiosity among the working and middle classes, creating a market for dime novels, comic books, and philosophical toys, which were devices meant to demonstrate a scientific principle while providing amusement, such as the thaumatrope and the phenakistoscope. The rise of industrial capitalism in the nineteenth century caused a massive shift in populations from the country to urban centers in Europe, England, and the United States, creating a market for cheap, urban forms of mass entertainment for office and factory workers who sought respite from their daily toils and who had a modicum of leisure time and disposable income available for leisure activities. Moreover, industrialization demanded technological innovations—such as the railway, steamship, telegraph, telephone, and electric power—to help accelerate the efficient production and circulation of natural resources, finished products, and workers to and through urban centers. Such inventions cannot be separated from the technologies used in new urban forms of entertainment. For example, Thomas Edison (1847–1931) first conceived of the phonograph as an aide to office workers, while transportation technologies were very quickly converted to the purposes of leisure: not only did the streetcar shuttle thousands to amusement parks, it also provided the technological basis for the roller coaster. These changes led to an explosion in urban commercial entertainment. The history of the various forms of visual culture and entertainment that preceded the cinema developed from this broader social, political, and economic context, which might broadly be identified as "technological modernity."

OPTICAL TOYS

Many nineteenth-century optical toys delighted spectators by creating the illusion of motion from static images. This

illusion depends on the exploitation of the optical phenomenon known as persistence of vision, a characteristic of human perception first theorized by the English physician Peter Mark Roget (1779–1869) in 1824. Roget explained that the eye and brain retain an image on the retina for a fraction of a second after the image has been removed from the field of vision. Hence when a series of images are perceived in rapid succession, the eye will "fill in" any gap between them. Put differently, the human eye fails to see the gap that separates images presented in rapid succession, simply because the retina retains an impression of each image for a brief moment even after it has disappeared, thereby allowing one image to blend into the next. The exploitation of the persistence of vision is the foundation of all philosophical toys and optical devices that create the illusion of continuous motion.

In London in 1825 John Paris (1785–1856), a doctor, popularized a philosophical toy called the thaumatrope ("magical turner" or "wonder turner"), which demonstrates the eye's fusion of two static images into a single image when shown in rapid succession. The thaumatrope was a simple device made of a paper disk illustrated on both sides. Strings attached opposite one another on the perimeter of the disk on either side of the illustration allowed the disk to be twirled between the viewer's finger and thumb. The illustrations themselves tended to be separated elements of a single picture—for example, a horse depicted on one side and its rider on the other, a bird painted opposite its cage, or a bald man separated from his wig. Twirling the thaumatrope creates the illusion that the two images have fused into a single "complete" picture: a man riding a horse, a bird inside a cage, or a man with ample hair.

After 1830 more complex toys using multiple images created the illusion of movement by relying on the use of a shutter mechanism. In the early 1830s the Belgian scientist Joseph Plateau (1801–1883) constructed his "phenakistocope" ("deceptive view") to demonstrate the findings of his research into optics, the afterimage, and the persistence of vision. The earliest phenakistoscope consisted of a single disk mounted on a handle, much like a pinwheel. The disk itself was divided evenly into eight or sixteen segments, each of which contained an illustration depicting a single phase of some dynamic action (e.g., a figure jumping rope or juggling, a bird flapping its wings in flight, a galloping horse) alongside a small slot cut into the disc. The phenakistoscope created the illusion of motion when the illustrated side of the disc was held facing toward a mirror and spun. As the viewer looked through each of the passing slots, its accompanying image was briefly visible in the mirror. When spun rapidly, the phenakistoscope caused the successively viewed images to create the illusion of continuous motion out of the static images, thanks to the persistence of vision. Commercial versions of the phenakistoscope (the Phantasmascope and later the Fantascope) were available by 1833. Like the thaumatrope, the phenakistoscope was a popular parlor toy that educated as it entertained.

The Zoetrope was a popular toy in the second half of the 19th century. © HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS.

Shortly thereafter, in 1834, George Horner (1786–1837) created a device that he called the daedalum, which was to be known commercially as the Zoetrope ("live turning"). This device operated according to the same principles as the phenakistoscope but had the added advantage of allowing multiple viewers to enjoy the toy simultaneously without the aid of a mirror. Viewers gathered around an open-topped revolving drum illuminated from above. Illustrated strips of paper (again depicting individual phases of a single motion) lined the inside of the drum. These images were visible through evenly spaced, narrow slots placed between them, and the individual images appeared to merge into a single continuous motion when the device was spun. The illustrated strips of paper were changeable, allowing viewers to enjoy a range of animated images. The daedalum was renamed the Zoetrope in 1867 by William F. Lincoln, an American who patented the device and made it available for popular consumption.

THE INFLUENCE OF LOUIS DAGUERRE

One of the most important figures in the development of various forms of optical culture that preceded and contributed to the development of the early cinema was Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre (1789–1851). In 1822 Daguerre displayed an invention called the diorama, which featured natural and urban landscapes—such as mountain views, cathedrals, and city street scenes—painted on both sides of a massive (approximately 71 feet by 45 feet), transparent linen canvas. At Daguerre's Diorama theater in Paris, the canvas was viewed through a proscenium arch by an audience seated on top of a platform that could rotate the audience to face two different screens. Daguerre illuminated his canvases from behind and in front by means of sunlight admitted through ground-glass windows. This light was filtered through numerous colored, transparent screens and shutters controlled by a system of pulleys and counterweights. Daguerre manipulated light, shadow, and the opacity and transparency of his pigments to create stunning representations of the sun rising and setting or to represent the approach and departure of a storm. A newspaper review of Daguerre's first diorama, *The Valley of Sarnen* (1822), described the changing effects of his mechanical aestheticization of natural light:

> . . . from a calm, soft delicious serene day in summer, the horizon gradually changes, becoming more and more overcast, until a darkness, not the effect of night, but evidently of an approaching storm—a murky, tempestuous blackness—discolors every object. . . . This change of light upon the lake (which occupies a considerate proportion of the picture) is very beautifully contrived. The warm reflection of the sunny sky recedes by degrees, and the advancing dark shadow runs across the water—chasing, as it were, the former bright effects before it. (Quoted in Gernsheim and Gernsheim, p. 17)

As this description suggests, the diorama's visual pleasure was closely linked to the illusion of the passing of time and motion on screen. Later dioramas created the illusion of human movement. Daguerre's *A Midnight Mass at Saint-Étienne-du-Mont* depicted an empty church at sunset; as daylight faded, candles were lit at the back of the church and slowly a congregation appeared to fill the church in preparation for mass.

As exhibitors increasingly used artificial light sources (such as gaslight) to illuminate these canvases, they became vulnerable to fire, and indeed in 1839, one of Daguerre's dioramas in Paris went up in flames. Like other popular pre- and proto-cinematic forms of visual entertainment, the diorama visually transported audiences to distant landscapes and landmarks without requiring any movement on their part, and they made such an experience both repeatable and available to a large audience. Spectators took delight in the unprecedented realism of the depicted scene and the persuasiveness of the illusions it offered to the eye; that pleasure was heightened by the knowledge that these were, in fact, only illusions, dependent on the exhibitor's virtuoso deployment of new technologies and scientific principles. In short, the diorama made pleasurable the intersection of rational knowledge and "magical" illusion and made such an experience commercially available on a relatively wide scale.

MAGIC LANTERNS

Like the diorama, the magic lantern was central to the popular success of commercialized forms of visual culture. Like other optical devices ultimately used for entertainment, the magic lantern had its origins in scientific experimentation. In his book *Ars Magna Lucis et Umbrae* (*The Great Art of Light and Shadow*, 1645–1646), the Jesuit scholar Athanasius Kircher described a device he called the catoptric lamp, which could create illuminated images by catching sunlight on a mirror and reflecting it through a lenticular lens (that is, shaped like a double-convex lens) onto the wall of a darkened chamber. An opaque image or word (with letters inverted) embossed upside down on the mirror would be directed (but not quite projected) by the reflected sunlight on the darkened wall. Kircher used transparent paints to color his images and would employ two or more lamps to allow multiple images and words to appear on the wall simultaneously. In the absence of natural sunlight, Kircher demonstrated that illumination sufficient for projection could be obtained by condensing candlelight through a glass sphere filled with water. The catoptric lamp was the precursor to the very popular magic lantern.

In 1659 the Dutch physicist Christian Huygens developed his *lanterne magique*, a device that contributed to the development of projected images. Huygens's correspondence describes how he painted images on glass slides (rather than a mirror) and directed artificial light through a lens to project his images. The Danish lens grinder and teacher Thomas Rasmussen Walgensten is known to have publicly demonstrated his magic lantern before small, exclusive audiences (such as royal families) between 1664 and 1670. The magic lantern did not move out of closed circles of private demonstrations for scientists, experimenters, and privileged audiences until the 1790s (once the social and economic conditions became ripe), when the Belgian Etiènne Gaspard Robért (1764–1837) developed the magic lantern for the purposes of commercial entertainment with great success. Robért changed his name to Robertson and premiered his spectacular magic lantern show, the

Fantasmagorie, at the Pavillion d'Echiquier in Paris in 1799. He professed that his magic lantern would help dispel his audiences' belief in the existence of ghosts and spirits while simultaneously delighting them with the terror that his display of illusory specters inspired.

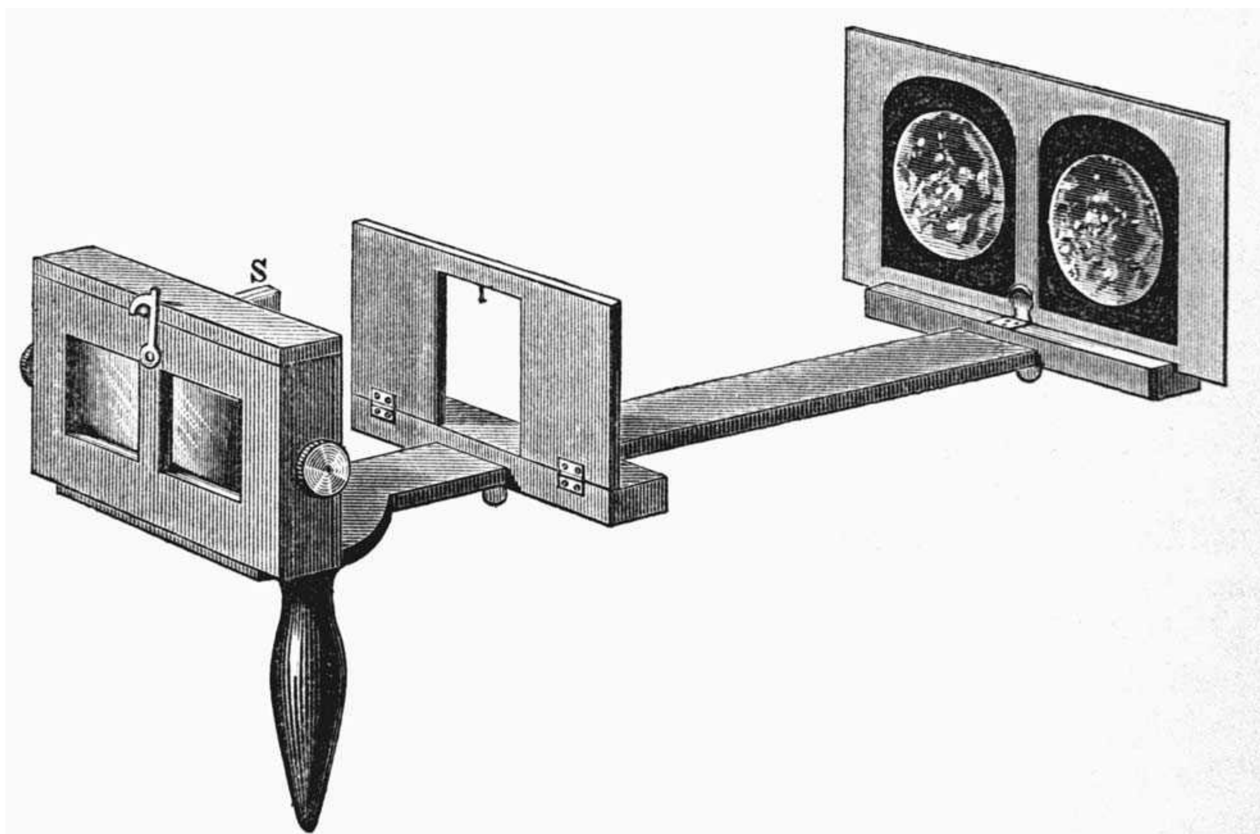
Several years later, Robertson transformed the chapel of an abandoned Capuchin monastery into an atmospheric venue for his show. Robertson exploited the inherent spookiness of this setting and established an atmosphere of terror by shuttling his audiences through dark corridors to a chamber illuminated only by glowing coals. The space was decorated with skulls and mysterious markings, and the death knell of tolling bells and other sound effects established an ominous mood. Once his audience was seated, Robertson threw chemicals on the glowing coals to make smoke billow from them; he then extinguished all the lights, cloaking his audience in a terrifying darkness. Images of ghosts, ghouls, demons, distorted human faces, and skeletons were projected onto the clouds of smoke by magic lanterns that had been craftily concealed from the audiences' view, thanks to Robertson's use of rear projection. The billowing smoke gave an illusory movement to the static images that were skillfully painted on glass slides and projected through the lantern's lens. Robertson also projected images onto thin gauze that had been treated with wax to make the fabric translucent and allowed the rear-projected image to be visible through its surface. As film historian Erik Barnouw explains, the gauze was hidden behind black curtains, which were drawn back once the venue was thrown into darkness. To further conceal the source of the projected apparitions and thereby intensify the illusion, Robertson darkened the area of the glass slides surrounding the illustration, so that when the images of ghosts and phantoms were projected they seemed to hang eerily in the darkness. He also mounted his magic lanterns on an apparatus that would allow him to slide the lanterns forward and back. This had the effect of making the projected image appear to grow and approach the audience when the lantern was moved forward or shrink and move away from the audience when it was moved backward. When the lantern's focus was expertly adjusted in sync with the movement of the apparatus, the illusion of emergence and retreat intensified the sensationalism of the spectacle. Robertson not only projected images of phantoms and ghosts but also made reference to the contemporary political context by projecting an image of the recently executed Robespierre along with other images of the famous dead, such as Voltaire and Rousseau.

Two significant technological developments improved on Robertson's magic lantern. In 1822 Sir Goldsworthy Gurney developed limelight, a source of very bright artificial illumination first used in lighthouses but later put to numerous uses in theater and entertainment, including as a light source for magic lanterns. In the 1830s the magic lanternist Henry Langdon Childe developed the "dissolving view," a process for transitioning from one image to the next by fading in one image as the other fades out.

THE BEGINNINGS OF PHOTOGRAPHY

As magic lantern shows became increasingly popular and prevalent in the 1820s and 1830s, the first photographic images were being created in Europe. In 1826 Joseph-Nicéphore Niepce (1765–1833), a French physicist, began his experimental processes of recording images by a chemical reaction initiated by sunlight hitting a sensitized surface. Though revolutionary in and of themselves, Niepce's images required eight hours of exposure time, were temporary, and lacked detail. Some of these problems were solved by his partner Daguerre, who in 1839 recorded images on a silvered copper plate with an exposure time of half an hour. Popularly known as daguerreotypes, these early photographic images were extremely fragile and had to be contained in decorative cases to protect them from damage. Each daguerreotype was a positive and could not be reproduced except by photographing the original. William Henry Fox Talbot (1800–1877), an English physicist, established the foundation of modern photography by creating a paper negative (using a sodium chloride emulsion) that could be used for the production of unlimited positive copies. Despite this development, entertainers and magic lanternists were unable to project photographic images until the perfection of the albumen process (patented by John A. Whipple and William B. Jones) and the collodion process (perfected by Frederick Scott Archer) in the late 1840s. These developments allowed the image to be captured on a transparent glass surface, whereas previous processes used opaque paper or copper plates.

In 1851 the brothers William and Frederick Langenheim, noted Philadelphia photographers, projected their photographic slides, initially called hyalotypes, at the Crystal Palace Exhibition in London. Their exhibition featured hand-colored images of notable landmarks and locations from around the United States. In the 1860s projected photographic or steropticon slides enjoyed particular commercial and critical success in New York City. As with earlier demonstrations, the slides featured photographs of landscapes, architecture, landmarks, and works of art from all over the world. Other steropticon shows featured images from the Civil War, including photographs of battlefields and military personnel from the Army of the Potomac. Reviewers marveled at the realism and detail of these images; the reality effect of painted magic lantern slides paled in comparison. Indeed, the introduction of photographic slides endowed the projected image with such unprecedented



The American Grandfather, a 19th-century stereoscope. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

realism that one reviewer for the *New York Tribune* remarked, "The dead almost appear to speak" (quoted in Charles Musser, p. 31).

Whereas the steropticon displayed life-size images before large audiences, a peephole device called the stereoscope provided photographic views to an individual spectator. The optical research into binary vision carried out by the British physicist Charles Wheatstone and the Scottish physicist Sir David Brewster in the 1820s and 1830s led to its invention. The stereoscope featured two pictures of an object or scene that had been photographed twice from slightly different perspectives. When the spectator looked through the peephole, he or she saw a single image in depth. The illusion of three-dimensionality was created by the reconciliation of two nonidentical images into a single image, which gave the impression that the pictured views were arranged around receding perspectival planes. The stereoscope became a popular form of parlor entertainment as slides featuring celebrated personalities, landmarks in famous cities, natural wonders, and works of art were produced for home consumption.

By focusing on photographic images of geographically and chronologically distant places and events, the steropticon and the stereoscope, like other advances in modern technology, provided audiences with visual access to far-flung locations that might otherwise take days or weeks to reach by travel. In this respect, these pre-cinematic inventions altered the way audiences experienced time and space. The early cinema would later have even greater power to satisfy—and further instill—the viewer's desire to see astonishingly realistic images that brought the distant near: films displayed images of natural wonders and "exotic" locations unlikely to be visited in person by those who could not afford to travel, sites of recent disasters (such as floods and earthquakes), city street scenes, and important personalities.

The photograph's infinite reproducibility was of signal importance. Hand-painted magic lantern slides were produced individually by skilled painters; each was unique, could not be copied, and took time and money to produce. This limited the number and variety of the slides in each exhibitor's repertoire, causing the demand for new slides to outstrip the supply. The relative ease

with which a photographic slide was made and reproduced vastly expanded the number and variety of photographs an exhibitor might display in various thematically oriented "programs," tailored to appeal to a range of audiences and contexts. As would be the case with the first moving picture shows, variety, realism, and the power to alter perceptions of space and time were paramount to the pleasures and profitability of nineteenth-century visual culture. Hence, as Charles Musser has shown, photography brought efficiency, standardization, and profitability to the production and projection of slides, which became a business in its own right and helped create a broader audience for commercialized screen entertainment.

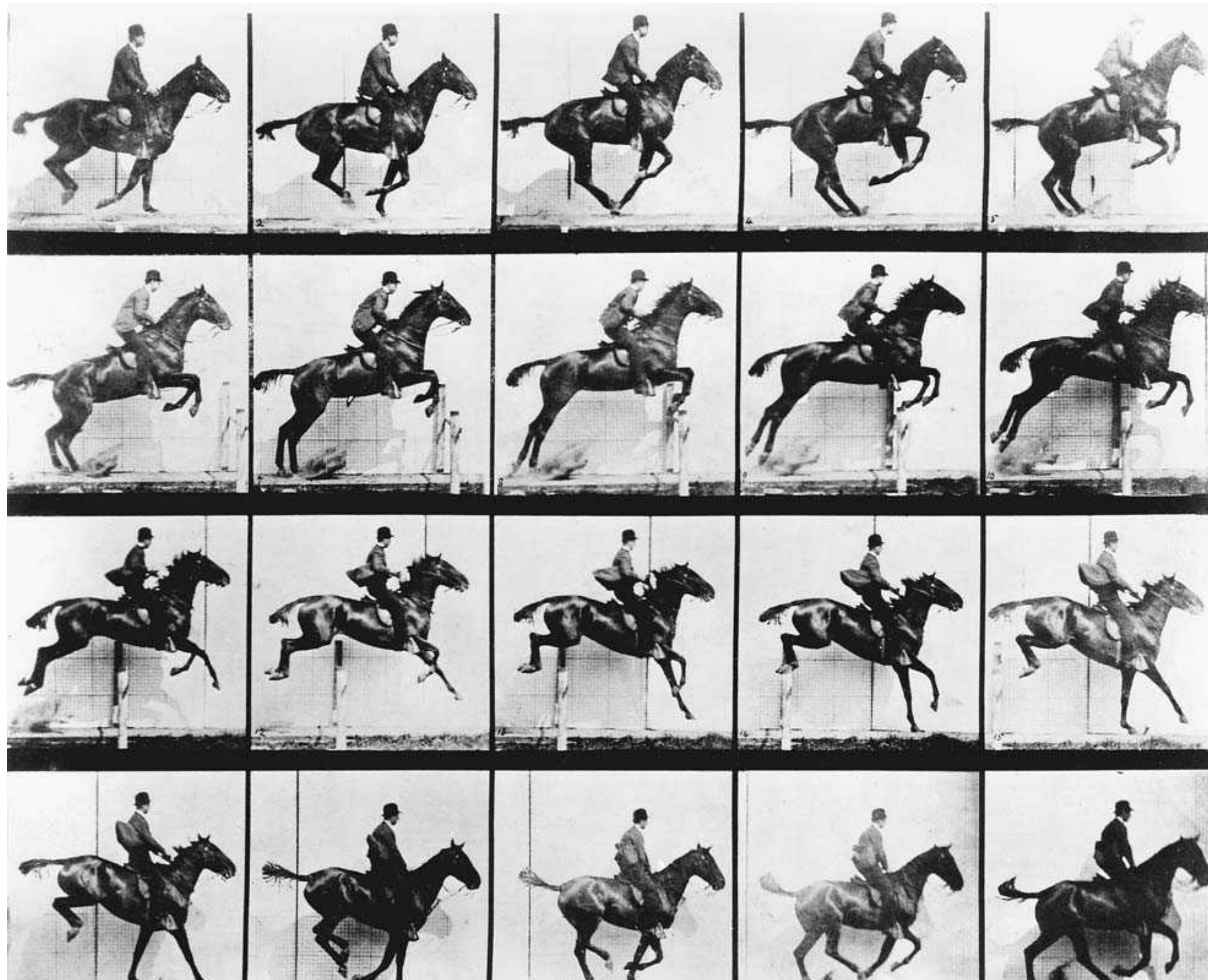
PHOTOGRAPHING MOTION

The next step in the development toward moving photographic images required applying the principle of the persistence of vision to the display of a series of photographs depicting the phases of a single motion. This possibility was successfully pursued by the English-born American photographer Eadweard Muybridge (1830–1904), who became the first photographer to take pictures of subjects in motion. Muybridge's photographs of galloping horses depicted phases of movement normally imperceptible to the human eye and therefore deviated significantly from traditional representations of a horse's gait used by painters for centuries. To emphasize this contrast, Muybridge presented his images alongside artists' depictions of equine motion. Whereas Muybridge's first experiments in series photography aimed to decompose motion to allow otherwise imperceptible phases of movement to become visible to the eye, he next turned to the reconstitution of recorded movement through a mechanism called the zoopraxiscope, which allowed him to project moving images. Zoopraxography, the study of animal movement, should not be confused with motion pictures: the actual images projected were illustrations, not photographs, and the technology Muybridge used simply synthesized older technologies such as the magic lantern and the phenakistoscope.

Between 1884 and 1885 he resumed his experiments in animal locomotion, expanding the range of animals he photographed and refining his methods for producing images. He switched from wet collodion plates to dry plates and rearranged his cameras into a semicircle around his subject so that photographs of a single motion shot from multiple angles could be taken simultaneously. He also began to photograph athletes as well as mostly unclothed men, women, and children engaged in everyday activities. Muybridge photographed these subjects against a black wall striated by a grid, giving the images themselves a more scientific appearance (though the actions themselves were never measured or quantified).

Muybridge's studies in animal and human locomotion caught the attention of the French physiologist Étienne-Jules Marey (1830–1904), who was also experimenting with photography to make visible aspects of motion otherwise invisible to the unaided human eye. Even more so than Muybridge, Marey was primarily concerned with the photographic decomposition of motion for the purposes of scientific analysis. Marey photographed phases of human and animal locomotion using a method called chronophotography ("photography of time"). Marey devised an ingenious instrument called the chronophotographic gun, which captured twelve instantaneous photographs per second on a rotating glass plate. However, Marey was displeased with the use of the revolving glass plate because it limited to a set quantity the number of discrete images that could make up a series (a problem when photographing rapid movement, such as a bird in flight). This technical glitch was resolved in 1888 with the invention of paper roll film by the American inventor and industrialist George Eastman (1854–1932); this film, to be used in Eastman's new Kodak box camera, ultimately enabled the chronophotographic gun to take twenty pictures per second. (In 1889 Eastman made transparent celluloid roll film commercially available—the type of film stock ultimately to be used in the making of motion pictures.) However, in order to take clear individual photographs on flexible roll film, Marey had to devise an intermittent mechanism that would allow the filmstrip to pause briefly before the lens to allow each frame to be exposed to light. Some of Marey's human subjects were outfitted in black clothing and photographed against a black background. The subject's arms and legs were embossed with bright white lines that connected to bright white dots at the joints. The results were fairly abstract images of white lines and curves against a dark background. Because he was primarily interested in the dissection of motion, Marey was only minimally interested in reconstituting it through the projection of his images. Ultimately, he was unsuccessful in his attempts to construct a projector.

Around the time Muybridge began his motion studies in the United States, the Frenchman Émile Reynaud (1844–1918), a teacher of mathematics and science, turned his attention to improving optical toys based on the principle of the persistence of vision. In 1877 he built the projecting praxinoscope. In principle, this device was similar to the Zoetrope: its main mechanism was a spinning drum lined with a series of images. However, the praxinoscope made its images visible to viewers through their reflection off of multiple mirrors. Because the images were not seen through slots, the "flicker" effect of other slot-based devices was eliminated. In 1892



Zoopraxography: animal locomotion serial photography by Eadweard Muybridge (c. 1872). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Reynaud premiered his exhibition of moving drawings, Théâtre Optique, at the Musée Grévin in Paris. He devised a mirror and lantern mechanism to display rear-projected images onto a screen painted with scenery. Reynaud's images were hand-painted onto long bands of individual frames. These were difficult to produce, and by 1895 he began to use cameras to produce his images. However, Thomas Edison and the Lumière brothers had invented far more practical and simpler devices for projecting moving photographic images, making the praxinoscope obsolete by the end of the century.

PANORAMAS

Also important to the increasing popularity of commercialized forms of visual entertainment was the panorama (sometimes called the cyclorama in the United States). First introduced by the Irish artist Robert Barker in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1787, panoramas ("all-embracing views") were massive circular paintings that provided a continuous, 360-degree view of a famous battle, landscape, cityscape, or seascape. The paintings were lit from above by natural sunlight and featured an astonishing degree of precise detail rendered in perfect perspective. The realism of such paintings frequently gave spectators the overwhelming sensation of being present at the depicted scene. Moving panoramas were first presented to the American public by John Banvard in 1846 (they were called dioramas in the United States but should not be confused with Daguerre's diorama). These were made up of individual canvases joined together to create a painting one thousand (or more) feet long and eight to twelve feet high. The canvas was wound like a scroll

EADWEARD MUYBRIDGE

b. Edward Muggeridge, Kingston-on-Thames, England, 9 April 1830, d. 8 May 1904

Eadweard Muybridge immigrated to the United States in 1852, where he began his career as a landscape photographer, producing stunning images of the US Pacific Coast, San Francisco, and Yosemite Valley. He also provided photographic surveys of the Central Pacific Railroad and documented the Modoc Indian Wars. In 1872 he was hired by the former governor of California, Leland Stanford, to prove that, at a particular moment in its gait, all four hooves of a galloping horse leave the ground. This required that Muybridge photograph a horse in motion—yet photographing a moving subject had never been done before. Muybridge produced the evidence confirming Stanford's theory, although no prints of this experiment survive.

In 1874 Muybridge shot and killed his wife's lover, Harry Larkyns. He was ultimately acquitted of murder charges on the grounds of justifiable homicide. He quietly left the country for Central America, where he photographed Guatemala and Panama. In 1876 Muybridge returned to California and, with Stanford's financial support, resumed his study of equine locomotion. In 1876 he built a track and lined it with a battery of cameras featuring electromagnetic shutters that allowed him to capture sequential photographs of a horse in motion. He stretched wires from each camera across to the opposite side of the track, directly in the pathway to be followed by the horse. As the horse galloped down the track, it tripped the wire connected to each shutter, effectively taking pictures of its own movements. Each shot had an exposure time of 1/500 of a second. The interval between each shot was 1/25 of a second. The resulting photographs, presented at the San Francisco Art Association on 8 July 1878, were highly acclaimed.

Following this success, Muybridge expanded his study to include series photographs of cows, elephants, oxen, and deer in the process of walking, leaping, or hauling heavy loads. In 1879 he invented the zoopraxiscope, a device that allowed him to project moving images. He painted copies of his photographic images around the circumference of a glass disk attached to a magic lantern. Another disk featuring a series of slots was mounted opposite the illustrated disk. When the two disks were spun in opposite directions, the slots functioned like a shutter and allowed for the individual static images to be projected as moving images. The zoopraxiscope debuted on 4 May 1880 at the San Francisco Art Association and was presented at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago.

After taking the zoopraxiscope on a celebrated lecture tour throughout Europe, Muybridge returned to the United States in 1882. Between 1884 and 1885 he resumed his experiments in animal locomotion at the University of Pennsylvania, where he struck up a relationship with the painter Thomas Eakins. He vastly expanded the kinds of animals he photographed and challenged the social conventions of the time by photographing nude men, women, and children engaged in a broad range of activities, from boxing and wrestling to bathing, ascending a staircase, and smoking cigarettes. In 1887 Muybridge published *Animal Locomotion: An Electro-photographic Investigation of Consecutive Phases of Animal Movements,* which featured over 19,347 photographic images.

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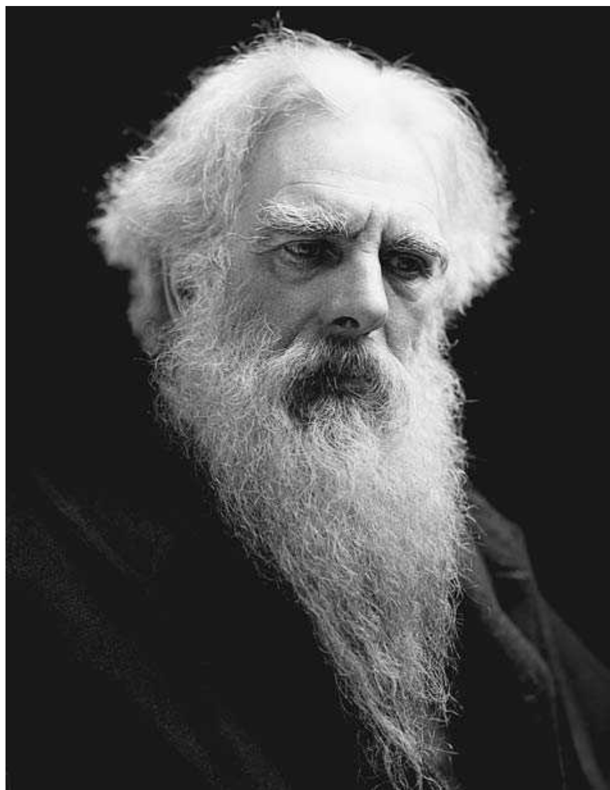
around two vertical rollers concealed by a proscenium arch. Banvard's first painting—which he claimed was three miles long—depicted a trip down the Mississippi River. Other moving panoramas similarly focused on lengthy trips down the Missouri River and across the newly settled territories of the American West. The extremely popular subject matter of moving and circular panoramas suited the political context of the time: Manifest Destiny in the United States and European imperial wars instilled on a broad scale the desire to see



Eadweard Muybridge. © HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS.

newly conquered territories. The emphasis on travel and views of famous landscapes also exploited the fashionable desire to visit distant destinations but at a fraction of the cost and effort of actual travel.

As with many of the optical toys and screen entertainments (with the exception of photography) that preceded them, moving and circular panoramas were displaced by the rise of the cinema in the 1890s. Invented by the entrepreneur George C. Hale, an amusement called Hale's Tours premiered at the St. Louis Exposition in 1904. Hale's Tours allowed spectators to take imaginary trips to distant places for only ten cents. Seated in a venue decorated to resemble a railway car, up to seventy "passengers" watched films shot from motion picture cameras shot from the front or back of a moving locomotive. The films were accompanied by sound effects (such as a train's whistle) and cars rocked to simulate the motion of train travel. However, the realism and variety of moving pictures clearly outstripped that which could be provided by Hale's Tours, circular and moving panoramas, magic lantern shows, and dioramas. Nevertheless, it was nineteenth-century forms of visual culture that helped create the social, cultural, and economic context in which the cinema ultimately thrived: they were the forerunners of modern culture's new conception of space and time; they fostered and satisfied a desire for spectacles based on astonishing machine-made illusion and persuasive realism; they made relatively affordable, repeatable forms of entertainment available to large urban audiences; and they took advantage of new technologies and scientific discoveries to do so.

SEE ALSO *Camera; Early Cinema; Film History; Film Stock; Technology*

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PRIZES AND AWARDS

A vast number of prizes and awards are given by a wide array of sources for different kinds of films. While the artistic and creative merit of these various awards varies enormously, some provide potential promotional and financial benefits. For instance, Hollywood companies, in particular, use various awards that originate both inside and outside the film industry to attract attention and acclaim to their films. Any kind of nomination or award is typically used extensively in advertising and promotional activities, and sometimes it can influence a film's overall revenues. Undoubtedly, the best-known awards for film are the Academy Awards®, although other awards and prizes are given by other industry groups, as well as other organizations. In addition, many awards are often associated with film festivals, as discussed below.

ACADEMY AWARDS®

The Academy Awards®, or Oscars®, are presented by the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, a professional honorary organization composed of over 6,000 motion picture professionals who are associated with the US film industry (or Hollywood). The awards are intended to recognize "excellence in film-making achievement." The Academy Awards® were first organized in 1929 and have grown to become benchmarks for filmmaking, as well as playing an important economic role in the industry.

The Academy's regular awards are presented annually for outstanding individual or collective efforts of the year in up to twenty-five categories, including Best Picture, Actor, Actress, Director, Editing, Cinematography, and Costumes. As many as five nominations are made in most categories, with balloting for these nominations restricted to members of the Academy branch concerned; directors, for instance, are the only nominators for Achievement in Directing. Nominations for awards in the foreign language and documentary categories are made by large committees of members drawn from all branches of the industry. Best Picture nominations and final winners in most categories are determined by vote of the entire membership.

Each January the Academy mails nomination ballets to its members (over 5,600 voting members in 2002). The secret ballots are returned by members to PricewaterhouseCoopers, the professional services firm formerly known as Price Waterhouse. The results of nomination balloting are announced in late January or early February. Then, final ballots are mailed in early February and members have two weeks to return them. After ballots are tabulated, only two partners of PricewaterhouseCoopers are said to know the results until the envelopes are opened on stage during the awards presentation ceremony at the end of February. The Academy Awards® Presentation televised program is itself a media event, attracting worldwide audiences and extensive media coverage.

The nominations and awards are considered some of the best ways to promote a film and can potentially lead to a substantial increase in revenues. Dodds and Holbrook (1988) evaluated the impact of Academy Awards® on film revenues and found significant effects of Best Picture, Best Actor, and Best Actress awards on post-award revenues. The authors of another study found that theatrical revenue can increase from 5 to 10 percent

if a film is nominated, while actually receiving an award can enhance a film's value for cable and network television by 50 to 100 percent (Donahue, 1987, p. 81).

Thus, receiving a nomination and ultimately an award is seen as adding value to a film commodity. Serious efforts are made to attract these honors, and expensive campaigns to influence voting begin in November each year. In the past, elaborate strategies involved targeted advertising and promotional gimmicks. The major Hollywood studios, independent distributors, and publicists use various strategies to make sure that the Academy members view their films. Special screenings are held, free admissions are offered to commercial runs of a film, or videocassettes or DVDs are shipped to the voters. For several years, the Academy has aggressively monitored award campaigning and has issued guidelines that limit company mailings.

However, at least one author and film critic believes that the campaigns around the Academy Awards® have become "nastier, more aggressive, more expensive and more sophisticated." Emanuel Levy, chief film critic for *Screen International* and the author of *All About Oscar®: The History and Politics of the Academy Awards®,* notes that "aggressive campaigns have been run for Oscars® as far back as the 1940s." (p. 212)

The campaigning may indeed affect the outcome, as over the years there have been some classic examples of films that won (or did not win) because of political and/ or economic reasons. For instance, in 1941 *Citizen Kane*, directed by Orson Welles and based on the story of newspaper mogul William Randolph Hearst, lost to *How Green Was My Valley.* It was widely suggested that Hearst's influence in Hollywood had much to do with ensuring that Welles did not triumph. Although in 1959 screenwriter Nedrick Young failed to win an Oscar® for *The Defiant Ones* because he was blacklisted, his pseudonym, Nathan E. Douglas, won it instead, and in 1998 heavy spending by Miramax was believed to have helped *Shakespeare in Love* defeat *Saving Private Ryan*, which was widely regarded as the more worthy film.

Indeed, there seems to be a general sense that Academy Awards® have neglected some great films, as well as great directors, actors, and actresses. Looking back at Oscar® winners, many have argued that numerous great films did not win awards, while other important films were not even nominated. While the designation of "great film" is highly subjective, many films generally deemed important did not win Best Picture. In addition to the previously mentioned *Citizen Kane* and *Saving Private Ryan*, other neglected "great" films include *Sunset Boulevard* (1950), *A Streetcar Named Desire* (1951), and *Five Easy Pieces* (1970). Some of these oversights may be explained by an abundance of good or great films in one year. However, there have been films now regarded as important that received no Oscars® at all, including *The Maltese Falcon* (1941), *The Magnificant Ambersons* (1942), *It's a Wonderful Life* (1946), *Psycho* (1960), *Taxi Driver* (1976), and *Blade Runner* (1982). Other significant films were not even nominated for a single Academy Award®: *King Kong* (1933), *Modern Times* (1936), *The Searchers* (1956), and *Paths of Glory* (1957).

These misguided decisions or omissions have been explained by a politicized voting process that leads to various kinds of biases, by the neglect of certain genres, or by the simple argument that Oscars® are merely "popularity contests." Others have maintained that Hollywood is rather conservative, or "middle-brow," when it comes to recognizing its own artistic and creative excellence.

It might be noted that the Board of Governors is empowered to offer Scientific and Technical awards, Honorary awards, Special Achievement awards and other honors, in addition to the regular annual awards conferred by vote of the membership. Recent examples of Honorary Award recipients have included Sidney Poitier, Robert Redford, Peter O'Toole, and Blake Edwards, while at the turn of the millennium Special Achievement awards tended to focus on achievements in visual and sound effects. Meanwhile, the Academy also presents Scientific and Technical awards for "any device, method, formula, discovery or invention of special and outstanding value to the arts and sciences of motion pictures—and employed in the motion picture industry during the awards year."

CRITICS' AWARDS

Around the world, many different critics' associations present film awards. One of the best known is the Hollywood Foreign Press Association, which presents the Golden Globe Awards at the end of January every year. Made up of international journalists who work in Hollywood, this group began awarding films in 1944, and awards for television were added in 1956. Golden Globe statuettes are awarded annually in several categories, including Best Dramatic and Comedic Motion Pictures, Best Foreign-language Film, Best Director, Best Actor and Actress, Best Supporting Actor and Actress, and Best Dramatic and Comedic Television series. In addition, the Cecil B. DeMille Award is given for lifetime achievement in motion pictures.

Meanwhile, The Golden Satellite Awards are presented by the International Press Academy (IPA), a splinter group of the Hollywood Foreign Press Association. The IPA asserts that it is the largest entertainment press organization in the world, made up of

more than 250 full-time professional entertainment journalists from the United States and abroad. Formed in 1996, it covers the world of entertainment through the print and broadcast media, as well as the Internet. Its annual awards, which are made each January, honor outstanding achievement in the fields of film, television, and multimedia.

The National Board of Review hands out awards that often serve as "signposts" to the winning Oscars®. This organization was created as a censorship group in 1909, but in 2005 its board was composed of approximately 150 members from varying professions, including educators, doctors, lawyers, historians, and a few former Hollywood insiders. The membership is said to be a mystery to most people in the film business. Although the group's selections tend to favor the specialty market, with an emphasis on breakthrough performances and emerging talent, since 1980 the board's choice has agreed with 41 percent of the Academy's best picture choices.

Other film critics' awards are also considered to be reliable precursors to the Academy Awards®, particularly the critics' associations in Los Angeles and New York. The National Society of Film Critics Awards are significant because of organization membership and lack of regional bias. The organization is known for its "highbrow winners," which are often foreign-language films. The group was formed in 1966 by magazine writers who had been refused admittance to the New York Film Critics Association.

Some consider the Big Four of critics' awards to be those of the National Board of Review, the New York and Los Angeles critics' awards, and The National Society of Film Critics. However, other critics' associations have become important, including the London and Boston critics awards associations, and other critics' associations in many parts of the world also present yearly accolades.

OTHER FILM INDUSTRY AWARDS

In addition, the Hollywood labor organizations, or guilds, also present awards. What has been called Hollywood's pre-Oscar Final Four—the quartet of guild award shows the first two weekends of March—includes trophies from the Producers Guild, the Writers Guild, the Screen Actors Guild, and the Directors Guild.

Other film industries around the world offer awards as well. For instance, UK film and television awards are presented annually by the British Academy of Film and Television Arts (BAFTA). The organization was formed in 1959 as a result of the amalgamation of the British Film Academy (founded in 1948) and the Guild of Television Producers (founded in 1954). Film and television awards are presented for both production and performance categories.

The European Film Awards are presented by the European Film Academy, which held its first awards ceremony in Berlin, Germany, in November 1988. At that time, the group was called the European Cinema Society, but it was renamed in 1991. The trophy was named Felix for the statuette presented from 1988 to 1996, but in 1997, the awards ceremony was relaunched and a new statuette was introduced.

FILM FESTIVAL AWARDS

Many festivals are devoted to different kinds of films and award prizes in various categories. Some key film awards for feature films are associated with film festivals. Perhaps the best-known and most prestigious is the Palme d'Or (or Golden Palm) award presented at the Cannes Film Festival (or Festival International du Film de Cannes) in Cannes, France. However, prizes from other major festivals are highly valued, as well, including those at festivals in Berlin, Venice, and Toronto. Meanwhile, independent films are honored at such festivals as the Los Angeles Film Festival and Sundance Film Festival, in Salt Lake City, Utah.

OTHER AWARDS

Throughout the world, there are literally hundreds of other prizes and awards given by various organizations, including national film industry associations, cinema organizations, film workers organizations, and film fan groups. There are also numerous awards for independent films, including the Independent Golden Spirit Awards (in addition to other awards organized by chapters of the Independent Feature Project), and the Chlotrudis Awards, offered by the Society for Independent Film. Fan awards are given by various groups, including the online site, *Moviefone* (owned by America Online, http://www.movies.aol.com), which has organized the Moviegoer Awards since 1995, and *AtomFilms* (http://www.atomfilms.com), which offers the Star Wars Fan Film Awards.

Of course, there are also awards honoring the worst films of the year, including the "Razzies," presented by the Golden Raspberry Award Foundation since 1980, and the "Stinkers," awarded by the Bad Cinema Society since 1979. For more information, see, the film-oriented Website, *Internet Movie Database* (http://www.imdb.com), which offers an extensive list of awards and festivals—from the Ariel Awards (in Mexico) to the Zulu Awards (in Denmark)—and lists awards for individual films by year from 1893 to the present day. Another site that follows film (and other

show business) awards is *Showbiz Awards' Gold Derby* (http://www.goldderby.com).

SEE ALSO *Academy Awards®; Festivals; Publicity and Promotion*

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PRODUCER

In the most general terms, a film producer is responsible for the entire production of a film from its inception through its completion. The producer supervises all phases of production (development, pre-production, principal photography, post-production) and oversees or actively participates in a film's conceptualization, financing, budget controls, casting, and director and crew selection. The producer can also contribute significantly to a film's marketing and distribution. The producer's work is, at its core, managerial, administrative, financial, and creative. It is crucial to the realization of any film.

The work of the film producer has always been multifaceted and often difficult to define, particularly when compared with those of other major talents involved in filmmaking. Actors act; screenwriters write; directors work with the actors on staging and with cinematographers on camera placement and movement; cinematographers light and shoot films; editors cut them. In the case of the producer, by contrast, the range of responsibilities varies depending on the country, industry, studio, or production company in which the producer works and on the personal working habits of the producer. This elasticity of definition applies to the producer's work even today to the extent that the Producers Guild of America (PGA) has created a Producer's Code of Credits to help establish a system for awarding credit to film and television producers.

THE FILM PRODUCER'S FUNCTIONS

In American fiction feature filmmaking, the producer's work begins with the development phase of a production. The producer's work is first of all conceptual: he or she decides that a particular story and genre will prove profitable or at least attract a wide viewership. The story for the film can be an original idea or a pre-sold property (the *Harry Potter* series, the long-running musical *The Phantom of the Opera*) to which the producer obtains the rights to make a film version. The producer works with a screenwriter to develop a treatment (a relatively short prose summary) as a basis for gaining initial financing and getting stars or actors to commit to the project. If the producer is not working with the backing of a distribution company or studio, she or he also must raise the funds for the production after estimating a budget for the project. Hence, the producer's work is also financial in nature. When financing is secured, the producer typically works with the screenwriter on developing and completing the script. As an alternative to initiating a script, the producer can option a completed screenplay for possible production; even in this case, the producer may work with the writer to revise the script.

During the pre-production phase, the producer chooses the above-the-line talents for the project, most importantly the director and principal cast if they are not already associated with the project as a package. (If the producer is working on a studio-backed production, the studio executives also have a say in the choice of director and the casting.) The producer and director agree on the lead and supporting role casting, hire the below-the-line talents (the crew, including the cinematographer, production designer, costume designer, editor, special effects team, sound crew, composer, unit production manager, and casting director), and together scout locations. Many times these choices are based on the talent and crew's prior work and their skill in filmmaking within particular

genres. Finally, the producer and director (and, if appropriate, studio executives) approve the final shooting script, the final budget for the film, and the timetable for realizing the film. The budget decisions in particular affect many major aspects of the project, particularly its casting and its visual design. Conversely, getting the interest of a major star early on may enable the producer to develop a bigger budget for the project. Whatever the cost, if a film goes over budget or over schedule, the producer is held responsible. (In the case of a film produced for a major studio, the director and cinematographer may also assume fiduciary responsibility.)

During production, or principal photography, the producer supervises subordinate or co-producers, troubleshoots problems that arise on the set, and keeps track of how closely the production adheres to the budget and schedule. During principal photography, the producer typically can review the rushes (uncut footage of the day's shooting) with the director; he or she may or may not be present during the shooting on set. The producer can also negotiate between the demands of the studio financing the film or other financiers on the one hand and the needs of the creative talents on the other. Ideally the producer fosters a creative atmosphere in which the talents can work. She or he can also make concrete suggestions to the writer if a scene needs new dialogue or action; direct particular scenes if for some reason the director cannot; and troubleshoot problems on the set whether they involve personnel or technical difficulties.

Throughout post-production, the producer confers with the director and the editor on cutting and recutting the film for a first rough cut to show to the film's financial backers. The producer also consults with the director about, or directly confers with, the music supervisor and the composer and with the sound crew (which redubs dialogue for clarity and mixes sound effects, music, and dialogue). Beyond sound and editing, the producer can confer, again typically alongside the director, with the special effects team. The producer also ensures the proper credits are on the film, in accordance with union requirements. (If the project is a studio-financed film, company executives also review the credits.) When a final cut is completed, some producers arrange previews with audiences that might affect the film's final form (that is, audience comments could inspire the reshooting or recutting of certain scenes or the addition of new ones, such as changing the ending of a film). Some directors also have a right to hold previews of their final cut. When they finance the film, studios typically require several previews with audiences of different demographic groups, which can be arranged by the studio's marketing department. The producer also works with the director (recutting if necessary) to earn a contractually agreed-upon rating from the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA); often, this is a rating that ensures that the largest possible audience can attend the film without age restrictions as appropriate for the film's content. (For example, the producers may strive for a PG-13 rating rather than an R rating, or an R rating instead of NC-17.)

As the film takes its final form, the producer can work on its marketing and distribution by participating in the decisions made for the film upon its initial theatrical release. In this case, the producer confers with the film's distributor on release patterns (limited or saturation booking) and marketing plans, specifically its publicity and advertising for theatrical, broadcast, and home video distribution. Here, the producer can suggest which aspects of the film should be emphasized in posters, trailers, television spots, and so on. The producer can also confer on these aspects of a film's marketing for ancillary (post-domestic theatrical) venues such as foreign markets, airline screenings (for which alternative shots have been taken of potentially offensive scenes), pay or free cable or satellite television channels, and home video. This arena of distribution now extends to video on demand via cable television and the Internet.

Thus the film producer's functions are creative, conceptual, financial, managerial, administrative, and promotional, and they extend across the entire filmmaking process into marketing and distribution. Moreover, the producer's work can be defined and subdivided further. A producer's credit today, according to the PGA, means an individual has "taken responsibility for at least a majority of the functions performed and decisions made" in the various phases of the film's production and distribution, in terms of the film's creative and financial features. An associate producer has fulfilled one or more of the producer's tasks (conceptual, financial, organizational, managerial) in the course of a film's production, but this type of credit is notoriously applied so freely that it may be assigned to an individual who has done something as minimal as finding a shooting script. The PGA defines the executive producer as a producer who has made "a significant contribution to the development of the literary property" for the film or has facilitated at least a quarter of the film's financing, or both. In practice, the executive producer may bring one or more elements of a project package to the table, introduce above-the-line talents to each other, give the director feedback, or even just be willing to back a film without actually doing so. The executive may simultaneously be the film's line producer. A line producer oversees the actual production and post-production phases of a film project that has been packaged, financed, and is ready for production. The specialization of the producer's function

in filmmaking further testifies to its multifaceted, complex nature.

STUDIO AND INDEPENDENT PRODUCERS

In the Hollywood studio era (1920–1950), different producers performed these various functions (creative, conceptual, financial, managerial, promotional) to a greater or lesser extent. At one of the major studios (Columbia, MGM, Paramount, RKO, Twentieth Century Fox, Universal, Warner Bros.), the executive in charge of production could be creatively involved in the details of all or most of his or her company's films. This was especially the case during the 1920s, and at some studios through the 1950s, under a central producer system of production. For example, Irving Thalberg (1899–1936), the head of production at MGM from 1924 through 1932, conferred with screenwriters on script drafts, with directors on revised scripts, on the rushes shot during principal photography, and on film editing. Darryl F. Zanuck (1902–1979), the head of production at Warner Bros. through 1933 (responsible for the studio's major hits in the gangster and social problem genres such as *Little Caesar*, 1931; and *I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang*, 1932) and then at Twentieth Century Fox from the mid-1930s through the 1950s (and intermittently in the 1960s), likewise was intimately involved in the creative process of making films.

Moreover, production executives like Thalberg or Zanuck chose the property, cast, screenwriter(s), and director for each film, and they also estimated its budget. They did not raise the funds for their studio's annual slate of films; instead, they worked within the annual budget handed them by the exhibition (theater-owning) division of their company. They divided the yearly amount into the budgets for different categories of films (such as programmers and prestige films) featuring various studio stars. Both Thalberg and Zanuck defined their respective studio's house style, genre preferences, and technical qualities (MGM's glossy, tasteful, high production values and Twentieth Century Fox's biopics, Americana films, and musicals).

Executives such as Thalberg and Zanuck either personally produced certain films (usually prestige productions) or assigned subordinates to several properties they had selected for filmmaking that year. By the early 1930s, studio producers sometimes were working with particular production units, comprised of stars, directors, contracted talents, and technicians, which turned out distinctive films in particular genres that added diversity to a major studio's slate of releases during a year. At MGM, Harry Rapf (1882–1949) worked on Joan Crawford melodramas, while Albert Lewin (1894–1968) produced sophisticated play adaptations.

These producer units were a successful way of organizing studio filmmaking, and at several studios (RKO, Paramount in the early 1930s, and MGM after Irving Thalberg's illness in 1933) this system replaced the central producer system. Val Lewton's (1904–1951) unit at RKO turned out memorable, minimalist horror films in the early 1940s (*Cat People*, 1942; *I Walked with a Zombie*, 1943; and *The Body Snatcher*, 1945). From 1939 onwards, Arthur Freed (1894–1973) ran a unit at MGM that produced some of the best musicals in Hollywood history, including *Meet Me in St. Louis* (1944), *On the Town* (1949), *An American in Paris* (1951), *Singin' in the Rain* (1952), and *The Band Wagon* (1953). In such cases, the producer formed productive, collaborative relationships with major directors: Lewton with Jacques Tourneur and Freed with Busby Berkeley, Vincente Minnelli, and Stanley Donen. Freed also had such relationships with major stars (Judy Garland and Gene Kelly).

The term "independent producer" is, if anything, more difficult to define than the work of the film producer. Defined strictly, the term can be applied to any filmmaker who does not work with or for a Hollywood studio or distributor. In this broad sense, independent production would extend to avant-garde independent filmmakers, such as Maya Deren (1917–1961); to documentary filmmakers, such as Barbara Kopple (b. 1946) or Errol Morris (b. 1948); to race filmmakers, such as Oscar Micheaux (1884–1951) and Spencer Williams (1893–1969); and to former Hollywood talents who left the industry, such as the blacklisted filmmakers of *The Salt of the Earth* (1954), Herbert J. Biberman and Michael Wilson. Most commonly, however, the term independent producer is applied to narrative filmmakers or filmmaking companies with no corporate ties to major studios or distributors beyond contracting for the distribution and financing of a single film or series of films. The term, however, is used very loosely.

Individual independent producers could be more or less involved in the realization of a film than studio producers and studio executives. David O. Selznick (1902–1965), one of the industry's major independent producers and best remembered for his blockbuster adaptation of *Gone with the Wind* (1939), led several independent companies (Selznick International, Selznick Picture Corporation, Vanguard Films Production). He financed his own films with bank loans and the proceeds from company stock, which he sold to himself, his family, and wealthy friends. He owned his own studio facilities. He placed major stars, directors, and technical crew members under contract to himself. But he also hired

IRVING THALBERG

b. Brooklyn, New York, 30 May 1899, d. 14 September 1936

Irving Thalberg is widely regarded as one of studio-era Hollywood's most successful producers and production executives. Under Thalberg's leadership, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM) rose to the position of the most glamorous, technically accomplished, and prestigious studio in the industry from 1924 through the mid-1930s. Thalberg entered the film industry in 1918, rising to the post of special assistant to Universal Studios head Carl Laemmle before becoming head of production within a year at the age of twenty. He moved to Mayer Productions in 1923, which merged the following year into MGM, where he became vice president and supervisor of production. At MGM, Thalberg defined the term "boy wonder" in the industry as he instituted many budget and scheduling efficiencies.

Thalberg also had an excellent eye for filmable properties (often pre-sold projects such as successful plays and novels) and a superlative sense of casting (drawing from among MGM's "all the stars there are in the heavens"). The film industry admired him for maintaining high production values and "good taste." While an executive who assigned films to a team of producers, Thalberg also worked directly on several successful films, collaborating with creative personnel at every stage. He personally supervised as much as one-third of the studio's annual output, including *The Big Parade* (1925), *Ben Hur: A Tale of the Christ* (1925), *Flesh and the Devil* (1926) with Greta Garbo, and *Grand Hotel* (1932). Sometimes Thalberg required extensive, costly reshooting and recutting of films after negative previews, and he famously dismissed Erich von Stroheim from the post-production of *Greed* (1924).

Thalberg was effectively demoted from his executive position after suffering a heart attack in 1932, but he continued to produce many of the studio's most prestigious projects, including an adaptation of the stage hit *The Barretts of Wimpole Street* (1934), starring his wife, Norma Shearer. He also produced Ernst Lubitsch's musical comedy, *The Merry Widow* (1934), the Clark Gable-Charles Laughton seafaring adventure, *Mutiny on the Bounty* (1935), and the Marx Brothers' *A Night at the Opera* (1935), as well as backing or personally producing (or both) such unusual films as King Vidor's common man melodrama, *The Crowd* (1928), his all-black cast musical, *Hallelujah* (1929), and Tod Browning's cult horror film, *Freaks* (1932). A year after Thalberg's death, the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences (which he helped found) created the Irving G. Thalberg Memorial Award "for the most consistent high level of production achievement by an individual producer." He was also the model for F. Scott Fitzgerald's Monroe Stahr in the writer's last novel, the unfinished *The Last Tycoon* (1941).

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

The Big Parade (1925), *Ben Hur* (1926), *Grand Hotel* (1932), *The Merry Widow* (1934), *Mutiny on the Bounty* (1935), *A Night at the Opera* (1935)

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these talents under contract at the major studios, and with a few exceptions, he produced films for major studio distribution or through United Artists, which had no studio. In this, he was like Samuel Goldwyn (1882–1974) and Walt Disney (1901–1966). Releasing films through the major distributors facilitated financing, since the distributors could actually advance funds or guarantee bank loans for particular films. The effect of these arrangements was that Selznick's independent filmmaking made him closely bound to the major distributors. For *Gone with the Wind*, for example, Selznick gained some production financing for what was the most

Irving Thalberg. PHOTO BY RUSSELL BALL/EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

expensive Hollywood film to date (over $4 million), but he had to grant MGM the right to distribute his epic in exchange for the casting of MGM contractee and major star Clark Gable in the lead as Rhett Butler.

Still, independent producers like Selznick could gain greater creative autonomy than they would enjoy at a major studio as an executive or studio producer. Selznick worked with various scriptwriters to adapt Margaret Mitchell's best-selling novel, fired one director and hired another during principal photography, and made major decisions in the post-production phase about which scenes to retain and which to discard, and within each scene, which shots to use. In short, Selznick was completely in charge of the films he produced.

Not all studio-era independent producers enjoyed Selznick's autonomy or chose to be so involved in film production. Samuel Goldwyn financed his own films almost entirely by himself and he owned his own studio facilities, but he generally let his screenwriters and directors work without his detailed participation in production and was content to comment on the overall results. Walter Wanger (1894–1968), who—like Goldwyn and Selznick—released through United Artists in the 1930s, was not financially independent. His production companies always relied heavily on bank loans and distributor advances and contracts from major studios, which meant his productions were subject to the oversight of the banks and distribution companies. Yet, Wanger was still considered an independent producer in the studio era, one who, like Selznick, had worked as both a production executive and a studio producer beforehand, and he produced several controversial political films (*The President Vanishes*, 1934; *Blockade*, 1938; and *Foreign Correspondent*, 1940) that major studios and other independents would not have backed. The differences among Goldwyn, Selznick, and Wanger demonstrate how elastic the term "independent producer" was during the studio era.

DIRECTORS AND STARS AS PRODUCERS

With the rise of *auteur* criticism in America in the 1960s—which argued that the best Hollywood studio-era films were the result of their directors' ability to impose their artistry and vision on studio films—classical Hollywood producers, whether studio executive, studio producer, or independent producer, were regarded as obstacles to (most often) the film director's personal expression. In certain cases, producers certainly were. At Universal, Thalberg notoriously refused to let Erich von Stroheim (1885–1957) complete *Foolish Wives* (1922) and drove him off the production of *Merry-Go-Round* (1923); at MGM, he refused to release von Stroheim's multi-hour version of *Greed* (1924), cutting the film down to two-and-a-half hours. Thalberg's implementation of systematic, efficient, and budget-conscious filmmaking at both Universal and MGM impressed the entire industry, and his assertion of authority over von Stroheim was emblematic of a shift in creative authority from directors to producers by the mid-1920s.

Other films suffered from producer interference in the studio era. MGM's production executives famously insisted that Fritz Lang (1890–1976) provide happy endings to *Fury* (1936), his social problem film about lynching, and the film noir *The Woman in the Window* (1945), casting the events of the film as a nightmare, even thought this latter film was produced for an "independent" company releasing through RKO. Orson Welles's *The Magnificent Ambersons* (1942) was dramatically recut by then-RKO editor Robert Wise at the behest of studio head George J. Schaefer (1920–1997) while Welles was abroad shooting a never-completed film, "It's All True."

Yet the evidence of the Lewton and Freed units also demonstrates how the input and support of producers aided and improved the realization of particular films. Producer Hal Wallis (1899–1986) contributed the memorable final line ("Louis, I think this is the beginning of a

beautiful friendship'') to *Casablanca* (1942), a film whose ending was uncertain during principal photography. The degree to which an actively involved film producer helped or ruined a particular film depended on the production policies at the studio or ''independent'' company involved and the proclivities and personality of the particular producer. Studio-era producers also handled the challenge of negotiating with the Production Code Administration to keep controversial subject matter (illicit sexual relations, criminal behavior, and so on) in screenplays and finished films. This could be another arena in which the producer supported the aims and desires of the director, screenwriter, and cast.

Other producers secured the financing, hired the talents, and let them create their films with a minimum of interference. George J. Schaefer granted Orson Welles unprecedented creative freedom under a contract that led to the making of *Citizen Kane* (1941). Walter Wanger contributed only studio space and financing to one of his most famous and financially successful films, John Ford's *Stagecoach* (1939). Wanger did the same for one of Ford's most unusual box-office flops, *The Long Voyage Home* (1940). In such instances, Wanger in effect allowed Ford to function as his own producer. As these examples suggest, the same producer (Schaefer) could remain hands-off for one project and hands-on for another, and the same policy of granting a director complete autonomy (Wanger's) could result in box-office success or failure.

In the studio era, many directors craved the autonomy, creative authority, and responsibility that Wanger granted Ford. In the 1910s only the most successful directors and stars had gained such power; key examples were the director D. W. Griffith (1875–1948), the actor-director Charlie Chaplin (1889–1977), and the stars Mary Pickford (1892–1979) and Douglas Fairbanks (1883–1939), the quartet who owned their own studios and formed United Artists in 1919 to distribute their films. Beginning especially in the 1940s, some Hollywood directors and stars assumed the producer's role as well (in part because it was advantageous from an income-tax standpoint). Many directors (as well as stars) formed their own companies or negotiated with major studios for producing powers: Frank Capra (1897–1991), George Stevens (1904–1975), and William Wyler (1902–1981) created Liberty Films; Alfred Hitchcock (1899–1980) was a producer-director on all his films after his contract with David O. Selznick ended in the late 1940s; and screenwriter-directors like Billy Wilder (1906–2002) and Joseph Mankiewicz (1909–1993) had also assumed the function of producer on their own films by the 1950s. Stars such as James Cagney (1899–1986), Kirk Douglas (b. 1916), and Burt Lancaster (1913–1994) formed their own production companies, making important films for major studio distribution and claiming a share of their film's profits. As with Disney, Goldwyn, Selznick, and Wanger in earlier decades, these companies were considered ''independent producers'' despite their mutually beneficial relationship with the major distributors. For in all these cases, whether they had their own production company or not, directors and stars secured distribution and financing through the major studios.

Independent producers could do this by the mid-1950s in part because of the US Supreme Court's *Paramount* decision of 1948. This ruling forced the majors to sell off their theaters and thus lose their guaranteed income from ticket sales, in response to which the studios let go of hundreds of talents under contract. In this context, the way Hollywood producers worked changed significantly. Instead of drafting talents under contract at the studios where a producer worked or formed an affiliation, the producer during development and pre-production typically assembled talent from around the entire film industry: a bankable star or stars, a screenwriter, and a director for his or her property, as well as the crew. Under this new ''package'' system, which United Artists pioneered in the early 1950s, once the independent producer assembled the package, she or he would try to interest a studio, a distributor, or both in investing in the project. The studio could also help with providing or guaranteeing financing and providing or facilitating the rental of sound stages and equipment, as well as distribution and promotion. Stars themselves could more easily become their own producers. Warren Beatty (b. 1937), for example, produced and starred in the landmark gangster film *Bonnie and Clyde* in 1967 for Warner Bros. Agents also became packagers (albeit without producer credit) because of their representation of many types of talent whom they could easily package for a film. One such agent, Lew Wasserman (1913–2002), became head of the entertainment conglomerate MCA, which owned Universal Pictures.

FILM PRODUCERS TODAY

Twenty-first century Hollywood producers, whether they are single-threat producers or stars, managers, directors or screenwriters, still work to assemble films by packaging a project during the development and pre-production phases of filmmaking described above and they fulfill various producer responsibilities in the subsequent phases of filmmaking as well. It should be noted that none of the studios have producers on staff, as regular employees. Rather, they have studio executives ''greenlight'' productions which non-studio producers realize, and which the studio executives oversee in all phases of filmmaking. To succeed, both the studio production chief and the

Jennifer Beals in **Flashdance** *(1983), a high concept film produced by Jerry Bruckheimer.* EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

individual producer cultivate relationships with directors, major stars, and other talents (including other producers), and they develop ideas or properties to offer them.

Major Hollywood studios typically contract with ''independent producers'' to realize films which the studios can help finance and then distribute and market. If such a partnership is successful, the distributor can gain the right of first refusal for any project the ''independent producer'' develops. One example of this arrangement is producer Brian Grazer and director Ron Howard's Imagine Entertainment. After directing films for different distributors (*Splash*, 1984, for Touchstone; and *Gung Ho*, 1986, for Paramount), Howard joined forces with producer Grazer to form their company. The first Imagine film was *Willow* (1988, for MGM); the following year, Imagine produced *Parenthood* for Universal distribution and inaugurated an association with Universal that continued through *Apollo 13* (1995), the Academy Award®-winning *A Beautiful Mind* (2001), and *Cinderella Man* (2005, co-produced with Touchstone and Miramax), with the exceptions of *Ransom* (1996) and *The Alamo* (2004) for Touchstone. As an independent company, Imagine Entertainment is a corporate entity separate from Universal, yet the distributor's backing facilitated the production of more than twelve Imagine titles, and Universal distribution (for even more Imagine productions) ensured that Imagine's films received the widest distribution. Ron Howard was credited as a producer for only four of the twelve films; partner Brian Grazer was a producer for all of them.

Other directors also produce many of their own films: Steven Spielberg produced nine of the sixteen films he directed between *E.T. the Extra-Terrestrial* (1982) and *Munich* (2005). Stars can do likewise. Tom Cruise has produced several of the films he has starred in since *Mission: Impossible* (1996) via his own company, Cruise/Wagner Productions, in collaboration with Paramount Pictures. It is relatively rare for a single-threat

JERRY BRUCKHEIMER

b. Detroit, Michigan, 21 September 1945

Jerry Bruckheimer may be the best-known single-threat producer in contemporary Hollywood. He is famous for producing fast-paced action films with major stars that thrive at the box office. As of 2003, his films collectively had grossed over $3 billion in theatrical release alone.

Bruckheimer came to filmmaking from advertising. His first producer credit (along with three other producers) was for the neo-noir *Farewell, My Lovely* (1975), which revived Robert Mitchum's status as a film noir icon, and his first solo producer credit was for Paul Schrader's *American Gigolo* (1980) with Richard Gere. In 1981 Bruckheimer partnered with Don Simpson, a former Paramount production executive, to create a series of high concept films (movies easy to summarize and advertise), such as *Flashdance* (1983) and *Beverly Hills Cop* (1984), that were extremely successful. The team crystallized its formula with the Tom Cruise vehicle *Top Gun* in 1986, a flag-waving action film about navy pilots in training that certified Cruise as a major star. The partnership flourished through 1995, the year of *Bad Boys*, with Will Smith and Martin Lawrence, but the pair split up shortly before Simpson died of a heart attack in 1996.

Subsequently, Bruckheimer has continued to make action films, often pairing older male stars with up-and-coming leads, as in *The Rock* (1996), with Sean Connery and Nicolas Cage; *Armageddon* (1998), with Bruce Willis and Ben Affleck; and *Enemy of the State* (1998), with Gene Hackman and Smith again. On these films he has tended to favor particular directors with distinctive visual styles: Tony Scott for *Top Gun*, *Beverly Hills Cop II* (1987), *Days of Thunder* (1990), *Crimson Tide* (1995), and *Enemy of the State*; and Michael Bay for *Bad Boys*, *The Rock*, *Armageddon*, *Pearl Harbor* (2001), and *Bad Boys II* (2003). But he also has varied his output more, moving into other genres as well as producing highly successful shows for series television, including CBS's *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation* (beginning 2000), which has three spinoffs set in specific cities, as well as *Without a Trace* (beginning 2002) and *Cold Case* (beginning 2003).

Bruckheimer is closely involved in the production process, insisting on authentic historical recreations for *Blackhawk Down* (2001), defending Johnny Depp's casting and performance in *Pirates of the Caribbean* (2003), and having the film re-scored shortly before its premiere. Bruckheimer produces most of his films for Disney; Disney, in turn, provides him with $10 million a year to develop projects and set up his extensive production office and staff, and it pays him $5 million plus 7.5 percent of the studio's income from each film. Bruckheimer's skill at packaging (often original) stories, scripts, and stars with mass appeal is undeniable: *Pirates of the Caribbean* alone reportedly earned $654 million in domestic, international, and ancillary markets and another $360 million in DVD sales. His 2003 box-office grosses were greater than those of MGM and DreamWorks combined.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

American Gigolo (1980), *Thief* (1981), *Beverly Hills Cop* (1984), *Enemy of the State* (1998), *Remember the Titans* (2000), *Black Hawk Down* (2001), *Pirates of the Caribbean: The Curse of the Black Pearl* (2003)

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film producer to be a household name today; Jerry Bruckheimer (b. 1945), the producer of many popular television shows and box-office hits, especially action films, from *Beverly Hills Cop* (1984) through *Top Gun* (1986) to *Pirates of the Caribbean: The Curse of the Black Pearl* (2003), is one.

The term "independent producer" in the twenty-first century is more accurately applied to filmmakers working outside of Hollywood, but it is still as unsystematically applied as is the producer label. Typically, independent producers realize a film project without a contract with a major distributor for financing or distribution. This

Jerry Bruckheimer. © BUENA VISTA/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

situation can give filmmakers (especially the screenwriter and director) greater creative freedom than working on a project for a major distributor might allow. The producer here arranges financing sources, which range from family members, domestic banks, and loan companies to the sale of film rights to foreign television or for foreign distribution. For American distribution, the independent producer shows the completed film to major or so-called mini-major companies, such as the ''boutique'' divisions of the majors (Miramax at Disney, Sony Pictures Classics at Sony Pictures, Paramount Classics at Paramount Pictures, Focus Features at Universal, Fox Searchlight at Twentieth Century Fox), or to autonomous small distributors, such as Magnolia Pictures, IFC (Independent Film Channel) Pictures, Lions Gate Films, and Newmarket Films; the latter distributed *Memento* (2000) and *The Passion of the Christ* (2004) when other distributors would not.

The presentation of the independently produced film to distributors often happens at film festivals such as Cannes, Toronto, or Sundance. Jim Jarmusch's *Stranger Than Paradise* (1984), Spike Lee's *She's Gotta Have It* (1986), Richard Linklater's *Slacker* (1991), and Kevin Smith's *Clerks* (1994) are all examples of successful independent productions that ultimately received national distribution and box-office success, in part because of their extremely small budgets. Examples of independent production companies that produce feature films would include Film Colony, Ltd. (*Finding Neverland*, 2004), Good Machine (*Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*, 2000; and *Brokeback Mountain*, 2005), and Killer Films (*Boys Don't Cry*, 1999). The boutique distributors (among which Miramax was a pioneer before its 1993 acquisition by Disney) also co-produce independent films; their subsidiary status again demonstrates how hazy the term ''independent production'' can be when applied to contemporary filmmaking.

Whether a film is studio produced or independently produced, its producer fulfills a major function in a project's realization. No film is made without a producer; this is one reason why film producers are listed when films are nominated for Best Picture Academy Awards® and why they accept the statuette when their film wins. This seems appropriate, given the varied and essential nature of the producer's contribution to the making of a film.

SEE ALSO *Auteur Theory and Authorship; Independent Film; Production Process; Studio System*

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PRODUCTION DESIGN

Production design is the creation and organization of the physical world surrounding a film story. The term was coined by producer David O. Selznick (1902–1965) to describe the greater-than-normal contribution of designer William Cameron Menzies (1896–1957) to *Gone with the Wind* (1939), but the exact responsibilities of a production designer inevitably vary from film to film. In some cases, the production designer is almost completely responsible for the overall look of a film; in others, particularly when working with directors with strong visual styles, a designer's contribution tends to be much more limited. Art direction and production design often overlap, although credit for production design is seen as more inclusive. During the studio era, production designers, as opposed to art directors, were the exception.

The production designer's primary, though by no means exclusive, responsibility is the design of the sets. Exact responsibility varies from one film industry to another. In the United States, for example, production design and costume design are usually two separate professions. In other major film industries, the two responsibilities are often held by a single person. Before designing anything, the designer develops a "design concept," an overarching metaphor for the film's appearance that governs individual choices. This "concept" may or may not be established in conjunction with the director. Once settled upon, however, it structures all decisions made, helping the art staff to give an individual film visual distinction.

REALISM AND STYLIZATION

As in every cinematic subdiscipline, designers begin with the script and make their contributions within the limits and opportunities the story provides. The options available to them move along a spectrum from realism to stylization. (In this context, "realism" should be understood as a particular *style* that seeks to convince viewers they are watching events unfold in the real world.) The approach a designer takes (strict realism, heavy stylization, or something in between) is often predetermined by the genre of film on which he or she is working.

At the "realistic" end of the spectrum are stories such as war films, police dramas, and westerns. These genres derive much of their power from the illusion of occurring in the here and now. The violence and horror of the war film is most effective when viewers believe a soldier can be maimed or killed by the grenade dropped in the trench next to him, while the police drama convinces audiences that real criminals are being chased when both pursued and pursuer pound the pavement of real cities.

Such a strict notion of realism, however, is just one approach to production design. Another, at the opposite extreme, creates thoroughly unrealistic, heavily stylized environments that make no attempt to convince viewers they are watching any real, lived-in or *live* world. These designs try instead to create an alternative environment with an internally consistent logic that lasts as long as the film's duration. Films from genres such as fantasy, science fiction, and the musical are often heavily stylized. Fantasy and science fiction require an extreme attention to consistent, self-referring design because of the extra difficulty of creating a world that by its very nature appears odd. In musicals, the alternative reality is less one of space and technology than of psychology, as the

WILLIAM CAMERON MENZIES

b. New Haven, Connecticut, 29 July 1896, d. 5 March 1957

Probably most famous as the production designer for *Gone with the Wind* (1939), William Cameron Menzies had a long, distinguished career as an art director and production designer, as well as a less well-known one as a director. As a designer, Menzies's work displays a distinctiveness unusual for Hollywood. While most Hollywood art direction and production design is unimaginative and inexpressive, Menzies had a talent for creating environments that impress for themselves, regardless of story requirements.

His work for *Gone with the Wind*, for example, has a larger-than-life quality in keeping with the film's inflation of a romantic melodrama to pseudo-epic proportions. The film's impossibly lush and glossy environment is historically accurate, but far too rich (and clean) for a truly realistic depiction of the antebellum South. This somewhat overstuffed environment can no doubt partly be attributed to the pretensions of *GWTW*'s producer, David O. Selznick. *Invaders from Mars* (1953), however, which Menzies directed and over which he presumably exercised greater control, has an equally assertive, if very different, physical environment. In his designs for *Mars*, Menzies goes to the opposite extreme of *GWTW*, creating images so spare they verge on the abstract. And while the camera angles in *GWTW* are largely the dull, actor-centered, heads-on middle-distances of romantic melodrama, those in *Mars* are frequently angled to accentuate visual rather than dramatic impact, relegating the actors to little more than décor.

Menzies's most famous film as a director was his adaptation of H. G. Wells's *Things to Come* (1936), for which he was not credited with production design. Visually, it bears greater similarity to *Mars* than to *GWTW*, possibly because both are science fiction films. Menzies's propensity for low angles that pose the actors against the set and show off the architecture is notable in both films. What is certainly as true of *Things to Come* as of either *GWTW* or *Mars* is the assertiveness of the physical environment. It is therefore possible that much of Menzies's reputation as one of Hollywood's preeminent production designers rests on the obviousness of his contributions. While most Hollywood films from the classical period deliberately and systematically suppressed the physical world in favor of story, Menzies managed to make viewers aware of the physical environment. His triumph was to impart a degree of individual expression to the typically impersonal world of Hollywood design.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

As Production Designer: *Gone with the Wind* (1939), *King's Row* (1942), *Pride of the Yankees* (1942); As Director and Production Designer: *Invaders from Mars* (1953); As Director: *Things to Come* (1936); As Associate Director and Associate Art Director (uncredited): *The Thief of Bagdad* (1940)

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characters live in a world in which they express themselves through song and dance.

Somewhere between these two poles of realism and stylization are genres such as the period film or the detective story. Period films are unique because the antiques they pull together to provide the realistic illusion of a particular period are by definition different from contemporary reality, and therefore provide a form of stylization. For example, the audience's expectation of realistic spatial representation would immediately mark an automobile or cell phone that appeared in a story set in 1700 as "wrong." Disbelief could not be suspended, and the reality of the fictional world could not be established. At the same time, objects that period characters might take as everyday objects, such as handcrafted woodworking tools, are unfamiliar to contemporary audiences.

With mysteries, the primary appeal is intellectual rather than emotional. The goal of the filmmakers is to keep one step ahead of the viewer's ability to figure out

Production designer William Cameron Menzies shows his drawings to star Ann Sheridan and director Sam Wood during the filming of* King's Row *(1942). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

the solution. The physical environment then takes on a uniquely assertive presence, as objects themselves (murder weapons, stolen jewels, bits of clothing evidence) become a greater focus of attention than in most films. Who owns what particular object, or when it was visible or available and so on are central questions to unraveling the mystery. The British television series *Poirot* (beginning 1989), for example, takes the mystery genre's attention to objects to such an extreme that the series verges on the fetishistic.

Of course, there are innumerable exceptions to these generalizations. Generic precedents are at most guidelines filmmakers know about when starting a film, but which they are always free to ignore. Generic expectation is important in understanding how a designer may approach an individual project. Designers naturally stress how their choices have been shaped by an individual story; nonetheless, prior models always operate in the designers' minds as they make decisions. While the options available are vast, they are not unlimited, nor are they as wide as filmmakers would often like the public to believe.

The relationship between the look of films in the same genre becomes apparent over time, when the publicity used to distinguish one film from another has died away and nothing is left but the films themselves, For instance, Hollywood musicals from the early 1950s, despite being examples of one of the most stylized of genres, theoretically should be individually distinctive; yet they are remarkably similar visually, with spare sets, bright Technicolor photography, posh upper or upper-middle class settings, and so on. Biblical-era epics from the same period manage to make ancient Rome and

The sleek futuristic design of* Things to Come *(1936), designed and directed by William Cameron Menzies. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Judea look remarkably the same, regardless of whether they are telling the story of Christ (*The Robe* [1953], *Ben-Hur* [1959], *King of Kings* [1961], *Barabbas*, [1953]), dramatizing earlier events from the Bible (*Solomon and Sheba* [1959], *David and Bathsheba* [1951]) or dealing with nonreligious topics (*Spartacus* [1960]).

When a film does manage a distinctive look, it frequently becomes a model for others so that its innovative style gets lost in a sea of imitation. The highly stylized evocation of Fascist Italy created by designer Ferdinando Scarfiotti (1941–1994) for *Il Conformista* (*The Conformist*, 1970) became the model for several subsequent fascist revival films in the 1970s. The vision of the future as a bleak, wet, trash-filled nightmare so powerfully evoked by designer Lawrence Paull (b. 1938) in *Blade Runner* (1982) became almost an instant cliché in 1980s dystopian science fiction. Even as highly unrealistic a period environment as that created by Luigi Scaccianoce (1914–1981) for *Fellini Satyricon* (1969), which consciously avoids the clichés for depicting ancient Rome, has direct descendants in films such as *Caligula* (1979).

Undue emphasis should not be placed on the relationship between story and design. For while designers start with the script, there are often competing demands that emerge from the effort to serve the story. The most common factor competing for the designer's attention is the demands of characters when they work against the overall design scheme for the story. For example, the hard-edged, material glitter that structures the design for *The Thomas Crown Affair* (1999) gives way to fairly drab, routine materials in scenes in the police station, or in the police lieutenant's home.

PRODUCTION REALITIES

Even the best and most famous production designers are constrained by the collaborative work environment of the

typical movie production. While charged with creating the physical world for a movie, the designer usually has little control over how the design is lit or photographed, or how actors will be positioned in relation to his or her sets. The look of a film is really achieved in collaboration at least with the director of photography (DP), who in turn answers to the same master, the director.

At the simplest level, this collaboration dictates how much of an environment the designer has to create. In a brute, literal sense, a production design always ends exactly at the edge of the frame. Thus the designer must have a sense of how much of a set or location a director or DP wants to show, which in turn is determined by the photographic process (academy ratio vs. widescreen, or anamorphic widescreen vs. matted) and lens choice (does the director prefer wide angles, or have a fondness for close-ups?) Also, different film stocks may have particular sensitivities that discourage the use of colors in a given range, or be particularly poor in resolving objects in shadow. At a more sophisticated level, the designer has to consider technical issues, such as whether or not the DP wants some kind of "practical" (i.e., visible) lamps on the set to serve as the (illusory) lighting source. Will the characters enter a dark room at night and turn on the light that will become the "key light" (primary illumination) for the scene? If so, the production designer will not only have to find or make a lamp that fits into the design concept, he or she will also have to be certain that its placement will not interfere with the lights on the set that are the true illumination.

Similarly, when working with a director who plans to use a lot of camera movement, the designer and DP must be certain that some walls can be rolled out of the way quickly to accommodate the camera crew as it moves with the action, that there is sufficient space for the camera and crew regardless of where the camera is pointed and where it is moving, and so on. Sufficient space for camera and crew is one of the major considerations in deciding whether or not to use a sound stage. If the director insists on elaborate camerawork, and a location set cannot accommodate camera and crew, a sound stage is a must.

Beyond such technical considerations, there is the subtle, ineffable, but necessary question of what simply feels "right" for a particular design. While designers may have a lot of say in creating or finding these details, it is ultimately the director who decides what is included or excluded from the frame. And because it is ultimately the director who makes such decisions, it is also ultimately the director, not the designer, who determines the final visual style of a project.

Fernando Scarfiotti stylized Fascist Italy in* Il Conformista *(*The Conformist*, Bernardo Bertolucci. 1970). **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

FERDINANDO SCARFIOTTI

b. Potenza Picena, Marchesa, Italy, 6 March 1941, d. 20 April 1994

A successful scenic designer before entering film, production designer Ferdinando Scarfiotti rose to prominence on the basis of his collaborations with directors Luchino Visconti and Bernardo Bertolucci. It was Scarfiotti's first film with Bertolucci, *Il Conformista* (*The Conformist*, 1970), that especially assured his reputation. While not as well known as Bertolucci or cinematographer Vittorio Storaro, Scarfiotti is at least as responsible for the influential look and feel of the films they made together.

Although there is a tendency towards the baroque in much of Scarfiotti's work, like that of most production designers it embraces a wide range of styles. Such blatantly stylized and designed environments as those created for *Flash Gordon* (1980) and *Scarface* (1983), for example, contrast with the more realistic environments in *Morte a Venezia* (*Death in Venice*, (1971), *Daisy Miller* (1974) or *Ultimo tango a Parigi* (*Last Tango in Paris*, 1972). His work in *The Conformist* brings together artifacts, fashions, and architecture from the 1930s that are perfectly believable as everyday objects, but which nonetheless have been carefully selected for their visual distinction. The film has a complex richness, not inherent in any one object, but present *in toto*. *American Gigolo* (1980) seduces the viewer into sympathy with an unattractive character by wrapping him in the sexy stylishness of high fashion and self-conscious design. In *Death in Venice*, the protagonist's loneliness and ill health are made compelling by cushioning him in lush *fin-de-sìecle* trappings almost suffocating in their rich heaviness. It is impossible to imagine any of these films without their environments, for their spaces and objects are integral to their meaning.

By contrast, Scarfiotti's more obvious designs are less successful. In the quasi-Camp environment of *Flash Gordon*, for example, one is aware of the intention to produce a comic-book world, but it never comes to life. The fantasy sequences in *Cat People* (1982) are sketchy and under-realized, as if both director and production designer were not quite certain what the sets were meant to achieve. The over-the-top visuals in *Scarface* convey nothing more than the effort to be flamboyant.

Scarfiotti's main gift, and probably his greatest influence, was his ability to create highly stylized visual environments that were never completely removed from what seemed at least theoretically possible in the everyday world. His legacy lies in finding that point of equilibrium wherein production design ceases being a passive background and becomes an integral part of a film's meaning without overwhelming it with visual excess, even as it creates a hyper-real sensuality.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Il Conformista (*The Conformist*, 1970), *Morte a Venezia* (*Death in Venice*, 1971), *Ultimo tango a Parigi* (*Last Tango in Paris*, 1972), *Daisy Miller* (1974), *American Gigolo* (1980, uncredited), *Cat People* (1982), *Scarface* (1983, uncredited), *The Last Emperor* (1987), *The Sheltering Sky* (*Il Tè nel deserto*, 1990) *Toys* (1992)

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DIRECTORS AND DESIGNERS

While it cannot be quantified or otherwise evaluated scientifically, there are differences between the contributions of a production designer and a director with a strong visual sense. To understand why, it is necessary to understand what the two positions have in common and what they do not. After the director, the production designer is the person with the most comprehensive artistic overview of a project. Their functions are so close in pre-production and early production that it is not much of an exaggeration to think of the production designer as a second director.

Once production begins, however, the designer's importance diminishes considerably. While designers are likely to remain on payroll through production, and are often asked to perform work during shooting, their creative input at that stage moves from the conceptual to the technical. That is, they are less involved in making artistic choices than in supervising the execution of decisions made earlier. The creative function has shifted from

Ferdinando Scarfiotti. JOHN BARR/LIAISON/GETTY IMAGES.

the design to the photography and staging, to the realms of the director of photography, the actors, and the director. And, of course, the designer is not needed at all in post-production.

However, many directors do not involve themselves in these matters either. This is a significant factor in whether or not the director's work will, in fact, have a strong personal style or will be mainly a record of collaboration. In the latter case, the designer's impact on the film's visual style will be much more apparent as the trace of the primary personality involved in the creation of its visual aspect. Yet even in such cases, it is rare for designers' work to have as distinctive a look as that of visually assertive directors. In other words, when working for a director with a weak visual sense, the resulting images will almost certainly represent the designer's sensibility more than the director's; but that sensibility will be difficult to discern in other films, particularly when the designer works for a strong director, because of the designer's subordinate position. The relative strengths of a designer and a director can be found by looking at the work of famous designer/director pairings, and comparing them to work either partner has performed with others. Such partnerships as Richard MacDonald (1919–1993) and Joseph Losey (1909–1984), Ferdinando Scarfiotti and Bernardo Bertolucci, and Santo Loquasto (b. 1944) and Woody Allen offer object lessons in understanding the contribution of design to cinematic visual style.

The partnership between MacDonald and Losey is one of the most famous, and Losey openly acknowledged the importance of production design to his work. While each was responsible for over thirty feature films, they worked together on nine. MacDonald worked with several other well-known directors, including Ken Russell, Fred Schepisi, and John Schelsinger; Losey worked with at least one other designer, Alexandre Trauner (1906–1993), as well known as MacDonald. There is little in subject matter to tie the late film noir atmosphere of Losey's *The Criminal* (1960) to the quasi-comic melodrama of *The Romantic Englishwoman* (1975) and even less to tie either to the theatrical artifice of *Galileo* (1975) or *King and Country* (1964). The photographic styles do not help much either, veering between the low-key, chiaroscuoro black-and-white lighting of *The Criminal* to the bright, colorful, op-art-inspired *Modesty Blaise* (1966).

Yet all nine films exhibit a similar sensitivity to architecture and its relation to the human form. This in itself is a clue to who was primarily responsible for their look, since the director, not the production designer, would place the actors in a space. Similarly, the nine films Losey and MacDonald made together tend to have few close-ups; scenes often play out in relative long shot, maximizing our perception of the characters in relation to their surroundings. While this sensitivity to architecture and self-conscious positioning of characters in relation to it is a common visual trait in these nine films, the collaborations between Losey and Trauner (*Don Giovanni* [1979] and *La Truite* [1982]) reveal the same fascination with architecture and the human form. There are differences in emphasis in the Losey-Trauner collaborations. Losey's work with Trauner tends to be more decorative, with very lush details filling out the frame. But the angles are just as wide as Losey's work with MacDonald, the compositions just as elaborate and self-conscious.

MacDonald's work with Schlesinger and Schepisi is similar enough in subject to his collaborations with Losey that one might expect similar visual environments. Yet while there is some of the same architectural sophistication in *Plenty* (1985, which, like *Galileo*, was based on a play), it is largely absent from *The Russia House* (1990). Similarly, while *The Day of the Locust* (1975) exhibits

some visual excess similar to Losey's collaborations with Trauner, MacDonald's other collaborations with Schlesinger are marked by a realism that verges on the mundane and invisible. None of the work MacDonald and Schlesinger did together shows that effort to use architecture expressively as in the Losey-MacDonald collaborations.

PRODUCTION DESIGN AND THE AUDIENCE

While there have been many examples of film design initiating or participating in fashion crazes, and while it has become almost common since the success of the *Star Wars* films for movie companies to merchandise objects and memorabilia related to blockbuster releases, production design's most influential relationship with the audience is both more subtle and powerful than individual merchandising strategies. It is the cumulative effect of the narrative feature's designed environment that has to be understood to realize the significance of production design in audiences' daily lives. Production design's influence in these matters arises more from a general expectation that life may be as ordered and beautiful as the average film image. In this regard, it is not significantly different from standard advertising, with one major exception. Because the television commercial or glossy magazine spread is obviously selling a way of life, the ad can be rejected. The narrative feature, on the other hand, is not obviously selling anything beyond itself, while at the same time creating the illusion that the perfect images and ordered lives it presents are feasible.

If it is assumed that the least noticeable production design is at the realist end (because the filmmakers are striving to provide the illusion that the fictional events are occurring as viewers watch them), it also may be assumed that to some extent the designers are trying to embed the story in a physically plausible environment. In other words, the world on the screen has to convince audiences it actually exists in order for the realism of the story to succeed. At the same time, in fiction films even the most realistic of cinematic environments provide a structured, dramatically heightened world. Details are included for their thematic and symbolic relevance to story and character; atmosphere is subordinated to dramatic need. So even a reasonably realistic view of, say, an average, suburban middle-class American home will be improbably neat and tidy because everyday messes are not necessary for the story. And unless it figured in the story in some way, the action would be unlikely to show anyone cleaning or tidying up. For example, despite the fact that *Mildred Pierce* (1945) works all day at home to make ends meet, has two daughters (one of them a physically active tomboy), an unemployed husband under foot, and no one to help her, her home is impeccably spruce.

Nor is the source of the money that supports these environments depicted very often. When the protagonist of *American Beauty* (1999) leaves his job, there is no material change in his way of life; it is as if the lush furnishings and draperies of his home exist apart from such contingencies. Even when a character's work is included, it tends to be subordinated to his or her emotional concerns. (Unemployment is significant for the hero of *American Beauty* because it is part of his midlife crisis, not because he is unable to pay his bills.) In other words, nearly every action in the story is focused on those aspects of a character's life that are "interesting" or "dramatic," rather than grounded in daily, grubby activity. This is the inevitable distortion of art. When combined with physically rich environments and effective cinematography, such dramatic heightening is expressed not only in the story and characters, but also in the spaces they inhabit. Created by sophisticated technicians, production design provides a richly saturated ideal, the contemporary measure of style.

SEE ALSO *Cinematography; Crew; Direction; Lighting; Production Process*

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PRODUCTION PROCESS

Film production involves a complex set of processes that balance aesthetic, financial, and organizational needs. These processes have changed over time: some changes have arisen in response to the different kinds of film that have dominated various industrial eras; some have arisen from the changing shape of industrial organization; and others are a function of the ways in which technology has evolved. Yet even in the present day, filmmaking practices used to create different types of film can vary greatly. The production processes of a live-action film and an animated film, for instance, will differ substantially. Nevertheless, the main stages through which production moves are normally clearly identifiable regardless of the type of film involved. This process is conventionally divided into four parts: development, which deals with conceiving, planning, and financing the film project; preproduction, when key resources such as cast, crew, and sets are assembled and prepared; principal photography, during which time the film is actually shot; and postproduction, which involves editing the raw footage and adding the visual effects and soundtrack.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRODUCTION PROCESS IN THE UNITED STATES

Early films dating from the 1890s were far shorter and less technically complex than feature films in the twenty-first century. As a rule, they did not require either a script or a large crew. Many were nonfictional films, known as *actualités*, which in some instances simply involved setting the camera up in front of a street scene (or other view), filming for a short while, developing and printing the film, and then screening it unedited. The Lumière brothers' (Auguste Lumière, [1862–1954]; Louis Lumière, [1864–1948]) celebrated Cinématographe served this type of filmmaking well, as it was a movie camera, printer, and projector all in one. A camera operator equipped with this device could be supplied to vaudeville theaters, which regularly included films in their program; he or she would film local scenes, print them, and project them, all on the same day.

Other popular genres of the time were filmed variety acts and "trick films," which centered on special effects. These films, unlike their documentary counterparts, required staging, rudimentary sets, costumes, and props. Trick films also demanded more innovative production techniques than *actualités* or variety acts. For example, *The Execution of Mary Queen of Scots* (1895) involved stopping the camera after Robert Thomae, the actor playing Mary, laid his head on the execution block, and then using a dummy for the head-chopping sequence.

Trick films and variety acts were most easily made in a studio. *The Execution of Mary Queen of Scots* was shot in the first dedicated film studio: Thomas Edison's (1847–1931) "Black Maria," which opened in New Jersey in 1892. Although basic by modern standards, it was carefully designed to deal with the various contingencies that filmmaking faced at the time. It had an open roof to allow in sunlight—essential for a period when all filming relied on natural light—and the whole structure rested on a revolving pivot to maintain an alignment with the sun. Other filmmakers followed suit, both in the United States and abroad, including the Biograph Company, which built a rooftop studio in New York in 1896, and Georges Méliès (1861–1938), who constructed a glass-encased studio near Paris in 1897.

Staged films demanded preplanning. In the early days, however, this tended to be minimal and was left mostly in the hands of the film's director. As film companies moved towards mass production, more methodical planning processes were instituted. Careful scheduling allowed efficient use of resources and also ensured a regular flow of product. Increasingly, producers rather than directors assumed greater control over planning projects. Directors, for their part, were progressively relegated to the role of project managers, subject to strict schedule and budgetary controls, and required to shoot the film according to a script developed elsewhere in the system.

Two important management innovations did much to change the balance of power between producers and directors. The first was the institution of production schedules around 1907 to 1909. The second was the introduction of continuity scripts, which were in regular use by the early 1910s. Production schedules helped to manage the flow of activity in order to ensure maximum utilization of studio capacity and human resources. These production schedules depended, in turn, on continuity scripts which provided detailed outlines of each individual film project. As longer narrative films became the dominant type of film production, continuity scripts played the crucial role of indicating the resources such as actors, crew, set, and equipment that would be needed for the production as well as ensuring that the plots were well planned in advance. While these innovations came about partly in response to a growing reliance on narrative films, making it easier to plan and produce them reinforced the eventual dominance of this type of film.

This system, which was firmly entrenched by 1916, came to be known as the "multiple director-unit system." Under this system, each company had several filmmaking units, with each unit headed by a director and including a full production crew. Other resources, such as actors, were drawn from pooled resources which the production company made available to each unit as required. Later modifications to this scheme led to the "central producer system" in which producers took responsibility for supervising a number of simultaneous productions and overseeing the directors who worked on them. This way of organizing film production was the basis of the system used throughout the US "studio era" (c. 1920–1960), which was dominated by a handful of large, integrated production-distribution-exhibition companies. It quickly came to be seen as a model of best practice for other national industries, many of which adopted its techniques.

The production process established under the US studio system remains in use and dominates filmmaking to this day. There are various reasons for the survival and dominance of this model. To begin with, many of the basic technical requirements of filmmaking have not changed significantly over the years. Second, most of the skills needed for making films are now embedded in craft knowledge and professional practices protected by unions and occupational communities. Finally, the systems of project management that were refined during the studio era continue to yield significant practical and economic benefits. Although the different stages of the production process were developed to meet the needs of live-action fictional feature films, many aspects of this system are used to produce other types of films, such as documentaries and shorts.

DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING

The growing reliance on feature-film production that displaced the dominance of short films required an increasing upfront commitment of financial and human resources. Allocating and using these resources effectively required planning, which resulted in greater attention given to development and preproduction within the US studio system than had existed previously.

During the studio era, development and planning was undertaken by company executives and was shaped by two factors: first, by the estimates made by the head of distribution as to the number and nature of films required to meet theatrical exhibition needs; and second, by the need to make optimal use of internally held resources such as specialized staff, sets, and costumes. Top studio executives decided the overall budget for the year, and based on this budget, allocated expenditures for individual motion-picture projects.

Once the range of projects was decided in terms of budget and genre, work commenced on planning the individual films. Projects normally originated with the script department, a unit all major producers had instituted by 1911. Normally, potential scripts were selected by readers from existing sources such as novels, plays, radio shows, or even existing movies. *The Wizard of Oz* (1939), for instance, had previously existed in all these forms by the time it was put into production. Other films began life as original screenplays, normally by writers under contract to the studio, since producers rarely purchased original screenplays from freelance writers for fear of copyright infringement.

Whilst some projects were selected on their individual merits, many were genre pieces or sequels that capitalized on proven success and available resources. Examples include the Warner Bros.' musical *Gold Diggers of 1933* (1933) and Universal's horror franchise entry, *Frankenstein Meets the Wolf Man* (1943). Some

scripts were commissioned as vehicles for contracted stars, such as *Road to Morocco* (1942), which was one of a series of original scripts written for Bob Hope and Bing Crosby.

Once the script department had made its recommendations for potential productions, selected scripts were allocated to associate producers who oversaw the development and production process. This process normally began with a scenario describing the plot in prose form. It was followed by a treatment providing more detail about individual scenes. Next a screenplay was prepared which included dialogue. Finally, a shooting script broke the action down into individual shots and provided guidance for staging and camera positioning.

Scripts conformed to a standardized format, with brief camera and set instructions in the left-hand column and dialogue to the right. Each step of the process was subjected to detailed critical evaluation and numerous revisions before it was allowed to progress to the next stage of writing. As the project evolved, other elements of the production, such as casting, were discussed and decided, and these decisions in turn often led to further script development. The successive drafts were often the product of different writers. Some received on-screen credit and others did not. Carried to an extreme, this process resulted in films such as *Forever and a Day* (1943), which credited the contributions of an astonishing twenty-one writers.

The meticulous process of script development was intended to ensure not only that the story would be entertaining and engaging, and hence popular with audiences, but also that the resources needed to transform it into a film were available, and that the entire process could be performed within budget and on schedule. The continuity script acted as a blueprint for the tasks required during preproduction, such as casting and set building. Once filming began, it functioned as a detailed template for the day-to-day activities involved in shooting the film. The tasks to be performed, such as the creation of different camera setups, were known in advance and therefore could be scheduled for maximum efficiency. The continuity script also had the added virtue of making it far easier for the production office to monitor the progress of the shooting, and to intervene early when problems arose. This often occurred when scenes proved unexpectedly difficult and expensive to shoot, and could lead to ongoing script revision.

During the studio era, planning and resource allocation decisions were made within the context of multiple projects. The logic was one of portfolio investment in which decisions on individual projects were strongly related to what the studio intended to produce and release in a given year. The breakdown of the studio system in the early 1950s saw a return to the planning of films as individual units, a process known as the "package-unit system." This approach became dominant through the 1950s and 1960s when the studios began to cut back production. The cutback was partly a response to antitrust decrees that forced the studios to dispose of their exhibition business, with consequent loss of control over release. It also responded to the decline in cinema attendance, which was caused by a range of factors such as the baby boom and the growing popularity of television. The production cutbacks meant it was no longer viable for the studios to retain costly personnel under contract. Nor was it worthwhile, once control over exhibition was lost, to maintain an infrastructure that depended on a continuous flow of film production.

Personnel were therefore let go, physical assets were sold, and in-house departments such as wardrobe and props were shut down. Filmmaking returned to the logic of individual production that prevailed during the earliest days of the industry. When planning a film, it became necessary to negotiate for the main elements—stars, director, and script—separately. Once the main elements were secured, production finance was sought on a film-by-film basis. In the contemporary film industry most film projects originate with entrepreneurs. As a rule, they are financed largely on their individual merits, instead of by virtue of their contribution to the production and distribution strategy of a large studio.

The change in the way the industry is organized has had important repercussions for the development stage of film production. Because the key players are all independent contractors rather than attached to a studio, it has become harder to ensure that all of them remain committed to seeing a project through to completion. As a rule, key personnel such as actors and directors become contractually committed to a film only when financing has been obtained and a date for principal photography has been set. Unlike the studio era, when financing for individual films came from internally allocated budgets, in the poststudio era it is usually negotiated piecemeal from a variety of companies or individuals. This process may take so long to conclude that directors or actors who were originally enthusiastic about a film may move on to other projects.

The impact of financing uncertainty on the commitment of key personnel paradoxically tends to increase the uncertainty of financing itself. Financial backers often make their participation contingent on stars or high-profile directors. If key individuals exit the project financing arrangements may unravel—which may lead to postponements which, in turn, may lead to further exits by key personnel, bringing to an end a project originally seen as highly promising.

The problems of obtaining and committing sufficient financing for production have increased exponentially since the breakdown of the studio system. The multiple sources of finance which prevail in the twenty-first century increase the probability of endless postponement and ultimate failure. If the financiers do not have confidence in the way development is progressing, or if their financial situation changes, they may choose not to make the movie, putting the project into "turnaround," a stage at which the producer may seek finance elsewhere. Monetary uncertainty, combined with constant changes in personnel, often means that the development process can be extremely protracted. Director Richard Attenborough's pet project, *Gandhi* (1982), went through twelve screenplays and seventeen years of development before it reached the preproduction stage.

Conversely, some films of the poststudio era have had much shorter periods of development than films made under the studio system. This has sometimes resulted in critically and/or commercially successful films. Some of the best-known examples were made by the American entrepreneur Roger Corman, who achieved particular renown in the field of low-budget exploitation films. *The Little Shop of Horrors* (1960) was inspired by standing sets. It was conceived and written in the space of a couple of weeks and filmed in slightly more than two days in order to take advantage of the sets before they were torn down. Another director who capitalized on standing sets was Wayne Wang. Immediately after shooting *Smoke* (1995), he filmed *Blue in the Face* (1995) in six days, based on ideas noted down by writer Paul Auster during the shooting of the first movie. It was assembled from largely improvised scenes and used many of the same actors along with a host of quickly marshaled celebrity cameos.

Short periods of development may appear attractive at first sight, but they often have negative consequences for the integrity of the film. When Corman filmed *The Terror* (1963) using the sets and stars assembled for his production of *The Raven* (1963), it was based on only a handful of hurriedly written scenes without a clear idea of narrative. Far from replicating the efficiency of *The Little Shop of Horrors*, this project required a further nine months of shooting scenes piecemeal to accumulate enough footage to transform it into a feature film. The filming of this jumble of sequences was completed by another five uncredited directors, including Francis Ford Coppola, Jack Nicholson, Monte Hellman, Dennis Jacob, and Jack Hill, and became one of the most protracted production processes of Corman's career.

Many independent productions have suffered from too little time spent in development, since the producer may not receive payment until the film goes into preproduction, encouraging the fastest possible progression to this stage. Yet even large-budget studio productions have sometimes been marred by insufficient development, such as the $35 million *Star Trek: The Motion Picture* (1979), which began shooting without a completed script.

PREPRODUCTION

Once basic agreement on the script is achieved, early preparations begin for the actual filming. Director, cast, and film crew are assigned while script development continues. Suggestions made by the director are incorporated, and the script is tailored to fit the image of the selected stars. Each member of the crew is provided with a copy of the script to assist preparations for principal photography. Decisions are made about which parts of the film will be shot on studio sets, and which on location. In general, studio shooting is preferred as it allows a greater degree of control over both the artistic and practical elements of the production process, and avoids the expense of transporting and accommodating cast, crew, and equipment. Filming on location is preferred for greater realism. If it is a location shoot, locations are selected during preproduction and all the practical arrangements are made in preparation for the arrival of the cast and crew.

Under the studio system, the larger production companies employed not only a variety of sound stages, but also extensive grounds on which potentially flexible sets remained standing for repeated use. For instance, parts of the Jerusalem set built for Cecil B. DeMille's *The King of Kings* (1927) can also be seen in *King Kong* (1933), *The Garden of Allah* (1936), and *Gone with the Wind*, (1939), amongst other films. The redressing of sets, with superficial alterations, disguised their repeated use and was an important factor in the economy of the studio system. Standing sets would be readied for production and new sets built when necessary (although the latter expensive and time-consuming activity was avoided when possible). In addition to standing sets, the large studios also maintained vast collections of costumes, furniture, fake weapons, and even live animals, all of which individual productions could book for use. During the studio era these activities were organized internally by heads of departments who worked to ensure that all these resources were selected and made ready during preproduction. Following the dismantling of the studio system, it has become common for productions to rent studio space, costumes, props, and other materials from independent businesses that provide specialized services to the film industry.

Before filming begins, a shooting schedule is prepared. This describes the order in which scenes will be

filmed, which usually differs from the order in which they will appear in the finished film. The plan allows the film to be shot as quickly and cheaply as possible. All the scenes using a particular set or location are normally shot consecutively. The availability of actors can also dictate the order in which scenes are filmed. For instance, *Goldfinger* (1964) began shooting in Miami without its star Sean Connery, who was still working on *Marnie* (1964) at the time. *Goldfinger*'s Fontainebleau Hotel set later had to be reconstructed at Pinewood Studios in England once Connery became available, and back projection was used to incorporate footage shot on location.

Some directors regard the practice of shooting out of sequence as artistically compromising. In some rare instances directors insist on shooting films completely in sequence—a practice that allows actors to fully engage with their roles, but is costly in other respects. Ken Loach, the British director of *Raining Stones* (1993), *Ladybird, Ladybird* (1994), and *Sweet Sixteen* (2002), is one famous advocate of shooting in sequence, since strong performances are always the lynchpin of his films.

PRINCIPAL PHOTOGRAPHY

By the first day of filming, every member of the crew is expected to be familiar with the shooting schedule, and all the necessary equipment for the day's work should be available. Each member of the crew is provided with a call sheet, itemizing when and why they are required on set. The sets will have been built and dressed, and lights positioned in accordance with the scheme agreed by the director and the director of photography. Cameras and microphones are positioned and camera movements and lighting adjustments are rehearsed with the help of stand-ins who walk through the actions. Marks are placed on the floor to ensure that actors make the same movements when the scene is shot. While this is going on, the actors spend time in costume, hair, and makeup. Once the technical aspects of shooting the scene have been firmly established and the actors are dressed, they are called to the set. At the discretion of the director, some time is normally spent rehearsing before the scene is filmed.

When the director is ready to shoot, an assistant calls for silence. If filming takes place in a studio, the doors are closed and a red light switched on above them to signal that entry to the set is forbidden. The director instructs the camera operator and sound recordist to begin recording. The scene and take numbers are read out and the hinged clapperboard snapped shut, which assists with marrying sound and image in postproduction. The director then calls "action" and the actors begin their performance.

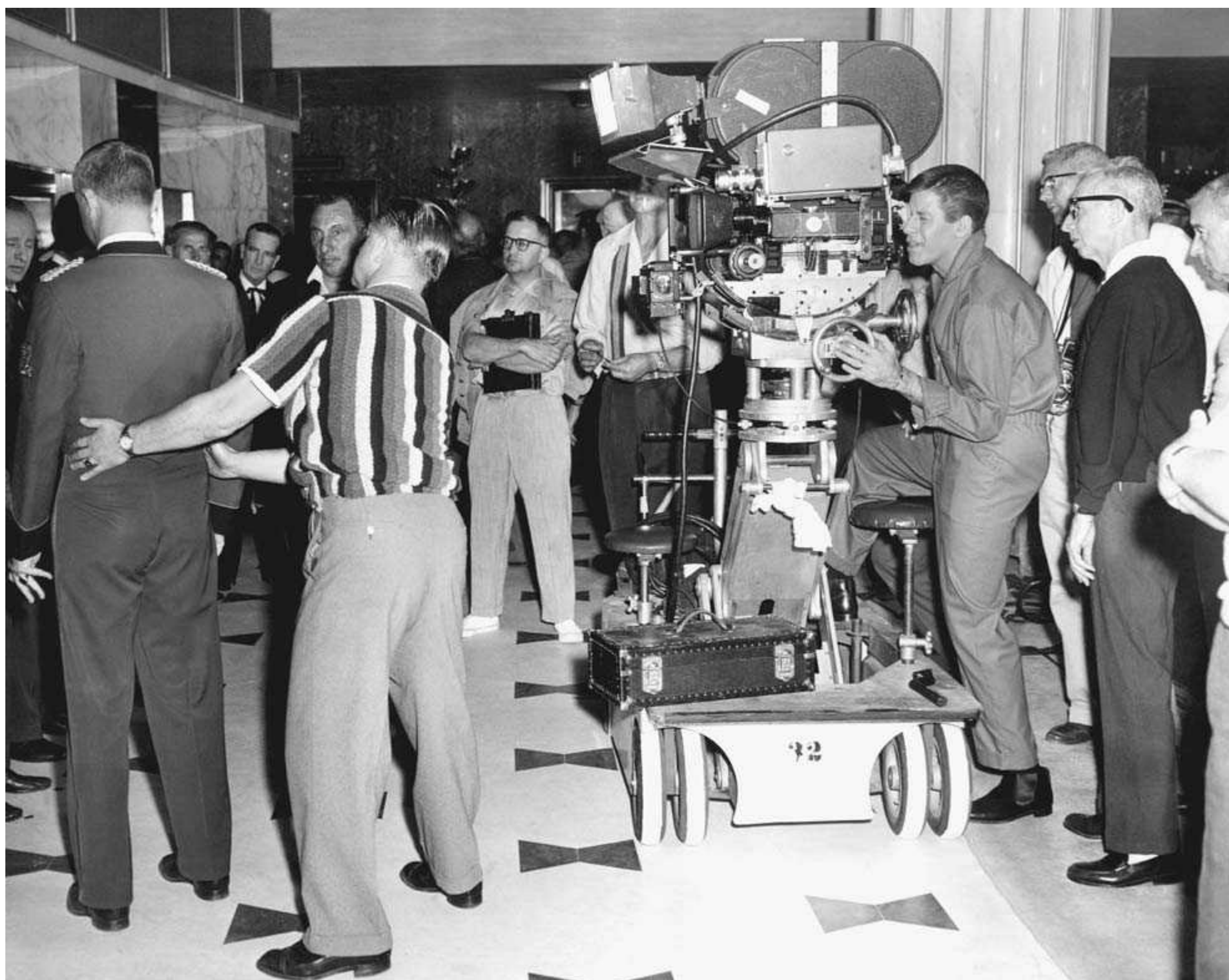
The first take is not always successful. It may be spoiled by actors flubbing their lines or marred by errors in camera movement or focus, or by lights or microphones making their way into the frame. Repeated takes are therefore often unavoidable. Some directors, such as W. S. Van Dyke, nicknamed "One-Take Woody," have always endeavored to keep these to a minimum, while others, such as Fritz Lang and Stanley Kubrick, developed reputations for demanding an extraordinarily high number of takes before their exacting standards were met. Few go to such extremes as Charlie Chaplin did when he went through 342 takes of a scene in *City Lights* (1931) in which his Little Tramp buys a flower from the blind girl (Virginia Cherrill). In general, careful planning and rehearsal can help keep the number down and reduce unnecessary waste of expensive film stock.

The difficulty of deciding whether a take is satisfactory has been much reduced since video was introduced into the process. The practice was pioneered by the actor and director Jerry Lewis when filming his feature debut, *The Bellboy* (1960), in which he also starred. Lewis sought a way to instantly review the recording of his acting performance. He decided to use a video camera linked to the main film camera and recording the same material. This invention came to be known as the "video assist." The recent advent of digital filmmaking has meant not only that master footage can be viewed at any time, but also that it is economically realistic for the director to request a greater number of takes than with 35mm, or even 16mm, film stock, since digital videotapes are considerably less expensive.

When the director is satisfied with a take, he or she will ask for it to be printed. The same scene may still need to filmed again from different camera angles, though. Alternatively, a scene may be shot with more than one camera at once. This allows a range of options when it comes to editing, and it is an especially valuable technique where a scene can only be filmed once due to danger or expense. *Gone with the Wind*, for instance, used all seven of the Technicolor cameras then in existence to shoot the sequence depicting the burning of Atlanta.

At the end of each day's shooting, the film is developed and the takes the director has selected are printed and screened for the director and production company executives. This material is known as the "dailies," or "rushes," and is used to evaluate the film's progress. It also reveals mistakes overlooked during the day's filming and directs attention to scenes that must be reshot while actors are still available and sets still standing.

While the director concentrates his attention on filming the main scenes—normally the ones in which the stars appear—the task of shooting other footage may be assigned to other units. A second unit is often used for filming in other locations, for shooting fights or



Jerry Lewis directing* The Bellboy *(1960), for which he invented the video assist. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

other action in which the main actors are not engaged, or for filming street scenes, animals, landscapes, and other such material. Many well-known directors such as Don Siegel, Robert Aldrich, and Jonathan Demme served as second-unit directors early in their careers. The special-effects department may also shoot some footage separately from the main unit, such as the model animation so central to *King Kong.* During the studio era, some companies also had centralized resources for providing certain services. If, for instance, a film required a close-up of a newspaper headline, the task of filming this would fall to the insert department rather than a crew member dedicated to the particular film. Sometimes standard scenes, such as a cavalry charge, were not filmed at all. Instead, the filmmakers incorporated stock footage drawn from the production company library. This was a far cheaper option than reshooting scenes for each individual picture and was unlikely to be noticed by most viewers.

Principal photography is probably the most difficult part of the production process in terms of investment and effort. Motion picture production is haunted by stories of shoots that have brought projects to the brink of collapse. A production that illustrates the difficulty of location shooting is *Apocalypse Now* (1979). The production's problems ranged from difficulties with its stars—the drug-addled Dennis Hopper, the intractable Marlon Brando, and the heart attack-stricken Martin Sheen—to having to deal with monsoons and logistical crises. Another example is the German director Werner Herzog's magnum opus, *Fitzcarraldo* (1982), which experienced comparable difficulties with location, logistics, and climatic conditions. In the case of *Fitzcarraldo*, matters were made worse by the loss of two main actors halfway through the filming (Jason Robards left due to serious illness and Mick Jagger left due to a prior commitment with The Rolling Stones). This meant principal

photography needed to be restarted from scratch. As difficult as production on these films proved to be, the directors could take comfort that they were completed and went on to receive considerable critical acclaim. Terry Gilliam's abortive production of *The Man Who Killed Don Quixote* is one of the rare instances in which the difficulties of principal photography led to abandonment of production. The saga of this unfortunate production is recounted in detail in the fascinating feature documentary *Lost in La Mancha* (2002).

Although problems encountered during principal photography are common to many films—difficult locations, poor logistics, and recalcitrant actors—the methods that filmmakers use to address them can be very different, as are their outcomes. *My Son John* (1952), *Solomon and Sheba* (1959), *Dark Blood* (1993), and *The Crow* (1994) all had to deal with the deaths of their lead actors during their shoots. *My Son John* was completed by incorporating outtakes of Robert Walker from his previous film, *Strangers on a Train* (1951). *Solomon and Sheba* recast the role of Solomon, replacing Tyrone Power with Yul Brynner, and reshot all of Power's scenes, while *The Crow* succeeded in resurrecting its star, Brandon Lee, through the use of computer animation. *Dark Blood*, however, was abandoned after the death of River Phoenix in 1993, as the insurance company considered this to be the cheapest option.

POSTPRODUCTION

After principal photography is concluded, the production process moves to postproduction. Postproduction transforms the thousands of feet of raw footage into a finished film. One of the most important elements of postproduction is the editing process in which shots are selected and assembled in an appropriate order. Attention is then turned to the soundtrack. While the majority of US films record dialogue on set, some parts may be rerecorded due to poor sound quality. Music and sound effects must be recorded and the different tracks combined into a final mix. Opening and/or end credits must also be added, and other optical and visual effects work may be required.

Editing, like script development, goes through several stages. Traditionally, the editing process has involved working with a physical copy of the film, cutting and splicing pieces of footage manually. It is now more common to load the images onto a computer using a system such as Final Cut Pro or Avid, which allows easy experimentation with different ways of arranging the shots. Whichever method is used, the basic processes remain the same. First, the dailies are assembled in the order specified in the shooting script. Excerpts are then taken from individual shots and arranged in such a way as to tell the story as economically as possible, while at the same time preserving a sense of coherent time and space. This is traditionally referred to as the "rough cut." Although normally it does not have a soundtrack, it is generally a reliable guide to the finished film.

The editing that produces the rough cut often uncovers deficiencies that had not been detected before. A common problem is that shots do not fit together well because the director did not film enough coverage of the action to clarify the spatial relations between them. More rarely, the movie may simply be too short. This happened with *Duel at Silver Creek* (1952), when director Don Siegel paced the action too quickly. The resulting rough cut ran for only fifty-four minutes, far too short for a feature release. The obvious remedy in such situations is to shoot additional footage, but it is one most producers strive to avoid because of the difficult logistics and potentially great expense of reassembling actors and sets.

While the editing is taking place, work is carried out on the soundtrack, with different crew members working on the music, sound effects, and dialogue. Normally the composer does not begin work until after viewing the rough cut, but in rare cases the musical score is written before filming begins. Ennio Morricone's music for *Il Buono, il brutto, il cattivo* (*The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly*, 1966) and John Williams's score for *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* (1977) are well-known examples of such a practice. Sound effects are often taken from existing recordings held in sound libraries, but some films require the creation of new effects. This process is undertaken in a recording studio by a foley artist. It may also be necessary to record postsynchronized dialogue. This normally entails placing the actors in front of a film projection so they can ensure their lip movements match the image.

The different pieces of sound are recorded on separate tracks. They are combined in premixes, which are the sound equivalent of the visual rough cuts. As the editing of the image track progresses, the sound needs to be remixed in accordance with the lengthening, shortening, rearranging, or deleting of scenes. This process has been made easier by the development of computerized sound-editing software.

When the editing of the image track has been completed, a copy of the original negative is cut to match the edited print. A new positive print, known as an "answer print," is struck from the edited negative. This print is then graded, which ensures that color and light levels are consistent throughout the film. The process may be repeated several times before unwanted variations are eliminated. At the end of this process, a print called an "interpos" is created, from which another negative, called an "interneg," is struck.

Fitzcarraldo ***(1982), starring Klaus Kinski, was a difficult shoot for director Werner Herzog.*** **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

Work on the final version of the soundtrack is also completed at this stage. The final sound mix is made to synchronize perfectly with the finished image track, and the sound is recorded onto film in order to create an optical soundtrack. A negative is created from this and combined with the interneg. Any titles and optical effects are also added at this stage. The resulting combined optical print will be the source of the "interdupe" negative, from which the final release prints will be struck.

Throughout postproduction, executives of the producing or distributing company carefully monitor the progress of the film. If dissatisfied with the results, they may insist on changes, sometimes even replacing the original editor and/or director. This may happen at any stage from the rough cut onwards. The insistence of studio executives on their right to determine the final cut has frequently resulted in bitter conflicts with directors who often regard themselves as the "authors" of the finished film. A confrontation that entered the Hollywood annals took place during the studio era between MGM and director Erich von Stroheim. Producers were alarmed by von Stroheim's forty-two-reel (approximately nine- or ten-hour) rough cut of *Greed* (1924). Aware that a film of this length could never be screened commercially, von Stroheim cut almost half the footage himself, and then handed the reduced version to a trusted associate for further editing. The results failed to impress MGM executives, who demanded further cuts. When von Stroheim failed to comply, they appointed their own editor, and cut the film down to the more marketable length of ten reels.

If the studio is uncertain about the audience appeal of a film, it will often undertake test screenings in order to gauge reaction and obtain guidance for improvements. Test screenings may be repeated several times until audience scorecards indicate the film has attained the desired response. Reediting, or even reshooting, may be required if audience reactions fall short of expectations. Recent films that were substantially altered following test screenings include *Troy* (2004), which replaced Gabriel Yared's score with completely new music by James Horner, and *King Arthur* (2004), for which a new ending was shot and the violence toned down. With each batch of changes, however, the postproduction cycle must be repeated, as new versions of sound and image track need to be married and new negatives and prints created.

It is also common to prepare multiple versions of films for release in different countries. Perhaps the most obvious feature that needs to be localized is the language. Often the dialogue is dubbed into local languages, which means the newly recorded voice tracks need to be remixed with the music and sound effects. Title sequences may be replaced completely—sometimes with entirely different visual designs—or subtitles may be added to the existing credit titles. If the film has not been dubbed, dialogue subtitles will be needed throughout the film.

Language is not the only feature that varies between countries, however. Different censorship regulations mean that sequences allowed in one country may have to be removed in another. Obviously this can affect spatial and/or narrative coherence. Sometimes major changes are made to a film in order to give it greater appeal outside its home territory. Francis Ford Coppola's first directorial assignment (under the pseudonym of Thomas Colchart) was to take the Japanese disaster film *Nebo Zovyot* (1960) and completely reedit it for US audiences, transforming the plot and adding not only new dialogue but also new footage. The film was released in the United States as *Battle Beyond the Sun* (1962).

VARIATIONS IN THE PRODUCTION PROCESS

The main filmmaking stages—development, preproduction, principal photography, and postproduction—are similar for most types of filmmaking. There are three notable exceptions to this dominant model: documentary, animation, and experimental cinema.

The method of making documentary films necessarily differs from fictional features because the events recorded can rarely be planned in advance. This is especially true for cinéma vérité and direct-cinema films, such as *Primary* (1960), which followed presidential candidates John F. Kennedy and Hubert Humphrey, and *Don't Look Back* (1967), D. A. Pennebaker's account of Bob Dylan's British tour. Each of these films was shot on location using lightweight 16mm cameras, long takes, and available light to follow events as they happened.

While the purpose of these forms of observational documentary is to record events as they occur, other types of documentary present accounts of events that have already happened. These allow some level of scripting prior to production. Examples of this approach include *The Thin Blue Line* (1988), Errol Morris's compelling exposé of a miscarriage of justice, and *Touching the Void* (2003), which tells the remarkable tale of a climbing expedition that went catastrophically wrong. Both these films mixed interviews with reconstructions of events, their production processes thus emulating fictional films more than observational documentary. No matter what their styles and subjects, though, documentary films always have greater potential to deviate from their original intent than do their fictional counterparts. For example, *Capturing the Friedmans* (2003) began life as a documentary about clowns, but when it emerged that the father and brother of one of the subjects were both convicted pedophiles, director Andrew Jarecki saw an opportunity to make a far more interesting film.

The production processes of animated features have many elements in common with live-action films. They do, for instance, engage in a rigorous process of script development, and their soundtracks are created in much the same way as those for live-action films. It is in the principal photography stage that their processes differ substantially, since animated images are created in entirely different ways.

Even within the field of animation itself, a range of very different production processes are used. The traditional and most widely employed technique is cel animation, of which *Bambi* (1942) and *The Lion King* (1994) are examples. In this technique, images are painted onto sheets of celluloid that overlie painted backgrounds. ''Cels'' are placed on an animation table and filmed from above. A slightly different technique is the animation of cutout silhouettes, most famously employed by Lotte Reiniger in films such as *The Adventures of Prince Achmed* (1926). Some forms of animation film three-dimensional models instead of pictures. One technique is puppet animation, which was used in *The Muppets Take Manhattan* (1984). Another is ''claymation,'' of which *Chicken Run* (2000) is an example. Digital animation is becoming an increasingly popular technique. It has been used to make blockbusters such as *Toy Story* (1995) and *Shrek* (2001), and is already displacing the primacy of cel animation.

Some films deliberately set out to challenge the dominant modes of film practice by employing production processes that result in radically different aesthetics from those of mainstream films. These films are rarely shown in mainstream cinemas, playing instead at venues such as art houses, museums, universities, film schools, and filmmakers' forums. Their production, distribution, and exhibition systems all position the films as oppositional to the types of cinema hitherto described.

Experimental film techniques vary widely and employ every possible method. Some experimental filmmakers do not even use a camera, a basic tool of most film productions. Some films are based on images painted directly onto the film strip, a technique normally used to create abstract animations, of which Len Lye's *Color Cry* (1952) and Norman McLaren's *Short and Suite* (1959) are two examples. A variation on this technique was used by Stan Brakhage to create *Mothlight* (1963), which involved sandwiching flowers, leaves, and dead moths between two strips of film. Other films have been created from found footage—film that was previously shot for another purpose. One type of filmmaking to use this technique is the collage film, which edits together excerpts of found footage in such a way as to give rise to new interpretations of the images. The most influential practitioner of this kind of filmmaking is Bruce Conner, whose films include *A Movie* (1958) and *Report* (1967). Found footage was also used by some of the structuralist/materialist filmmakers, whose work aimed to draw attention to the material of the film itself as well as to the processes involved in making and viewing it. The descriptively titled *Film in Which There Appear Sprocket Holes, Edge Lettering, and Dirt Particles, etc.* (1965), by George Landow (a.k.a. Owen Land) is an example of this genre.

Although these types of short films are intended for specialist audiences, highly experimental works occasionally cross over into commercial viewing environments. One example is *Time Code* (2000), which was shot in real time on digital video using four hand-held cameras filming simultaneous action in different locations. The shooting process had to be timetabled very precisely to allow the actors and cameras from each of the four segments to meet up with one another at specific dramatic moments. Instead of creating a conventional script, writer and director Mike Figgis outlined the actions and locations on musical score sheets. This ensured that the timing of each sequence was synchronized with the other three. When the film was exhibited, the cinema screen was split into four sections, each showing the footage from one of the cameras.

SEE ALSO *Casting; Cinematography; Credits; Crew; Direction; Editing; Guilds and Unions; Music; Producer; Production Design; Screenwriting; Sound; Studio System; Technology*

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PROPAGANDA

The word "propaganda" derives from the Congratio de Propaganda Fide (Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith), an organization established by Pope Gregory XV in 1622. Its original missionary denotation has been incorporated into modern dictionaries, where it is defined as the spreading of ideas, information, or rumor for the purpose of helping or injuring an institution, a cause, or a person. However, this rather neutral meaning has taken on, in common parlance, a more negative connotation, namely the assumption that disinformation, not information, is at its core.

Propagandistic messages have been a mainstay of films throughout the history of the medium. *Mise-en-scène*, editing, dialogue, voice-over narration, and music are some of the techniques that impart specific meaning. In short, the aesthetics of the cinema have long been used as powerful tools both to convey and to disguise overt and covert polemical proclamations.

EARLY FILM HISTORY AND PROPAGANDA

Among the earliest filmmakers to incorporate conscious or unconscious propagandistic messages were the Lumière brothers. In their short film *Démolition d'un mur* (*Demolition of a Wall*, 1896), for example, we see the seeds of later, more carefully constructed propaganda. The "boss" in this little film is given narrative and spatial privilege over the workers. Had a socialist made this film, she or he might have emphasized the workers' labor by choosing a camera angle that favored them and their physical efforts rather than their employer's perspective. The boss might have been satirized or portrayed as a tyrant and the workers' endeavors ennobled or depicted as exploited. Other Lumière films depicted dignitaries, parades, the military, fire departments, and the bonhomie of French bourgeois life; throughout, the viewpoint is clearly that of the self-satisfied industrialist filmmakers, who were comfortable with their class privilege and national identity. By contrast, their contemporary, Georges Méliès (1861–1938), often used fictionalized situations, special effects, and lighting to rigorously deconstruct the bourgeois universe erected in the films of the Lumière brothers and their vision of an orderly universe, which has come to dominate mainstream cinema.

The movie pioneer D. W. Griffith (1875–1948) has often been accused—and rightfully so—of manufacturing propaganda, especially of an antiblack nature, in his Civil War epic, *The Birth of a Nation* (1915). *The Birth of a Nation* begins with a provocative prologue which explains that the seeds of national discord were sown by the introduction of African slaves into the colonies. Subsequently, the "negroes" (as the film spells it)—most of whom were played by whites in blackface—are portrayed as either savage brutes or fools. Most infamously, Gus leers with animalistic delight at young Flora Cameron and then chases her to her death. Gus is "tried" and lynched by the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), his body then dragged through the streets and deposited at a black meeting place. At the film's climax, marauding blacks, intent on rape and murder, surround and attack a cabin that contains "innocent" white people from both the North and South. The message is clear: all whites, from whatever region, should unite against the menace of the freed slaves. The "heroic" Ku Klux Klan comes to the rescue, scattering the black mob and saving the whites.

This "rescue" is in sharp contrast to the historical reality of the KKK, whose mission was less to defend the interests of innocent whites than to intimidate and commit violence against innocent blacks.

Griffith's portrayals of African Americans as slow-witted, lazy, or comical are just as stereotyped and prejudicial. During the Reconstruction scenes in *The Birth of a Nation*, Griffith shows black legislators dressed in clownish clothes and eating and drinking alcohol on the floor of the US House of Representatives. While some of the film's images are supposedly based on photographs of the period, these images of African Americans in *The Birth of a Nation* convey a clear rhetoric: blacks are irresponsible, unmotivated, and unruly—not capable of holding elective office or even casting a vote.

The Birth of a Nation instantly produced controversy. The NAACP demanded Griffith cut two scenes that depicted white women being molested by rampaging blacks and an epilogue that suggested blacks should be shipped back to Africa. The director grudgingly made these excisions, but many national leaders argued that the film should still be banned. Riots ensued when *Birth* opened in Boston, Atlanta, and Chicago, and it was banned in at least eight states. Nonetheless, the movie was the most successful of its time—and retained the honor for decades to come. Its nineteenth-century constructions of racial stereotypes were used as recruitment tools for the Ku Klux Klan, and from 1915 to 1940 the Klan's membership grew substantially. It is rare for individual films to have such social impact, but in the case of *The Birth of a Nation*, the social consequences were apparent.

Immediately after the release of *The Birth of a Nation*, Griffith made *Intolerance* (1916)—another epic, but with pro-tolerance, pro-labor, and antiwar themes. The film's epilogue contains its most blatant message: world peace will eventually arise out of hate and intolerance. But such sermonizing did not fare well with the public and *Intolerance* failed at the box office and was banned in several countries. Some of Griffith's earlier films, however, seem to conflict directly with the proslavery message in *The Birth of a Nation*. *A Corner in Wheat* (1909), for example, has implications that verge on being socialist. Griffith juxtaposes a breadline scene with a lavish party in the mansion of the Wheat King, who engineered a rise in the price of bread by shrewd stock market deals. This simple contrast cut between the elegance of the rich and the immobility and despairing looks of the poor establishes a potent class analysis. When the Wheat King meets his ironic fate in a grain pit, where he is drowned in the "torrent of golden grain" that made him wealthy, Griffith again cuts to the breadline to compare the stockbroker's excess with the scarcity of the poor. In the end, the downtrodden farmer survives, though further impoverished, while the moneyed get their just desserts.

PROPAGANDA AND NATION

In other countries, especially the Soviet Union, leaders began to recognize the power of film to influence social and political attitudes. Film production was nationalized in Russia in 1917, after the Bolshevik Revolution. "Of all the arts," Vladimir Lenin said, "*for us*, the cinema is the most important." Documentary and fictional silent films were therefore produced to abet the Leninist cause. Notable examples include Sergei Eisenstein's (1898–1948) *Stachka* (*Strike*, 1925), *Bronenosets Potemkin* (*Battleship Potemkin*, 1925), and *Oktyabr* (*Ten Days that Shook the World* and *October*, 1927); V. I. Pudovkin's (1893–1953) *Mat* (*Mother*, 1926) and *Konets Sankt-Peterburga* (*The End of St. Petersburg*, 1927); and Dziga Vertov's (1896–1954) *Kino-pravda* (*CinemaTruth*, 1925) and *Chelovek s kino-apparatom* (*Man with a Movie Camera*, 1929).

Because of the inherent domination of visual images and the illiteracy of a good deal of the Russian peasantry, the silent cinema was an ideal tool for presenting ideas and information about the fall of the czar and the rise of the industrial and agricultural proletariat. The fact that film was a mass medium, reproducible and widely distributable, added to its propagandistic appeal. As in Eisenstein's *Battleship Potemkin*, the hero of these films was often not a lone individual but a social class.

Based on an actual event during the unsuccessful revolution of 1905, *Potemkin* uses the historical circumstances of a mutiny aboard a ship to make a larger statement about Leninist insurrection. The most famous montage in cinema history—the Odessa Steps sequence—punctuates the film with hundreds of quickly edited shots that plunge the viewer into the midst of a czarist massacre. Although the actual massacre in 1905 occurred on level ground, Eisenstein saw the dramatic (and propagandistic) value of taking artistic liberties. By using the steep steps, Eisenstein was able to sensationalize the helpless entrapment of the fleeing masses as they rushed from the faceless minions of the czar and their rifles. In addition, an establishing shot from above the steps suggests that the fleeing people are visually trapped between the militiamen and the cathedral at the bottom of the steps, making the Marxist point that the Church and State are the enemies of the proletariat. The culmination of the sequence—the "rising" of a statue of a lion (accomplished by editing together images of three separate statues)—was likewise the product of creative license; the three statues were located near Yalta, far from Odessa. Nonetheless, those three quick shots, followed by a

cannonade by the *Potemkin* against the Odessa Opera House, headquarters of the generals, metaphorically mark the masses' outrage at the czar's cruelty.

Later in his career, under the thumb of Josef Stalin and Commissar Boris V. Shumiatski's Socialist Realist policy, Eisenstein was not allowed to make films from 1929 to 1938. Eventually, though, he made three films that used czars as the heroes: *Aleksandr Nevskiy* (*Alexander Nevsky*, 1938) and *Ivan Groznyy* (*Ivan the Terrible*, parts I (1945) and II (1946, not released until 1958). Whereas Lenin had said that cinema was the most important art, Stalin wrote that "the cinema is the greatest medium of mass agitation. The task is to take it into our hands." Encouraged to produce epics that extolled the "leader of the Russian people," Eisenstein went back in history to glorify the czars, obvious avatars of Stalin himself.

While Eisenstein was barred from filmmaking, Leni Riefenstahl (1902–2003) was coming into prominence in Germany. Her landmark propaganda film, *Triumph des Willens* (*Triumph of the Will*, 1935), still provokes controversy. Commissioned by Chancellor Adolf Hitler (1889–1945), *Triumph of the Will* was meant to be the official documentation of the Nazi Party Congress of 1934. Yet the film also promulgated fascism and the National Socialist Party (NSDAP) as the bases for renewed German nationalism and patriotism. Swastikas, eagles, statuary, Sieg Heil gestures, and children predominate as national metonymies.

Although *Triumph of the Will* was made about the party congress, it does not articulate any specific political policy or ideology. Hitler repeatedly stressed that one could not sway the masses with arguments, logic, or knowledge, only with feelings and beliefs. True to form, the film's "star" has a "cult of personality"—a mystical aura associated with nature, religion, and a "folkish" family-based patriotism. Its heroic leader is connected with the sky, earth, and animals; pagan and Christian religious connotations abound (i.e., cathedrals draped with swastika banners); and flags, parades, torchlight rituals, and military-national symbols dominate the *mise-en-scène*. Indeed, all the signifying mechanisms of the cinema—camera angles, lighting, editing, set design, and music—were marshaled to appeal to a malleable mass audience.

Triumph of the Will emphasizes optimistic, upbeat, and patriotic themes that reinforce the need for a renewed sense of unity and national identity after a period of economic and political instability. Hitler saw the film as an effective glorification of Nazism, a view reiterated years later by critic Susan Sontag, who wrote that it achieved nothing less than transforming history into theater. Propaganda such as *Triumph of the Will* mingles historical realities and cultural expression so as to have a tangible material and historical effect on society and social consciousness.

Of course, propaganda has been used in films to promote not only right-wing but left-wing causes. The Spanish Civil War, for example, became the battleground not only of loyalist and fascist ground troops but also of cinematic forces. Joris Ivens's (1898–1989) *The Spanish Earth* (1937) and Leo Hurwitz's (1909–1991) *Heart of Spain* (1937) are two notable examples that center on the conflict. In 1935 the Communist International had decreed that no longer was socialism versus capitalism to be the dialectic, but rather, democracy versus fascism. So in an attempt to lead the struggle against the fascist dictator of Spain, Francisco Franco (1892–1975), and to combat his propaganda, Ivens and Hurwitz made impassioned documentary films for the Popular Front cause of the loyalists. Ivens made no secret that his goal was not to portray unvarnished truth, but rather to enhance reality through the techniques of cinema in order to sway people into action.

In fascist Italy, Benito Mussolini (1883–1945) authorized the building of Cinecittà—a major film production studio—in 1936. The sign above the gate read, "Cinema Is the Strongest Weapon." LUCE (1926–1943) was a state-owned agency, founded by the fascists to produce "educational" and propaganda material for the Italian populace. LUCE made 2,972 weekly newsreels during its existence, most of which focused on Il Duce, military successes, and social progress in Italy under the fascist regime. In addition, the fictional films produced under fascism were highly successful adaptations of Italian novels and "white telephone" films about the bourgeoisie. Protected through strict import quotas, this *cultura popolare* reflected the cultural mythology of the fascist regime.

To counter Nazi and fascist propaganda and to inspire reluctant, isolationist American troops to fight the Axis powers, the US War Department commissioned the Hollywood director Frank Capra to produce a series of seven films called *Why We Fight* (1942–1945). One of the cinematic strategies of the series was that the enemies' own words and footage would be used against them; hence, much of the *Why We Fight* films are compilations of news footage. The themes (Good vs. Evil, Democracy vs. Totalitarianism) and characters (the Leader, Children, the People) were presented, through effective cinematic techniques, to elicit audience identification and involvement as in fiction movies.

The Nazis Strike (1943), for instance, utilized crosscutting and "creative geography" to create propagandistic meaning. In one scene, dive-bombing German planes are intercut with fleeing civilians and cowering children to suggest that the bombers are menacing the victims

LENI RIEFENSTAHL

b. Helene Bertha Amalie Riefenstahl, Berlin, Germany, 22 August 1902,
d. 8 September 2003

Leni Riefenstahl gained international fame in the 1930s as the official filmmaker of the Third Reich. She studied dance in her youth and appeared as an actress in German "mountain films" under the tutelage of Arnold Fanck. While performing in these movies, she learned the art of filmmaking and soon became the director of her own mountain film, *Das blaue Licht* (*The Blue Light*, 1932), in which she also starred.

Adolf Hitler admired *The Blue Light* and commissioned Riefenstahl to film the congress of the Nazi Party at Nuremberg in 1934. The result would be her masterpiece and triumph, *Triumph des Willens* (*Triumph of the Will*, 1935). Multiple cameras were used to powerful effect to lend full cinematic expressivity to the event, sweeping up the viewer in the spectacle. Riefenstahl insisted that *Triumph of the Will* was not propaganda, claiming "it is *history—pure history*." Yet the film relies on a nearly constant display of national symbols and mythic iconography to instill a sense of Teutonic grandeur, and her cinematic techniques convey a propagandist message beneficial to the Nazi cause. Indeed, its monumental style seems to convey the essential appeal of the fascist mentality. From its opening, *Triumph* creates identification with its "hero" by presenting the visual perspective of Hitler from inside his airplane. This "God's-eye" viewpoint is used as the plane parts the clouds (of postwar confusion? of the Weimar Republic?) over Nuremberg and thereby presents Der Führer as a mythic Messiah.

Olympische Spiele 1936 (*Olympia*, 1936), an ostensibly objective account of athletic competition at the 1936 Olympics in Berlin, utilized cinematic techniques to emphasize the German-Axis contestants. The famous diving sequence—with low-angle, slow-motion shots of gravity-defying divers leaping gracefully into the sky—depicts German, Italian, and Japanese competitors from slightly more imposing angles and with more grandiose music. (Riefenstahl's style could not disguise, however, African American Jesse Owens's four gold medal victories in track events.) Through Riefenstahl's camerawork and editing, the divers at times appear to defy gravity and tumble through the air, their athletic bodies—in seeming freefall—serving as a summary image of Riefenstahl's ideal of physical beauty.

Riefenstahl's last feature was *Tiefland* (*Lowland*). The filmmaker was accused of using gypsy concentration camp inmates as extras. Filmed during World War II, *Tiefland* was not released until 1954. By then, Riefenstahl had spent four years in Allied prison camps, undergone denazification, and been acquitted by a German court. In her later years, Riefenstahl became a still photographer, most notably of the African Nuba tribe. In her nineties, she shot stunning underwater scenes of deep-sea flora and even sharks. Despite these apolitical artistic projects, Riefenstahl is best remembered as a political pariah for her propaganda efforts on behalf of the Third Reich.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Das blaue Licht (*The Blue Light*, 1932), *Triumph des Willens* (*Triumph of the Will*, 1935), *Olympische Spiele 1936*, (*Olympia*, 1936), *Tiefland* (*Lowland*, 1954)

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Frank P. Tomasulo

Leni Riefenstahl. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

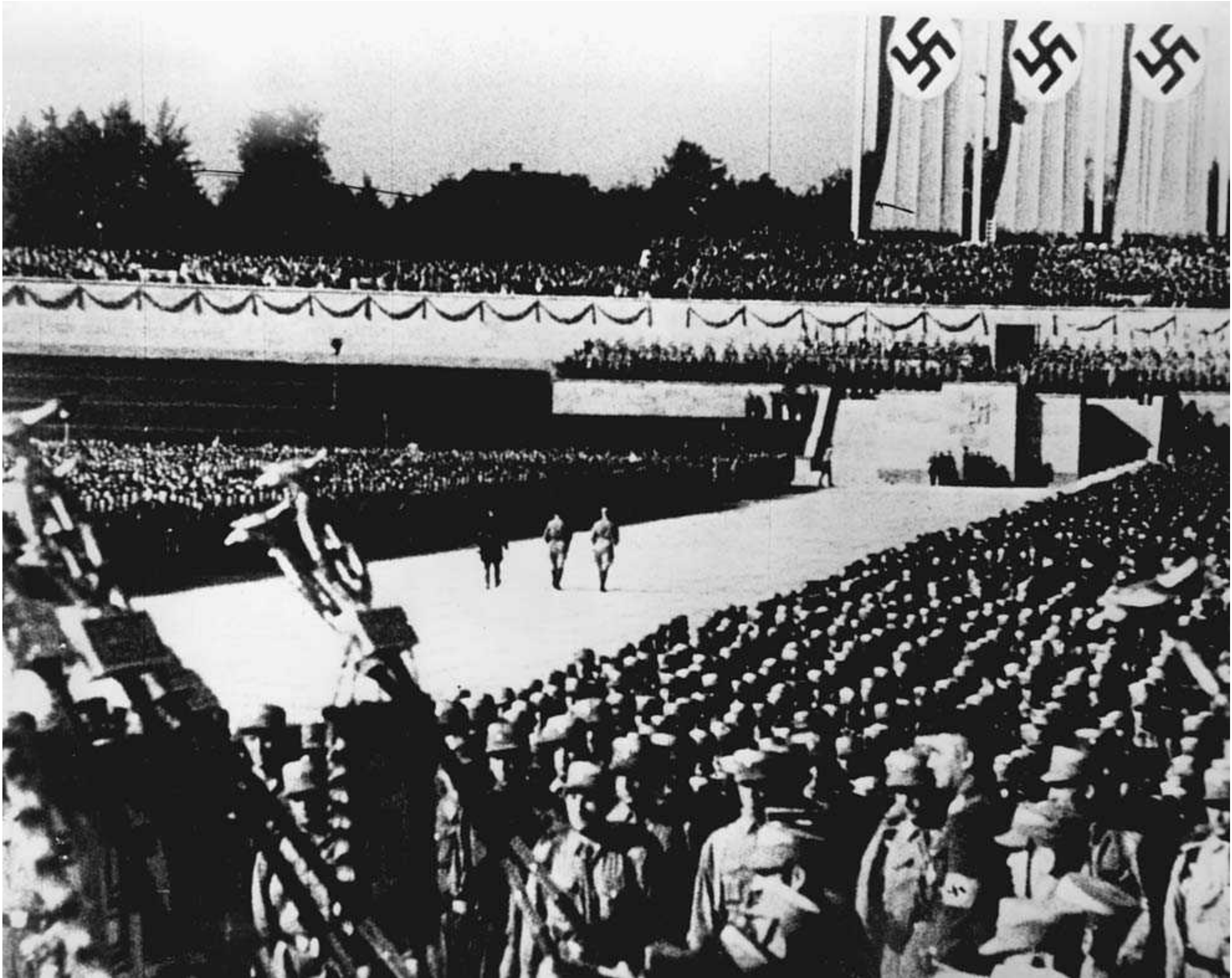
shown. In fact, these events did not occur simultaneously, but footage was cut together in the editing room. Later, we see Nazi soldiers loading howitzers and then the result of their handiwork: civilian areas exploding, a church steeple falling, children fleeing, and dead horses. Such associative editing enhances the portrayal of Germans as evil. Music is also used to accentuate the pro-Allies message; in particular, Chopin's *Polonaise* accompanies a voice-over narration that states, "Warsaw still resisted [the Nazis]." Later, a funereal passage from Beethoven's *Seventh Symphony* is heard over images of the bodies of dead Poles and their weeping widows. A heroic passage from the same symphony is used over images of Winston Churchill, and an uplifting rendition of "Onward Christian Soldiers" is played as the film ends—thereby equating the Allied effort with a religious crusade.

POSTWAR PROPAGANDA

A classic example of the juxtaposition of neutral visuals with ideological commentary is the little-known documentary *Operation Abolition* (1960), which uses relatively unbiased television newsreel footage of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) hearings in San Francisco during 1960 combined with a right-wing narration to excoriate witnesses who refused to testify and the protesters who supported them. As one witness denounces the committee's witch-hunting activities and is summarily escorted out of the chamber, the voice-over refers to the man's cowardice for using the Fifth Amendment; similarly, when protesters are propelled down the steep steps of the city hall by fire hoses, the narrator praises the local gendarmes for performing their legal and civic duties. In 1961 the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) produced a two-part remake of *Operation Abolition* titled *Operation Correction*, which used much of the same newsreel footage but with a different voice-over. In the ACLU version, the narrator commends the witness who refuses to testify for standing up to the belligerent committee and exercising his constitutional rights; likewise, when the police hurl demonstrators down the steps of city hall, the ACLU voice-over refers to the lawmen as "goons" who are breaking up a peaceful, lawful meeting. In this case, contradictory messages were disseminated by two separate groups to two different political constituencies by using the same visual images; no reediting was even necessary.

The most well-known propaganda film about the HUAC era is *Point of Order* (1964) by Émile de Antonio (1920–1989), which used kinescopes of the Army-McCarthy hearings of 1954 to show the gradual self-destruction of Senator Joseph McCarthy (1908–1957) and his red-baiting cause. Although the film begins with an intrusive voice-over—"Everything you are about to see actually happened"—there is no overt authorial voice, music, or cinematic commentary thereafter. However, despite the appearance of neutrality, *Point of Order* represents a distillation of thirty-six days of testimony into an hour-and-a-half movie. The rhetoric lies in the film's editing, which left a month of footage on the cutting room floor and used footage that both plays up the most dramatic moments of intensity (in particular, Joseph Welch's famous challenge to McCarthy: "Have you no sense of decency, sir? At long last, have you left no sense of decency?") and demeans HUAC. While the film uses objective newsreels, they are edited like a legal brief to make an argument: McCarthy was a dangerous fraud and hypocrite, and the HUAC investigations damaged the republic.

As with much propaganda, on first viewing, Alain Resnais's (b. 1922) *Nuit et Bruillard* (*Night and Fog*, 1955) may seem to be a highly emotional yet factual film, in this case about the Holocaust. After all, its heart is obviously in the right place. Nonetheless, based on a strict definition of propaganda, *Nuit et Bruillard* is a propaganda film, for it is only because of the juxtaposition of



Triumph des willens ***(*****Triumph of the Will*****, 1934), Leni Riefenstahl's celebratory documentary on Adolf Hitler's Nazi Germany.*** EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

horrific and peaceful images, poetic narration, and mournful music that viewers develop an empathetic stance. In particular, Resnais edits stark black and white newsreel footage from the 1940s of the Nazi concentration camps, especially of hundreds of emaciated corpses being bulldozed into a mass grave, in conjunction with rich color footage of the camps a decade later—peaceful and serene in their quietude. The director also uses black and white footage of the 1945 Nuremberg trials in which one German leader after another denies responsibility for the genocide and cuts to color footage of the calm green meadows of 1955; on the soundtrack the narrator asks, "Then who is responsible?" while heartbreaking music crescendos. Although the film generally remains distanced from its horrific contents, the finale brings home the propaganda point: that humanity needs to be humanized.

Perhaps not surprisingly, the Cubans have been well aware of the power of film propaganda. The Instituto Cubano del Arte e Industria Cinematograficos (ICAIC) took over film production three months after the overthrow of dictator Fulgenico Batista in 1959. Although technically not a state agency, ICAIC emphasized documentary and fictional filmmaking that valorized the ideology and accomplishments of Fidel Castro's regime. Santiago Álvarez (1919–1998) used Soviet montage style in his documentaries *Hanoi, Martes 13* (1967), *LBJ* (1968), and *79 primaveras* (*79 Springs* 1969). The latter film, for example, a tribute to the life of Ho Chi Minh, opens with an intellectual montage that juxtaposes time-lapse photography of flowers opening with slow-motion footage of US bomb strikes against Vietnam. Later, scenes of American military atrocities are conjoined with newsreel footage of US peace demonstrations, suggesting that the

American people are not to blame for the Vietnam War, but its political leaders. In the final scene, Álvarez uses juxtaposed torn/burned pieces of celluloid, bits of paper, and quickly cut individual frames of film to create an animated montage of attractions further enhanced by music and poems written by Ho Chi Minh and José Marti.

Another Cuban, Tomás Guitiérrez Alea (1928–1996), started out by making pro-revolutionary shorts, such as *Esta tierra nuestra* (*This Is Our Land*, 1959), for the rebel army's film unit. Later, in fictional feature films such as *La Muerte de un burócrata* (*Death of a Bureaucrat*, 1966) and *Memorias del subdesarrollo* (*Memories of Underdevelopment*, 1968), Alea critiqued the intellectuals of the Batista bourgeoisie. Still later, Alea made *Fresa y chocolate* (*Strawberry and Chocolate*, 1994) whose sympathetic portrayal of Cuba's homosexual community earned it international recognition—yet limited distribution in his homeland. In *Lucía* (1968), Humberto Solás traced the history of Cuban women through his story of three women named Lucía, living in three different eras. A different cinematic style was used in each episode, although overall the Cuban cinema hews closely to Castro's famous dictum about the arts: "Inside the revolution, all is permitted; outside the revolution, nothing is allowed."

Gillo Pontecorvo (b. 1919) is best known for *La Battaglia di Algeri* (*The Battle of Algiers*, 1965), a classic example of a fictional film with overt propaganda value. Although an opening credit states that none of the images in the film are real, the movie's cinematic techniques (grainy film stock, hand-held camera, frequent zooms, newsreel style, no expressive lighting, no makeup) suggest the film is presenting the reality of the Algerian revolution. The Algerian government funded the film, but it was later used by many insurgent groups, such as like the Black Panther Party in the United States, to teach urban guerrilla tactics; conversely, the film has been studied often at FBI and CIA headquarters to plan counterterrorist operations.

Although primarily meant as a paean to the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN; National Liberation Front), one scene in *The Battle of Algiers* illustrates how even propaganda can be fraught with ambiguity. Following French atrocities against Algerians in the Casbah, the FLN leaders set up a series of bomb attacks against French civilians. Three women are outfitted with makeshift bombs and disguised (with Continental clothing and cosmetics) so they can pass through heavily guarded checkpoints into the French Quarter. Once there, the women plant their bombs in a milk bar, a discothèque, and an airport terminal. Although most viewers probably side with the Algerians against the harsh colonial rule of the French, this partisanship is tested when Pontecorvo shows the innocent victims of the explosions: a youngster licking an ice cream cone in the milk bar; teenagers dancing in the club; and an elderly woman sitting in the airport. Indeed, the film segues immediately after the assaults from the upbeat disco music to Bach's *Requiem*, the film showing the human cost on both sides of the struggle. Such moments suggest that propaganda need not be completely one-sided and insensitive to be effective.

In the United States, several filmmakers produced films, both documentary and fictional, in opposition to the Vietnam War. The pro-war exception was *The Green Berets* (1968), an epic codirected by and starring John Wayne (1907–1979) that extolled the efforts of the US military against the Communists. Among the notable antiwar documentaries were Émile de Antonio's *In the Year of the Pig* (1968), Barbara Kopple's (b. 1946) *Winter Soldier* (1972), and Peter Davis's (b. 1937) Academy Award®–winning *Hearts and Minds* (1974), which used unstaged interviews with participants (soldiers, civilians, politicians) and newsreel footage of combat and speeches to critique US policy. All three films eschewed "voice-of-God" narration, relying instead on editing and other cinematic techniques to skewer the pro-war Establishment.

In *In the Year of the Pig*, de Antonio presents an interview with General George S. Patton in which the officer, in a caricature of himself, comments on his unit: "They're a great bunch of *killers*!" His gleeful tone and facial expression convey his underlying sadism and, by implication, the brutal mindset of the Pentagon and White House. Likewise, *Winter Soldier*, shot in grainy black and white, is composed of extended interviews with twenty Vietnam veterans who describe the atrocities they witnessed or in which they participated: rape, torture, disembowelment, mutilation, tossing prisoners from helicopters, and stoning a child to death. An occasional color photo of a civilian victim of US mistreatment is presented as evidence of the disturbing eyewitness testimony. The film was shot shortly after the My Lai massacre, making it particularly topical. Neither *In the Year of the Pig* nor *Winter Soldier* received wide release, hence their impact is difficult to assess. This pattern is often seen with controversial, one-sided movies: their commercial viability is uncertain and their audience is composed mainly of adherents to their cause.

This was not the case, however, with *Hearts and Minds*, whose Oscar® victory exposed it to a wider audience. Davis relies on selective editing of stock footage and candid interviews to support his antiwar stance. For example, an interview with General William Westmoreland (1914–2005), commander of the US forces in Vietnam,

is juxtaposed with a military funeral in South Vietnam. Westmoreland wears a comfortable seersucker suit and is positioned in front of a peaceful glade as he says, "The Oriental doesn't put the same high price on life as does the Westerner." This statement is in sharp contrast to the images with which it is juxtaposed: the burial of a slain soldier, whose sister cries disconsolately over the man's photo and whose mother attempts to jump into his open grave. The general's comment on the Asian mindset may be insensitive, but Davis's montage—placing these words right after this heartbreaking scene and just before shots of napalmed Vietnamese children—their burned flesh dangling from their bones, heightens the smugness of the "ugly American."

Antiwar sentiment was usually disguised in Hollywood films during—and even years after—the Vietnam War so as not to alienate large segments of the audience who may have supported the war effort. In *M*A*S*H* (Robert Altman, 1970), for example, the action took place during the Korean War but clearly commented on the Vietnam conflict. *The Wild Bunch* (Sam Peckinpah, 1969) went back even further—to the Mexican Revolution of 1913—to comment on the war. The unprecedented fierceness of the film's opening and closing massacres—achieved through the innovative use of montage and slow-motion death—allegorically depicted the wholesale killing of combatants and civilians, thus exposing the dark side of America's "noble cause" in Southeast Asia.

NEW COMIC PROPAGANDA

More recently, the American Michael Moore (b. 1954) gained both notoriety and acclaim for his "documentary" films, which are unabashedly tendentious—and funny. Although comedy is not usually associated with propaganda, muckraker Moore uses irreverent satire and wry humor in *Roger & Me* (1989), *Bowling for Columbine* (2002), and *Fahrenheit 9/11* (2004). Most documentaries have taken liberties with veracity but also hold up objectivity as a goal. Moore, however—using a first-person, polemical, and postmodernist style—often overtly restructures chronology, intercuts events unrelated to a scene's focus, and adds music and narration to make a political point—or get a laugh. He has even admitted that *Roger & Me* is not a documentary at all.

Roger & Me is an exposé of corporate greed at the highest levels of General Motors (GM), especially as it relates to the economic devastation of the director's hometown of Flint, Michigan. Moore personifies the villain in the elusive figure of Roger Smith, GM's CEO, and takes on the hero's role for himself—appearing onscreen and proffering a voice-over narration throughout the film. Other villains appear as Moore finds that tracking down his prey is increasingly difficult. Miss Michigan, Deputy Sheriff Fred Ross, GM public relations man Tom Kay, Anita Bryant, Pat Boone, the television celebrity Bob Eubanks, corporate (and United Auto Workers [UAW]) flunkies, and rich ladies at a golf club all make insensitive, if not cruel, comments about the auto plant closings, but Moore's editing and voice-over add a more polemical dimension. As the camera tracks past rows of abandoned homes and businesses, the Beach Boys' song "Wouldn't It Be Nice" is played. When UAW union leaders and unemployed workers (including a woman forced to sell rabbits "for pets or meat") are lampooned as well, Moore's progressive point may be lost.

Bowling for Columbine, winner of the Academy Award® for Best Documentary of 2002, offers a forceful antigun message, focusing on the Columbine high school shootings and other gun death tragedies in the United States. At times, however, Moore is overly aggressive in his pursuit of celebrities. For example, one scene involves Moore's hounding of Dick Clark, who—Moore claims—is culpable in a little girl's death because of the celebrity's financial ties to a fast food chain. Moore's "logic" runs like this: Clark's restaurant pays minimum wage salaries, forcing a young mother to take a second job and leave her son with relatives; the lonely boy finds a handgun in his uncle's home and accidentally uses the weapon to kill a playmate. Moore ambushes Clark as he enters a van and peppers the music impresario with questions about his restaurant's pay scale, trying to directly link low wages with gun violence.

At the end of *Bowling for Columbine*, Moore goes even further in making questionable connections. Actor Charlton Heston, president of the National Rifle Association (NRA), grants the filmmaker an interview. The discussion soon moves to the subject of gun violence and the NRA's legislative agenda. Moore poses a seemingly innocent question: "Why does Canada have a lower rate of gun deaths than the United States?" to which Heston opines that racial tensions cause more murders in America. The filmmaker first attempts to turn this comment into a rabidly racist remark and then ambushes the doddering star as he walks away from the camera. Moore adds a voice-over plea for "Mr. Heston" to come back and continue the interview and, further, to apologize for the Columbine shootings. Finally, the director shamelessly lays a photo of a dead child in the star's driveway, as if Heston were somehow personally responsible. Such sanctimony is not uncommon in propaganda films; however, in the past, journalistic objectivity prevented many documentarians from attempting to arouse emotions so blatantly. In the twenty-first century, the pastiche-like "personal" postmodernist documentary knows no such restraint.

Fahrenheit 9/11 was the highest-grossing documentary film of all time and also won the Palme d'Or at Cannes in 2004. Although it is apparently riddled with factual inaccuracies, suggests that events occurred in a different chronological order than they actually did, and takes cheap shots at celebrities and government officials, its satirical passion and rage against the administration of George W. Bush (b. 1946) found an audience willing to suspend logic and its customary demand for truth. Even when the scenes are factually accurate—perhaps a vestigial concept in a postmodernist documentary—Moore still uses ad hominem attacks and chicanery to skewer the regime. For example, Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz is seen wetting his comb with saliva and slicking back his hair before a TV interview. This unhygienic practice certainly makes him look foolish, but does it say anything substantive about the Iraq War? Furthermore, does Wolfowitz's minor attempt at TV stage management compare with Moore's major manipulation of TV news footage?

Many in sympathy with Moore's antiwar agenda argued he did not have to resort to falsification to critique the president and his post-9/11 policies: the public record and the administration's own words, they said, provided enough fodder to support Moore's points. There is biting humor and irony in showing Bush play golf while the United States prepares for war, but President Bill Clinton also played golf while the nation was at war in Bosnia. Likewise, while Bush's look of stupefaction when informed that the Twin Towers had been attacked on September 11, 2001, suggests he was incompetent, it is an ambiguous image. Although Bush continues to read a book, *My Pet Goat*, to schoolchildren for seven minutes after he is told the news, the president may have been trying to maintain an air of calm while his staff investigated. But Moore goes for the easy explanation.

Indeed, Moore is rarely interested in subtlety. He takes great pains to prove that: (1) the US presidential election of 2000 was rigged; (2) Bush was in cahoots with the royal house of Saud and even Osama bin Laden—"facts" that have been challenged by the findings of the nonpartisan September 11 commission; (3) the president was a Vietnam-era deserter; and (4) the Iraq War was instigated to please the administration's wealthy backers. Whether Moore proves these allegations beyond a reasonable doubt is not the point; his chief concern was to create a dramatic and engaging film that marshals images and sounds (often his own voice-over commentary) to show that Bush is an incompetent, dishonest warmonger—and to affect Bush's reelection campaign in 2004. Moore wanted the film to "become a part of the national conversation" in the months before the 2004 election, and it did. It was not, however, sufficiently influential in the election-year debate to sway the results, even though the film contains powerful scenes of emotional blackmail, including a grieving mother who lost her soldier son in Iraq weeping in front of the White House, horrific scenes of Iraq war amputees in the Walter Reed Medical Center juxtaposed with the president addressing a fundraiser full of fat-cat contributors, and dead Iraqi youngsters positioned next to Defense Secretary Rumsfeld's assurances about "the humanity that goes into our conduct of the war."

While Moore's films may be among the most freely manipulative of documentaries, ultimately, to an extent, all films (whether documentary or fictional) are propagandistic in that they are products of a particular culture at a particular moment in its history. Thus, films cannot help but reflect (and influence) that culture. In short, movies are social acts in that they contribute to depicting a certain vision of society and say something—consciously or unconsciously—about the culture that produces them, which is very close to the definition of propaganda.

SEE ALSO *Documentary; Ideology; World War II*

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Frank P. Tomasulo

PSYCHOANALYSIS

It is not accidental that psychoanalysis and the cinema were born in the same year. In 1895, Auguste (1862–1954) and Louis Lumière (1864–1948) conducted the first public film screening in the basement of the Grand Café in Paris; the same year also witnessed the publication of Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) and Josef Breuer's *Studies on Hysteria*, the founding text of psychoanalysis. In this book, Freud and Breuer make public their discovery of the unconscious, the central psychoanalytic concept that, in fact, inaugurates psychoanalysis as a discipline. The existence of the unconscious means there is a limit to human self-knowledge. Our desire exists beyond this limit and thus remains fundamentally unknown to us. The unconscious includes repressed ideas, ideas we cannot consciously know because they are too traumatic for us. The traumatic nature of the unconscious renders it irreducible to our knowledge: it exceeds every attempt to know it directly. But this is not to say we cannot encounter the unconscious. Freud's conception of how one encounters the unconscious highlights the importance of psychoanalytic theory for the cinema.

As Freud makes clear in the *Interpretation of Dreams* (1900), the dream provides us with access to the unconscious through the way it distorts our latent thoughts in the process Freud calls the "dream-work." The dream-work alters thoughts existing in the mind by condensing multiple thoughts into one and displacing traumatic thoughts onto related nontraumatic ones. Above all, the dream-work translates our thoughts into images structured in a narrative form that is the dream itself. Through this activity of translation and distortion, the dream allows us to encounter unconscious ideas too traumatic for waking life. The dream enacts a traumatic encounter with our unconscious desire. The bizarre nature of dreams thus becomes evidence of unconscious processes, which are only visible indirectly through the distortion they create. For this reason, according to Freud, the dream is "the royal road to the unconscious." (This distortion is also evident, however, in slips of the tongue, forgetting, and jokes.) In light of the importance of the dream for the development of psychoanalysis, the link between psychoanalysis and the cinema becomes clearer: this structure can be seen in cinema as the site of public dreams, a unique opportunity to examine the unconscious outside of an analytic session.

CINEMA AND THE UNCONSCIOUS

Unfortunately, few filmmakers have actively taken up the possibilities that an understanding of psychoanalysis affords the cinema. Much of this is due, undoubtedly, to the place that film production occupies within a capitalist economy: the exigencies of profit place a premium on films that will appease rather than traumatize spectators. If Hollywood films open themselves to the trauma of the unconscious, they most often close this opening through their denouements. As a result, most commercial films show us how we can subdue and master trauma, not, as psychoanalysis has it, how trauma subdues and masters us. Films about psychoanalysis, including John Huston's *Freud* (1962) and Alfred Hitchcock's *Spellbound* (1945), deal with psychoanalysis on the level of their content rather than integrating it into their form (though Hitchcock's film does include a dream sequence with images created by the surrealist painter Salvador Dali).

Ingrid Bergman as psychoanalyst Dr. Constance Petersen in Alfred Hitchcock's* Spellbound *(1945). **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

Psychoanalysis made its presence felt most directly through the development of the film noir tradition. While few noir films explicitly address psychoanalytic concepts, the narrative structure and *mise-en-scène* of the noir universe evinces a kind of fidelity to them. The noir detective figure is much like the analyst: he probes the underside of society—the night—in search of the repressed truth that one cannot discover in the light of day. On this quest for truth, the noir detective discovers the essential corruption and disorder of society—the absence of any purity. Hence the noir detective discovers that truth is inseparable from desire, that truth is desire itself. This structure can be seen in classic noirs such as *The Maltese Falcon* (1941), *The Big Sleep* (1946), and *Out of the Past* (1947), as well as in neo-noirs such as *Chinatown* (1974).

Despite its forceful exploration of the unconscious dimension of experience, film noir remains, on the structural level, pre-Freudian. It sustains a narrative structure that obscures rather than emphasizes the workings of the unconscious. Serious attempts to integrate Freud's ideas on the unconscious and on dreams directly into film form were confined primarily to avant-garde, nonnarrative cinema. One notable exception is surrealist director Luis Buñuel (1900–1983), who formally emphasizes the repetitive nature of desire and its constitutive failure to find its object in such films as *Belle de Jour* (1967), *Le Charme discret de la bourgeoisie* (*The Discreet Charm of the Bourgeoisie*, 1972), and *Cet obscur objet du désir* (*The Obscure Object of Desire*, 1977). In each case, the very narrative itself remains caught up in a cycle of repetition that forces us as spectators to experience the distorting power of desire itself.

Despite the importance of Buñuel to the cinematic development of the insights of psychoanalysis, perhaps no director, either in Hollywood or outside of it, has done more to develop an aesthetic on the basis of dream-work than David Lynch (b. 1946). Lynch's films depart from the structure of traditional narrative in order to follow the logic of the dream. Especially in films such

as *Lost Highway* (1997) and *Mulholland Drive* (2001), Lynch includes narrative turns that seem to defy any versimilitude in an effort to respect this logic. However, unlike many avant-garde filmmakers, Lynch does not attempt to break from narrative altogether. The spectator can always discern the narrative trajectory of a Lynch film, even though this trajectory itself may confound expectations. When characters are miraculously transformed into other characters or the laws of temporality are ignored, this indicates Lynch's attempt to construct a realism of the unconscious. One often sees montage sequences, as in *Blue Velvet* (1986), that do not advance the narrative but work instead to reveal the unconscious associations of a particular character. Most importantly, all of Lynch's films lead the spectator to a traumatic encounter with the spectator's own desire elicited by the film. In the act of watching a Lynch film, one has one's own desire as a spectator exposed, in a way similar to the patient on the analytic couch. Though film for a long time resisted the full implications of psychoanalysis in favor of a form that worked to quiet the spectator's desire, with the films of David Lynch, cinema finally registers the potentially radical impact that psychoanalytic insights might have on film form and on the relationship between film and spectator.

Because of their investment in cinematically exploring the unconscious, Lynch's films have produced many exemplary psychoanalytic interpretations. These works tend to see the films in terms of fantasy, repetition compulsion, or Oedipal crisis. For instance, psychoanalytic interpretations of *Blue Velvet* often understand the film as reenacting the fantasy of the primal scene in order to investigate the role this fantasy plays in the development of male sexuality and subjectivity. Or they see the circular structure of *Lost Highway* as the depiction of the inescapability of repetition. Even beyond Lynch, these are the directions that psychoanalytic interpretation often takes, but such interpretive uses of psychoanalysis are relatively recent.

CINEMA AND THE MIRROR

Film theory, too, despite the structural link between psychoanalysis and cinema, did not immediately develop in the direction of psychoanalysis. The first attempt to understand the cinema in psychological terms occurred in 1916, when Hugo Münsterberg (1863–1916) wrote *The Photoplay: A Psychological Study*, a book that stressed the parallel between the structure of the human mind and the filmic experience. However, Münsterberg's concern is only the conscious mind, not the unconscious; he is thus a psychologist, not a psychoanalyst, more neo-Kantian than Freudian. From 1916 onward, this focus on the conscious experience of the spectator predominated in film theory, as attested by the work of important film theorists such as André Bazin and Sergei Eisenstein. Though Bazin and Eisenstein agree on little, they do share a belief that film's importance lies in its conscious impact. Neither considers the unconscious. Film theory took many years to begin to think of the cinematic experience in terms of the unconscious, but when it commenced, psychoanalytic film theory came in the form of a tidal wave in the 1970s and 1980s.

The primary focus of this wave of psychoanalytic film theory was the process of spectator identification understood through French psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan's idea of the mirror stage. Even more than Freud himself, Lacan, despite the difficulty of his work and its lack of availability in English translation, was the central reference point for the emergence of psychoanalytic film theory. In truth, psychoanalytic film theory has from its incipience been almost exclusively Lacanian film theory. According to Lacan, the mirror stage occurs in infants between six and eighteen months of age, when they misrecognize themselves while looking in the mirror. The infant's look in the mirror is a misrecognition because the infant sees its fragmentary body as a whole and identifies itself with this illusory unity. In the process, the infant assumes a mastery over the body that it does not have, and this self-deception forms the basis for the development of the infant's ego. By detailing the formation of the ego through an imaginary process, Lacan thereby undermines the substantial status that the ego has in some versions of psychoanalysis (especially American ego psychology, often the target of Lacan's most vituperative attacks). The attractiveness of this idea for film theory is readily apparent if we can accept the analogy between Lacan's infant and the cinematic spectator.

Psychoanalytic film theorists such as Christian Metz and Jean-Louis Baudry took this analogy as their point of departure. For them, the film screen serves as a mirror through which the spectator can identify himself or herself as a coherent and omnipotent ego. The sense of power that spectatorship provides derives from the spectator's primary identification with the camera itself. Though the spectator is in actual fact a passive (and even impotent) viewer of the action on the screen, identification with the camera provides the spectator with an illusion of unmitigated power over the screen images. Within the filmic discourse, the camera knows no limit: it goes everywhere, sees everyone, exposes everything. The technological nature of the filmic medium (unlike, say, the novel) prevents a film from capturing absence. The camera inaugurates a regime of visibility from which nothing escapes, and this complete visibility allows spectators to believe themselves to be all-seeing (and thus all-powerful). What secures the illusory omnipotence of

the spectator is precisely the spectator's own avoidance of being seen. Like God, the spectator sees all but remains constitutively unseen in the darkened auditorium.

The above scenario functions, however, only insofar as it remains unconscious and the spectator sustains the sense of being unseen. This is why, according to this version of psychoanalytic film theory, classical Hollywood narratives work to hide the camera's activity. Once the camera itself becomes an obvious presence rather than an invisible structuring absence, the spectator loses the position of omnipotence along with the camera and becomes part of the cinematic event. When this happens, the spectator becomes aware that the film is a product and not simply a reality. To forestall this recognition, classical Hollywood editing works to create a reality effect, a sense that the events on the screen are really happening and not just the result of a filmic act of production. In this regard, classical Hollywood cinema functions like commodity fetishism, working to hide the labor that goes into the production of its commodity. When thinking about early psychoanalytic film theory, a reference to commodity fetishism is almost unavoidable, which suggests the strong link that has existed between psychoanalytic film theory and Marxist theory.

One cannot separate the early manifestation of psychoanalytic film theory from its political dimension. In addition to relying on Lacan's notion of the mirror stage, Baudry and other psychoanalytic film theorists take their bearings from Marxist philosopher Louis Althusser. For them, Althusser's notion of ideological interpellation (developed in his essay "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," 1970) provides a way of thinking about the political implications of the mirror stage. For Althusser, ideology hails concrete individuals as subjects, causing them to regard themselves—mistakenly—as the creative agents behind their experiences. The illusion of agency is thus the fundamental ideological deception.

According to psychoanalytic film theorists, the cinematic experience perpetuates this ideological deception through the mirror relationship it sets up for the spectator. Insofar as traditional narrative film blinds the spectator to the way that film addresses or hails the spectator as a subject, every traditional narrative participates in the process of ideological interpellation and control. Hollywood film invites spectators to accept an illusory idea of their own power, and in doing so, it hides from spectators their actual passivity. For early psychoanalytic film theory, cinema's ideological victory consists of convincing spectators to enjoy the very process that subjugates them. This line of thought finds its fullest development in the British journal *Screen* throughout the 1970s.

It is also in *Screen* that theorists first began to link psychoanalytic film theory to feminist concerns. One of the most fecund developments in psychoanalytic film theory occurred through this alliance. In 1975 Laura Mulvey wrote "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," perhaps the most anthologized and most quoted essay in the entire history of film theory. The importance of this essay for the subsequent development of film theory cannot be overstated. Basing her essay on the pioneering work of Metz and Baudry, Mulvey links the process of spectator identification to sexual difference. According to Mulvey, a secondary identification with character accompanies the spectator's primary identification with the camera, and this identification with a filmic character is most often, at least in Hollywood cinema, an identification with a male character.

The spectator's sense of power is, for Mulvey, a definitively masculine sense of power. The spectator, then, is gendered male. On the screen, the male character, the site of identification, drives the movement of the film's narrative and is the character whose movement the camera follows. The female character serves as a spectacle for both the spectator and the latter's screen proxy, the male character, to look at. This process, which Mulvey termed the "gaze," deprives the female subject of her subjectivity, reducing her to a "to-be-looked-at-ness" that provides pleasure for the male spectator. Mulvey's appropriation of psychoanalysis for feminism is meant to destroy this pleasurable experience through the act of analyzing it. Here again, psychoanalytic theory is inseparable from the specific political program it serves.

REDISCOVERING THE GAZE

Due in large part to the impact of Mulvey's essay, psychoanalytic film theory grew so popular in the 1980s that it became identified, especially in the minds of its detractors, with film theory as such. In the 1990s, however, psychoanalytic film theory almost ceased to be practiced and was reduced to being an idea to refute in the process of introducing another way of thinking about film. Its demise led to a general retreat from theory to empirical research within the film studies field. But psychoanalytic film theory did not completely die out. Acknowledging twenty years of critiques of psychoanalytic film theory focused on spectator identification, a new manifestation of psychoanalytic film theory developed through an act of self-criticism. In *Read My Desire: Lacan Against the Historicists* (1994), Joan Copjec completely revolutionized psychoanalytic film theory. Copjec pointed out that psychoanalytic film theory had based itself on a radical misunderstanding of Lacan's concept of the gaze, which he does not develop in his essay on the mirror stage but in a later seminar translated as *The Four Fundamental*

Concepts of Psycho-Analysis (1978). The gaze, as Copjec explains it, is not on the side of the looking subject; it is an objective gaze, a point on—or, rather, absent from—the film screen. Rather than being the spectator's look of (illusory and deceptive) mastery, it is the point in the film image where this mastery fails. Instead of reducing the film screen to the mirror in which spectators can identify themselves, Copjec understands the screen as the site of the gaze, which is the object motivating the spectator's desire.

Psychoanalytic film theory had been too eager to think in terms of spectator identification and thus forgot about the role of spectator desire. According to psychoanalysis, desire is triggered by a missing object—an absence. Though the camera has the effect of rendering everything it photographs visible, it cannot create a field of unlimited visibility. Though films may work to disguise the limits of visibility, these limits are actually necessary for engaging the spectator's desire. The spectator desires to see a film only if it remains absent from the field of vision. It is this absence, not the illusion of gaining visual omnipotence, that draws the spectator into the events on the screen. The spectator thus seeks an object in the filmic image that remains irreducible to that image and irretrievable there. The encounter with this absence is traumatic for the spectator, shattering the ego and dislodging the spectator from her or his position of illusory safety. As films often make us aware, we as spectators are not separate from the screen but present there as an absence. When films push us toward the recognition of this unconscious involvement, we confront the public elaboration of our unconscious desire.

Though there is an implicit political valence to this turn in psychoanalytic film theory, it breaks from previous versions by refusing to place psychoanalytic insights in the service of a preformulated political program. Instead, Copjec's psychoanalytic film theory takes unconscious desire—the founding idea of psychoanalysis—as its starting point for understanding the cinema. In this sense, there is a homology between the emergence of Lynch's filmmaking and this innovation in psychoanalytic film theory. Both focus on the role of unconscious desire in film rather than on the process of identification. It is not coincidental that film theorists such as Slavoj Žižek, following in Copjec's wake, have turned their attention to the films of David Lynch.

With her revision of the traditional understanding of the gaze, Copjec authored a revolution in psychoanalytic film theory. It now becomes clear that the link between psychoanalysis and the cinema is even tighter than it initially seemed. No longer do we need to use psychoanalysis exclusively to help us decode cinematic manipulation and ideological control. Instead, psychoanalysis and cinema become locatable as part of a shared project that emerges out of a recognition of the power of the unconscious. Both psychoanalysis and cinema, in their best manifestations, represent attempts to embrace the trauma that constitutes us as subjects. In doing so, one discovers that this trauma is at once the source of our enjoyment as well. Psychoanalytic film theory can now look at films in terms of the way in which they relate to the gaze and thereby recognize how they mobilize spectators' desires and appeal to their fantasies. This allows psychoanalytic film theory to finally arrive at the fundamental questions that the cinema poses for us as individual subjects and for culture at large.

SEE ALSO *Criticism; Feminism; Film Studies; Spectatorship and Audiences*

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Todd McGowan

PUBLICITY AND PROMOTION

Hollywood creates its illusions through both its films and its publicity, mythologizing in its idealistic images of films and their stars. While sometimes the industry flaunts its promotional muscle, its publicity departments have generally operated in a more self-effacing manner, presenting the glamour of movies and their stars as natural, not created and hyped. Throughout much of the silent period and the classical era (approximately 1930–1955), studios managed to control their stars' images through a variety of means including morality clauses in contracts and careful publicity. This changed in the 1950s with the advent of television, the collapse of the studio system, the federally-mandated separation of the studios from their theater chains, and the court decision that the standard seven-year star contract was unconstitutional. The weakened film industry faced attacks from independent scandal magazines like the notorious *Hollywood Confidential* that used tabloid techniques to pierce carefully constructed images. To get television-watching audiences back into theaters, the industry touted its big pictures with equally big advertising campaigns, filled with stunts and gimmicks to capture public attention. Meanwhile, the growth of independent publicists, talent agents, and promotional opportunities outside the fading studio system allowed some aggressive would-be stars to make a brief impact. Perhaps chief among these was Jayne Mansfield (1933–1967), whose talent for self-promotion led to her short-lived stardom and added resonance to her performance in Twentieth Century Fox's satire of the advertising, film, and television industries, *Will Success Spoil Rock Hunter?* (1957).

Although Hollywood confronted its declining power by diverting most of its publicity resources to select films, the tactics it used to advertise them and to promote its stars did not change much from the silent era. Most of the important promotional tactics that exist today—trailers, print advertisements, pressbooks, posters, promotional tie-ins, star premieres—were in place by 1915, although their forms have changed since then. Some strategies used during the height of the classical era have disappeared: stars no longer travel to theaters across the United States to make promotional appearances in support of new films, and studios no longer run official star fan clubs or mail glamour shots of stars to fans. Changes in studio publicity have responded to new media, such as Internet and television advertising, and to shifts in cinema demographics. As movies increasingly became a medium for young adults rather than families during the 1950s and 1960s, film companies marketed pop music soundtracks on records and then CDs. Even then, this was not so much a change as a shift in emphasis, as sheet music had promoted movies since the silent era.

From early stunts to later sophisticated and standardized publicity, film advertising has capitalized on the audience's desire for the latest novelties and for familiar stars, stories, and comforting images. Promotions helped the film industry survive such catastrophic events as the Depression and the rise of television. Publicity has even constituted a large part of cinema's appeal—from the posters, lobby cards, and promotional memorabilia that have become collectors' items to the contests of the silent and classical era and the fast-food novelties and tie-in ring-tones of today.

FUNDAMENTALS OF FILM ADVERTISING

The film industry did not advertise its movies directly to the general public until around 1913, late for a large, consumer-oriented industry. When films first emerged as novelties in the late nineteenth century, pioneering companies like Edison, Biograph, Lumière and Pathé were initially more interested in selling machines. Their movies were not advertised to the public but listed in catalogs that described content and listed price. Exhibitors devised their own promotions and stunts, some of which—like contests and giveaways—influenced the studio publicity that followed.

The emergence of the nickelodeon around 1905 fundamentally changed the film industry and its advertising strategies. As the number of these first cheap movie theaters exploded during the nickelodeon boom (1905–1907), exhibitors started advertising to fight off competition, whereas producers battled alleged patent infringement in court to force competitors out of business. Exhibitors draped homemade posters outside their theater facades, hired barkers to shout about their program, distributed homemade flyers, and borrowed publicity stunts from the likes of P. T. Barnum (1810–1891). They did not, however, advertise in the press, largely because it was too expensive.

From about 1908, exhibitors produced their own weekly or monthly bulletins, listing forthcoming attractions, providing information about their theaters, films, and promotions, alongside local news and local advertisements. The film-related content of these bulletins increased between 1905 and 1913, focusing more on plots, sets, performers, and the inner workings of studios. From around 1910, these materials came directly from trade papers such as *The Moving Picture World* or from studio publications such as the *Essanay News*, which increasingly offered audience-friendly information about movies, actors, and forthcoming productions. Some studio bulletins even contained pages that could be cut out and used as posters. By 1914, the public could purchase these periodicals at theaters, a development emphasizing the studios' greater interest in promoting their films and actors to the general public. These studio publications and distributor magazines such as Mutual's *Reel Life* became more and more like the fan magazines and the pressbooks used to coordinate the publicity of a single film.

By 1913, major changes in film publicity were underway. That year, two relatively new but important companies, Mutual and Universal, formed advertising departments staffed with major New York executives to promote their films directly to the public for the first time. The November 1913 full-page advertisement for Mutual's serial, *Our Mutual Girl* (1914), in the *Saturday Evening Post* (circulation, over two million) was the first of its kind to be targeted toward the American public. Both companies set up poster departments and commissioned artists create in-house styles that would distinguish their releases from those of other companies—something later emulated by Hollywood studios. These early advertising and poster departments established practices that continued into the classical era: they supplied theaters with posters, provided them with tie-ins, and offered suggestions for motion picture exploitation (stunts, theater decoration, contests, and the like). Other major studios quickly followed suit: in 1915, MGM hired famous illustrators for their newly-formed poster department and that same year Paramount opened its exploitation department, offering posters, lobby cards, displays, tie-ins, and ideas for stunts. Although stunts appeared spontaneous and novel, they were often studio-designed. Studios encouraged exhibitors to organize beauty contests, competitions, parades, and so forth to support their films, which turned the lobby where audiences waited between shows into one of the most important promotional spaces.

Newspaper and magazine advertising—again pioneered by Mutual and Universal—also started in 1913, winning over a medium that had previously regarded movies with hostility. From then on, press advertising was a vital component of any film's publicity campaign. Studios provided newspapers with press releases and carefully-drafted promotional stories about their stars and new releases. In turn, major press syndicates like Hearst or the Tribune Company started working with the studios, even collaborating with them to produce serial films like *The Perils of Pauline* (1914), and reprinting their stories each week. In the 1930s and 1940s, Hollywood established a similarly close relationship with radio. Stations promoted films by playing their theme songs and presenting abridged movies or full scenes from current releases (sometimes featuring the original actors) on shows like *Lux Radio Theater* (NBC, 1934–1935; CBS, 1935–1955; sponsored by the soap manufacturer) and *Cavalcade of Stars* (DuMont, 1949–1952). Besides reorienting the address of film publicity towards the public, these advertising strategies helped improve cinema's cultural standing. Newspapers no longer attacked the film industry but promoted its stars, studios, and new releases. This transformation cemented the industry's new, clean, middle-class image, which its publicity departments strenuously fought to maintain through the classical era. This required constant work, with studios investing most of their resources in controlling the information disseminated about their stars, creative personnel, and the production process.

Advertising for each individual film was another important component of studio publicity. Each film's

ad campaign was distilled into a pressbook, which was sent out to exhibitors with the film itself. Pressbooks first appeared in 1913 for George Kleine's imported Italian feature *Quo Vadis?* (1912) and were quickly used for all movies, no matter how small their budgets. Everything an exhibitor needed to advertise the film was either in the pressbook or available through it for a small cost (colored posters and cardboard displays cost extra). Throughout the classical period, the pressbook was twelve to thirty pages long, filled with fake newspaper stories, photos, fashion displays, ideas for stunts, and free black and white posters. Newspapers also received pressbooks and were encouraged to reprint their featured articles, stories, reviews and photographs.

Pressbooks listed all the available tie-ins for each film. These were (and are) merchandise related in some way to the film—often branded goods, toys, copies of clothes seen in the film, sheet music, soundtrack recordings—or items only tenuously related to it, such as perfume. Serials presented some of the first opportunities for tie-ins, with magazines, dress patterns, cosmetics, and dolls among the most popular. Tie-ins soon took a variety of forms, from copies of designer gowns to soda cups, all designed to help bring the consumer closer to a favorite film or to preserve the movie experience. Essentially glorified advertisements, these goods capitalized on cinema's intimate appeal to the public, the attraction of its stars as role models, the screen's resemblance to the shop window, and the glamour of Hollywood.

Tie-ins proliferate today. Some of the most popular and long-lived products include Shirley Temple and *Gone with the Wind* dolls and Max Factor cosmetics, which have been in constant production since the 1930s. Most have been aimed at women and children, although some tie-ins target men, such as the branded merchandise associated with sports films and westerns. Fashion offered particularly lucrative tie-in possibilities: throughout the 1930s, Macy's carried studio-approved replicas of movie star gowns that capitalized on viewers' identification with films and their stars. Film companies submitted sketches to garment manufacturers as far as a year ahead of a picture's release to ensure hats and dresses would be in stores when their movies premiered (see Eckert). This practice seemingly violated the film industry's own Advertising Code, which limited advertising in pictures, indicating that movies were not seen as ads for these gowns. Bloomingdale's recently revived this trend, presenting window displays in the company's flagship New York store on 59th Street and Lexington Avenue for *Moulin Rouge* (2001), *Down With Love* (2003) and *The Phantom of the Opera* (2004). These were not copies of clothes from the films but were instead everyday items "inspired" by their stylized looks.

Film trailers also appeared very early on—around 1912—although they did not become standard for several years. More than any other publicity device, trailers responded to changes in film length and budget: they were not appropriate for short films that only played for a single day. For both serials and feature films, trailers were used to create anticipation and stimulate advance ticket sales. Trailers gradually became longer in the post-classical period when fewer films were produced and the double bill became a thing of the past. Classical-era trailers generally consisted of a male voice-over narrating clips from the film, with on-screen text superimposed over the image using hard-sell tag-lines and superlatives to sell the picture. These trailers generally relied more on the voice-over than on the visuals from the film.

By the 1950s, trailers primarily showcased footage from each film, although voice-overs remained. In keeping with the post-classical mandate requiring films to be individually marketed, trailers focused on the unique qualities of each film, which encouraged experimentation. By the 1960s, some trailers were highly stylized, emphasizing mood over story. For example, the ad executive Stephen O. Frankfurt's trailer for *Rosemary's Baby* (1968) bypassed the film's plot, featuring a silhouette of a baby carriage, accompanied by eerie crying and the tag line: "Pray for Rosemary's Baby." The trailer for *Real Life* (Albert Brooks, 1979) featured no footage from the film but instead used an ersatz 3-D comic vignette of its director-star directly addressing the audience about the realism of his forthcoming film. By the 1980s, this kind of experimentation was on the wane with trailers again emphasizing stars, action, and narrative. Since then, some trailers have even revealed the film's twist, as with *What Lies Beneath* (2000), which showed that Harrison Ford's character was the villain—something ad execs justified as the film's unique selling point.

CONSOLIDATING THE SYSTEM: THE ADVERTISING CODE

By the late teens, advertising was largely studio-controlled, setting the pace for the classical era. Although exhibitors could still design their own publicity if they wished, the elaborate campaigns studios set out in their pressbooks, trailers, posters, and other forms of print advertising were hard to decline. By the mid-1930s, after the film industry consolidated its control over publicity with its Advertising Code, exhibitors had to use the studios' advertising. Like film censorship, this code arose out of the problems the industry faced during the Depression. As audiences declined and most of the studios faced financial trouble, moralists from groups like the Legion of Decency charged the industry with offering salacious and violent films, accompanied by posters of

scantily clad starlets and sometimes racy copy. Theaters—especially the smaller, independent houses not owned by major studios—posed another problem for the industry as they desperately tried to retain Depression-strapped audiences. Exhibitors offered cash games (Bank Night, Lotto), distributed free groceries and other gifts, and offered two—or three—movies for the price of one. These stunts angered both moralists and studio executives, who were particularly upset by the cash games, which violated banking and gaming statutes. Although studios no longer trusted independent exhibitors to devise their own advertising, one of their innovations—the double bill—survived, becoming a classical institution.

Groups like the Legion of Decency attacked movies and their advertising, organizing protests outside theaters to scare away audiences. The industry could not afford these losses in a time of severe fiscal crisis and set up a large-scale public relations effort to improve their image and offset the threat of federal censorship and regulation. The instigation of film censorship through the Production Code Administration (PCA) in the early 1930s was part of this effort. Another facet of this self-imposed moral crackdown applied strictly to publicity. The Advertising Code of 1930 was operated under the auspices of the PCA and had offices in New York and Hollywood, the industry's business and creative centers. It asserted the film industry's belief in "truth in advertising" and the maintenance of good taste. The Advertising Code Administration (ACA) was first headed by John J. McCarthy, a film publicity man, until his death in1937, and then by Gordon White, another experienced motion picture advertising man. As with the censorship of the Hays Office, the Advertising Code extended the industry's control over its business operations, requiring independent exhibitors to use the industry's own approved advertising materials.

The Code testified to the importance of film advertising as a social and cultural force—both for Hollywood and the general public. All advertising had to be submitted to the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA), whose president had the final say. Under the Code, advertisements could not be misleading, false, or quote dialogue out of context. They had to conform to the broader tenets of the Production Code—thus nudity, salacious poses, violence, and profanity were banned, and publicity could not capitalize upon text referring to any censorship or litigation a film might have experienced. Posters had to respect religion, patriotism, other nations, the law, and the police. In March 1935, the MPPDA established a fine of $1,000–$5,000 for violations, but complaints were few and revisions rare. The most notable exception came late in the ACA's history. In 1946, *The Outlaw* (1943) lost its Production Code Seal (required for public exhibition) because its notorious images of Jane Russell's breasts violated the Advertising Code. Significantly, this was not a studio production, but the picture was still shown, indicating the majors' waning power. Today, there is no Advertising Code, but trailers are industry-regulated. Ratings depend on the film's rating and that of the movie it precedes, with the MPAA recommending all trailers avoid excessive sex, violence, and drug use.

POST-CLASSICAL ADVERTISING

Classical-era advertising did not involve major changes, but rather, consolidated earlier strategies. The industry's control over film advertising faded with the 1948 Supreme Court decision in the Paramount Case finding the major studios in violation of antitrust laws, an event that marked the beginning of the end for classical Hollywood and severed studios from their theater chains. With the rise of television and declining demand for films, theaters increasingly offered a more stripped-down experience. The studios' loss of total control allowed outside intervention in shaping the image of films and stars—especially through the new scandal magazines—just as it opened up independent production and limited studios' control over exhibition. Some changes in advertising—including the appearance of the television spot—arose in response to these post-classical developments. Pressbooks became less important, as many newspapers closed during the post-World War II years. Pressbooks' fake newspaper stories and suggestions for stunts practically disappeared, along with most of their more excessive and exuberant features. Pressbooks today are simple folders printed with the film's promotional images and filled with photos of the cast and a few press releases on the film, its director, and stars. Lobby cards gradually vanished and fewer posters were produced for each film, with photography gradually replacing the original art typical of the silent and classical eras.

By the mid- to late-1950s, stunts reappeared at the margins of the industry, particularly in the low-budget releases aimed at youth audiences. As most films were now marketed as individual entities, studios tried to make each release stand out, using star-studded premieres to boost a movie or, alternatively, masterminding a stunt like that of Marilyn Monroe reenacting the famous skirt scene from *The Seven Year Itch* (1955) for the international media. Independent producer-directors like William Castle (1914–1977) became notorious for exploitation campaigns that often overshadowed their films. His gimmicks combined older, Barnumesque theater-centered stunts with the promise of heightened visceral realism associated with the period's new movie technologies (like 3-D and Cinerama). Even major studio campaigns used

WILLIAM CASTLE

b. William Schloss, New York, New York, 24 April 1914, d. 31 May 1977

William Castle, the American film producer-director, was notorious for his inventive, humorous, and often excessive film promotions. Not only Hollywood's most famous showman, he also revolutionized film advertising.

After directing B-pictures for Columbia and Universal, including the acclaimed film noir, *When Strangers Marry* (1944), Castle came into his own when the studio system collapsed and films had to be marketed individually. He surrounded his low-budget films with inventive stunts that made each movie a unique event. Castle later became an independent producer, forming Susina Associates in 1957 to make five successful low-budget horror films that represented the apex of his gimmickry. For *Macabre* (1958), he purchased from Lloyd's of London $1,000 of Fright Insurance for each patron in case audience members should die of fear. *House on Haunted Hill* (1959) featured Emerg-O, inflatable skeletons that flew over the audience; *13 Ghosts* (1960) was shown in Illusion-O, with glasses offered to help audiences see its onscreen ghosts, while *Homicidal* (1961) had a Fright Break when cowardly audience members could leave and get their money back.

Castle's exploitation strategies reached their most baroque with the infamous Percepto in connection with *The Tingler* (1959). He had every tenth seat in theaters where the film showed in the first run wired with army surplus electrical motors that were activated when the tingler—a parasite that fed off human fear—escapes into a movie theater in the film's story. The film also featured several announcements by Vincent Price, the first of which was accompanied by one of Castle's favorite gimmicks—a (planted) woman who fainted.

Although Castle would later insure the life of the cockroach star of *Bug* (1975) for $1 million, he changed his promotional tactics in the mid-1960s when he signed with Paramount in 1966 to make more upmarket pictures, including Roman Polanski's *Rosemary's Baby* (1968). Castle now focused more on public relations, producing news releases for local television stations and leaking out information during production rather than creating theatrical stunts. He capitalized on the fame of the star, Mia Farrow, by inviting the press to watch Vidal Sassoon cut her hair for *Rosemary's Baby* for the fee of $5,000—a gesture that echoed earlier media furor over one of Farrow's haircuts. The film also had its own groundbreaking signature advertising campaign, which featured an unusually elliptical and suggestive trailer.

Castle replaced the self-effacing advertising of the classical era of film with promotional tactics that were often greater attractions than his movies. In so doing, he revived the showman for a more knowing generation, often capitalizing on audiences' desire to be in on the joke.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

As Director: *Macabre* (1958), *House on Haunted Hill* (1959), *The Tingler* (1959), *13 Ghosts* (1960), *Homicidal* (1961); As Producer: *Rosemary's Baby* (1968)

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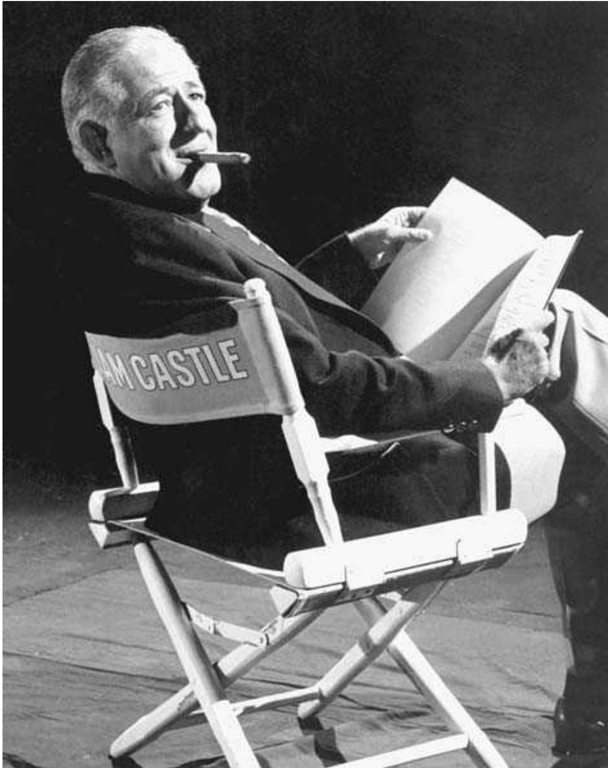
Moya Luckett

stunts to create new cinematic experiences: the print ads, trailers, posters, and television spots for *Psycho* (1960) proclaimed that viewers would not be admitted ten minutes after the film started, focusing attention on the first scenes, a tactic that made Marion Crane's death even more shocking. Before *Psycho*, audiences were reportedly less likely to watch a film from the very start, thus its advertising marked a post-classical shift in reception, singling out the individual film as a distinct event.

INTERNET ADVERTISING

By the early 1970s, promotional budgets sometimes exceeded a film's production costs. As new technologies change the ways in which films are viewed, from television, to video, to DVDs and digital downloads, they have also changed promotions, many of them using a number of media platforms.

Perhaps the most famous advertising campaign of the Internet era was for Artisan's ultra-low budget video



William Castle. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

feature, *The Blair Witch Project* (1999). Tease sites were up months before the film's July 1999 release, based on a simple but ingenious premise—the claim that the film was true, taped by protagonists killed in the process of investigating a local urban legend. The film's official Web site stressed its authenticity with "newscasts" and grainy digital photographs of police "evidence," including abandoned cameras, film, and video cassettes. Before its release, the Internet Movie Database even listed its principal actors as "missing, presumed dead." Adding to the pre-release media synergy, the Sci-Fi Channel aired the *Curse of the Blair Witch*, a one-hour Blair "documentary."

Although *Blair Witch* became known as the first major Internet campaign and was arguably the first film whose advertising was more important than the movie, it did not radically change the way films were marketed. Although the film set attendance records and reportedly caused directors and producers to demand Internet campaigns, it depended on novelty and timing. Indeed, some advertising and Internet strategists suggested the film itself was of marginal importance, and that the real pleasure involved the viewer's movement between media, particularly the constant return to the Web.

Post-*Blair Witch* film Web sites acted more as traditional anchors, as places where viewers could download trailers, find information on cast and crew, and play games. Most subsequent efforts to create an elaborate Internet ad campaign have received little attention, as with the publicity for *A.I. Artificial Intelligence* (2001). Prior to its release, the film was surrounded with secrecy. Unusual for a summer blockbuster, nothing much was known about the film other than its stars, director, source material, and its history as a Kubrick-developed project. While the film's marketing strategy of secrecy and false leads—releasing a false scene-by-scene narrative breakdown to aint-it-cool-news.com and Web sites spreading false information about the film—resembled that of a Kubrick release, other aspects of its marketing were typically Spielbergian, including using the Internet to stress the links between the film and real-life events. The studio even hired scientists at MIT's AI Lab to help market the film and organized a symposium on AI research on 30 April 2001, which featured a five-minute *A.I.* preview and a personal appearance by star Haley Joel Osment. Internet promotions included a Web game with over thirty different sites focusing on characters who were not in the film, but featuring a real Manhattan phone number and voice mail.

Although this campaign went largely unnoticed, it capitalized on the Web leaks and false information that surround many high-budget releases. In the wake of Internet advertising, fake Web sites have been used for many films, often with little comment. Even print advertisements have participated in this trend, with the pre-release campaign for *Laws of Attraction* (2004) taking the form of fake ads for its divorce lawyer protagonist, Audrey Woods (Julianne Moore), without mentioning the film at all.

PUBLICITY AND THE FILM STAR

Although actors were initially uncredited, favorites soon emerged, even though fans would not know when they might see them next and knew nothing about them. This anonymity was gradually eroded—first within the industry via the trade press. Names were first announced in January 1909, when Kalem identified its actors in the *New York Dramatic Mirror* via a picture of its stock company with their names printed underneath. A year later, the studio made a promotional poster of its actors available to exhibitors. Other companies released names in the trade press and in their own house journals during 1909, and by 1910, most companies gave screen credits. IMP (a Universal-affiliated producer) was the first to identify a star to the public via a publicity stunt. In March 1910, it signed Florence Lawrence from Biograph, first planting stories that she had died in a

Lobby card advertising for William Castle's* The Tingler *(1959). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

streetcar accident, then denying them, claiming a rival had defamed their star. Lawrence's name was thus released to the public amid widespread publicity.

The film star was perhaps the most important development in film advertising, and the preservation of those carefully-crafted star images was the focus of most Hollywood publicity, a process that reached its peak during the classical era. Star publicity quickly developed around the characteristic intersection of private life and on-screen image, with publicity departments becoming incredibly vigilant about the information given to the press. From their inception, most movie ads centered on stars, but this was only the tip of the iceberg. Much of the Hollywood promotional machine was devoted to testing different star images and marketing and maintaining these personae. Although these tasks were related to the process of film advertising, they were undertaken by separate divisions of the publicity department. Posters, lobby cards, and pressbooks were created in conjunction with the art department, while the publicists maintained star images. In the post-classical era, talent agents and the stars' own publicists took over much of this work, usually for 10 percent of a star's salary.

During the classical era, star publicity predated any individual film and extended well beyond it. Even before stars appeared on-screen, publicists created, manipulated, and distributed manufactured star biographies; set up photo sessions for studio portraits; and guided their stars' off-screen appearances. They also monitored and managed their press, tested their popularity with exhibitors and covered up any scandals or aspects of their lives that did not fit their image. They provided copy and photos for the fan magazines, including "intimate" confessions and peaks into the stars' "real" lives, as well as delivering

press releases and promotional copy to protect carefully constructed studio personae. To keep stars—and their films—in the public eye, publicists developed rumors, organized parties, and created awards—tactics that are still popular today. Even the Academy Awards® were established to keep stars and the film industry in the public eye.

The press was not always easily controlled, however, and the publicists had to work at maintaining a cordial relationship with the media. Even before the star scandals of the 1920s (the suspicious deaths of Olive Thomas and Thomas Ince, Wallace Reid's fatal drug addiction, Roscoe "Fatty" Arbuckle's murder trial, and the murder of William Desmond Taylor), the press wanted the truth about the stars—for some papers, the more sordid the better. As studio publicity built up interest in stars and helped sell papers, the press—especially smaller papers and the fan magazines—happily printed what were effectively studio press releases. The truth was more valuable and elusive but it could alienate the studios and jeopardize future film coverage. During the classical era, major studios might even pull their advertising from a paper if it reviewed important films badly or presented their stars in a bad light, and this could be costly for both parties. Bad reviews were sometimes changed, but other times the studio made the best of it, as with *White Zombie* (1932), for which it quoted bad reviews in ads and saw audiences increase. A similar phenomenon occurred decades later when *Showgirls* (1995) became a cult hit after failing as a serious drama, even being marketed in a special DVD edition with its own drinking game.

But after the collapse of the studio system, publicists faced greater struggles. The 1950s scandal magazine *Hollywood Confidential* exposed the sordid side of stars' lives, damaging studios' carefully constructed images until it ceased publication after a 1957 libel suit. Other such magazines soon appeared and even parody versions emerged, such as *Cuckoo*. Studios sometimes cut deals with *Confidential* and its ilk, selling out some actors to keep the true lives of other, more important, stars secret. But in the wake of these magazines, publicists had to confront the challenge of a more skeptical public aware of studio hype. This was less of a problem in the 1960s to the 1980s as interest in glamour (a term that implies superficiality and possible fakery) waned and Hollywood remodeled itself in the light of a new public fascination with realism. But with a resumed interest in glamour and celebrity since the 1990s, some of these same difficulties have reemerged, along with the centrality of the press agent and the careful molding of stars—this time through their own publicists. "Official" star images (from publicists, talent agents, and the studios themselves) are now countered by independent paparazzi, tabloids, and gossip Web sites such as gawker.com or defamer.com, featuring anonymous (and possibly unreliable) sources that cannot be leveraged or bought off. As stars and their agents lobby state governments to reign in paparazzi, the public's fascination with stars seems to increasingly depend on the pleasure of weighing which images are most "truthful."

SEE ALSO *Censorship; Distribution; Exhibition; Internet; Merchandising; Stars; Studio System; Television; Video Games*

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Moya Luckett

QUEER THEORY

Originating in the early 1990s, queer theory comprises a diverse body of intellectual inquiry. It takes as its premise the notion that specific psychological, political, and cultural codes have elevated heterosexuality to the status of a sexual "given." By revealing these codes and exposing their limitations, along with the unstable foundations upon which they operate and sustain their power, queer theory aims to "undo" the heterosexual norm, and to extend the power of cultural presence and voice to sexually marginalized groups who do not adhere to the workings of heteronormativity. A "queer" perspective, then, is attentive to a multiplicity of sexual codes that operate in the products of cultural institutions, and does not privilege heterosexual codes as natural or authoritative. The designation of "queer" is itself a form of empowerment, through which a disenfranchised subculture has taken charge of a term that dominant heterosexual culture has used historically as a derogatory label.

Theorists vary in their configurations of which groups and perspectives are included under the blanket term. Many theorists find any articulated challenge to the normative nature of heterosexuality to qualify as queer; others use the term to apply specifically to gender and sexual orientations (such as transgender) that challenge or complicate the presumed alliance between sexual identity and gender identity. Making a useful operating distinction, Alexander Doty argues that "'Queer' is used to describe the non-straight work, positions, pleasures, and readings of people who either don't share the same 'sexual orientation' as that articulated in the texts they are producing or responding to . . . or who don't define themselves as lesbian, gay, bisexual (or straight, for that matter)" (p. xviii).

Doty's definition locates two specific sites of potential queerness, in the realm of the production of texts and the reading strategies individuals use to make sense of these texts. He also implies that the term "queer" may not always be useful in describing cultural artifacts produced as intentionally gay or lesbian, and specifically for consumption by gay or lesbian audiences. This qualification enables a tentative distinction between "queer" films and "gay" or "lesbian" films, with the former category more specifically referring to those works that invite their viewers to construct nonnormative sexual perspectives that in some way differ from those articulated within a filmic context. The distinction is also useful because it does not assume that any film with gay or lesbian subject matter, themes, or characters necessarily accommodates nonnormative perspectives. For example, one might argue that despite the overtly gay subject matter in its representation of an ill-fated love affair between two men, *Making Love* (1982) would not qualify as queer because it reinforces rather than challenges codes of heteronormativity by stereotyping gay behavior and by focusing upon the homosexual act as a disruption of the heterosexually based institution of marriage. On the other hand, *Big Eden* (2000) might be more suited to queer status since it radically challenges heteronormativity in setting forth a world whose citizens (in northwestern Montana) not only refrain from assuming everyone is straight, but who also rally others to celebrate their nonnormative sexualities in the interests of human companionship.

Collectively comprising what B. Ruby Rich identified as "New Queer Cinema," a set of independently produced, gay-themed films released in the early 1990s

Brad Davis in R. W. Fassbinder's* Querelle *(1982), an examination of homosexual power dynamics. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

evidences the political and narrative strategies that filmmakers were introducing to contest the strictly heteronormative formulations of human experience that were also becoming the target of queer theorists. Rich's marking of the homosexual relations between Brian Epstein and John Lennon in Christopher Munch's *The Hours and Times* (1991) as "just a simple view of history with the veil of homophobia pulled back" becomes an apt description of the queer positions that this cinema was enabling in its characterizations as well as its audiences. Foregrounding the queer and sexual context (and content) of road movies and buddy films, Gregg Araki's *The Living End* (1992) and Tom Kalin's *Swoon* (1992) overturned mainstream cinematic conventions of male bonding as sexually innocent, in the process disrupting heterocentrist perspectives of genre and history. Operating metaphorically, Todd Haynes's *Poison* (1991) used the horror film genre to investigate the politics of gay sexual practices of the AIDS era. In narratives whose structural and formal strategies disrupted the conventions of classical Hollywood, filmmakers of the New Queer Cinema dared to conceive of their audiences as unconfined by the tenuous boundaries of the heteronormative, at a historical moment that was all too ready to pathologize the queer and the sexual outsider.

THEORIES OF VISUAL EXCHANGE

Although the categories certainly overlap in the application of queer theory to film studies, one can make a tentative distinction between those theorists who contend with heteronormativity by examining the psychological, social, and cultural dimensions of visual exchange itself, and those writers who focus more upon the specific contexts of fantasy and reception that enable potentially queer readings of cultural texts.

One strand of queer theoretical inquiry focuses upon the psychosocial properties of looking and being looked at that are integral to cinematic viewing. The psychoanalytic theories of Sigmund Freud serve as the common reference point for this inquiry, since Freud's assignment of sexual identity on the basis of the subject's "successful" strategy of coping with the recognition of sexual

difference directly informs queer theory's concern with locating sexual identities and perspectives. Referring to interpersonal alliances, Freud distinguishes between "identification" and "object-choice," the first term designating "what one would like to *be*" and the second term pertaining to "what one would like to *have*" ("Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego," p. 106, emphasis in the original). In "normal" human development, Freud argues, the child develops sexual alliances by which she or he identifies with the parental figure of the same gender and sexually objectifies the other gender. This development secures the subject's heterosexual identity.

In the works of Freud and his disciple Jacques Lacan, the gendered relationship between being and having the object forms a dynamic of power in visual exchange that feminist film theorist Laura Mulvey associates with the workings of heterosexual patriarchy. As it plays out in the structure of gender relationships in mainstream cinema, Mulvey contends, men look and women are looked at, and the male look at the female always involves the threat of a recognition of sexual difference that characterizes male castration anxiety. The male eases this anxiety either by fetishizing the female object of desire or by punishing her through voyeuristic probing. In this closed system, Mulvey argues, women forfeit their ability to intervene or to act as anything but masochists. The male is always the subject and agent of desire; the female is always only the desired object.

Demonstrating their indebtedness to feminist theory and psychoanalysis, queer theorists such as Teresa deLauretis and Judith Butler struggle to subvert the seeming integrity of this gender-based system of looking that reconstitutes desire between women as a mere extension of heterosexual relations. DeLauretis takes as her goal the formulation of a specifically lesbian subject-position, a visual perspective through which a female viewing subject might express desire for another female without resorting to the heterosexist power dynamic that Mulvey articulates. She locates this subject-position through an analysis of Sheila McLaughlin's *She Must Be Seeing Things* (1987), a film that bypasses the male-oriented threat of castration anxiety inherent in the recognition of sexual difference by offering women a distanced perspective of heteronormative relations, and by formulating a scenario of same-sex female desire.

While deLauretis works from within the Freudian psychoanalytic system of visual exchange in order to find a way out of it, Judith Butler takes the outsider's position in a strategy to disrupt the efficacy of the dynamic within. Butler's method is indebted to Jacques Derrida's theories of deconstruction—specifically the notion of the interdependent relationship that exists between "inside" and "outside" and between the presumed "original" and its "copy." Applying deconstruction to sexuality, Butler proposes that in mainstream culture heterosexuality assumes the status of the natural, "given" sexual norm by relegating homosexuality (specifically, lesbianism) to the status of a derivative "other" that lies outside the boundaries of the norm. This process, however, reveals how extensively heterosexuality depends upon homosexuality in order to sustain a distinct identity. Undoing this relationship between the primary and secondary, Butler proposes discursively dethroning heterosexuality from its assumed status as "original," designating it instead as a panicked self-imitation. Through such theorization, Butler derives a notion of gender as an imitation for which there exists no original, and which comes to play only through the act of repeated performance. In the process, the appearance of originality emerges only as an effect of repetition. This focus on repetition ultimately suggests that there can be no stable gendered or sexual identity. In Butler's system, even the seemingly biological reality of sex itself is revealed to be less a natural phenomenon than a "naturalized" effect of gender, as she illustrates through the example of the medical profession's historical use of surgery to "resolve" the ambiguous sex of hermaphrodites, forcing an alignment between sex, gender, and sexuality.

If Butler succeeds in deconstructing some of the basic Freudian premises of human sexual behavior and development, in her more recent work she makes yet more provocative assertions by challenging the efficacy of Jacques Lacan's "orders" of the Imaginary and Symbolic. Butler argues that such psychoanalytic constructs place strategic yet ultimately arbitrary limits upon what is imaginable in gendered or sexual behavior. Butler submits these orders to similar deconstructive operations, concluding that the Symbolic realm of patriarchal order that governs the production of meaning gains its efficacy though reiteration and repetition, and that consequently there is nothing inherent or "given" about either its power or its distinction from the Imaginary, the order governing the operations of identification and desire. When Butler declares that "we are not … in a position of finding identification and desire to be mutually exclusive possibilities" (1993, p. 99), she radically disrupts the basic premises upon which both Freudian and Lacanian psychoanalysis function with respect to gender and sexual difference.

FANTASY, RECEPTION, AND QUEER READING STRATEGIES

Chris Straayer's work in articulating the specificity of lesbian desire extends queer theory's attempts to move beyond the binary constraints of gender and sexuality

Rainer Werner Fassbinder. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

organized by much of psychoanalytic theory, as well as Mulvey-based feminist theory. Straayer locates lesbian desire outside Mulvey's male/female visual polarity, making an important distinction between the "receiving look" of the female in heterosexual exchange, and a "returning look" that the lesbian offers—a look that refuses to replay the heteronormative power operations of looking and being looked at. The lesbian exchange of looks is reciprocal (and reciprocated) rather than hierarchical. Further distinguishing lesbian from heterosexual desire, Straayer discusses the emphasis—present in several films that thematize relationships between women—on female bonding, a form of intimacy that develops through time and experience and that shares nothing in common with the heterosexual myth of "love at first sight." Thomas Waugh further challenges the theoretically enforced split between identification and desire by asserting that while gay male visual exchange certainly does objectify in terms of race, class, and ethnicity, it avoids the subject/object split of gender difference that Mulvey finds in heterosexual relations. As a result, Waugh asserts, "We (often) want to be, we often are, the same as the man we love" (pp. 44–45). In his discussion of gay male looking in the media of photography and film, Waugh also describes a "narrative" visual discourse in which the look of the subject is mediated by other looks or visual exchanges between the participants within the viewed scene of a narrative, generating a network of identification that is fluid rather than fixed.

The analysis of the exchange of looks is central to theories of fantasy that figure prominently in queer studies of reception, audiences, and spectators. According to Elizabeth Cowie, engaging in fantasy is a potentially liberating act for the individual, who orchestrates "scenes" of desire in which she or he may assume multiple roles and positions as subject and object. By demonstrating that the gendered or sexed subject is not confined to a single perspective or position in visual relations, fantasy theory opens up new possibilities in the realm of queer theory by further demonstrating the intimate connection between identification and desire, and by granting agency to the subject who imagines.

Although fantasy theory does not overtly inform Alexander Doty's discussions of queer identification and desire, his articulation of the queer reader's agency in interpreting mass cultural texts certainly benefits from fantasy's notions of destabilized identification and desire and the ability of the subject to occupy and adapt to a variety of subject positions in the pursuit of pleasure. Doty asserts that queerness in subject positions and in reading strategies cannot be relegated to the disempowered realms of connotation and subtext, thereby subverting the heterosexist reduction of queer subculture's interpretive strategies to the status of "alternative" readings. In the system that Doty organizes, self-defined gay viewers may readily identify with lesbian subject-positions in relation to specific film and television texts if such positioning yields pleasure. Gay men and straight women might also occupy the same subject position in relation to a self-defined straight object of desire.

Gay and lesbian fans' queer "appropriation" of visual media performers is one of the arenas that Richard Dyer addresses in his work on stars and fan culture. Asserting that the star image is constructed as the composite of a variety of discourses and documents including publicity, promotion, criticism, and films themselves, Dyer describes the queer interpretive work in which spectators engage in order to establish connections of identification and desire with star personas. Dyer meticulously details the historical conditions that form the contexts within which queer reading strategies of various groups become possible. In his work on Judy Garland, for instance, Dyer describes confluences of the historical moment that elevated the popular yet troubled singer-

RAINER WERNER FASSBINDER

b. Bad Worishofen, Bavaria, Germany, 31 May 1945, d. 10 June 1982

Rainer Werner Fassbinder wrote, directed, and acted in a Brechtian group called Action Theater (later renamed "anti-theater") in the late 1960s, and he brought his closely knit theatrical company with him when he moved to film production at the end of the decade. In a body of work comprising over forty feature films and television miniseries, the self-identified gay Fassbinder wrote and directed only a handful of works with overtly gay, lesbian, or queer themes. Fassbinder's work demonstrates, however, that queerness in cinema is not necessary solely a function of subject matter.

Centralizing the notion that identity is constructed through social relations, Fassbinder's aesthetic destabilizes the identity of his protagonists not only in his notorious reliance on mirrors and mirror images, but also through his arrangement of visual exchange. Relationships are established in the act of looking and being looked at, and visual relations frequently establish unevenly distributed power relations between an individual and a group. This emphasis on alienation and the power dynamics of looking implicates the viewer's own look at the screen in a rich network of identification and desire. When the eponymous Moroccan guest worker of *Angst essen Seele auf* (*Ali: Fear Eats the Soul*, 1974) stands naked and isolated in the frame, he solicits not only the look of his female friend cooking couscous for him off-screen, but also the viewer's look of desire at an object rendered vulnerable. Here and in *Faustrecht der Freiheit* (*Fox and His Friends*, 1975), in which the working-class protagonist (played by Fassbinder) faces the camera as he emerges naked from a mudbath, the male body is put on display at the same time that the director implicates the sexualized object in class relations, linking sexual vulnerability to economic disenfranchisement. In *Die bitteren Tränen der Petra von Kant* (*The Bitter Tears of Petra von Kant*, 1972), lesbian relations become susceptible to similar power dynamics, and here the roles of master and servant are interchanged in an unstable relationship of desire and class.

The politics of sexuality become more elaborate in Fassbinder's final film *Querelle* (1982), where the act of male penetration becomes a staging of power and submission played out according to various contractual terms: the penetrated male reserving the ability to give or withhold pleasure; the penetrator fantasizing that his male sexual partner is actually the partner's sister. The film that enables the most elaborate network of queer positions of identification and desire is *In einem Jahr mit 13 Monden* (*In a Year of 13 Moons*, 1978), which begins as desire has already receded into the past. Its protagonist is the transgendered Erwin/Elvira, who has undergone sexual reassignment surgery after her male lover Anton makes a casual observation about how their relationship would be if Erwin were a woman. When Anton reduces Elvira to the status of a freakish object and discards her, however, the film becomes an emotionally and politically charged investigation of the instability of human sexual identity.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Warnung vor einer heligen Nutte (*Beware of a Holy Whore*, 1970), *Die bitteren Tränen der Petra von Kant* (*The Bitter Tears of Petra von Kant,* 1972), *Angst essen Seele auf* (*Ali: Fear Eats the Soul,* 1974), *Faustrecht der Freiheit* (*Fox and His Friends,* 1975), *In einem Jahr mit 13 Monden* (*In a Year of 13 Moons,* 1978), *Querelle* (1982)

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Michael DeAngelis

actress to the status of an inspirational figure of strength and resolve for the gay community.

More recently, Steven Cohan has articulated a detailed historical context of the 1950s that both examines dominant ideological perspectives on gender, sexuality, and power in American culture, and explicates the ways in which homosexuality and queerness in film and star texts figure prominently as disruptions of heteronormative and heterosexist power structures. In this tradition, Michael DeAngelis discusses the historically specific queer reading strategies that have been made available to gay viewers of Hollywood film since the 1950s. Analyzing a wide range of texts that constitute the star image and persona, DeAngelis demonstrates how Hollywood cinema has not only accommodated but sometimes strategically solicited the identification and desire of gay male viewers for certain male stars. In his analysis of Keanu Reeves, for example, DeAngelis shows how the fashionably ambiguous sexuality of the star persona becomes attractive to gay men while simultaneously maintaining its appeal to straight male and female viewers. Hollywood's complicity in accommodating queer readings through ambiguous film and promotional texts offers further illustration of Doty's assertion that queerness in film is never only a matter of connotation. The queer theoretical enterprise continues to gain force by extending its concentration upon historically specific studies of power and sexuality on both international and global levels.

SEE ALSO *Camp; Gay, Lesbian, and Queer Cinema; Gender; Sexuality*

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Michael DeAngelis

RACE AND ETHNICITY

Race and ethnicity are social constructions—"scripts" for human actions and experiences—that have serious consequences. Though there is no scientific basis for racial distinctions, the discredited idea of "biological determinism," or a hierarchical taxonomy based on physical differentiation continues to influence discourses about human classification and racial characteristics. Categories of race and ethnicity have been fluid over time and across groups, so that in some cases a person's ethnic or racial affiliation can change based on location, historical moment, personal presentation, or situational context. Nevertheless, and importantly, racial characteristics are considered legally and biologically immutable from birth.

The concept of ethnicity is especially ambiguous, referring to a group that may or may not share ancestry but that has a sense of common identity based on nationality, religious affiliation, race, or culture—there is no precise agreement on what characteristics constitute ethnicity. Werner Sollors, tracing the etymology of the Greek word *ethnikos* (meaning "heathen" or "others"), describes "the conflict between contractual and hereditary, self-made and ancestral definitions of American identity—between *consent* and *descent* in American culture" (*Beyond Ethnicity*, pp. 5–6). Debates about the nature and effects of race and ethnicity continue to map the terrain of self-invention versus social compulsion, cultural performance versus heritable physical traits.

Unlike ethnicity, race is almost never a matter of individual choice, and because the idea of race emerged in the context of colonization and systems of oppression, race cannot be separated from racism. Yet like ethnicity, race is an unstable social category. For example, in the United States the definition of African American racial identity that emerged historically from the Jim Crow South depended upon a "one-drop" rule—any African American ancestor, or any fraction of "black blood," made one black. This method classifies as many people as possible as black, thus ensuring the continuation of a system of labor exploitation. On the other hand, Native American identity has been determined through a system of minimum "blood quantum," so that a person must have a certain percentage of documented tribal ancestry to be considered Native American. Through intermarriage with other tribes and other ethnic groups, fewer and fewer people can claim Native American identity and qualify for special rights to lands and services guaranteed by treaty. Unlike any other group in the United States, many Native American people carry government-issued "Certificates of Degree of Indian Blood," often called CDIB cards, or "white cards," which are required for certain scholarships, art markets and fairs, and other programs.

In other parts of the world, race and ethnicity are imagined quite differently. Though the focus here is primarily on representations in American cinema, the national cinemas and "oppositional" cinemas of countries such as Brazil, India, and the United Kingdom—to name a few of many possible examples—present viewers with equally complex and specific racial and ethnic discourses. Cinemas that cross or do not cross national boundaries also highlight the intersections of race and ethnicity with national identities. Due to the power of American distribution systems, Hollywood exported the Indiana Jones films in the 1980s, a series that privileges a white explorer hero over exoticized Arab characters, while Arab American and other spectators in the United States rarely saw commercial releases of films by Arab

filmmakers such as the Egyptian director Youssef Chahine. Other filmmakers trace the transnational movements of peoples in diaspora in films such as Gregory Nava's drama *El Norte* (1983), Deanne Borshay's autobiographical documentary *First Person Plural* (2000), and Ousmane Sembene's *La Noire de . . .* (*Black Girl*, 1966), drawing attention to the shifting experiences of race and ethnicity in global contexts.

EUROCENTRISM AND EARLY FILM

The visual medium of film produces and reproduces the complex tension between individual agency and social categories—between looking at oneself and being looked at by others. The development of visual technologies such as photography and cinema have intersected powerfully with the social construction of race as both a scientific discourse and a form of cultural fantasy and social control. Studies of human motion by Eadweard Muybridge (1830–1904) and Félix-Louis Regnault, using chronophotography (a proto-cinematic technology of rapid photography), contributed to established pseudosciences of racial characteristics, such as craniology, while emphasizing the visual spectacle of racialized bodies as a form of scientific evidence. In this and other ways—including elaborate discourses of "miscegenation" on screen, discussed below—the new medium of film taught viewers to translate the scientific and legal discourses of race into a system of visible codes and stereotypes, a phenomenon that impacted social relations more broadly.

Representations of racial "primitivism" in the earliest nonfiction films also extended to dramatic genres as filmmakers turned to narratives in melodramatic and fantastic modes. Georges Méliès's *Le Voyage dans la lune* (*A Trip to the Moon*, 1902) centers on an encounter between scientists and exotic primitives (the "selenites") on the moon, whose costumes, shields, and spears are meant to resemble an African display. The trope of the encounter between a European explorer and awed—or hostile—"natives" continues to have a powerful presence in films such as *Black Robe* (1991), *The Mission* (1986), *At Play in the Fields of the Lord* (1991), and in the many cinematic depictions of Columbus and even the confrontation between the rebel heroes and the Ewoks in *Return of the Jedi* (1983). Merian C. Cooper famously translated the narrative of the explorer encountering primitive peoples in an exotic land—a subject that had introduced him to filmmaking in the first place, with *Grass: A Nation's Battle for Life* (1925), made with Ernest B. Schoedsack and Marguerite Harrison—in the spectacular drama of *King Kong* (1933).

In the nascent field of anthropology and documentary cinema, films such as Edward S. Curtis's (1898–1970) *In the Land of the Headhunters* (1914) and Robert J. Flaherty's (1884–1951) *Nanook of the North* (1922) actively suppressed signs of contemporary Native American modernity—such as rifles, wristwatches, blue jeans, and signs of written language—in order to present images of precontact, ahistorical indigenous primitives. In *Nanook of the North*, for example, Nanook (the Inuit actor Allakariallak) is amazed by a trader's gramophone and actually bites the record three times—a gesture that reinforces the pretense that the Inuit were antimodern, both childlike and bestial. The fact that Allakariallak is not listed in the credits as an actor, but rather conflated with the character "Nanook" that he and Flaherty created, presents the image of Nanook's inability to understand Western technology as a document of Inuit life rather than an artistic representation. In fact, as has been documented in the film *Nanook Revisited* (Clause Massot, 1990), the Inuit cast and film crew were so adept at manipulating Flaherty's machinery that they could take apart and fix his camera in the field. Nearly eighty years after *Nanook of the North* was released, the Inuit company Isuma Productions released *Atanarjuat* (*The Fast Runner*, 2001) to international acclaim. The film, while emphasizing precontact Inuit life, explodes the illusion of the "Eskimo primitive" through its production footage during the credits, which presents the Inuit in Western clothes wielding the tools of film production and controlling the creation of their own images.

The pervasive trope of colonial encounter, with its European focal characters and masses of silenced "others" who signify the unknown, reveals an underlying Eurocentrism in cinema. Eurocentrism is an ideology that privileges European and Euro-American history and culture as the central, dominant, and superior measure of human accomplishment. Films that draw on the mystique of travel, colonial encounters, and the spectacle of cultural difference as primitivism convey powerful racializing tropes that bring the cinematic construction of race in the social sciences to the popular imagination through dramatic narratives and cinematic spectacle.

THE PRODUCTION CODE AND "MISCEGENATION"

The Motion Picture Producers and Distributors Association (MPPA) Production Code of 1930 (enforced after 1934) dealt explicitly with interracial romance, stating that "miscegenation (sex relationships between the white and black races) is forbidden." This wording was taken from the pre-Code industry restrictions of 1927, called "The Don'ts and Be Carefuls," but the cultural fascination with—and social prohibition of—interracial romance begins with the hierarchical relations established by European colonizers. Film theorist Ella Shohat argues

Stanley Kramer's* Guess Who's Coming to Dinner *(1967) challenged the dying Production Code with its interracial relationship. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

that even when films do not appear to address race or ethnicity in their content, the constitutive role of race in American society means that issues of racial and ethnic hierarchy are always present. She calls for analyses of "ethnicities-in-relation" rather than isolated minority and mainstream histories (p. 220).

The word "miscegenation" (from the Latin *miscere*, "to mix," and *genus*, meaning "race" or "type") first appeared in a pamphlet in 1863, authored by the conservative Democratic reporters George Wakeman and David Goodman Croly as part of an attempt to polarize voters around the issue in the 1864 presidential election. After the turn of the twentieth century, when many of the rights secured for African Americans in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution had been dismantled through Jim Crow laws, outspoken proponents of white supremacy produced intellectual arguments for eugenic control of racial mixing, as in Madison Grant's book, *The Passing of the Great Race* (1916). At the same time, a competing discourse of cultural relativism emerged in the writing of anthropologist Franz Boas (1858–1942), asserting the primacy of cultural training and linguistic models rather than biological "race" in determining human differences.

The prominence of miscegenation themes in film history reveals not only anxieties about racial mixture but also the profoundly gendered nature of cultural and racial representations onscreen. Prohibited interracial sexual contact underlies the visual joke in an early narrative film, Edwin S. Porter's *What Happened in the Tunnel* (1903), in which a white man flirts with a white woman on a train, but when he tries to kiss her as the train goes through a tunnel, the woman changes seats with her African American maid, who receives the kiss. This early film models a different kind of "encounter" narrative from the colonial scenario imagined by Méliès in *A Trip to the Moon*, but its construction of hierarchical, sexualized relations between whites and "others" was similarly

foundational and indicative of future narratives, ranging from the horror of interracial mixture in D. W. Griffith's *The Birth of a Nation* (1915) to the titillating films of Dorothy Dandridge in the 1950s. Films such as *Pinky* (1949), *Imitation of Life* (1934, 1959), and *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner* (1967) challenged the Production Code's strictures with their representations of interracial dating and light-skinned African American women "passing" for white. Shortly after the Code was replaced by the Classification and Rating System Administration in 1968, the loosening of both racial and sexual prohibitions led to an explosion of independent African American filmmaking.

While the Production Code and its enforcement through the Hays Office effectively kept representations of "miscegenation" off of Hollywood screens, little objection was raised to the (usually doomed) interracial romances between white and Indian characters in films such as *The Last of the Mohicans* (1936) and *Broken Arrow* (1950). The cycle of "pro-Indian" westerns in the 1950s used sympathetic Indian characters to signify other minorities, especially African Americans during the Civil Rights movement and Jews in the wake of radical anti-Semitism and the Holocaust, while at the same time commenting politically upon Native American assimilation and changes in the way the US government handled Indian policy. Non-Native writers, actors, and directors have consistently appropriated images of Indians for the purposes of both nationalist and counterculture messages. That Indian characters onscreen appear to function as metaphors for other ethnic groups is unsurprising, given the variety of non-Native actors who have "played Indian" (in redface), including Italian American actors (Sylvester Stallone), African American actors (Noble Johnson), Jewish actors (Jeff Chandler), and Asian actors (Sessue Hayakawa), yet this practice also suggests the centrality of Native American representations to Hollywood's construction of America on film. John Ford's now-classic western, *The Searchers* (1956), wavers between condemning and furthering the destructive racism of its main character, Ethan Edwards (John Wayne). Another character—the mixed-blood Martin Pawley (Jeffrey Hunter), adopted and raised by white settlers—becomes the focal character for viewers. The trope of rescue in which the men search for a niece captured by Comanches becomes an indictment of racism and destructive patriarchy as Ethan himself vacillates between rescuing Debbie (Natalie Wood) and killing her.

While the word "miscegenation" has roots in a specific US context, the Spanish word *mestizaje* refers more broadly to the cultural and racial mixing of indigenous, European, and African peoples in Latin America. It represents highly symbolic female figures of cultural syncretism, such as the Mexican Virgin of Guadalupe and La Malinche, the indigenous concubine who is also a translator, have been depicted on film (as in Emilio Fernández's *María Candelaria*, 1944). Cinematic representations of cross-racial romance such as Alain Resnais's *Hiroshima Mon Amour* (1959), Nelson Pereira Dos Santos's *Como Era Gostoso o Meu Francês* (*How Tasty Was My Little Frenchman*, 1971), Rainer Werner Fassbinder's *Angst essen Seele auf* (*Ali: Fear Eats the Soul*, 1974), Stephen Frear and Hanif Kureishi's *My Beautiful Laundrette* (1985), and Mira Nair's *Mississippi Masala* (1991) resist racial and sexual categorizations with visual and narrative dramas that at once blur and call attention to racial boundaries and social intolerance.

HOLLYWOOD WHITENESS AND STEREOTYPES

Many films that do not seem to address issues of race or ethnicity are in fact doing the work of defining and fortifying such categories. Richard Dyer has argued that "whiteness" is a category that seems invisible because it gives the impression of being nothing; the power and domination of images of whiteness on screen are in the appearance of pervasive normality. Scholars studying these representations ask what has to be suppressed and what has to be controlled in production in order to make such images seem effortless and natural. Dyer has argued that if "blackness" in Hollywood studio films represents physical expressiveness, emotion, sexuality, and proximity to nature, then "whiteness" signifies the opposite through controlled, cerebral, even deathlike images. *Jezebel* (1938), for example, was one of a series of plantation films from the 1930s—including *Gone with the Wind* (1939), *Dixiana* (1930), and *Mississippi* (1935)—that simultaneously masked and displayed the capitalist exploitation of African American labor through images of lavish plantations and dazzlingly wealthy white Southern families. In these films, the rigidity of whiteness is maintained through interracial relations—whites dominate but are dependent upon blacks, to the point that the actions of African American characters onscreen function to express the emotions of white characters, so as to preserve the restrained vision of whiteness.

Blackface minstrelsy—both the visual practice of "blacking up" and the musical work of sound and song—was one of the most important American popular culture forms of the nineteenth century. The term "Jim Crow" as a description of the segregation laws of the South originated with the name of a popular early-nineteenth-century blackface character performed by the white actor Thomas Dartmouth "Daddy" Rice (1808–1860). In the twentieth century, popular forms such as vaudeville and cinema drew heavily from this tradition of racial masquerade. In the midst of prohibitions regulating the representation of miscegenation on screen and the segregated viewing spaces and practices in the South and elsewhere, the extraordinary

JAMES YOUNG DEER
PRINCESS RED WING (LILLIAN ST. CYR)

James Young Deer, b. Dakota City, Nebraska, date unknown, d. April 1946
Lillian St. Cyr, b. Winnebago Reservation, Nebraska, 13 February 1873, d. 13 March 1974

This husband-and-wife team, both of the Nebraska Ho-Chunk (Winnebago) tribe, became an influential force in the production of silent one-reel westerns between 1908 and 1913. Though their American film careers were short-lived, they intervened in the industry at a particularly crucial moment in the formation of a genre that would dominate Hollywood production for decades.

Princess Red Wing (the stage name for Lillian St. Cyr) was a graduate of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School and a professional actress. A recognizable presence in cinema, she starred in the first feature-length film—Cecil B. DeMille's western, *The Squaw Man* (1914)—and over thirty-five other films between 1909 and 1921, including Donald Crisp's *Ramona* (1916) and an early Tom Mix picture, *In the Days of the Thundering Herd* (1914). When James Young Deer took over the West Coast studio operations for the French-owned film company Pathé Frères, he was already a veteran entertainer. He had performed with the Barnum and Bailey circus and the Miller Brothers' 101 Ranch Wild West Show and had acted, directed, and written scenarios for several film companies including Kalem, Lubin, Vitagraph, and Biograph. He also worked at one of the first independent film companies, the New York Motion Picture Company, under the Bison trademark.

With trade journals calling for more authenticity in westerns and Native American and other moviegoers protesting the inaccuracies and negative stereotypes of Indians onscreen and threatening industrywide censorship, Young Deer and St. Cyr were able to leverage their cultural identity and industry experience. From about 1909 to 1913 they used the early flexibility of the industry to exert unprecedented control over popular images of Indians. Both behind the camera and in front of it, Young Deer and St. Cyr rewrote the racial scripts of the western, commenting on racism, assimilation, racial mixture, and cultural contact. Many of their films revisited and revised the wildly popular "squaw man" plot involving a cross-racial romance between an Indian woman and white man. Young Deer and Lillian St. Cyr systematically undermined the "vanishing Indian" trope by giving the plots a new political center of gravity. In films such as *For the Papoose* (1912) and *White Fawn's Devotion* (1910), mixed-race families answer to the tribe's justice systems and mixed-blood children remain part of their Indian communities rather than being taken away to be raised in adoptive white families or in boarding schools.

As Young Deer and St. Cyr became more successful, the mass production of movies became more established, and the studios more wary of potentially objectionable subject matter, the couple's films became less distinctive. The details of Young Deer's later career are sketchy. After leaving California because of legal troubles in 1913, he worked in France and elsewhere, but little is known about his film work in Europe. Lillian St. Cyr continued to draw on her theatrical experience in vaudeville, was a college lecturer, and served as an activist in Indian affairs.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

The Falling Arrow (1909), *Red Wing's Gratitude* (1909), *The Mended Lute* (1909), *White Fawn's Devotion: A Play Acted by a Tribe of Red Indians in America* (1910), *The Red Girl and the Child* (1910), *A Cheyenne Brave* (1910), *The Yaqui Girl* (1910), *Little Dove's Romance* (1911), *For the Papoose* (1912), *The Prospector and the Indian* (1912), *The Squaw Man's Sweetheart* (1912), *The Squaw Man* (1914), *In the Days of the Thundering Herd* (1914), *Ramona* (1916)

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popularity of racial cross-dressing in the form of blackface minstrelsy became an engine that drove the film industry's transition to the sound era. Blackface has marked crucial moments in film history, from *The Birth of a Nation* to the first sound film and first musical, Alan Crosland's *The Jazz Singer* (1927). In *The Birth of a Nation*, the figure of Gus, a white actor in blackface, performs "black" desire for white women that, in the South, became the pretext for lynching. By contrast, in *The Jazz Singer* the drama of the transformation of the Jewish protagonist Jake Rabinowitz (Al Jolson) into Jack Robin through his performance of blackness suggests, as Michael Rogin has argued, that the assimilation and eliding of complex, multiple ethnicities into a consolidated American "white" identity happened through the process of racial caricature that maintained boundaries between black and white. Thus, according to Rogin, Jewish blackface performers modeled Americanization through the ritual of defining themselves as white by playing with blackface performance, redrawing the boundaries of social exclusion along racial rather than ethnic lines, and representing America as polarized by racial dichotomy rather than ethnic pluralism.

Blackface minstrelsy and its translation from stage to cinema at the turn of the twentieth century is only one example of the powerful deployment of stereotypes and their devastating effects. The word "stereotype" originally referred to methods of making identical copies in the printing industry; this idea of an endlessly replicated image of an "other" remains important to the work of stereotypes in shaping expectations. Stereotypes are not simply accidental departures from realism; rather, they function systematically as a form of broad social control, influencing collective perceptions and public memory as well as colonizing individual self-perceptions through internalized racism. Character-based stereotypes seem stable, but in fact they develop and change over time—not as an evolution or development towards more consistently positive representations but rather in response to specific historical situations. Whether stereotypes are "positive" or "negative," they present limited options for action.

Famous examples of stereotypes abound, and minority actors within the parameters of such roles have often given extraordinary performances. Hattie McDaniel (1895–1952) won an Oscar® for her role as a loyal servant or "mammy" in *Gone with the Wind* (1939). Bill "Bojangles" Robinson (1878–1949) played a version of "Uncle Tom" opposite Shirley Temple in the 1930s (*The Littlest Rebel*, 1935; *The Little Colonel*, 1935; and *Just Around the Corner*, 1938) and Stepin Fetchit (1902–1985) became a Hollywood star playing "coon" characters, such as his "Jeff Poindexter" in *Judge Priest* (1934). Indian stereotypes given greater depth by Native American actors include noble savages and savage reactionaries (Eric Schweig as Uncas and Wes Studi as Magua in *The Last of the Mohicans*, 1992), Indian princesses (Irene Bedard voicing the animated Pocahontas in Disney's *Pocahontas*, 1995), and wise sages (Chief Dan George as Old Lodge Skins in *Little Big Man*, 1970). Noriyuki "Pat" Morita (1932–2005) played cryptic, wise, and servile Asian characters on television in *Happy Days* (1975–1976, 1982–1983) and in films such as *The Karate Kid* (1984), while images of decadent, seductive, dangerous Asian men and women have appeared in films such as *The Cheat* (1915), *Shanghai Express* (1932), and *The Bitter Tea of General Yen* (1933) and more recently in Quentin Tarantino's *Kill Bill: Vol. 2* (2004). Certain directors, such as Woody Allen and Francis Ford Coppola, have become associated with films that explore ethnic identities and issues of assimilation and difference. Italian American and Irish American gangster figures have been humanized on screen in films such as *The Godfather* (1972) and *On the Waterfront* (1954), and drawing on the tradition of "social problem" genres, such films have effectively rendered experiences of immigration, although in some cases ethnicity is posited as part of the "problem" documented in the film.

Just as important as identifying stereotypes is thinking through the conditions of their production and reception. Within the restrictions of Hollywood genres and character stereotypes, minority performances can provide a venue resistance both onscreen and offscreen. Actors such as Sessue Hayakawa (1889–1973), Louise Beavers (1902–1962), Dolores del Rio (1905–1983), Princess Red Wing, Jay Silverheels, and many others, though they sometimes played stereotyped roles onscreen, were able to use their position within the industry in a variety of ways—including creating opportunities for other minority actors; providing offscreen role models of professional success for minority youth; advocating for legal and social change; and, within their performances themselves, offering subtle signs of agency and potential for self-representation beyond the scripted lines they were assigned to deliver.

This potential for subversive performance and for offscreen interventions is not possible with the conventions of racial masquerade in which minority presence is rendered only as a caricature. Blackface minstrelsy—and other forms of racial ventriloquism in casting—also excluded African American and other minority performers from the stage and screen, making the "presence" of stereotyped characters in films an indicator of absence. In the "redface" of the western, for example, the common practice of having white actors (such as Rock Hudson, Debra Paget, Charles Bronson, and many others) embody Indian characters contributes, at the level of performance, to the visual trope of the "vanishing Indian." These actors—whose "whiteness" is consolidated through their performance of a racialized

Disney's* Pocahontas *(1995) seeks to deepen the stereotyped representations of the Indian princess. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Other—provide a point of identification for white viewers but not for people of color. Similarly, many films that explicitly address issues of cultural difference—such as *Dances with Wolves* (1990)—provide a white protagonist as a focal character whose point of view anchors and guides white viewers. Frequently, no such focal character is available for minority viewers in mainstream Hollywood films.

"Image studies," or the practice of examining stereotypes, is an important form of analysis but it has limitations. Film scholars Ella Shohat and Robert Stam have described the difficulty of comparing stereotypes to an external reality (which is impossible to define without resorting to essentialist notions of the typical) as well as the need to consider broader politics of film style; race-based casting; genre conventions other than realism (such as parody or other modes of address); historical, cultural, and production contexts; and other mediating issues. They suggest considering race and ethnicity as discourse-based, in the sense of competing voices in specific historical and cultural contexts. This "relational" model reveals the functions of race and ethnicity even in films that suppress the constitutive role of race in American culture. Further, it opens our analytic horizons beyond the singular, character-based stereotype, allowing us to study a range of issues related to hybridity and syncretism in film marketing, distribution, exhibition, and spectatorship.

RECEPTION, SPECTATORSHIP, AND OPPOSITIONAL CINEMAS

For more than a half century, segregated theaters profoundly affected the participation of African Americans in the film industry as both producers and viewers. The US Supreme Court ruled to allow state-legislated segregation in theaters in 1883, and the earliest nickelodeons inherited the practice of segregation by race from vaudeville theaters. Theaters enforced segregation by time (showing films for African American audiences late at night), by section, entrance (seating African American viewers in the balcony), and by neighborhood, with black-only theaters serving patrons in African American neighborhoods, especially in northern cities. As early as 1909, some theaters were already serving African American patrons only, but overall these viewers remained underserved—for example, there were about one hundred black-only theaters nationally in that decade, compared to ten thousand theaters for whites. Black-only theaters were more run down than white theaters and usually showed

JULIE DASH

b. New York, New York, 22 October 1952

A major voice in independent filmmaking, Julie Dash was the first African American woman to direct a feature film with national theatrical release, namely *Daughters of the Dust* (1991). Her films—especially *Illusions* (1982) and *Daughters of the Dust*—have remained important texts in the study of American independent film. Her work consistently intervenes in and redirects Hollywood images of African American women, offering aesthetically complex and compelling characters and returning to specific historical moments to recover and revalue the nuances of black women's lives and professional contributions.

Dash's final project for her American Film Institute program, the thirty-four-minute, black-and-white film *Illusions*, tells the story of two African American women in the Hollywood film industry during World War II. Mignon Dupree (Lonette McKee) is a light-skinned African American studio executive, "passing" for white in the all-white production offices of a major studio; Esther Jeeter (Roseann Katon) is a talented black singer brought in to dub a song for a white screen star. Through its focus on sound, the film comments on the voices of black women that have been hidden, covered over, or gone unseen and unheard.

Dash's best-known film, *Daughters of the Dust*, is a lyrical, visually lush story of a turn-of-the-century Gullah family from the Sea Islands off the South Carolina coast. Gullah is a Creole dialect and culture based on both West African grammatical patterns and Elizabethan English vocabulary. Dash herself is descended from a Gullah family on her father's side and spent time on the Sea Islands as a child. Based on ten years of meticulous research, her film evokes West African oral storytelling through two voiceover narrators—an elderly matriarch and a girl not yet born. Dash struggled enormously to acquire funding for the film, and by piecing together small grants and selling distribution rights, she raised $1 million to finance it. Her artistic control and commitment to Afrocentric storytelling extended to details of production—she cast the film using actors from other black independent films. The film won awards and made a profit, drawing an African American middle-class audience, especially women—a population of viewers often overlooked by Hollywood studios and distributors. This financial success surprised even its distributor, Kino International, which had marketed *Daughters* as "a foreign film made in America."

Despite the success of *Daughters of the Dust*, Dash continued to encounter difficulties in financing her projects. In the mid-1990s, she turned to television as a venue, directing programs for Black Entertainment Television and MTV. At Angela Bassett's request, she directed *The Rosa Parks Story* (2002), about the boycott of segregated buses in Montgomery, Alabama, in the 1950s. The production benefited from Dash's habit of careful historical research as well as her interest in the human, emotional aspects of Park's story.

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Diary of an African Nun (1977), *Illusions* (1982), *Daughters of the Dust* (1991), *The Rosa Parks Story* (TV, 2002)

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final runs of films that had played months earlier in white theaters. When sound came to the movies in the late 1920s, black-only theaters did not always have the wherewithal to upgrade their equipment, and some continued to play silent films for several more years. Largely excluded from Hollywood production, distribution, and exhibition, African American viewers saw fewer movies and often turned to other media, such as radio, and alternative venues for social recreation, such as churches and clubs.

Because of the lack of humanizing representations of African Americans onscreen and segregated viewing practices, there emerged in the late 1910s a separate film industry, much of it black-owned, that produced "race films" with all-black casts for African American communities. Through the 1940s, these film companies provided opportunities for African American actors to perform in roles beyond the "mammy" and "Tom" caricatures in Hollywood. The productions were often versions of mainstream genre films, such as the black-cast westerns of singing cowboy Herb Jeffries (b. 1911) (*The Bronze Buckaroo*, 1939). Though many of the producers and directors of race films were white, prominent African American directors such as Oscar Micheaux (1884–1951) and Spencer Williams (1893–1969) established an independent alternative to the Hollywood studio systems and produced a significant oeuvre. (Micheaux directed thirty-five films in addition to writing seven novels.) Their films explored issues such as class divisions within African American communities, mixed-race romance, and interracial relations, including narratives of assimilation and "passing." Williams's work included genre films as well as religious epics, and later in his career, a role as Andy Brown in the television show *Amos 'n' Andy* (1951–1953). His 1941 film, *The Blood of Jesus*, has been included in the National Film Registry by the Library of Congress. More rarely, the term "race films" is used to refer to Yiddish-language films, which, like films for African American audiences, were produced independently outside of the Hollywood studio system.

In 1953, seventy years after the 1883 decision to allow theaters to exclude or separate African American patrons, the Supreme Court reversed that trajectory and outlawed segregation in Washington, DC, theaters. In 1963 President John F. Kennedy, in the process of presenting civil rights legislation to Congress, pressured studio executives and theater-chain owners to desegregate in order to avoid violence and picketing from civil rights activists. But another kind of segregation was already in place, and accelerating. As more African Americans came to northern cities, other ethnic groups moved to the suburbs, emptying Italian, German, Polish, and Jewish neighborhoods and the theaters that had catered to these groups. By the early 1970s the downtown movie palaces that had once served white city dwellers were operating at a loss. Then the early examples of what would become the "blaxploitation" film movement drew urban, working-class African American audiences to these theaters, showing films such as *Cotton Comes to Harlem* (1970), *Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song* (1971), and *Shaft* (1971). The opening sequence of *Shaft* comments tellingly on this situation: in a high angle shot, the camera pans across a series of downtown marquees, showing biker and other genre films, and after the last marquee, the title "SHAFT" appears, inserting itself into the line of titles. This announcement of a new black-oriented presence and mobility in the urban film lineup is followed by the protagonist's emergence from the "underground railroad" of the subway station at Broadway and 42nd Street. Thus both the film and its hero modeled for African American audiences a new presence in multiple social and racialized spaces in the studio industry and in the urban geography of New York. *Shaft*, which grossed $12 million at the box office, virtually saved the financially troubled MGM, and although white directors and studios produced many of the later blaxploitation films, the profitability of many early, independent blaxploitation films paved the way for the renaissance of independent minority productions of the 1980s

Julie Dash. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

(including those by directors such as Spike Lee, Charles Burnett, and Julie Dash).

bell hooks has used the term "oppositional gaze" to describe the way African American women engage cinematic images critically both as spectators and as filmmakers in their own right. Other minority groups have also developed oppositional film practices, working both within the established Hollywood industry and independently to produce films that both counter mainstream stereotypes and convey specific cultural forms and visual styles as part of an alternative aesthetic. These filmmakers face problematic issues of authenticity and hybridity as they work against the essentialist stereotypes perpetuated in the media while striving to maintain political solidarity based in common racial and cultural identity. Contemporary Chicano and Chicana filmmakers (Luis Valdez, Edward James Olmos, Lourdes Portillo), Asian American filmmakers (Wayne Wang, Ang Lee), and indigenous filmmakers (Chris Eyre, Victor Masayesva, Alanis Obomsawin) have spoken both as individual artists and as members of their communities in their films. These filmmakers revisit and revise colonialist history, integrating political and aesthetic strategies for the purposes of decolonization. In representing experiences of displacement, filmmakers must also navigate complex issues of race and nation in the wake of the political upheavals of the 1960s and 1970s. Although space does not allow for a more detailed discussion of specific minority cinema traditions, Third World cinemas, television and radio media, and avant-garde and documentary traditions, representations of race and ethnicity remain central to the study of these areas as well.

SEE ALSO *African American Cinema; Arab Cinema; Asian American Cinema; Colonialism and Postcolonialism; Diasporic Cinema; Exhibition; Ideology; National Cinema; Native Americans and Cinema; Spectatorship and Audiences*

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Joanna Hearne

RADIO

Hollywood's involvement with radio predates the movies' ability to talk. From the earliest years of broadcasting, far-sighted film producers and studio heads saw in radio a promotional medium made to order for enhancing the popular reach and appeal of their valuable entertainment empires. As sound film debuted and brought members of the "radio trust"—RCA and AT&T—into closer connection with film operations, several major studios made countermoves into the business of network radio. Though largely excluded from network ownership, the studios formed an alliance with the advertising agencies, which by the mid-1930s were producing the bulk of commercial programs on the air. "Prestige" radio production had moved to Hollywood by the late 1930s, and the lively process of mutual influence and exchange enriched both industries, setting the stage for Hollywood's increasing domination of television beginning in the late 1950s. Yet even as television took over the entertainment genres and cultural functions that had been created by network radio, the film industry, by expanding into other areas of media production and distribution, remained a player in the radio business. In the twenty-first century, all five major over-the-air television networks (NBC/Universal, CBS/Viacom/Paramount, ABC/Disney, Fox, and CW [formerly WB and UPN] as well as the majority of cable channels either bear a studio's name or are part of a film-media conglomerate. Producers, writers, directors, stars, and properties flow seamlessly from one medium to the other. This process began in radio.

EARLY EXPERIMENTATION

In the days before regulatory and network standardization, when the main business of radio was inviting various representatives of entertainment businesses on the air to publicize themselves, it seemed natural that Hollywood, with its immense reservoirs of talent under contract, should join in to publicize that other "national" medium, the cinema. One of the earliest cases of film-radio cooperation took place not in Hollywood but on the stage of the Capitol Theater in New York City, part of the Loew's/MGM chain. In 1923 theater manager Samuel L. Rothafel entered into an agreement with the American Telephone and Telegraph Corporation (AT&T) to broadcast his prefilm stage show over the new station WEAF. The results were so positive that it quickly became a regular feature, called *Roxy and His Gang*, one of the earliest hits of radio broadcasting. Soon other movie theaters jumped on the bandwagon.

Many big-city theaters featured elaborate stage shows and enormous theater organs, whose musical accompaniments animated their film showings. Concerts by theater organists were broadcast over WMAC, WGN, and KWY in Chicago and in many other cities starting in 1925. In 1925 Harry Warner of Warner Bros. put forth a prediction and a challenge:

> I am in favor of the motion picture industry, after the wave-length situation has been adjusted (as it will be)—building and maintaining its own broadcasting stations in New York and Los Angeles, and possibly in the Middle West. Through these sources . . . programs could be devised to be broadcast before and after show hours, tending to create interest in all meritorious pictures being released or playing at that time. Nights could be assigned to various companies, calling attention to their releases and advising

> where they were playing in that particular locality. Artists could talk into the microphone and reach directly millions of people who have seen them on the screen but never came in contact with them personally or heard their voices. Such programs would serve to whet the appetites of the radio audience and make it want to see the persons they have heard and the pictures they are appearing in. (*Motion Picture World*, 11 April 1925)

Warner followed up on this vision by opening up station KFWB in Los Angeles that same year, and a second one, WBPI, in New York City in 1926. In the summer of 1926, Sam Warner took a portable transmitter on a cross-country tour, broadcasting from theaters showing Warner Bros. films.

By 1927 the major studios could see the sound era rapidly approaching. Earlier, they had jointly agreed to a "stand still" position, in order to see whether the RCA or the AT&T sound system would predominate. Either way, Hollywood studios would in effect find themselves in technical thrall to the interests behind NBC, at this point (with CBS still struggling to get organized) the only broadcasting network with national reach. RCA was NBC's parent company; AT&T had an exclusive arrangement with NBC for the provision of landlines, the backbone of network broadcasting. Simultaneously, regulators in Washington were working on passage of the Radio Act of 1927, which promised a reorganization of the radio spectrum with an express mandate to bring the "chaos" of radio under control. Studios increased the pace of radio experimentation, attempting to get a foothold in the promising new business before restrictions might potentially be imposed, either by Washington or by contractual limitations from sound-on-film technology providers.

In May 1927 Paramount announced plans to form the Keystone Network, in partnership with the Postal Telegraph Company, one of AT&T's only competitors, "for dramatizing and advertising first-run motion pictures." As a backup plan, Paramount head Adolph Zukor also approached the interests behind the proposed NBC competitor, United Independent Broadcasters (later to become CBS) to suggest a partnership that he proposed might be renamed the Paramount Broadcasting System. In September MGM announced an ambitious project with the Loew's theater chain: a planned network based on movie materials and promotion that would link over sixty stations in more than forty cities. In December, to give audiences a taste of things to come, MGM experimented with the world's first "telemovie": a dramatic, blow-by-blow account of *Love* (1927), MGM's adaptation of Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina* starring Greta Garbo and John Gilbert, delivered on-air by WPAP's announcer Ted Husing (usually known for his sports coverage) as it unreeled before his eyes in the Embassy Theater in New York. Despite much excitement in the industry, neither the Keystone Chain, the Paramount Broadcasting System, nor the Loew's/MGM network reached fruition. A combination of regulatory discouragement, exhibitor opposition, and competition from other sources diverted studios' radio ideas in other directions.

Upon the expiration of the "stand still" agreement in 1928, film studios jointly decided to go with AT&T subsidiary Western Electric's sound technology. Left out in the cold, RCA in 1929 formed its own studio, RKO Pictures, and ushered in the era of film-radio cooperation in earnest as RKO and NBC learned to share talent and properties, such as the *RKO Theater of the Air*. Faced with this unsettling prospect, in the summer of 1929, just months before the stock market crash, Paramount again approached CBS. A stock transfer was hammered out, by the terms of which Paramount received a 49 percent interest in CBS while CBS received a certain number of Paramount shares. In three years Paramount would have the option of either buying the rest of CBS or simply regaining its own stock by turning back CBS's. By 1932, however, the country was in the depths of the Depression, and while radio's fortunes continued upward, the film industry was in steep decline. Rather than further consolidate their mutual interests, Paramount withdrew its merger offer, and the brief alliance was over. RCA divested itself of most of its interest in RKO in the late 1930s under similar pressures. Studios would not attempt to enter networking again until the television era.

RADIO GOES HOLLYWOOD

As the Depression continued, film industry profits suffered as theaters went out of business and box-office receipts slowed to a trickle. Radio, however, continued to thrive. As advertising agencies began to take the broadcast medium seriously as an outlet for their customers' campaigns, a new and influential partnership was about to emerge. Dissatisfied with CBS and NBC's staid approach to programming, several aggressive advertising firms turned their attention to Hollywood's untapped potential for radio-based product promotion. One of the biggest players in this Hollywood-agency alliance was the J. Walter Thompson Company (JWT), whose plan for radio advertising envisioned big-budget, star-studded productions sponsored by JWT clients over the major radio networks. By the mid-1930s JWT was producing at least five shows out of each year's top ten, most of them featuring Hollywood talent, such as *The Chase and Sanborn Hour* (with Edgar Bergen and Charlie McCarthy), Rudy Vallee's *Fleischmann Yeast Hour*, and

Orson Welles directs the historic* War of the Worlds *radio broadcast with his Mercury Theatre group for CBS radio, 30 October 1938. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Lux Radio Theatre. Other major agencies included Young and Rubicam, Blackett-Sample-Hummert, and Dancer Fitzgerald. When in 1936 AT&T, as a result of an investigation by the FCC, reduced its land line rates to the West Coast, a "rush to Hollywood" resulted, and most major agencies along with the two national networks opened up studios in Los Angeles. Radio had gone Hollywood.

This productive and profitable association would have great impact on both the radio and film industries. A variety of radio programs developed that centered on movie industry stars, properties, and Hollywood celebrities. The most prestigious was the movie adaptation format pioneered by JWT's *Lux Radio Theatre*. Hosted by celebrity director Cecil B. DeMille (1881–1959), *Lux* presented hour-long radio adaptations of recent Hollywood film releases, introduced and narrated by DeMille and featuring well-known film stars. Others in this format, often referred to at the time as "prestige drama," included *The Screen Guild Theater*, *Hollywood Premiere*, *Academy Award Theater*, *Dreft Star Playhouse*, *Hollywood Startime*, and the *Screen Directors' Playhouse*. A popular feature of these programs was the intimate, casual interviews with famous stars; DeMille, for instance, would chat at the end of each show with that night's leading actors, often casually working in a mention of the sponsor's product. Here audiences could enjoy a new, more intimate relationship with stars and celebrities that had formerly been available only in the pages of fan magazines. Chatting about their upcoming pictures, a recent performance experience, or even domestic details and romantic tidbits, allowed the celebrity to step off the screen and into the familiar space of the living room.

The second major venue for Hollywood stars and film promotion was radio's leading genre, the big-name

variety show. *Fleischmann Yeast Hour, The Jack Benny Program*, *The Fred Allen Show*, and many others featured regular guest appearances from Hollywood's A-list stars, often promoting their latest pictures or acting out skits related to film properties. Supporting roles were often filled by B-list actors and actresses, some of whom went on to considerable broadcast fame. Many stars eventually began hosting such programs themselves, especially in the late 1930s and early 1940s. Adolph Menjou and John Barrymore served as hosts for *The Texaco Star Theater*; Al Jolson appeared on radio almost exclusively after 1935; William Powell and Herbert Marshall hosted *Hollywood Hotel* at various times.

Some directors got into the act as well. Orson Welles's dramatic radio debut in 1938 on *The Mercury Theatre on the Air*, most notably his 30 October broadcast of *War of the Worlds*, helped secure his contract with RKO to produce, among other films, *Citizen Kane* (1941). Welles would frequently return to radio, as a variety show guest, guest host, and producer of lesser-known programs. Many accounts of the *Mercury Theatre on the Air* years agree that, once the first couple of broadcasts were past, the group Welles had gathered around him—notably John Houseman and Howard Koch—actually did most of the dramatic selection and adaptation work; nevertheless Welles's inimitable sense of drama and timing as well as his penchant for reflexive and confrontational material permeated the productions. And Welles would bring a heightened awareness of the potential of sound as an expressive medium with him to *Citizen Kane* and much of his other film work. Alfred Hitchcock, too, established a reputation on American radio, as well as film, before becoming a television personality.

CROSSOVER CAREERS

Many Hollywood stars extended their careers on radio, some of them also moving into television in its early years. Groucho Marx made frequent appearances not only on comedy-variety programs but on the rising genre of humorous quiz shows. In 1947 he became the host of ABC radio's popular *You Bet Your Life*, which made the transition to television in 1950 and ran until 1957. Ed Wynn started out in film, moved to radio and television, then played comic parts in a series of films in the 1950s and 1960s. Robert Young became established as a reliable second leading man in the 1930s and 1940s, then debuted the long-running *Father Knows Best* franchise on radio, before moving to television. Especially for Hollywood's extensive B-list starts, radio in the late 1940s became a springboard both to television fame and, less frequently, back toward greater eminence in the film business.

It was a set of Hollywood's secondary ladies who made the deepest mark on one of broadcasting's most enduring genres, the situation comedy, first on radio, then on television. Such B-list performers and comediennes as Lucille Ball, Dinah Shore, Joan Davis, Eve Arden, Hattie McDaniel, and Ann Sothern began by building up reputations as frequent radio guest stars in the 1930s and early 1940s. When World War II removed many male comedians from the air, as well as increasing the prominence and importance of the female audience at home, the film industry supplied key talent to move into prime time. Out of this conjunction the sitcom was born, taking comedy in a new direction—away from the stand-up, gag-based variety format and toward a new genre based on recurring characters in humorous situations, emphasizing domestic settings.

Joan Davis was the first to step into the leading-lady spotlight, as she moved from a supporting cast position on *The Rudy Vallee Show* in 1941 to primary status when Vallee left the program to go into the military in 1943. Renamed *The Sealtest Village Store*, it featured Davis as a frustrated, man-chasing spinster; she would go on to take the headline role in *The Joan Davis Show* on CBS in 1945, and from there to television in the sitcom *I Married Joan* (NBC, 1952–1955). Lucille Ball, the best-known of radio's film comediennes, moved, like Davis, from an RKO contract to star in *My Favorite Husband* (CBS, 1948–1951), though her fame came with the debut of *I Love Lucy* in 1950 on CBS-TV. Ann Sothern took her fame as the star of MGM's *Maisie* films to radio in a situation comedy of the same name in 1949; she went on to star in television sitcoms for the next twelve years. Eve Arden, who starred in a long line of B-movies from the 1920s through the 1940s, including a series of Republic Studios features based on the Lucky Strike *Your Hit Parade* radio series, debuted as *Our Miss Brooks* on CBS in 1948. Hattie McDaniel, the first African American actress to win an Emmy, for her role in *Gone with the Wind* (1939), made her radio headliner debut in the long-running *Beulah* in 1947. These pioneering woman-centered situation comedies used the star power of their Hollywood-based leading ladies to draw ever larger audiences to this new form, and to take them from radio to television in the early 1950s.

Other properties moved from film to radio, many of them adaptations from fiction or comics. Dashiell Hammett's *The Thin Man* first mutated into a series of films starring William Powell and Myrna Loy beginning in 1937; it became a radio program in 1941 and later shifted to television. Series like *The Lone Ranger* and *The Green Hornet* prospered in film, radio, and television formats. The film industry also came to increasingly rely on the star-producing capabilities of radio, with radio personalities starring in many popular Hollywood films.

Woody Allen's* Radio Days *(1987) offers a nostalgic look at radio in the 1930s. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

One of the first of these crossovers was *Check and Double Check* for RKO (1930), starring Freeman Gosden and Charles Correll as the characters they played in the *Amos 'n' Andy* show on radio. Movies like *The Big Broadcast of 1936*—and *1937* and *1938*—were produced specifically to consolidate radio stars' popularity with the film-viewing public, and to cement the Hollywood-radio relationship. Other stars who had first made it big on radio found significant new success in films, like the "Road" pictures starring Bing Crosby, Bob Hope, and Dorothy Lamour (*Road to Zanzibar* [1941], *Road to Morocco* [1942], *Road to Rio* [1947], et al.). Rudy Vallee, Eddie Cantor, and Jack Benny all met with box-office success in films that often highlighted their roles as radio stars and featured the exciting world of radio behind the scenes. This tradition continued, as Howard Stern's 1997 movie about his radio career, *Private Parts,* attests. Other memorable films about radio and its role in American life include *The Hucksters* (1947), an indictment of advertising-dominated radio and its effects on American postwar society; George Lucas's classic *American Graffiti* (1973), with its memorable top-40 soundtrack and a cameo by the legendary DJ Wolfman Jack; and Woody Allen's *Radio Days* (1987), a highly nostalgic look at life before television.

AFTER TV

Although the nature of radio changed dramatically once TV came onto the scene, some studios did maintain a persistent presence in radio ownership and production. Warner Bros., Paramount, RKO, and MGM all owned radio stations, and also got in on television station ownership early. MGM went into syndicated radio program production and distribution in the late 1940s, with such programs as *The MGM Theater of the Air* and *Maisie*. Just as film companies diversified into television, they also

began to acquire interests in the music industry, the new backbone of radio. For example, the Disney Corporation holds extensive interests in music recording, and through its merger with ABC in 1995 came to own radio stations that reach 24 percent of US households. Twentieth Century Fox was purchased by Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation in the 1980s and is now linked with satellite music channels worldwide. News Corp. also owns the Australian Mushroom and Festival record labels. And in this age of synergy, the tie between movies and music has become tighter than ever before, with movie soundtracks used to promote artists and recordings, and soundtrack releases often achieving billions in sales.

In the era of new media, where the lines between film, radio, television, music, recordings, and the Internet seem to be growing blurrier every day, the integrated entertainment corporations formerly designated by the term "Hollywood" have fingers in nearly every form of media that reaches into the home—or anywhere the viewer might be. Now Internet radio technology gives companies the ability to go online with their own "radio" services. DisneyRadio.com already provides a schedule of music and features from its films and artists, oriented toward children. Television shows on studio-owned networks promote recordings distributed by the company's record arm, which become hits on pop radio. Recording stars launch film careers; film and television stars, like Janeane Garofalo and Al Franken, start radio careers. Although in the United States the days of radio drama and comedy faded long ago, transferring their stars and audiences to television, the film industry continues to play a vital behind-the-scenes role linking radio to a host of other media. Without Hollywood, American radio could never have risen to the heights of creativity and popularity it achieved in its heyday. Without radio, Hollywood as we know it today would be missing some of its brightest lights and most memorable ingredients. The twenty-first century's digital media promise to bring these two media venues into an ever closer relationship.

SEE ALSO *Sound; Technology; Television*

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Michele Hilmes

REALISM

Realism has become one of the most contested terms in the history of cinema. Cinematic realism is neither a genre nor a movement, and it has neither rigid formal criteria nor specific subject matter. But does this mean that realism is simply an illusion, and that, as Werner Herzog has declared: "the so called Cinéma Vérité is devoid of vérité?" Probably not, as realism has been an extremely useful concept for asking questions about the nature of cinematographic images, the relation of film to reality, the credibility of images, and the role cinema plays in the organization and understanding of the world. Realism, at the very least, has been a productive illusion.

In film history, realism has designated two distinct modes of filmmaking and two approaches to the cinematographic image. In the first instance, cinematic realism refers to the verisimilitude of a film to the believability of its characters and events. This realism is most evident in the classical Hollywood cinema. The second instance of cinematic realism takes as its starting point the camera's mechanical reproduction of reality, and often ends up challenging the rules of Hollywood movie making.

MAKING MOVIES REAL

In spite of the fact that contemporary film and Greek drama are radically different modes of representation, one model for the rules for realism in movies comes to us from Aristotle's *Poetics*. In the *Poetics*, Aristotle staked the success of dramatic representation on what he called the play's probability (*eikos*). For Aristotle, dramatic action was a form of rhetoric, and the role of the playwright was to persuade the audience of the sense of reality, or verisimilitude, of the dramatic work. From here flowed rules about characters, the words they speak, and the actions they perform on stage. For characters in a tragedy to be believable, for instance, they must be noble, that is to say slightly more virtuous than the citizens watching the play, and they must act and speak in accordance with their rank in society. If the characters were not more virtuous than the spectators, and if their actions were not consistent with their rank, the audience would feel neither the pity nor the fear, which, for Aristotle, justify the creation of drama. As for events, to be believable they must meet three criteria: 1) they must be logically justified, what today we call this motivation; 2) they must conform to the rules of genre; and 3) they must have, as Aristotle famously said, a beginning, middle, and end.

Aristotle's *Poetics* is a brilliant defense of the art of fiction and at the heart of this defense is a plea for the importance of verisimilitude. Small wonder, then, that Hollywood plots are so closely tied to Aristotelian notions of believability. As David Bordwell, Janet Staiger, and Kristin Thompson have shown, verisimilitude in Hollywood cinema is supported by very specific forms of filmmaking that have remained remarkably consistent over the years. From George Cukor's *Dinner at Eight* (1933) to John Ford's *The Searchers* (1954), the "excessively obvious" style of the classic Hollywood period is bound up with modes of production and with technical or stylistic elements that insure a film's continuity and stylistic transparency. First and foremost, the films that constitute classical Hollywood cinema are driven by narrative causality. More often than not, they center on individual characters, who are often subject to

the whims of fate and who undergo dramatic reversals of fortune, even if the films end happily. In Hollywood films, narration is determined by a rigorous chain of cause and effect, with scarcely any room for events that do not, somehow, announce future actions.

Ultimately, for narrative causality to seem real, it must be ushered in by a series of technical elements that maintain the film's continuity. The historical accuracy of wardrobe has long been a key to the realism of Hollywood's period pieces. Extra-diegetic music plays an important role in narrative causality by announcing on-screen action and smoothing over gaps in the narration. Irises, fades, and dissolves serve to mark the passage of time and maintain narrative flow. Match-on-action editing, shot/reverse-shot, the 180 degree rules, and synchronized sound serve to create the illusion of spatial continuity. All these technical elements that dominated classical Hollywood but also regularly appeared throughout the cinema of the world work to make cinematic fiction more believable. Even the star system served to maintain the verisimilitude of a film—central casting and spectators came to expect stars to play certain roles—hero, villain, *femme fatale*—and attempts to get beyond typecasting were often met with skepticism.

Within the confines of this verisimilitude, Hollywood films have defied the laws of nature, challenged scientific objectivity, and promoted a vision of life as an unending melodrama, but this matters little. Once verisimilitude is established, spectators enter into a rhetorical contract with a work of cinematic fiction wherein, to reprise Samuel Coleridge's formulation, they temporarily suspend their disbelief. Rules of verisimilitude may change over time, but this rhetorical illusion nonetheless helps to explain why spectators in the 1930s felt the frisson of evil when watching *The Invisible Man* (1933), which seems so dated to contemporary audiences. Understanding the rules of verisimilitude is a key to understanding audience reactions to films.

The term "realism" was first applied to painting and literature in the 1830s to describe new forms of art that developed in parallel with the rise of nineteenth-century democracies and claimed a privileged relation to material reality. If Romanticism glorified the imagination, realism, as Peter Brooks has said "makes sight paramount." Thus the novels of Honoré de Balzac (1799–1850), George Eliot (1819–1880), Gustave Flaubert (1821–1880), and Émile Zola (1840–1902) emphasize description and luxuriate in the details of everyday life. But realism also brought with it new subject matter, in particular the everyday existence of ordinary people, and it closely linked character development to social factors. In painting, Gustave Courbet (1819–1877) first developed this new form of realism, bringing to his canvases a concern for the present, a representation of the working class, a refusal to slavishly reproduce established genres—there are no historical or mythological scenes in Courbet's paintings—a move away from neoclassical idealization of the human body, a representation of bodies at work, and an emphasis on description at the expense of narration.

Nineteenth-century realism was an immensely successful artistic movement. Dominating literature and painting, it spurred scientific positivism and encompassed the invention of photography and film. Indeed, some scholars have suggested that the invention of these forms of mechanical reproduction was less a great technological leap than a symptom of an age when representation of the real became tantamount. Many of the scenes of the early films by Auguste (1862–1954) and Louis Lumière (1864–1948), such as the workers leaving the factory, men playing cards, a middle class family having breakfast, or a barge on a river, could have figured in the pages of a realist novel or the paintings of Edgar Degas, Gustave Caillebotte, or Courbet.

THE REALIST TENDENCY

Realism in painting and literature passed on many aesthetic preoccupations to what Siegfried Kracauer called cinema's "realist tendency." First, realist films often define themselves in opposition to dominant commercial cinema. "The American position is the antithesis of our own," wrote Cesare Zavattini (1902–1989) in 1953. "While we are interested in the reality around us ... reality in American films is unnaturally filtered." This means that films that inscribe themselves within the realist tendency often challenge the rules of verisimilitude that dominate Hollywood realism. In this sense, realism is often situated somewhere between the codes of classical cinema and the innovation of the avant-garde. Though these kinds of realist films do not entirely do away with plot and plausibility, they often bend the rules of continuity, motivation, and genre that characterize commercial filmmaking. In particular, realist films often include moments of narrative ambiguity that would never be allowed in the classical Hollywood narrative. The scene in Vittorio De Sica's (1902–1974) *Umberto D* (1952) in which Maria Pia Casilio grinds coffee in the boarding house kitchen does not establish the setting, develop her character, or further the plot; rather, it trades plausibility, motivation, and narrative continuity for what André Bazin called "visible poetry," the lyricism of everyday life.

Wary of Hollywood's "filters," filmmakers in the realist tendency are also suspicious of Hollywood's budgets. One would be hard-pressed to say which comes first, the realist aesthetic or the low budget, but the results are

Jean Renoir's **La Grande illusion** *(***The Grand Illusion***, 1937) employs stylistic techniques associated with realism.* EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

the same. In 1995, the Danish filmmakers of Dogma swore to what they called, in all seriousness, their "vow of chastity," a vow to reject what they considered the technical screens that cinema has imposed between the spectator and "truth." This "vow" serves well to characterize the realist tendency's desire to do more with less. In a sense, the films and manifestos of the realist tendency hark back to the famous imperative of Henry David Thoreau to "Simplify, simplify."

Realism brings to the screen individuals and situations often marginalized by mainstream cinema and society. This is what Raymond Williams has called the "social extension" of realism, its intention to represent not just people of rank but also the spectators' "equals" (p. 63). Realism makes visible unseen groups, and makes audible unheard voices. In this sense, realism has been considered a fundamentally political art form. If cinema participates in the construction of what a society knows and says about itself, realist films make visible individuals and situations previously left unseen. Like the avant-garde, realism invents new configurations of the visible and new forms of representing the real. It is for this reason that a proponent of cinematic realism such as Bazin could tie realism to techniques such as the long take, depth of focus, and panchromatic film. These techniques provide viewers with new ways of seeing the world. So too with the use of non-professional actors. Showing actors, faces, people who had rarely or never been shown on the screen, or who had only been seen through stereotypes, was part of cinematic realism's way of reconfiguring the world. Realism situates its characters socially and economically, and economic hardship is often one of the motivating forces of the realist films' plot, from F. W. Murnau's *Tabu* (1931) to De Sica's *Ladri di biciclette* (*The Bicycle Thieves*, 1948) to Jean-Pierre and Luc Dardenne's *Rosetta* (1999).

Finally, while realist films are not documentaries, they claim a privileged relation to a reality outside of the movie theater. This reality can be defined in a Marxist sense as the economic structures of society or ontologically as the presence of a physical and visible world, but in all cases realism bases its claims on the camera's ability to reveal to the spectator something outside of the screen. Hence, realism's concern with the present. Realism foregoes historical dramas and period pieces in order to focus on the actions of the contemporary world.

REALISM IN FILM HISTORY

For Kracauer, the realist tendency begins with the very first *cinématographes* of the Lumière brothers. Kracauer opposes the Lumières' realism to the "formative" tendency of their contemporary Georges Méliès (1861–1938), but he also insists that the Lumière films are not just documentaries. Many of these short films, such as *L'Arroseur arrosé,* were staged performances. Still, Kracauer was making a "medium specific argument" in that the Lumières not only invented cinema but exploited its specific attribute: to record and reproduce the world around us.

Bazin traces the origins of the realist tendency in fiction films to the works of Erich von Stroheim (1885–1957) and F. W. Murnau (1888–1931), films that he opposed to the more formalist works of Soviet cinema and to the polished works of 1930s Hollywood. Murnau began his career as one of the leading innovators of German expressionism, directing the classic *Nosferatau, eine Symphonie des Grauens* (*Nosferatu: A Symphony of Horror*) in 1922. Despite its melodramatic quality, *Tabu* relied on non-professional actors, including Tahitians in important roles, location shooting, and a sparse use of titles. In addition, Murnau weaves into the plot the economic reality and colonialist exploitation of the pearl trade.

While Murnau was filming *Tabu* in the South Pacific, a movement known as "poetic realism" began to take shape in France. Starting in the early 1930s, films such as Jean Vigo's *L'Atalante* (1934); Marie Epstein's *La Maternelle* (*Children of Montmartre*, 1934); Jean Renoir's *Toni* (1935), *Le Crime de Monsieur Lange* (*The Crime of Monsieur Lange*, 1935), and *La Bête humaine* (*The Human Beast*, 1938); Julien Duvivier's *Pépé le Moko* (1937); and Marcel Carnés *Le Jour se lève* (*Daybreak*, 1939) constituted one of the most successful movements in European cinema. Poetic realism may be seen as realist in its refusal of some of the conventions of Hollywood (most notably the happy end), its strong sense of place (which included both location shooting and the sets of designers such as Alexandre Trauner [1906–1993]), its tackling of the social questions of the day (such as unemployment, poverty, and alcoholism), and its depiction of the lives of the working poor. As early as 1930, Jean Vigo (1905–1934), director of *L'Atlante*, had called for a social cinema that would reject both the Hollywood romance and the "pure cinema" of the avant-garde and instead be "continuously replenished by reality" (p. 60). The skipper of a river barge, Italian immigrant workers, laundresses, mechanics, a melancholy sand blaster, were the subjects of poetic realist films. The actor Jean Gabin (1904–1976) was in the paradoxical position of having become the most famous male star of French cinema in large part thanks to roles where he played downtrodden and ill-fated workers. Poetic realism may sound like a contradiction in terms, but for its advocates and practitioners the French movement exemplified realism's basic tenet that creating new, lyrical forms of representation was the best way to create new forms of visibility and new ways of thinking about the world.

Certainly this credo was one of the forces behind Italian neorealist cinema. As different as the Italian neorealist movies were, films such as Roberto Rossellini's (1906–1977) *Rome, città operta* (*Rome, Open City*, 1945), *Paisà* (*Paisan*, 1946), *Germania anno zero* (*Germany Year Zero*, 1948), and *Europa '51* (*The Greatest Love*, 1952), De Sica's *The Bicycle Thieves* (1948) and *Umberto D* (1952), Luchino Visconti's *Ossessione* (*Obsession*, 1942) and *Terra trema* (*The Earth Trembles*, 1948), and Alberto Lattuada's *Senza pietà* (*Without Pity*, 1948) all clearly belonged to and helped reignite the realist tendency in post–World War II Europe.

With few exceptions, Italian neorealism set its characters in the historical and economic reality of postwar Europe: *Germany Year Zero* shows us the effects of Hitlerism on a young boy in a rubble-filled Berlin. De Sica's *Sciuscià* (*Shoe-Shine*, 1946) builds its plot around the American occupation of postwar Europe. The very plot of *The Bicycle Thieves* is driven by the poverty of postwar Italy. If Antonio Ricci, the main character of *The Bicycle Thieves*, is so distraught when his bicycle is stolen, it is because this bicycle is the key to his livelihood. In this movie, De Sica and his screenwriter Zavattini (1902–1989) insisted upon giving us the figures we need to understand the poverty affecting Antonio: we hear that a bicycle costs 6,500 lire and that Antonio receives 6,000 lire for the first two weeks of work. Italian neorealism was an intensely materialist mode of filmmaking.

Some scholars have argued against understanding Italian neorealism as a radical break with the past. After all, Cinecittà, the famous studio where some of these films were shot, was inaugurated by Italian fascist dictator Benito Mussolini in 1937, and the Alfieri Law of 1939, which granted government subsidies to filmmakers, was still in effect after the war. Furthermore, De Sica,

JEAN RENOIR

b. Paris, France, 15 September 1984, d. 12 February 1979

French director, screenwriter and actor, Jean Renoir is one of the most original filmmakers in the history of French cinema. A poet of realism and a master of artifice, a revolutionary and a classicist, he is a key figure in the history of European modernism. Renoir has influenced filmmakers as varied as François Truffaut and Robert Altman, Satyajit Ray, and Wes Anderson.

Though he made some ten silent films, Renoir hit his stride with the arrival of sound. The savagely witty *Boudu sauvé des eaux* (*Boudu Saved From Drowning*, 1932) was a biting satire of the duplicitous French bourgeoisie. With the creation of films such as *Toni* (1934), *Le Crime de Monsieur Lange* (*The Crime of Monsieur Lange*, 1936), and *La Marseillaise* (1938), Renoir participated in the struggle for workers' rights that culminated in the Popular Front in June 1936. But even at their most political, Renoir's films are also meditations on artistic performance. He often preferred actors trained in the music hall tradition and his films often include a theatrical representation of some sort. Even as politically committed a film as *The Crime of Monsieur Lange*, which depicts the creation of a worker's collective, centers around a fantasy cowboy melodrama titled *Arizona Jim*. *La Grande illusion* (*The Grand Illusion*, 1937), starring Jean Gabin and Erich von Stroheim, remains Renoir's most widely seen film. A condemnation of war, this film also reveals Renoir's ideas about the role of performance in the construction of national and social identities.

With *La Règle du jeu* (*The Rules of the Game*, 1939) Renoir created one of the great works in the history of cinema. Often cited as a masterpiece of realism for its use of dolly shots, depth of focus, and outdoor photography, Renoir's film is a complex portrait of a society ruled by social masks and illusions. It was an incredibly bold film to make on the eve of World War II.

Exiled from Nazi-occupied France in 1940, Renoir made several films in Hollywood, including *The Southerner* (1945) in collaboration with William Faulkner. In India after World War II, Renoir filmed *The River* (1950), which although it has been criticized for its colonialist point of view, nevertheless, is intent upon showing the complexity of human relations caught in a moment of national upheaval.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Nana 1926, *La Chienne* (*The Bitch*, 1931), *Boudu Saved From Drowning* (1932), *Toni* (1934), *The Crime of Monsieur Lange* (1936), *Une Partie de Campagne* (*A Day in the Country*, 1936), *Les Bas-fonds* (*The Lower Depths*, 1936), *La Bête humaine* (*The Human Beast*, 1938), *La Grande illusion* (*The Grand Illusion*, 1937), *La Règle du jeu* (*The Rules of the Game*, 1939), *The Southerner* (1945), *The River* (1951), *The Golden Coach* (1953), *French Can Can* (1955), *Elena et les hommes* (*Elena and Her Men*, 1956), *Le Petit Théâtre de Jean Renoir* (*The Little Theatre of Jean Renoir*, 1970)

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Zavattini, and Rossellini all got their start in the film industry under the fascist regime, and some of their films still have recourse to the standard techniques of melodrama that dominated pre-1944 Italian cinema. Still, it is difficult to confuse neorealist films with the high society dramas that preceded them. Neither the so-called *telefoni bianchi* ("white telephone") films nor, for that matter, the Hollywood films that replaced them on Italian screens after the war, had much patience for economic depression and gloomy outsiders. Neorealist films quite consciously set themselves in opposition to more mainstream cinema, a tendency metaphorically expressed in the scene in *The Bicycle Thieves* when Antonio never quite manages to do his job of putting up Rita Hayworth publicity posters.

Jean Renoir. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

It is not just the glamour of Hollywood that Italian neorealism defied. This movement also challenged the laws of verisimilitude that dominated commercial cinema. *The Bicycle Thieves* and *Umberto D* both rely upon the thinnest story lines. About *Umberto D*, Zavattini said that he had wanted to make a film about nothing. In *Germany Year Zero* there is no plot to speak of, and viewers can only speculate about the motivation for Edmund's suicide at the end. Plot is not entirely absent from these films, but they all de-emphasize the logical sequence of events in order to develop the characters' discovery of the material reality that surrounds them.

The realist tendency, while international in scope, develops within national cinematic contexts. Certainly this is the case with the British New Wave and social realist cinema. British realism, which harkens back to the documentary movement of the 1930s, has flourished from the 1950s to the present in films as varied as *Room at the Top* (Jack Clayton, 1958), *Poor Cow* (Ken Loach, 1967) and *Career Girls* (Mike Leigh, 1997). These films tend to have relatively low budgets and to share such qualities as an emphasis on location, the use of unknown and non-professional actors, an intention to educate, and a focus on marginal characters and social problems. For all their differences, Ken Loach's (b. 1936) made-for-TV film *Cathy Come Home* (1966) and Stephen Frears's *My Beautiful Laundrette* (1985) have in common the desire to show the faces of individuals that had been kept off the screens of Britain up to that point: a woman and her family pushed into poverty and homelessness in *Cathy Come Home*, and the son of South Asian immigrants in love with a British punk in *My Beautiful Laundrette*. These claims to a privileged relation to reality have been contested, however. Scholars have criticized British social realism of the 1960s for its masculine, patriarchal point of view.

The idea that cinematographic realism is tied to political struggle has inspired national cinemas emerging in the wake of European colonialism. The Senegalese director Ousmane Sembene (b. 1923), for instance, perceived his work as a tool for representing the new African reality, seeing film as a mirror for self-understanding and empowerment. In place of the Hollywood and French jungle melodramas through which colonialist ideology imposed itself, Sembene made pared-down films in which characters are set in the economic and social reality of contemporary Africa. Films such as *La Noire de . . .* (*Black Girl*, 1966), *Xala* (*Impotence*, 1975), *Guelwaar* (1992), *Faat Kiné* (2000), and *Moolaadé* (2004) are not strict realist works. Sembene often includes elements of melodrama and even musical comedy that might irk purists. But the films' sparse style, their open-ended plots, their refusal of standardized forms of cinematic production, and especially their intense social criticism, situate them within the realist tendency.

The same desire to counter colonialist representations motivated the early realist work of Satyajit Ray (1921–1992) in India. According to what has now become legend, during a trip to London, Ray saw some 90 films in two months. Of all the films he saw, De Sica's *The Bicycle Thieves* left the greatest impression and pushed Ray to start making his own, based on the credo that "the filmmaker must turn to life, to reality. De Sica and not Cecil B. DeMille, should be his ideal." And so, in films such as the "Apu Trilogy"—*Pather Panchali* (*Song of the Road*, 1955), *Aparajito* (*The Unvanquished*, 1956) and *Apur Sansar* (*The World of Apu*, 1959)—Ray's camera reveals the daily life of a family struggling against poverty in post-independence India. His straightforward style shared neorealism's openness to the everyday world.

THEORIES OF REALISM

Film critics and theorists have long given their intellectual support to the practice of realist filmmaking. For Rudolph

Arnheim, writing in the early 1930s, film offered the possibility of "the mechanical imitation of nature" in which original and copy become indistinguishable in the eyes of the public. Yet it was Bazin who, a decade later, would transform the mechanical reproduction of the cinematic image into a prophecy. A prolific critic, Bazin is best known for his defense of cinematic realism. For Bazin, what filmmakers as different as Robert Bresson (1901–1999), De Sica, Renoir, Rossellini, and Orson Welles (1915–1985) had in common was a desire to put cinema at the service of what Bazin called a fundamental faith in reality. The credibility of a film did not come from its verisimilitude but from the identity between the photographic image and its object. In "The Ontological Realism of the Photographic Image" (1945), Bazin sketches a brief history of art, in which he identifies cinema as the fulfillment of the human craving for realistic representation. Cinema's mission was thus to fulfill this goal. For Bazin, realism was a style whose chief elements were the long take, deep focus, limited editing and, when possible, the use of non-professional, or at least relatively unknown actors. Realism for Bazin was both the essence of cinema—its ontology—and a rhetoric whose keys were simplicity, purity, and transparency.

In 1960, two years after Bazin's death, Kracauer continued and radicalized Bazin's project in his book *Theory of Film: The Redemption of Physical Reality*. Like Bazin, Kracauer argued that of all the arts, film is uniquely qualified to record physical reality. Kracauer conceded that many films combine realist with formalist tendencies, but he concluded the films that make us "experience aspects of physical reality are the most valid aesthetically." Thus for Kracauer, the best moment in Laurence Olivier's *Hamlet* (1948) is not Shakespeare's text, or Olivier's acting, or even his direction, but a moment when the camera, almost by inadvertence, frames a window of Elsinore castle and lets us see the "real ocean" in all its force (p. 36). In his previous book, *From Caligari to Hitler* (1947), Kracauer traced the rise of Nazism through the psychological terror of German expressionist cinema. It is possible his conclusions for the redemption of physical reality through cinema were a reaction against films whose formalism he deemed tainted by its association with totalitarianism and racism. For, in the end, the realist tendency is a form of humanism. In Kracauer's vision, cinema's ontological realism reasserts the fundamental equality of all before the camera.

Philosopher Stanley Cavell also has argued for the ontological realism of cinema, even though his main references are the films of classical Hollywood. For Cavell as for Bazin and Kracauer, the basis of the film medium is photographic. A photograph, and by extension film, always implies the presence of the rest of the world. Film "displaces" people and objects from the world onto the screen. This is not only proof, for Cavell, of film's ontological realism, it is also the beginning of our reconciliation with the world. Movies permit us to view the world unseen, at a distance, and this sets in motion the intellectual process that will bring us back to the world and will reaffirm our participation in it. More than any other film critic or theorist, Cavell insists that film's fundamental realism makes it an art of contemplation, an intellectual and spiritual exercise meant to restore our relation to the world.

Also among the proponents of the realist tendency are a number of figures associated with left-wing politics. From Williams to Zavattini, from Walter Benjamin to Loach, the realist tendency has often been tied to forms of democratic thought for two reasons. First, realism tends toward a Marxist critique of illusion. The Marxist critique of forms of art that obfuscate economic and social inequalities resonates with filmmakers, technicians, and writers for whom cinematic realism is way of cutting through the artifice of standard cinema. This does not mean that Communist filmmakers had a privileged access to truth, but rather that because they put their faith in what Bazin called the "ontological realism" of the image, realist films could perform the type of demystification often associated with leftist intellectual goals. Not coincidentally, two of Bazin's wittiest articles—"Entomology of the Pin-Up Girl" (1946) and "The Myth of Stalin in the Soviet Cinema" (1950)—are clever attacks on the ideological mystifications in films coming from Hollywood and Moscow, respectively.

The second reason to associate the realist continuum with a reflection on democracy is its tendency to give equal time to anonymous voices and unknown faces. Hollywood films may have regularly put ordinary people in extraordinary circumstances, but did so through a codified system of well-known actors and stereotypes. Realism's desire to show what had heretofore remained invisible challenges such images and the values that underlie them. To take just one example, Gillo Pontecorvo's *La Battaglia di Algeri* (*The Battle of Algiers*, 1965) is considered by many to be one of the last instances of Italian neorealism. But of all the realist techniques that Pontecorvo (b. 1919) uses, the most radical departure of the film, at least for European audiences, was his decision to show the faces and amplify the voices of the Algerian men and women who had led the Algerian revolution. The realist tendency is not sociology; rather, it sees itself as a democratic form of art.

REALISM'S DISCONTENTS

In the 1850s, the French poet Charles Baudelaire (1821–1867) condemned realism as a "war on imagination." In

ANDRÉ BAZIN

b. Angers, France, 8 April 1918, d. 11 November 1958

Fifty years after his death, André Bazin remains the world's most important film critic and theorist. Bazin started writing about film in Paris in 1943 and went on to produce an extremely varied and prodigiously enthusiastic body of work. During his short career, he authored nearly 3,000 articles, published in a variety of journals, including, most famously, *Cahiers du cinéma*, which he cofounded in 1952. An indefatigable defender of filmmakers such as F. W. Murnau, Jean Renoir, Orson Welles, Charlie Chaplin, and Roberto Rossellini, Bazin also influenced a generation of French filmmakers who cut their teeth as critics at *Cahiers du cinéma* and went on to become the French New Wave, including François Truffaut to whom he was mentor and adoptive father.

Bazin wrote about such varied topics as Hollywood westerns and musicals, theater, film, and animation, but he is best remembered for his spirited defense of realism. In his famous article, "The Ontology of the Photographic Image" (1945), Bazin presented his core argument for cinematographic realism: photography and cinema allow a mechanical reproduction of reality unseen in any previous art form. Photography differs from painting in that it produces not a likeness, but the object itself snatched from "the conditions of time and space that govern it."

For Bazin, this realism was enhanced through certain stylistic techniques and choices, including its tendency toward on-location shooting, which helped confirm the existence of a world beyond the screen. Deep focus and minimal editing promoted an ambiguity of vision that more closely resembled the spectator's perception of reality. According to Bazin, films that use depth of focus allow the spectator's eye to wander around the picture and to determine the importance of each object on the screen. Starting in the late 1960s, theorists under the influence of Lacanian psychoanalysis and Louis Althusser's Marxism argued that what Bazin called realism was nothing more than an illusion. More recently, the philosopher Noël Carroll has judged that Bazin's realism is based on logically inconsistent assumptions about resemblance.

Throughout his essays, Bazin tied the films he loved most to a form of asceticism. This austerity was a way of cutting through the rhetorical artifice that had invaded commercial cinema and modern life itself. The cinematic image, for Bazin, allows just enough detachment for us to contemplate the mysteries of the world, whether they take the form of "a reflection on a damp sidewalk," the pockmarks on a character's face, or Ingrid Bergman walking through the ruins of Pompeii.

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the 1960s, cinematic realism came under sustained attack for being an imaginary construct. This attack took several forms, all of which argue against the ontological realism of cinema. Realism, in these views, was nothing more than the product of what Roland Barthes called a "reality effect." The realist tendency may very well have been associated with leftist politics, but for all these critics and scholars its insistence upon the transparency of the cinematographic image was little more than a pernicious bourgeois illusion.

Perhaps the most systematic questioning of the premises of realism came from Christian Metz, a film scholar who had studied with Barthes. Metz argues that realism and its attendant belief in the transparency of the

Iranian filmmaker Abbas Kiarostami ties the techniques of realism to the process of filmmaking in* Ta'm e guilass *(*Taste of Cherry*, 1997). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

photographic image is an illusion. Borrowing from semiotics and psychoanalysis, Metz sets out to show that the cinematic image brings together a series of visual, musical, and verbal codes that the spectator then deciphers in an attempt to make meaning. Film and the photographic image do not provide any type of direct access to the real, according to Metz, but are rather one instance of a symbolic system whose model is language. Resemblance, in this view, is based upon codes and conventions; the screen is not a window onto the world, but a mirror, reflecting back to spectators their own ideologies and sense of identity. Metz's radical reformulation of cinema spectatorship coincided with the writings of Marxists, working at *Cahiers du cinéma* and of feminist cinéphiles associated with the British journal *Screen*. For critics such as Jean-Louis Comolli, realism was simply a bourgeois ordering of the world that served to maintain capitalist ideology, while for British feminist scholar Laura Mulvey realism, as all film forms, is structured by the unconscious of patriarchal society. Mulvey insists that film should not be understood as a record of reality, but rather as a reorganization of reality in a way that is fundamentally unjust to certain people, most particularly women and minorities because of its informing patriarchal ideology.

A more formalist questioning of the tenets of the realist tendency has been offered by theories of intertextuality. Basing themselves on the findings of Russian formalists and French theorists, proponents of an intertextual approach see film not as an opening on the world, but as a series of references to other films and other works of art. Michael Iampolski, for instance, describes films as a series of "quotes" that interrupt the narrative and send the spectator back to other texts. Spectators understand what they are watching by patching together all these references, not by referring to a world off-screen. For the analytic philosopher Nelson Goodman, realism is entirely relative to the culture from which it issues. "Realistic representation," writes Goodman, "depends not upon imitation or illusion or information but upon inculcation." Bazin's belief that cinema's ontological realism opened up the world as it is, reveals itself,

in Goodman's argument, to be a culturally biased conception.

The most recent questioning of the realist tendency has come from cognitive film theory, in particular its consideration of digital images. A strictly Bazinian approach would view computer-generated imagery (CGI) as a form of animation or painting. But for Stephen Prince, CGI poses new challenges to realism and the theories of resemblance on which it is based. For Prince, it no longer makes sense to think of an image or a sequence in a film as either realist or formalist. Whether they are watching documentaries, epics, or romantic comedies, individuals make meaning out of films in much the same way, basing their evaluations on the same set of assumptions, visual cues, and experiences.

All these critiques of realism have almost put the ideal of film out of reach as a threshold to the world. Still, certain movies have recently renewed with the realist tradition, while at the same time developing reflection on the status of the image. The American director Charles Burnett (b. 1944), whose works include *Killer of Sheep* (1977) and *To Sleep with Anger* (1990) claims that the films of Italian neorealism and the work of Renoir made possible his own filming of the stories of African Americans today. In films such as *Bread and Roses* (2000) and *Sweet Sixteen* (2002), Loach has maintained a fidelity to the political project and the stylistic innovation of British social realism, all the while foregrounding the politics of representation. In Belgium, the Dardenne brothers have made films such as *La Promesse* (*The Promise*, 1997) and *Rosetta*, effectively employing the hand-held camera, minimal makeup, relatively unknown actors, and the natural lighting of cinéma vérité. Richard Linklater's *Slacker* (1991) is a series of seemingly random long takes offering both a portrait of Austin, Texas and a subtle reflection on how images organize the world around us. And in films such as *Nema-ye Nazdik* (*Close Up*, 1990) and *Ta'm e guilass* (*Taste of Cherry*, 1997), Iranian director Abbas Kiarostami (b. 1940) has tied realism's revelation of the world to a meditation upon the filmmaking process by which this world is framed, captured, and constructed.

SEE ALSO *Expressionism; Ideology; Marxism; Narrative; Neorealism*

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RECEPTION THEORY

Reception theory provides a means of understanding media texts by understanding how these texts are read by audiences. Theorists who analyze media through reception studies are concerned with the experience of cinema and television viewing for spectators, and how meaning is created through that experience. An important concept of reception theory is that the media text—the individual movie or television program—has no inherent meaning in and of itself. Instead, meaning is created in the interaction between spectator and text; in other words, meaning is created as the viewer watches and processes the film. Reception theory argues that contextual factors, more than textual ones, influence the way the spectator views the film or television program. Contextual factors include elements of the viewer's identity as well as circumstances of exhibition, the spectator's preconceived notions concerning the film or television program's genre and production, and even broad social, historical, and political issues. In short, reception theory places the viewer in context, taking into account all of the various factors that might influence how she or he will read and create meaning from the text.

METHODOLOGY

It is, of course, impossible to learn the reaction of each viewer to a given film. Instead, the goal of reception theory is to identify a range of possible reactions and interpretations at a particular historical moment. In order to do so, the reception theorist must acknowledge the wide variety of social identities and subject positions that each spectator brings to the cinema. All people possess multiple subject identities, both consciously and unconsciously constructed and maintained, including age, race, gender, nationality, ethnicity, sexual orientation, religious beliefs, and class. How the spectator defines herself or himself as a person and as a member of a larger society affects how she or he will view a film. If a film has a strong feminist message, for example, it will likely be viewed differently by a person who considers herself a feminist than by a person who does not. Similarly, a film about racial struggle will probably be read in different ways by audience members depending on whether or not they are themselves members of a racial minority. Thus a spectator will watch films from several subject positions at the same time, and in each cinema experience different positions will be appealed to at different times.

Another factor in how a film is received by an audience member is that person's preconceived notions about the film. A viewer's expectations for a film, and the experience of the film, can be affected by what is known about the film's genre; its actors, writers, director, or other production personnel; the circumstances of its production (for example, if there were reports of problems on the set); and its marketing or merchandising. The conditions of a film's exhibition also factor in to its eventual reception. A film shown in an IMAX theater with state-of-the-art sound will be received very differently from a film viewed in a drive-in theater or on a DVD at home. Furthermore, the circumstances in which a person views a film (with a group of friends, on a blind date, alone) can affect how she or he experiences the film. Social and historical factors must also be considered in reception studies. Finally, audiences watching *M*A*S*H* (1972) at the height of the Vietnam War, or those viewing *Fahrenheit 9/11* (2004) during the buildup to that year's US presidential election, would understand these films based on the current social

and political climates; audiences who watch these films at other historical moments would most likely have different reactions to them. Reception theory attempts to account for all of these factors in determining how audiences experience motion pictures.

The most important, and at the same time most difficult, task in reception studies is gathering the information necessary to analyze how audiences experience films. Ideally, the researcher interviews audience members to find out their reactions, but even this method is flawed, as individuals may not be aware of their various subject positions or may be unable to fully articulate how or why they interpret a film in a particular way. Despite these problems, this type of ethnographic research is the best way of determining a film's reception. However, when researching older films it is often impossible to interview individuals who saw them during their initial release. Therefore, researchers must frequently turn to other sources to help fill in the blanks.

Media accounts can be a useful tool in learning both how a film was presented and how it was received. Reviews give an idea of how contemporaneous audiences might have interpreted a film, although it is important to remember that the opinions of a professional film critic may not be representative of a large portion of the audience. Other sources of media accounts, such as letters to the editor, gossip columns, and newspaper and magazine articles can similarly help researchers understand a film's reception. Also important are sources from the film industry, including advertising, press releases, and other forms of publicity; these materials can bring to light some of the preconceived notions about the film that viewers brought with them into the theaters. Finally, fan discourse forms a crucial element when attempting to reconstruct how historical audiences experienced films. Materials such as fan letters, Web sites and Internet message boards, fan fiction, and fan clubs are examples of direct interaction between spectators and films, providing researchers with concrete examples of how some fans interpreted a film's meanings. Fan materials also are evidence of the fact that reception does not end when the film does, and the creation of meaning continues after the viewer has left the theater. The use of materials from the press, the film industry, and fan culture as a means of analyzing a film's reception is not ideal, and does not give a complete picture of how audiences interacted with a particular text; however, these sources do provide an impression of how a film was received, and can therefore be valuable tools in reception studies.

A reception analysis of a film will use all of these methods to arrive at an understanding of how the audiences interpreted and understood the text. For an analysis of the reception of *The Sound of Music* (1965), for example, a researcher will start by considering the various factors that might have influenced how the film was viewed. How might individuals experience the film based on their subject positions? Would a woman interpret the character of Maria as progressive because of her strong will and outspokenness, or regressive because of her positioning as a caretaker and nurturer to others? How would the film's meaning change for different age groups, considering the inclusion of characters ranging in age from young children to senior citizens? What effect would the film's depiction of Catholicism have on viewers of various religions, or viewers who are not religious? How would the absence of racial minorities in the film affect the interpretations of spectators of diverse races? Along with questions of interpretation based on subject identity, a reception studies analysis of *The Sound of Music* would try to determine what sort of preconceived notions about the film viewers brought with them and how those notions affected their understanding of it. The fact that it is a musical would create a certain set of expectations in the minds of viewers, and people who were familiar with other works by Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein, or who had seen the stage play on which the movie is based, would have a further set of expectations for the film. Production issues could have played a part in reception; viewers who knew that leading actor Christopher Plummer's singing voice was dubbed by another actor might have interpreted the film, and especially his songs, differently than viewers who did not have that knowledge. Audiences who saw the film projected in 70 mm during its initial run, and those who have seen the film in later years on television, video, DVD, or in screenings of *Sound of Music* sing-alongs, all have had different experiences of the film that would have an effect on its reception. Social and historical factors in 1965, the year of the film's release, would also have shaped the ways in which audiences interpreted the film's messages.

Despite all of the many factors involved in a film's reception, reception theory does not claim that a film's meaning is entirely open. On the contrary, there are limits to the potential meanings and interpretations that can be attached to a film. Social, cultural, and historical factors, elements of production and exhibition, and generic conventions and expectations restrict the ways a film can be interpreted. Spectators are constructed by their environment, and this affects and ultimately limits the ways in which they are able to view and understand cinematic texts.

RECEPTION STUDIES AND CLASSICAL FILM THEORY

Reception theory is grounded in history, rather than philosophy, and as a result it is primarily concerned with

uncovering how actual spectators interact with films. This is unlike many other major film theories, which posit an idealized, ahistorical spectator who passively absorbs meanings and messages embedded in the filmic text. Most of the classical film theories developed in the 1960s and 1970s, including structuralist, auteurist, formalist, Marxist, and psychoanalytic theories, argue that the text is the site of meaning. These theories are concerned with how viewers are affected by films, but the audiences they describe are comprised of idealized, homogenous spectators who all react to films in the same way, regardless of differences in race, gender, and other identifying factors. Much of classical film theory was influenced by the work of French theorists who, beginning in the late 1960s, argued the importance of ideology in various systems of representation. According to Marxist theorist Louis Althusser, the capitalist system operates through the use of so-called repressive state apparatuses (RSAs) such as the police, government, and military, and also through ideological state apparatuses (ISAs), which include schools, the family, religion, and media systems. RSAs are public institutions and function primarily through repression and violence. ISAs, on the other hand, function through ideology and work by enticing individuals to accept subject positions which benefit the dominant classes and perpetuate capitalism. According to this theory, the mass media, as an ISA, transmits the dominant ideology to passive spectators who internalize this ideology and become cooperative members of the capitalist system.

Althusser's theory of the media as an ideological state apparatus was embraced by classical film theorists, who examine the ways that the cinema influences spectators by analyzing the cinematic texts. These theorists assume that audiences will passively receive a film's ideological messages. Social identities and individual subject positions are not considered, nor are the conditions of exhibition or the social or historical moment. A major criticism of classical theories, then, is that the spectator is ahistorical and idealized, and plays no role in the creation of a film's meaning. Reception theory rejects this classical construction of the spectator, and instead focuses on viewers in the material world, and how they have actually read and understood media texts.

Because of their interest in film as a medium for ideology, classical film theories are overwhelmingly text-activated, operating from the assumption that meaning is created in the text and that the text determines the viewer's response. An alternate theoretical viewpoint is reader-activated, which examines the features of readers and how those features affect the reading experience. While reader-activated theories account for varying interpretations among readers, however, they still tend to make generalizations about individual interactions with texts and not to contextualize the reading experience. Janet Staiger proposes a third approach, a context-activated model which looks at the historical circumstances surrounding reception to place the reader/spectator in context. Context-activated theories examine everything from the individual's subject position to the text's mode of production and the circumstances of exhibition. The sum of these events gives meaning to the viewing or reading experience (*Interpreting Films*, pp. 45–48).

Drawing from Althusser's concept of ideological state apparatuses, and using context-activated theories, British cultural studies analyzes the ways that spectators interact with texts in specific contexts to create meanings. Originating in Marxist philosophy, British cultural studies sees the media as an influential communication tool controlled by those in power; the groups who control the media control the message, thereby maintaining their dominance. Where British cultural studies differs from classical film theory is in its conception of the spectator. Because the messages conveyed by the media are complex and varied, so are the interpretations available to viewers. The audience, then, is not uniform as in classical film theory, but rather heterogeneous and capable of interpreting a text's messages in a multitude of ways based on contextual factors. British cultural studies suggests three frameworks for reading texts, based on the work of theorist Stuart Hall: a dominant, or preferred reading accepts completely the ideology of the text, while an oppositional reading absolutely opposes the ideology involved; a third type, negotiated reading, both accepts and opposes parts of a text's ideology in order to suit the specific needs of the individual (pp. 136–137). These frameworks have proven useful for reception studies as a means of theorizing the wide variety of interpretations and meanings that viewers take from texts. Both British cultural studies and reception theory agree that the spectator's interaction with the text is complex, and that, unlike the passive, idealized spectator found in classical film theory, viewers can and do question and oppose the ideology presented to them by media institutions.

The framework of dominant, negotiated, and oppositional readings is not without problems, however. Because viewers can hold multiple positions towards a film text at once, most every reading becomes negotiated; in fact, the tripartite framework has since been replaced by a continuum ranging from dominant to oppositional. Furthermore, British cultural studies assume that oppositional readings are automatically progressive, and that dominant readings are regressive. However, if the ideology embedded in the text is itself progressive to begin with, then a dominant reading may be the preferred reading. Finally, Staiger offers criticisms of two fundamental assumptions of British cultural studies: first, that

all media texts reproduce the dominant ideology, and second, that readers fit neatly within socioeconomic categories (1992, pp. 73–74).

Part of the reluctance on the part of film theorists to turn to reception studies is based in the historical uses of audience analysis. Beginning in the early twentieth century, research on how films were being interpreted by audiences was used to advocate censorship. Reformers worried that spectators, especially children, were negatively influenced by what they saw onscreen, and they fought to ensure that the messages in films would be "appropriate," in their view, for impressionable viewers. Later, the film studios turned to audience research in the form of demographic information to learn how to market their films. But although the use of reception analysis for the purposes of censorship and marketing has contributed to film theorists' distrust of reception theory, reception theory has recently gained acceptance and is now acknowledged to be an important method of analyzing how audiences experience and interpret films.

SEE ALSO *Exhibition; Film Studies; Fans and Fandom; Ideology; Spectatorship and Audiences*

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RELIGION

Traditionally, "religion" has been synonymous with "spirituality." The increasing divergence between the two terms, however—particularly within highly secularized Western cultures, where the former indicates denominational affiliation, the latter an often unchurched seeking—raises the question whether there is now a contrast between religious films and ones of spirituality. If the religious film usually promotes adherence to a single institutionalized faith, the film of spirituality may well tap various—sometimes incompatible—belief systems, respecting all but refusing to grant primacy to any one. Thus Andrei Tarkovsky's (1932–1986) career-end summa, *Offret* (*The Sacrifice*, 1986), splices Japanese and Christian beliefs into an ecumenical spirituality to match the coupling of yin and yang on the kimono of its protagonist, Alexander, who beseeches God to save the world from nuclear annihilation. Different belief systems—primarily Christian and Buddhist—are also fused in the more mainstream *The Matrix* (1999). The supernatural, meanwhile, an apparently cognate category, is usually less productive of spirituality than of audience *frissons*, as in the ghost film.

The possibility that a cinema of religion once prevailed and then declined presents itself most forcibly in the case of American film, whose deference towards religion sinks palpably as the desired national audience comprises fewer and fewer WASPS (white Anglo-Saxon Protestants). Among American directors, a deeply personal approach to religious themes has been rare, and is strongest in Martin Scorsese (b. 1942), whose Catholic background may be of relevance. In *Mean Streets* (1973), Charlie holds his hand above a candle, imagining hell, and the possibility that his sexual habits may take him there is underlined by the cut from its flame to the orange-lit bar where he prances with a near-naked dancer. The perils of the flesh recur in the controversial *Last Temptation of Christ* (1988)—that temptation being the recurrent one for cinematic priests: love of a woman. The later *Kundun* (1997), however, shows religion free of the earlier lures and passions. Scorsese is a rare exception to the rule whereby American cinema subordinates religiosity to its governing system of genre, as when it uses priests in token fashion as avuncular light relief (in countless films) or an embodiment of the main protagonist's conscience, as in *On the Waterfront* (1954).

THE "RELIGIOUS FILM": A GENRE?

The genre system has often been described as founded upon standardization. Variation may recommend a new product, but the deviation from the norm must not be so great as to make spectators feel cheated. Should this happen in a religious film, they may well not only walk out but accuse the filmmakers of the severest infraction—blasphemy. The religious film could thus be the least elastic of genres.

Whereas other genres can be seen as emerging and declining, hybridizing with others to prolong their lives, the religious film is unusually stable. Its sole durable combinations have been with two genres of which it is highly compatible, and it has surely been affected by their demises: silent melodrama and the historical epic. This fusion means that the Good-Evil distinction of silent melodrama differs from that of later melodrama in being mapped directly onto the maxims of Christianity, not just the vague, instinctual feeling that certain things are right and others wrong, which is prevalent in subsequent

Willem Dafoe as Jesus in **The Last Temptation of Christ** *(Martin Scorsese, 1988).* © UNIVERSAL PICTURES/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

decades. The demise of this earlier melodrama is rooted in its limitation of the audience to adherents of Christianity—a liability as society becomes more diverse, multicultural, and skeptical—and in the disappearance of silent cinema itself.

The second genre cross-pollinated with the religious film is the historical epic. Silent cinema is often both melodrama and epic, as in the films of D. W. Griffith (1875–1948), particularly *The Birth of a Nation* (1915) and *Intolerance* (1916). As melodrama loses its explicit link to Christianity, however, the epic remains the religious film's lone partner in a pact to lure audiences by combining the visual impressiveness of the legendary "cast of thousands" with the authority of the text to be illustrated. The enormous crowds can become a material form of the sublimity invoked by the text, suggesting religion's world-conquering power. Such is the case in the great Hollywood biblical epics of the 1950s and early 1960s, such as *The Robe* (1953), *The Ten Commandments* (1956), *Ben-Hur* (1959), *King of Kings* (1961), and *The Greatest Story Ever Told* (1965). The epic and the religious film may be potentially strange bedfellows, however, as the epic fascination by excess is often charged with threatening religious morality with prurient hypocrisy. Hollywood and the religious film are also potentially incompatible in a culture of celebrity, it being arguable that religious films should not cast actors with "star quality" but rather figures with sufficient presence, dignity, and credibility to represent (not eclipse) the "real stars," their sacred prototypes. Pier Paolo Pasolini's (1922–1975) *Il Vangelo secondo Matteo* (*The Gospel According to St. Matthew*, 1964) is a particularly widely praised example of effective nonstar casting.

As the new site of epic experience became the science fiction film, its implicit spectator became less the adult member of a single faith community than the child animated by a generalized sense of wonder: Stanley Kubrick's *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968) was the first film of a spirituality popularized still further by Steven Spielberg's *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* (1977) and George Lucas's *Star Wars* (1977). No wonder that a British census saw some householders give Jedi as their religion. As the 1960s saw the heavily touted dawning of a supposed Age of Aquarius and the Western rise of less traditional forms of religion, Hollywood abandoned the "religious film" for horror films showering frissons upon unchurched youth, the new primary audience, as in *Rosemary's Baby* (1968) and *The Exorcist* (1973). In Kevin Smith's *Dogma* (1999), which clearly identifies with two rebel angels striving to reenter heaven through a loophole, countercultural and youth culture urges validate rebellion. Similarly, other films may deem religion crazed, maligned, and even abusively authoritarian (e.g., *Carrie* [1976], *Lawnmower Man* [1992]). "Religious film" persists in its strong form only in certain Catholic or neo-Catholic directors who are mostly Italian (Franco Zeffirelli [b. 1923], Ermanno Olmi [b. 1931]): after all, no sounding of Italian society can ignore the pervasive influence of Roman Catholicism. The 1960s upheaval in the genre system may virtually bury its once most solid, predictable element: the religious film.

CINEMA, MODERNITY, AND RELIGION

If cinema issues from Western societies driven by modernity, can it ever be anything other than an object of suspicion for believers, particularly those of non-Western societies whose norms and jurisprudence invoke religious texts, aspiring to theocracy rather than democracy? One reply (from one group—the Christian one—in one part of the world—the moneyed West) may be that cinema is a powerful evangelical tool. Accept the idea that God is representable—one reading of the Christian belief that God condescended to represent himself in a man, Jesus the Christ, though fears of blasphemy may cause indirection in representing him—and cinema becomes a potential medium for fulfilling the "Great Commission" of Matthew 28:19–20 by disseminating the Good News. The films that do so will probably not be the ones acclaimed in Western multiplexes; rather, they will be produced by particular faith groups rather than big studios, and be watched as one-off events in tents—as the the very first Western films were. Their effectiveness may not be overwhelming—many Muslims will leave a film of Christ's life before the Resurrection, as they see the Crucifixion as the end of the story, and Jesus as merely a man—but the visual message can draw the world's unlettered masses as the stained glass of medieval cathedrals had done. Strict followers of Islam and Orthodox Judaism, who reject the possibility of figurative religious representation, will reject film too, as did the Taliban in Afghanistan. In practice, though, Islamists' views on cinema have not always been so theologically grounded: clerics may have burned cinemas to protest their supposed corruption of the Iranian populace under the shah, but once in power the Ayatollah Khomeini (1900–1989) incorporated film into a program of promoting "Islamic culture." In this moralistic program, *Star Wars* and *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* were acceptable imports, despite their origins in the corrupt West.

In recent years, the issue of cinema's capacity to convert has been raised most forcibly by Mel Gibson's *The Passion of the Christ* (2004). Despite its association with Gibson, it is no typical Hollywood blockbuster production: during shooting, the industry was skeptical of a film in Aramaic, an apparently eccentric star folly. This deeply personal project by a believing Catholic

KRZYSZTOF KIEŚLOWSKI

b. Warsaw, Poland, 27 June 1941, d. 13 March 1996

Although Krzysztof Kieślowski began his career as a documentarist, subsequently becoming a leading figure in the pre-Solidarity ferment of Poland's Cinema of Moral Anxiety, in the 1980s his work took a turn toward the philosophical, then the ethico-metaphysical, that yielded dramatizations of religious and spiritual issues of a seriousness rivalled in recent decades only by the films of Andrei Tarkovsky. This spiritual-metaphysical turn is often linked to Kieślowski's first collaboration with Krzysztof Piesiewicz, a Catholic lawyer, in 1985's *No End*, but a philosophical and metaphysical concern with chance and destiny also pervades Kieślowski's *Przypadek* (*Blind Chance*, 1987).

The collaboration with Piesiewicz on *Dekalog* (*The Decalogue*, 1989) marks an intensification of Kieślowski's investigation of religious, ethical, and metaphysical issues. *The Decalogue* comprises ten fifty-odd minute films, each loosely tied to one of the Ten Commandments, each lodging an enigmatic witness—termed an angel by some critics—in the margins of the various stories about the inhabitants of a single housing block. With the exception of "Dekalog 1," which relentlessly tracks the implications of "thou shalt have no other gods before me," the witness in each story is the series' main link to a transcendence whose purposes are unclear. In "Dekalog 1" the dialogue of faith and unbelief pursued by many religious films shapes the difference between the rationalist character Krzysztof and his Catholic sister Irena. Consulting the meteorological office, Krzysztof calculates that a nearby frozen mini-lake is safe for his son Paweł to skate. He is proved cruelly and inexplicably wrong, and the disaster of Paweł's drowning suggests the intervention of unknown forces (a computer that behaves strangely? the witness encamped by the lake? a punitive God?). The film ends with Krzysztof overturning a row of candles before an image of the Madonna in a partly completed church: like many people crying out to God or gods, he finds suffering incomprehensible. Later parts of *The Decalogue* are more ethical than spiritual, though the presence of the witness supplies a continual undertone of the metaphysical.

Metaphysical enigma pervades *La Double vie de Véronique* (*The Double Life of Véronique*, 1991), about two identical girls who live, separately, in Poland and France, and experience different fates. The film leaves provocatively open the question of whether any wider order frames their stories and might render them comprehensible. Similarly mysterious is the status of the judge in *Trois couleurs: Rouge* (*Three Colours: Red*, 1994), who is godlike, and may be God incognito, being apparently able to steer the chance encounters of a young girl (Valentine) towards a prospective lover, Auguste. Issues of theodicy loom large, however, as Valentine meets Auguste through a ferry-sinking that drowns hundreds: divine election appears to be distinctly capricious. But *Red* is no Buñuelian, simply blasphemous indictment of the divine, for the events remain mysterious. Kieślowski's sensitivity to suffering and his desire to pose questions rather than offer answers—particularly not pat ones—resonate with the Western spirituality of recent times.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Przpadek (Blind Chance, 1987), *Bez Końca* (*No End*, 1985), *Dekalog* (*The Decalogue,* 1989), *La Double vie de Véronique* (*The Double Life of Véronique,* 1991), *Trois couleurs: Bleu* (*Three Colours: Blue*, 1993), *Trois couleurs: Blanc* (*Three Colours: White, 1994*), *Trois couleurs: Rouge* (*Three Colours: Red, 1994)*

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Paul Coates

Krzysztof Kieślowski directing* Trois couleurs: Bleu *(*Three colours: Blue*, 1993). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

emphasizes both the nails driven through the hand of Jesus and the sword the gospels said would pierce the heart of his mother, and is shaped by Mary's agonized following of her son's Passion. Industry astonishment at its box-office success indicates the distance between contemporary Hollywood and the 1950s era of the biblical epic. While some objected to its violence, it could be deemed an inevitable part of a realistic account of the brutal arrest, trial, and crucifixion of Jesus Christ, though some of the indignities visited upon his body do indeed lack scriptural warrant (as when the cross to which he has been nailed falls forward, crushing his body excruciatingly). Gibson cinematizes and elaborates upon the Stations of the Cross, whose medieval and Renaissance iconography he echoes at points. Many Christians found it a powerful, conscience-shaking reminder of the intensity of Jesus's suffering for the sins of the world, and Pope John Paul II reportedly averred after a viewing "it is all true." If any have been converted by the film, it has been as individuals within the ticket-buying public for a commercially released work, not as members of the communities assembled for a free screening where that kind of film evangelizes the non-Christian world, Gibson's evangelizes one sometimes seen as "post-Christian."

Insofar as cinema enters non-Western societies, it does so initially as a foreign body. Local religious hierarchies' fears of a possible Trojan horse can be soothed by pointing to such phenomena as the Indian mythological films that flesh out divine exploits for communities watching in an awed hush. The Indian mythological films are for local consumption, however, and aesthetic cogency is not their primary aim. Critical films—such as Satyajit Ray's *Devi* (1960), where a man's idolatry of his daughter-in-law extends into viewing her as the incarnation of the Goddess—are viewed more widely, through an international festival and art-cinema network. Their primary allegiance is not to any faith, but to the aesthetic. One result may be a cinema with a complexion like that of the New Iranian cinema, which arguably becomes enigmatic and allegorical by omitting almost completely one of the primary motivations of many Iranians—religion—to address which might endanger both film and filmmaker.

Conflicts between religious (traditional) and secular (modern) orders pervade many of the most significant films on religious topics. Religion becomes the venal ally of the czarist authorities in a Soviet film like Eisenstein's *Battleship Potemkin* (1925). The secular-religious conflict animates the disagreements between believing knight and skeptical squire in the plague-ridden medieval world of Ingmar Bergman's (b. 1918) *Det Sjunde inseglet* (*The Seventh Seal*, 1957), and continues—internalized—in the heart of a doubting pastor in his *Nattvardsgästerna* (*Winter Light*, 1963), the most explicitly religious film in his trilogy about "the silence of God." A similar contrast runs between father and son in *Devi*: the absence in Calcutta of the skeptical son Umaprasad frees his believing father to cast his daughter-in-law as an incarnation of the goddess Durga. Such strong contrasts make for powerful dramas that are most intense when most unresolved and mysterious. Lars von Trier's dissolution of the mystery at the end of his *Breaking the Waves* (1996), by way of contrast, may enact a Kierkegaardian leap from the aesthetic to the religious: heavenly bells toll for Bess, who had prostituted herself for her husband and feared that the accident that sent him home may have been God's cruel answer to her selfish prayer not to be parted from him; despite appearances, and the condemnation of a sectarian church, she was a saint. A similar leap marks the end of another Danish film, Carl Dreyer's (1889–1968) *Ordet* (*The Word*, 1955), where one character—Inge—is resurrected. Meanwhile, modernity mocks religion relentlessly in *Viridiana* (1961), *Simón del desierto* (*Simon of the Desert*, 1965), and *La Voie lactée* (*The Milky Way*, 1969), all by the Spanish surrealist Luis Buñuel (1900–1983), which view saintliness as a ludicrously inadequate response to inveterate social problems.

Trois couleurs Bleu, (Three Colours: Blue, ***1993), the first part of Krzysztof Kieślowski's*** **Trois couleurs** ***trilogy, deals with spiritual withdrawal from the world.*** EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Despite various attempts to define what Paul Schrader has called a "transcendental style" of cinema, believers may be skeptical of conflations of the aesthetic and the religious. Conventions of seeing are arguably more important than any particular stylistic strategy: believers will see the transcendent in any pious retelling of biblical events or the lives of the saints, however kitschy, while evocations of an uncategorized ontological strangeness presuppose unchurched spectators. The formal strategies usually termed "transcendental" are deviations from norms. Schrader describes them quasi-religiously, as stylistic "asceticism," and finds them exemplified in the works of Carl Dreyer and Robert Bresson (1901–1999) in particular. Others might see them as "modernist" rather than "religious": leaving characters on one side of the image to rediscover them mysteriously present on the other—a perceptual dislocation in the Schrader/Scorsese *Taxi Driver* (1976)—becomes "transcendental" only when married to explicitly mystical content, as in Tarkovsky's *Nostalghia* (*Nostalgia*, 1983). For the theologian Amédée Ayfre, religious form and content meet in a focus upon the face, the location of the eyes so often termed windows of the soul. Such a spiritually limned cinema of the face is found in, for instance, Kieślowski, Bergman, the Dreyer of *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc* (*The Passion of Joan of Arc*, 1928), and the Larisa Shepitko of *Voskhozhdeniye* (*Ascent*, 1976). It avoids mainstream cinema's dissection of a (usually female) body into fetishized parts. Its aim is *agape*, not eros. Meanwhile, the work of Tarkovsky—especially *Stalker* (1979)—often evokes a spirituality of desolation—what St. John of the Cross called "the dark night of the soul"—by averting the head to show only its back, while the focus upon hands and feet in the late films of Bresson may reinforce a general absence of signifiers of the divine. Bresson's nonprofessional actors themselves are framed not as revelations, as in Italian neorealism, but as ciphers. The result has been seen

as verging upon nihilism, as in *L'Argent* (*Money*, 1983), whose reworking of a Tolstoy story omits the original's charting of the positive contagion of the Gospel in its second half.

RELIGIOUS FILM AND GENDER

Whereas many post-1960s religious films focus upon priests racked by internal spiritual torment, the female religious path seems often to run through physical victimization and to end in sainthood (see, for example, *Breaking the Waves*). This itinerary is central to Dreyer's *Passion of Joan of Arc*, and Joan has interested many filmmakers, particularly French ones, such as Bresson, Jacques Rivette, and Luc Besson. The leading French director of the *nouvelle vague*, Jean-Luc Godard (b. 1930), has addressed religion in *"Je vous salue, Marie"* (*Hail Mary*, 1985) and *Hélas pour moi* (*Woe Is Me*, 1993), which link Christian and classical mythological themes to the interest in relationships between older men and younger women found in some of his nonreligious films of the same period. Godard questions the adequacy both of representation in general and of the representation of the divine in particular.

The majority of films about life within the single-sex religious orders are drawn—as cinema is so often—to the female order, in this case the convent, which, even at its best, becomes a place from which to escape into "real life": *The Sound of Music* (1965) is the most widely disseminated instance. Mainstream cinema's polarization of female images—between adoration and demonization, "the mother and the whore"—is reproduced in convent films, whose nun is either angelic, fun-loving and/or musical, or vaguely sinister and possibly deranged. From Michael Powell's *Black Narcissus* (1947), whose color stresses the earth-moving status of lipstick applied to a nun's lips, to Jerzy Kawalerowicz's austerely formalized *Matka Joanna od aniolów* (*Mother Joanna of the Angels*, 1961) and Ken Russell's flamboyant *The Devils* (1971), various films see female celibacy as catalyzing breakdowns far more spectacular than priestly ones. It is thus intriguing to note that one of the most restrained and credible versions of a priest thus tormented should have been the work of a woman, *The Third Miracle* (1999), by Agnieszka Holland.

POSTSCRIPT: RELIGION, FILM, AND THE VATICAN

It may be valuable in the end to consider the opinions of an institution more powerful than this encyclopedia, more authoritative than this author: the Roman Catholic Church. Popular perceptions of the interrelationship of art and religion often focus upon the bans and boycotts instigated by organizations such as the Catholic League of Decency and highlighted by media that feed on the spectacle of protest and the identification of religion with "Thou shalt nots." The Vatican can commend as well as forbid, however. In 1995, to mark the centenary of cinema, it listed forty-five "Best Films" in three categories: "Religion," "Values," and "Art." The religious films were heterogeneous, ranging from Hollywood epics to films by Tarkovsky, though—as might be expected—Jesus and the saints comprise almost half of the main protagonists. Only Tarkovsky and Dreyer appeared twice in the "Religion" section; Bergman was restricted to the "Values" section, with *The Seventh Seal* (1957) and *Smultronstället* (*Wild Strawberries*, 1957). The full list of religious films is: *Andrey Rublyov* (*Andrei Rublev*, 1969), *Babettes gæstebud* (*Babette's Feast*, 1987), *Ben-Hur* (1959), *Francesco, giullare di Dio* (*The Flowers of St. Francis*, 1950), *Francesco* (1989), *The Gospel According to St. Matthew* (1964), *La Passion de Notre-Seigneur Jésus Christ* (*Life and Passion of Christ*, 1905), *A Man for All Seasons* (1966), *The Mission* (1986), *Monsieur Vincent* (1947), *Nazarin* (1959), *The Word* (1955), *The Passion of Joan of Arc* (1928), *The Sacrifice* (1986), and *Thérèse* (1986). The list can be accessed, with comments, at www.nccbuscc.org/fb/vaticanfilms.htm. It may be significant that only three of these are set in the twentieth century (one only just: *Nazarin*, in 1905), reflecting the often embattled status of religion within the modernity of which cinema is a prime mediator.

SEE ALSO *Epic Films; Historical Films*

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Paul Coates

RKO RADIO PICTURES

The history of RKO (aka Radio-Keith-Orpheum, aka RKO Radio Pictures) is utterly unique among the Hollywood studios, particularly the Big Five integrated majors. It was the last of the major studios to be created and the first (and only) studio to expire, with its corporate lifespan bracketed and defined by two epochal events, the coming of sound and the coming of television—events that circumscribed not only RKO's history but classical Hollywood's as well. Moreover, because it was created in October 1928, one year before the stock market crash that preceded the Depression, RKO was plagued by economic hardships early on, including bankruptcy in the early 1930s, from which it never fully recovered. Thus the studio lacked the resources, the stable production operations, and the consistent management and business practices that characterized the other majors. As RKO historian Richard Jewell writes: "RKO existed in a perpetual state of transition: from one regime to another, from one set of production policies to the next, from one group of filmmakers to an altogether different group. Being a less stable studio that its famous competitors, the company never 'settled down,' never discovered its real identity" (Jewell, p. 10).

This instability proved to be a mixed blessing, as RKO was rocked by a succession of financial and organizational crises yet took truly courageous risks and produced a number of historic films and canonized classics including *King Kong* (1933), *Bringing Up Baby* (1938), *Citizen Kane* (1941), and *The Best Years of Our Lives* (1946). RKO's financial distress sorely limited its pool of contract filmmaking talent, but it led to innovative and productive alliances with independent producers like Walt Disney (1901–1966) and Sam Goldwyn (1881–1974), freelance directors like John Ford (1894–1973) and George Stevens (1904–1975), and top stars like Cary Grant (1904–1986), Carole Lombard (1908–1942), and Irene Dunne (1898–1990). And although RKO lacked the corporate stability and creative identity necessary to establish a distinctive house style, it did create a number of "signature" film cycles and series, including a Depression-era run of Fred Astaire-Ginger Rogers musicals, a wartime cycle of low-budget horror films, and a succession of film noir thrillers throughout the 1940s.

RKO also saw an astounding turnover in the executive ranks, which was another key factor in its failure to develop a "real identity." Here the talent proved remarkably uneven, ranging from David Selznick (1902–1965), who briefly ran the studio in the early 1930s, to the monomaniacal Howard Hughes (1905–1976), who purchased the company in 1948 and instigated its decade-long demise. From the moment he took control of RKO, Hughes made one disastrous business decision after another, and in 1955 he sold off the studio's assets—both its films and its production facilities—to the burgeoning television industry. Despite a troubled, turbulent history that led to its eventual collapse, however, and despite being the only major studio in Hollywood's history to cease production-distribution operations altogether, RKO's legacy survives in its films, available to new audiences on cable movie channels and DVD reissues, and also in the sporadic efforts to exploit the enduring value of its "brand" and the remake rights to its classic films.

THE FORMATION AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF RKO

Legend has it that RKO was created in a 1928 meeting between RCA president David Sarnoff (1891–1971) and Boston financier Joseph Kennedy (father of JFK) in the Oyster Bar in New York's Grand Central Station. While the meeting itself may have been apocryphal, Sarnoff and Kennedy did in fact control the elements that would merge to create RKO. Most of those elements had been in place for years, dating back to a 1921 alliance between Robertson-Cole, a British import-export firm, and a minor US distributor, Exhibitors Mutual, which launched a modest Hollywood production operation on a 13.5-acre site at the corner of Gower and Melrose. The company was reorganized in 1922 as the Film Booking Offices of America (FBO), and functioned primarily as a distributor of European and independent American films, along with the company's own output of decidedly second-rate genre pictures. FBO was bought in 1926 by Kennedy, who had little impact on operations beyond the installation, a year later, of William LeBaron (1883–1958) as studio chief.

Meanwhile, Sarnoff was looking for an entry into the movie business to demonstrate RCA's new "optical" (sound-on-film) system, Photophone, as an alternative to Western Electric's dominant sound-on-disk system. In early 1928, as Warner Bros.' *The Jazz Singer* (1927) ignited the "talkie boom," Sarnoff acquired substantial interest in FBO and, with Kennedy, began shopping for a theater chain. They finally settled on the Keith-Albee-Orpheum (K-A-O) circuit of some 700 vaudeville houses. The legendary Oyster Bar meeting in late 1928 purportedly closed the K-A-O deal, with RCA controlling the $300 million company—dubbed Radio-Keith-Orpheum—and Sarnoff taking command as board chairman.

Sarnoff installed a management team including former FBO executive Joseph I. Schnitzer (1887–1944) as president, B. B. Kahane as secretary-treasurer, and William LeBaron as production head. Schnitzer immediately signaled RKO's presence as a major studio power by paying hefty sums for the screen rights to several major Broadway hits, most notably the Florence Ziegfeld musical *Rio Rita*, which quickly went into production at the Gower Street facility and was released in September 1929, giving RKO its first hit. The Wall Street crash a few weeks later scarcely dimmed Sarnoff's hopes or undercut his effort to develop RKO-Radio and RCA's other media subsidiary, NBC (then a radio network, although television was in serious development as well), into America's first entertainment conglomerate. Sarnoff also expanded RKO's physical capabilities with the purchase in 1929 of a "ranch" in the San Fernando Valley for exterior sets and locations, and the 1930 acquisition of the US holdings of the French film giant Pathé, including production facilities, contract talent, a newsreel division, and an international distribution network.

These added resources became a serious burden when the Depression finally hit in 1931, as were RKO's inefficient production operations and its theater chain (roughly 160 of which were wholly owned, making RKO responsible for the entire mortgage and debt service). In an effort to enhance efficiency as well as the quality and consistency of the studio's output, Sarnoff aggressively pursued young David Selznick, the son of an industry pioneer who already, at age twenty-nine, had extensive experience as a production executive at both MGM and Paramount. Sarnoff hired Selznick in October 1931 as RKO's vice president in charge of production, and the results were swift and significant. Selznick consolidated production at RKO-Radio (the main studio at 780 Gower Street) and cut production costs substantially. He hired Merian C. Cooper (1893–1973) and Pandro S. (Pan) Berman (1905–1996) as his executive assistants, planning to give them their own production units, and he also recruited top filmmaking talent like director George Cukor (1899–1983) and ingénue Katharine Hepburn (1907–2003). Selznick's own tastes were evident as well, particularly in several "woman's pictures" and high-class adaptations that were resisted by the New York office but emerged as solid commercial hits. These included two Cukor-directed films in 1932, *What Price Hollywood?* and *A Bill of Divorcement*, the latter costarring John Barrymore (1882–1942) and Hepburn in her screen debut. Hepburn was top-billed in the Cukor-directed *Little Women* (1933), which secured her stardom.

Despite this success, Selznick's executive prowess was severely compromised when an executive shake-up at RCA in 1932 put NBC president Merlin ("Deac") Aylesworth in the chief executive role at RKO-Radio (parent company of RKO Pictures). Aylesworth tried to run the movie studio as well as the radio network, which led to increasing conflicts with Selznick, who left to supervise his own production unit at MGM in early 1933—only weeks before RKO fell into receivership (i.e., bankruptcy). Although it would take the studio nearly a decade to climb out of receivership—versus Fox, Paramount, and Universal, all of which recovered from bankruptcy in far less time—RKO continued to produce and release pictures, enjoying considerable success in the mid-1930s, due largely to decisions made by the outgoing Selznick. One was the approval and ongoing support of Cooper's pet project, *King Kong* (1933), which he coproduced, coscripted, and codirected with Ernest B. Schoedsack (1893–1979). *King Kong* was released some two months after Selznick's departure (he is credited as executive producer) and was a major critical and commercial success. Selznick also

approved a screen test for Fred Astaire (1899–1987), which led to an RKO contract and a supporting role in a late-1933 release, *Flying Down to Rio*, in which he and Ginger Rogers (1911–1995) first teamed in a musical number.

Selznick also left behind two well-trained executives in Cooper and Pan Berman, each of whom served briefly as studio production head from 1933 to 1934. Cooper left to launch Pioneer Pictures and Berman soon returned to the producer ranks, where his main responsibility was the Astaire-Rogers musicals that were so vital to RKO's Depression-era fortunes. These included *The Gay Divorcee* in 1934, *Roberta* and *Top Hat* in 1935, *Follow the Fleet* and *Swing Time* in 1936, *Shall We Dance* in 1937, *Carefree* in 1938, and *The Story of Vernon and Irene Castle* in 1939. Five of the eight films were directed by Mark Sandrich (1900–1945), who along with Berman was the chief architect of a cycle that deftly blended the dance musical and romantic comedy genres, exploiting the two stars' considerable versatility as actors and musical performers. While the Astaire-Rogers films gave RKO a signature star-genre formula and reliable box-office commodity, the rest of its output was wildly eclectic and generally inconsistent. Berman supervised most of the studio's A-class productions, many of them directed by freelance filmmakers in short-term or nonexclusive deals—as with John Ford's *The Informer* (1935), a surprise hit that won its director an Oscar®, and Howard Hawks's (1896–1977) *Bringing Up Baby* (1938), the screwball comedy classic with Grant and Hepburn that was a major critical and box-office disappointment on its initial release.

The unevenness of RKO's output was due in large part to the rapid turnover of top executives and frequent shifts in ownership and control, as a half-dozen chief executives passed through the front office between 1933 and 1938. A crucial change in ownership occurred in 1935, when Floyd Odlum's Atlas Corporation purchased half interest in RKO from RCA. Despite RCA's diminished ownership, its association with broadcasting—and especially television, then in an active experimental mode—did attract major independent producer Walt Disney, who left United Artists (UA) in 1936 for a distribution deal with RKO. The war would postpone television's arrival for another decade, but the Disney deal did give RKO its biggest hit of the era, *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*, a late 1937 release that was Disney's first feature-length animated film and Hollywood's biggest box-office hit of the decade.

REWORKING THE UA MODEL

The success of Disney's *Snow White* was a harbinger of major changes in RKO's production policies and market strategy, which coalesced after the arrival of George Schaefer (1888–1981) as RKO president in late 1938. Schaefer was a former top executive at United Artists who was hired to adapt the UA model—i.e., the financing and distribution of independently produced A-class pictures—to RKO's resources. Schaefer took complete control of the studio, displacing Pan Berman, who had returned for a second stint as production chief and had provided the only real consistency in terms of management and creative vision at the studio since its founding. Berman clashed with Schaefer and soon accepted a position at MGM, although he did finish off the 1939 campaign, which was typically eclectic and also the strongest in studio history. RKO's 1939 slate included *Gunga Din*, a Kipling-inspired adventure fantasy directed by George Stevens and starring Cary Grant, Douglas Fairbanks, Jr. (1909–2000), and Victor McLaglen (1883–1959); *Love Affair*, a romantic drama starring Irene Dunne (1898–1990) and Charles Boyer (1899–1978) that was written, produced, and directed by Leo McCarey; *The Story of Vernon and Irene Castle*, a musical biopic and the last of RKO's Astaire-Rogers teamings, directed by H. C. Potter (1904–1977); *Bachelor Mother*, a surprise comedy hit starring Ginger Rogers and directed by newcomer Garson Kanin (1912–1999); and *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*, an adaptation of Victor Hugo's novel starring Charles Laughton (1899–1962) and directed by William Dieterle (1893–1972).

Schaefer, meanwhile, signed or extended a wide range of independent deals with filmmakers like Hawks and McCarey and top stars like Grant and Dunne. In fact, by 1940 Ginger Rogers was the only major star under exclusive contract at RKO; then, after an Oscar®-winning performance in *Kitty Foyle* (1940), Rogers was awarded a limited, nonexclusive pact in 1941. Schaefer signed a distribution deal with Sam Goldwyn that year which was similar to Disney's in that Goldwyn had his own studio and line of credit, allowing him to independently finance and produce, with RKO providing distribution. Disney and Goldwyn supplied many of RKO's "prestige" releases and top star vehicles in the early 1940s, including Disney's *Pinocchio* (1940), *Dumbo* (1941), *Fantasia*, and *Bambi* (both 1942); and Goldwyn's *The Little Foxes* (1941), a quintessential Bette Davis (1908–1989) melodrama directed by William Wyler (1902–1981); *Ball of Fire* (1941), a Hawks-directed screwball comedy starring Gary Cooper (1901–1961) and Barbara Stanwyck; and *The Pride of the Yankees* (1942), a biopic starring Cooper as Babe Ruth, directed by Sam Wood (1883–1949). Schaefer also signed a two-picture deal in 1940 with David Selznick for Alfred Hitchcock's (1899–1980) services, resulting in an ill-advised romantic comedy *Mr. and Mrs. Smith* (1941), as well as a solid hit—and a return to directorial

ORSON WELLES

b. George Orson Welles, Kenosha, Wisconsin, 6 May 6 1915, d. 10 October 1985

Orson Welles remains one of Hollywood's most legendary and paradoxical figures, thanks to his role in creating *Citizen Kane* (1941), widely regarded as Hollywood's signal achievement, and his continual battle with the studio system. Welles's historic entry into Hollywood was the result of both his own precocious talent and the particular industry conditions at the time.

Born to a well-to-do Midwestern family, Welles was a gifted child who developed early interests in theater and the arts, traveled extensively, and made his acting debut on Broadway and on radio by age twenty. He teamed with John Houseman to form the Mercury Theatre stage company in 1937, and landed his own CBS radio drama series a year later. A radio adaptation of H. G. Wells's *The War of the Worlds* on Halloween night in 1938 caused a national sensation and caught the attention of Hollywood—and particularly George Schaefer, who was looking for new talent to bolster RKO's output of A-class features as the United States pulled out of the Depression.

In July 1939, Schaefer signed Welles to an unprecedented two-year, two-picture contract as producer-director-writer-actor. Welles reserved complete control over all aspects of his productions, including "final cut," as long as he remained within the studio-approved schedule and budget. This historic pact generated considerable resentment in Hollywood but fundamentally transformed the individual authority, creative control, and trademark status of top filmmaking talent. Welles maintained artistic control over *Kane*, but the controversy surrounding its release and its modest box-office performance, along with Schaefer's own diminishing authority at RKO, caused Welles to lose control of his next project, an adaptation of Booth Tarkington's 1918 novel *The Magnificent Ambersons*. Welles was cutting *Ambersons* in December 1941 when the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7 dramatically changed the fate of both Welles and his production. At the behest of Nelson Rockefeller and in support of the wartime Good Neighbor Policy with Latin America, Welles set off to South America to work on "It's All True," an experimental amalgam of fiction and documentary that was destined to remain unfinished. Meanwhile, the RKO brass deemed *Ambersons* too long and too downbeat, and instructed editor Robert Wise to drastically cut the picture and to reshoot the somber ending, replacing it with a more upbeat resolution.

Thus ended Welles's relationship with RKO—and began a mutual love-hate relationship between Welles and the Hollywood studio powers that would persist for decades, eventually recasting the role of the victimized auteur in truly mythic proportions. Although he would have a successful career as an actor, most of Welles's subsequent films were compromised by inadequate funding, including those made outside of Hollywood.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

As Actor: *The Third Man* (1949); As Actor and Director: *Citizen Kane* (1941), *The Lady from Shanghai* (1947), *Mr. Arkadin* (1955), *Touch of Evil* (1958), *Campanadas a medianoche* (*Chimes at Midnight*, 1966); As Director: *The Magnificent Ambersons* (1942)

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form—with the psychological thriller, *Suspicion* (1941), starring Cary Grant and Joan Fontaine (b. 1917) in an Oscar®-winning role.

Schaefer's most radical and significant independent deal involved Orson Welles (1915–1985), who was signed in July 1939 to a two-year contract that called for the twenty-four-year-old stage and radio prodigy (and Hollywood neophyte) to produce, write, direct, and act in two motion pictures. The deal included sizable salaries for Welles and his Mercury Theatre stage company, and also gave Welles profit participation and "final cut" on each film as long as he stayed within the allotted schedule

Orson Welles as Harry Lime in* The Third Man *(Carol Reed, 1949). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

and budget. After two false starts, including an adaptation of Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* that RKO nixed due to costs, Welles eventually teamed with screenwriting veteran Herman J. Mankiewicz (1897–1953) on a thinly veiled biopic of newspaper tycoon (and Hollywood producer) William Randolph Hearst (1863–1951). The result, of course, was *Citizen Kane*, certainly the most important film in RKO's history—and perhaps in Hollywood's as well. Welles followed with an adaptation of Booth Tarkington's novel, *The Magnificent Ambersons*, which was being edited by Welles and Robert Wise (1914–2005) in December 1941, when the US entry into World War II took Welles to South America for a documentary project. Meanwhile, Wise was instructed to cut the over-long (and by then well over-budget) *Ambersons* and to create a new upbeat ending that was distinctly at odds with Welles's vision. *The Magnificent Ambersons* was a critical and commercial failure on its release in July 1942—just weeks after Schaefer tendered his resignation and left the studio.

WARTIME RECOVERY

Schaefer's departure in mid-1942 signaled the deepening financial concerns at RKO, which had not returned to consistent profitability despite the waning Depression, the banner year in 1939 (which resulted in net losses for the studio), and the emergence from receivership in January 1940. By early 1942 it was clear that the "war boom" would be as momentous as the talkie boom that spawned RKO, yet the studio continued to show losses despite the favorable socioeconomic conditions while its major competitors did record business. Floyd Odlum (1892–1976) decided to take charge, sweeping

VAL LEWTON

b. Vladimir Ivan Leventon, Yalta, Ukraine, Russia, 7 May 1904, d. 14 March 1951

Val Lewton was a significant figure in 1940s Hollywood, known primarily for producing a wartime cycle of innovative B-grade horror films for RKO. Lewton's production unit and his role as "hyphenate" writer-producer indicated other important industry trends, as did RKO's effort to upgrade B-picture production to exploit the overheated first-run market during the war boom.

Lewton migrated from Russia to the United States at age ten, and was raised by his mother and her sister, stage and screen star Alla Nazimova. After attending Columbia, he went to work at MGM, where he became producer David Selznick's story editor—a position he continued at Selznick International Pictures from 1935 to 1942, working on such films as *Gone with the Wind* (1939) and *Rebecca* (1940) before signing with RKO, where his task was to produce low-budget projects with A-class production values. He assembled a unit that enjoyed immediate success with its debut effort, *Cat People* (1942), a dark, intense thriller about a Serbian girl, recently arrived in New York, who becomes a deadly tigress when sexually aroused. A modest hit, *Cat People* rejuvenated the horror genre, introducing a psychosexual dimension and bringing it "closer to home" with its New York setting. The heavy use of shadow and night scenes also served both a practical and a stylistic function, disguising the film's limited resources.

After *Cat People*, Lewton produced a "female gothic" variation of the horror film with *I Walked With a Zombie* (1943), a reworking of *Jane Eyre* (à la *Rebecca*). Then in quick succession the unit turned out *The Leopard Man*, *The Seventh Victim*, *The Ghost Ship* (all 1943), and *Curse of the Cat People* (1944). All were low-cost, black-and-white pictures with short running times, and they scored with both critics and audiences. The key figures were director Jacques Tourneur, cinematographer Nicholas Musuraca, art director Albert D'Agostino, set designer Darrell Silvera, composer Roy Webb, and Lewton himself as producer and frequent cowriter, usually under the pseudonym "Carlos Keith." (Besides Tourneur, who directed Lewton's first three pictures, Mark Robson and Robert Wise also directed for Lewton.)

Lewton's success at RKO faded with three successive Boris Karloff vehicles: *The Body Snatcher*, *Isle of the Dead* (both 1945), and *Bedlam* (1946). All were period pieces set in foreign locales, reaffirming Lewton's ability to attain A-class quality on a B-grade budget, but they were throwbacks to classical horror and distinctly at odds both with Lewton's earlier pictures and with the postwar horrors of the atomic age. When *Bedlam* failed to return its production costs, RKO declined to renew Lewton's contract. Working freelance, he produced three routine features before his untimely death from a heart attack.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Cat People (1942), *I Walked With a Zombie* (1943), *The Leopard Man* (1943), *The Seventh Victim* (1943), *Curse of the Cat People* (1944), *The Body Snatcher* (1945)

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out Schaefer and most of his executive corps in June 1942 (including the former Production Code Administration head Joe Breen, after a brief and disastrous run as production head), and hiring Charles Koerner to run the studio and oversee production. Koerner continued the house-cleaning begun by Odlum, including the termination of the Welles-Mercury contract, and the results were readily evident on the balance statement. RKO reversed its slide and eked out modest profits in 1942, and then surged to record income levels.

The key to RKO's wartime reversal was Koerner's diminished reliance on outside independents and heavy concentration on cost-efficient genre production. This

Val Lewton. MARTHA HOLMES/TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES.

included a return to B-westerns and other low-grade series featuring the Falcon (starring George Sanders [1906–1972]), Tarzan (Johnny Weismuller [1904–1984]), and the Mexican Spitfire (Lupe Velez [1908–1944]). While these ensured steady returns, RKO took greater risks and enjoyed greater returns on its output of stylish, imaginative "near-As"—pictures made on (or slightly above) B-movie budgets but of sufficient quality to compete in the lucrative first-run market. Key here were two contract filmmakers: producer Val Lewton (1904–1951) and director Edward Dmytryk (1908–1999). Lewton, who signed with RKO in 1942, developed a "horror unit" that produced such modest wartime hits as *Cat People* (1942), *I Walked with a Zombie* (1943), *The Curse of the Cat People* (1944), and *The Body Snatcher* (1945). Lewton's horror gems were heavy on atmosphere and menace but devoid of stars, spectacle, and special effects, and thusly complemented the dark thrillers directed by Dmytryk. A former film editor who became RKO's most prolific and imaginative filmmaker during the war, Dmytryk honed his directing skills on B-grade series pictures before hitting his stride in 1943 with two topical melodramas, *Hitler's Children* and *Behind the Rising Sun*, followed by two film noir classics, *Murder My Sweet* (1944) and *Cornered* (1945). Dmytryk also showed he could work with top stars with *Tender Comrade* (1944), a homefront melodrama starring Ginger Rogers.

RKO continued to handle occasional independent productions during the war, such as the 1945 noir masterwork *Woman in the Window*, directed by Fritz Lang (1890–1976) and produced by International Pictures. The trend resumed with a vengeance in 1945 and 1946, as the war wound down and the demand for B-movie product radically diminished. The most significant independent ventures were Leo McCarey's (1898–1969) *Bells of St. Mary's* (1945), a sequel to his 1944 Paramount hit, *Going My Way*; *It's a Wonderful Life* (1946) by Frank Capra (1897–1991), which was actually a commercial and critical disappointment upon its initial release; and the Goldwyn-produced, Wyler-directed postwar "rehabilitation" drama, *The Best Years of Our Lives*, which was RKO's biggest hit of the decade. RKO also signed an important and unusual deal with Selznick in 1945 for several prepackaged films including such major hits as *Notorious* (1946), *The Farmer's Daughter* and *The Bachelor and the Bobby-Soxer* (both 1947). The deal gave Selznick profit participation and also paid him for the services of contract talent "attached" to the films, which included producer Dore Schary (1905–1980), who became RKO's top in-house independent.

RKO's fortunes took a sudden turn in early 1946 with the death of Charles Koerner, resulting in another executive shakeup and Schary's eventual ascent to head of the studio. RKO flourished briefly under Schary, thanks to the Selznick packages as well as signature noir thrillers such as *Crossfire* and *Out of the Past* (both 1947). But Schary's regime proved short-lived due to Howard Hughes's purchase of RKO from Floyd Odlum in May 1948. Hughes promptly shut down the studio to reorganize production and to weed out Communists—a process that actually had begun in late 1947 when Dmytryk and producer Adrian Scott (1912–1973), two of the so-called Hollywood Ten, were cited for Contempt of Congress and fired by RKO shortly after the release of their successful collaboration, *Crossfire*. Studio departures accelerated under Hughes, including the firing of corporate president Peter Rathvon and the resignation of Dore Schary, who left for MGM in July 1948, just as RKO resumed production.

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF RKO

When the studio reopened, Hughes was supervising all aspects of administration and production, and the results were disastrous. RKO released a few notable films early in Hughes's regime—most of them initiated under Schary, including two noir classics, *The Set-Up* (1949), directed by Robert Wise, and *They Live By Night* (1948), directed by newcomer Nicholas Ray (1911–1979). Merian Cooper and his Argosy Pictures partner John Ford also made the

first two of their famed cavalry trilogy at RKO: *Fort Apache* (1948) and *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* (1949). But there was little else of note in the late 1940s, as Hughes's RKO became the studio of last resort for the growing ranks of independent producers, directors, and stars.

RKO's troubles deepened in the early 1950s as Hughes became increasingly erratic, focusing more on litigation and deal-making than on film production. He sold and than repurchased a controlling interest in the company in 1952, as studio losses mounted, and in 1954 he attempted to buy all of the outstanding stock as an apparent tax write-off. This effort was thwarted by Floyd Odlum, who decided to repurchase RKO and battled Hughes for control of the company until mid-1955, when Hughes sold his interests to General Teleradio, a subsidiary of the conglomerate General Tire and Rubber Company. The new owner was more interested in RKO's film library as TV syndication fodder than in its production operation, whose output had fallen to barely a dozen pictures per annum, few of any real note. There were the Disney releases, including *Treasure Island* (1950) and *Alice in Wonderland* (1951), and the occasional quality noir thriller such as Ray's *On Dangerous Ground* (1952). Desperation for product also led to the 1952 US release of Japanese filmmaker Akira Kurosawa's *Rashomon* (1950). The other major studios were producing blockbusters to compete with television, and Hughes tried in vain to keep pace with *Son of Sinbad* (1955) and *The Conqueror* (1956), the latter a $6 million flop starring John Wayne (1907–1979) as a Mongol ruler. The signal disaster of Hughes's regime was *Jet Pilot*, a pet project initiated in 1949, finally completed in 1957, some two years after Hughes's departure, and distributed by another studio, Universal-International.

There was a brief surge in production activity immediately after General Teleradio bought RKO, but the studio's fate was already clear. Within weeks of the July 1955 purchase, the RKO library of roughly 750 titles went into television syndication—the first major studio vault to go,

I Walked with a Zombie ***(Jacques Tourneur, 1943), one of the atmospheric horror films produced by Val Lewton at RKO.***
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Cathy O'Donnell and Harold Russell in* The Best Years of Our Lives *(William Wyler, 1946), one of RKO's biggest hits.
EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

which opened the proverbial floodgates in terms of top Hollywood films being sold or leased to the upstart TV medium. By 1957 RKO was all but defunct as a production-distribution entity, and its actual demise came that year with the purchase of the studio lot by Desilu, the successful TV series producer owned by Lucille Ball and Desi Arnaz, who had once been under contract to RKO.

At this time all of the company's assets were sold with the exception of its unproduced screenplays, the remake rights to its produced films, and of course the trademark itself. There have been efforts over the years to parlay one or more of these assets into a successful motion picture venture—a partnership in the early 1980s with Universal Pictures, for instance, which resulted in such coproductions as *The Best Little Whorehouse in Texas* (1982) and a remake of *Cat People* (1982). In 1989 actors Ted Hartley and his wife Dina Merrill, heir to the E. F. Hutton and Post cereal fortunes, bought RKO and attempted to reactivate the studio, cofinancing remakes of RKO classics like *Mighty Joe Young* (1998) and *The Magnificent Ambersons* (2002, for the A&E cable television network). Thus RKO endures, although its role as a full-fledged studio—i.e., an active producer-distributor—has long since expired.

SEE ALSO *Star System; Stars; Studio System; Walt Disney Company*

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Thomas Schatz

ROAD MOVIES

The term "road movie" is a loose one because almost any film, narrative or otherwise, can be interpreted as a journey. Likewise, many narrative films follow characters from place to place. Elements of the road movie appeared in classical-era films, but the term first circulated to describe a group of New American films of the late 1960s and early 1970s that were very much about being "on the road." Appropriately enough, the genre since then has traveled in many directions.

The road movie is a unique yet essential genre of American cinema, dramatizing a fascination with mobility. Exploring the very theme of exploration, the road movie reinvents the classic literary journey narrative, drawing inspiration from Homer's *Odyssey*, the wanderings of biblical prophets, and the epic travels of Miguel de Cervantes (1547–1616), Mark Twain (1835–1910), and Walt Whitman (1819–1892). More direct and recent literary influences are John Steinbeck (1902–1968) and Jack Kerouac (1922–1969). Road movies feature characters on the move, often outsiders who cross geographic borders but also transgress moral boundaries. With their reflexive focus on the interplay between automobile and camera technology, road movies mobilize a dynamic cinematic spectacle of movement and speed. Road movies celebrate journeys rather than destinations.

ICONOGRAPHY, STYLE, AND THEMES

Filmmakers from all over the cinematic map have been drawn to the road movie: low-budget independent, mainstream Hollywood, experimental, documentary, gay, feminist, and most national cinemas. Yet certain consistent features can be identified among them. The genre prefers cars or motorcycles at the center of the action (though travel by train, bus, or simply walking are not uncommon). It also tends to rely upon the iconography of interstate highways and border crossings. Related visual motifs are vast, open landscapes and expansive, seductive horizon lines. Highway signs, motels, diners, and gas stations also recur for various plot twists.

Whether characters in road movies ramble at a leisurely pace or speed frantically with cops close behind, one of the genre's most compelling aesthetic characteristics is the mobile camera. Positioned inside the car looking out or outside the car—on the hood, alongside in another car, close by in a helicopter—the moving camera helps represent plot-driven motion and also affords the viewer a kinetic sense of being on the road. Other important stylistic features include dynamic montage sequences designed to convey the thrill of driving; long takes and long shots, expressing an exaggerated traversal of space and time; and the framing devices of front and rear windshields, side windows, and side- and rearview mirrors. Another of the genre's signature means of enhancing the cinematic sensation of driving is an exuberant music track—usually rock and roll, with its back beat propelling the journey.

The road movie also reflects upon technology, depicting an ambivalent modernist fusion between (human) driver and (machine) vehicle. At the same time, a romantic, pastoral attitude often inspires characters to leave culture behind and rediscover nature. Road movie journeys generally involve some kind of cultural critique, an exploration beyond the social conventions associated with home, work, and family. The narrative structure of

the road movie tends to be open-ended and modernist, as opposed to formulaic and classical. Two general narrative designs prevail: the quest and the outlaw. Quest road movies meander and probe the mysterious experience of discovery, as in *Two-Lane Blacktop* (1971) or *Paris, Texas* (1984). Outlaw road movies are more desperately driven by crime, where characters hit the road fleeing from the police. Outlaw couples, along with more sex and violence, figure prominently here, as in *Deadly Is the Female* (rereleased as *Gun Crazy*, 1949) and *Natural Born Killers* (1994). Many of the best road movies combine elements of both the outlaw and the quest narrative.

Typically, the genre focuses on a driver/passenger couple—usually boy-girl, as in *Bonnie and Clyde* (1967), or buddy-buddy, as in *Easy Rider* (1969). Female buddy films such as *Thelma and Louise* (1991) became more popular in the 1990s. Other less common variations include parent-child and cop-prisoner. Even more rare are road movies focusing on large groups, as in *Get on the Bus* (1996), or on a lone driver, as in *Vanishing Point* (1971). Other car-oriented variations include road comedies like *Flirting with Disaster* (1996), road horror films such as *Near Dark* (1987), and racing films like *Death Race 2000* (1975). Rock concert touring films such as *Almost Famous* (2000) offer yet another generic offshoot. *Roam Sweet Home* (1997) and *The Cruise* (1998) display some of the quirky directions experimental road documentaries have pursued. Urban "enclosed" driving films like *Taxi Driver* (1976) and *Speed* (1994), where a circular route or city grid displaces the genre's more classic border crossings and linear distances, are a distinct group as well.

FROM CLASSICAL HOLLYWOOD TO COUNTERCULTURE

The road movie emerged as a distinct genre near the end of the 1960s, as baby boomers began hitting the road. It was during the Depression, however, that certain classical genre films developed elements of the modern road movie. While numerous early gangster films used dramatic driving sequences, the related social-conscience film sometimes incorporated mobility as part of its more pointed political critique. *Wild Boys of the Road* (1933), for example, exposes the social decay caused by the Depression by following the trials of homeless children riding the rails. Other notable films in this vein are *I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang* (1932), *You Only Live Once* (1937), and *The Grapes of Wrath* (1940). Screwball comedies often employ a travel motif to present the divisive but amusing antics of the lead couple. *It Happened One Night* (1934) integrates road travel into its narrative and theme: despite their differences, the lead couple undergoes an identity change and fall in love as a result of of traveling together. *Twentieth Century* (1934) and *Sullivan's Travels* (1942) follow this pattern. With its emphasis on wandering, migration, and the frontier, the western also proves to be a formative, if indirect, influence. While westerns usually portray a time before cars, many road movies allude to cowboy treks through an untamed wilderness, such as *Stagecoach* (1939), *Red River* (1948), and *The Searchers* (1956).

Another classical genre with more direct influence on the modern road movie is film noir, which codes the road as a menacing threat, a perpetual detour from which one may never escape. Much of the road movie's cynicism (as well as its B-movie, low-budget, on-the-run look) derives from the 1945 classic *Detour*, where a man's cross-country sojourn to marry his girl gradually spirals into a nightmare of crime and murder. *Detour* emphasizes the journey as the undoing of the protagonist's very identity, suggested also in *Desperate* (1947). Like *Detour*, *The Devil Thumbs a Ride* (1947) and *The Hitch-Hiker* (1953) establish fear and suspense around hitchhiking; *They Live By Night* (1948) and *Gun Crazy* are exemplary of outlaw couple road film noir. The attraction of road film noir lives on in contemporary neo-noir movies like *The Hitcher* (1986), *Delusion* (1991), *Red Rock West* (1992), and *Joy Ride* (2001).

In the 1950s, a few road comedies appeared, notable for a wholesome conformity antithetical to most road movies: one of the last Bob Hope–Bing Crosby "road to" films, *Road to Bali* (1952); Vincente Minnelli's *The Long, Long Trailer* (1954); and the final Dean Martin and Jerry Lewis comedy vehicle, *Hollywood or Bust* (1956). While 1950s road movies are rather scarce (and flimsy), other literary and cultural developments are crucial to the post-Hollywood birth of the genre as "independent." Accompanying President Eisenhower's burgeoning interstate highway system was the emerging postwar youth culture portrayed in films like *The Wild One* (1953) and *Rebel Without a Cause* (1955). Moreover, Vladimir Nabokov's *Lolita* and Jack Kerouac's *On the Road* appeared in 1955 and 1957 respectively, two monumental road novels that rip back and forth across America with a subversive erotic charge. This is the era when American mobility took off as middle-class tourism and commuting and also as beatnik wanderlust. By the mid-1960s, with classical Hollywood sputtering out and the counterculture seeking to redefine America, the road movie came into its own.

The genre's critical distance from conformity is intimated by the many hotrod and biker films of the 1950s and 1960s that champion leather-clad bohemian youth rebellion by fetishizing cars and motorcycles. But it is really Arthur Penn's *Bonnie and Clyde* and Dennis Hopper's *Easy Rider* that launched the modern road movie. Besides being exemplary of the auteur-driven

genre revisionism of the New American cinema, both films portray mobility as essential to narrative structure and political commentary, reinventing the spirit of *On the Road* for young anti-establishment audiences. Using the Depression setting to speak to sixties civil strife, *Bonnie and Clyde* celebrates the infamous outlaw couple as a sexy, exhilarating antidote to the dead end of small-town America, and capitalist greed generally. But *Easy Rider* seems the true prototype of the genre, explicitly spelling out the challenge of the counterculture through the road trip. This landmark American independent film uses the journey to affirm an alternative lifestyle and to expose the stifling repression of conservative America. Despite their visionary conception of movement, both films end rather grimly, with the rambling antiheroes gunned down on the road by Southern bigots.

Given the huge success of both films, the early 1970s saw a proliferation of road movies, becoming a golden age for the genre. With the Vietnam War and Watergate scandal looming, many of these road movies expressed post-counterculture disenchantment. Picking up on the cynical tone concluding *Easy Rider*, films such as *Five Easy Pieces* (1970), *Two-Lane Blacktop* and *Badlands* (1973), and *Thieves Like Us* (1974) were driven by anti-heroes unsure of where or why they are going. Presenting rather incoherent narrative and character motivation, these films yield a more disturbing, "minimalist" journey that nevertheless probes mysterious emotional landscapes. The road movie also inspired the early years of the "film--school generation": Francis Ford Coppola's *The Rain People* (1969), Steven Spielberg's *Duel* (1971) and *The Sugarland Express* (1974), Martin Scorsese's *Boxcar Bertha* (1972) and *Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore* (1974), and George Lucas's *American Graffiti* (1973).

THE POSTMODERN, MULTICULTURAL ROAD MOVIE

While continuing to appeal to independent filmmakers (and constantly appearing at film festivals), the road movie in the mid-1980s swerved to the center of popular film culture. Expanding its parameters into the 1990s, the road movie embraced a wide spectrum of tones, from quirky irony to brash sentimentality to hi-tech ultraviolence. Not surprisingly, many of these films can be characterized as postmodern, and as more multicultural.

A good signpost of the road movie trends of the 1980s is *The Road Warrior* (1982, *Mad Max 2* in native Australia), with its cartoonish, postapocalyptic violence and elaborate driving pyrotechnics. David Lynch's lurid, surrealistic *Wild at Heart* (1989) is another postmodern hallmark, remaking the outlaw couple for the 1990s with high camp allusions to Elvis and *The Wizard of Oz* (1939). Conversely, Jim Jarmusch's *Stranger Than Paradise* (1984), *Down by Law* (1986), and *Dead Man* (1995) use deadpan, minimalist absurdity to update the quest, prison-break, and Western trek, respectively. Joel and Ethan Coen's *Raising Arizona* (1987) pokes fun at the outlaw couple with heavy-handed irony; their more recent *O Brother, Where Art Thou?* (2000) yokes together Homer and Preston Sturges (*Sullivan's Travels*) for an oddly pica-resque Depression-era pilgrimage. Other postmodern road movie parodies are *Lost in America* (1985), *True Stories* (1986), and *Roadside Prophets* (1992); more earnest, senti-mental, and yuppified is the only road movie to win the Best Picture Oscar®, Hollywood's *Rain Man* (1988).

In the early 1990s, some road movies put more diverse drivers behind the wheel. *Thelma and Louise* is exemplary here, highly popular and controversial for its feminist carjacking of the male-dominated genre. Their desperate journey is clearly a rebellion against the abuses of patriarchy. On the other hand, some critics felt the film simply plugged two women into the buddy road movie mold, thus neutralizing its feminism. In any case, in its wake women began to appear with more gusto on the celluloid highway, as in *Boys on the Side* (1995). Gus Van Sant's *My Own Private Idaho* (1991) is a compelling exploration of life on the road for gay hustlers in the Northwest; his *Drugstore Cowboy* (1989) and *Even Cowgirls Get the Blues* (1993) similarly trace the routes of marginalized, unconventional travelers. Other road movies notable for their uncommon perspectives are *The Living End* (1992), an HIV-positive road trip that rages against homophobic culture; *To Wong Foo, Thanks for Everything! Julie Newmar* (1995), featuring a multi-ethnic troupe of transvestites on their way to Hollywood; *Get on the Bus*, which follows a diverse group of African American men across the country to the Million Man March; and *Smoke Signals* (1998), which tracks the jour-ney of two Native American buddies into the traumas and magic of their ethnic heritage.

Another significant road movie strain of the 1990s is the ultraviolent outlaw film, which often bleeds into the horror category by focusing on traveling serial killers. With fingerprints going back to Truman Capote's true crime novel *In Cold Blood* (1966) and the obscure independent film gem *The Honeymoon Killers* (1970), films like *Kalifornia* (1993), *The Doom Generation* (1995), *Freeway* (1996), and *Breakdown* (1997) use hypernoir suspense and graphic violence to follow killers who hide and thrive on the road. *Natural Born Killers* took this tendency to new heights, using MTV-style aesthetics to glorify its killer couple, but also to question such cultural glorification.

INTERNATIONAL ROAD MOVIES

Inflected by westerns and the Depression, the road movie, with its roaming hippies and young lovers on

Thelma and Louise ***(Ridley Scott, 1991) is a feminist variation of the road movie.*** EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

the run, seems distinctly American. There are, however, international traditions. Some road movies from the European art cinema of the 1950s and 1960s examine spiritual identity rather than rebellion, crime, or the spectacle of driving cars. Roberto Rossellini's *Voyage in Italy* (1953, Italy), Federico Fellini's *La Strada* (1954, Italy), and Ingmar Bergman's *Smultronstället* (*Wild Strawberries*, 1957, Sweden) all illustrate this existential sensibility. French New Wave director Jean-Luc Godard comes closer to the American genre's tone with *Pierrot le Fou* (1965) and *Weekend* (1967); but these journeys too are punctuated by philosophical digressions of a European bent. Agnés Varda's *Sans Toit Ni Loi* (*Vagabond*, 1985) is another unusual French take on the road movie, mixing documentary and fiction modes to suggest the social causes of the death of a young homeless woman. Having emerged from the New German cinema movement of the mid-1970s, Wim Wenders established his reputation through the road movie. Most of his early films, such as *Alice in den Städten* (*Alice in the Cities*, 1974), *Falsche Bewegung* (*The Wrong Movement*, 1975), and especially *Im Lauf der Zeit* (*Kings of the Road*, 1976), seem to filter nomadic excursions through a pensive Germanic lens. Typically, Wenders's characters are somber drifters coming to terms with their internal scars.

It is perhaps not surprising that filmmakers in both Australia and Canada have employed the road movie for articulating tensions around national identity and modernity. Like the United States, both nations possess a vast wilderness that constitutes an important facet of their cultural heritage. Canadian and Australian road movies often employ this frontier adventure space to engage social conflicts between indigenous and colonial cultures or between urban modern and mystical rural environments. Directed by Australian Bruce Beresford and set in the wilds of 17th century Canada, *Black Robe* (1991) embodies this framework as it follows the doomed journey of a French Jesuit priest on a mission to convert native tribes. The Australian *Mad Max* films (1979–1985) have become canonical for their dystopic reinvention of the outback as a post-human wasteland where survival depends upon manic driving skills. *The Adventures of Priscilla, Queen of the Desert* (1994) is a

watershed gay road movie that addresses diversity in Australia. *Walkabout* (1971), *Backroads* (1977), and *Rabbit-Proof Fence* (2002) use the Australian outback journey to confront white-aboriginal political relations. Bill Bennett's *Kiss or Kill* (1997) is a hip and clever Australian take on the outlaw couple. Canadian director Bruce McDonald has worked the rock 'n' road movie repeatedly, with *Roadkill* (1989), *Highway 61* (1991), and most notably *Hard Core Logo* (1996), a mock documentary about a punk rock band's reunion tour. David Cronenberg's notorious *Crash* (1996) seems a fitting end-of-millennium road movie: its head-on portrayal of perverse sexual arousal through the car crash experience drove the genre over the edge for some viewers (like media mogul Ted Turner, who successfully lobbied against its US theatrical release).

Road movies from Latin America share traits with the European approach. Generally speaking, Latin American road movies focus on a community of characters rather than star individuals, on mature quests rather than young outlaw narratives, and on national issues related to North-South and urban-rural divides. A good example is *Subida al Cielo* (*Mexican Bus Ride*, 1951), where Luis Buñuel brings his European sensibility to bear on a peasant's strangely enchanting bus journey to the city to attend to his dying mother. As in Fellini's *La Strada*, Bergman's *The Seventh Seal* (1957), and Buñuel's other road movies *Nazarín* (1958, Mexico) and *La Voie Lactée* (*The Milky Way*, 1969, France), the journey here is episodic, a kind of carnivalesque pilgrimage. Such a "travelling circus" quality is visible in later Latin American road movies, such as *Bye Bye Brazil* (1979, Brazil), *Guantanamera* (1995, Cuba), and *Central do Brasil* (*Central Station*, 1998, Brazil). Conquest-era journey narratives are also popular in Latin American cinema, *Cabeza de Vaca* (1991, Mexico) being one of the finest examples. *Profundo Carmesí* (*Deep Crimson*, 1996, Mexico) and *El Camino* (*The Road*, 2000, Argentina) are intriguing riffs on the outlaw couple road movie. With its focus on the sexual experiences of two young male buddies with an older woman during a road trip, *Y Tu Mamá También* (*And Your Mother Too*, 2001, Mexico) represents a turning point for the American-style road movie, and, predictably, was a huge success in the United States.

As twenty-first-century film continues to thrive under the power of digital technologies, it is safe to assume that more inventive road movies will appear on the horizon.

SEE ALSO *Action and Adventure Films; Crime Films; Genre*

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VOLUME 4

ROMANTIC COMEDY–YUGOSLAVIA

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ROMANTIC COMEDY

Romantic comedy in its most general meaning includes all films that treat love, courtship, and marriage comically. Comic in this context refers more to the mood of the film and less to its plot. A film comedy need not have a happy ending, nor do all films that have happy endings qualify as comedies.

Of course, the great majority of romantic comedies do have happy endings, usually meaning the marriage of one or more of the couples the plot has brought together. The humor of these films typically derives from various obstacles to this outcome, especially miscommunication or misunderstanding between partners or prospective partners. For this reason, most romantic comedies depend heavily on dialogue. While they may also make use of physical humor and other visual gags, romantic film comedy remains close to it theatrical predecessors.

Theatrical romantic comedy is a distinct, historically specific genre that emerged with Shakespeare's comedies in the sixteenth century. It combines elements of two earlier forms having antithetical views of love and marriage. One ancestor is the New Comedy of ancient Greece, which centers on a young man who desires a young woman but who meets with paternal opposition. The play ends with some turn of events that enables the match to be made. Comedy here represents the integration of society, the concluding wedding standing for social renewal. The other ancestor is medieval romance, which appeared in both narrative and lyric poems. Romance here names a new sense of love—the passionate experience of the individual—distinct from the "social solidarity" love had previously meant. Romance was originally opposed to marriage, but in Shakespeare's comedies, such as *Much Ado About Nothing*, romantic love and marriage are united. Romantic comedies ever since have told audiences that their dreams of the right mate can come true.

Romantic comedy in film falls into four distinct subgenres: romantic comedy proper, farce, screwball comedy, and the relationship story. Each of the subgenres is defined by the ways in which love, romance, and marriage are depicted and, especially, how they are related to each other.

SILENT AND PRE-CODE ROMANTIC COMEDY

Filmic romantic comedy in the United States derived most directly from the stage. While higher forms of comedy were produced on stage before 1915, theatrical comedy was dominated by vaudeville, minstrel shows, and musical reviews. Vaudeville and other forms of "low" comedy were the first to influence film, and this influence accounts for the bulk of silent film comedy. Farce typically deals with characters who are or have previously been married, and it derives its humor by calling attention to the restrictions and boredom often felt by long-married couples.But farce also typically accepts marriage as the norm, and depicts extramarital sex as immoral. Beginning in 1915, however, Broadway theater generated a vogue for sex farce, which remained very popular through the early 1920s. These plays featured suggestive language and situations, and they often set out to test the limits of what authorities would permit.

Given the limitations of silent film and its audience, it is not surprising that farce should be the first form of romantic comedy to become an established film genre.

Miriam Hopkins, Fredric March (center), and Gary Cooper in Ernst Lubitsch's* Design for Living *(1933). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Most silent comedy is farce in the broadest sense of the term, since it is most often low and physical. What have been called the silent comedies of remarriage could better be described as toned-down sex farces, though their use of divorce reflects its increasing frequency in America at that historical moment. Cecil B. DeMille (1881–1959) made three such films: *Old Wives for New* (1918), *Don't Change Your Husband* (1919), and *Why Change Your Wife?* (1920). As if to illustrate the difficulties of silent romantic comedy, these films, like many American silents, are heavily dependent on title cards, which present proverbial cynicism about marriage. In *Why Change Your Wife?*, marriage is illustrated by a scene repeated between the husband and each of his wives. As he tries to shave, his wife interrupts him repeatedly, refusing to acknowledge that finishing the shave might reasonably be something the husband should do prior to helping his mate. One expects, given this repetition, that when the husband remarries wife number one, she will revert to type, but the film ends with a title card expressing a previously absent faith in the ability of the romance to last. The new lesson is aimed at women: forget you are wives and continue to indulge your husband's desires.

In *The Marriage Circle* (1924), Ernst Lubitsch (1892–1947) used subtle gestures and expressions to convey complex emotions among six interrelated characters. Here, irony replaces more overt mockery of marriage, and the film treats its subject without moralizing. Other silent films staged romantic comedy by importing conventions from slapstick comedy and melodrama, as does *It* (1927), which made Clara Bow (1905–1965) ever after the "It Girl." The story of the ultimately successful cross-class courtship of Bow's shop girl and her employer, the department store's owner, the film uses its title to refer to a special sexual magnetism that a lucky few enjoy. *It* thus offered an attempt at explaining the power of romantic love, as well as its own improbable plot.

The sound era brought a raft of romantic comedies adapted from the stage. In the pre-Code era (1928–1934),

the farce continued to be the dominant form. Lubitsch's *Trouble in Paradise* (1932) is a film in which infidelity and even grand theft are treated as if they were at worst the cause of minor discomfort. Miriam Hopkins and Herbert Marshall play a pair of jewel thieves who become lovers and take jobs with the owner of a perfume company (Kay Francis). Other pre-Code farces include *Platinum Blonde* (Frank Capra, 1931) and two adaptations of Noel Coward plays, *Private Lives* (Sidney Franklin, 1931) and *Design for Living* (1933), directed by Lubitsch. The pre-Code period also saw the emergence of romantic comedy proper. A pure example of the genre is *Fast and Loose* (1930), adapted in part by Preston Sturges (1898–1959) from the play *The Best People* by David Gray and Avery Hopwood. Here a wealthy father, Bronson Lenox (Frank Morgan), intervenes to prohibit the cross-class loves of both his son and daughter.

THE SCREWBALL ERA

During the screwball era—1934 through the early 1940s—romantic comedy was one of Hollywood's most important genres. Named for the zany behavior and improbable events that it depicts, screwball comedy combines elements of farce and traditional romantic comedy. Like the former, it typically deals with older, previously married characters, putting them into risqué situations; like the latter, screwball comedies end with a wedding, thus affirming, rather than questioning, the connection between romantic love and marriage. The screwball form first appeared in 1934, on the cusp of the new production code, along with Frank Capra's (1897–1991) *It Happened One Night* (1934) and Howard Hawks's (1896–1977) *Twentieth Century* (1934). *It Happened One Night*, which swept the major Academy Awards® in 1935, developed the strategy of indirect eroticism that builds between the central couple, a strategy that became all the more important after the Code prohibited more overt sexuality. In *Twentieth Century* Hawks introduced the fast talk that would reach its extreme in *His Girl Friday* (1940), where he encouraged actors to talk over each other's lines. Both of these techniques would help define romantic comedy of this period.

One group of screwball comedies has been identified by Stanley Cavell as comedies of remarriage. In addition to *It Happened One Night*, these include some of the most important romantic comedies of the studio era: Leo McCarey's *The Awful Truth* (1937), Hawks's *Bringing Up Baby* (1938) and *His Girl Friday*, Preston Sturges's *The Lady Eve* (1941), and George Cukor's (1899–1983) *The Philadelphia Story* (1940), and, although not a screwball *Adam's Rib* (1949). Cavell argues that in depicting genuine conversation between lovers, these films tell us something about marriage. Unlike most previous romantic comedies, these films show us the growth of a relationship between the central couple. Yet Cavell's point is undermined by the fact that these films deal with characters who are not married to each other and who often seem to be in quasi-adulterous relationships. It thus seems that they mystify marriage by blurring the boundaries between it and an illicit affair.

Proper romantic comedies continued to be made after 1934, but they remained a subordinate form. Lubitsch made one of the most significant, *The Shop Around the Corner* (1940), in which the father, Mr. Matuschek (Frank Morgan), owns a shop where the central couple, Alfred Kralik (James Stewart) and Klara Novak (Margaret Sullavan), are employed. They fall in love by correspondence, so they do not know that they have fallen for a co-worker. At work, in person, the two do not get along. This provides for some of the competitive bickering familiar from *Much Ado About Nothing*'s Beatrice and Benedict, which became a feature of screwball comedies as well. But what distinguishes this film as a proper romantic comedy rather than a screwball comedy is that the lovers are young (implicitly virgins) and their relationship untriangulated.

The importance of romantic comedy in this era is demonstrated by its leading stars, whose reputations and personas were established in such films, and the leading directors who made at least one romantic comedy, including even Alfred Hitchcock (*Mr. and Mrs. Smith* [1941]). Carol Lombard (1908–1942), the female lead in Hitchcock's film, was a star especially identified with romantic comedy. Her career was defined by her role opposite John Barrymore in *Twentieth Century*, and she later appeared in both *My Man Godfrey* (1936) and *To Be or Not to Be* (1942). Lombard's roles were often typical of the screwball heroine, who may be zany but also tough, determined, and intelligent. Irene Dunne (1898–1990) perhaps best embodied the seemingly paradoxical combination of the ditzy and the smart in films like *Theodora Goes Wild* (1936), *The Awful Truth*, and *My Favorite Wife* (1940).

Katherine Hepburn (1907–2003) endured a long series of box-office failures, including the romantic comedies *Bringing Up Baby* and *Holiday* (1938), before her career was revived in *The Philadelphia Story*. Based on a Philip Barry play written for Hepburn, the film was widely understood to be about her. She plays Tracy Lord, the divorced daughter of an haute bourgeois family, on the eve of her wedding to a nouveau riche prig (John Howard). During the course of the film, she is described as a "virgin," a "goddess," a "scold," and a "fortress" by both her father and her ex, C. K. Dexter Haven (Cary Grant). In order to become a fit mate, the

ERNST LUBITSCH

b. Berlin, Germany, 29 January 1892, d. 30 November 1947

Ernst Lubitsch was the director most closely identified with the genre of romantic comedy during the studio era. He was known for the "Lubitsch touch," the ineffable combination of gloss, sophistication, wit, irony, and, above all, lightness, that he brought to his material.

Lubitsch began his career in Germany, where he made slapstick comedies and historical epics. He came to America in 1922, carrying the reputation as "the greatest director in Europe." In his first romantic comedy, *The Marriage Circle* (1924), he staked out the artistic territory that would define the rest of his career: Lubitsch's attitude and technique are illustrated by a shot of Professor Stock (Adolph Menjou) as he reacts with a smile to evidence of his wife's adultery. In 1925 Lubitsch adapted Oscar Wilde's play *Lady Windermere's Fan* without making use of any of the celebrated playwright's dialogue. Lubitsch's willingness to disregard the details of his sources allowed him to turn bad plays into good or even great films.

Lubitsch made a series of farcelike operettas for Paramount featuring Maurice Chevalier and Jeanette McDonald, including *The Love Parade* (1929) and *One Hour with You* (1932), a remake of *The Marriage Circle*. These films were sexy, stagy, unembarrassed froth that used music and lyrics to develop character and advance the plot. With *Trouble in Paradise* (1932), a nonmusical comedy in which style counts for everything, he directed what he regarded as his most accomplished work. He followed it with *Design for Living* (1933), an adaptation of Noel Coward, which ends with the heroine (Miriam Hopkins) leaving her bourgeois husband (Edward Everett Horton) for the *two* men (Gary Cooper and Fredric March as an artist and a playwright, respectively) with whom she had previously shared a Paris garret.

After making his final operetta, *The Merry Widow*, for MGM in 1934 (a box-office failure, but perhaps his best musical), Lubitsch became the only major director to serve as the head of production at a major studio, Paramount. In the main Lubitsch ignored the screwball trend, but he made one film in that mode, *Ninotchka* (1939), Greta Garbo's first comedy. This was followed by an equally successful foray into traditional romantic comedy with *The Shop Around the Corner* (1940).

If Lubitsch's reputation has not held up as well as some of his studio-era contemporaries, it may be because his stylish comedies fail to deal with serious issues, even serious issues of love or romance. But one film at least cannot be dismissed in this way. *To Be or Not to Be* (1942) is a romantic comedy set in Nazi-occupied Warsaw. Although the making of a comedy set in war-torn Europe troubled many at the time, the film may be Lubitsch's most enduring work.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

The Marriage Circle (1924), *Lady Windermere's Fan* (1925), *The Love Parade* (1929), *Trouble in Paradise* (1932), *Design for Living* (1933), *The Merry Widow* (1934), *Ninotchka* (1939), *The Shop Around the Corner* (1940), *To Be or Not to Be* (1942)

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film suggests, she must be humanized by being taken down a peg, which happens when she gets drunk and cannot remember what she did with Macaulay Connor (James Stewart). As a result, the prig dumps her, and she winds up remarrying Dexter. The audience apparently believed in the transformation, and Hepburn went on star in, among many other films, a series of romantic comedies opposite Spencer Tracy.

The actor whose career owed the most to romantic comedy, however, was undoubtedly Cary Grant (1904–1986). While he already appeared in twenty-eight films between 1932 and 1937, *The Awful Truth* defined

Ernst Lubitsch. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Grant's persona: sophisticated, intelligent, ironic, self-aware, confident, witty, but also capable of pratfalls and zaniness equal to those of screwball heroines. He became a model of masculinity unlike the more traditional paradigm represented by such actors as Humphrey Bogart, Gary Cooper, and Clark Gable. Hawks pushed this second side of Grant to the limit in *Bringing Up Baby*, in which Grant is subjected to repeated humiliation at the hands of Hepburn, with whom he nevertheless falls in love. But Hawks also made Grant the almost inhuman editor Walter Burns in *His Girl Friday*, in which he wins the tough Hildy Johnson (Rosalind Russell) only by being more wily and tenacious. This duality served Grant well in a variety of films, including not only those that borrow from romantic comedy, such as *North by Northwest* (1959, but also romantic films of adventure or suspense, such as *Only Angels Have Wings* (1939), *Suspicion* (1941), and *Notorious* (1946).

While screwball heroines are among the most independent and intelligent women in studio-era films, the romantic comedies of this era continued to depict them as if their choice of a mate was the only serious decision they might face. While they often best their male counterparts in these films' comic battles, what women win in the end is marriage. Similarly, screwball-era romantic comedies often flirt with a populist view of class relations. *My Man Godfrey*, for example, deals with the problems of the Depression as represented by the unemployed "forgotten men" who live in a shantytown. But the film's hero is merely posing as one of them, and he ends up marrying a heroine of his own bourgeois class. Other comedies, like *The Philadelphia Story*, can be read as apologetics for the rich.

DECLINE AND REINVENTION

Romantic comedy declined in popularity and quality during World War II. The screwball cycle ended in the early 1940s, though several directors kept working at it. The most successful of these was Preston Sturges, whose films pushed the farcical side of screwball to the limit. *The Lady Eve* features a protagonist (Henry Fonda) so blinded by love that he marries the same woman (Barbara Stanwyck) three times without knowing it. *The Miracle of Morgan's Creek* (1944) took madcap comedy to a level beyond screwball and managed to become a box-office hit despite dealing with the sensitive subject of wartime promiscuity. The screwball cycle was clearly over by the time of *Unfaithfully Yours* (1948), in which Sturges depicts adultery not as an adventure but as a spur to fantasies of murder and revenge. Five romantic comedies featuring Katharine Hepburn and Spencer Tracy (1900–1967)—*Woman of the Year* (1942), *State of the Union* (1948), *Adam's Rib* (1949), *Pat and Mike* (1952), and *Desk Set* (1957)—took the genre in a new direction that anticipated the relationship stories of the 1970s. These films focus not on getting the central couple together but on how they get along with each other. In all but *State of the Union*, Hepburn plays a working professional, and the films focus on conflicts that result from her not being willing to accept subordination to a man.

In general, the 1950s and 1960s were a low point for romantic comedy. Doris Day (b. 1924) became one of the most popular actors of the era, appearing in several of what were called "sex comedies," often opposite Rock Hudson (1925–1985). These films trade on the same kind of titillation that fueled theatrical sex farces, and they were equally conventional in their morality. By the mid-1960s, the genre virtually disappeared from Hollywood, with a few notable exceptions. *The Graduate* (1967) rewrote traditional romantic comedy by making the obstacle to the young lovers' union the hero's affair with the heroine's mother. *Two for the Road* (Stanley Donan, 1967) depicted a marriage as romantic comedy by showing the interleaved stories of the couple's vacations at various stages of their lives. Peter

Bogdanovich successfully remade *Bringing Up Baby* as *What's Up, Doc?* (1972), but it did not produce a general revival of screwball comedy.

In 1977, however, the success of Woody Allen's (b. 1935) *Annie Hall* fundamentally reinvented the genre. Both a box-office hit and winner of the Academy Award® for Best Picture, it brought about a general revival of romantic comedy rooted in the changes in courtship and marriage that were occurring in the 1960s. The genre ratified the new reality that marriage was no longer the only socially sanctioned form of sexual relationship, a fact also reflected in the emergent use of the term "relationship." The basic premise of the new relationship story was serial monogamy, a possibility made likely by the climb of the divorce rate to 50 percent. In this new context, getting the central couple married off is no longer a guarantee of happiness nor is the failure to do so a tragedy. *Annie Hall* is a romantic comedy that from the beginning tells us it will present a failed relationship. It manages this by distancing the audience, using techniques such as flashbacks, voice-over narration, direct address to the camera, and other violations of filmic realism. These devices do make the film funny, but they are not so extreme as to produce an alienation effect. We care about the characters, and we accept by the end that they cannot be together.

These changes in love, courtship, and marriage became increasingly the subject of journalistic coverage and popular advice books. Film relationship stories incorporated this new self-consciousness about these matters by overtly reflecting on the events they narrate. Rather than treating romantic love as the mystery it was in both romantic and screwball comedies, it now became something the characters could learn to understand and control. There is thus a therapeutic dimension to many of the films in this genre as the hero or heroine learns (or fails to learn) how to achieve intimacy. Allen made many other movies that fit this genre, including *Manhattan* (1979), *Hannah and Her Sisters* (1986), *Husbands and Wives* (1992), and *Deconstructing Harry* (1997). Relationship stories by other directors include *An Unmarried Woman* (1978), *Modern Romance* (1981), *When Harry Met Sally* (1989), *Defending Your Life* (1991), *Miami Rhapsody* (1995), and *High Fidelity* (2000). While of these films only *An Unmarried Woman* might be called explicitly feminist, all them feature heroines who have careers and thus choices beyond marriage.

Other recent romantic comedies have used older conventions to new ends. Susan Seidelman gave screwball comedy a feminist spin in *Desperately Seeking Susan* (1985), in which heroine escapes from a bad marriage in the end. *Moonstruck* (1987) is also told explicitly from the heroine's perspective, and it adds Italian-American ethnicity and a middle-class setting. *Something's Gotta Give* (2003) depicts a romance between a geriatric Jack Nicholson and a realistically middle-aged Diane Keaton. Interracial romance was first broached in *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner?* (1967), but racial diversity and gay relationships have been notably absent from this genre. One exception is *Hsi yen* (*The Wedding Banquet* [1993]), in which Ang Lee focuses on a Chinese family in New York and plays off the conventions of the romantic comedy proper in depicting a gay couple (one of whom is white) who stage a heterosexual wedding in order to satisfy the families' expectations. *Four Weddings and a Funeral* (1994) includes a gay relationship that is depicted as loving and serious, but it is not the focus of the film's comic plot and ends in the funeral.

In opposition to progressive films, there has been a revival of traditional forms and their politics. This trend may have begun with the success of *Pretty Woman* (1990), a Cinderella story, wherein Julia Roberts plays a hooker who not only wants to marry the prince, a corporate raider (Richard Gere), but to find real intimacy with him as well. Nora Ephron's (b. 1941) films *Sleepless in Seattle* (1993) and *You've Got Mail* (1998), a remake of *The Shop Around the Corner*, are typical of those that followed *Pretty Woman*. Both feature plot devices that keep the central couple apart and, therefore, out of bed, thus allowing a nostalgic return to romance as it existed before premarital sex became a routine part of courtship.

Conservative treatments of the screwball formula also appeared, including *My Best Friend's Wedding* (1997), in which Julia Roberts plays the best friend who does not get the guy, and *Forces of Nature* (1999), which reverses the plot of *It Happened One Night* by having its heroine dropped for the hero's actual fiancée. In these films, romantic impulse is rejected in favor of social stability. *Love Actually* (2003) is a revival of the farce that deals with many couples but only one relationship, and even that, the marriage of Karen (Emma Thompson) and Harry (Alan Rickman), is seen through the prism of Harry's dalliance with his secretary. Like its generic ancestors, *Love Actually* takes monogamy for granted but also assumes that adultery is part of the institution. As the number and variety of these examples suggest, the romantic comedy remains a popular genre, and it is likely to remain so even if it is unlikely to regain the central role it had in the 1930s.

SEE ALSO *Comedy; Genre; Screwball Comedy*

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RUSSIA AND SOVIET UNION

The often problematical concept of national cinema takes on particular complications in the case of Russian and Soviet cinema. The first century of cinema encompassed intervals of Russian history from the late imperial period (1895–1917), through the era of the Soviet Union (1917–1991), to the emergence of the post-Soviet Russian Republic and the other newly independent states (from 1992). Much of twentieth-century Russian history coincides with the seventy-five-year presence of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, during which time period Russia represented just one member—the dominant one, to be sure—of a fifteen-member federal union. Russia's national culture was subsumed into the cultural politics of that larger union and guided by the political goals of the Soviet ruling elite.

Another ongoing issue for the region's cinema was its dynamic relationship with the West. The course of Russian and Soviet cinema has been influenced through the decades by periodic interaction with Western Europe and the United States. The twentieth century saw episodes of active cultural exchange (the 1920s) as well as periods in which Russia was cut off from foreign influences (the late 1940s). This give-and-take shaped and reshaped the region's indigenous cinema.

ORIGINS: 1896–1918

Cinema was introduced into Russia through the initiative of Europeans. One sign of foreign influence on Russian cinema is the number of cognates in Russia's film lexicon. One finds German (e.g., the Russian word for cinema, *kino*, derives from the German *Kino*) as well as many French traces in the language (e.g, the Russian *montazh* derives from *montage*). The Lumière organization first ventured into the region in 1896, with successful public showings of programs in St. Petersburg and Moscow. The company also dispatched the camera operator Francis Doublier to Russia to film local scenes. Other foreign companies, including Pathé and Gaumont, followed suit over the next few years, shooting actuality films, short documentaries on everyday life, that took advantage of local color and helped cultivate a possible film market in Russia.

Russian cities proved receptive to European film imports, and by the turn of the century film viewing emerged as a leisure activity available to the urban working and middle classes. Numerous "electro-theaters" (*elektroteatry*) appeared in Russia's major cities, showing continuous cycles of four or more shorts in thirty- to sixty-minute programs. These modest, storefront establishments gave way after 1980 larger, more ornate cinemas with announced seating times and expanded programs. By 1913 there were over 1,400 permanent movie theaters in the Russian Empire; the leading markets were St. Petersburg, with 134 commercial cinemas, and Moscow, with 67.

Russian filmmaking began as something of an offshoot of this European film presence. The first generation of Russian film entrepreneurs often had connections to foreign companies. Alexander Drankov began filmmaking in Russia after acquiring movie equipment from England in 1907 and using his status as a photographer for the London *Times* to help fund his fledgling movie business. He made the first Russian story film in 1908, a version of *Stenka Razin*, the well-known Russian tale of a Cossack hero. The crude, eight-minute film consists of

simple excerpts from familiar parts of the tale, but it proved to be a great popular success. Drankov continued his film career through the prerevolutionary era, shooting mostly low-budget entertainment and actuality films.

A leading Drankov competitor was Alexander Khanzhonkov, who began his career in Pathé's Russian office before starting his own film distribution service in 1909. He soon moved into film production, and his company grew into a powerful force in the still developing Russian film market. Khanzhonkov produced some seventy films in the five years leading up to World War I and pushed the industry toward more elaborate feature-length productions. He was joined in 1911 in "up-market" activity by the producer Joseph Yermoliev (1889–1962), who was able to capitalize his new Moscow studio for one million rubles. These and several smaller Russian companies set production patterns for Russian cinema through the 1910s. Domestic productivity increased steadily through the prewar period, from ten Russian-made story films in 1908 to 129 in 1913. Nevertheless, imports still dominated the market; when Russia entered World War I, only about 10 percent of films in Russian distribution were homemade.

The major producers like Khanzhankov and Yermoliev cultivated a taste for sumptuous melodramas and literary adaptations that found favor with the urban middle class through the 1910s. These elegant dramas borrowed something of a theatrical aesthetic, with elaborate sets, striking lighting effects, and very little editing. From this situation two major artists emerged, Yevgeni Bauer (1865–1917) and Yakov Protazanov (1881–1945). Bauer's feature *Nemye svideteli* (*Silent Witnesses*), produced for Khanzhokov in 1914, illustrates the best of this melodramatic tradition, with a visually rich *mise-en-scène* that sustains the emotional force of the drama. Protazanov is best remembered for his literary adaptations, including his elaborate rendering of Leo Tolstoy's *Otets Sergei* (*Father Sergius*, 1917) for the Yermoliev studio.

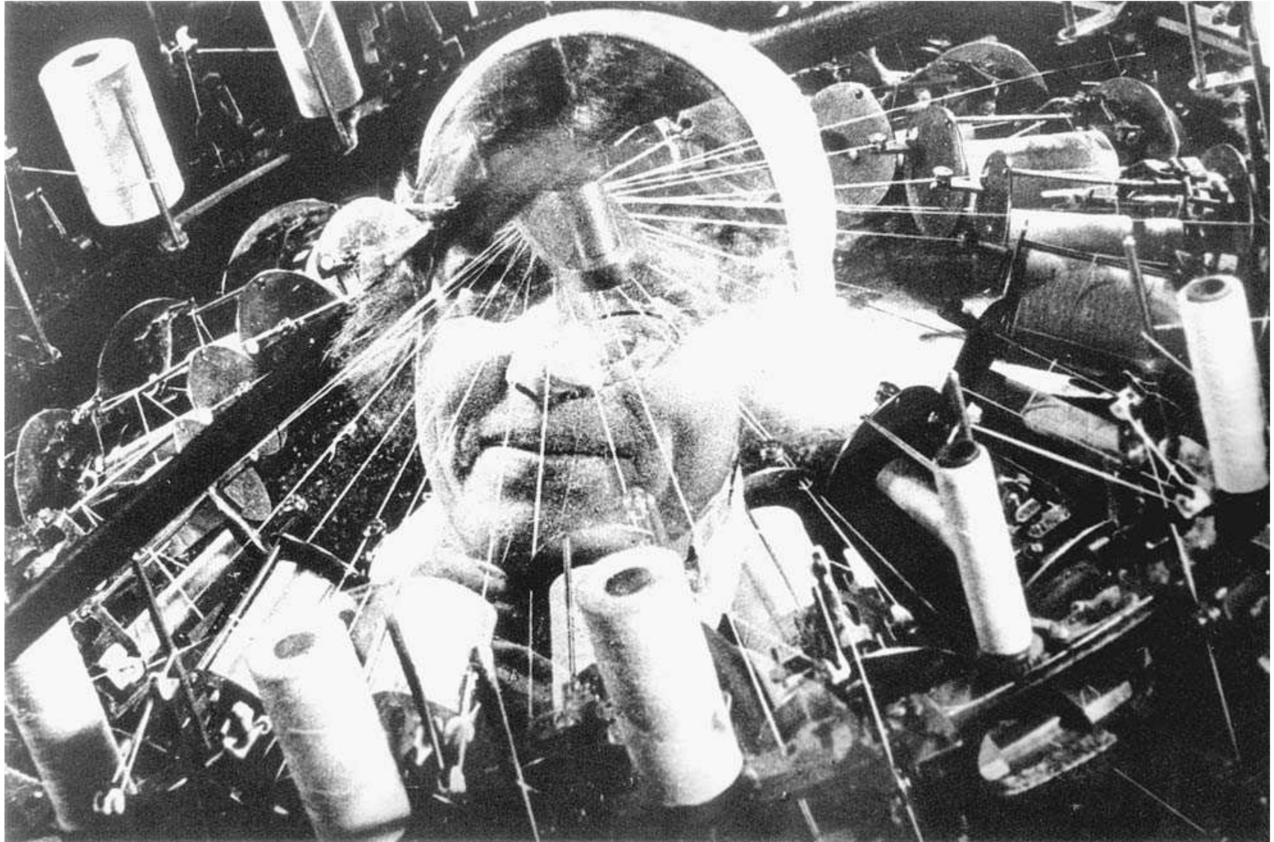
The world war cut the Russian Empire off from foreign trade and abruptly ended the importation of new European movies. Domestic studios increased production levels to meet demand, but they were eating into a fixed capital base. The nation lacked factories to produce new film equipment or raw film stock, having relied for years on importation for such materials. Supplies ran out after 1916, leading to an industry crisis that continued into the early Soviet era.

REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD: 1918–1929

When the new Bolshevik regime began to organize its own governmental agencies in early 1918, the leadership took stock of the nation's extant cinema resources in the hope the medium could serve as an instrument of political persuasion. Authority for cinema affairs was assigned to the Commissariat of Education and its energetic head, Anatoly Vasilyevich Lunacharsky (who served in that post from 1917 to 1929) who found the Russian film industry had plunged into recession. Movie theaters closed during the last year of World War I and the tumultuous early months of the revolution. Veteran film personnel fled the country, taking film assets with them. Resources dwindled through the late 1910s and early 1920s, and the Soviets could not resupply because of a trade embargo mounted in Western Europe. Although a White Russian film community succeeded in making movies in regions outside of Bolshevik authority (such as the Crimea) in the late 1910s, the nation's film industry all but shut down by 1920. Vladimir Lenin's famous decree nationalizing cinema in 1919 was something of an empty gesture, since there were precious few film assets to take over.

Lunacharsky set about rebuilding the film industry in the early 1920s when Lenin instituted the semicapitalist New Economic Policy (NEP), in which market practices returned to the Soviet economy. This revived the urban economy and the Russian middle class. Lunacharsky calculated that city dwellers, who had provided the audience base of prerevolutionary cinema, would return to movie theaters if new foreign product could be brought in. He arranged for the renewed importation of foreign films beginning in 1922, the same year the trade embargo ended. German, French, Scandinavian, and especially American movies once again filled commercial movie theaters in Russia, attracting paying audiences. Income went to the purchase of new film supplies and to the refitting of movie studios. Soviet productivity increased gradually through the 1920s, even as foreign movies enjoyed long commercial runs. In 1923 the USSR released just thirty-eight homemade features; by 1928 that figure was up to 109.

Meanwhile, the regime campaigned to "cinefy" the countryside by spreading the exhibition network to reach the entire Soviet population. By 1928 urban spectators could see movies in 2,730 commercial movie theaters, almost twice the number from 1913. This commercial exhibition network was complemented by worker clubs, a Soviet innovation to provide industrial workers and their families with entertainment and cultural enlightenment during leisure hours. Some 4,680 worker clubs regularly showed movies at discount prices to proletarian audiences. And for the first time, cinema was reaching the vast peasant population. Both fixed and portable projectors served villages by the late 1920s: in 1928, 1,820 villages had permanent installations and another 3,770 portable units toured rural circuits.



Dziga Vertov celebrated both cinema and industry in* Chelovek s kino-apparatom *(*Man with a Movie Camera*, 1929).
EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

The union-wide film market was also reorganized to encourage the USSR's member republics to develop their own film studios and distribution networks. The Russian Republic remained dominant with 70 percent of the USSR's film market and the leading studios Sovkino and Mezhrabpom. But other republics in the Soviet system developed indigenous film activity during the middle 1920s. Leading non-Russian studios included Georgia's Gosinprom Gruzii and Ukraine's VUFKU. This rehabilitated infrastructure made possible the great creative achievements of Soviet silent cinema, including the innovations of the montage directors Sergei Eisenstein (1898–1948), V. I. Pudovkin (1893–1953), Alexander Dovzhenko (1894–1956), and Dziga Vertov (1896–1954). All produced their most acclaimed works in the brief period of film prosperity in the mid- to late-1920s.

The seeds for the montage movement had been planted earlier. The State Film Institute in Moscow was established in 1919 to train a new generation of filmmakers during the rebuilding period. Lev Kuleshov (1899–1970) joined the faculty in 1920 and surrounded himself with a promising group of students, including Pudovkin and (briefly) Eisenstein, who studied with him in the early 1920s, and then began their own filmmaking careers in the middle 1920s once the film industry resumed productivity. Kuleshov and his students took note of the sophisticated editing techniques evident in the American movies playing in Moscow's cinemas. They embraced editing as the key to successful filmmaking and as a welcome contrast to the theatrical style of prerevolutionary Russian cinema. Rapid editing also seemed to offer a dynamic style that paralleled some of the modernist techniques of the USSR's artistic avant-garde.

Among the montage directors, Pudovkin is commonly regarded as having followed a more conventional narrative line, consistent with his acknowledged interest in Hollywood-style continuity editing, whereas his colleague Eisenstein explored a more radical montage possibility. Pudovkin's preference is evident in his adaptation of the Maxim Gorky novel *Mat* (*Mother*, 1926). This account of the 1905 uprising treats revolutionary activity through the experiences of a single title character and

ALEXANDER DOVZHENKO

b. Sosnitsa, Russia (now Ukraine), 12 September 1895, d. 26 November 1956

Alexander Dovzhenko is regarded as Ukraine's premier filmmaker and the nation's most revered artist of the twentieth century. In nine fiction films and three documentaries, as well as a number of literary works and drawings, Dovzhenko gave creative form to Ukraine's difficult historical progress toward modernity during the Soviet era. His film work takes up themes of the social and economic modernization program sustained by the Soviet regime, while also invoking traditional motifs from Ukraine's national heritage.

Dovzhenko was born in rural Ukraine and raised in a conservative peasant culture that stressed national and folk traditions. By the time of the Russian Revolution in 1917–1918, however, he was drawn into radical political activism and allied himself with the Bolshevik Party. He subsequently sought to fashion a role in the community of revolutionary artists who emerged in the early years of the Soviet system. After a brief career as a painter and political cartoonist, Dovzhenko entered the cinema in 1926, working first on comic shorts and then on a series of features that addressed the effect of Soviet modernization and industrialization on Ukrainian society.

He is best known for his three silent epics on the Ukrainian revolution and its consequences, *Zvenigora* (1928), *Arsenal* (1929), and *Zemlya* (*Earth*, 1930). The films manifest support for revolutionary change under the Soviets, but they also reference Ukrainian pastoral art and folklore. This is evident in the conclusion of *Arsenal*, for example, which celebrates the heroic last stand of a group of Ukrainian Bolsheviks battling nationalist counterrevolutionaries in 1918. When the Bolshevik hero proves invulnerable to enemy bullets in the final scene, Ukrainian audiences would have recognized the reference to a venerable folk legend about an eighteenth-century peasant uprising.

Dovzhenko sustained his account of economic development during the sound era. *Ivan* (1932) deals with the construction of a massive hydroelectric complex in Ukraine that served as a symbol of the region's move toward industrialization, and *Aerograd* (*Frontier*, 1935) takes up Soviet efforts to secure the Siberian frontier as a step toward developing the Soviet far east. Dovzhenko returned to the Ukrainian revolution with his 1939 film *Shchors* (*Shors*), treating the exploits of a martyred Red Army commander, and he spent World War II making propaganda documentaries on behalf of the war effort. In his only postwar feature, *Michurin* (*Life in Bloom*, 1948), Dovzhenko revisits the modernization theme in a biopic about a Soviet horticulturist whose research promised to improve nature's bounty through modern science.

The increasingly stringent censorship of the Stalin regime frustrated Dovzhenko through the second half of his career, and he completed only four features in the last twenty-five years of his life. He left behind a number of scripts and unfinished projects at the time of his death, some of which were eventually filmed by his wife and creative collaborator, Julia Solntseva. His greater legacy was the body of finished work that chronicled his homeland's uneasy developmental progress under the Soviets.

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Zvenigora (1928), *Arsenal* (1929), *Zemlya* (*Earth,* 1930), *Ivan* (1932), *Aerograd* (*Frontier*, 1935), *Shchors* (*Shors*, 1939)

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often subordinates editing to the demands of character development. Eisenstein's more aggressive aesthetic is illustrated in his parallel treatment of the 1905 rebellion, *Bronenosets Potyomkin* (*Battleship Potemkin*, also known as *Potemkin*, 1925). He eschews conventional protagonists in favor of a collective hero, and his more discontinuous editing stresses conflict rather than linear development.

Alexander Dovzhenko. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

The montage style was embraced in different ways by other filmmakers beyond Kuleshov's Muscovite circle. At the VUFKU studio, Dovzhenko developed a trilogy of films on the Ukrainian revolutionary experience—*Zvenigora* (1928), *Arsenal* (1929), and *Zemlya* (*Earth*, 1930)—and employed a highly elliptical montage style that challenged audiences at the level of narrative comprehension. Working in the documentary domain, Vertov decried the norms of linear narration that he found in most fiction cinema. He called for reality-based cinema and for an editing practice that articulated social and economic relations rather than narrative events, an ambition that is illustrated in his, VUFKU documentary *Chelovek s kino-apparatom* (*Man with a Movie Camera*, 1929).

Montage was not the stylistic norm for Soviet silent cinema, however. Most Soviet features of the 1920s followed more conventional norms of storytelling, and many clearly imitated the Hollywood entertainment pictures that enjoyed such success in the Soviet commercial market. Boris Barnet (1902–1965), for example, made genre films in the Hollywood mode, such as the crowd-pleasing comedy *Devushka s korobkoi* (*The Girl with the Hatbox*, 1927). And the veteran director Protazanov, who returned to the USSR in 1924 after a period of exile, worked successfully in various popular genres, including science fiction (*Aelita*, 1924).

Such mainstream genre pictures and Hollywood imports drew a larger audience share than the more avant-garde work of the montage directors. Reports filtered back to the film industry leadership that many Soviet spectators were genuinely confused by the elliptical editing of the likes of Dovzhenko, and they professed a preference for narrative continuity. Meanwhile, the movie audience continued to expand to include a larger share of the peasantry, still the USSR's demographic majority. Cinema officials feared correctly that such new movie viewers would be alienated by the cinema avant-garde, and this sparked a debate in the film community about which style would finally secure the loyalty of the Soviet masses. The debate would be resolved by the force of policy under the regime of Joseph Stalin.

THE CINEMA OF STALINISM: 1930–1941

During the late 1920s and early 1930s the Stalinist wing of the Communist Party consolidated its authority and set about transforming the Soviet Union on both the economic and cultural fronts. The economy moved from the market-based NEP to a system of central planning. The new leadership declared a "cultural revolution" in which the party would exercise tight control over cultural affairs, including artistic expression. Cinema existed at the intersection of art and economics; so it was destined to be thoroughly reorganized in this episode of economic and cultural transformation.

To implement central planning in cinema, the new bureaucratic entity Soyuzkino was created in 1930. All the hitherto autonomous studios and distribution networks that had grown up under NEP's market would now be coordinated in their activities by this planning agency. Soyuzkino's authority also extended to the studios of the national republics such as VUFKU, which had enjoyed more independence during the 1920s. Soyuzkino consisted of an extended bureaucracy of economic planners and policy specialists who were charged to formulate annual production plans for the studios and then to monitor the distribution and exhibition of finished films.

With central planning came more centralized authority over creative decision making. Script development became a long, torturous process under this bureaucratic system, with various committees reviewing drafts and calling for cuts or revisions. In the 1930s censorship became more exacting with each passing year, in a manner that paralleled the increasing cultural repression of the Stalinist regime. Feature film projects would drag out for months or years and might be terminated at any point

Alexander Dovzhenko drew from Ukranian folk culture in such films as* Zemlya *(*Earth*, 1930). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

along the way because of the capricious decision of one or another censoring committee.

Such redundant oversight slowed down production and inhibited creativity. Although central planning was supposed to increase the film industry's productivity, production levels declined steadily through the 1930s. The industry was releasing over one-hundred features annually at the end of the NEP period, but that figure fell to seventy by 1932 and to forty-five by 1934. It never again reached triple digits during the remainder of the Stalin era. Veteran directors experienced precipitous career declines under this system of bureaucratic control; whereas Eisenstein was able to make four features between 1924 and 1929, he completed only one film (*Alexander Nevsky*, 1938) during the entire decade of the 1930s. His planned adaptation of the Ivan Turgenev story *Bezhin lug* (*Bezhin Meadow*, 1935–1937) was halted during production in 1937 and officially banned, one of many promising film projects that fell victim to an exacting censorship system.

Meanwhile, the USSR cut off its film contacts with the West. It stopped importing films after 1931 out of concern that foreign films exposed audiences to capitalist ideologies. The industry also freed itself from dependency on foreign technologies. During its industrialization effort of the early 1930s, the USSR finally built an array of factories to supply the film industry with the nation's own technical resources.

To secure independence from the West, industry leaders mandated that the USSR develop its own sound technologies, rather than taking licenses on Western sound systems. Two Soviet scientists, Alexander Shorin in Leningrad (formerly St. Petersburg) and Pavel Tager in Moscow, conducted research through the late 1920s on complementary sound systems, which were ready for use by 1930. The implementation process, including the

cost of refitting movie theaters, proved daunting, and the USSR did not complete the transition to sound until 1935. Nevertheless, several directors made innovative use of sound once the technology became available. In *Entuziazm: Simfoniya Donbassa* (*Enthusiasm*, 1931), his documentary on coal mining and heavy industry, Vertov based his soundtrack on an elegantly orchestrated array of industrial noises. Pudovkin in *Dezertir* (*Deserter*, 1933) experimented with a form of "sound counterpoint" by exploiting tensions and ironic dissonances between sound elements and the image track. And in *Alexander Nevsky*, Eisenstein collaborated with the composer Sergei Prokofiev on an "operatic" film style that elegantly coordinated the musical score and the image track.

As Soviet cinema made the transition to sound and central planning in the early 1930s, it was also put under a mandate to adopt a uniform film style, commonly identified as Socialist Realism. In 1932 the party leadership ordered the literary community to abandon the avant-garde practices of the 1920s and to embrace Socialist Realism, a literary style that, in practice, was actually close to nineteenth-century realism. The other arts, including cinema, were subsequently instructed to develop the aesthetic equivalent. For cinema, this meant adopting a film style that would be legible to a broad audience, thus avoiding a possible split between the avant-garde and mainstream cinema that was evident in the late 1920s. The director of Soyuzkino and chief policy officer for the film industry, Boris Shumiatsky (1886–1938), who served from 1931 to 1938, was a harsh critic of the montage aesthetic. He championed a "cinema for the millions," which would use clear, linear narration. Although American movies were no longer being imported in the 1930s, the Hollywood model of continuity editing was readily available, and it had a successful track record with Soviet movie audiences. Soviet Socialist Realism was built on this style, which assured tidy storytelling. Various guidelines were then added to the doctrine: positive heroes to act as role models for viewers; lessons in good citizenship for spectators to embrace; and support for reigning policy decisions of the Communist Party.

Such restrictive aesthetic policies, enforced by the rigorous censorship apparatus of Soyuzkino, resulted in a number of formulaic and doctrinaire films. But they apparently did succeed in sustaining a true "cinema of the masses." The 1930s witnessed some stellar examples of popular cinema. The single most successful film of the decade, in terms of both official praise and genuine affection from the mass audience, was *Chapayev* (1934), co-directed by Sergei (1900–1959) and Grigori Vasiliev. Based on the life of a martyred Red Army commander, the film was touted as a model of Socialist Realism, in that Chapayev and his followers battled heroically for the revolutionary cause. But the film also humanized the title character, giving him personal foibles, an ironic sense of humor, and a rough peasant charm. These qualities endeared him to the viewing public: spectators reported seeing the film multiple times during its first run in 1934, and *Chapayev* was periodically rereleased for subsequent generations of movie viewers.

A genre that emerged in the 1930s to consistent popular acclaim was the musical comedy, and a master of that form was Grigori Aleksandrov (1903–1984). He effected a creative partnership with his wife, the brilliant comic actress and *chanteuse* Lyubov Orlova (1902–1975), in a series of crowd-pleasing musicals. Their pastoral comedy *Volga-Volga* (1938) was surpassed only by *Chapayev* in terms of box-office success. The fantasy element of their films, with lively musical numbers reviving the montage aesthetic, sometimes stretched the boundaries of Socialist Realism, but the genre could also allude to contemporary affairs. In Aleksandrov's 1940 musical *Svetlyi put'* (*The Shining Path*), Orlova plays a humble servant girl who rises through the ranks of the Soviet industrial leadership after developing clever labor-saving work methods. Audiences could enjoy the film's comic turn on the Cinderella story while also learning about the value of efficiency in the workplace.

WAR AND ITS AFTERMATH: 1941–1953

The German invasion of June 1941 produced an immediate crisis of national survival and led to a four-year ordeal for the Soviet population, eventually costing the lives of approximately 20 million Soviet citizens. All major industries were pressed into emergency service after June 1941, including cinema. But the initial military situation also disrupted the film industry's operations. The two major production centers, Leningrad and Moscow, soon came under threat from the German army. Much of the Moscow film community and production infrastructure was evacuated to the east. A makeshift production facility went up in Alma Ata in Kazakhstan. Leningrad remained under daily bombardment for more than two years, and key film factories located in the city sustained serious damage. The army conscripted 250 experienced camera operators to make front-line newsreels, and nearly 20 percent of them died in combat. Veteran filmmakers such as Dovzhenko took military commissions and served the effort by producing propaganda documentaries.

As an immediate response to the crisis, the industry rushed out a series of "Fighting Film Albums" (*boevye kinosborniki*), short, topical films that combined documentary and scripted materials. Each episode offered a clear, pointed message on the importance of contributing to the war effort. Twelve such propaganda pieces were

ELEM KLIMOV

b. Stalingrad, Russia (now Volgograd, Russia), 9 July 1933, d. 26 October 2003

One of the leading figures of the post-World War II Russian cinema, Elem Klimov's influence was felt as both a filmmaker and as a film industry reformer who helped guide his nation's cinema through the transition to democratization and privatization in the late Soviet era. Born and raised in a family of Communist Party members, Klimov eventually became a critic of the Soviet system, in part because his work often ran afoul of Soviet censors, and also because he championed the reform movement that helped end party control over the arts.

After studying aviation in the 1950s, Klimov was able to enter cinema during the post- Stalin "thaw," which opened up new opportunities for young filmmakers. He studied at the national film academy VGIK and began his film career in the early 1960s as part of a talented "new wave" generation that included Andrei Tarkovsky, Vasily Shukshin, and Klimov's own wife, Larisa Shepitko. His early comic satires, *Dobro pozhalovat, ili postoronnim vkhod vospreshchyon* (*Welcome, or No Trespassing*, 1964), and *Pokhozhdeniya zubnogo vracha* (*Adventures of a Dentist*, 1965), targeted Soviet authoritarianism, and their releases were delayed by nervous censors. His historical drama *Agoniya* (*Agony*), on the final days of the czarist era, was completed in 1975 but not released until 1984.

Klimov's work took a dark turn after the death of his wife, Larisa Shepitko, in a car accident in 1979, cutting short her brilliant film career. He directed a documentary tribute to her, *Larisa* (1980), and he took over and completed her unfinished project *Proshchanie s Matyoroy* (*Farewell*, 1983), a sad tale about the destruction of an ancient village and the relocation of its residents as a by-product of industrial development. This film too was nearly banned by Soviet authorities, who disagreed with its warning about the environmental costs of progress. Klimov's most severe work was his masterpiece, the relentlessly grim war film *Idi i smotri* (*Come and See*, 1985). Set in Belarus during the Nazi occupation, the story concerns a sensitive boy who lives through the war's turmoil and atrocities and becomes jaded and hardened by the experience.

Klimov completed no other films in the last two decades of his life. He turned to political activism in 1986, becoming First Secretary of the Union of Filmmakers and a leading spokesman for the Russian film community. In that role he was instrumental in implementing changes supported by the reformist regime of Mikhail Gorbachev under the banner of artistic "openness" (*glasnost*). Klimov's efforts helped end bureaucratic control over creative affairs in cinema and secured the release of previously banned films. He left office at the end of the decade to resume his filmmaking career, hoping to adapt Mikhail Bulgakov's classic novel *The Master and Margarita* (translated edition released in 1967). He never finished that ambitious project, in part, ironically, because the film privatization process that he championed actually caused the Russian film industry to retrench in the 1990s.

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Agoniya (*Agony*, 1975/1984), *Idi i smotri* (*Come and See*, 1985)

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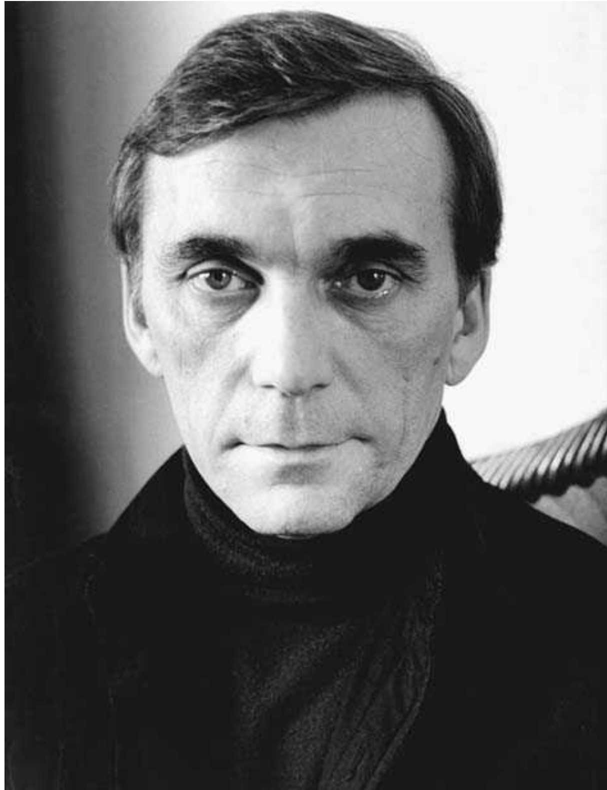
released in 1941 and 1942 while the industry regrouped. Throughout the remainder of the conflict, film resources went primarily to war-related documentaries and newsreels. Between 1942 and 1945 the industry released only seventy feature films. Most of their stories were set in the present and promoted the theme of national resistance to the German invaders. Characteristic of this trend was the emotional drama *Raduga* (*The Rainbow*, Mark Donskoi, 1944), the tale of a Russian peasant woman who is captured and mercilessly tortured by the enemy but who never betrays her country during the ordeal.

Fewer historical films were included in wartime production plans, but this genre did yield at least one masterpiece, Eisenstein's *Ivan Groznyi I* (*Ivan the Terrible, Part I*, 1944). Conceived in 1941 as an epic trilogy on the Russian czar most admired by Stalin, it was produced



Elem Klimov. **ELEN KLIMOV/THE KOBAL COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

under war conditions at the Alma Ata facility. Eisenstein again collaborated with Prokofiev on an operatic score for this lavish production. Part I of the project was completed in 1944 and released to much acclaim in January 1945. With the war still under way, it was treated in the official Soviet press as a history lesson on the importance of Russian unity in a time of national crisis.

After the German surrender, the film industry took stock of wartime losses and looked toward rebuilding. The war had taken a hard toll. Approximately twelve percent of all persons who had been employed in the movie industry in 1941 perished during the conflict. Much of the cinema infrastructure had been in the western regions of the USSR, the areas most affected by the fighting. Over half of the USSR's movie theaters were put out of operation by 1945 because of battle damage. Responding to the crisis, the Soviet government allocated 500 million rubles to invest in the cinema infrastructure over five years (1946–1950), and postwar economic planning supported the recruitment and training of new personnel. The rebuilding program yielded quick results, and by 1950 the Soviet film industry's personnel and productive capacity actually exceeded pre-1941 levels.

Yet even as the industry grew in material capacity, figures on annual feature film releases fell to all-time lows. Each year annual production plans confidently predicted the release of eighty to a hundred features, and each year the actual figures proved paltry. Only twenty features were released in 1946; that number dropped to eleven by 1950, and to just five by 1952. This bizarre situation was caused by a draconian episode in the cultural politics of Stalinism. In the late 1940s the arts in general and cinema in particular came under intense Communist Party scrutiny, during what proved to be the single most repressive moment in the cultural history of Russia. A 1946 party decree ordered the banning of several new films, including Eisenstein's *Ivan Groznyi II* (*Ivan the Terrible, Part II*, released in 1958), for alleged flaws, and then announced the party would not permit future films to go forward unless they passed the most rigorous examination. This gave rise to an official "theory of masterpieces" in postwar Soviet cinema; whereas very few films would be released, each film approved for release after such exacting review would be, by definition, a masterpiece. This harsh environment meant that most films that passed muster simply embraced party ideology and Stalinist idolatry. Characteristic of this was *Padenie Berlina* (*The Fall of Berlin*, Mikheil Chiaureli, 1949), a bloated war drama in which Stalin is credited with making one brilliant military decision after another, thereby defeating the Germans and saving the nation.

In this restrictive cinema environment, Soviet movie audiences had few choices, but they kept attending movies. Spectators would watch every new feature, often more than once, and they had the chance to see rereleases of past favorites such as *Chapayev*. The meager cinema menu of the late-Stalin era was enhanced by a curious addition, however: so-called trophy films (*trofeinye fil'my*) became available to Soviet audiences after 1945 and proved to be quite popular. These were Western-made features confiscated from Germany after the Nazi surrender. Most were German, but some were from other nations, including the United States. They went into Soviet commercial release with new printed introductions that instructed audiences to take note of the decadent ways of Western capitalism that were on display in the film. Audiences apparently gave such disclaimers little heed; the films provided welcome glimpses into foreign cultures at a time when the state otherwise forbade contact with the West.

THAW AND NEW WAVE: 1954–1968

Within two years of Stalin's death in 1953, Soviet writers and artists perceived a "thaw" in the party's cultural politics. Statements from the new leader Nikita

Khrushchev (first secretary of the party from 1953 to 1964, and premier from 1958 to 1964) promised more creative freedom. Meanwhile, the film industry reorganized in this more tolerant climate to increase both productivity and diversity in annual film plans, gradually boosting outputs through the decade. By 1960 the USSR was releasing over a hundred features annually, the first time in three decades that productivity reached triple digits. Several banned films, including Eisenstein's *Ivan the Terrible, Part II*, were finally cleared for Soviet exhibition.

Whereas in the 1940s newcomers had little hope of getting the few available directing assignments, the expanded production plans of the 1950s allowed a generation of young directors to launch careers. Eldar Riazanov (b. 1927) began his career with the musical comedy *Karnaval'naia noch'* (*Carnival Night*, 1956). Its biting satire on bureaucratic interference in artistic expression was clearly an allusion to the Stalin legacy. After graduating from the State Film Institute in 1955, Lev Kulidzhanov (1924–2002) showed his talent with the touching drama *Dom, v kotorom ia zhivu* (*The House I Live In*, 1957). A loose story that follows the daily lives of several people living in a communal housing situation, the film evidenced a debt to Italian Neorealism.

Such foreign influences were not accidental. During the mid- to late 1950s, Soviet film artists were able to reenter the international cinema community after two decades of isolation. The USSR began importing foreign films again for domestic release and encouraged its own filmmakers to participate in international festivals. Two films of the late 1950s won acclaim in the festival circuit and helped reacquaint the West with Soviet cinema: Mikhail K. Kalatozov's (1903–1973) *Letiat zhuravli* (*The Cranes Are Flying*, 1957) received a Palme d'Or at the Cannes Film Festival, and Grigori Chukhrai's (1921–2001) *Ballada o soldate* (*Ballad of a Soldier*, 1959) won prizes at Cannes and Venice. When the Moscow Film Festival began in 1959, it was clear that the USSR would remain in the international film arena.

This renewed contact with the West proved salutary for the generation of young filmmakers that emerged in the 1960s, including Andrei Tarkovsky (1932–1986), Vasily Shukshin (1929–1974), and Larisa Shepitko (1938–1979). Although they did not view themselves as part of a unified film movement, they are sometimes treated as a Russian "new wave" because of their parallel career paths and similar artistic debts to modern European cinema. All three graduated from the Film Institute and started their careers in the early 1960s, and they all drew their inspirations not from the past giants of Soviet cinema like Eisenstein but from leading European art directors. Tarkovsky is often compared to Ingmar Bergman, and that debt is evident in Tarkovsky's first feature, *Ivanovo detstvo* (*Ivan's Childhood*, also known as *My Name Is Ivan*, 1962). Shukshin's debut film, *Zhivyot takoi paren'* (*There Lived Such a Lad*, 1964), with its loose narrative structure and elegant camera movement, bears a resemblance to the early work of François Truffaut. And the subjective episodes in Shepitko's *Kryl'ia* (*Wings*, 1966), which sometimes blur the distinction between fantasy and reality, are reminiscent of Federico Fellini.

The Soviet regime hardened its policies in the late 1960s, and renewed censorship stemmed some of the creative energies of these young directors. Signs of this trend were the heavy-handed censorship of *Korotkie vstrechi* (*Brief Encounters*, Kira Muratova, 1967) and the banning in 1968 of *Komissar* (*The Commissar*, Aleksandr Askoldov), which ran afoul of censors because of its treatment of the sensitive issue of anti-Semitism in the USSR.

STAGNATION PERIOD: 1969–1985

Russian cultural historians labeled the 1970s and early 1980s a period of stagnation because of the dissipation of creative energy and innovation in the arts. The film industry became more heavily bureaucratized in the 1970s. The industry's planning agency, now known as Goskino, provided sinecure jobs for veteran Communist Party officials who sometimes proved to have little or no expertise in film. They were often at odds with members of the creative community. In a few cases, outside political interference became scandalous, as when the avant-garde director Sergei Parajanov (1924–1990) was arrested in 1974 and released from prison only after the Kremlin responded to foreign pressure. Nevertheless, the era produced aesthetically sophisticated work in areas that may have been considered safe, such as literary adaptations. In his late career, for example, the veteran director Grigori Kozintsev (1905–1973) concentrated on elaborate adaptations of such canonized writers as Cervantes and Shakespeare; this culminated in the release of Kozintsev's magnum opus, *Korol Lir* (*King Lear*), in 1971, four years before his death.

Some of the most innovative work of the era was done in alternative genres, notably in children's film. A respected practitioner in this genre was Rolan Bykov (1929–1998), who often used his otherwise mild, comic stories about children to explore problems inherent in the Soviet system. His charming 1970 film *Vnimanie, cherepakha!* (*Attention, Turtle!*) has some gentle fun with the Soviet doctrine of collective action. By the early 1980s, however, Bykov's vision of childhood and the Soviet experience had grown darker. His *Chuchelo* (*The Scarecrow*, 1983) took a harsh view of the extent to which

ANDREI TARKOVSKY

b. Zavrazhe, Ivanono, Russia, 4 April 1932, d. 28 December 1986

Andrei Tarkovsky remains the most esteemed Soviet filmmaker of the post-World War II era despite having a relatively small body of work. An uncompromising artist and visionary who refused to bend either to Soviet governmental authorities or to commercial considerations, he completed only seven features and one short. His films were years in the making and often faced distribution delays or limited release. Each answered to his personal vision and gave form to the central concern of his own life, the difficulty of sustaining a sensitive, artistic temperament in a harsh world.

After studying music, drawing, and languages, he entered the Soviet film school VGIK in 1954 and completed his diploma film, the short *Katok i skripka* (*The Steamroller and the Violin*) in 1960. This elegant children's film about a meek young musician who seeks the protective friendship of a Soviet worker anticipates the central theme of Tarkovsky's later features: the conflict between the artist's sensibility and the realities of the modern world. Tarkovsky's austere narratives found their visual complement in a long-take style that stressed the duration of experience. He rejected the montage tradition of classical Soviet cinema and advocated a style that rendered the linear experience of time in lengthy takes and slow, elegant camera movements.

The image of youth coping with external threats carries over to Tarkovsky's first feature, *Ivanovo detstvo* (*My Name Is Ivan*, 1962), a World War II story of an orphaned boy living through the turmoil of war. Tarkovsky's mature work begins with *Andrei Rublev* (1966, USSR release in 1971), which concerns the tribulations of the great Russian icon painter. Tarkovsky's science fiction allegory *Solaris* (1972), based on a Stanislaw Lem novel, suggests that modern scientific knowledge is an inferior substitute for creative imagination. His most formally complex film, *Zerkalo* (*The Mirror*, 1975), uses a highly elliptical narrative design to trace out the fragmentary memories and dreamscapes of its dying protagonist, who must reflect on a life of emotional failure. In *Stalker* (1979), Tarkovsky returns to science fiction in a tale, set in the not-too-distant future, of a journey through a dystopian realm called the Zone.

The motif of the artist's alienation from his own society took literal form in the last phase of Tarkovsky's life and career. *Nostalghia*, an account of a Russian musicologist living in self-imposed exile from his homeland, was shot in Italy in 1983, and Tarkovsky never returned to the USSR, eventually defecting to the West. He made his last film, *Offret* (*The Sacrifice*, 1986), in Sweden, but its landscape was chosen to resemble Russia, evoking a homesickness that tormented Tarkovsky until his death.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Katok i skripka (*The Steamroller and the Violin*, 1960), *Ivanovo detstvo* (*My Name Is Ivan*, 1962), *Andrei Rublev* (1966), *Solaris* (1972), *Zerkalo* (*The Mirror*, 1975), *Stalker* (1979), *Nostalghia* (1983), *Offret* (*The Sacrifice*, 1986)

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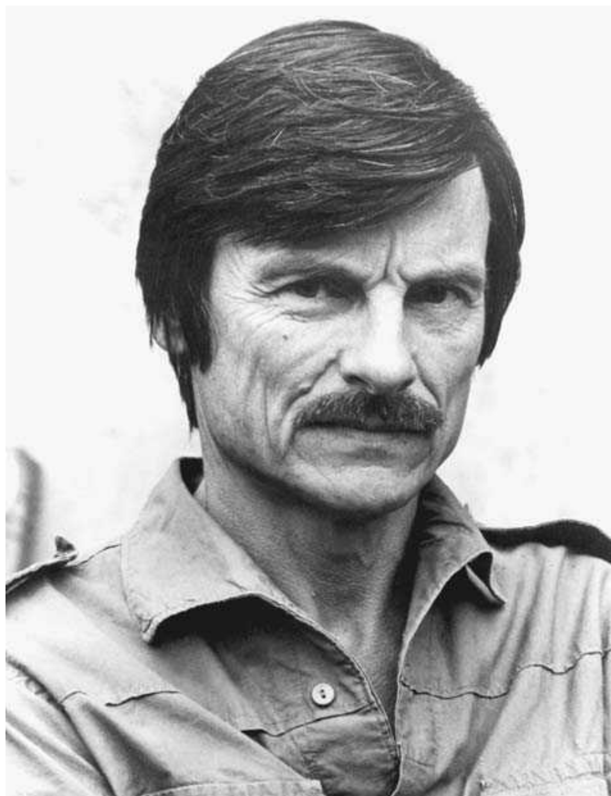
the collectivist ideology had turned into an obsession with social uniformity in the story of a nonconforming school girl who is mistreated by her peers.

Whatever the strengths and weaknesses of the period's movies, cinema remained a strong national institution. The studios thrived in the 1970s, releasing over 125 theatrical features annually. Movie-going remained a vital part of the social routine of Soviet citizens. There was none of the audience decline evident in the United States in the same period, for example, even though the USSR had full television service by the 1970s. Per capita attendance in the USSR was over sixteen movie outings annually, approximately three times the annual attendance rate of Americans.



Andrei Tarkovsky. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

GLASNOST AND THE POST-SOVIET SITUATION: 1985–2002

In May 1986 the Kremlin hosted the Fifth Congress of the Filmmakers Union, a gathering of cinema leaders and Communist Party officials. It turned into a historic event. Mikhail Gorbachev (1985–1991), the USSR's new leader, had declared a policy of *glasnost* (openness) in the arts and public media, and he launched a set of reforms to modernize the Soviet economy and democratize its political process. At the May 1986 Congress, the film community embraced the reform program and earned the strong support of the Gorbachev administration. Glasnost encouraged a frank discussion of the USSR's many socioeconomic problems, including an industrial infrastructure that had fallen into disrepair and a society experiencing an upsurge of crime and drug abuse. Such matters had hitherto been hushed up in the USSR's controlled media. Gorbachev calculated that a public acknowledgment of the system's failings would aid the reform effort, and he cultivated the support of writers and artists to help promote his program.

Over the next three years, the movie industry went through a series of reforms that were sanctioned by the Gorbachev administration. The changes virtually eliminated government censorship of movies and substantially reduced the extent to which the old government planning bureaucracy Goskino could influence creative affairs. Studios won autonomy to develop their own production programs and to compete in a more open film marketplace. The Gorbachev regime even supported plans to privatize cinema as part of an effort to reintroduce market practices into the Soviet economy.

One immediate effect of the new openness was the opportunity for previously banned or restricted films to find a wider audience. A Conflicts Commission reviewed and authorized the release of approximately two hundred previously banned films, including *Commissar*. The Georgian director Tengiz Abuladze (1924–1994) made his allegory on the Stalinist legacy, *Monanieba* (in Georgian; in Russian, *Pokaianie*; *Confession* or *Repentance*, 1987), in 1984, but his message benefited from the wider release and from the more frank discussions of Stalinism that became possible after 1986.

Documentary filmmakers were among those who immediately seized the opportunity to offer candid accounts of contemporary society. An emerging social problem of the 1980s involved a youth culture infected with drugs and crime. The Latvian director Juris Podnieks (1950–1992) addressed this matter in compelling fashion in his *Vai viegli but jaunam?* (in Latvian; in Russian, *Legko li byt' molodym?*; *Is It Easy to Be Young?*, 1987), which documents the aimless, desultory existence experienced by many members of this troubled generation.

The most widely debated fiction film of the glasnost movement also took up the issue of disaffected youth. Vasily Pichul's (b. 1961) *Malen'kaia Vera* (*Little Vera*, 1988) sparked criticism for its blunt, almost crude treatment of the aimless life of its title character, but the film also earned the passionate defense of younger viewers who had firsthand experience of Vera's situation. Shot in a rough, cinéma vérité style, the film takes up such sensitive subjects as youth crime and wanton sexual activity. It even graphically depicts sexual intercourse, which would have been unthinkable as screen material just a few years earlier.

The same filmmakers who were so energized by Gorbachev also welcomed his 1991 resignation and the subsequent collapse of the entire Soviet system. Post-Soviet Russia immediately committed to full-scale capitalism, and the film community envisioned an expanded, profitable film industry that would benefit from free-market practices. But they did not anticipate how harsh that market could be.

The cinema moved headlong toward privatization once the Soviet Union dissolved. Over two hundred new film companies suddenly appeared on the scene in

In **Nostalghia** *(1983), director Andrei Tarkovsky evoked a feeling of homesickness for his native Russia.* EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

1992, most of which were small capital formations serving first-time investors who hoped to get rich quick in the giddy atmosphere of Russia's "new capitalism." They scraped together enough startup money to make a film or two before the inevitable industry "shakeout" took place. Some 350 features were produced in the first year of this anything-goes situation, and another 178 were made during the second year. But the Russian exhibition market could not absorb all the product. Many of the films never made it to the screen, and the little production companies quickly folded when the venture capitalists went elsewhere.

Meanwhile, the Russian exhibition market experienced its first retrenchment since the late 1910s. The Soviet film industry had not responded to the video cassette revolution of the 1980s, even while Soviet consumers were acquiring VCRs and looking for new product to view. By the 1990s that product was pouring into the country in the form of pirated cassettes and discs. The troubled Russian legal system could not enforce copyright, and both first-run foreign titles and current Russian movies were being openly sold in shops and kiosks, with no financial return to the filmmakers. Customers stayed away from movie theaters, and 35 percent of theaters had closed by 1995.

The industry began to revitalize near the end of the decade through a combination of government subsidies and foreign investment. Directors who had once touted the virtues of a privatized film industry welcomed government subvention for film production in the late 1990s. Certain prestige artists whose work flourished in the international festival circuit learned to cultivate foreign investors. No director proved more adept at this than Nikita Mikhalkov (b. 1945). Characteristic of this

co-production practice was his expensive project *Sibirskii tsiriul'nik* (*The Barber of Siberia*, 1998), which had a Russian and English cast, and funding from France, Italy, and the Czech Republic as well as from the Russian government.

Foreign investment and a general upswing in the Russian economy helped rehabilitate the cinema as the new millennium began. Antiquated movie theaters were replaced by modern, comfortable multiplexes, with Moscow's Kodak-Kinomir setting the new standard. Audiences returned to these more attractive theaters, and the government renewed efforts to crack down on digital movie piracy.

In this more optimistic situation, the greatest artist of post-Soviet cinema launched his most ambitious project. Alexander Sukorov (b. 1951) vowed to make a feature film that would, in a single, continuous shot, encapsulate the whole history of Russia, a vision realized in his tour de force *Russkiy kovcheg* (*Russian Ark*, 2002). In an uninterrupted eighty-seven-minute traveling shot, the camera tours St. Petersburg's Hermitage Museum and takes in an array of scenes depicting moments from Russia's past. However, the technical demands of Sukorov's project were such that the film could not be made with resources available in Russia. Special technology was developed abroad for the project, and Sukorov had to work with a largely German crew. Thus *Russian Ark*, which pays homage to Russia, had to be made with European resources. The irony is unavoidable but, given Russian cinema's long, complex relationship with the West, perhaps not surprising.

SEE ALSO *Censorship; Marxism; National Cinema*

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Vance Kepley, Jr.

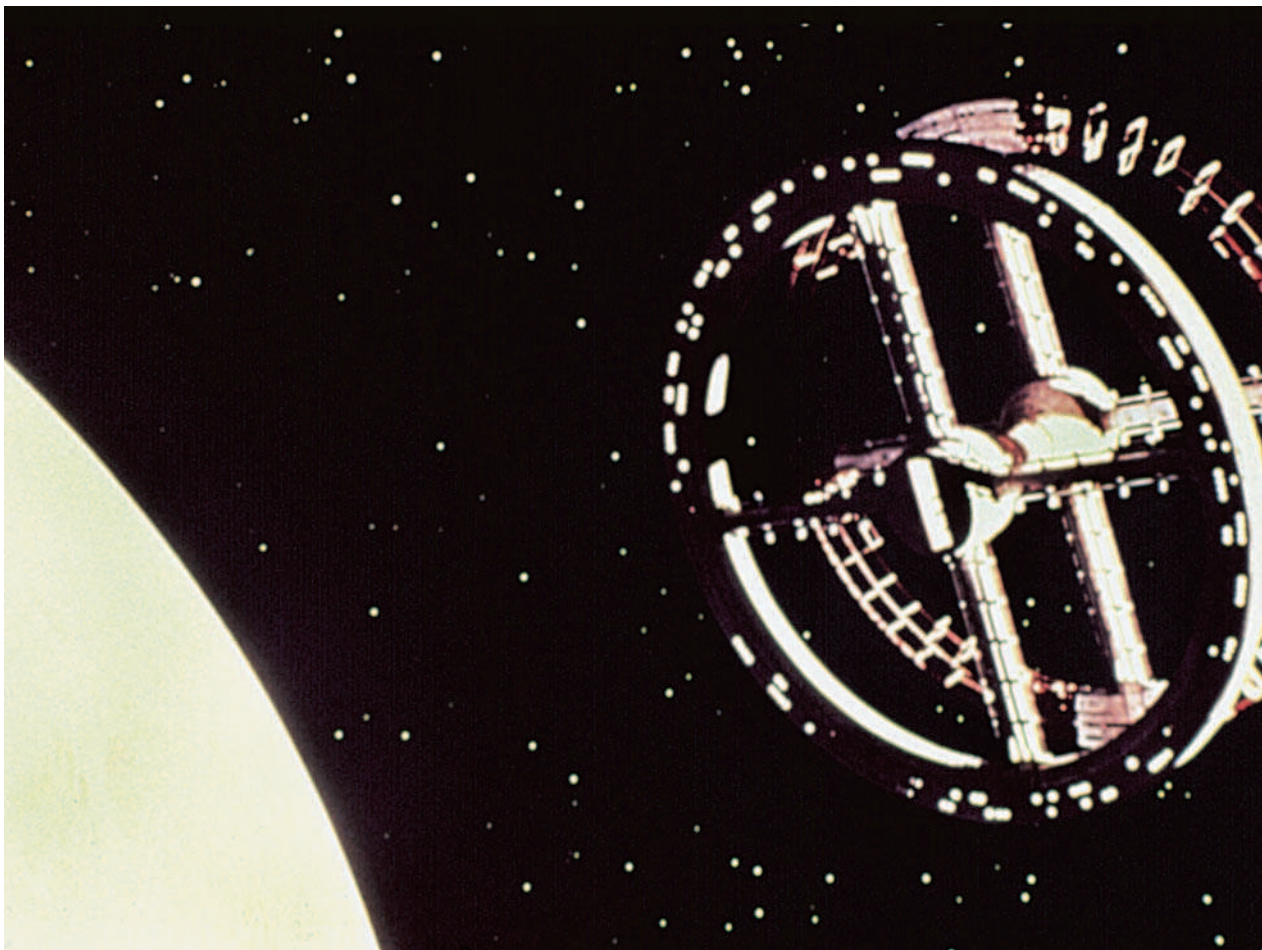
SCIENCE FICTION

Believing that films were strictly for entertainment, Golden Age film producer Sam Goldywn is reputed to have said, "If you want to send a message, use Western Union." Notwithstanding a handful of so-called social problem films, Hollywood films do tend more toward the innocuous than the politically confrontational. Science fiction films, though, are often notable for their idea-driven narratives; social commentary, although not always profound, is a frequent element of sci-fi. It is not unusual for even low-budget, low-concept science fiction films to "send messages" about human nature or the relationship of humans and machines. Their lessons may be conveyed with all the subtlety of a Western Union telegram, but there is no denying that good science fiction films try harder than other genres to ask "deep" questions: Why are we here? What is our future? Will technology save or destroy us?

Though science fiction films vary widely in their politics and aesthetics, they share some key recurring elements. Stories often center on space travel, encounters with alien life-forms, and time travel. Settings are often futuristic and dystopic. Technology is notably advanced (in many futuristic societies) or absent (in post-apocalyptic societies destroyed by technological forces such as atom bombs). Spectacular sets, costumes, and special effects are common, though by no means *de rigueur*.

With its frequent focus on alien monsters and fantastic special effects, science fiction overlaps with two other genres, fantasy and horror. Indeed, some movies simultaneously embody both horror and science fiction, such as *The Thing* (1982), *Planet of the Vampires* (1965), *The Fiend Without a Face* (1958), and *Alien* (1979). It is futile to split hairs debating whether a film is truly science fiction, since so many movies mix elements of SF with horror and fantasy. It makes more sense to consider science fiction (like most genres) as existing on a continuum, where some films are mostly science fiction, and others contain only a few science fiction elements. As a rule of thumb, it is helpful to remember that pure fantasy films, such as *The Lord of the Rings: The Fellowship of the Ring* (2001), or pure horror films like *Dracula* (1931) tend to emphasize the power of magic and the supernatural, while pure science fiction films, such as *The Andromeda Strain* (1971), emphasize both the power of technology and scientific innovation and the power of the rational human mind.

Though science fiction films have a history of criticizing technology, they themselves frequently depend on the most advanced technological innovations. Stanley Kubrick's (1928–1999) *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968), for example, presented a very sophisticated 3-D simulation of outer space and spacecrafts. The film famously opens with apes using bones as tools, thus taking the first step toward evolving into humans. A bone tossed up into the air visually segues into a spinning spacecraft in the year 2001. With its spectacular visual celebration of scientific advancement, the film might initially appear to be pro-technology, but its villain is a murderous computer, HAL. Humankind's greatest technological achievement becomes its undoing, paralleling the earlier technological breakthrough, the bone, which was used by one ape to murder another. Evolution is presented, on some level, as devolution. For many viewers, however, *2001*'s spectacular effects blunt its negative presentation of HAL; it is hard to interpret such a technologically sophisticated film as



2001: A Space Odyssey ***(Stanley Kubrick, 1968) offered state-of-the-art special effects to depict space travel.*** EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

offering an unalloyed critique of the dangers of technological achievement.

Arguably, some of the best science fiction critiques of technology are in lower budget films such as *Mad Max* (1979) and *A Boy and His Dog* (1975), where wars have desolated the planet. Paralleling Kubrick's apes in their primitive ferocity, survivors are forced to make do with whatever technology they can scrounge up. *The Omega Man* (1971) is a post-apocalyptic film in which most of humanity has been destroyed by germ warfare. The hero is technologically sophisticated, while his brutal foes use primitive weapons and are explicitly opposed to technological advances. The movie is unique for being both post-apocalyptic and pro-technology. Other post-apocalyptic films, such as *On the Beach* (1959), deemphasize technological critique in favor of a focus on psychological realism and social analysis. Whether overt or more subtle, most science fiction films include some consideration of the positive or negative implications of technological and scientific achievements.

LITERARY ROOTS

Mary Shelley's (1797–1851) *Frankenstein* (1818) is often cited as a crucial literary antecedent to sci-fi films. The novel is of particular interest because of its portrayal of creating life from non-living materials and, equally importantly, because of Shelley's investigation of the ethical ramifications of the human (specifically male) creation of life. Later science fiction narratives about robots, cyborgs, artificial intelligence, and cloning clearly owe a debt to Shelley, though few if any authors have surpassed her intense exploration of the sublime natural world. Shelley's legacy can also be found in her tender description of the monster, who is tormented by his own nature. It is here that we find the roots of films in which "unnatural" beings—the replicants of *Blade Runner* (1982) and the scientist-turned-monster of *The Fly* (1958, 1986)—question the validity of their very existence. Shelley is one of the few female writers whose ideas have obviously impacted science fiction film; though

there are numerous popular feminist authors—such as Ursula K. Le Guin (b. 1929) and Octavia Butler (1947–2006)—and women, in general, are avid science fiction readers, but as a film genre sci-fi has generally targeted a male demographic.

Many credit Jules Verne (1828–1905) as the true creator of modern science fiction, though one can also trace the genre's roots farther back to seventeenth-century imaginary voyage literature, and even further back to Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516). Verne's nineteenth-century French novels celebrated technological achievement, describing travel beneath the sea and to the moon in language indicating that he believed such fantastic voyages could actually take place. Verne based his writing on research, which lent a nonfiction quality to his work. He clearly influenced French director Georges Méliès's (1861–1938) technologically optimistic films of the early 1900s, and later films based on his books, such as *20,000 Leagues Under the Sea* (1954), offered visual celebrations of futuristic machines. Dystopic films such as *Soylent Green* (1973) and *The Terminator* (1984) reacted against this earlier celebratory vision, while many more recent science fiction films, such as *Independence Day* (1996) and George Lucas's (b. 1944) *Star Wars* franchise, have shifted back towards Verne's vision of technology at the service of humankind.

A number of books by prolific British author H. G. Wells (1866–1946)—such as *The Time Machine* (1895), *The Invisible Man* (1897), *War of the Worlds* (1898), and *The Shape of Things to Come* (1933)—have been made into films. Wells's *War of the Worlds* tells the story of a catastrophic alien invasion; with their superior weaponry, the aliens destroy much of the planet until they are finally defeated not by human ingenuity but by their own lacking immune systems: they are killed by earthly bacterial infection. The 1953 film version drains the story of its pessimism, turning it into a Christian allegory. The beleaguered humans hole up in a church and upon emerging and discovering the sickly, fading invaders declare a triumph for God and the human spirit, an ending which no doubt would have appalled Wells, who died a confirmed atheist. Orson Welles's 1938 radio adaptation stays closer to the tone of the original but is less famous as a successful adaptation than as a scandalous event. A number of listeners who tuned into the middle of the program thought that aliens actually had invaded New Jersey, and panic ensued. H. G. Wells himself was heavily involved behind the scenes in the production of *Things to Come* (1936). The movie pictures a post-apocalyptic world in which primitive technophobic masses are dominated by elite hi-tech rulers who value the state over the individual. Considered a landmark in cinematic design because of its futuristic sets, the film has been read both as a warning about fascism and as a celebration of fascism. The latter seems more plausible, given Wells's own support of the idea of rule by a technocratic elite, which he conceptualized as "liberal fascism."

Many of the sci-fi authors who had some influence on films were first published in American pulp magazines such as *Amazing Stories* and *Science Wonder Stories*, which appeared in the 1920s. Comics such as *Buck Rogers in the Twenty-Fifth Century* and *Flash Gordon* built on the popularity of the pulps, and the comics were translated to film in the serial shorts of the 1930s and 1940s. Though these futuristic adventure films did not explore the serious themes of science fiction, they did provide some of the character types and visual iconography that would surface in post-war sci-fi cinema. George Lucas tellingly mocks the optimism of the serials by opening his own dark *THX-1138* (1971) with a cheery *Buck Rogers* theatrical trailer.

Isaac Asimov (1920–1992), who wrote hundreds of books, published most of his early work in pulp magazines. Though little of his fiction has been directly translated to film, his conceptualization of the Three Laws of Robotics (see his collection *I, Robot* [1950]) has been influential. Frustrated by reading endless stories of robots gone amuck, Asimov postulated that: 1) A robot may not injure a human being, or, through inaction, allow a human being to come to harm; 2) A robot must obey the orders given it by human beings except where such orders would conflict with the First Law; and 3) A robot must protect its own existence as long as such protection does not conflict with the First or Second Law. Filmic robots (or computers) are frequently built on these principles, but something, of course, goes tragically wrong (for example, in *Westworld*, 1973), thus propelling the narrative. On television, *Star Trek: The Next Generation*'s Data has been described by some SF readers as an Asimovian robot because of his built-in ethical system, though there are episodes where he does not strictly adhere to the Three Laws.

Robert Heinlein (1907–1988) was one of the earliest sci-fi authors to realistically portray near-future space travel; his novel *Rocketship Galileo* (1947) was the inspiration for *Destination Moon* (1950), a showcase for special effects pioneer George Pal (1908–1980). Heinlein was also an innovator in military science fiction; *Starship Troopers* (1959) is widely criticized (and also praised by fans) for its picture of a future society in which only those who have volunteered for military service are voting citizens. While Heinlein presented his complex sociological world as positive, Paul Verhoeven's (b. 1938) breathtakingly nihilistic film (1997) explicitly reveals the fascism of the story's universe. Heinlein is also notable for having imagined inter-universe travel and the idea of

"world-as-myth" (there are multiple universes, all as real as our own, and our own universe may even be a fiction created by another universe). This complex motif is more likely to show up on television programs such as *Star Trek: The Next Generation* (and also, with great success, on the fantasy program *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*) than in films. Importantly, though Heinlein's books were rarely translated to film, he was the first to write bestsellers—such as *Stranger in a Strange Land* (1960)—that were of interest to non sci-fi fans. Although science fiction films were seen as marginal "kid's stuff" for years, and only gained true legitimacy with Kubrick's *2001* in 1968, Heinlein should be seen as having laid the groundwork for the mass popularization of science fiction as a genre.

Since the 1980s, cyberpunk authors such as William Gibson and Bruce Sterling have also found readers in the mainstream fiction market. Gibson's *Neuromancer* (1984) (which popularized the word "cyberspace") portrays a world in which distinctions between humans and computers are irrevocably blurred, and the existence of a true self is open to debate. Often described as "postmodern," the themes of cyberpunk have appeared in films such as *Ghost in the Shell* (1995), *Akira* (1988), *Robocop* (1987), and *The Matrix* trilogy (1999, 2003).

Science fiction films were scant before the 1950s. Méliès's *Le Voyage dans la lune* (*A Trip to the Moon*, 1902), an exploration story in the Verne tradition, is usually considered the first sci-fi production. Méliès pictures a rocket ship of scientists who fly to the moon, are attacked by its primitive inhabitants, the Selenites, and return to Earth. The film is notable for its special effects (elaborately hand-painted sets and props, cleverly simulated underwater shots taken through a fish tank) and for its colonialist narrative of the natural superiority of the white, rational scientist over the barbaric, violent people of foreign lands.

After Méliès, the most important pre-1950s sci-fi director is Fritz Lang (1890–1976), who made *Metropolis* (1927) and *Woman in the Moon* (1929). While Méliès's vision of lunar travel was fanciful and lacking in scientific detail, Lang was more interested in technical minutiae. For *Woman in the Moon* he consulted Germany's leading rocket expert, Hermann Oberth, and created an elaborate launching sequence for a multiple stage rocket. This vision was much closer to how actual rockets would later be launched than the depiction in films before and after, which showed rockets being shot off ramps or by guns. Lang also gave viewers the first filmic depiction of a crew floating in zero gravity. *Metropolis* is frequently debated as a schizophrenic pro- or anti-Nazi text, though, as film historian Tom Gunning convincingly argues, the film's politics, like its convoluted narrative, are impossible to neatly decipher one way or the other. The film was written by Lang's wife, Thea Von Harbou (1888–1954), who later joined the Nazi party. In *Metropolis*, a futuristic city is powered by laborers who toil on machines beneath the surface. The film's powerful visual design—clearly echoed in *Blade Runner*—combines gothic and medieval elements with futuristic skyscrapers. An allegory of social power, the film literalizes social relations through topography by putting the powerful above ground and the powerless beneath. Like so many science fiction films that have followed it—*Escape from New York* (1981), *Brazil* (1985), *Dark City* (1998)—*Metropolis* is a film in which the city is as much a character as any of the flesh and blood protagonists.

THE GOLDEN AGE OF THE 1950s

Starting with *Destination Moon*, the 1950s saw an explosion of sci-fi. This increase can be attributed to several factors. In the post-World War II years the American film industry floundered following a legal decision that dismantled its longstanding monopoly on production, distribution, and exhibition. At the same time, suburbanization and the baby boom kept people at home, away from the old downtown movie theaters, and television stole much of the film audience. To lure viewers from the small screen to the big screen, many Hollywood films were produced in wide-screen formats. As well, they were also increasingly shot in color and featured gimmicks such as 3-D. Science fiction films, along with horror films, had stories that were perfect for exploiting color, 3-D, and other attention-grabbing devices. The spectacular nature of science fiction and horror pictures was seen as appealing to "immature" tastes, which meant these films could be marketed to the newly conceptualized teenage market. Universal-International became well known for making some of the more prestigious science fiction films of the era, such as *The Incredible Shrinking Man* (1957). At the same time, science fiction and horror became the preferred genres of a newly emerging low-budget independent movement, of which Roger Corman (b. 1926) (*Monster from the Ocean Floor* [1954]; *The Wasp Woman* [1960]) was the most important figure.

The popularity of sci-fi films at that time was strongly linked to mounting nuclear anxieties and the Cold War. Movies like *Them!* (1954) and *Tarantula* (1955) pictured nature run amuck with giant irradiated insects. In splitting the atom, these films show, humankind has released forces it can neither control nor understand. Though humans are responsible for the advent of giant, murderous bugs and other animals, these films do not posit any means for humans to take responsibility for their actions. Nature takes revenge on the atomic age in the bug movies, even if American military forces usually win a temporary

JACK ARNOLD

b. Jack Arnold Waks, New Haven, Connecticut, 14 October 1916, d. 17 March 1992

Jack Arnold began as a Broadway stage actor and broke into the film industry as a director of short subjects before moving on to feature films in 1953. In science fiction films of the 1950s, alien attacks were often thinly veiled metaphors for Communist invasion. Jack Arnold's films deviated from the formula by combining aesthetic subtlety with ambitious ideas about humanity's place in the universe.

It Came from Outer Space (1953) tells the story of alien replacement of human bodies. The film was shot in 3-D, but Arnold avoided the typical ham-handed approach to the technology, using it more to stage in depth than to make objects fly at the camera. *The Creature from the Black Lagoon* (1954) and *Revenge of the Creature* (1955), notable for their underwater photography, were also restrained 3-D ventures. Both emphasize that the creature may be murderous, but that this comes from his nature, not from cruel motivations. Humans, conversely, are driven by ignoble impulses. In *Revenge*, Arnold uses 3-D to great thematic effect when the Gill Man looks directly at the camera, then falls toward the viewer. It turns out this cardboard advertisement for the creature—3-D, a marketing gimmick, is thus employed to critique marketing hype.

In *The Space Children* (1958) an alien telepathically forces children to sabotage a superweapon the military is developing. At first this seems like a standard Cold War parable, with the alien standing in for the Russians, but a twist ending reveals that children all over the world have been similarly manipulated, resulting in global disarmament. The film closes not on an anti-Russian note but rather with a strong pacifist message. *Tarantula* (1955), conversely, is probably the least politically complex of Arnold's films. The film is most remarkable for its avoidance of the evil scientist stereotype, and for its eerie use of the desert as a mysterious primordial landscape.

Arnold is best known for *The Incredible Shrinking Man* (1957). Exposed to a radioactive cloud, the protagonist begins to slowly shrink, and as his size diminishes so does his manly self-confidence. No longer a breadwinner, and reduced to living in a dollhouse, he is attacked by the family cat and presumed dead, but is actually trapped in the basement. The movie then takes an innovative aesthetic turn: the second half has no dialogue and is narrated by a voice-over monologue. The hero's Robinson Crusoe-style tale of survival culminates in the heroic murder of a spider with a sewing needle. He ultimately makes peace with his diminished stature, realizes he is visible to God, and shrinks away into oblivion. Here, Arnold shows that good science fiction, at its base, is not really about worlds beyond but about worlds within.

The latter part of Arnold's career was spent working in television, directing episodes of such series as *Gilligan's Island* (1964), *Wonder Woman* (1976), and *The Love Boat* (1977), taking his penchant for the stories of the fantastic in a different direction entirely.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

It Came from Outer Space (1953), *The Creature from the Black Lagoon* (1954), *Revenge of the Creature* (1955), *Tarantula* (1955), *The Incredible Shrinking Man* (1957), *Space Children* (1958)

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Heather Hendershot

STEVEN SPIELBERG

b. Steven Allan Spielberg, Cincinnati, Ohio, 18 December 1946

Steven Spielberg, one of Hollywood's most prominent filmmakers, has won his highest honors—including two Academy Awards® for Best Director (1994 and 1999) and one for Best Picture (1990)—for movies not connected with science fiction. However, he is perhaps best known by audiences for his innovative sci-fi films.

By the 1970s, science fiction had developed into one of the most politically progressive genres, and SF films were frequently critical of environmental destruction, government corruption, and commercialism. Steven Spielberg changed that, starting with *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* (1977) in which peaceful aliens come to Earth to return previous abductees and take away new volunteers. Whereas many movies before it had combined state-of-the-art special effects with anxieties about technological developments, *Close Encounters* celebrates technological accomplishment with a childlike awe. The film justifies the hero's abandonment of his family for the sake of the higher goal of communing with aliens.

In *E.T. The Extra-Terrestrial* (1982), a friendly alien stranded on Earth befriends a little boy. The one moment of true menace in this feel-good movie occurs when police draw their guns to search for the alien, but Spielberg digitally eliminated the guns from the twentieth anniversary rerelease in 2002. *E.T.* is notable for its innovation in product placement; after Spielberg used Reese's Pieces™ as a plot point, sales skyrocketed. With *Jurassic Park* (1993), which featured sophisticated computer-generated imagery, Spielberg created a lucrative franchise centered on dinosaurs run amuck in an amusement park; like George Lucas, he had found that films could make as much or more money on toys, videogames, and fast-food tie-ins than could be made at the box office. Though not friendly like Spielberg's aliens, the rapacious carnivores of the three Jurassic Park films function as catalysts for mending broken human relationships.

Spielberg's more recent science fiction films have also labored to mend the family. *Artificial Intelligence: A.I.* (2001) is about a robot boy who wants to become real and be reunited with his upper-class adoptive mother. The environment has been destroyed by global warming and children can be borne only by government license, but these plot points are incidental to the film's focus on the nature of love. Only when robots are cruelly destroyed is there a hint of the dystopian impulse that fueled so much previous science fiction. In *Minority Report* (2002) Spielberg again nods to this earlier tradition. It is a tightly crafted futuristic thriller in which people are arrested for "pre-crimes," misdeeds that powerful psychics have foreseen. Spielberg adds family melodrama to the mix, ending the bleak film on a false happy note when the protagonist is reunited with his wife, who quickly conceives a child. In Spielberg's version of *War of the Worlds* (2005) family relationships are again central.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Jaws (1975), *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* (1977), *Raiders of the Lost Ark* (1981), *E.T. The Extra-Terrestrial* (1982), *Jurassic Park* (1993), *Schindler's List* (1993), *Saving Private Ryan* (1998), *Artificial Intelligence: A.I.* (2001), *Minority Report* (2002), *Munich* (2005), *War of the Worlds* (2005)

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Heather Hendershot

victory shortly before the closing credits. In contrast to later, post-Watergate sci-fi films, the giant bug movies often glorify the military and the government.

The alien invasion films of the 1950s range in attitude from war-mongering to pacifist. In *The War of the Worlds* (1953), *Earth vs. The Flying Saucers* (1956), and *Invaders from Mars* (1953) the aliens are purely destructive forces. In others, such as *The Day the Earth Stood Still* (1951) and *Space Children* (1958), humans assume the worst about the aliens, who have actually come not to destroy the

world but to save it. *The Day the Earth Stood Still* offers a particularly strong peace message: an alien warns that humans must stop developing weapons or the aliens will be forced to destroy Earth, not out of animosity but simply to keep Earthlings from destroying the universe. Cautionary tales crafted in response to Cold War anxieties, alien invasion and monster films clearly state that humans have painted themselves into a corner. Ishirô Honda's (1911–1993) *Godzilla* (1954) presented a particularly dark picture of nuclear anxiety: the prehistoric dinosaur Godzilla invades not from outer space but from beneath the sea, leaving the ocean to terrorize humans after his habitat is destabilized by nuclear testing.

There are two basic approaches to the use of monsters in science fiction. In the bug movies and many alien invasion films the monster is an exterior force that attacks the world. In the second approach, the monster is among us, as in *Invasion of the Body Snatchers* (1978, 1956), infiltrating society. Taken to the extreme, monsters become indistinguishable from non-monsters. David Cronenberg's (b. 1943) films, which combine elements of horror and sci-fi, take this approach as far as possible by exploring the idea of monstrosity within the ''normal,'' non-alien person, in particular expressing terror of the reproductive female body. In *Videodrome* (1983), for example, the protagonist retrieves a gun from a vagina-like opening in his own stomach. In these films the monster, a not-so-subtle stand-in for the voracious id, springs from within, not from a distant galaxy. Though this approach is not fully developed before Cronenberg, the roots of it are seen as early as 1956's *Forbidden Planet*, in which the monster appears to be exterior but is actually powered by the uncontrollable desires of humans.

SOCIAL CRITIQUE

Though some 1950s films contained anti-war messages, science fiction turned much more sharply to the left in the 1960s and 1970s, addressing issues such as corporate corruption, government duplicity, and ecological destruction. In 1971's *Godzilla vs. the Smog Monster*, nuclear anxieties have receded, Godzilla has become heroic, and the Smog Monster is the product not of the military but of the private corporations that have dumped toxic chemicals into Tokyo Bay. In *Silent Running* (1972), humans have destroyed all of the natural vegetation on Earth, and the only trees left are in giant greenhouses floating in space. The story is set in motion when the protagonist is ordered to destroy the greenhouses and return to Earth.

The film portraying the greatest ecological disaster is surely *Soylent Green*, in which the greenhouse effect has made Earth into an inferno and overpopulation is extreme. Only the rich have access to fresh food, while the rest of the population is forced to eat government-produced wafers that turn out to be made of dead people. The only thriving business is a posh suicide service, which is affordable for poor people because their bodies are needed to feed the living. High-class hookers are furnished with apartments. In fact, prostitutes are literally called ''furniture,'' and though the protagonist (Charlton Heston) briefly connects emotionally with one piece of furniture, the film offers no hope that love or family can assuage the agony of this dystopian world. Pointedly, the film opens with the murder of Joseph Cotton, an actor from the Golden Age of Hollywood, and ends with the suicide of Edward G. Robinson, another star of that era. In this cruel world, there is no room to respect old heroes. The new era is embodied by the sweaty, virile Charlton Heston. Symbolizing neither old Hollywood nor the method actor of the 1950s, this swaggering dimwit is the star of the future.

In addition to tackling ecology, science fiction films of the 1960s and 1970s reacted to two important social movements of that era, civil rights and feminism. In *Planet of the Apes* (1968), American astronauts land on a planet run by apes who have enslaved humans. The apes see humans as inferior beings with no rights, and the police apes are significantly darker than the rulers and scientists. These darker, armed apes can easily be read as symbols of the black power movement, and their domination of men (whites) as positive or negative, depending on the politics of the viewer. To drive home the film's civil rights subtext, in one scene fire hoses are turned on unruly humans. Years later in *The Brother from Another Planet* (1984)—which is, with John Carpenter's (b. 1948) *They Live!* (1988), one of the few progressive science fiction films of the 1980s—a humanoid black alien slave fleeing white alien bounty hunters crash lands in New York City and takes up residence in Harlem. Taking a more literal approach than *Planet of the Apes*, John Sayles uses his black alien character to probe race relations in contemporary America.

Though criticism of racially motivated injustice has been allegorized in a number of science fiction films, the genre has been less progressive in its response to the feminist movement. In *Demon Seed* (1977) a woman is raped by a computer. In *Logan's Run* (1976), sexual liberation and the hippie credo ''never trust anyone over thirty'' have created an amoral and totalitarian society; ''free love'' is clearly shown as a destructive force. In *A Boy and His Dog*, a sexually uninhibited woman is eaten. The men of *The Stepford Wives* (1975) replace their troublesome, outspoken wives with docile robots devoted to housecleaning and sex-on-demand; this male

Steven Spielberg. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

chauvinist fantasy is presented in the most negative terms, and many viewers have interpreted the film as feminist. In what is probably the most overtly feminist science fiction film, *Born in Flames* (1983), women unite to seize media control after a failed peaceful revolution. Though less overtly feminist, *Liquid Sky* (1982) is notable for its critical representation of sexual relations; aliens come to Earth looking for heroin but instead get hooked on the pheromones released by the brain during orgasm. In extracting the pheromones they kill the orgasmic individual, but the film's heroine survives each attack because her lovers are callous (or are simply rapists) and care nothing about her sexual satisfaction.

Though science fiction films of the 1980s were generally conservative in their representations of the family and women. James Cameron's (b. 1954) *The Abyss* (1989) offers a perfect example of the punishment and rehabilitation of the outspoken "bitch" wife, while the Ripley character from the *Alien* series is clearly a product of feminism. First introduced in Ridley Scott's (b. 1937) *Alien* (1979), and reappearing in *Aliens* (1986) and two more installments in the 1990s, this powerful female character challenged previous representations of women in science fiction (and horror and action) cinema. Earlier women of science fiction were most often docile romantic leads, or occasionally resourceful like Patricia Neale's character in *The Day the Earth Stood Still*. Ripley, though, was consistently strong and smart. The third *Alien* film even took a pro-choice stance: denied a metaphorical abortion of the alien growing inside of her by the powerful men who control the corporate future, Ripley deliberately plunges to her death to defeat them.

SCHOLARLY CRITICISM

Critical writing on science fiction films is generally traced back to Susan Sontag's 1965 essay "The Imagination of Disaster," which argued that sci-fi fantasies "normalize what is psychologically unbearable," the real Cold War specter of "collective incineration and extinction which could come at any time, virtually without warning" (p. 112). Sontag contended that, "the interest of the films, aside from their considerable amount of cinematic charm, consists in this intersection between a naïve and largely debased commercial art product and the most profound dilemmas of the contemporary situation." What was novel here was that Sontag took the films seriously as manifestations of cultural consciousness; at the same time, she poked fun at their hackneyed dialogue and was dismissive of low-budget productions.

In 1980 Vivian Sobchack's *The Limits of Infinity* laid out a rigorous taxonomy of the key audiovisual elements of science fiction. In 1988 the book was rereleased as *Screening Space*, and a new chapter was added applying postmodern theory to the new wave of science fiction that followed in the wake of 1977's *Star Wars* and *Close Encounters of the Third Kind*. Sobchack is also well known for her essay "The Virginity of Astronauts: Sex and the Science Fiction Film," which uses psychoanalytic theory to consider the repression of sexuality in sci-fi and the apparent asexuality of most of the male heroes.

First published in 1985, Sobchack's essay was reprinted in Annette Kuhn's 1990 anthology *Alien Zone: Cultural Theory and Contemporary Science Fiction Cinema*, a seminal volume that marked the growing scholarly interest in science fiction films. The volume included essays by J. P. Telotte, Barbara Creed, and Scott Bukatman, who would publish the influential *Terminal Identity: The Virtual Subject in Postmodern Science Fiction* in 1993. As Telotte aptly explains in *Science Fiction Film*, in *Terminal Identity* Bukatman examines films such as *Metropolis*, *Invasion of the Body Snatchers*, *Blade Runner*, and *Tron* (1982) and "suggests that the genre 'narrates the dissolution of the very ontological structures that we usually take for granted,' and that in the wake of this 'dissolution' it offers striking evidence of 'both the end of the subject and

a new subjectivity constructed at the computer station or television screen'" (p. 56).

Kuhn's volume also reprinted an important essay by Constance Penley, "Time Travel, Primal Scene and the Critical Dystopia," which had first appeared in 1986 in a special issue of the feminist journal *Camera Obscura*. Penley took Freud's primal scene as a template for understanding time travel in the mainstream *Terminator* as well as in Chris Marker's avant-garde classic *La Jetée* (1962, remade as *Twelve Monkeys* by Terry Gilliam in 1995). The emergence of feminist interest in science fiction was a striking turn of events, as the genre had long been considered the terrain of male fans, geeks, and cultists. If *Blade Runner* could almost single-handedly take credit for the postmodernist turn in science fiction criticism, it was in large part the "monstrous-feminine" (as Barbara Creed put it) of *Alien* that inspired feminist interest in science fiction films in the 1980s and 1990s. *Alien* included not only the first female action hero but also a monster explicitly marked as female, whose motivation was not world domination, as in the classic "bug-eyed monster" movies of the 1950s, but rather procreation. (A similar maternal twist had appeared in a 1967 *Star Trek* episode, "The Devil in the Dark.")

The early twenty-first century critics most interested in science fiction can be split into two camps. New media theorists are less interested in science fiction as a genre per se than they are in theorizing the cultural impact of new digital technologies. Cronenberg's *eXistenZ* (1999), for example, is of interest for its blurring of the boundaries between digital representation/gaming and reality. The other dominant strain of critical writing comes from authors doing ethnographic research on fan cultures. This research, again, is not always genre specific. Henry Jenkins's *Textual Poachers: Television Fans and Participatory Culture* included significant work on *Star Trek* fans, and he continued the topic with *Science Fiction Audiences: Watching Doctor Who and Star Trek*, co-authored with John Tulloch.

SCIENCE FICTION GOES BIG BUDGET

In *THX 1138*, a gently amplified female voice tells the tranquilized population to "buy now, buy more." Lucas's tepid critique of capitalism is ironic, of course, since a few years later he would reinvent toy licensing, famously taking a salary cut in exchange for the merchandising rights for *Star Wars*. *Star Wars* was an innocuous film with no well-known actors and an inflated special effects budget—a film doomed to fail, most people reasoned, because everyone knew that science fiction was only for nerds. Of course, this was really an adventure movie set in outer space, and it had wide appeal not only to nerds but also to the cooler set who had never been interested in science fiction. The film was followed by two sequels. The third, *Return of the Jedi* (directed by Richard Marquand, 1983), was a feel-good movie, while the second, *The Empire Strikes Back* (directed by Irvin Kershner, 1980), was darker and more compelling. As a character in Kevin Smith's *Clerks* (1994) explains, "*Empire* had the better ending. I mean, Luke gets his hand cut off, finds out Vader's his father, Han gets frozen and taken away by Boba Fett. It ends on such a down note. I mean, that's what life is, a series of down endings. All *Jedi* had was a bunch of Muppets."

Following *Star Wars*, the 1980s saw the decline of the politically engaged science fiction film. In keeping with the wider political landscape of the Reagan years, much 1980s sci-fi turned to love and family values (*E.T. The Extra-Terrestrial*, 1982; *Enemy Mine*, 1985; *Starman*, 1984). Though there were exceptions, like *The Terminator*, films such as *The Last Starfighter* (1984) celebrated spectacle more than ideas. Notably, *The Running Man* (1987) was a spectacular action movie, but within its visual excess lurked a critique of the gaudy, exploitative nature of television culture.

Beginning with Paul Verhoeven's *RoboCop* (1987) and *Total Recall* (1990), science fiction became increasingly violent, and began to merge with the action film. Whereas low-budget science fiction had been common in the 1950s, 1990s films like *Armageddon* (1998), *Deep Impact* (1998), and *Men in Black* (1997) wore their immense budgets on their sleeves and were more about awing spectators with technological prowess than provoking thought. Similarly, the return of the *Star Wars* franchise with *Star Wars: Episode I—The Phantom Menace* (1999) and *Star Wars: Episode II—Attack of the Clones* (2002) disappointed many fans who would have liked more character development and fewer video-game sequences. Notwithstanding the turn towards a big-budget action aesthetic, social critique has not completely disappeared from science fiction: *The Day After Tomorrow* (2004) revisited the ecological themes of the 1960s and 1970s; *Gattaca* (1997) recalled the nightmares of totalitarian biological control of the 1970s, merging them with contemporary fears about genetics; and *Code 46* (2003) merged the old theme of population control with a timely critique of globalization.

Though there seems to be more interest in idea-driven science fiction films in the twenty-first century, such as the first *Matrix* installment, most fans of the genre would agree that since the 1990s the most provocative sci-fi narratives have emerged not in theaters but on television in series such as *Star Trek: The Next Generation* (1987–1994), *Babylon 5* (1993–1999), and *Star Trek: Deep Space Nine* (1993–1999). In keeping with the genre's literary roots, fans of such programs have produced thousands of their own works of fiction, as well as videos, which are widely available

Steven Spielberg's* E.T. The Extra-Terrestrial *(1982) aligned science fiction with family values. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

on the Internet. Women have been in the forefront of fan fiction, producing some of the earliest *Star Trek* writings and creating "slash," homoerotic stories originally focused on *Star Trek* characters. Though the technology of digital effects has driven the move toward sci-fi-as-action-cinema, the technologies of television and the Internet have enabled the cultivation of the genre, so that in the early twenty-first century the most creative science fiction is found not on the big screen but on TV and computer screens.

SEE ALSO *Cold War; Disaster Films; Fantasy Films; Feminism; Genre; Horror Films; Special Effects*

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Heather Hendershot

SCREENWRITING

Screenwriting involves all writing "for the screen." Given the history of the screen, such a category covers both fiction and documentary films since the early 1900s in the United States and throughout the world as well as work for television, video, and, in recent years, the Internet. In the beginning of film, there were no screenplays. In fact, one does not need a screenplay to make a movie. Technically, one simply needs a camera and film or a digital camera, and certainly since the first days of moving images down to "Reality TV" in recent times, there are those who specialize in using nonscripted approaches to film. But the moment fiction or narrative cinema lasting more than a few minutes began to become common, there came the realization that, as for the stage, so for film, actors and directors needed to know the story, the dialogue, and the action for the tales being told.

Script credits exist for most silent films, but as biographies, autobiographies, and studies of the period have revealed, few of these films had hard and fast scripts written by someone called a screenwriter. In many of his shorts, such as *The Haunted House* (1921), *The Boat* (1921), *The Playhouse* (1921), *The Paleface* (1922), and *Cops* (1922), Buster Keaton (1895–1966) is listed as co-screenwriter with his friend Edward F. Cline (1892–1961). It was not until the coming of sound in film, however, that writers began to call themselves screenwriters, having to write not only action but dialogue as well.

THE CLASSICAL AMERICAN SCREENPLAY

The acknowledgment of the art and craft of the screenplay, happily, was apparent from the beginning of the Academy Award® Oscars® in 1928, which virtually coincided with the introduction of sound and dialogue in cinema. Also important from the first Oscars® down to the present, the Academy has understood the importance of two distinct award categories for screenwriting: Best Original Screenplay, the first award going to one of the giants of early screenwriting, Ben Hecht (1894–1964), for *Underworld* (1927), and Best Adaptation. The first Oscar® for Adaptation was given in 1931 to Howard Estabrook (1884–1978) for *Cimarron*, based on Edna Ferber's novel.

As screen historians have noted, it was no accident that once sound films began, Hollywood rushed to entice Broadway playwrights and American novelists to move to Beverly Hills and Los Angeles. Ben Hecht was a well respected playwright before he moved to California. He wrote the stage play *The Front Page*, with Charles MacArthur (1895–1956), which became the hit film of 1931, ironically written from stage to screen by two other writers, Bartlett Cormack (1898–1942) and Charles Lederer (1911–1976). The list of Broadway playwrights and noted American novelists who went to Hollywood is a long one. It includes everyone from Sydney Howard (1885–1956), whose Pulitzer Prize-winning play, *They Knew What They Wanted* (1924), was made into three different films, and Preston Sturges (1898–1959), who became the first ever to have the credit "written and directed by" on the screen (for *The Great McGinty*, 1940, for which he received the Oscar®). It also included Robert E. Sherwood, who won an Oscar® for *The Best Years of Our Lives* (1946). Others, such as Dudley Nichols (1895–1960), writer of award-winning hits including *The Informer* (1935, Oscar®), *Bringing Up*

DUDLEY NICHOLS

b. Wapakoneta, Ohio, 6 April 1895, d. 4 January 1960

Dudley Nichols was one of the most variously talented and durable of Hollywood screenwriters throughout the 1930s and 1940s, winning an Oscar® for John Ford's *The Informer* (1935, adapted from Liam O'Flaherty's novel and co-written with Ford). In a career spanning thirty years and over sixty feature films, he proved a master of genres from westerns to screwball and romantic comedies to historical dramas and swashbuckling adventure films.

Coming to screenwriting from journalism, Nichols began as sound films became the norm in 1930. He worked with director John Ford on *Born Reckless* (1930) and went on to do eleven more scripts for Ford. His professionalism can be seen in his ability to handle adaptations and to work as a partner with other writers. *Stagecoach* (1939) stands out as one of Hollywood's best films. Nichols's script for the film, based on a story by Ernest Haycox, moved the western from a "B" category to the "A" list.

Nichols was aware of how easily a Hollywood writer could become a nameless cog in a near-mechanical production line. Some critics have accused Nichols of pretentiousness in some of his scripts, such as the one for *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1943), an adaptation of Ernest Hemingway's novel. Some have blamed his flaws on Nichols's talent for writing on demand for directors. Certainly there is truth to the fact that by writing three to four scripts a year, quality often suffered. Yet in 1945, for instance, Nichols wrote three fine scripts for films by three different directors: Fritz Lang's *Scarlet Street*, Nichols's adaptation-remake of Jean Renoir's *La Chienne* (*The Bitch*, 1931); Leo McCarey's *The Bells of St. Mary's*, a fetching sequel to McCarey's *Going My Way* (1944) that proved Nichols's gift for building on someone else's vision; and René Clair's *And Then There Were None*, based on Agatha Christie's long-running stage play. Nichols also directed three of his own scripts, *Government Girl* (1943); *Sister Kenny* (1946); and *Mourning Becomes Electra* (1947), an adaptation of Eugene O'Neill's play.

Nichols's journalistic background helped him to bring out both a strong sense of character developed in conflict—whether be that comedy or drama—and to develop an eye for the telling details that humanize his protagonists and avoid clichés. *The Informer*, for example, demonstrates Nichols's ability to open up the darker side of human nature as he brought the starving and troubled Gypo Nolan (Victor McLaglen) into sympathetic focus in this tale of the Irish Revolution of 1922. His films tend to be morality plays, which champion a liberal perspective. Also an occasional director, Nichols ended his career with a number of interesting westerns and adventure scripts, including *The Tin Star* (1957), *Heller in Pink Tights* (1960), and *Run for the Sun* (1956), a variation of *The Most Dangerous Game*.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Born Reckless (1930), *The Lost Patrol* (1934), *Judge Priest* (1934), *Steamboat Round the Bend* (1935), *The Informer* (1935), *Bringing Up Baby* (1938), *Stagecoach* (1939), *Swamp Water* (1941), *Government Girl* (1943), *This Land Is Mine* (1943), *The Fugitive* (1947), *The Big Sky* (1952), *The Tin Star* (1957), *The Hangman* (1959)

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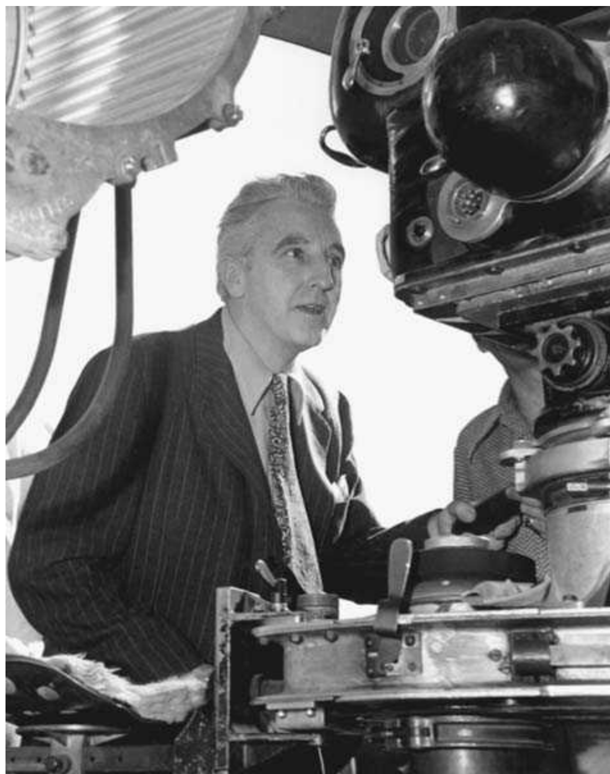
Andrew Horton

Baby (1938), and *Stagecoach* (1939), became well known from the beginning of their careers as screenwriters.

Hollywood also drew in overseas writing talent, including writer-director Billy Wilder (1906–2002) from the Austro-Hungarian Empire, who arrived in 1934 and whose teamwork with I. A. L. Diamond (1920–1988) produced the Oscar®-winning scripts for *The Lost Weekend* (1945) and *The Apartment* (1960) as well as nominated scripts for *Sunset Boulevard* (1950) and *Some Like It Hot* (1959). It is perhaps difficult to imagine how rich the cross-section of writers in Los Angeles was during the 1930s through the 1940s, when the "classical American screenplay" came to have its distinct form and substance.



Dudley Nichols on the set of* Sister Kenny *(1946). **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

The term "classical American screenplay" suggests that during this early sound period and through Hollywood's "golden age," both the profession and the form-format for screenwriting became set within certain guidelines and genres simply because the studio system demanded, consciously and unconsciously, a certain sense of both regularity and predictability given the large budgets, the strict timetables for production, and the need to systematize the whole process. To be more specific, this "classic American screenplay" is a narrative focused on a main protagonist (or protagonists) in either dramatic or comic conflict that, by the film's end, has been resolved, usually with the main character having learned something and grown in the process. Furthermore, the main characters are almost always sympathetic to one degree or another, particularly because they are in some way vulnerable rather than perfect, even if they are heroic. Thus Rick (Humphrey Bogart) in *Casablanca* (1942) seems to have an ordered existence running Rick's Place in Casablanca while World War II rages in Europe, but the conflict comes when his old flame Ilsa (Ingrid Bergman) walks through the door and we realize he has never gotten over the breakup of their relationship. The main story becomes resolving the unfinished business of their past love in Paris, and Rick finally learns that love means the issues are much larger than those of personal romance. He proves his love by urging that she leave with her husband to continue fighting the Nazis.

Almost every book on screenwriting—and the number of them has grown into the hundreds—emphasizes that the basic screenplay is "Aristotelian"—that is, based on following a protagonist through a conflict with a beginning (statement of the conflict), middle (development of dealing with the conflict), and ending (resolution). Many script instructors, including Lew Hunter, the former chairman of the Screenwriting Department of the University of California at Los Angeles, emphasize "classical" structure as put forth by Lajos Egri in his 1942 book, *How To Write A Play* (revised in 1946 as *The Art of Dramatic Writing*). This basic structure of storytelling holds true for every genre in Hollywood cinema. For example, in comedy-dramas such as Frank Capra's *It's A Wonderful Life* (1946), George Bailey (James Stewart) faces personal and financial problems in his small town that lead him to consider suicide. But a "vision" of his town and family without him leads Bailey to finally accept his own life and the love of his family in a glorious conclusion in this script by Frances Goodrich, Albert Hackett, and Capra based on a story by Philip Van Doren Stern.

PARTNERS AND TEAMS

Because over the years Hollywood has developed as a highly organized business, screenplays fairly swiftly began to take on a format that by the end of the 1930s became quite systematized and that by now can be created with computerized programs such as Final Draft or Movie Magic. Briefly stated, the standard American script is under 120 pages in length, with the guideline being that "one page equals one minute of screen time." Description is kept to a minimum, with very little in way of camera direction since that is the director's job. A script consists of brief description and dialogue and both are written to be a "good read," as they say in Hollywood. The DreamWorks script copy of *Shrek* (2001), for instance, which is based on the book by William Steig and a script by Ted Elliott, Terry Rossio, Joe Stillman, and Roger S. H. Schulman, describes the Princess on page one as "lovely" and contains no description of Shrek except for the mention of his "large green hand."

Other "regulations" include ones stipulating there be "no photos or graphics" in scripts and that they must be printed on three-holed paper with two metal brats holding the script together. Beginning screenwriters are always told that "Everyone is looking for reasons

not to read your script," so violations of these "rules" can lead to a script being tossed or recycled.

While format was becoming more regularized throughout the 1930s and 1940s, it was also becoming the rule that seldom were Hollywood scripts penned by one author from start to finish. Many writers formed lasting script partnerships, as in the case of Wilder and Diamond. Herschel Weingrod and Timothy Harris, for instance, produced a string of hits from *Trading Places* (1983) and *Twins* (1988, with William Davies and William Osborne also credited) to *Space Jam* (1996, with Leo Benvenuti and Steve Rudnick writing as well), working together five days a week for years. Poetry does not lend itself easily to multiple authorship, but there is something about bouncing ideas off one another that works in collaborative screenwriting.

Even *Casablanca*, instead of being a single-authored work like a novel, short story, or poem, was written through a very complex series of versions and events, by Julius J. and Philip G. Epstein, together with Howard Koch (1902–1995). "Contributions" came from Aeneas MacKenzie and Hal Wallis, "among others," and the script was "adapted" from an unpublished play, "Everybody Comes to Rick's," by Murray Burnett and Joan Alison.

As script instructors everywhere say to students of the craft every day with a smile:

> If you are not willing to see your screenplay as a blueprint that may be redone at any time and by one or more other writers, then you should not go into screenwriting at all for nobody ever paid to go into a movie theater to watch a screenplay. It is only part of a long process to make a film.

Therein lies the excitement and the disappointment of this craft that is less than 150 years old and the reason why many writers have been frustrated by their Hollywood experiences.

Because of the complexities of the long road from idea to final film, the Writers Guild of America often becomes an indispensable player. Founded in 1933, the Guild built on similar organizations such as the Dramatists Guild in New York to form a service union that would help negotiate credits and rights for screenwriters. Clearly the goal has always been to elevate the status of screenwriters and the public's and the producers' awareness of their importance. While it is possible to make a film with no script, the point of a business like Hollywood, which involves increasingly larger amounts of money, is that all those involved want to see what the project is about, and so there is a need for scripts as a genesis for all that follows.

The original agreement put forth beginning in 1940 stated that contracts with Guild members must give screen credit to "the one (1), two (2), or at most three (3) writers, or two (2) teams, chiefly responsible for the completed work," and in addition that these designated writers "will be the only writers to receive screen play credit." Often the situation is not so simple, however, and so each year the WGA (www.wga.org) receives over two hundred cases that it arbitrates to determine who receives screen credit. The Guild is a valuable service for its several thousand members and the more than fifty thousand scripts that are registered with it each year.

ORIGINAL FILMS VERSUS ADAPTATIONS, REMAKES, AND SEQUELS

It should come as no surprise that in Hollywood more scripts are adaptations than original scripts from clearly original ideas. Because Hollywood has always been a business, the fact that a book or a play or even a television show has been popular certainly spurs on producers to say, "Let's make the movie!" The year 2003 even saw the "adaptation" of an amusement park ride into a hit movie (*Pirates of the Caribbean*) and similarly with a video game (*Resident Evil*). In such a manner, *Gone with the Wind* (1939) moved from the pages of Margaret Mitchell's best-selling novel to the screen in an Oscar®-winning script by Sidney Howard and others. The list is endless and the formula of "page to screen" might seem quite mechanical were it not for the fact that there are so many variations in the adaptation process.

One form of adaptation that French filmmakers in particular have come to hate is the transformation of a foreign hit into a Hollywood film to spare Americans from reading subtitles. Jean-Luc Godard's breakthrough New Wave film *À bout de souffle* (*Breathless*, 1960) became the inferior *Breathless* (1983), with Richard Gere reprising the Jean-Paul Belmondo role. Mike Nichols's *The Birdcage* (1996), with a script by Elaine May, is hardly a memorable "American" film compared to the original French-Italian comedy, *La Cage Aux Folles* (*Birds of a Feather*, 1978), but its box office receipts were more than twenty times those of the original.

Another form of adaptation is the remake. Nothing could be sounder business sense than the idea that "if it made money years ago, let's give it another chance." *Robin Hood* (1922), with Douglas Fairbanks (1883–1939) as star and screenwriter, has spawned almost a dozen remakes from *Robin and Marian* (1976) and *Robin Hood: Prince of Thieves* (1991) to parodies such as *Robin Hood: Men in Tights* (l993), with Mel Brooks writing (with several others) and directing.

Gary Cooper and Ingrid Bergman in* For Whom the Bell Tolls *(Sam Wood, 1943), adapted by Dudley Nichols from Ernest Hemingway's novel. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

In yet another form of adaptation screenwriting, the original is the source or an inspiration for the screenwriter, but the actual script and even the title differ from the original. This allows the writer to riff with the material, much like jazz artists know the tune but play with it to express their interpretation of a song. The Coen brothers' *O Brother, Where Art Thou?* (2000) was nominated for an Oscar® for such an adaptation, since it is playfully based on Homer's *Odyssey*, while the title is taken with a wink from Preston Sturges's *Sullivan's Travels* (1941), which concerns a Hollywood director of comedies, Sullivan, who wishes to make a serious movie to be called "O Brother, Where Art Thou?"

Finally, sequels (and, in some cases, prequels) suggest yet a further territory for the screenplay "based on previous films" yet forging ahead with new material. Examples include the *Star Wars*, *Batman*, and *The Terminator* series as well as *The Godfather* (1972, with a script Oscar® for writer-director Francis Ford Coppola [b. 1939] and Mario Puzo [1920–1999], author of the original novel), *The Godfather, Part II* (script by Coppola and Puzo, 1974), and *The Godfather, Part III* (again, Coppola and Puzo, 1990). The motive is once more that of capitalizing on one hit by trying to duplicate it, by simply extending the story, characters, and even the themes, providing "familiarity with a difference," in a manner not unlike genre films. In a sense, such a concept for cinema pulls the screenwriter into the territory of television series writing, with its problem of making each episode of a show recognizable yet somehow original as well.

Original screenplays, however, have always been in play, and they are especially worth celebrating. Callie Khouri won an Oscar® for her first script, *Thelma and*

PADDY CHAYEFSKY

b. Sidney Aaron Chayefsky, New York, New York, 29 January 1923, d. 1 August 1981

Three-time Oscar®-winning screenwriter Paddy Chayefsky was equally well known as a playwright, novelist, composer, and producer. He had a fine ear for dialogue and an ability to use all media from radio and television to the stage and cinema to explore social issues and to question political and cultural stereotypes.

A graduate of the City College of New York, a semi-pro football player for the Kingsbridge Trojans in the Bronx, and a Purple Heart-winning soldier in World War II, Chayefsky began his creative work as a playwright in England while recovering from wounds sustained in the war. Throughout the 1950s his work for the stage, television, and then the cinema grew out of his own finely etched stories based on his youth in New York City. *As Young As You Feel* (1951), a story of a printing company employee who does not want to retire at age sixty-five, was the first film based on one of his stories.

In the television play *Marty* (1953), Rod Steiger brought to life Chayefsky's touching tale of a Bronx butcher who finds love unexpectedly. Considered the golden boy of television during its golden age, Chayefsky also wrote film scripts. The 1955 film version of *Marty*, directed by Delbert Mann and starring Ernest Borgnine and Betsy Blair, won Chayefsky his first Oscar®, along with Oscars® for Best Picture, Best Director, and Best Actor.

Dividing his energy between Broadway and Hollywood, Chayefsky went on to shape film scripts. His Oscar®-nominated script for *The Goddess* (1958), about Marilyn Monroe's complex and finally tragic hunger for stardom, created tight, effective dialogue that thrust actress Kim Stanley, performing in her first film role, into the spotlight. Perhaps because of his natural feel for both stage and screen, actors thrived in the well-defined characters Chayefsky created. James Garner claims that his favorite film was *The Americanization of Emily* (1964), which co-starred Julie Andrews as the love interest for Garner's World War II American soldier character. The sharply written script still rings true today as a delightful "battle of the sexes" in the tradition of edgy romantic comedy, while at the same time, Chayefsky's social criticism provides a strong antiwar message.

In the 1970s Chayefsky moved away from dramas of social realism and experimented with darker humor and broader satire in *The Hospital* (1971, his second Oscar®) and *Network* (1976, his third Oscar®). *Altered States* (1980), based on his own novel, was his last script, but Chayefsky was so upset with the finished film that he withdrew his name from the credits when his sense of characterization became lost in the film's "mind-bending" special effects.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Marty (1955), *The Bachelor Party* (1957), *The Goddess* (1958), *The Americanization of Emily* (1964), *The Hospital* (1971), *Network* (1976)

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Andrew Horton

Louise (1991), which came from a combination of her imagination and her experiences. Similarly, the long list of Oscars® for original scripts is an impressive one, including, to mention but a few, John Huston's *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre* (1948), William Inge's *Splendor in the Grass* (1961), William Rose's *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner* (1967), William Goldman's *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* (1969), Robert Towne's *Chinatown* (1974), John Briley's *Gandhi* (1982), Jane Campion's *The Piano* (1993), and Alan Ball's *American Beauty* (1999).

THE POLITICS OF SCREENWRITING

The darkest period in American screenwriting was certainly during the anticommunist scare period following World War II and into the 1950s. In 1947 the House

Paddy Chayefsky. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) began hearings that brought in "friendly" Hollywood individuals who began testifying about "Communist" influences being introduced into films by certain filmmakers and writers. The result of the hearings in Washington, D.C., was the creation of an informal Hollywood blacklist of writers and directors who were not to be hired. Particularly prominent on this list were the Hollywood Ten, which included Dalton Trumbo (1905–1976), Ring Lardner Jr. (1885–1933), and Michael Wilson (1914–1978), but it affected many more, including Jules Dassin (b. 1911), Bernard Gordon (b. 1918), Maurice Rapf (1914–2003), and Walter Bernstein (b. 1919), who later managed something of a comic revenge with a splendid script for Martin Ritt's *The Front* (1976), which treats the story of the way many producers used "front" writers to cover for actual blacklisted writers who were secretly still writing. For many, it was a long battle to gain their rightful credits on scripts written "under cover." Trumbo received credit after the blacklist period for films such as *Roman Holiday* (1953) and *The Brave One* (1957), while Michael Wilson (1914–1976) won credit, after his death, for his scripts for *Friendly Persuasion* (1956), *The Bridge on the River Kwai* (1957), and *Lawrence of Arabia* (1962).

Many memorable films have been made as low-budget, independent projects based on scripts that take chances and purposely break the so-called rules of Hollywood screenwriting. Steven Soderbergh's debut feature as writer-director, *sex, lies, and videotape* (1989), walked off with the top Cannes Festival prize as a film with almost no sex but lots of lies, very good dialogue, and character shading much in the tradition of French films of the 1950s and 1960s. Shot in Soderbergh's home state of Louisiana rather than in Hollywood, the film's sharply written script pointed the way not only for the Sundance Film Festival in future years but for the multitude of independents that followed. Quentin Tarantino's *Pulp Fiction* (co-written with Roger Avary, 1994), for instance, breaks up the classical narrative of following a main protagonist through a basically chronological story to its resolution by mixing together several narratives with intersecting characters but told in jumbled time frames, so that by film's end, when Vincent Vega (John Travolta) and Jules (Samuel L. Jackson) "dance" out of the diner, viewers must remember that this "conclusion" in fact takes place earlier, as Vincent is already dead.

In recent years, the line between a clearly independent script and a Hollywood-supported project has become blurred. A collaborative effort such as Ang Lee's *Wo hu cang long* (*Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*, 2000) is a special mixture of Hollywood and foreign, independent, and Hong Kong kung fu, all blended into a memorable script and film. Based on a novel by Du Lu Wang, the script was written by American screenwriter and co-producer James Schamus and Hui-Ling Wang from Taiwan, who had previously written *Yin shi nan nu* (*Eat Drink Man Woman*, 1994) together. But also on the project was Taiwanese screenwriter Kuo Jung Tsai, whom Schamus never met while writing.

EUROPEAN SCREENWRITING AND BEYOND

Jean-Luc Godard (b. 1930) used to like saying that his films had a beginning, middle, and end, but not necessarily in that order. Although popular cinema in France and Italy, for example, had recognized screenwriters critically, such a playful and eclectic approach to screenwriting and filmmaking as suggested by Godard's comment has traditionally characterized the more personal cinemas of many nations of Europe and elsewhere. What became known as the "auteur theory" was simply an acknowledgment of a European film tradition wherein filmmakers thought of themselves as the complete "author" of the film, from script to final cut. While writers calling themselves screenwriters emerged in Hollywood as early as the late 1920s, there were few European filmmakers or writers who would call

themselves "screenwriters." In contrast to Hollywood, where few have ever been both writers and directors on the same film, in Europe and other countries around the world, the "double-duty" position of writer-director has been the norm. The advantage of the auteur approach is that films get made with a consistent vision and with a minimum of interference from teams of writers, producers, and others. Thus an Ingmar Bergman (b. 1918) film such as *Det Sjunde inseglet* (*The Seventh Seal*, 1957) or *Trollflöjten* (*The Magic Flute*, 1975) is easily recognizable as a "Bergman film" because of his control from page to screen in all aspects of filmmaking. And François Truffaut's (1932–1984) films became recognizable as "Truffaut films" because of his consistent themes and characters, even when he only cowrote a script as in *Jules et Jim* (*Jules and Jim*, 1962).

But even with auteurs there are variations, as with those auteurs who actually liked to write with a team or partner. *La Dolce Vita* (1960), for instance, was written by director Federico Fellini (1920–1993) and three script friends: Tullio Pinelli, Brunello Rondi, and Ennio Flaiano. Furthermore, many European practices would be unheard of under WGA standards and contracts for assigning screen credit. The Greek filmmaker-screenwriter Theo Angelopoulos (b. 1935) likes to share story ideas with the Italian screenwriter Tonino Guerra (b. 1920) and sometimes others, even if they do not actually write the script but simply write notes or give advice and feedback.

The differences between Hollywood scripts and those of Europe and other countries over the years should be acknowledged as well. Ingmar Bergman's scripts read more like short stories than scripts, for he knew he was writing for himself, and thus the script was more like an outline; he knew he would figure out later what he wanted for lighting, sets, and actors' performances.

One reason for the rigid and set format and look of the Hollywood script is that it is the result of negotiation between many people, who in some cases may not even know each other. By writing a script with his novelist friend, Bohumil Hrabal (1914–1997), for *Ostre sledované vlaky* (*Closely Observed Trains*, 1966), based on Hrabal's novel, Jirí Menzel (b. 1938) of Czechoslovakia avoided what most young American screenwriters must do: write so that complete strangers "get" your story, characters, and themes.

Many independent scripts seem more like Hollywood offshoots than risk-taking, innovative works. But there are certainly thousands of scripts written by individuals throughout the country and the world who have taken workshops such as those given by Syd Field and Robert McKee or have attended script conferences such as those in Austin, Texas, and Santa Fe, New Mexico, as well as in Hollywood (the Hollywood Film Festival, for instance, at www.hollywoodfilmfestival.com). A variety of online script courses (such as UCLA's www.filmprograms.ucla.edu) and Web sites exist that are dedicated to help "pitch" and list scripts and to inform writers about what producers are looking for. An ever-growing number of screenwriting magazines offer to help the independent and aspiring screenwriter, including *Screentalk* (www.screentalk.biz) and *Scr(i)pt* (www. scriptmag.com).

The hundreds of books on screenwriting that now exist have become quite specialized. Noah Lukeman's book is summarized by its title, *The First Five Pages*, while Thomas Pope's *Good Scripts Bad Scripts* is subtitled *Learning the Craft of Screenwriting Through 25 of the Best and Worst Films in History*. Other books on screenwriting include Erik Joseph's *How to Enter Screenplay Contests and Win* and Max Adams's *The Screenwriter's Survival Guide*.

Despite these numerous guides, it is ultimately the quality of the script that counts. No one has summed up the importance of screenwriting better than the Japanese director Akira Kurosawa: "With a good script, a good director can produce a masterpiece; with the same script, a mediocre director can make a passable film. But with a bad script even a good director can't possibly make a good film" (p. 193).

SEE ALSO *Adaptation; Auteur Theory and Authorship; Direction; Production Process; Sequels, Series, and Remakes; Studio System*

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SCREWBALL COMEDY

In the mid-1930s a new film genre, screwball comedy, arose in American cinema. Based upon the old "boy-meets-girl" formula turned topsy-turvy, it generally presented the eccentric, female-dominated courtship of an upper-class couple. Archetypal examples include *Bringing Up Baby* (1938) and its loose remake, *What's Up, Doc?* (1972). The birth of this approach, which might also be labeled "new American farce," was due to developments that occurred in the early 1930s.

ORIGINS

Screwball comedy was tied to a period of transition in American humor that gained momentum by the late 1920s. The dominant comedy character had been the capable cracker-barrel type, such as Will Rogers; it now became an antihero, best exemplified by characters in *The New Yorker* writings of Robert Benchley (1889–1945) and James Thurber (1894–1961), or Leo McCarey's (1898–1969) silent comedy shorts with Laurel and Hardy. (McCarey would later direct the screwball classic *The Awful Truth*, 1937). Antiheroic humor is driven by the ritualistic humiliation of the male; screwball comedy merely dresses up the setting and substitutes beautiful people for this farcical battle of the sexes.

The Great Depression fueled the antiheroic nature of the screwball genre. Moviegoers looked to the movies as a means of lighthearted escape from their everyday worries. Coupled with this was the Depression-era fascination with the upper classes, which is still a component of the genre, as in the wealthy backdrop of *Four Weddings and a Funeral* (1994). Moreover, screwball plotlines sometimes pair couples from different classes, as in Frank Capra's (1897–1991) watershed work, *It Happened One Night* (1934), in which a blue-collar reporter (Clark Gable) and a runaway heiress (Claudette Colbert) squabble but eventually fall in love. This romance becomes a metaphor for various forms of reconciliation, be it romantic or generational. Garry Marshall updated many of these components in his 1999 salute to the genre, *Runaway Bride*, which featured both a reporter (Richard Gere) and a woman with commitment issues (Julia Roberts). Similarly, writer and director Steve Gordon (b. 1938) brilliantly focuses on the genre's occasional union of classes in *Arthur* (1981), with a billionaire (Dudley Moore) falling for a waitress (Liza Minnelli).

Hollywood's implementation of the Production Code in 1934 also affected screwball comedy. This same year saw the release of such pioneering examples of the genre as Howard Hawks's (1896–1977) *Twentieth Century* and *It Happened One Night*. Since American censorship has always been more concerned with sexuality than with violence, it hardly seems a coincidence that a genre sometimes referred to as "the sex comedy without sex" should blossom at the same time the code appeared.

A fourth period factor was the film industry's then recent embrace of sound technology. Whereas silent comedy keyed upon the solo-hero status of personality comedians such as Charlie Chaplin (1889–1977) and Buster Keaton (1895–1966), talking pictures were geared toward the verbal interaction of doubled heroes, such as the screwball couple. Even the early sound personality comedian films had a multiple-hero interaction, with the 1930s being the heyday of comedy teams from the celebrated Marx Brothers to period favorites such as Wheeler and

CARY GRANT

b. Archibald Alexander Leach, Bristol, England, 18 January 1904, d. 29 November 1986

Cary Grant put his stamp on screwball comedy like no other performer. In the genre's heyday he seemed to appear in every other watershed film. These classics include *The Awful Truth* and *Topper* (both 1937), *Holiday* and *Bringing Up Baby* (both 1938), *His Girl Friday* (1939), and *My Favorite Wife* (1940). Moreover, in the post–World War II era, when screwball comedy was less frequently produced, he starred in two excellent revisionist examples of the genre directed by one of the major directors of screwball comedy, Howard Hawks: *I Was a Male War Bride* (1949) and *Monkey Business* (1952). In the formulaic world of screwball comedy, Grant remains the genre's only indispensable actor.

The Grant screwball comedy persona was a product of his ability to combine great physical and visual comedic skills with the more traditional characteristics of the leading man. Here was something unique—a visual comedian who was tall, dark, and handsome, and who had a pleasant speaking voice. It is a generally ignored fact that the boy Archie Leach (Cary Grant) began his entertainment career as an acrobatic comic in the music halls and variety theaters of England. This was an early training ground not unlike that experienced by one of Grant's favorite comedians—Charlie Chaplin. Still, the suave Grant brought a touch of class to slapstick. And conversely, just as he elevated low comedy, the physical shtick gave him a touch of the everyman. One cannot emphasize enough the attractiveness of Grant's double-edged screwball persona.

The finishing touch on Grant's comedy persona came courtesy of pivotal screwball director Leo McCarey and the making of *The Awful Truth*. McCarey's storytelling actions were so infectious that the performers often ended up aping the director. Grant's screen penchant for everything from flirtatiously self-deprecating humor to the amusingly expressive use of his hands and eyes were all signature trademarks of McCarey long before they became synonymous with the actor; Grant brought the quizzical cocked head, the eye-popping expressions, the forward lunge of surprise, inspired double takes, and an athletic agility to the McCarey character.

While McCarey molded the Grant screwball persona, director Howard Hawks maximized the actor's gifts to the genre in *Bringing Up Baby*, *His Girl Friday*, *I Was a Male War Bride*, and *Monkey Business*. Hawks's one addition to the Grant screwball shtick was the absentminded professor demeanor. But the succinct take on Grant's screwball success remains that combination of movie-star good looks and a flair for being funny.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Topper (1937), *The Awful Truth* (1937), *Bringing Up Baby* (1938), *Holiday* (1938), *Only Angels Have Wings* (1939), *His Girl Friday* (1939), *The Philadelphia Story* (1940), *My Favorite Wife* (1940), *Arsenic and Old Lace* (1944), *Notorious* (1946), *Mr. Blandings Builds His Dream House* (1948), *I Was a Male War Bride* (1949), *Monkey Business* (1952), *To Catch a Thief* (1955), *North by Northwest* (1959), *Operation Petticoat* (1959), *Charade* (1963)

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Wes D. Gehring

Woolsey and the Ritz Brothers. The extension of these manic comedy teams also influenced screwball comedy. A defining trait of the screwball couple was having them act more like broad comedians. They were sophisticates gone silly. Pioneering examples of the sexy but clowning screwball couple include John Barrymore (1882–1942) and Carole Lombard (1908–1942), interacting in zany slapstick situations in Hawks's benchmark *Twentieth Century*, and Gable and Colbert, pretending to be an argumentative married couple in *It Happened One Night*.

Yet another catalyst in the 1930s for screwball comedy was the genre's marriage of directors trained in silent comedy to the army of wordsmiths who descended upon Hollywood with the coming of sound. Journalists,

Cary Grant at the time of* That Touch of Mink *(Delbert Mann, 1962). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

playwrights, novelists, humorists, and every other kind of writer found at least a temporary California home as the film capital panicked over the sudden importance of words. All this talent helped usher in a golden age of dialogue comedy. Frequently these writers fed on their journalistic past. Thus a good number of screwball comedies have a newspaper backdrop, from the studio era's *It Happened One Night*, *Nothing Sacred* (1937), and *His Girl Friday* (1940) to *Runaway Bride*.

Screwball comedy's wittiest dialogue was the product of former Broadway playwright Preston Sturges (1898-1959), the writer and director of such watershed examples of the genre as *The Lady Eve* (1941) and *The Palm Beach Story* (1942). But he was also a student of slapstick, which made him a perfect auteur for a farcical genre defined by both verbal wit and visual comedy. Sturges notwithstanding, most of the key screwball directors, such as McCarey and Hawks, received their cinematic start in silent pictures. Indeed, McCarey's motto was "do it visually." Consequently, the sight gag (from a facial expression to a fall) was a natural component of the screwball comedy arsenal.

RELATIONSHIPS AND GENDER

Screwball comedy is often confused with romantic comedy, but while the two genres share some elements, screwball comedy is a parody of romantic comedy. Romantic comedy's earnestness regarding love, as found in the impassioned conclusions of *When Harry Met Sally…* (1989) and *As Good As It Gets* (1997), is entirely absent from screwball comedy. Such sentiments would immediately be subject to satirical rebuke. For example, in the screwball *What's Up, Doc?*, the traditional love interest (Madeline Kahn) observes, "As the years go by, romance fades, and something else takes its place. Do you know what that is?" The devastatingly funny put-down from her fiancé (Ryan O'Neal, star of the earlier *Love Story* [1970], no less), is "Senility." The screwball genre always accents the silly over the sentimental. For instance, in the noteworthy *My Man Godfrey* (1936), the first period film to rate the screwball label, Carole Lombard decides that William Powell's having put her in the shower fully dressed is the height of romance, and she next proceeds to jump up and down on her bed, joyfully spraying water everywhere.

Avoiding serious and/or melodramatic overtones (such as in *Love Affair* [1939] and *Sleepless in Seattle* [1993]), screwball comedy instead shows irreverence for love and an assortment of other topics, including itself. *The Awful Truth* and *Nothing Scared* both burlesque scenes from Capra's populist romance *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town* (1936), which is sometimes wrongly labeled a screwball comedy. In *Twentieth Century* John Barrymore spoofs his "Great Profile" with a putty nose, while Cary Grant mocks his real name (Archie Leach) in *His Girl Friday*. And at the close of *What's Up, Doc?* Ryan O'Neal ridicules the romantic drivel, "Love means never having to say you're sorry," the tag line from *Love Story*.

Coupled with this affectionate parody are occasional patches of more biting satire, such as Ben Hecht's frequent comic diatribes against journalism in his *Nothing Sacred* script, or onetime lawyer McCarey derailing the courtroom in both *The Awful Truth* and *My Favorite Wife* (1940). Joining journalism and law as an especially popular screwball satirical target, is academia and intellectual pretension; the "dean" of this approach is Howard Hawks, with his winning trilogy *Bringing Up Baby*, *Ball of Fire* (1941), and *Monkey Business* (1952). Other skewered subjects include the upper class, in *My Man Godfrey*; Las Vegas and the mob, in *Honeymoon in Vegas* (1992); gay stereotypes, in *In & Out* (1997); and the makeover mentality in *Bridget Jones's Diary* (2001).

The crazy characters of screwball comedies contrast sharply with their realistic romantic counterparts. For

example, James Stewart's clerk in *The Shop Around the Corner* (1940) and Tom Hanks's businessman in the loose remake, *You've Got Mail* (1998), are earnest, while Irene Dunne's title character is decidedly wild in *Theodora Goes Wild* (1936). Other memorable screwball characters include Katharine Hepburn's socialite in *Bringing Up Baby*, Barbra Streisand's kook in *What's Up, Doc?*, Cary Grant on youth serum in *Monkey Business*, the skydiving Elvises in *Honeymoon in Vegas*, and Hugh Grant's flatmate (Rhys Ifans) in *Notting Hill* (1999).

When naturally zany plays thin, screwball comedy often reinvents itself by introducing a catalyst for "crazy." *Topper* (1937) ushered in a fantasy cause for eccentricity, as Cary Grant and Constance Bennett play "ectoplasmic screwballs" (ghosts) come to loosen up Roland Young's staid title character. This was followed by two sequels and numerous future fantasy variations, from *I Married a Witch* (1942) to *All of Me* (1984). More recently, the genre has used celebrity as a trigger for screwball behavior, such as in *Runaway Bride*, *Notting Hill*, and *America's Sweethearts* (2001).

While romantic comedy follows a more traditional dating ritual, with the male taking the lead (usually after some maturing), as with Billy Crystal in *When Harry Met Sally*... (1989) and John Cusack in *High Fidelity*, 2000), screwball comedy is female driven, with an eccentric heroine saving an antiheroic leading man from a rigid (read "dead") lifestyle. Classic examples include Hepburn rescuing Grant from a double dose of dead (a bloodless career and an equally sterile fiancée) in *Bringing Up Baby*, Liza Minnelli freeing Dudley Moore from the same dual dilemma in *Arthur*, and Lily Tomlin helping Steve Martin evade yet another domineering fiancée and dead-end job (lawyer) in *All of Me*. This free-spirited emancipator is usually a force to be reckoned with, be it Goldie Hawn's pathological liar in *Housesitter* (1992, first cousin to Lombard's master fibber in *True Confession*, 1937), or more recently, Queen Latifah, who awakens Steve Martin's "wild and crazy" past in *Bringing Down the House* (2003). The inevitability of the screwball heroine's victory is nicely summarized by Streisand at the close of *What's Up, Doc?*: "You can't fight a tidal wave." Still, the genre also has room for the antiheroic screwball heroine who wins despite herself, such as Renée Zellweger's title character in *Bridget Jones's Diary*. Eventually, she both loosens up the classically rigid male (Colin Firth) and frees him from a domineering, deadening fiancée.

Pace also plays a major role in screwball comedy. While the romantic story slows to narrative apoplexy at the close as the audience agonizes over whether the couple will ultimately get together, as in Tom Hanks's drawn-out orchestration of love at the end of *You've Got Mail*, or Billy Crystal's finally reconnecting with Meg Ryan at the conclusion of *When Harry Met Sally* . . . , screwball comedy's normally quick pacing escalates even more near the finale, as the title of *Theodora Goes Wild* suggests. This pell-mell speed is often coupled with genre-defining action, such as Hepburn knocking down Grant's bronotosaurus skeleton (symbolically the last vestiges of his academic rigidity) in *Bringing Up Baby*, and Martin and Tomlin concluding *All of Me* with an out-of-control jazz dance number, designating the death of his law career to become a musician.

As this overview suggests, the screwball formula has not changed markedly since the 1930s. Today's take on the genre might actually have gay characters, as in *In & Out* and *My Best Friend's Wedding* (1997), whereas a pioneering screwball comedy only teases about it—as when a frilly nightgowned Cary Grant jumps in the air and yells, "I just went gay all of a sudden!" in *Bringing Up Baby*. New catalysts for craziness, such as celebrity, have evolved, as in the comic chaos Hugh Grant creates by bringing a movie star (Julia Roberts) to his grown sister's birthday party in *Notting Hill*. But these developments are merely concessions to evolving tastes, not major change. A greater issue is that the screwball heroine has lost some of her allure. For instance, both *My Best Friend's Wedding* and *Forces of Nature* (1999) start off as traditional examples of the genre. In the 1930s the leading ladies of these pictures (Julia Roberts and Sandra Bullock, respectively) would have broken up the weddings and saved the men from lives of boring rigidity, but in these two films the guys opt for the less flashy and eccentric fiancées. In a genre that normally paints the fiancée as a life-sucking drone, these pictures portray her as safe and comfortable. Ultimately, both movies break with the screwball mold and essentially embrace romantic comedy. In today's truly life-on-the-edge existence, with new dangers from terrorist acts to AIDS, unpredictability is less appealing.

Finally, the term *screwball* merits some closing clarification. Too often people wrongly pigeonhole as screwball any comedy with zany components, from films with personality comedians such as the Marx Brothers to the dark comedy of *The Royal Tenenbaums* (2001). Along related lines, just because a manic clown has a girlfriend does not make a picture a screwball comedy—all movie funny men have romantic interests. For instance, calling the dark comedy collaboration between Paul Thomas Anderson and Adam Sandler *Punch Drunk Love* (2002) a screwball comedy would be like labeling *Casablanca* (1942) a musical because Dooley Wilson sings "As Time Goes By." Screwball comedy simply uses a strong eccentric heroine to parody the traditional romance.

Katharine Hepburn and Cary Grant in* Bringing Up Baby *(Howard Hawks, 1938). ™ AND COPYRIGHT © 20TH CENTURY FOX FILM CORP./COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

SEE ALSO *Comedy; Genre; Romantic Comedy*

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Wes D. Gehring

SEMIOTICS

The terms "semiology" and "semiotics" are frequently used interchangeably by academics and film theorists. Broadly speaking, both terms refer to the study of signs and language systems, though the term semiology owes its provenance to the work of Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1913) and semiotics to the American philosopher Charles Peirce (1839–1914). This is a deceptively simple definition of semiology, which in fact encompasses a wide range of academic debates and positions. Semiology is a theoretical model for the study of language, and its methods have been used for the analysis of a range of cultural texts, including film. This method has been championed by Structuralist academics, and its aim is to uncover what and why it is that the signs and symbols used in a cultural system mean what they do. Semiology, then, is concerned with language in its broadest sense and has given birth to some of the most notoriously difficult and abstract of theories. As a method, it focuses uncovering meaning in signs.

THE ORIGINS OF SEMIOLOGY

As a field of academic enquiry, semiology has its origin in linguistics as developed by the Swiss academic Ferdinand de Saussure. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Saussure gave an influential series of lectures on linguistics in which he proposed semiology as a model for the investigation of language and language systems. Saussure's work was unusual in several respects, not least because, counter to the dominant approach advocated by linguists at the time, he was not concerned with uncovering the etymology of language but with the ways in which language was used in the here and now, an approach that is now usually referred to as "'synchronic' rather than 'diachronic.'" Saussure did not publish his work, but following his death in 1912, his students collected his lecture notes and published them as *Course in General Linguistics*.

Saussure's major concern was to develop a science of signs. A sign can be understood as anything that carries meaning, although Saussure himself was interested exclusively in linguistic signs—that is, words. He argued that a sign consists of two indivisible components: the signifier (the way the sign is communicated) and the signified (the mental concept the sign communicates). We know that something is a sign because its two parts are indivisible—that is, we see something and we can make sense of it by giving a name to it. Saussure called this process of reading and making sense of a sign "signification."

By way of an example, the three letters C- A- T, in this specific order, mean something in our language system and culture. They stand in for a cat. So in this order, these three letters are a sign. The signifier here is the three letters in THIS specific order, and the signified is OUR mental concept of a cat. Crucially, Saussure notes, the relationship between the signifier and the signified is an arbitrary one. For example, the word "cat" does not look like a cat, nor does it have any essential "catness" about it. Through convention, people have agreed that those three letters stand for the concept of cat in our language and culture. The evidence of this is that in Switzerland and France, for example, the four letters C- H- A- T are a sign meaning the same thing in French.

In the United States during this same period, the pragmatist and philosopher Charles Peirce was investigating signs and sign systems, and he developed a theoretical model that he called semiotics. Peirce's semiotics was not confined to linguistic theory in the same way as Saussure's; it was more fully integrated into his philosophical interests, and it is this broader application of a theory of meaning systems that distinguishes his work.

Peirce argued that signs can be categorized as belonging to three distinct categories; iconic, indexical, and symbolic. An iconic sign looks like the thing it represents. For Peirce, this was the most effective of all forms of sign system. An indexical sign possesses some kind of physical link between the sign and the thing it represents, providing evidence that the thing represented was there. Smoke, for example, is an indexical sign of fire. A symbolic sign is arbitrarily linked to what it represents; it neither looks like the thing represented nor possesses a physical link to the thing represented. It is a sign that stands in the place of the thing represented. The written word is the best example of a symbolic sign.

Signs in Peirce's model can belong to more than one category simultaneously. This is important in film, where cinematic images are both iconic—that is, they look like the thing represented—and indexical—that is, they are evidence that someone/thing was present to be photographed. Animated and computer-generated images can be iconic but not indexical. Similarly, sound can be iconic (a voice can sound like the filmed person's voice), indexical (noises in another room can suggest that someone is there), or symbolic (a musical theme can suggest a character in a film).

SEMIOLOGY AND FRENCH CULTURAL THEORY

The theoretical model formulated by Saussure was to become especially influential amongst French cultural theorists and has inspired some of the most widely developed ideas shaping cultural products, including film. French cultural theory, especially since the late 1960s, has shaped and influenced much of the progressive research into popular culture. Perhaps the key French theorist for cultural commentators is Roland Barthes (1915–1980), who adopted Saussure's linguistic model in order to analyse popular culture from the 1950s onward, most notably in his collection of essays *Mythologies* (1957). Barthes was especially interested in what Saussure had described as the process of signification (how we make sense of signs.) He argued that signification operates at two levels: "denotation" and "connotation." Denotation describes the literal meaning of a sign. Connotation describes the process we use to interpret what we see. At the level of connotation, we judge and interpret what we have already recognized at a simpler level; we read deeper levels of meaning into things at a connotative level. For example, in the film *Rebel Without a Cause* (Nicholas Ray, 1955) the color red is used repeatedly as a motif. The titles of the film are in a bold red, James Dean wears a red jacket, Natalie Wood is first seen in a red coat and red is used as a color that links the protagonists of the film to the idea of rebellion. So, at a denotative level, we might recognize the bold red of the film's titles or James Dean's jacket as simply titles written in red and a red jacket; but at a connotative level we are able to draw on our culture's understanding of the symbolic importance of red, representing danger, anger, love, and passion.

For Barthes, analysis of popular culture using Saussure's methods uncovered the hidden or obscured meanings that lie beneath the everyday, commonsense notions of popular culture. Using semiology, Barthes conducted detailed textual analysis to "deconstruct" cultural products. His aim in this project was to reveal the workings of ideology through what he termed "myth." Barthes's concept of myth parallels the Marxist concept of "false consciousness." It is a form of naturalized language or discourse that hides itself in the notion of the commonsense. Doing so helps to maintain the status quo or consensus within a culture about socially acceptable norms of behavior and values (dominant ideology). Barthes analyzed a range of cultural products, including magazine articles, photographs, and films in order to uncover myths concerning class, ethnicity, and cultural imperialism.

While Barthes used semiology to analyze film, he was driven chiefly by the goal of uncovering the hidden ideological workings of popular culture. Even so, his approach demonstrated the usefulness of semiology as a method for systematically analyzing cinematic texts. Adopting Barthes's method, critics could undertake detailed microanalysis of films, frame by frame, in order to discuss the formal construction of cinematic images and the ways in which they are used to construct meaning. After Barthes's work became readily available in English, notably with the publication of a translation of *Mythologies* in 1972, his ideas became extremely popular among a new generation of film theorists, along with those of the French Marxist Louis Althusser. The method of analysis advocated by Barthes has been extremely useful for theorists, including Marxists, feminists, gays, and lesbians, as well as those concerned with questions of race and ethnicity.

SEMIOLOGY AND FILM THEORY

While Barthes's methods still play an important role in the development of film theory, it was Christian Metz, one of the giants of French film theory, who became best

known for the use of semiology as a method to analyze cinema. In *Film Language* (1968), Metz argued that cinema is structured like a language. Adopting Saussure's models, Metz made the distinction between "langue," a language system, and "language," a less clearly defined system of recognizable conventions. Metz contends that film cannot be regarded as comprising a "langue," in the sense of having a strict grammar and syntax equivalent to that of the written or spoken word. Unlike the written word, film's basic unit, which Metz argues is the shot, is neither symbolic nor arbitrary but iconic; therefore, it is laden with specific meaning. Metz suggests that film is a language in which each shot used in a sequence works like a unit in a linguistic statement. In his theoretical model, known as the "grande syntagmatique," Metz argues that individual cinematic texts construct their own meaning systems rather than share a unified grammar.

These ideas were developed upon and expanded by a wide range of theorists including Raymond Bellour in *The Unattainable Text* (1975), who largely supported Metz's views. Metz's ideas were nonetheless controversial and became the catalyst for heated debate amongst theorists during the 1970s and the 1980s, especially among Left Wing cultural theorists in Britain and the United States. The Italian Umberto Eco argued in "Articulations of the Cinematic Code," that the photographic image is arbitrarily constructed, just as the linguistic code is arbitrary. Stephen Heath challenged Metz's arguments, suggesting in *Questions of Cinema* (1981) that all cinema is concerned with representation and that representation itself is a form of language equivalent to Saussure's linguistic model of "langue." In a similar vein, Sam Rohdie took issue with some of Metz's key statements while calling for a continued investment in the systematic textual analysis that semiology makes possible (1975).

By the mid 1980s, the version of semiology that Metz had developed had increasingly lost favor and had become largely replaced in film studies debates by an interest in Lacanian psychoanalysis. This shift was perhaps due to a range of factors, including the waning interest in the radical leftist politics espoused by most structuralist thinkers and the emerging interest, especially amongst feminist academics within film studies, in psychoanalysis as a theoretical paradigm. Indeed, Metz himself had moved away from his investment in semiology to emphasize psychoanalysis during the mid-1970s, thus forecasting the direction that film studies would take as an academic discipline.

SEE ALSO *Film Studies, Ideology, Marxism, Structuralism and Post Structuralism*

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John Mercer

SEQUELS, SERIES, AND REMAKES

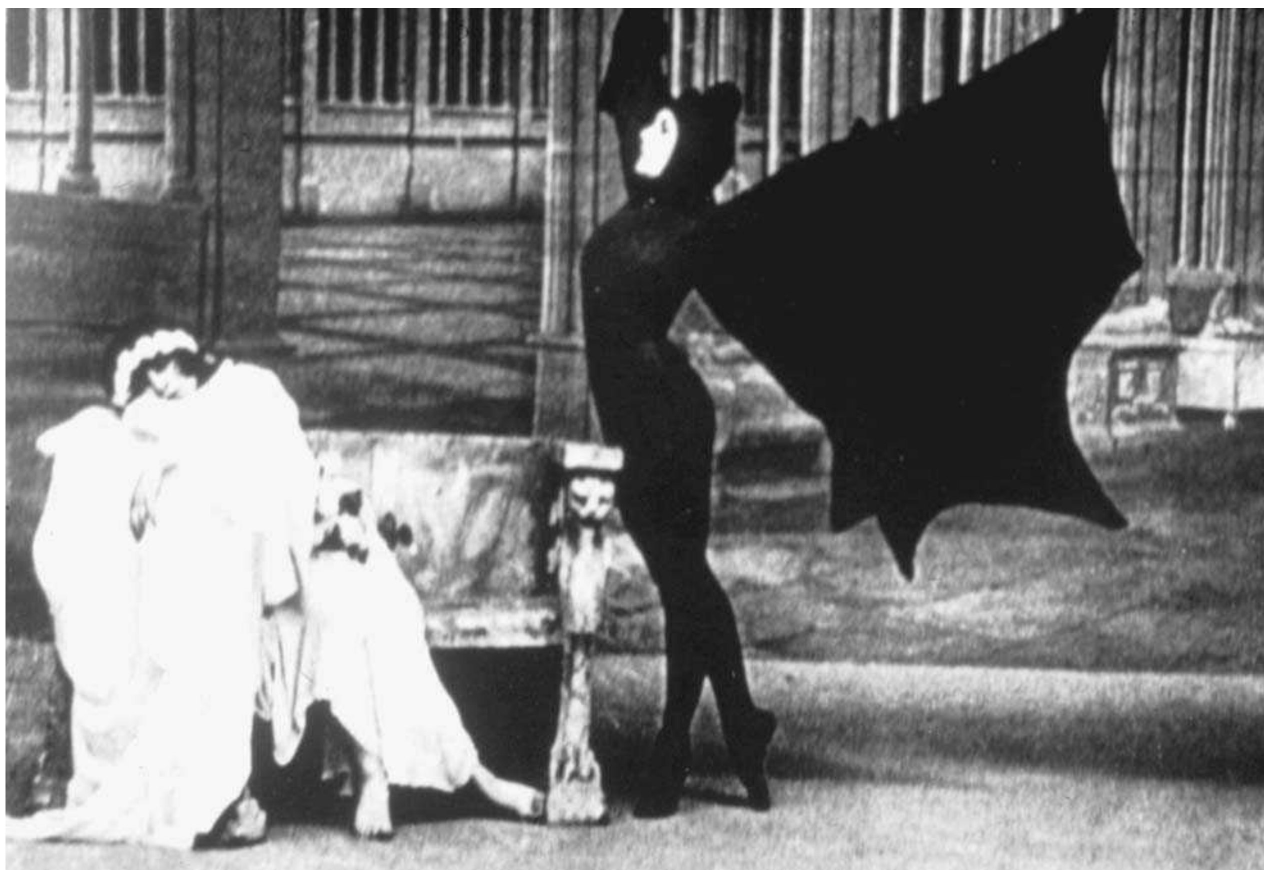
Sequels, series, serials, and remakes are evidence of the commercial imperatives governing most forms of cinema. Producers, directors, and writers have often been under pressure to recycle popular formats, formulas, and themes as a way to minimize risk and ensure profitability. Sequels, series, and remakes also reflect the tendency of most forms of entertainment and art to engage in repetition or variations on a theme. Artistic patterns can be found in all genres: trilogies, suites, triptychs, canons, rhyme schemes, and motifs, to name a few, all point to the repetitious core at the heart of most aesthetic phenomena. Yet even as sequels, series, and remakes overlap, they also establish their own individual characteristics. The Superman character, for instance, has gone through numerous incarnations, including the 1978 film *Superman* (1978), a remake of two Columbia serials (based on comic strip characters created by Jerry Siegel and Joe Schuster) that gave rise to a sequel, *Superman II* (1980), and to two more films in a series of four.

SERIES

Series are generally defined as groups of films with self-contained stories that share the same principal character or characters and often the same situations and settings. Series may be conceived as such from the outset, as was the case with *The Hazards of Helen* (119 episodes from 1914 to 1917), or, as in the case of the James Bond (over 20 films from 1962 to the present) and *Halloween* (8 films between 1978 and 2002) films, they may emerge, evolve, or become institutionalized over the course of many years. Although films in each type of series can be said to constitute episodes, "episode" as a term is probably associated more with serials and preconceived series than it is with open-ended or evolving ones.

Building on precedents established in the mass-circulation press and in popular fiction in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, preconceived film series first emerged in the United States with the Edison Company's *Happy Hooligan* films in 1900 and 1901. In comic or in melodramatic mode, they became firmly established as a trend in the United States and France later in the decade, with the production of Biograph's *Mr. and Mrs. Jones* films (1907–1908), Kalem's *Girl Spy* films (1909), and Yankee's *Girl Detective* films (1910) on the one hand, and Pathé's *Boireau* (1906–1909) and *Nick Carter* films (1908–1909), and Gaumont's *Romeo* (1907–1908) and *Bébé* films (1910–1912) on the other. While the move toward multireel films in the early 1910s resulted in the emergence of melodramatic serials such as *The Adventures of Kathlyn* (1913–1914) and of serial-series hybrids such as *What Happened to Mary?* (1912) and *Fantômas* (1913–1914), comedy series in one-reel and two-reel form continued to be made. These films were built around comic personalities, such as Roscoe Arbuckle (1887–1933) in the *Fatty* series (1913–1917) and Max Linder (1883-1925) in the *Max* series (1910–1917), and animated characters such as Coco the Clown and Felix the Cat.

Serials and features became the norm as far as melodramatic adventure was concerned, but comic shorts featuring the likes of Laurel and Hardy, the Three Stooges, Mickey Mouse, Bugs Bunny, and Daffy Duck continued to be made in series form in the United States for over forty years, shown alongside feature films and newsreels as an integral part of most cinema programs.



Musidora in Louis Feuillade's serial* Les Vampires *(1915). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

During the 1930s and 1940s in particular, B movies, too, became part of these programs. Whether made by small-scale independents like Monogram or Republic, minor studios like Columbia or Universal, or major studios like MGM and Twentieth Century Fox, the majority of B movies were produced in series. These included westerns such as the *Hopalong Cassidy* films (1935–1944 and 1947–1949), detective and mystery series such as *Boston Blackie* (1941–1949), *The Falcon* (1941–1949), *The Saint* (1938–1954), and *Mr. Moto* (1937–1939), medical dramas such as *Dr. Kildare* (1937–1947), and comedies such as *Andy Hardy* (1937–1958), *Henry Aldrich* (1939–1944), and *Maisie* (1939–1947). Series of A films, by contrast, were rare. Examples include Paramount's *Road* pictures (such as *Road to Morocco*) with Bob Hope and Bing Crosby (1940–1952) and RKO's *Topper* films (1937–1941), neither of which were envisaged as a series initially.

In the United States, B series disappeared, along with B movies themselves, in the 1950s, when series programming and series production became a feature of broadcast TV. During the 1960s and 1970s, series tended to evolve on the basis of follow-ups, sequels, and prequels, as in the case of the *Planet of the Apes* and *Herbie* films, as well as the *Pink Panther* and *Dirty Harry* films. At the same time, a number of western and comedy series produced in Europe and a number of martial arts films produced in Taiwan and Hong Kong were highly successful. Since then, series in the United States have continued to evolve in much the same way, often around blockbuster films such as *Superman* and *Batman* (1989), but sometimes, too, around low- or medium-budget horror films (*Friday the 13th*, *Nightmare on Elm Street*) and comedies (*Police Academy*).

SERIALS

Unlike series, serials are marked by continuous story lines. They emerged in the United States and France in the early 1910s, nearly always in melodramatic adventure mode. Prompted by the success of series films, and in the United States by the practice of showing one or two reels of multireel films on separate days, serial films drew as

LOUIS FEUILLADE

b. Lunel, France, 19 February 1873, d. 26 February 1925

Between 1907 and 1925 Louis Feuillade directed over eight hundred films in almost every contemporary genre in France, but he is now best remembered as the producer, director, and writer of serials. His career in the cinema began when he was hired as a screenwriter by Gaumont in 1905, becoming Head of Production two years later. In 1910 he began making films in series. *Fantômas*, his first serial, went into production in 1913.

Based on a series of novels by Marcel Allain and Pierre Silvestre, *Fantômas* (1913–1914) details the exploits of an arch-criminal and master of disguise and the efforts of a detective and a journalist to catch him. Set and filmed in contemporary Paris, it involves multiple acts of villainy and numerous sequences of pursuit, entrapment, and escape. Building on these elements, Feuillade's next serial, *Les Vampires* (1915–1916), centers on a gang of arch-criminals. Putting even more emphasis on disguise and multiple identity, Feuillade stages the gang's exploits, entrances, and escapes in such a way as to suggest almost uncanny or magical powers. The film's most striking character, Irma Vep (Musidora), is a true femme fatale, a figure of fear and fascination alike.

Although championed by the members of the French avant-garde, both *Les Vampires* and *Fantômas* were vilified by those who wished to elevate the cultural status of film in France. As a result, Feuillade gave his next serial, *Judex* (1917), an uplifting moral tone. Musidora was again cast as the villain. But the eponymous detective is the film's central character, his signature black cape the equivalent of the costumes worn by the criminals in Feuillade's earlier serials. Other serials followed, but they have rarely been studied in detail. However, historians of film style have shown renewed interest in Feuillade.

For many years Feuillade was considered a director whose use of deep staging and single-shot tableaux rendered him a conservative, someone who resisted the tendency toward analytical editing evident in some of his contemporaries. Later film historians, however, have seen his work as a variant on a distinct European style, its subtleties lying in the choreography of action and spectatorial attention across the duration of shots and scenes. From this perspective, Feuillade's style, one built on continual transformations in the flow of appearance, complements his fascination with protean identity and with the potentially unending structure of serial forms.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Fantômas (1913–1914), *Les Vampires* (1915–1916), *Judex* (1917)

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Steve Neale

well on traditions of serialized storytelling established in the early nineteenth century and perpetuated in the early twentieth by mass circulation newspapers, journals, and magazines. The links between them became clear when episodes of *What Happened to Mary?*, often cited as the first US film serial, were published in prose form in *McClure's Ladies World* in 1912, and when *Fantômas*, an adaptation of a series of crime novels, was released in France in 1913 and 1914. Most of the episodes of *What Happened to Mary?* and *Fantômas* were in fact self-contained. The first true US serial, a form in which each episode ended in a cliffhanger, was *The Adventures of Kathlyn*. It, too, was serialized in prose form, as were *Dollie of the Dailies* (1914), *The Million Dollar Mystery* (1914), and others.

The centering of serials on heroines was a distinct US phenomenon, launching Kathlyn Williams, Helen Holmes, Grace Cunard, Ruth Roland, Pearl White, and other "serial queens" to stardom. However, although serials were produced in ever-greater numbers by the end of the 1910s, the principal attraction in cinemas was the feature film. Hence serials were increasingly

Louis Feuillade. THE KOBAL COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

produced as low-budget specialties by second-string studios like Universal, Vitagraph, Pathé, and Arrow, and focused more and more on male rather than female protagonists. With the establishment of the studio system, the coming of sound, the advent of the B film, and then the economic difficulties of the Great Depression, serials remained the province of "Poverty Row" specialists like Republic and Mascot (the term "Poverty Row" refers to the section of Hollywood around Sunset Boulevard and Gower Street in which the offices of a number of specialists in low-budget productions were located), and minor majors like Universal and Columbia. Designed principally for children attending matinees on Saturday mornings, serials in the 1930s and 1940s often borrowed characters and story lines from comic strips and comic books (the Green Hornet, Dick Tracy, and Captain Marvel) and sometimes mixed genres (*The Phantom Empire*, 1935) in order to augment their exotic appeal. Westerns, mysteries, jungle stories, science-fiction stories, aviation stories, and swashbucklers were otherwise the principal types. Serials like *Flash Gordon* (1936) were so popular that two sequels, *Flash Gordon's Trip to Mars* (1938) and *Flash Gordon Conquers the Universe* (1940), were produced in serial form and edited feature-length versions made of all three.

Serial production continued apace during World War II, often featuring Axis powers and agents as villains, but began to slow down during the period of industry recession and audience decline in the late 1940s. By the early 1950s Columbia and Republic were the only studios making serials, and as serials old and new became a television staple, production for the cinema in the United States ceased altogether after the release of *Perils of the Wilderness* and *Blazing the Overland Trail* in 1956.

SEQUELS

Sequels are usually defined as films that contain characters and continue story lines established in previous films. Examples include *Edison, the Man* (1940), a sequel to *Young Tom Edison* (1940), and *Father's Little Dividend* (1951), a sequel to *Father of the Bride* (1950). Prequels set characters and story lines in periods of time prior to those of previous films, as in *Butch and Sundance: The Early Days* (1979), a prequel to *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* (1969), and *Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom* (1984), a prequel to *Raiders of the Lost Ark* (1979). *The Godfather Part II* (1974), which moves backward as well as forward in time, is an unusual mixture of both.

Sequels date back to the 1910s, when Maurice Stiller in Sweden made *Thomas Graal's Best Child* (1918) as a sequel to *Thomas Graal's Best Film* (1917). Unlike remakes, series, and serials, however, sequels did not become institutionalized until much later. In the United States, Paramount produced *Son of the Sheik* (1926) as a sequel to *The Sheik* (1921), and Douglas Fairbanks produced *Don Q, Son of Zorro* (1928) as a sequel to *The Mark of Zorro* (1920). In Germany, Fritz Lang made *The Testament of Dr. Mabuse* (1933) as a sequel to *Dr. Mabuse, der Spieler* (1922). And in the 1930s in the United States, Universal made *The Bride of Frankenstein* (1935) as a sequel to *Frankenstein* (1931), thus helping to generate what eventually became one of a number of Gothic horror series.

After the occasional sequels made in the United States in the 1940s and 1950s, it was in the 1970s and 1980s that "sequelitis," as the film critic J. Hoberman called it, appeared to take hold. *The Godfather* (1972) was followed by *The Godfather Part II*; *American Graffiti* (1973) by *More American Graffiti* (1979); *Grease* (1978) by *Grease 2* (1982); and *Jaws* (1975) by *Jaws 2* (1978), *Jaws 3-D* (1984), and eventually *Jaws the Revenge* (1987). The trend toward sequels continued unabated into the 1990s and early 2000s: *The Terminator* (1984) was followed by *Terminator 2* (1991), *Young Guns* (1988) by *Young Guns 2* (1990), *The Silence of the Lambs* (1991) by *Hannibal* (2001), and *Spiderman* (2002) by *Spiderman 2* (2004).

Sequels are thus a hallmark of what has come to be known as the New Hollywood. However, this does not mean that Hollywood prior to the 1970s was less dependent on preestablished formulas or less prone to

the recycling of characters, stories, and settings; nor does it mean that sequels as such are devoid of ideas and intelligence. On the one hand *Back to the Future, Part II* (1989) and *Back to the Future, Part III* (1990) both work playful variations on the temporal paradoxes at stake not just in *Back to the Future* (1985) (whose very title is an index of their nature) but in the sequel format itself. And *Alien* (1979) and its sequels—*Aliens* (1986), *Alien 3* (1992), and *Alien Resurrection* (1997)—each spin variations on the topics of motherhood, difference, and identity, variations whose dimensions have multiplied as the series itself has progressed. On the other hand, as Thomas Simonet points out, the recycling of stories, formulas, characters, and scripts in Hollywood in the 1940s and early 1950s was actually more extensive than it was in the 1970s and 1980s, particularly if remakes, as well as serials and series, are taken fully into account.

REMAKES

A remake is generally thought of as a film based on an earlier film, usually with minor or major variations of plot, characterization, casting, setting, or form, and sometimes language and genre as well. Examples include *Scarlet Street* (1943), Fritz Lang's Hollywood remake of Jean Renoir's French film, *La Chienne* (1931); *In the Good Old Summertime* (1949), a musical remake in color of *The Shop Around the Corner* (1940); *Chori, Chori* (1956), an Indian remake of *It Happened One Night* (1934); *The Magnificent Seven* (1960), a western remake in color of *The Seven Samurai* (1957); *The Thing* (1982), a widescreen and color remake of *The Thing from Another World* (1951); and *Black Cat* (1991) and *Point of No Return* (1993), Hong Kong and Hollywood remakes respectively of the French film *La Femme Nikita* (1990).

However, the issue of what constitutes a remake is complicated by the degree of variation involved, the extent to which original versions or previous remakes are acknowledged, and the fact that originals and previous remakes may themselves be adapted versions of novels, plays, and other preexisting sources. (There have been over a hundred film versions of *Cinderella*, over eighty film versions of *Hamlet*, and over sixty film versions of *Carmen*.) The production of different versions of films for different markets (a feature of the early sound era), and the extent to which films were copied or reshot prior to the existence of copyright legislation (a feature of the early silent era), simply add to the complications. As a result, remakes have been subject to a great deal more theoretical thinking than have serials, series, and sequels. Thomas Leitch has proposed a useful typology of remakes based on the ways in which they relate to original films and previous remakes, on the one hand, and to their common source or "property" on the other.

Leitch notes, first of all, that while producers typically pay fees for the right to adapt novels, short stories, or plays, they usually pay no such fees for the right to remake a film. He notes, too, that remakes generally seek to please a number of different audiences—those who have never heard of the original film, have heard of the film but not seen it, have seen the film but do not remember it, have seen but either did not like it or only liked it to a degree, have seen it and liked it, and so on. Although most remakes seek to be intelligible to those who have never seen or are not aware of the original, they also seek to provide additional enjoyment to those in the know.

When original films and their remakes are adaptations, other issues arise. For Leitch, remakes of adaptations take one of four different stances toward earlier adaptations and the properties adapted. The first is to *readapt* a property in the interests of fidelity, thus by implication downgrading the status of earlier versions. This is the stance often taken by remakes of classic literary texts such as *Hamlet* or *Camille*. The second is to *update* the property, revising or transforming its ingredients in obvious ways. Updates often signal their status by adopting a quasi-parodic tone (as in the 1948 and 1973 versions of *The Three Musketeers*) or, more obviously, by using titles such as *Joe Macbeth* (1955), *Camille 2000* (1969), or *Boccaccio 70* (1972). The third is to pay *homage* to a previous adaptation. Here the focus is on an earlier film rather than on its source. Examples include *Nosferatu the Vampire* (1982), a remake of *Nosferatu* (1922), itself an uncredited adaptation of *Dracula*. The fourth, simply, is to *remake* an earlier adaptation. The *true remake*, as Leitch calls it, evokes a cinematic predecessor in order to update, translate, or improve it—to highlight its insufficiencies (its dated attitudes and techniques, its foreign language and style, its inability, because of some or all of these things, to capture the essence of the property on which it is based) and thus render it superfluous. Examples cited by Leitch include the 1959 version of *Imitation of Life*, the 1981 version of *The Postman Always Rings Twice*, and such Hollywood remakes of foreign films as *Cousins* (1989), *Sommersby* (1993), and *The Vanishing* (1993).

An additional type of remake is what might be called the "authorial revision." Here, producer-directors like Alfred Hitchcock, Frank Capra, and Howard Hawks revisit, rework, or update the components of earlier films. Examples include Hitchcock's 1956 remake of *The Man Who Knew Too Much*; Capra's *Pocketful of Miracles* (1961), a remake of *Lady for a Day* (1933); and *El Dorado* (1967) and *Rio Lobo* (1970), Hawks's subsequent elaborations on the ingredients of *Rio Bravo* (1959). As the director Jean Renoir said, filmmakers often spend their careers remaking the same film. Insofar as this is

true, it returns us to the paradoxical status of repetition and repetitive forms in the cinema. For, although authorial repetition is valued as a mark of individual distinctiveness, institutional repetition, whether in series, serial, sequel, or remake form, is nearly always viewed as its opposite. This paradox lies at the core of nearly all discussions of forms of repetition in the cinema.

SEE ALSO *B Movies; Genre; Studio System*

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Steve Neale

SEXUALITY

In the broadest sense, sexuality refers to sexual behavior. While closely tied to biological urges that seem to impel human beings (and other animals) to mate, there are many socially constructed concepts that influence an understanding of sexuality. In many cultures, for example, heterosexual monogamy is considered the only "proper" sexuality, and all other types of sexual behavior are deemed sinful or unnatural. In the wake of the "sexual revolution" of the 1960s, when more men and women felt freer to explore and experiment with other types of sexual relationships, many attempted to hold onto this traditional concept of "normal" sexuality. As writers such as Michel Foucault and Judith Butler have discussed, though, the concept of sexuality (categorizing sexual desires into orientations that form identities) has been a relatively recent social development—with definitions of sexuality being contested and negotiated constantly. Concepts of sexuality have differed from era to era, and from community to community. What is considered taboo in one culture may be accepted as part of the social system in another. Consequently, all sexualities—including heterosexual monogamy—are exposed as cultural developments rather than natural drives.

Just as sexuality is intricately threaded into people's daily lives, so has it been with the history of motion pictures. For generations, heterosexual couples have used movie theater balconies and (in the post–World War II era) drive-ins for trysting. A number of major urban cinemas during the first half of the twentieth century also became cruising spots for homosexual men. Filmmakers repeatedly turned (and still do turn) toward sexuality as a method of drawing in customers. Almost as consistently, various concerned citizens (individually and in groups) voiced objections to such images and called for greater censorship and punishment. The simultaneous fascination with and outcry over representations of sexuality in motion pictures may have been partly fueled by the ongoing negotiations around definitions of sexuality across the globe during the past century. Cinema has been swept into such struggles as it reflects, disseminates, and sometimes contests dominant attitudes.

REGULATING SEXUALITY IN EARLY CINEMA

Thomas Edison's (1847–1931) first ventures into motion pictures already included representations of sexuality. Hoping to woo viewers to his kinetoscope parlors, Edison's company made short film loops that had sexual appeal: "cooch" dancers, pillow fights in a girls' dormitory, a close-up of an actor and actress in full embrace. Watching these loops through the kinetoscope created a "peep show" experience. While it seems these snippets were mainly aimed at arousing heterosexual men, heterosexual women and homosexual men may have derived pleasure at the kinetoscope of Eugen Sandow bulging and rippling his muscles—and gay historians have pointed out the possible pleasures of the clip of two men holding each other and dancing. While not all early filmmakers focused on sexuality, many did. The French film *Le Bain* (1896) followed in the peep show tradition by letting audiences watch a woman strip nude before bathing. Many early uses of shot/reverse shot, such as British "Brighton School" filmmaker G. A. Smith's *As Seen Through a Telescope* (1900), have characters looking surreptitiously at women in dishabille or couples *en flagrante*. The prevalence of such displays of sexuality indicate that they were popular with some customers,

yet others were aghast. Such alarm extended beyond the screen, as reformers criticized the opportunities that the low-lit environments of nickelodeon theaters created, even asserting that unaccompanied female patrons were likely to be kidnapped and sold into prostitution.

The clamor against nickelodeons grew so dense that the New York City police department closed down all of the city's theaters in December 1908. A number of obscenity laws and court decisions were also handed down that reformers and local police could use to shut down theaters and arrest exhibitors (and sometimes even audiences). County councils in Great Britain and city and state censor boards in the United States were given legal authority to edit salacious content from films or to ban them altogether. In the United States, the Supreme Court judged that film was a business and not an art form in 1915, and thus not protected by the Freedom of Speech provision of the Constitution. Similar actions occurred throughout much of the world by the end of the 1910s, such as the establishment of federal censorship bureaus in Denmark (1913) and in Egypt (1914), and the passage of New Zealand's Cinematograph-Film Censorship Act in 1916.

While such events may make it seem as if filmmakers were sex radicals needing to be kept under strict surveillance, most in the industry tended to endorse mainstream concepts of sexual desire. Such an assumption is borne out in the prevalence of narrative features that focus solely on patriarchal heterosexuality. The clichéd formula of "boy-meets-girl, boy-loses-girl, boy-wins-girl" became endemic in films from Hollywood to Bombay quite early in film history. Whether explicit sexual attraction or heavily muted romantic courtship, every film industry has been dominated by stories of male/female coupling. Such emphasis often created a sense that heterosexuality was the only "natural" sexual desire—if not the only desire at all. As theorist Laura Mulvey would point out in the 1970s, mainstream narrative motion pictures also tend to support a patriarchal heterosexuality by presenting women as sexual objects for men (in the narrative as well as in the audience) to ogle.

Yet cinema also could provide access to contested or "inappropriate" sexualities—demonizing them but acknowledging their existence in the process. For example, a number of US silent pictures, including *Ramona* (1910), *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), and *Broken Blossoms* (all directed by D. W. Griffith, 1919), dealt with interracial desires. Almost exclusively such stories told of the tragic, and often horrifying, consequences of these desires. Similarly, early Indian cinema often dramatized the harrowing outcomes of people loving across caste lines. In a similar vein, German cinema during the Nazi era included lurid anti-Semitic tales of Jews lusting for Aryan beauties. Motion pictures also emerged during a period of shifting roles for women in the United States and in western Europe. When women began entering the workplace in greater numbers and demanding the right to vote, these male-dominated cultures were now forced to acknowledge that women had their own sexual desires—often evidenced through rampant adoration of male motion picture stars. As a recognition of female (hetero) sexuality, the figure of the vamp—a highly eroticized female who lured men to their doom with her charms—became popular in motion pictures during the 1910s and 1920s. Actresses such as Theda Bara (1885–1955), Pola Negri (1894–1987) and Greta Garbo (1905–1990) became international stars by playing vamps. Often, sweet Victorian wives or virginal ingénues played counterpoint to the treacherous vamps—and actresses such as Mary Pickford (1892–1979) and Lillian Gish (1893–1993) became stars embodying what was considered a more appropriate female role model.

In addition to interracial (or intercaste) sexuality, and challenges to previous understandings of female sexuality, there grew a greater awareness of what the medical profession had recently termed homosexuality. At the turn of the century, concepts of homosexuality were strongly linked to concepts of gender. Consequently, homosexuals were commonly thought of as a "third sex"—men who wanted to be women, and vice versa. When homosexuality was depicted on screen at this time, filmmakers employed stereotypes of feminine men (often called "pansies") or what were termed "mannish women." Because of this definition, same-sex affection between two conventionally masculine men or two conventionally feminine women was often not regarded as homosexual. Thus same-sex characters in silent cinema sometimes embrace in a manner that would likely be regarded as suspect to today's Western audiences. When Hollywood films included homosexuals, they were minor characters, often held up for ridicule. However, a small circle of European films tried to address the topic more centrally and sympathetically— including *Vingarne* (*Wings*, 1916, Sweden), *Anders als die Anderen* (*Different from the Others*, 1919, Germany), and *Die Büsche der Pandora* (*Pandora's Box*, 1929, Germany). German films in particular were able to discuss homosexuality (and other sexual matters) more forthrightly after World War I because, for a short while, censorship laws were abolished. If such films managed to get imported to more restrictive countries, they were heavily cut.

SELF-REGULATING SEXUALITY IN HOLLYWOOD

Sex did not disappear from Hollywood cinema in the wake of the 1915 Supreme Court ruling, as vamps, pansies, and racial minorities lusting for white partners

roamed the screens—even if the narratives framed them as wicked or ridiculous. As well, various sex scandals erupted around a number of Hollywood stars in the early 1920s. Hollywood gained an image of wild parties and scandalous affairs, and studio motion pictures generally championed the growing sexual liberation of the post-Victorian "Jazz Age." In response to a renewed outcry for reform, the industry decided to create an organization for self-regulation in order to forestall any further attempts at federal regulation. Former Postmaster General Will Hays (1887–1937) was hired to head the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America (MPPDA) in order to oversee the morality of the industry, including the attachment of morals clauses to studio contracts and the creation of a list of "Don'ts" and "Be Carefuls" for films to follow. The British film industry had established a similar industry-founded organization as early as 1912, the British Board of Film Censors (BBFC). In general, the MPPDA's abilities were limited and functioned more as public relations. The director Cecil B. DeMille (1881–1959) shifted from making suggestive sex comedies like *Old Wives for New* (1918) and *Don't Change Your Husband* (1919) to Biblical epics like *The Ten Commandments* (1923) that still showcased a wide spectrum of sexual licentiousness—but then punished the transgressors. Hollywood films were wildly successful across the globe, and an increasingly "movie-mad" public made sex idols out of stars like Rudolf Valentino (1895–1926) and Clara Bow (1905–1965).

Renewed complaints by watchdog groups led to the industry commissioning a new set of rules called the Production Code in 1930, to more specifically outline what was acceptable and unacceptable to show or say. Yet, just as with the list of "Don'ts" and "Be Carefuls," no effective method of enforcement had been established. As the Hollywood studios grew desperate to draw audiences during the height of the Depression, sex and sexuality became even more blatant. A whole cycle of "fallen women" films (*Blonde Venus*, 1932; *Rain*, 1932; *Baby Face*, 1933) had almost every major female star playing characters turning towards prostitution. A veritable "pansy craze" developed in the early 1930s as well, with films such as *Palmy Days,* (1931) and *Call Her Savage* (1932) allowing audiences to hear the lilting lisps of effeminate men. Degrees of nudity and depictions of pre- and extramarital sexual relationships also increased.

Public opinion in the United States turned, though, by the mid-1930s. Many sought to blame the economic downturn as a result of lax morality—and saw Hollywood as a prime culprit in this slump. Soon, various groups (including the Catholic Church, which created the Legion of Decency in 1933 to monitor films) began organizing boycotts and pressing for federal intervention. Worried by this new turn of events, the studios revamped their attempts at self-regulation. In 1934 the Seal of Approval was devised as a method to enforce the provisions of the Production Code. All studios agreed to submit their films to the Production Code Administration for the Seal of Approval, and to pay a hefty fine for distributing any film that did not receive a Seal. The Production Code specifically forbade Hollywood films from acknowledging "miscegenation" (interracial sex) and "sex perversion" (homosexuality). The portrayal of heterosexuality was extremely circumscribed as well. Indications of extra- or premarital heterosexuality or of prostitution were not allowed. Even further, time limits were placed on kisses—and they could only be done with closed, dry mouths. Double beds were eliminated on-screen, even for married couples. The Production Code Administration even decided that when a reclining couple kissed on a couch in *The Merry Widow* (1934) that one foot always had to be touching the floor, supposedly keeping the couple physically incapable of "going too far." The Seal of Approval proved an effective method of self-regulation for almost the next two decades of Hollywood cinema.

While the Production Code led to a whitewashing of sexuality in Hollywood, inventive filmmakers at the major studios sometimes slyly managed to indicate sexual activity through metaphor: dissolving from a couple embracing to waves crashing or fireworks exploding (or, in the notorious final shot of *North by Northwest*, 1959, a train going into a tunnel). Dialogue could also allude to sexual attraction without actually naming the topic, as when a conversation between the characters played by Humphrey Bogart and Lauren Bacall in *The Big Sleep* (1946) seems to be about horse racing, but can also be understood as sexual flirtation. While prostitutes were officially absent from Code-era pictures, one still could find plenty of "dance-hall hostesses" and "saloon girls." Various film genres also effectively veiled libidinous energy. Sadomasochistic tendencies often filtered through horror films, for example, and romantic dance sequences in musicals worked as metaphors for sexual coupling.

Hiding sexuality under a veil of connotation was not reserved solely for heterosexuality. At various points, intimations of homosexuality were included in Hollywood films as well, and managed to slip by the watchful eye of the Production Code Administration. As queer theorist D. A. Miller has pointed out, though, once the concept of connotation is introduced, it becomes possible for many lesbian and gay male audience members to read connotative homosexuality into characters or moments that may not have been intended by the filmmakers (p. 125). Thus, rather than quelling the existence of "sex perversion," the enforcement of the Production Code may have led to a wider and more diffuse sense of homosexuality for some viewers.

CATHERINE BREILLAT

b. Bressuire, France, 13 July 1948

Based in Paris, Catherine Breillat became famous as a writer and filmmaker confronting sexuality from a candid and unsentimental viewpoint; she was even dubbed a "porno auteuriste" by some critics. Her start in film was a supporting role in Bertolucci's landmark exploration of sexual politics, *Last Tango in Paris* (1972).

Her first film as writer and director, *Une vraie jeune fille* (*A Real Young Girl*, 1976), focuses on the sexual experiences and desires of a young woman, but eschews the romanticism often associated with such tales. Instead, the main character shows no particular reaction to the plainly incestuous attention of her father. In contrast, a blue-collar worker's indifference toward her creates an insatiable passion for him. *36 fillette* (*Virgin*, 1988) and *À ma soeur!* (*Fat Girl*, 2003) are also offbeat narratives of young women coming of age. In each of these films, the female protagonists are not viewed as passive victims in a male-dominated society, but as active agents of desire grappling with their feelings, as well as the assumptions and roles that are thrust upon them by society. This is also true of many of the adult women in Breillat's other pictures, such as *Romance* (1999) and *Anatomie de l'enfer* (*Anatomy of Hell*, 2004).

Yet consistently, Breillat's films frustrate attempts to psychologically investigate the female characters. Instead, stylistic choices (including a lack of emotional response by the performers) create a sense of cold objectivity that works to keep the viewer at a distance from the characters. Rather than attempting to explain their desires, Breillat simply presents them—even when the films portray their various sexual fantasies. As Breillat herself said of one of her films, "If people go to see *Romance* with arousal on their minds they will be disappointed." Depicting the unpleasant and unlikable sides of the women characters often prevents female viewers from identifying with them.

It is perhaps this combination of dispassionate technique and forthright depiction of sex in all its polymorphous perversity that has led to numerous outcries against Breillat's films. *A Real Young Girl* had difficulties being screened upon its completion. Scenes of actual heterosexual intercourse and a shot of an erect penis in *Romance* almost kept the British Board of Film Censors (BBFC) from allowing the film into the United Kingdom. Neither film was distributed in the United States. The Ontario Film Review Board in Canada also originally banned *Fat Girl*, objecting to scenes depicting sexual activity by minors and frontal nudity. In 2002 Breillat made the film *Sex Is Comedy* (*Scènes intimes*), a self-reflexive story about a female director trying to film an explicit sex scene the way she envisions it while facing obstacles from all fronts. Often outraging both male patriarchal notions and feminists, Breillat's films create their own unique, unblinking attitude toward sexuality.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Une vraie jeune fille (*A Real Young Girl*, 1976), *36 fillette* (*Virgin*, 1988), *Romance* (1999), *Sex Is Comedy* (*Scènes intimes*, 2002), *À ma souer!* (*Fat Girl*, 2003), *Anatomie de l'enfer* (*Anatomy of Hell*, 2004)

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Sean Griffin

SEXUALITY BEYOND THE UNITED STATES AND WESTERN EUROPE

The development of film industries in areas outside the United States and western Europe also had to negotiate representations of sexuality. For example, in many nations where the Catholic Church held a powerful presence, such as some Latin American countries, there was a strong pressure on filmmakers to keep their representations of sexual desire within the bounds of religious doctrine. It is also important to recognize that filmic depictions of sexuality in these regions differed from motion pictures in the United States and western Europe due to different conceptualizations of sexuality. For example, while sex between men and sex between women existed across the world, the medical category of "homosexuality" was largely a western European concept during the early twentieth century. Also, while first-wave feminism had swept western Europe and the United States, creating a new image of women's active sexuality, such a movement or image had not taken hold in much

Catherine Breillat. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

of the rest of the world. Therefore, depictions of vamps, pansies, or mannish women were much more limited in motion pictures beyond the West.

It is important to recognize too that many of these populations had access to Western images. Hollywood cinema dominated the global market by the 1920s. Most of South America, Africa, and the Middle East was still under the colonial rule of various European countries—and thus exposed to the culture of their colonizers. Therefore, the expression of sexuality in many of these industries negotiated the differences between their cultures and the cultures of their rulers. The film industry in India, for example, held to the rules of propriety dictated by British culture, but also dealt with what was considered inappropriate to its own communities. While British censors allowed on-screen kissing (as long as it was chaste), it became standard not to allow couples to do so in Indian films. When India gained independence from the United Kingdom and established its Central Board of Film Censors in 1949, the ban on kissing became institutionalized, as well as forbidding displays of "indecorous dancing."

Japanese cinema provides another good example of negotiating depictions of sexuality. The Japanese film industry also kept on-screen displays of intimacy to a minimum—possibly suggesting or discussing attraction but keeping most forms of physical contact (including kissing) out of camera range. Yet, while circumspect on this issue, Japanese films had no compunction in acknowledging the existence of the geisha system. Unlike Hollywood films that strove to deny the existence of female sex workers, many Japanese pictures acknowledged geishas as part of the community structure. In the immediate aftermath of World War II, the Allied Forces oversaw the restructuring of Japanese society, which included its film industry. As part of the effort to westernize Japanese culture, filmmakers were instructed to include on-screen kissing for the first time. Thus, Japanese cinema's attitudes and portrayals of sexuality began to shift in response to the West.

SEXUALITY OUTSIDE MAINSTREAM FILMMAKING

The establishment of obscenity laws and censorship boards and the development of self-regulation within various film industries worked to circumscribe how much and what types of sexuality could be depicted in pictures produced for general entertainment. These attempts at regulation, though, also led to new types of marginalized filmmaking in various countries that dealt more explicitly with sex than was considered acceptable. The growth of an experimental cinema across Europe and the United States created a space for espousers of modernism and "bohemian" lifestyles (including feminism, free love, and homosexuality) to express themselves in films. French director Germaine Dulac's *La souriante Madame Beudet* (*The Smiling Madame Beudet*, 1922) depicted a woman's lack of sexual fulfillment in a conventional middle-class heterosexual marriage. *Un chien andalou* (*An Andalusian Dog*, 1929, France), by Salvador Dali and Luis Buñuel, presented a Surrealist portrayal of the anarchic energy generated by passionate, unruly desires. Various queer artists also used avant-garde cinema to express themselves, such as James Sibley Watson (1894–1982) and Melville Webber (1871–1947) in *Lot in Sodom* (1933, US), Kenneth Anger (b. 1927) in *Fireworks* (1947, US), and Jean Genet (1910–1986) in *Un chant d'amour* (*A Song of Love*, 1950, France).

"Stag" films were even more explicit in showing sexual intercourse. These early versions of film pornography consciously broke obscenity laws and hence were often distributed and shown surreptitiously. Working just barely within the boundaries of obscenity laws was a mode of production known as exploitation filmmaking. Made by filmmakers outside the major studios,

exploitation films sold themselves by specifically discussing those topics forbidden by the Code, such as homosexuality (*Children of Loneliness*, 1934), venereal disease (*Damaged Goods*, 1937), interracial sex (*Race Suicide*, 1937) and unwed pregnancy (*Mom and Dad*, 1945). In the 1930s and 1940s, exploitation films raised these topics, but in order to warn against them in favor of heterosexual monogamy. They also usually promised more nudity and sexually explicit scenes than they actually delivered (thus keeping within the law).

POSTWAR SEXUALITY ON FILM

World War II helped shift attitudes toward and portrayals of sexuality in the United States and western Europe. "Cheesecake" photography of women helped "remind GIs of what they were fighting for." Members of the armed forces were given explicit education (including films) about sexually transmitted diseases. Roles for women in the workforce expanded to include what had been traditionally considered masculine jobs. Wartime demands for personnel even led military and civilian leaders to tacitly overlook the existence of homosexuality in the ranks or in the workforce. With the end of the war, though, there was a concerted effort to bring society back to pre-war notions of sexuality. Social pressures were placed on women to return to the role of homemaker, for example, and homosexuality was once again deemed a mental illness and a criminal act. Yet the 1950s saw increasing challenges to these attempts. While a "baby boom" erupted in the United States after the war, divorce rates also grew steadily. In 1953 *Playboy* magazine began publication. Dr. Alfred Kinsey's studies on male and female sexuality (1948, 1953) challenged long-held beliefs regarding the extent of premarital sex for women and the prevalence of homosexual activity among men. Fledgling homosexual rights groups began to form after the war as well in the United States.

Cinema was often caught up in the postwar struggles over sexuality. Many European filmmakers championed greater realism in their work after the war (often in reaction to the heavily propagandistic films during the war). As such, sexuality was treated more frankly—yet (often) not in an exploitative manner. The emphasis on realism often granted cinema greater critical regard, which various film industries were able to use to defend against censorship. The BBFC in the United Kingdom, for example, instituted the X certificate in 1951 as a method of allowing pictures to deal with more adult material instead of simply banning them. When a New York City exhibitor was arrested on obscenity charges for running the Italian film *L'Amore* (*Ways of Love*, 1948), the case went to the Supreme Court, which reversed its 1915 decision and declared that cinema was an art form protected by the Freedom of Speech clause in the Bill of Rights.

Hollywood studios were losing audiences in the 1950s, mostly to television, but also to foreign films that were often hyped as more sexually explicit ("shocking realism" became something of a code-phrase for sex in film marketing). Many US audiences had associated European film as more adult for some time (the Czech film *Extáze* [*Ecstasy*], 1933, with a scene of Hedy Lamaar swimming nude, was released as an exploitation film in the US, for example). Yet the postwar years saw a major increase in foreign imports—including *Et Dieu… créa la femme* (*And God Created Woman*, 1957, France), *Les amants* (*The Lovers*, 1959, France), *Belle du Jour* (1966, France) and *Jag är nyfiken* (*I Am Curious, Yellow*, 1968, Sweden)—that confronted resistance from various local and state censors for their forthright depictions of sexuality. The international attention given to French New Wave films such as *À bout de souffle* (*Breathless*, 1960) and *Tirez sur le pianiste* (*Shoot the Piano Player*, 1960) was due to a variety of factors, one being the free discussion of sexual matters (and occasional moments of topless females). British Angry Young Man films such as *Room at the Top* (1959) and *This Sporting Life* (1963) also included frank talk about sex, and Italian director Federico Fellini's examination of contemporary Italian society, *La Dolce Vita* (*The Sweet Life*, 1960), culminated in an orgy.

A number of US filmmakers desired more open discussion of social issues after World War II, including attitudes around sexuality. Pictures about interracial romance became more prevalent, for example, possibly reacting to the wave of Japanese war brides that GIs were bringing back to the States. (While laws against "miscegenation" began to be repealed in certain areas, it was not until 1967 that the Supreme Court swept away all of these statutes.) Unlike silent films that tended to picture such desires as threatening, films such as *Pinky* (1949), *Broken Arrow* (1950), and *Sayonara* (1957) were usually sympathetic—yet rarely allowed the interracial relationship to succeed. Other filmmakers began specifically challenging the authority of the Production Code Administration. Otto Preminger's *The Moon Is Blue* (1953) talked about premarital sex and even used the word "virgin." Denied a Seal of Approval, the film got even more publicity and became a box-office success. Combined with the new Freedom of Speech protection, the success of *The Moon Is Blue* heralded the slow demise of the Production Code. Mention of unwed pregnancies, prostitution, abortions, and teenage sex—along with pictures revealing more and more of the human body—began to proliferate in US cinema during the 1960s. Studios increasingly bent the rules by including more explicit sexual situations—from sex comedies starring Doris Day

and Rock Hudson (*Pillow Talk*, 1959; *Lover Come Back*, 1961) to a screen version of the notorious novel *Lolita* (1962), about an older man's obsession with a teenage girl.

Hollywood filmmakers also began broaching the topic of homosexuality during these years. A number of early attempts were adaptations from recent hit plays, such as *Tea and Sympathy* (1956) or *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof* (1958). Yet because the Code specifically forbade mention of "sex perversion," the films were forced to launder any overt references to homosexuality. In response to industry pressures, the Production Code was revised in 1961, and one of the changes was allowing films to mention homosexuality. Homosexuals were no longer exclusively defined (or portrayed on screen) as "gender deviant," but most Hollywood pictures on the topic made after the Code revision, such as *The Children's Hour* (1961) and *Advise and Consent* (1962) portrayed lesbians and gay men as pitiful creatures doomed to suffering and suicide. (In contrast, the British film *Victim*, 1961, confronted the treatment of homosexuals in a heteronormative culture.) Just as the British X certificate classified material as adult rather than censoring it, the Hollywood Production Code was finally scrapped in 1967 and was replaced with a Ratings System to classify what films were appropriate for what audiences. By the early 1970s, many countries (particularly in Europe) had moved to a classificatory system rather than a censorship board.

THE SEXUAL REVOLUTION ON FILM

The collapse of the Production Code reflected the emergence of a "sexual revolution" in the United States and western Europe in the 1960s. Women's sexual freedom increased during the decade with the marketing of "the pill" to protect against pregnancy. Soon, a second wave of feminism began championing women's liberation from patriarchy. Beat culture in the late 1950s and the counterculture of the 1960s celebrated "free love," with many choosing simply to live together rather than join in conventional heterosexual matrimony. By the end of the 1960s, a modern gay rights movement had begun as well. Many people began favoring foreign films to Hollywood product—as well as the growing number of US films made outside the studio system.

In the wake of the Supreme Court decision in 1953, exploitation films of burlesque strippers and nudist camps proliferated. As more and more obscenity laws were struck down during the 1960s, exploitation films began including shots of vaginas and flaccid penises. By the start of the 1970s, full on-screen coitus was being presented, and the Ratings System's X rating became synonymous with pornography. The 1960s also saw a growth of experimental filmmaking called "underground cinema" that usually contained explicit nudity and simulated sex acts. Andy Warhol's *Kiss* (1963), for example, is a series of close-ups of couples kissing, including a heterosexual interracial couple and two male couples. Jack Smith's *Flaming Creatures* (1963) parodied the Biblical sex orgies of Cecil B. DeMille films by showing—in a bored, listless, campy fashion—full-frontal nudity of both men and women. In the wake of the women's liberation movement, independent feminist filmmakers, including Barbara Hammer (b. 1930) (*Superdyke*, 1975), Michelle Citron (*Daughter Rite*, 1978) and Lizzie Borden (b. 1958) (*Born in Flames*, 1983), experimented with methods of picturing female sexuality without falling into patriarchal patterns of objectification.

By the end of the 1960s, exploitation pictures and underground cinema were exerting a tremendous influence on mainstream filmmaking throughout the United States and Europe. In Hollywood, films such as *Bob & Carol & Ted & Alice* (1969) and *Carnal Knowledge* (1971) attempted to deal with the sexual revolution. *Midnight Cowboy* (1969), about a male hustler, won an Academy Award® for Best Picture. In various parts of the world in the early 1970s, important films focused on sexual politics with no holds barred. *WR: Mysterije Organizma* (1971, Yugoslavia), *Last Tango in Paris* (*Ultimo tango a Paris; Le dernier tango à Paris*; 1972, Italy/France), *The Bitter Tears of Petra von Kant* (*Die bitteren Trãnen der Petra von Kant*, 1972, West Germany), *In the Realm of the Senses* (*Ai no corrida*, 1976, Japan), and *Salo, or 120 Days of Sodom* (*Salò, o le 120 giornate di Sodoma*, 1976, Italy) all dealt with sex in explicit yet complex and intricate ways. Many of these films, for example, showed how heterosexual patriarchal notions often still held sway, even within the so-called sexual revolution. Many exposed the power dynamics that often infuse sexual desire. Others pointed out the limits of sexual liberation without an accompanying change in the social and economic order. Though explicit attempts at a serious discussion of sexuality, these films were viewed by many as little more than smut masking as art. *Salo* was banned in many countries; *In the Realm of the Senses* and *WR* were often recut before they could be shown; the makers of *Last Tango in Paris* were charged with obscenity laws while the film was still in production, and director Bernardo Bertolucci (b. 1940) briefly lost his voting rights. It is thus perhaps not surprising that an ongoing cycle of similar films did not materialize.

CINEMA AFTER THE SEXUAL REVOLUTION

By the end of the 1970s, a general cultural backlash against the sexual revolution began to develop in many areas, partly fueled by growing fears of sexually transmitted diseases such as herpes and AIDS. The United States, the United Kingdom, and West Germany, for example, elected conservative politicians that promised

to restore "traditional values"—which generally meant reestablishing the patriarchal heterosexual family unit. British prime minister Margaret Thatcher promoted a "heritage" culture, which translated into a number of British films taking place in a nostalgic era of Victorian propriety. In the United States, under the presidency of Ronald Reagan (served 1981–1989), "slasher" horror films became popular, visiting violent retribution on young people who had premarital sex (with particular grisly focus on punishing sexually aggressive women).

The sexual revolution was also met with outrage outside the United States and western Europe. As the global reach of Hollywood cinema expanded with the growth of home video in the 1980s, many postcolonial societies complained of a new cultural imperialism. One of the major complaints was that United States and European movies were too sexually explicit, supplanting indigenous concepts of sexuality with Western ideas. (By the end of the 1980s, the pornography industries had moved almost solely into video to provide better distribution.) For example, film censors in Iran after the abdication of the Shah in 1979 focused major attention on what were considered Western-influenced displays of sexuality, particularly regarding women. Attempts by filmmakers in India to discuss lesbian desire in films such as *Fire* (1996) and *Girlfriend* (2004) met with censorship troubles and then protests and riots in the theaters. Many in India, as well as in various Asian and African nations, consider homosexuality to be a Western idea that is being imported to their communities through popular culture (even though evidence of some form of same-sex desire can be found in almost every culture's history).

Yet even in the face of such reactions, discussions and displays of sexuality continued in cinema. While on-screen heterosexual kisses were still rare in Indian film, scenes of women dancing "indecorously" in clinging wet saris became a popular feature of Bombay cinema by the late 1980s. While explicit scenes of sexual intercourse remained banned in Japanese cinema, an entire genre of soft-core "pink films" flourished. Furthermore, Japanese animators found a way around this ban by having female characters in explicit sex scenes with aliens instead of humans (an entire

Marlon Brando and Maria Schneider in **Last Tango in Paris** *(Bernardo Bertolucci, 1972).* EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Art cinema meets pornography in Catharine Breillat's* Anatomie de l'enfer *(*Anatomy of Hell*, 2004), with porn star Rocco Siffredi. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

subgenre called *hentai*, often referred to as "tentacle porn" in the US).

As the 1990s began, various films seemed to indicate a renewed attempt to present serious discussions of sexuality on screen, including *The Cook, The Thief, His Wife & Her Lover* (1989, UK), *Henry & June* (1990, US), and the films of Spanish director Pedro Almodóvar. Together these films led to a small censorship crisis in the United States, which resulted in the creation of the NC-17 rating to distinguish these films from straightforward pornography. German filmmaker Monika Treut explored marginalized sexualities such as female sadomasochism (*Female Misbehavior*, 1992) and transgendered sexuality (*Gendernauts—Eine Resie durch die Geschlechter*, 1999). Tied to the rise of radical AIDS activism in the West, the New Queer Cinema movement of the early 1990s also challenged "traditional values" by openly celebrating sexual diversity, and at times even challenging the stability of sexual categories. Although centered in the United States, New Queer Cinema included filmmakers from Canada (John Greyson, Bruce LaBruce), the United Kingdom (Derek Jarman, Isaac Julien) and India (Pratibha Parmar).

Such efforts to confront sex and sexuality in its materiality continued with the start of the new millennium. Independent American directors such as Larry Clark (*Kids*, 1995; *Bully*, 2001) and Todd Solondz (*Happiness*, 1998) have made forthright pictures about childhood and teenage sex, and pederasty. A number of nonpornographic films also began including explicit heterosexual intercourse or oral sex, including *Baise-moi* (*Kiss Me*, 2000, France), *Intimacy* (*Intimité*, 2001, UK/France), *The Brown Bunny* (2003, US), and *9 Songs* (2004, UK). Many of these films caused scandals and protests. *Baise moi*, for example, was banned in Australia and Canada, and was recut by censors in the United Kingdom and Hong Kong. Some analysts have pointed out that complaints about the film tended to center around depictions of sexual acts rather than the excessive violence of the film. While some defended these films as attempts to portray sex honestly and without shame, or to investigate the links between sex and violence, others decried them as simply a new version of exploitation and sexual licentiousness. Thus, over the past century of film history, the same debates about sexuality and cinema have continued to rage.

SEE ALSO *Censorship; Experimental Film; Exploitation Films; Gay, Lesbian, and Queer Cinema; Gender; Pornography; Race and Ethnicity; Spectatorship and Audiences; Stars*

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Sean Griffin

SHOTS

A shot is often defined as the basic building block of cinema because filmmakers work by creating a film shot by shot, and then, during editing, they join these shots in sequence to compose the overall film. From this standpoint, a shot corresponds to the length of film that is exposed during production as it is run through the camera from the time the camera is turned on until it is turned off. In this way, the shot forms one unit of a larger scene or sequence that, in turn, is made up of numerous shots. To create a shot, therefore, requires that the location be lit, that the actors be placed within the frame and their movements choreographed, and that other elements of set design and costuming be in place for the duration of the shot.

While this definition of a shot is a fairly standard one in film studies, it is also a rather inelegant one, and it has its share of problems. First, it privileges the shot as it exists during production rather than in a finished film. Few shots ever appear "raw" in a finished film. They are almost always trimmed and massaged during editing, and they are color corrected during the post-production phase and, also during post-production, they have sound married to them. Thus, the notion of a shot being defined as footage exposed from the time a camera is turned on until it is turned off fails to accommodate the ways in which that footage is transformed during the critical post-production phase. A better term for this conventional definition is "take."

A more elegant definition of shot is to regard it simply as the interval between editing transitions. In this sense, a shot comprises the footage punctuated on either side by a cut, a fade, a dissolve, or other transition. This approach is more properly biased toward the organization of audiovisual material in the finished film, and it overcomes the ambiguity that composited shots introduce for the standard definition, which does not conceptually accommodate them very well. Composited shots are those created by combining (compositing) individual elements that have been filmed separately. Special effect shots, for example, are composited in this way: a live actor is filmed against a blue screen; a digital matte painting is created in a computer; a miniature model of the set is constructed. Each (excepting the digital matte) is filmed separately, but all are then layered together in the process of compositing to create the finished shot. That shot is then edited with others to make up the larger scene or sequence. This then, is a weakness with the standard, production-oriented definition of "shot." Understood according to this definition, composited shots are ambiguous because they are composed from other shots that have been combined. Using the alternate definition of shot—the interval between edit points—resolves this ambiguity.

CLASSIFICATION OF SHOTS

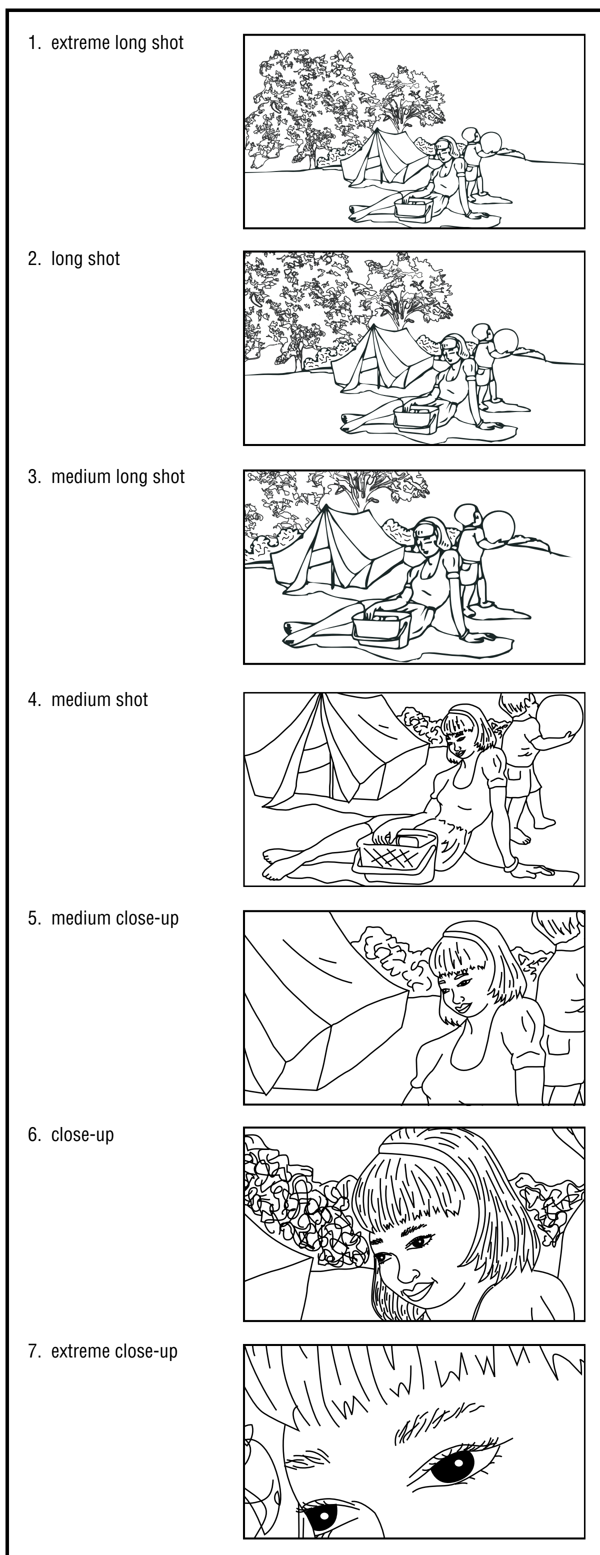
As a term like "composite shot" indicates, shots are classified and described or named according to a number of variables. These include camera position, camera movement, camera lenses, the actors involved, and editing. The most commonly used designations are those supplied by camera position: close-up (CU), medium shot (MS), and long shot (LS). A *close-up* typically shows one object, very commonly the human face. It isolates that object from its surroundings and, by doing so, concentrates the viewer's attention upon it. For instance, the extraordinary facial closeups that end *City Lights* (Charlie

Chaplin, 1931) are matched in their expressive intensity by *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc* (*The Passion of Joan of Arc*, Carl Theodor Dreyer, 1928), a film composed almost entirely of facial close-ups. If the face is cinema's supreme emotive object, the close-up is the essential method to reveal it.

Just as a close-up implies a particular camera position, a *medium shot* is composed with the camera located farther back from its subject and, therefore, shows some of the surroundings that a close-up will omit. An actor filmed from the waist up would be a medium shot. A *long shot* has the camera located much farther away from its subject and is typically used to show a great deal of environmental information. For example, the long shots in *Lawrence of Arabia* (David Lean, 1962) stress the vastness and emptiness of the desert, which is the film's main setting and also the metaphor for its titular character.

As these somewhat loose descriptions suggest, there is no fixed, measurable boundary between a medium shot and a close-up or between a long shot and a medium shot, no point where one unambiguously turns into the other. Rather, they are loosely defined areas on a continuum of camera-to-subject distance. As such, they accommodate intermediate distinctions, including the *medium-long shot* or *extreme close-up*. The climactic gunfight in *C'era una volta il West* (*Once Upon a Time in the West*, Sergio Leone, 1969) includes a series of close-ups of antagonists Charles Bronson and Henry Fonda, and then, in one of Bronson's close-ups, the camera zooms in to his eyes, which fill the widescreen frame in an extreme close-up. As this example indicates, the mobility of the shot in cinema can make it resistant to rigid labeling. A long shot might become an extreme close-up, as in *Notorious* (1946) when director Alfred Hitchcock opens with a high-angle long shot of guests at a party and then moves the camera down and in to a very tight close-up of a key that one character holds in the palm of her hand. A full figure shot of Fred Astaire dancing might be described as a medium-long shot, though if he moves off into the background of the set, or if the camera pulls up and away from him, the shot might become a long shot. A shot can be dynamic; as it changes, so might its label.

The camera movement described in the Fred Astaire example suggests another means of labeling a shot. It could be called a *boom shot* or a *crane shot*, after the mechanical device on which the camera is attached to create its movement. Shots, therefore, may be named for the type of camera movement that occurs within them. *Dolly shots* typically include a small, short movement performed with the camera on a dolly, a small, movable platform. *Tracking shots* feature more extensive movement, with the camera pushed along a set of tracks.



Seven types of shots according to camera position.
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Steadicam shots feature motion performed with the camera strapped to the camera operator's body.

The lens on the camera may also furnish a means for defining a shot. *Zoom shots* simulate camera movement by using a zoom lens that progressively magnifies the image, but they do not supply the true motion perspective that only a moving camera can capture. *Telephoto shots* use a long focal length lens that makes distant objects appear closer than they are. Japanese director Akira Kurosawa sets his cameras far back from the actors and films with telephoto lenses to bring everything into close perspective. By contrast, *wide-angle shots* make near objects seem farther away than they are.

Using these lenses introduces an interesting ambiguity into the conventional LS-MS-CU designations as these tend to imply a one-to-one correspondence with camera position (for example, the camera is close in a close-up). A filmmaker could use a telephoto lens to produce a close-up while the camera is actually in a long shot position. Many scenes in films where characters walk along city streets and are shown in conversation in CU or in MS are shot with the camera far away in a telephoto setting. The close-up effect produced by the lens takes precedence over the facts of the camera's true position. While one would still label these shots as close-ups or medium shots, it would require a discriminating viewer to perceive the contradiction between the camera's implied and actual position.

In addition, the number of actors in a shot sometimes furnishes the means for labeling that shot. A *two-shot* features two actors, a *three-shot* shows three, and so on. Editing also gives us a taxonomy for describing shots. A *master shot* is the one that contains the action and dialogue of the entire scene filmed in a medium or medium-long shot setup. Editors then intercut the master shot with footage from other camera setups showing partial views of the scene's action. An *insert*, for example, is a closer shot of a detail or bit of business that is cut into the master shot. Master shots perform an orienting function for the viewer by showing where everything is situated in the geography of the space of a scene. Similar to a master shot, in this respect, is an *establishing shot*, which provides a long shot view of a set or locale and thereby serves to orient the viewer and provide for a gradual entry into the dramatic content of a scene. Many films begin with establishing shots. Think of all the detective and crime films that open with long shots of the city. These long shots function as establishing shots, conveying the urban locale of the story.

When they are used to open a scene or film, establishing shots are typically followed by closer views of the action. These closer views may include inserts and close-ups. They may also include *point of view shots* that simulate the approximate line of sight of a character. A *subjective shot* is a point of view shot that exactly corresponds to what a character is seeing. A few films sustain the point of view shot design throughout their entire length: *Lady in the Lake* (1947) and *84C MoPic* (1989) are composed entirely of subjective shots.

A shot, therefore, can be described in numerous ways depending on the variable (lens, camera movement, editing) that is relevant for the analysis. These descriptive terms are never separate from the expressive possibilities that the different shots afford. As noted, close-ups serve to focus and concentrate the viewer's attention on significant details, and they are excellent vehicles for conveying emotion, as in facial close-ups. Tracking shots convey the excitement and exhilaration of motion. Classical continuity editing relying on orderly changes among master shots, medium shots, and close-ups serves to clarify dialogue and convey essential narrative information.

AESTHETICS OF THE SHOT

Many filmmakers treat the shot as an extended unit of expression and composition. Such filmmakers as Orson Welles, Akira Kurosawa, Jean Renoir, and William Wyler favored a practice of working within the boundaries of a single, extended shot (called a *long take*), rather than cutting among many camera setups (which is the normative practice in cinema) in creating a scene. At its most extreme form, this practice results in *sequence shots*, an entire sequence lasting several minutes done as a single, extended shot. The Hungarian filmmaker, Miklós Jancsó (*Red Psalm*, 1971), composes his films as a series of sequence shots; a ninety-minute film by Jancso may contain as few as ten shots.

This aesthetic practice emphasizes the structural integrity of a shot with overwhelming expressive force because the shot takes precedence over editing. In Welles's case, the sequence shot may be coupled with deep-focus composition; in Kurosawa's, by a static camera emphasizing the hieratic positioning of the actors; in Renoir's, by a continuously moving camera that fluidly reframes the composition. In each case, the design insists upon the real time that exists within the shot and disengages it from the structured cinematic time of the rest of the film as created through editing.

Admittedly, by the standards of contemporary commercial cinema, filming in long takes is a very deviant practice. Films constructed from montage, from very quick cutting, have become the norm today in commercial cinema. Montage, however, devours the structural integrity of the shot as a unit of meaning that can stand alone. In montage, no shot stands alone; instead, the total gestalt produced by the montage is what counts. The expressive possibilities which the shot enables—extension

Lady in the Lake ***(Robert Montgomery, 1947) is one of the few films that sustains a subjective or first-person perspective throughout.*** **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

in time, space and depth of field, compositional richness, the subtleties of facial expression, and the heightened performances that result when actors play off one another in real time—are diminished by over-reliance upon montage. As a discrete unit of meaning that can be insisted upon for its own richness, the shot is an endangered species in contemporary cinema.

It is endangered for yet another reason. As cinema evolves from its photomechanical base in celluloid to a new existence on digital video, shots are no longer strictly required. Shooting on digital video, a filmmaker need never cut. He or she can compose an entire feature film as a single, unbroken shot, as Alexander Sokurov did in *Russian Ark* (2002).

Until the digital era, films existed as a series of shots because filmmakers had no alternative. They had to cut numerous shots together to make their films because the camera's magazine held a limited amount of footage (generally about ten minutes). This mechanical constraint compelled them to cut, and as film moved toward longer forms early in its history, filmmakers had no choice but to conceive of films as a series of shots created in artful relation to one another. The beauty of cinema lies in this orchestration of expressive design across numerous shots. In this respect, the aesthetics of cinema were rooted in a mechanical constraint. Occasionally, a filmmaker might explore the potential of doing away with shot-by-shot construction. Alfred Hitchcock's *Rope* (1948) aimed to create the illusion that most of the film was constructed as a single shot. In fact, however, Hitchcock was cutting among numerous shots; he was merely hiding the cuts. As long as it was based in celluloid, feature film required that filmmakers work shot by shot.

As *Russian Ark* demonstrates, digital video has removed this requirement. On the one hand, the single shot design of *Russian Ark* is such a flamboyant conception as to represent the apotheosis of the shot. How could

a shot ever rise to a more monumental form of expression than here, where Sukorov moves his camera across several centuries of narrative time and orchestrates the movements of 800 actors? Yet, just as montage devours the shot by severely limiting the weight of its expressive design, it turns out that the expansion of its boundaries in *Russian Ark* produces a similar effect. By eliminating editing altogether, the extreme shot duration made possible by digital video dissolves a powerful source of cinematic design. Removing the alteration of visual expression across shots by removing the edited series, the unbounded shot of digital video loses its identity as a shot. Without boundary there is no essence. The power of the long takes employed by Kurosawa, Welles, and others lies in the way they open up a stylistic alternative in the body of a film whose editing does *not* rely on extended shots. Virtue lies in contrast. By removing contrast, the unbounded shot of *Russian Ark*, and its potential in digital cinema generally, poses as severe a threat as montage to the structural integrity of the shot in cinema.

Despite what the digital future promises, the shot as the basic unit of cinema is unlikely to perish. The contrast among shots suspended in series has been, and will likely remain, the key aesthetic experience of the medium.

SEE ALSO *Camera; Camera Movement; Editing; Technology*

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Stephen Prince

SILENT CINEMA

By 1915 cinema seemed poised to enter a new phase of its development: with bigger-budgeted multireel films, popular and widely publicized stars, new modes of production and distribution, picture palaces, and aspirations of artistry all vying to define the medium in different ways, that sense of potential was more than met in the fifteen years that followed. What no one could have predicted was that the end of the 1920s would mark not only the completion of cinema's third full decade of existence, but also the end of a particular form of cinematic expression ushered in with the advent of features. Whether viewed as an economically motivated inevitability or a technologically generated caprice, the introduction of sound effectively put a stop to the unique qualities of silent cinema. Compelling arguments can be made that as many fundamentals of form and practice persisted as perished when sound displaced silence as the dominant cinematic mode; nonetheless, sound challenged the primacy of the image, resulting in a rethinking of how to harness the expressive capacities of the medium. Affected least by sound's introduction was the classical, conventional filmmaking strongly associated with Hollywood. Conversely, the experiments launched within the contexts of other national cinemas, specifically those of France, Germany, and the USSR, evaporated in sound's wake, leaving the norms of American cinema virtually unchallenged for the next fifteen years. Many would lament the passing of the silent era, some with a fervor bordering on reverence; eventually, nostalgia for a paradise lost was replaced by respect for the considerable achievements of an aesthetically distinct segment of cinematic history.

INTERNATIONAL POSTWAR STRUGGLES AND THE ASCENDANCY OF HOLLYWOOD

It was a specific technological development that ended the mature silent period, but it was an international event of epoch-defining magnitude that helped mark its beginning. By and large, World War I, which began in 1914, had a disastrous effect on most national cinemas in Europe, hastening a decline already apparent for some (England, France) while halting the momentum experienced by others (Denmark, Italy). Only two countries, Sweden and Germany, emerged from the war with their national cinemas in a stronger position than when it began. Both benefited from restrictions placed on them during the war, primarily in the form of a blockade on imports imposed in 1916. While Sweden saw its own domestic industry bolstered by the blockade (and an ability to export to Germany), Germany's thrived, particularly because the ban was sustained there until 1920. Demand for films meant that the number of production companies in Germany grew exponentially, reaching 130 by 1918. A year earlier Germany's government had taken steps toward centralization of the industry, with the formation of Universum Film Aktiengesellschaft, or Ufa, which merged production, distribution, and exhibition via a vertically integrated, state-run model. After the war, Ufa passed to private ownership but remained the primary distributor for German films. Ufa's massive studios also allowed Germany to mount films whose scale and production values rivaled those from its only true competition within the international market during this period—Hollywood.

Coincident with a push into wider markets by the country's manufacturing sector, the American film

industry continued to make inroads internationally in the years prior to World War I. But the war diminished the producing capacity of its chief rivals, Italy and France, opening the market to US domination more readily. Benefiting from its geographic separation from the wartime deprivations plaguing Europe, the American film industry capitalized on its advantages, increasing direct sales to markets where its presence had been less prominent before the war. The turning point appears to have been 1916, and the United States retained its domination of the international market from that point onward. A key component in that dominance was the industry's ability to spread its exporting might across regions, so that by the close of the decade exports to all the major markets (save Africa) were much more evenly distributed than ever before. Although Europe was still the major recipient of American films, South America, Asia, and Oceania each accounted for roughly 10 percent of US film export revenue. The United States moved into the 1920s buoyed by the confidence that it was the undisputed commercial dynamo, with an average annual production rate of over six hundred features a year.

Had the war not intervened, matters might have developed quite differently, considering how slowly the American film industry moved into production of features as compared to France and Italy, the pioneers in epic feature filmmaking. And when it did begin to produce features in earnest by 1914, the industry had to contend with the widespread changes to distribution and exhibition such a shift in production strategy entailed. In retrospect, it is evident that the timing of the American switch to features was fortuitous, as it occurred at the onset of the war, when the United States could best afford these substantial disruptions to its industrial system. The chief impediment to America's wholesale adoption of the feature film was the existing distribution system, which, since the early days of the General Film Company, had concentrated on renting packages of short films, typically at a set price, to any theater capable of paying. Arguably, adherence to this method of distribution had inhibited attempts to experiment with longer films, especially when those which had been produced were released in a staggered fashion as a series of discrete single reels, incorporated into a standardized package of other shorts.

Other distribution options did eventually present themselves, though they proved of limited value for handling the large number of features the industry would come to release annually. One such approach was roadshowing, borrowed from theatrical models, whereby a film moved from city to city, with venues rented specifically for the purpose of showing that title. For large-scale productions that lent themselves to splashy publicity campaigns, such as *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), the most famous example to be distributed in this fashion, roadshowing made sense; but it was not workable for a steady stream of features. Another strategy was the state rights system, wherein the rights to distribute a film would be allocated for a prescribed region. Those holding the rights could choose to rent to exhibitors within the region or split up their rights further. Although the state rights system also provided films with more individualized advertising campaigns than the package approach afforded, it remained a piecemeal approach to distribution, with no national reach. What features required were the more developed publicity mechanism associated with roadshowing and state rights, coupled with the comprehensive coverage of territories General Film and its ilk had provided.

The first satisfactory alternative arrived in the form of Paramount Pictures, which offered exhibitors a full annual slate of features, replete with advertising. Formed in 1914 by bringing together eleven local distributors, Paramount was soon releasing the films of Famous Players Motion Picture Company, one of the premiere producers of feature-length films. Paramount's ability to advance funds to the producers whose features it released translated into greater security for those producers, who, in turn, were able to expand their production budgets. Adolph Zukor (1873–1976), the head of Famous Players, recognized the centrality of distribution to production strategies and soon engineered the merger of Paramount and his firm in 1916, along with another important production company releasing through Paramount, the Jesse L. Lasky Feature Play Company. The resulting production-distribution combine, Famous Players-Lasky, set the standard for what would become a discernible tendency toward mergers and consolidation within the American film industry over the remainder of the silent period. The ultimate goal was vertical integration, wherein one firm owned and operated all three sectors of the industry: production, distribution, and exhibition. Famous Players had started primarily as a producer, acquired distribution three years later, and then finally began buying theaters in 1919, ultimately merging with the large regional theater chain, Balaban and Katz, in 1925. First National, which became vertically integrated in 1922, grew in the opposite fashion. Formed in 1917 by a group of exhibitors who resented Paramount's abuse of block booking (wherein exhibitors were forced to accept the entirety of a release schedule in order to secure any of the films on offer), First National first moved into distribution before establishing its own production facilities five years later. Nearly all the major players within the American film industry would be vertically integrated by the 1920s, and most of these firms had been operating within the industry since the mid-teens in one form or another. Tracing the mature

Buster Keaton in* The General *(Keaton and Clyde Bruckman, 1927). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

studio system to the advent of the feature film may be something of a simplification, but the seeds of that system were definitely sown in the upheavals produced by the shift to feature production.

THE CLASSICAL HOLLYWOOD CINEMA

Tendencies already evident in the previous period grew more pronounced as firms became larger and films became longer and more costly. In particular, the production process became progressively more standardized, with division of labor and departmentalization of crafts refined even further to rationalize the process of making films within a large-scale studio system. Thomas Ince (1882–1924) and Mack Sennett (1880–1960), both early proponents of a centralized production process wherein a production chief oversaw the work of numerous distinct units, helped establish the model upon which Hollywood would build throughout the 1920s. The studio system aimed to achieve both efficiency and product differentiation; thus, as much as standardization was prized, it could not be promoted at the expense of a certain degree of novelty and innovation. The result was a modified version of Fordism: principles of mass production were observed wherever possible, tempered by a bounded creativity.

The standardization of the production process translated into the representational norms pursued by Hollywood studios as well. Control over all aspects of production ensured that a degree of uniformity would define how stylistic elements functioned within American films. Now commonly referred to as the classical style, by the late teens it had become an internalized set of norms followed by all the studios. At its center was the implementation of interconnected rules concerning editing, which ensured a smooth and coherent rendering of time and space. Not only did continuity editing guarantee the spectator's ongoing comprehension of the spatial coordinates of the represented action, it systematically broke down that action to guide the spectator's attention, with an eye to highlighting the narratively salient actions. For this reason, editing became much more insistently analytical from the mid-1910s onward, with establishing

shots giving way to a series of closer-scaled shots designed to render the space narratively intelligible. In particular, editing worked to reinforce character psychology, so that shot-reverse shot sequencing and the point of view shot became cornerstones of the classical approach to cutting.

Sets of Hollywood films were sufficiently detailed to produce an effect of realism promoting believability; studio lighting molded figures and heightened dramatic moments as required; camera movement was judicious, typically employed to follow characters or readjust the framing to maintain stable and well-centered compositions. Hollywood classicism prized unity and self-effacement over bravura demonstrations of stylistic prowess, precisely because the system took priority over any individual product or practitioner. Overall, the Hollywood style functioned to draw as little attention to itself as possible, its primary role being to serve the prerogatives of the story. Because the tightly woven causal chains at the center of these narratives seemingly sprang from the motivations of the central characters, the actors playing them became fundamental to the success of Hollywood's films. Stars did more than help connect audience members emotionally to the potentially repetitive narrative formulas devised by the studio system: their function as cultural phenomena reinforced the fantasy associated with Hollywood, outstripping these performers' mere presence on the screen.

STARS AND MOVIE CULTURE IN THE 1920s

Even before American companies began actively promoting their actors by name around 1910, audiences had demonstrated their preference for particular performers, resulting in such favorites as the Biograph Girl (Florence Lawrence) and the Vitagraph Girl (Florence Turner). Initially, stars were known only for their onscreen personae, so that the actor's (first) name became synonymous with his or her characterizations. Such was the case with the two preeminent stars of the 1910s, Mary Pickford (1892–1979) and Charlie Chaplin (1889–1977). Before the star system could reach its mature stage, knowledge of the stars' offscreen lives also needed to become available to eager fans. Fan magazines, of which *Photoplay* was the first to appear in 1912, supplied this information, though the true source for most such promotional material was the studios themselves. Not surprisingly, given the centrality of stars to the success of Hollywood features, the star system developed in tandem with the industry. Pickford had proven instrumental to Zukor's early success with features and functioned as the carrot to go with the stick of block booking. The undeniable pull the top-rank stars exerted at the box office placed them at the center of publicity campaigns and pushed salaries ever higher, with the average weekly paycheck quadrupling in the period between 1916 and 1926. The most powerful stars saw their power extend beyond monetary rewards: in the most celebrated instance of stars laying claim to control over their careers, Pickford, Chaplin, and Douglas Fairbanks (1883–1939) (in collaboration with the famous director D. W. Griffith [1875–1948]) formed United Artists in 1919 as a distribution outlet for their productions. Each of these stars would command yearly salaries in excess of $1 million by the 1920s.

It is no coincidence that the star system emerged at the same time as motion picture production was shifting its central operations from the East Coast to the West. The ongoing relocation of film personnel to the Los Angeles area facilitated the identification of movie-star lifestyles with the geographical (and symbolic) site of Hollywood. Hollywood thus became synonymous with a particular lifestyle; it was not simply where movies were made, but where those who made movies chose to live. Moreover, that life assumed a special quality reinforced by the physical separation of movie stars from the rest of the United States. As denizens of a distinct colony, stars were expected to lead lives that justified the coverage they received in fan magazines and that would stimulate the longings of admiring, even envious, fans. In this way stars became synonymous with a type of conspicuous consumption, endemic to the years of unbridled economic growth in the United States during the 1920s. As their salaries grew, and their possessions and homes became more luxurious, movie stars came to epitomize a fantasy of wealth and choice. They functioned simultaneously as a realization of the American Dream—the boy or girl next door rising to fame and fortune—and an impossible ideal—larger-than-life figures living an existence only a rarefied few could ever enjoy. Their film roles would often mirror this duality, with many narratives of the 1910s and 1920s placing stars within two favored scenarios: either the star is wealthy at the outset, but shows himself/herself to be possessed of values that equate him/her with the common people; or, the star gains wealth by the film's conclusion, ideally by meeting the perfect (and perfectly wealthy) mate, but never sacrificing him/her principles in the process of attracting a rich suitor.

Both through their performances and the presentation of their public and private lives, then, stars had to appear remote and exotic while also seeming familiar and normalized. Stars lived a kind of dream existence, a heightened version of everyday life, and it was predicated on their sustaining a complex balancing act within the minds of their fans. In the early 1920s a series of scandals threatened that balance, puncturing the illusion that all stars lived by the same moral code adhered to by those who adored them. Roscoe "Fatty" Arbuckle (1887–1933) faced rape and murder charges connected to the death of a starlet whom the rotund comedian had met at

MARY PICKFORD

b. Gladys Smith, Toronto, Canada, 8 April 1893, d. 29 May 1979

No major star within the silent era can match the career longevity of Mary Pickford. Starting at Biograph in 1909, she established herself as a leading performer with her first films and went on to become the industry's biggest female star for the next two decades. Compelling onscreen, Pickford was equally adept at controlling the aspects of stardom that extend beyond the screen. A consummate businesswoman, she capitalized on her popularity from early on, negotiating favorable terms of employment and, eventually, considerable creative control. She achieved a degree of power most stars during the period could not hope to possess.

Pickford began acting as a child in Canadian theatrical productions before moving on to the New York stage under the tutelage of the impresario David Belasco in 1907. Switching to films two years later, she made a strong impression at Biograph, particularly as a comedienne. Even though the names of film performers were not made known to the public at that time, fans soon christened Pickford "Little Mary"; she parlayed that recognition into a series of increasingly lucrative contracts, moving from one company to another, and commanding a salary of several thousand dollars a week in the process. In 1916 she tightened control over her career by forming the Mary Pickford Corporation, and soon her earnings rose to nearly $1 million a year.

Distributors used the Pickford name to entice exhibitors to rent blocks of films among which would be her star vehicles. Recognizing how indispensable she was to a company's bottom line, she insisted on sharing in whatever profits her films earned. As the industry moved toward a vertically integrated structure by the close of the decade, Pickford elected to take over the distribution of her own titles by forming United Artists with her soon-to-be husband, Douglas Fairbanks; her director from the Biograph days, D. W. Griffith; and her rival in box-office popularity (and record-setting earnings), Charlie Chaplin.

Even as Pickford remained one of the most financially astute of the early stars (exploiting the benefits of the celebrity testimonial in advertising campaigns, for example), she failed to find ways to develop her onscreen persona. In her early films a particular type emerged—plucky, impetuous, but good-humored—and in the years to come fans resisted any substantial changes to the Pickford screen personality. Her golden ringlets symbolized the eternally youthful sensibility her roles demanded, and she became trapped in a cycle of films as a perpetual child-woman. Most attempts at expanding her range failed, and even when she cut her hair in defiance of her established image, she was forced to wear a wig onscreen to ensure continuity with the Little Mary of years past. Forever identified as "America's Sweetheart," upon the introduction of sound she became an increasingly anachronistic figure and retired from acting for the lucrative management of United Artists.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Wilful Peggy (1910), *The New York Hat* (1912), *Tess of the Storm Country* (1914), *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm* (1917), *Stella Maris* (1918), *Daddy-Long-Legs* (1919), *Pollyanna* (1920), *Sparrows* (1926)

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Charlie Keil

a "wild" party; Mary Pickford's image as "America's Sweetheart" was not easily reconciled to her divorce in 1920; the murder of director William Desmond Taylor (1872–1922) (famous for having directed numerous Pickford vehicles) implicated two celebrated actresses, Mabel Normand (1892–1930) and Mary Miles Minters (1902–1984); and matinee idol Wallace Reid (1891–1923) died as a result of morphine addiction. The collective force of these scandals lent credence to the notion that Hollywood was out of control, and that hedonism

Mary Pickford. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

and self-indulgence had come to define the movie colony lifestyle.

Onscreen, matters were no more encouraging. Erich von Stroheim's (1885–1957) dramas, such as *Blind Husbands* (1919) and *Foolish Wives* (1922), revolved around scenarios of seduction and infidelity overlaid with psychological realism and a degree of sadism. Cecil B. DeMille's (1881–1959) comedies of manners from the same period, including *Don't Change Your Husband* (1919), *Male and Female* (1919), and *Why Change Your Wife?* (1920), treated their audiences to the spectacle of Gloria Swanson (1897–1983) in various states of undress while promoting the pleasures of wanton consumerism. Fearing the imposition of state-controlled censorship (and worse, as public concern over stars' behavior coincided with congressional calls for greater control over the business operations of the film industry), the studios acted preemptively. Enlisting the country's postmaster general, Will Hays (1879–1954), as head of a new trade organization, the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, the industry's leaders hoped Hays would be able to use his political acumen and sober, Presbyterian image to combat the bad publicity and forestall government intervention. Hays, who was well connected to Washington, wasted no time in giving the appearance of introducing significant changes designed to "clean up" Hollywood. He saw to it that the studios introduced morals clauses into their stars' contracts, pulled Arbuckle's films from distribution, and, most significantly, introduced the first in a series of self-regulatory documents designed to curb onscreen excesses. That Hays's efforts produced few tangible results remained secondary to the impression he created of being committed to effective regulatory monitoring of film content. As the decade wore on, new guidelines were introduced in the guise of the "Don'ts and Be Carefuls," but the imposition of a meaningful form of self-regulation did not take place until the Production Code Administration of the 1930s.

AT THE MOVIES

As much as the star scandals of the early 1920s may have outraged sectors of the American populace, the negative publicity did little to dampen the general enthusiasm for motion pictures. During the mature silent period, movies acquired the status of a mass commercial entertainment, with audience levels climbing throughout the 1920s, especially in the latter part of the decade. Weekly paid admissions in the United States jumped from 40 million in 1922 to 65 million in 1928. In fact, it was film's very popularity that prompted ongoing concern about its effects on select audience members, children and youth in particular. Various studies into filmgoing conducted throughout the late 1910s and 1920s found that young people constituted a sizable portion of the total audience for motion pictures. The question of whether moviegoing had an adverse effect on the behavior of young people was not easily answered; for every study that denied the negative influence of the movies on children, such as the chapter devoted to the topic in Phyllis Blanchard's *The Child and Society* (1928), another found statistical correlations between juvenile delinquency and high rates of movie attendance, such as Alice Miller Mitchell's *Children and Movies* (1929).

Data on the composition of movie audiences during this period remain scattered and questionable, but some studies indicated that a significant percentage of adult members were female. The film scholar Gaylyn Studlar has pointed out that, whether or not we accept as true the figures putting the proportion of female movie patrons as high as 80 percent, women were indeed seen as highly desirable audience members precisely because of their status as consumers. Fan magazines were pitched to female readers, and the rapturous star-gazing fan was imagined to be female, even if the reality was more complicated. (For example, though press reports describing the hysterical reaction to Rudolph Valentino's

(1895–1926) death emphasized the behavior of female fans, newsreel footage shows just as many men in attendance outside the funeral service as women.) On another level, however, the steady evolution of movie culture that accelerated throughout the mature silent era worked to eliminate any distinctions among fans, suggesting that all patrons had equal access to the grand fantasy represented by Hollywood films and the stars who populated them. Nowhere was this clearer than in the moving picture palace, which came to define the era's aspirations and set a standard for exhibition that would never be surpassed.

The picture palace, renowned for its architectural flights of fancy and sumptuous decor, encapsulated the spirit of fantasy that moviegoing was designed to engender. The opulence of these theaters alluded to the high cultural realm of opera houses; architects consciously emulated antiquated styles as well, mixing traditions in a manner that intensified the idea that the ticket holder was entering a realm free of constraints, either of expense or history. In atmospheric theaters, stars might twinkle in a cloud-bedecked ceiling; exoticism announced itself through ersatz Mayan statuary or an elaborate staircase modeled after French Renaissance originals. Oversized lobbies were designed to engulf the senses (while also solving the more prosaic problem of crowd flow), with the amassed details of murals, lush drapery and carpeting, chandeliers, and excessive displays of marble and bronze announcing that patrons had stepped into a world distinct from their normal, workaday lives. The epic that might be shown onscreen would merely be an extension of the spectacle already mounted within the theater itself.

If the films shown in picture palaces were dwarfed by their surroundings, many viewers seemed not to mind. Questionnaires designed to identify patrons' preferences determined that the moviegoing experience often rated more highly for audience members than the film on view. Music in particular, but also comfort and beauty, outranked the movies shown as the most appealing features a theater had to offer. The grandest theaters offered musical entertainment on a scale commensurate with the decor: in addition to featured singers, and even a stage show of sorts, one could count on an orchestra, responsible for overtures as well as accompaniment for the entirety of the program presented, which might include a newsreel, a scenic, and a comedy short, all preceding the main feature. Admission prices at picture palaces were certainly higher than those charged at more conventional theaters, topping out at over one dollar; but patrons were gaining entry to an experience, replete with a full array of service personnel, from doormen to pages to ushers to nursemaids. If the movies transported their viewers to another world, the picture palace aimed to sustain that sensation until patrons had left the confines of the theater.

RESISTANCE TO HOLLYWOOD

Although American films enjoyed unchallenged success in the domestic market and dominated abroad, other nations made their mark by offering a distinctive alternative to classicism. Though quite different in their approaches to establishing unique forms of cinematic expression, Germany, France, and the USSR each forged national film movements during the 1920s, resulting in a body of idiosyncratic films that could lay claim to the status of art. These countries made conventional films in abundance even as they sustained more experimental works, but for the most part their legacy within the silent period can be traced to German Expressionism, French Impressionism, and Soviet montage, respectively.

Of the three countries, Germany's film industry was the most developed and the most prolific. In the 1920s it produced over two thousand feature films, and in 1923 German domination of its own market peaked for the decade, with domestic films accounting for 60 percent of the motion pictures screened in the country's cinemas. Although the nation's intelligentsia had resisted involvement with motion pictures until just prior to the war, the postwar sentiment within the country encouraged greater cross-fertilization among forms, and artists trained in Expressionism embraced film as a means to extend the visual experimentation of that art movement. The jagged shapes, crude lines, and forced perspective of Expressionist art was transposed onto the sets of the first German Expressionist film, *Das Kabinett des Doktor Caligari* (*The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*, 1920). The Expressionist approach also extended to the makeup and performances of *Caligari*'s lead actors, reinforcing the film's sense of pronounced stylization. Few of the subsequent films linked to the movement replicated the application of an Expressionist visual logic to the *mise-en-scène* to the degree achieved by *Caligari*; nonetheless, those films classified as Expressionist arguably managed to adhere to the movement's general aim of rendering an internal state through external means, albeit in a modified fashion. This is the case even in *Nosferatu, eine Symphonie des Grauens* (*Nosferatu*, F. W. Murnau, 1922), which, unlike most Expressionist films, made extensive use of outdoor locations for its treatment of the vampire legend: rather than integrate Expressionist touches into a fabricated *mise-en-scène*, Murnau poses the actor playing Nosferatu in front of archways (creating visual echoes with the vampire's coffin) or uses shadows to further extend the already grotesque features of the character's body. Fritz Lang's films from this period, most spectacularly *Metropolis* (1927, and usually

Max Schreck as the vampire in F. W. Murnau's* Nosferatu *(1922), which combined location photography with an Expressionist design. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

considered the movement's swan song), employ large-scale compositions which play up the geometricism evident in late period Expressionist art.

The distinctive look of German Expressionist productions, especially the care exercised in set design and lighting, were a direct outgrowth of Germany's updating of its studio facilities and refinement of its filming techniques, done with an eye to making its films desirable as exports. The approach achieved its goal, as many German productions, including historical epics (especially those directed by Ernst Lubitsch [1892–1947]) and the less grandiose *kammerspiel* (''intimate play'') films, found receptive audiences abroad. However, Germany's film industry had been able to capitalize on a protected domestic market and a devalued currency to undersell its elaborate productions elsewhere; all this changed after 1924, with the stabilization of the mark and the lifting of quotas on foreign imports. American films poured into the country, overspending drove Ufa into debt, and personnel began to migrate to Hollywood, a trend initiated by Lubitsch's departure in 1923. Though the film industry recovered by the late twenties and experienced renewed aesthetic success with a realist strain of street films reflecting the influence of Neue Sachlichkeit (often translated as the New Objectivity), particularly in the works of G. W. Pabst (1885–1967), German filmmaking failed to duplicate the ambitions—and achievements—of the Expressionist period at the end of the 1920s.

The production situation in France differed radically from that in Germany. No centralized production facilities existed; filmmakers struggled to keep up with the technological innovations marking the films coming from the United States and Germany; the government failed to institute a system of quotas to protect domestic

producers, opting for disabling taxes on movie tickets instead. In 1918 Pathé abandoned the vertically integrated structure that had propelled it to success before the war, opting out of production. The French filmmaking landscape was populated with numerous marginal independent companies, rendering it a particularly unstable environment; nonetheless, the artisanal approach to production invested the director with much more control than was possible in a system predicated on a detailed division of labor. If nothing else, the unpredictability of French film production offered possibilities for enterprising filmmakers to secure financing for projects of a less conventional nature. Many of the film makers associated with the Impressionist movement who emerged in postwar France divided their time between experimental works and more commercial projects. Those who remained separate from the industrial mainstream, such as Louis Delluc (1890–1924) and Dmitri Kirsanoff (1899–1957), found themselves making films with distinctly limited means. Despite the uncertainties of the production context, Impressionist filmmaking persisted for over ten years.

Unlike the Expressionists, the Impressionist filmmakers were not directly influenced by any single art movement. Instead, they were interested in exploring the potential of the cinematic medium, particularly its capacity for capturing the impressions that define the essence of the world. Appealing to notions of *photogénie*, which held that cinematic style could exercise a transformative effect on the everyday, Impressionist filmmakers employed superimpositions, masks, filters, distorting lenses, slow motion, varying shot scale, and mobile framing to render cinematically the spirit of what the camera recorded. More often than not, these techniques were designed to convey character subjectivity, emphasizing thought processes to a degree far in excess of what less digressive Hollywood narratives allowed. A moment in Kirsanoff's *Ménilmontant* (1926) is emblematic of the Impressionist approach: as a character sits reading, waiting for her sister to return, she loses consciousness and the screen goes blurry, giving way to a series of seemingly unrelated and superimposed images, many in close-up, including a woman's naked torso, a clock, cars on the street, and light pouring through a window. This collection of impressions may convey the sleeping woman's dream state or a more abstract synthesis of events real and imagined within the sisters' shared environment. Impressionist films traded on the ambiguity such imagistic passages could produce.

Sequences like this approximated the condition of *cinéma pur* that some French filmmakers championed, though other strains of French filmmaking, influenced by Dadaism (*Entr'acte*, 1924), Cubism (*Ballet mécanique*, 1924), and Surrealism (*Emak-Bakia*, 1927), probably came closer, abandoning narrative altogether as they did. The heterogeneous nature of French filmmaking led to a proliferation of experimental modes, with Impressionism being only the most long-lasting. A desire to reduce film to its basic elements, giving priority to rhythm and lyricism, found its outlet in films that were purely abstract in nature, including works by one of France's most important female directors, Germaine Dulac (1882–1942) (*Thèmes et variations*, 1928; and *Arabesque*, 1929). The lyrical qualities of *cinéma pur* also bled over into one of the more striking international developments of the late 1920s, the city symphony, examples of which emerged out of France (*Rien que les heures* [*Nothing But Time*], 1926), Germany (*Berlin: Die Sinfonie der Großstadt* [*Berlin: Symphony of a Great City*], 1927), the Netherlands (*Regen* [*Rain*], 1929) and the USSR (*Chelovek s kino-apparatom* [*The Man with a Movie Camera*], 1929).

The Man with a Movie Camera, directed by Dziga Vertov (1896–1954), was one of the most impressive achievements of the late silent era and one of the final examples of silent Soviet montage filmmaking, which had been initiated in earnest only five years earlier. The October Revolution of 1917 had necessitated a rebuilding of the Soviet film industry from the ground up, as many prerevolutionary filmmakers fled the country, taking their equipment and film stock with them. For the first few years production levels were low, and most of the films made were brief agitation-propaganda shorts. The Bolshevik government, realizing the potential of film to advance the prerogatives of the new regime, made efforts to aid in its revitalization, first by putting the Education Commisariat (or Narkompros) in charge of overseeing filmmaking in 1917, and then, two years later, by nationalizing the film industry. Also in 1919 Narkompros established a State Film School, where fledgling director Lev Kuleshov (1899–1970) began his studies of editing, which would prove instrumental to the development of montage filmmaking. The studies Kuleshov conducted reinforced the idea that a film's meaning lay in the combinations of shots rather than the individual shots themselves. Though outstripped in his theorizing of montage principles by later writers whose ideas were both more complex and more radical, including the directors Dziga Vertov and Sergei Eisenstein (1898–1948), Kuleshov proved influential as both a filmmaker and a teacher; among his students was a key figure within the movement, Vsevolod Pudovkin, who incorporated montage into stirring narratives, making his films, such as *Mat* (*Mother*, 1926), popular at home and abroad. Sustained feature production required more than inspired tutelage, however—an infusion of capital was necessary.

BUSTER KEATON

b. Joseph Francis Keaton Jr., Piqua, Kansas, 4 October 1895, d. 1 February 1966

One of the greatest of silent-era comedians, Buster Keaton fused the showmanship of his vaudeville training with an understanding of how to stage complicated gags uniquely able to exploit cinema's temporal and spatial parameters. In doing so he created film comedy that indulged a populist penchant for knockabout humor while also revealing a modernist sensibility attuned to reflexive jokes and an absurdist perspective. Part Keystone Kop, part surrealist manqué, Keaton and his image-based comedy did not weather the transition to sound, but his artistry won renewed recognition beginning in the 1950s, two decades after his career experienced a precipitous decline.

A performer from the age of three, Keaton moved into films by joining Fatty Arbuckle in the production of nearly twenty two-reelers in the late teens. In these early works Keaton established a way to translate vaudeville stagecraft into cinematic comedy and also forged a working relationship with the producer Joseph M. Schenck that would last through the 1920s. In 1920 Keaton embarked on a series of shorts over which he exercised creative control, resulting in a body of work defined by its physical virtuosity and sustained ingenuity. Two salient aspects of Keaton's comedy became enshrined in these films: the seemingly fruitless battles with massive objects, and the indomitable body of Buster. Diminutive yet muscular, Keaton might have been crushed by formidable forces; but despite constant buffeting he refused to relent. His resilience was signaled by the Great Stone Face, a visage that showed only glimmers of emotion, the slight range all the more effective for the subtle inflections it allowed.

From the disastrous house-in-a-box constructed in *One Week* (1920) to the legion of police officers pursuing Buster en masse in *Cops* (1922), Keaton's comedy derives from the protagonist's finding himself in predicaments that worsen in ever-multiplying ways. As the calamities proliferate, Keaton stages the consequences with a precision bordering on the geometric. Many of Keaton's most famous gags—such as when a collapsing house front fails to crush him because the open window frame provides the perfect space through which his body emerges unscathed—display a careful profilmic planning in the paradoxical service of proving the capriciousness of chance. As Keaton moved into feature-length filmmaking in the mid-1920s, the scale of the gags became even more impressive and the fatalistic implications more palpable. Buster's balletic grace, displayed in a variety of life-threatening situations, be it avoiding a multitude of rolling boulders, riding on the back of a driverless motorcycle, or caught in the midst of a cyclone, was magnified by the epic scale of the perils his body confronted. Human fragility and sheer endurance were conveyed within the context of the same gag.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

One Week (1920), *The Playhouse* (1921), *The Boat* (1921), *Our Hospitality* (1923), *Sherlock, Jr.* (1924), *The Navigator* (1924), *The General* (1927), *Steamboat Bill, Jr.* (1928)

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Charlie Keil

The Bolshevik government instituted the New Economic Policy in 1921, which integrated modified forms of capitalist endeavor into the communist system. Since 1917 the USSR had basically been cut off from other countries' products, but the 1922 Treaty of Rapallo opened up trade between Russia and Germany, and soon imports began to flow back into the Soviet Union. The government was able to take advantage of the revenue generated by these imports, especially once it set up an effective state-run enterprise, Sovkino, early in 1925, to control production and distribution. Slowly, state intervention paid off, and production levels climbed. Equally important, key films of the burgeoning Soviet montage movement, most notably Eisenstein's *Bronenosets*

Buster Keaton. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Potyomkin (*Battleship Potemkin*, 1925) proved effective as exports, and Sovkino could begin to put money earned from the sales to other markets back into domestic production. By the late 1920s the USSR was producing as many features as France, and Soviet films outnumbered imports by two to one in the country's own theaters.

Although montage-based films constituted only a portion of the USSR's feature output in the period from 1924 to 1929, they tended to be among the more high-profile and influential of the films produced. Moreover, the formal complexity of the films was wedded to an overt ideological project: the transformation of the political consciousness of the Soviet populace. In this the montage films can be linked to Constructivism, a broader artistic movement that defined many aspects of Soviet postrevolutionary culture. A montage aesthetic pervaded much Constructivist art, most evident in mixed-media sculptural works and photocollages. Montage involved the assemblage of heterogeneous elements or juxtaposition of fragments, the connection of which would produce a whole greater than the assorted parts. Accordingly, art was likened to a machine, whose constituent parts operated together in a dynamic fashion to create a propulsive force capable of productive change. Being a machine-based art form, cinema functioned as an obvious testing ground for Constructivist principles. Directors such as Eisenstein explored the various ways in which shot combinations could produce measurable effects on the spectator. Applying the Marxist concept of the dialectic, Eisenstein favored a notion of montage that depended on opposing elements coming into collision, and producing in their interaction a synthesis that would lay the groundwork for the next clash of opposites. He also likened each shot to a cell, which reverberated with the potential for montage. Placed into rapid juxtaposition with other similarly charged shots, the cumulative effect was one of revolutionary propulsion. One finds ample demonstration of Eisenstein's theories in action in *Battleship Potemkin*: early on in the film, Eisenstein conveys the potential for the sailors' rebellion through a quick series of simple shots itemizing basic daily tasks aboard the battleship. Each shot tends to be defined by a dominant quality (a geometric shape or pointedly directional movement), such that rapid cutting from one to the other produces a sense of agitation, until the action climaxes in the famous sequence detailing a sailor (dressed in a striped shirt) smashing a circular plate, this singular action broken down into a short burst of ten distinct shots.

As the Soviet government's attitude toward artistic experimentation hardened near the close of the decade, both Constructivist art and montage filmmaking found themselves subject to charges of needless formalism. Government officials questioned how the increasingly abstract intellectual connections underlying shot combinations in films such as *The Man with a Movie Camera* and Eisenstein's *Oktyabr* (*October* and *Ten Days That Shook the World*, 1927) could be understood by the peasantry; eventually, filmmakers were forced to abandon the modernist "excesses" of the montage movement. Although direct government intervention was not always responsible, the aesthetic ambitiousness of the late silent cinema was arrested worldwide by the close of the decade, the main culprit being the introduction of sound. From the mid-twenties onward, the medium underwent a formal maturation, spurred in part by the increased circulation of accomplished films, but also by a growing sense of film's potential for artistry.

Even Hollywood, typically identified as driven by commercial success over artistic aspirations, seemed to reach new aesthetic heights in the years immediately before the wholesale conversion to sound. In part, one can attribute the flurry of masterworks to the presence of European directors who had been lured to the studio system, such as Lubitsch (*So This Is Paris*, 1926), Murnau (*Sunrise*, 1926), Victor Sjöström (*The Wind*, 1928), and Paul Fejos (*Lonesome*, 1928); but American

directors also contributed, among them Buster Keaton (1895–1966) (*The General*, 1927), Frank Borzage (1893–1962) (*Seventh Heaven*, 1927), King Vidor (*The Crowd*, 1928) and Josef von Sternberg (1894–1969) (*The Docks of New York*, 1928). Theorists like Rudolf Arnheim celebrated the unique aesthetic qualities of late silent cinema, while the combined stylistic influence of Expressionism, Impressionism, and montage resulted in striking films from countries as disparate as England (Anthony Asquith's *A Cottage on Dartmoor*, 1929) and Japan (Teinosuke Kinugasa's *Kurutta Ippeji* [*A Page of Madness*], 1926). The era's crowning achievement may well be Carl Theodor Dreyer's (1889–1968) *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc* (*The Passion of Joan of Arc*, 1928), whose stark compositions, unsettling editing patterns, and isolated, closely scaled shots of its star, Maria Falconetti (1892–1946), distill the spiritual struggle of Joan into a concentrated portrait of intense emotion. Some would say the film's extensive title cards indicated that cinema was longing to speak; others would long for the purity that the mute orchestration of complex images offered, terminated by the headlong rush to incorporate sound in the years to follow.

SEE ALSO *Comedy; Documentary; Expressionism; France; Genre; Germany; Great Britain; Narrative; Pre-Cinema; Russia and Soviet Union; Shots; Slapstick Comedy; Sound; Sweden; Star System; Stars; Studio System; Technology; Ufa (Universum Film Aktiengesellschaft); World War I*

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Charlie Keil

SLAPSTICK COMEDY

Slapstick is both a genre in its own right, belonging mostly to the years of silent cinema, and an element in other comedies that has persisted from the early years of film till now, when it seems to be as an indispensable element of the teen or ''gross-out'' comedy typified by such films as the *American Pie* trilogy (1999, 2001, 2003) and movies directed by the Farrelly Brothers, such as *There's Something About Mary* (1998) and *Stuck on You* (2003).

Slapstick is a descendent of the comic routines of Italian *commedia dell'arte* (mid-fifteenth to mid-seventeenth century) touring players, who developed basic plot scenarios and broad, swiftly drawn characters. The fun for their audiences was not in watching innovative narratives or well-developed characters but in seeing how a slick troupe of professionals could manipulate the standard components of farce—zany servants, pompous masters, young lovers—with speed and efficiency. Each commedia player performed and perfected a single stereotyped character, bringing his own personality to bear in the particulars of his comic business—the *lazzi*—or, as we might call it, the shtick.

Comedy in slapstick lies in the basic tension between control and its loss. Both the verbal outbursts of the wordier comics (the Marx Brothers [Chico (1887–1961), Harpo (1888–1964), Groucho (1890–1977), and Zeppo (1901–1979)], W. C. Fields [1880-1946]) and the physical eruptions of those who use extreme body comedy (Charlie Chaplin [1889-1977], Jerry Lewis [b. 1926]) are predicated on the delicate balance between resistance and inevitable surrender—indeed, the resistance serves to make the surrender even funnier. Slapstick's classic moment, the pie in the face, is funny only if the recipient is not already covered in pie but is first clean and neat; slipping on a banana skin provides humor only when the *before*—the dignified march—is contrasted with the *after*—the flat-out splayed pratfall on the sidewalk. Slapstick comedians learned early on that humor could be prolonged if resistance, whether to gravity or another inevitability, could also be prolonged—in other words, as long as there were a chance that the other shoe might fall. This balancing act is the slapstick comic's main job: paradoxically, when we watch him—and it is usually a him—performing lack of control, at least part of our pleasure derives from his skill at controlling this lack.

Jim Carrey might beat himself up mercilessly in *Me, Myself, And Irene* (2000), but even as he seems to abandon restraint while punching himself, we are aware of the physical control needed to perform this routine. Part of the humor in this tension is also derived from the comic hero's insistence on maintaining control when others around him have abandoned it. Chaplin's Tramp tries to maintain dignity even though poor, starving, drenched, and an outcast: the humor lies in his scrupulous adherence to social niceties (he holds his silverware nicely) even when society is in chaos (he is having to eat his own boot from starvation in *The Gold Rush*, 1925).

BACKGROUND

Slapstick comedy derives its name from the flat double paddle (like a flattened, oversized castanet) that, when struck against another performer, produced a satisfyingly big noise but only a small amount of actual discomfort.

MACK SENNETT

b. Richmond, Quebec, Canada, 17 January 1880,
d. Woodland Hills, California, 5 November 1960

It seems appropriate that Mack Sennett, the father of slapstick comedy, made his first stage appearance as the rear end of a pantomime horse at the Bowery Burlesque in New York City. Responsible for inaugurating the conventions of both custard pie-throwing and the comic chase, Sennett's grasp of comedy was always physical rather than verbal.

Born Michael Sinnott in Quebec, Sennett left Canada for New England in his youth. Although opera was his initial career goal, he pragmatically settled for a position in burlesque, making his horse's-end debut in 1902. Sennett enjoyed the rapid-fire dialogue and punishing physical comedy of vaudeville and absorbed from this milieu many lessons about gag-driven narratives, which inspired his later films. In 1908, D. W. Griffith gave Sennett a job acting in, and later writing and directing, Biograph comedies. Eventually, Sennett decided to form a company of his own, and after securing the financial backing of two bookie friends, he lured away other Biograph players, including his off-again, on-again fiancée and eventual star, Mabel Normand, to form Keystone Pictures in 1912.

In his Keystone silent pictures, Sennett perfected slapstick, physical comedy. It is to his credit that Sennett could make his short films so successful at a time when cinema was otherwise veering toward feature-length films and more refined narrative- and character-based comedies. The typical Sennett short featured stereotyped characters drawn in broad strokes, who engaged in knockabout routines resulting in pratfalls, custard pie fights, and pursuits. These roles were played by such actors as Charlie Chaplin, Fatty Arbuckle, Harry Langdon, Ben Turpin, and Gloria Swanson, all of whom began at Keystone. Those flat-footed, uniformed incompetents, the Keystone Kops, tried to catch stripe-suited convicts, the escalating pace of their madcap antics inevitably culminating in a chase that brought both law breakers and law keepers into contact with the Keystone Bathing Beauties, a troupe of swimsuited lovelies.

Sennett pioneered comedy features with *Tillie's Punctured Romance* (1914), starring Normand, but mostly he kept to shorts, which showcased his mastery of physical comedy at the expense of narrative and character. Sennett's type of comedy which was motion, not dialogue, -driven, was heavily affected by the introduction of talkies: physical comedy proved to be ill-served by the static cameras used in the early sound years. Sennett did, however, continue to make films into the mid-1930s, including the famous W. C. Fields shorts *The Dentist* (1932), *The Pharmacist*, and *The Barber Shop* (both 1933).

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Barney Oldfield's Race for Life (1913), *Mabel's New Hero* (1913), *Mabel at the Wheel* (1914), *Tillie's Punctured Romance* (1914), *Dough and Dynamite (1914)*

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Tamar Jeffers McDonald

This *battacio*, or slapstick, traditionally wielded by male performers, is said to have evolved from a symbolic phallus (Chamberlain); certainly the habitual association of slapstick comedy with male comics might be seen to bear out this symbolism. While early cinema slapstick boasted performers of both genders, including famous slapstick queen Mabel Normand (1892–1930) (*Tillie's Punctured Romance*, 1914), early flapper Colleen Moore (1900–1988) (*Ella Cinders*, 1926), and heroines of the 1930s screwball comedy genre, such as Carole Lombard (1908–1942) (*Twentieth Century*, [1934] and *Nothing Sacred*, [1937]), who was not afraid to take pratfalls amidst the glossy art deco sets of the genre, almost all major slapstick comedians since then have been male. Perhaps there is a reluctance on the part of female comedians to align themselves with a form of humor that relies so much on mess, violence, and pain; when female comics become involved in slapstick's routine business of physical humiliation this seems to be more as a punishment than a chosen route. For example, in Doris Day's

Mack Sennett. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

1950s and 1960s films, the comedienne is often the butt of elaborate slapstick jokes that revolve around besmirching her habitual cleanliness and purity: she is dunked in mud (*Calamity Jane*, 1953), ketchup (*The Thrill Of It All*, 1963), and sudsy water (*Move Over, Darling*, 1963). Lucille Ball was one of the few genuine slapstick comediennes of that era, less in her films than in her television series, *I Love Lucy* (1951–1957).

The very physical style of comedy engendered by *commedia dell'arte* influenced later theatrical styles, including pantomime and circus, and persisted in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century vaudeville, with its emphasis on swift, gag-based knockabout comedy. For American audiences in the large new industrial centers that supported vaudeville theatres, comedy could succeed only when it was able to reach and please the widest possible audience; thus physical comedy prevailed over verbal humor, which depended on the audience's shared language skills. Early cinema, too, relied on immediately appreciable setups, clearly drawn characters, and physical humor that did not rely on language (intertitles) to reach the widest demographic. Many early films further tapped into situations with which new city dwellers could readily identify. Their humor derived from the perils of modern life, including vehicles, machinery, and inanimate objects that seemed to possess wills of their own, as in Chaplin's *One A.M.* (1916), in which the comedian encounters a malicious wall bed.

Many of the early slapstick film performers learned their comic timing, troupe playing, swift setups, and knockabout delivery of gags in this vaudeville milieu. Mack Sennett (1880–1960), the Marx Brothers, and W. C. Fields began their careers "treading the boards" and carried the lessons learned in this noisy and volatile arena into their film comedy. Sennett himself moved from performing to producing and directing; he gave many slapstick comedians their start in film at his Keystone Studio, established in 1912, the first and most successful specialist film-production unit. There, Sennett employed comedians such as Normand, Charlie Chaplin, Harold Lloyd (1893–1971), Buster Keaton (1895–1966), Harry Langdon (1884–1944), and Roscoe "Fatty" Arbuckle (1887–1933). Later, after the coming of sound, W. C. Fields and Bing Crosby (1903–1977) were part of his stable of slapstick comedians. Sennett is credited with inventing the custard pie fight and with realizing the comic potential of the chase; the typical Sennett film ends with one, in which Kops, Bathing Beauties, stripe-clad convicts, passers-by, and dogs careen across the screen, fall over, collide, and generally create mayhem.

SOUND AND AFTER

For James Agee, slapstick was dealt its death blow as a viable comic form by the talkies. The coming of sound required, at least initially, a more static camera, which slowed the comic antics on screen to a less frenzied pace. Other film theorists, such as Steve Neale and Frank Krutnik, however, disagree, and suggest that slapstick was already a marginal subgenre by the time of what is considered its heyday, from about 1912 through 1930. As a "low" form of humor, slapstick fell out of step with dominant tastes, which were moving toward a more genteel comedy of manners in order to find favor with middle-class audiences, which filmmakers were beginning to court. By itself, sound could not kill slapstick, which relied on a combination of physical and verbal comedy; rapid-fire patter was a major part of the Marx Brothers' art, along with pratfalls and consequence-free violence. The Three Stooges, too, while not known for word twisting and puns, did employ pig Latin, verbal insults, and nicknames along with eye poking and hair pulling.

Like *commedia* performers, the Marx Brothers and the Three Stooges remind us that slapstick is ensemble comedy, each performer bringing a particular character to life, repeating and refining this persona's idiosyncratic *lazzi* in every performance. Slapstick comics, especially after the arrival of sound, have tended to work in pairs

The Keystone Cops, with Chester Conklin, Mack Swain, and Fatty Arbuckle c. 1913. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

rather than as troupes of three or more: Stan Laurel (1890-1965) and Oliver Hardy (1892-1957), Bob Hope and Bing Crosby, Bud Abbott (1895-1974) and Lou Costello (1906-1959), and Jerry Lewis and Dean Martin exploited the comic tensions between a straight man and a gag guy, a natural winner and an all-time loser, a matinée idol and a clown. Lewis, with or without Martin, is considered the preeminent performer of post-silent slapstick. His willingness to reduce himself to a state of infantile idiocy—spastic limbs and primitive language—proved hugely popular in the 1960s with both American audiences and French critics.

While slapstick can be seen to have lost its dominance as a solo comic mode (except in cartoons where it continues to be honored—see, for example, *The Simpsons* (beginning 1989)—it can still be found as a component of many other forms of comedy, including genteel strands of humor, such as romantic comedy, and the subgenre that most resembles its earlier incarnation, the new teen 'gross-out' comedy. Whenever a romantic heroine finds herself so dizzy with love or the need for revenge that she walks into an office plant (Sandra Bullock in *Two Weeks' Notice*, 2000) or pours coffee over her white business suit (Meg Ryan in *Kate and Leopold*, 2001), the film is invoking the conventions of slapstick comedy to remind us of the basic (and loveable) idiocy of people in love. Jim Carrey has built entire film vehicles around the body torsions and physical violence of this genre, making him Jerry Lewis's purest heir.

While slapstick interludes in contemporary comedies are now less likely to end with a chase, which seemed inevitable in the era of silent slapstick, they continued to be used through the 1960s to create a modern "swinging" feel that married contemporary comedy to slapstick traditions—for example, in the finales of *Sex and the Single Girl* (1964), *Modesty*

Blaise (1966), and almost the whole of *It's a Mad, Mad, Mad, Mad World* (1963). Silent slapstick persists in modern films, including its emphasis on consequence-free violence, humiliation, and physical pain. Archetypal characters similarly endure: the good-natured but physically and/or romantically inadequate hero; the physically superior but morally inferior jock, who is the hero's rival for the good girl; the demanding, ill-tempered boss, who is either revealed to have a heart of gold and a sense of humor after all or who is symbolically castrated. Alongside this basic romance plot may stand another thread, either subordinate or dominant, involving fast-talking, wise-guy con men linked to the tradition of slapstick ensembles. For example, the con men conspiring to win Cameron Diaz's Mary in the Farrelly Brothers comedy are the heirs to the Marx Brothers, Abbott and Costello, and perhaps Bugs Bunny. Although slapstick iconography may have left behind the custard pie per se, similar use is now made of more taboo matter: the bodily fluids and wastes of the gross-out movie, whether the semen hair gel in *There's Something About Mary* or the excremental smoothie in *The Spy Who Shagged Me* (1999).

SEE ALSO *Comedy; Early Cinema; Genre; Silent Cinema*

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Tamar Jeffers McDonald

SOUND

Cinema is classically described as a visual medium. But turn off the audio as you watch a movie, and you will grasp the centrality of sound—speech, sound effects (all nonvocal noises), and music—to the telling of stories on film. It is the interaction of sound with image that gives films much of their depth and solidity, emotion and meaning. Yet sound tends to be unnoticed, "invisible," when it stays within the norms and conventions of Hollywood filmmaking. The paradox of film sound is that it takes great artifice to produce the sounds that apparently emanate from sources onscreen, seeming so natural that we take them for granted.

"Illusionism" describes the dominant aesthetic of mainstream film: technique is hidden, made invisible, so as to give the impression that we are looking into a real world and do not have to be conscious of camera operators, flubbed lines, editors—all the work that constitutes the production of this illusion. To be sure, sound is not the only arena of classical filmmaking technique that subordinates its presence so as not to distract us from immersion in the narrative. There is a vital difference between sound and image in regard to transparency, however, because filmgoers are more conscious as viewers than as listeners. Whereas we notice most everything in the frame, we rarely notice most sounds (in life or in film). As a result, film sounds can be manipulated to depart from realistic standards to a much greater extent than images.

THE COMING OF SOUND

Before anyone had made a single film, Thomas Edison (1847–1931) decreed in 1888 that the phonograph and the motion picture would come together. Early attempts, such as Cameraphone (c. 1908–1909) and Britain's Cinephone (c. 1910–1913), recorded voice in playback to the image. Edison's own Kinetophone in 1913 applied mechanical amplification to a recording horn to place it out of camera range. This enabled sound (recorded on a phonograph) and picture to be recorded at the same time, but sync was dependent upon the operator's ability to advance or retard the picture, and the sound was described as "screeching."

As phonograph-based systems came and went, the possibility that sound waves might be photographed alongside the images, always in "sync," gained strength in the laboratory. Sound would have to be converted to electricity and electricity converted to light, modulated as it struck the photosensitive emulsion. The prior discovery that the electrical resistance of selenium varied in proportion to light shone on it suggested that audio information on film could be recovered with a light beam and photoelectric cell. Eugène Lauste (1856–1935) in 1910 combined sound and picture on the same strip of film but lacked the resources to commercialize his inventions.

The person most responsible for sound-on-film was the independent inventor Theodore Case (1889–1944). Joined by Earl Sponable (1895–1977) in 1916, he worked with combinations of rare earths and inert gases to produce a glow tube called the Aeo Light. Light impulses were concentrated through a slit onto film and registered as lines of black or gray. Case's system was exploited by audio pioneer Lee de Forest under the name Phonofilm in 1923. Phonofilm shorts, produced mainly in 1923 and 1924, included big-name vaudeville acts and Max Fleischer's (1883–1972) musical cartoons.

Phonofilm, which solved problems of sync and employed electronic amplification, seemed to have everything going for it. Against it were lack of interest from the industry, visual dullness, less than perfect reproduction, and de Forest's legal and financial difficulties.

Western Electric, a subsidiary of AT&T, acquired rights in 1912 to de Forest's "Audion," a three-element vacuum tube in which a smaller current regulated a larger current, the basis of electronic amplification. A vacuum tube of its own design went into the amplifiers that made possible coast-to-coast telephone transmission in 1915. As part of a general expansion of non-telephone uses of audio in 1916, Western Electric began work on a condenser microphone with a vacuum tube preamplifier, a crucial advance in sound collection, then limited to acoustic horns or the carbon button telephone mouthpiece. In 1919 a project was initiated for a new type of phonograph turntable and tone arm with implications for sound pictures. The disc had to have a playing time equal to the then-standard 1,000-foot film reel. Silent film nominally operated at sixteen frames per second, but cameras were hand cranked at rates up to twenty-one frames per second and were sped up in projection. Western Electric used tachometers to determine that the average actual projection speed was ninety feet per minute, or twenty-four frames per second. A 1,000-foot reel lasted eleven minutes. A sixteen-inch disc, rotating at 33 1/3 rpm, matched it. Sync was perfected in test films made during 1923. A sound film was produced in 1924. The multiple defects of previous systems demonstrated that in order to solve any of the problems, it was necessary to solve all of them. As the largest corporation in the world, AT&T had the resources to develop a complete package: condenser microphone; microphone mixer; disc recorder; amplifiers for recording and playback; turntable synchronized to the projector by reliable electronic and mechanical connections; and a horn-type speaker.

Western Electric offered its sound-on-disc system to an indifferent film industry. Warner Bros., then a second-tier company that looked to expand, needed a competitive edge. One way to gain bookings would be to provide small-city theaters with the kind of symphonic score available at deluxe movie palaces, where the feature was preceded by songs, organ solos, even ballet. If Warner's could provide these "canned," it might even gain access to the theaters of its competitors, who were burdened by the overhead of live performance. Agreement was reached in June 1925 to develop what Warner's named Vitaphone. Its intent was not to produce talking features. What it had in mind was best exemplified by the Vitaphone premiere program of 6 August 1926. A spoken introduction by movie "czar" Will H. Hays was followed by an overture and six shorts, three with Metropolitan Opera stars. The feature picture, *Don Juan* (1926), was accompanied by a recorded score punctuated by rudimentary sound effects.

Case and Sponable severed ties with de Forest and made improvements intended to render Phonofilm obsolete. The sound attachment, formerly above the projector, was moved below with sound pickup twenty frames ahead of the corresponding picture, the subsequent worldwide standard. Fox Film, another second-tier company that looked to move into the top rank, formed the Fox-Case Corporation in July 1926. Western Electric's "sound speed" of ninety feet per minute was adopted for its first commercial entertainment short, starring singer Raquel Meller (1888–1962) and produced in November 1926. Public showings of Movietone, as the Fox-Case system came to be called, began in 1927.

Western Electric offered Warner Bros. the choice between sound-on-disc and a developmental sound-on-film system that the former rated as comparable (but which Case judged inferior to Movietone). The appeal of sound-on-disc was familiar technology. The discs were pressed by Victor, the leading record label. Movietone required precise exposure, processing, and printing. Vitaphone's turntable ran at constant speed while the Case reproducer had "wow" and "flutter." Sound-on-film had better frequency response but also more noise due to grain in the emulsion. Records could arrive at the theater cracked or broken, they wore out after twenty playings, and the operator might put on the wrong disc. If the film broke, damaged frames had to be replaced by black leader to restore sync. Sound-on-film was easily spliced, but words were lost and a jump in the image was followed by a delayed thump from the track. Western Electric manufactured equipment for both systems and all its sound-on-film installations could also play disc.

Throughout 1927, audiences were exposed to musical and comedy shorts and symphonic scores for the occasional feature. In May they were thrilled by the sound of the engine of the Spirit of St. Louis as Charles Lindbergh (1902–1974) took off for Paris, then by the voice of Lindbergh himself upon his return, a foretaste of the regular issuance of Movietone newsreels beginning in October. Then came *The Jazz Singer* on 6 October 1927 at Warner's Theatre in New York. It was not the first sound film. It was not even Al Jolson's first appearance for Vitaphone; he uttered his newly prophetic catch phrase, "You ain't heard nothin' yet!" in the 1926 short, *A Plantation Act*. But it was the first feature with synchronized song and speech. For most of its eighty-eight minutes, it was a silent film with a "canned" orchestral score formed of the usual classical excerpts. In the role of a Jew torn between show business and

the religious vocation of his father, a famous cantor, Jolson delivered dynamic performances of five popular songs in four sequences that totaled about thirteen minutes and, by contrast, "Kol Nidre," a prayer. The greatest impact came as Jolson, after singing a "straight" version of "Blue Skies" to his mother, engaged in partly scripted, partly improvised patter, followed by a "jazzy" version. A single word—"stop"—uttered by the actor who played his father marked the first time speech affected a film's story line.

Singin' in the Rain (1952) portrays the coming of sound with the force of cliché. The head of Monumental Pictures, fresh from *The Jazz Singer*, strides onto a set, halts production, and announces to the bewildered cast and crew that the company will henceforth make only talking pictures. In reality, Paramount head Adolph Zukor (1873–1976) predicted that it would take five years for sound to prove itself. The major companies adopted a public stance of "wait-and-see" and a private one of resistance. The "Big Five," dominated by Paramount and Loew's/MGM, had agreed to hold off until they could unite on one system. Vitaphone, an early contender, faded when Western Electric announced an improved light valve. Whereas Movietone used variable light through a fixed slit, the light valve used constant light through a variable slit, formed by vibrating wire "strings." Both produced a "variable density" track. The other candidate, RCA's Photophone, used a rotating mirror to modulate the light beam. This produced a sawtooth or "variable area" track, part of which was cut off on Western Electric equipment until they were made compatible.

Warners had no plans for another talking feature and kept to its original idea of short subjects and "canned" music even as attendance at *The Jazz Singer* swelled. In February 1928 Warners started work on a short that was allowed to grow into the first "all-talking" picture: *Lights of New York*, released in July. With *The Jazz Singer* held over for an unprecedented eighth or ninth week in cities around the nation in March 1928, the other companies settled on Western Electric's system. Loew's/MGM, Paramount, United Artists, and First National all signed on 15 May, followed by Universal and Columbia a month later. The disc system was already seen as awkward for production, though it survived as a release format for disc-only theaters into the 1930s. RCA had to go into the movie business itself as RKO (Radio-Keith-Orpheum)

Although it was claimed then that audiences preferred a good silent film to mediocre "talkers," *Lights of New York* (made for $23,000 and barely an hour long) took in $1 million. Jolson's second feature, *The Singing Fool*, released in September 1928, had more sound than his first (about 75 of 105 minutes), played in more theaters, and made more money: an amazing $5 million against *The Jazz Singer*'s $2 million. These and other successes lifted Warner Bros. into first place in the industry.

For the moviegoer, change unfolded in stages. All but a few 1928 releases were still mute. In the second half of the year, many were "synchronized" with music tracks and sound effects. Sound sequences were added to some films already in production or even completed. The first half of 1929 was the heyday of the "part-talking" picture, with synchronous sound in perhaps 40 percent of the running time. Fox's decision to eliminate silent films seemed bold in March 1929. In May, Paramount's Zukor declared the silent film dead. By mid-1929, the "all-talking" picture had taken hold. Out of 582 films released in 1929, some 335 were "all-talking." About half of those were also released in silent versions.

Most countries had not yet made even one sound feature. Western Electric and RCA established themselves in Britain at the outset. They were met in Europe by Tobis-Klangfilm, a combine that, like RCA/RKO, was set up to produce films and supply equipment. Tobis held patents issued from 1919 to 1923 on the German Tri-Ergon sound-on-film system for which prior invention was claimed. An agreement of June 1930 smoothed the way for US films in Europe but squabbles over patents and royalties went on for years.

LATER DEVELOPMENTS

Early sound film production encountered many challenges. Camera noise required each camera and operator to be placed in a soundproof booth or "sweat box." The dependence of sound-on-disc upon a level surface, temperature control, and a dust-free environment for the wax record gave sound-on-film an edge. Fox took Movietone outdoors for its first all-talking picture, *In Old Arizona* (1928). In 1930 the camera booth gave way to the "blimp," a wooden enclosure for the camera body, or to the "barney," a padded quilt. In 1928 microphones were concealed on the set in lamps, vases, flowerpots, candlestick telephones, or overhead light fixtures, another cause of camera stasis. But by 1929 microphones were suspended from booms, sometimes hitting actors in the head. Omnidirectional microphones had to be kept close to the actors in order not to pick up unwanted sounds. Directors asked for microphones that could be aimed at the person actually speaking. Bidirectional microphones, and some that claimed to be unidirectional, appeared in the 1930s, with true unidirectional microphones offered in 1941.

When critics complain about the lack of camera mobility in early sound films, they are not talking just about literal movement (most shots in silent films were

made from a tripod) but about the lost facility with which the scenes had been structured through camera angles with time compressed or expanded by editing. Sound pulled movies away from cinematic time and toward real time. Most scenes were shot with multiple cameras and a single audio recording. Warner's *On Trial* (1928) was derided for the long shot of the courtroom.

It was possible to edit sound-on-disc by means of interlocked turntables that could be cued to specific grooves, but that process was meant to assemble several scenes onto one disc, not shots within scenes. Sound-on-film had an obvious advantage in that it could be spliced. By 1932 most scenes were made with a single camera. The "master scene" would be filmed all the way through as in a play. The close-ups, reactions, and over-the-shoulder shots would then be filmed separately and miked accordingly. All studios (including Warner, which dropped sound-on-disc in March 1930) recorded a separate strip of film in a "sound camera." To cut sound apart from the picture, yet in sync with it, Moviola added a sound reader to its editing consoles in 1928. In the 1930s they could run two and three sound tracks.

"Rerecording," the combination of production and postsynchronized sound, steadily improved. *King Kong* (1933), with complex sound effects and speech at the same time, and a score that "catches" individual lines of dialogue, would have been impossible even eighteen months earlier. Rerecording put an end to the production of "foreign" versions as the dialogue could be dubbed with sound effects and music retained.

In 1947 a new recording medium became available: sprocketed film coated with magnetic iron oxide. It was estimated that by 1951, 75 percent of recording, editing, and mixing in Hollywood was done on magnetic track. Lightweight recorders such as the Nagra that used 1/4-inch magnetic tape with a "sync pulse" from the camera appeared in the 1950s and gained wide use in the 1960s. On the postproduction side, the early dubbing machinery used the old film transports retrofitted with magnetic heads. Because a gap or click could be heard where the recording stopped and resumed, films were still mixed the old way, that is, in 1,000-foot reels. A mistake lost all the work to that point. Advances in electronics in about 1969 enabled "backup," or "rock 'n' roll," where the new recording could be superimposed on the end of the old.

The wide-screen upheaval of the 1950s brought magnetic stereo into theaters. CinemaScope offered left, center, and right channels behind the screen and a "surround" channel in the auditorium from four stripes of magnetic oxide on the 35mm print. Todd-AO's six-track 70mm format (five speakers behind the screen plus surround) set the standard for deluxe presentations. In 1976, noise reduction technology made it possible to derive four-channel stereo from a pair of mono-compatible optical tracks, popularly known as "Dolby." The 1990s saw three types of digital sound: Dolby Digital and SDDS on the film itself and the disc-based DTS system.

SOUND AESTHETICS AND PRACTICE

Sound's constructed nature and the wide variety of relationships it can have to the image give sound great expressive potential—even within an illusionistic aesthetic. Characteristics of film sound that allow it to be manipulated include selectivity, nonspecificity, and ambiguity.

- *Selectivity.* We expect images to behave realistically; even if the characters are space aliens, we expect them to follow the laws of physics. However, in order for us not to notice sound, it has to be used in ways that are quite unrealistic. In the real world we are assaulted by sounds from all around us, but the brain tends to filter out those that are unimportant to us at a given moment. The microphone is not as selective; the filmmakers have to eliminate that cacophony for us. By convention, the film soundtrack is constructed so as not to draw attention to itself unless it is part of the plot. Thus, if a character looks directly at a ticking clock, we may hear the ticking. But a few seconds after the character looks away, the ticking will be gradually dropped out. Another convention of sound editing is that the dialogue is emphasized over the other sound tracks (that is, the effects and the music). Dialogue is usually kept intelligible even in situations where we would normally strain to hear someone speaking. In a party scene, the lead couple may be introduced via a long shot amidst crowd and hubbub, but once the camera moves in closer, the sounds of the other participants will normally be minimized or cut out altogether. What we hear mimics the psychological attention of the couple rather than the physical reality of the scene.
- *Nonspecificity.* Yet another difference between image and sound is that noises, like music, can be abstract, or at least nonspecific; we can usually recognize an image, but we cannot always tell what is causing a given sound. Thus, crackling cellophane can be used to simulate either fire or rain. In the 1990s it became common to add animal roars beneath the

RENÉ CLAIR

b. Paris, France, 11 November 1898, d. 15 March 1981

René Clair epitomized the ambiguous relationship many filmmakers had with sound in the transition-to-sound period between 1928 and 1933. Whereas others like Ernst Lubitsch, Jean Vigo, and Rouben Mamoulian pushed the boundaries of the new technology, experimenting in a variety of styles, Clair initially stood among those who believed that sound would constrain the possibilities of film as a visual medium. He was hesitant to embrace sound because it increased production costs and because the industrialized cinematic practices that it introduced would jeopardize directorial control. In addition, he feared that making the camera subservient to the recording equipment would sacrifice the cinematic primacy of the image. For Clair, sound had to complement the image, not regulate it.

Clair's first sound film, *Sous les toits de Paris* (*Under the Roofs of Paris*, 1930), features music as a characterization and atmospheric device, minimal use of dialogue, and an almost complete absence of natural sounds. Interested in the nonsynchronous relationship between sound and image, Clair avoids using sound to express information already given by the image. As an alternative, he explored their disjunction for comedic purposes. In the film's climatic fight scene, when a streetlight is broken and the screen goes dark, Clair does not resort to the musical score. Instead, he uses vocal and bodily sounds as a way to express the eruption of physical violence into the story. In *À Nous la liberté* (*Freedom for Us*, 1931) Clair, while still experimenting with asynchronous sound and image, employed the musical score to mark the narrative incursion of fantasy into the story and as an ironic commentary on the action.

His first English-language film, *The Ghost Goes West* (1935), marks a significant shift in Clair's approach to film sound. Writing the screenplay with American playwright Robert E. Sherwood, he became fully aware of the cinematic possibilities of speech. In fact, the film is closer to American dialogue-based humor than any of his previous endeavors. *I Married a Witch* (1942) fully immersed Clair in the screwball comedy genre, leaving behind the visually poetic style of his French period.

Clair returned to France in 1945 to make his most significant work, *Les Belles de Nuit* (*Beauties of the Night*, 1952), a return to his previous sound-image experiments. The film's protagonist, Claude, can only distinguish between dream and reality by trying to make a noise. The conspicuously noiseless worlds of his dreams metaphorically point to the inexhaustible possibilities of film as a visual medium that sound technology had partially restricted.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Sous les toits de Paris (*Under the Roofs of Paris*, 1930), *À Nous la liberté* (*Freedom for Us*, 1931), *The Ghost Goes West* (1935), *Les Belles de Nuit* (*Beauties of the Night*, 1952)

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Vicente Rodriguez-Ortega

sounds of inanimate objects such as trucks, fires, or haunted houses to make them feel more ominous. The audience, unaware of the unrealistic sounds, nevertheless feels threatened as if by a living beast.

- *Ambiguity.* Lack of specificity can mean that a sound can suggest more than one interpretation at once; it can be deliberately ambiguous. In Michelangelo Antonioni's *Blow-Up* (1966), a clicking sound in a park at night can be interpreted as a snapped twig, a clicked camera shutter, or a gun being cocked. Each possibility suggests a different reality and interpretation. In this case, we are meant to notice the sound, but its multiplicity of interpretations extends the film's metaphysical theme about the

René Clair during production of* Les Belles de Nuit (Beauties of the Night, *1952). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

unknowability of reality. The opening of *Apocalypse Now* (1979) brilliantly exploits the similarity of sounds by shifting subtly between ceiling fan and helicopter "whups" and traffic noises and bird calls to indicate that while the protagonist is cooped up in a Saigon hotel, his mind is still in the jungle.

Like music, sound effects (and to a lesser extent, dialogue) speak to the emotions. Take the "simple" sound of footsteps as a character is seen walking onscreen. Choices in reverberation, pacing, timbre, volume, and mixing (of sounds with each other) may not only determine our sense of the physical contours of the space in which the character is walking, but suggest any number of feelings—loneliness, authority, joy, paranoia—in combination with the images. These choices—rarely noticed by the audience—are characteristics mainly imparted to the sounds not during production, but once the shooting stops.

Separation defines sound practices in many senses. For one thing, sound and image are recorded onto separate mediums. For another, the personnel involved in different units may never meet. The production mixer (set recordist) rarely interacts with the editing (postproduction) staff. And on a major production, dialogue, sound effects, and music are handled by discrete departments, which may remain independent of one another.

Normally, little sound other than dialogue is captured during filming. Yet even here, microphone type and placement can affect the tonal quality of a voice. Production dialogue is best taken with a microphone suspended on a boom above the actors just outside of the camera's frame line. This placement preserves the integrity of the original performance and maintains aural perspective in rough correspondence to the camera angle. When booms are not feasible, the actors can be fitted with radio mikes, small lavalieres connected to radio frequency transmitters concealed in clothing. These microphones sacrifice perspective and vocal quality for invisibility. Locations are scouted for visual impact; unless production assistants can reroute traffic and shut down air-conditioning systems, the audio environment may prove unconquerable. Under budget and schedule pressures, audio aesthetics are often sacrificed and some production sound is kept only as a "guide track" on the assumption that it can be "fixed in the mix."

Production mixers normally ask that all action cease for a few moments on each location so that they may record ambient sound or room tone, the continuous background sound (such as water lapping) in that space. Editors will later have to reinsert ambience under dialogue and effects created during postproduction for continuity with production sound. The sound crew may also take some "wild" sound (such as foghorns), not synchronized to any shot, for possible use as authentic sound effects.

Sound recording mediums have evolved rapidly in the digital age. Analog recording on 1/4-inch tape was supplanted in part by digital audiotape (DAT), which in turn was replaced by sound recorders with removable hard discs that can be directly transferred into computer work stations for editing. Methods of maintaining and establishing sync (precisely matching sound and image) have also evolved. To enable the editor to match voice and lip movement, the take was traditionally "slated" (numbered on a small blackboard held in front of the camera) and announced vocally by an assistant director, who then struck the hinged clapper stick for a sync point. Although slating is still done, now a time code is used to sync camera and recorder electronically.

Actors and directors almost always prefer to record dialogue directly on the set. During production the dialogue is synced up overnight with the image so that the filmmakers can select the best takes by evaluating vocal performance as well as visual variations. Later, specialized

***René Clair experimented with a musical score in* À Nous la liberte (Freedom for Us, *1931*).** EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

dialogue editors will make minute adjustments to salvage as much of the dialogue as possible. They eliminate extraneous noises and may combine parts of words from different takes or even scenes to replace a single flawed word.

Although intelligibility is the usual priority for dialogue, it can be manipulated, perhaps by increasing reverberation or volume, to characterize someone as menacing. But the main choices involve how dialogue is edited in relation to picture. To show "talking heads" can be redundant and boring. The picture editor's choice of when to shift between speaker and listener not only alters emotional identification but allows us to learn information simultaneously from one character's facial expression and the other's vocal inflection.

Any dialogue that cannot be polished or could not be captured at all during production is recorded during postproduction in a process called looping, or ADR (automated dialogue replacement). The actor repeatedly watches the scene that needs dialogue, while listening to a guide track on headphones, and then reperforms each line to match the wording and lip movements. Computers can imperceptibly stretch or shorten words to adjust a phrase that is not quite in sync.

While some sound effects are recorded during production, most are added or created later. "Spotting" sessions are held to determine what kinds of sounds are needed and where scoring will be heard. Some sounds that must be in sync are performed by a foley artist. Foleying is the looping of sound effects in a specialized studio outfitted with various walking surfaces and props. Sometimes called foley walkers because so much of their work consists of adding footsteps, foley artists create

sounds by moving their bodies or props as they watch the image. Often their props do not match the original objects. A feather duster may simulate not only a flock of birds, but also leaves blowing along the street. A kiss is still just a kiss in filmmaking, but its sound may be recorded by a foley artist making dispassionate love to his or her own wrist. Because sounds like clothing rustle and footsteps are rarely noticed by the audience, they can later be subtly adjusted to help characterize the people who appear to make them. The villain's sword can be given a more ominous swishing sound than the hero's.

Sound effects that need not be recorded in sync can come from CD libraries or be freshly generated. Often recording the original source is not as convincing as inventing one. The editors of *Ben-Hur* (1959) found that recording real whips for the chariot race sounded less realistic than steaks slapped on a thigh. There is particular freedom to create sound effects when there is no authentic source for the image, as in monster and science fiction films. Creators of sounds often start by recording something real and then processing (altering) it. Two simple processing tricks that date from the earliest days of sound effects are reversing the original sound or changing its pitch. It is also common practice to create one new sound by "stacking" effects—layering several sources and processing them together. For instance, the voice of the *Star Wars* (1977) droid, R2-D2, is a combination of electronically generated sound plus water pipes, whistles, and human vocalizations. With digital technologies, a sound editor can feed into a computer a brief sample of a sound, which can then be expanded and radically modified.

Music is not usually written until postproduction. The director, composer, and music editor have had a spotting session, running through the rough cut of the film and agreeing on where, and what kind of, music is needed. Then, the music editor prepares a detailed list of "cues" that are timed to the split second, sets up the recording session if there is an orchestra, and makes any needed adjustments when the score is mixed with other tracks.

The final combining of tracks is called "rerecording" on screen credits, but "the mix" or "the dub" by practitioners. (Many sound terms are regional. Practices also vary by region or project: from one to three rerecording mixers may preside at the console.) Basically, the mix combines the dialogue (and narration if there is any), the effects, and the music. A final mix may combine hundreds of separate tracks. For manageability, groups of tracks are '"premixed" so that like sounds have been grouped and adjusted in preliminary relation to each other. Since dialogue takes precedence, it is mixed first. Music and effects, when added, must compete with neither each other nor the dialogue. Sounds from disparate sources must be adjusted with tools like equalizers and filters (which manipulate specific frequencies) to match and flow seamlessly. Since the ratio of direct to reflected sound indicates along with volume how far we are from a sound's source, reverberation is an essential tool for placing a sound in a space. The rerecording mixer will also distribute sounds to specific outputs, deciding, for instance, which sounds go to the surround sound speakers and which shift from one speaker to another. The rerecording mixer is both a master technician who fine-tunes the adjustments to volume, duration, and tone quality begun in the premix and an artist who makes thousands of aesthetic choices as well. The best rerecording mixers must not only balance the various tracks but also subtly layer and orchestrate them, choosing which sounds to emphasize at a given time to create a texture and pacing that have an emotional effect on the audience and support the narrative.

Most likely the work of various sound departments has been overseen by a supervising sound editor. Optimally (though rarely) sound is conceived—like production design—during preproduction, so the film's sound is not an afterthought but an organic, integral part of the film's conception. Films that exploit the fullest expressive potential of sound may have been planned with a sound designer, a credit originated to suggest the conceptual importance of Walter Murch's contribution to *Apocalpyse Now*. The term is now used to designate either someone with an overview of the sound, whose job can overlap that of a supervising sound editor, or someone who designs a specific type of sound, such as dinosaur steps.

AESTHETIC DEBATES

It was by no means a foregone conclusion that sound would be used unobtrusively. When it became obvious that talkies were the sound wave of the future, filmmakers and theorists alike worried that their art form would lose its expressive potential. They worried films would become "canned theater," in the words of the French director René Clair (1898–1981), that the camera's enslavement to the microphone would necessarily stifle the eloquent camera movement, lighting, and montage that many considered the unique language of "pure" cinema.

Dialogue came under the most direct attack. In Germany, Rudolf Arnheim (b. 1904), who valued film for those formal properties that differentiated the image from mere naturalistic reproduction, maintained that dialogue "paralyzed" visual action and reduced the gap between film and reality. The German theorist Siegfried Kracauer (1889–1966), whose contrasting aesthetic

favored the "redemption of physical reality," suggested that dialogue could be used cinematically by deemphasizing its meaning and treating voices as pre-linguistic sound. The Hungarian theorist Bela Bálázs (1884–1949) lamented the way spoken language eliminated the universality of the silent screen. However, he suggested ways in which sounds could "educate our ear," for example, by providing the aural equivalents of photographed close-ups or by exploiting the dramatic value of silence, which can be "heard" only in the context of sound.

Much debate has focused on exploring ways in which sound might be associated with the image. One of the earliest formulations came from the Soviet filmmakers S. M. Eisenstein (1898–1948), V. I. Pudovkin (1893–1953), and G. V. Alexandrov (1903–1984), who issued a joint Statement on Sound in August 1928. Warning against the development of "talking films," which would lead to "highly cultured dramas" and "the 'illusion' of talking people, of audible objects," the statement called for a "contrapuntal" use of sound that treated it as an element of montage. Pudovkin later came out in favor of an approach to disparate sound and image that he labeled "asynchronism," a distinction that paralleled that between Eisenstein's "dialectical" and Pudovkin's "associational" approaches to silent montage.

Just as initial debate about the function of sound accompanied the coming of talkies, a second surge of theoretical writing accompanied the "second revolution of sound" in films of the 1970s and early 1980s, an extraordinarily creative period for sound in narrative films. It has been argued that the ideological implications of Hollywood practice extended also to the techniques of sound editing and mixing, which traditionally efface evidence of their construction. Psychoanalytic and feminist critiques have often focused on the gendered voice: the female voice is characterized either as the voice of the mother or as a means whereby a female character tries to express her subjectivity while patriarchal codes of the image and soundtrack try to "contain" it. Rick Altman in the United States and Michel Chion in France have done the most sustained and nuanced analyses of sound aesthetics, challenging long-held assumptions about the relations between image and sound. For instance, Chion's writings on "audio-vision" explore the ways that sound and image transform each other. And both writers have extensively investigated audience position with respect to sound, demonstrating, for example, that aural and visual point of view do not follow the same conventions. Other scholars, including Alan Williams, have focused on ways in which even direct recordings are not mere reproductions but representations mediated through choices such as microphone placement and recording equipment.

MAJOR ACHIEVEMENTS

While the first few years of synchronized sound generated many painfully static films that were effectively filmed stage plays, the challenge and limitations of the new technology stimulated some directors to use sound in ways that remain benchmarks of creativity. In Great Britain, Alfred Hitchcock (1899–1980) experimented with varieties of subjective sound in *Blackmail* (1929), *Murder!* (1930), and *Secret Agent* (1936). In Germany, Fritz Lang (1890–1976) showed in *M—Eine Stadt sucht einen Mörder* (*M*, 1931) how sound could be used as a leitmotif by associating the murderer with whistling. Many of the early sound filmmakers made a virtue of technical limitations by adopting an asynchronous approach. In their highly stylized earliest sound films, directors like Ernst Lubitsch (1892–1947), René Clair, and Lang dared to accompany silently shot images with sounds other than dialogue. Thus, counter to the sync talkie craze (films proudly advertised as "100 percent talking!"), these films experimented with a variety of sound-image aesthetics. About half of King Vidor's *Hallelujah* (1929) was shot silent and on location, with its African American cast accompanied by spirituals or naturalistic sounds (such as bird screeches and labored breathing to evoke realism and menace during a chase through a swamp). Rouben Mamoulian (1897–1987), whom Hollywood brought from Broadway because he was supposed to be an expert in dialogue (like George Cukor [1899–1983], whose earliest title in Hollywood was "dialogue director"), was consistently innovative with sound. Mamoulian's *Applause* (1929) is a compendium of experiments that create the sense of a three-dimensional space, including the first use of two-channel recording by microphones set in separate locations, tracking shots with synchronized sound (created by wheeling the massive soundproof booths in which cameras were placed), and a densely layered sound track. If Mamoulian creates a spatial continuity in *Applause*, Russian director Dziga Vertov (1896–1954) does everything he can to break the pretence of real space in his documentary *Entuziazm* (*Enthusiasm*, 1930), which demonstrates a wide assortment of ways to associate sound and image that are anti-illusionistic.

It was nonfeature films that most creatively explored the potential of sound in its first decade. Animated shorts, not so bound to a realist aesthetic, gave rise to inspired meetings of sound and image. For instance, Walt Disney's Silly Symphonies find unlikely visual sources for familiar sounds, such as the skeleton played as a xylophone in the cartoon *The Skeleton Dance* (1929). In the 1930s, producer-director Alberto Calvacânti (1897–1982) shepherded into being a series of creative nonfiction films made by Great Britain's GPO (General Post Office) Film Unit. These experimental

Overlapping dialogue and other techniques add realism to the sound design of* M*A*S*H *(Robert Altman, 1970). ™ AND COPYRIGHT © 20TH CENTURY FOX FILM CORP. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED. COURTESY: EVERETT COLLECTION.

documentaries often make rhythmical use of sound, as in *Night Mail* (1936), a ''film-poem'' that edits images of a mail train to natural sounds, to the verse of W. H. Auden, and to the music of Benjamin Britten (1913–1976). Avant-garde films have always been a rich arena for experimentation with unconventional relations between sound and image. A notable example is the short film *Unsere Afrikareise* (*Our Trip to Africa*, 1966) by Austrian filmmaker Peter Kubelka (b. 1934).

One might think that narrative filmmakers would have used sound more adventurously once the full capability of sound editing was realized (about 1935). However, sound was for the most part used unimaginatively. Two glorious exceptions were Jean Renoir (1894–1979) and Orson Welles (1915–1985), two masters of sound as well as *mise-en-scène*. Renoir's films in the early 1930s include virtuosic uses of offscreen and naturalistic sound. The films he photographed in deep focus, such as *La Règle du jeu* (*The Rules of the Game*, 1939), create aural as well as visual depth. *Citizen Kane* (1941) extended Welles's experiments with sound in his earlier radio dramas, including echoes that complement the deep focus photography, rapid shifts in tonal quality, overlapping dialogue (which, as in other newspaper films, imparts a sense of simultaneous activity and quick pacing), and aural bridges that compress time and suggest causal connections by linking words or sounds over different years and locations, as well as a brilliant score by composer Bernard Herrmann (1911–1975). In later Welles films, such as *Touch of Evil* (1958), sound is often spatially mismatched with its apparent source, creating a

ROBERT ALTMAN

b. Kansas City, Missouri, 20 February 1925

Robert Altman started as a writer and director for the Calvin Company, where he made over sixty short industrial films. His first feature, *The Delinquents* (1957), soon caught Alfred Hitchcock's attention and Altman went to direct several episodes of *Alfred Hitchcock Presents*. He continued to work on TV throughout the 1960s, directing episodes of numerous series. Altman pushed the boundaries of film sound in the 1970s to create polyphonic narratives where cause-and-effect logic is often subordinated to spontaneity and improvisation.

In *M*A*S*H* (1970) the recurrent use of a diegetic loudspeaker along with the combination of radio microphones and live mixing of overlapping dialogues adds a realism to the film's satire. After failing to deploy multitrack technology in *McCabe and Mrs. Miller* (1971), Altman, in collaboration with sound designer Jim Webb and rerecording mixer Richard Portman, successfully utilized multitrack recording in *California Split* (1974) and *Nashville* (1975), accomplishing two major feats: complete freedom of the camera and the construction of complex soundscapes while recording them in real time. Ultimately, *California Split* was dubbed into three-track stereo but released in mono since most American movie theaters did not have the technology to reproduce it accurately. In *Nashville* he pushed the limits of multitrack recording by adding sixteen tracks for music recording in addition to the eight tracks devoted to dialogue. His 1978 effort, *A Wedding*, required an even larger setup: sixteen radio microphones, two eight tracks, and two entire sound crews.

If *Nashville* centers on the American popular music tradition, in *The Long Goodbye* (1973) Altman feeds off a wider range of music registers as a way to anchor his adaptation of Raymond Chandler's novel within the 1970s sociocultural milieu. The eponymous theme song plays from a variety of diegetic sources and is performed in a range of genres, functioning as a primary characterization and atmospheric tool. In *Kansas City* (1996), the simple story line is a mere alibi for a series of jazz performances by contemporary musicians. Altman's *Popeye* (1980) stands as one of the few experiments with the short-lived "Parasound" system. Ultimately, Parasound was completely overshadowed by Dolby due to the former's lack of adaptability to existing 35mm projection equipment.

From the early 1980s into the twenty-first century, Altman has continued to use overlapping dialogue in films such as *The Player* (1992) and *Gosford Park* (2001), creating sound "symphonies" that challenge the spectator to remain active throughout the viewing process. Similar to deep focus photography, which frees the eye to scan a multilayered and multifocal frame, his soundscapes let the listener construct multiple narrative pathways through the material. In this respect, Altman's sound is polyphonic, realistic, and in stark opposition with the more conventional approach to the sound medium that matches every visual cue with a dubbed sound effect.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

*M*A*S*H* (1970), *McCabe and Mrs. Miller* (1971), *The Long Goodbye* (1973), *California Split* (1974), *Nashville* (1975), *A Wedding* (1978), *The Player* (1992), *Short Cuts* (1993), *Kansas City* (1996), *Gosford Park* (2001)

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sense of dislocation and disorientation that help define a nightmarish world.

For economic reasons, Italy's neorealists in the 1940s had no choice but to shoot silently and add sound later, a tradition that remains today except for some international productions. Usually, the result is thinner sound mixes and less adherence to the precise sync than Hollywood produces. Italian audiences have become acculturated to sparse sound tracks and speech that does not match lips. Moreover, minimalist approaches to sound, if

Robert Altman on location during filming of **Vincent and Theo** *(1990).* EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

thought out, can be a virtue, as in the brilliantly stylized sound of Sergio Leone's *C'era una volta il West* (*Once Upon a Time in the West*, 1968), which has aural close-ups as striking as its extreme visual close-ups. The French director Jacques Tati (1909–1982), also using only postsynced sound, makes us hear afresh the sounds of the modern world. *Playtime* (1967), like Tati's other films, has almost no dialogue; instead it foregrounds sound effects, often focusing on synthetic materials like plastic, glass, and fake leather in a comedy about modern architecture and interior design.

At the other extreme from the dubbing tradition are those directors who prefer to use only production sound. Jean-Luc Godard's (b. 1930) early films, and those of Lars von Trier (b. 1956) and his Dogma 95 circle usually avoided postproduction refinement of the sound tracks. The Dogma 95 filmmakers required in their 1995 "Vow of Chastity" that "sound must never be produced apart from the image, or vice versa." Godard's films wage frontal attacks on the conventions of mainstream sound (and picture) editing, including the usual hierarchy of dialogue over effects or music. In a typical Godardian café scene, pinball machines and traffic noise intermittently dominate conversation. Whereas Godard's Brechtian aesthetic is antiillusionistic, however, the Dogma filmmakers insisted that their approach was in the service of purity and realism.

In general, cinemas in non-English-speaking cultures are less concerned with transparency. Directors whose films consistently reveal the expressive potential of sound include Akira Kurosawa (1910–1998, Japan), Robert Bresson (1901–1999, France), Alain Resnais (b. 1922, France), Leonardo Favio (b. 1938, Argentina), and Andrei Tarkovsky (1932–1986, Russia).

Perhaps the most distinctive contemporary US sound stylist has been Robert Altman (b. 1938), who, with Richard Portman, developed a system to keep every actor's dialogue on a separate channel so that he could interweave and overlap simultaneous conversations among his large ensemble casts in films such as *Nashville* (1975). Like Altman's, Francis Ford Coppola's exceptional soundtracks cannot be separated from the work of a longtime

collaborator, in his case Walter Murch (b. 1943), the doyen of film sound designers. The *Godfather* films, *The Conversation* (1974), and *Apocalypse Now* (1979) are exemplars of organic sound design. Indeed, the most memorable soundtracks in the United States are often the product of collaborations between sound designers and directors who are open to sonic experimentation. Notable collaborators include Gary Rydstrom (b. 1959), who designed sound for Steven Spielberg's films *Jurassic Park* (1993), *Saving Private Ryan* (1998), and *Artificial Intelligence: A.I.* (2001); Ben Burtt (b. 1948) and George Lucas (the *Star Wars* series); Randy Thom and Robert Zemeckis (*Cast Away* [2000] and *The Polar Express* [2004]), Alan Splet (1939–1995) and (early) David Lynch; and on the East Coast, Skip Lievsay, who has worked frequently with the Coen brothers, Spike Lee, Martin Scorsese, and Jonathan Demme.

Films most likely to use sound creatively within the classical transparent mode are science fiction films or those with a major psychological component such as *The Silence of the Lambs* (1991) and surreal films, such as those of David Lynch, whose sound is consistently distinctive without being obtrusive. Lynch is fond of sound motifs such as the industrial noises (without any apparent source) that are heard at a very low level under the villain's scenes in *Blue Velvet* (1986). Subjective or dreamlike scenes are allowed great latitude within Hollywood practice because the distorted sound is attributed to a character's perception or a phantasmic environment.

Conventional US soundtracks are characterized by density. The growing sophistication of multitrack and digital techniques has had both a stimulating and a stifling effect; although sound departments of the last few decades have had access to ever more advanced technologies, this capability does not necessarily mean that the sound is used more wisely or creatively. Digital technologies, along with the audience's experiences with popular music, have tempted many recent filmmakers to overwhelm the audience with density, loudness, and wall-to-wall sound effects. In a sense, sound films in the last quarter century have come full circle from the early talking period. Rather than 100 percent talkies, some action films have effectively become 100 percent car crashes and fuel explosions, the embodiments of the "audible objects" predicted by Eisenstein and his colleagues. But even big action pictures such as the *Matrix* and *Terminator* series can have elegant and inventive tracks when their sound is judiciously created, selected, and modulated.

SEE ALSO *Music; Production Process; RKO Radio Pictures; Silent Cinema; Technology; Warner Bros.*

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SPAIN

Spanish cinema reflects many of the tensions that have shaped the development of the Spanish nation over the twentieth century. One pivotal conflict, that between traditionalism and cultural modernization, is mirrored in the efforts to define film both as a cultural product that reflects the values and customs of the community that produced it, and as a commodity that circulates beyond the local community to international markets. This national cinema project is further complicated by political upheaval and the reformulation of the Spanish state. The crucible for modern Spain, the civil war (1936–1939), profoundly shaped the nature of the long postwar period. With the post-Franco transition to democracy, the 1978 constitution granted partial autonomy to seventeen regional communities, or states. In two of these regions, Catalonia and the Basque country, film production partially funded by the state supported the goal of stabilizing regional cultural identity. Under the aegis of the European Economic Community, which Spain formally entered in 1986, Spanish cinema came into an intimate and sustained relation with other European cinemas. At various moments in its history, therefore, Spanish cinema has been used to play out the scenarios of traditionalism and cultural modernization; localism and internationalism; the nation as a unified community; and the counterforces of micro- and macro-regional cultures. The threads of all these tendencies are found throughout the history of Spanish cinema.

SILENT CINEMA: 1896–1930

The first public screening of a Spanish-made film, Eduardo Jimeno's compilation of actuality footage, *Salida de misa de doce del Pilar de Zaragoza* (People Coming Out of the Noontime Mass at the Cathedral of the Virgin of Pilar in Zaragoza), took place in 1896, just months before the Lumière brothers' presentation in Madrid of similar images of local color that included port scenes from Barcelona, urban vistas in Madrid, and, of course, bullfights. Early silent cinema tended to depict a quaint, almost exotic backwardness that would become a staple of the cinematic imagery of the country seen by Spanish and international audiences for decades.

Though Spanish silent cinema had almost no international impact, there did exist a fledging film culture during this period. Among its notable figures was Fructuós Gelabert (1874–1955), whose *Riña en un café* (Café Brawl, 1897) is the first Spanish-made fiction film made in Spain. Along with Gelabert, Segundo de Chomón (1871–1929) worked independently during the final years of the nineteenth century and early years of the twentieth to develop a number of special effects or trick films. His most inventive creation was *El Hotel eléctrico* (*The Electric Hotel*, 1908), which depicts a fully automated hotel in which a man is automatically shaved and his wife's hair is combed.

In the early 1900s Barcelona was established as the principal center for film production on the Iberian peninsula. This changed in 1915 when Benito Perojo (1894–1974) and his brother established the first Madrid-based film production company. The multitalented Perojo worked as producer, director, scriptwriter, actor, and even camera operator on his films.

Perhaps the most significant feature of the silent period in Spanish cinema was its emphasis on local cultural tastes to shape the emerging international

medium. The early preference for folkloric cinema and adaptations of Spanish works of fiction and theater is found, for instance, in Ricardo Baños's 1905 film version of the popular Zorrilla play *Don Juan Tenorio*. Several of the figures who were to shape the early sound film in Spain had already established themselves in the silent era. Most notable among these was Perojo, who would later direct and produce films, and Florián Rey (1894–1962) and Juan de Orduña (1900–1974), both of whom started their film careers as actors and went on to direct important films of the sound era.

Efforts to imitate the epic style of D. W. Griffith's *The Birth of a Nation* (1915) led to Spanish epic films such as the Spanish-French coproduction *La vida de Cristóbal Colón y su descubrimiento de América* (The Life of Christopher Columbus and his Discovery of America, 1916), but these seldom appealed to audiences outside Spain. The last such epic of the silent era was Rey's anachronistic *La aldea maldita* (Cursed Village, 1929), which was made as sound films were being exhibited in Spain.

THE FIRST DECADE OF SOUND: 1929–1939

Although the first sound film produced in Spain was Francisco Elías's *El misterio de la Puerta del Sol* (The Mystery in the Puerta del Sol, 1929), the quality of early sound technology was poor. Some Spanish filmmakers worked abroad, principally in France, on their first sound films. Florián Rey's *Melodía del arrabal* (*Suburban Melody*, 1933) was shot at Paramount's Joinville Studio outside Paris, where his friend Perojo had already shot *Primavera en otoño* (*Spring in Autumn*, 1933). The sad reality for the Spanish film industry was that by the end of 1931 Hollywood's foreign-language film productions already held the monopoly on the sound-film market in Spain, even attracting *Spanish* technicians and artists.

Luis Buñuel (1900–1983), the preeminent figure of Spanish cinema, forged his early career in France. Unlike the mainstream fare that Perojo and Rey worked on, however, Buñuel's first two surrealist films, *Un chien andalou* (*An Andalusian Dog*, 1929) and *L'Âge d'or* (*The Golden Age*, 1930), were attacks on conventional cinematic narratives. Buñuel shot his first film in Spain, the documentary *Las Hurdes* (*Land Without Bread*, 1933), also known as *Tierra sin pan*, about the deplorable social conditions in the province of Salamanca. The film was banned first by the Republican government and later by the Francoist regime.

The first Spanish sound studio in Spain was built in Barcelona. The following year two other sound-production studios were established in Madrid. Between 1932 and 1936, the eve of the civil war, the local film industry produced fifty-seven films, with twenty-eight films completed in 1936 alone. The two studios that were seen as the Spanish equivalent of the Hollywood "majors" were Filmófono, established by Ricardo Urgoiti, the scion of a liberal publishing family, and Compañía Industrial Española SA (CIFESA), founded by Vicente Casanova. Urgoiti contracted the young Buñuel as his executive producer. Though Filmófono's output was modest, the combination of Buñuel's presence and its few serious productions of popular cinematic fare made it, along with CIFESA, the most serious efforts to sustain a studio-based Spanish film industry with socially relevant and commercially popular films.

Continuing silent-film practices, the dominant style of these films involved the promotion of local culture through folkloric narratives (*españoladas*) that reveled in character actors imitating colorful regional speech patterns. The major commercial successes of the pre-civil war period included films by Florián Rey (*La Hermana San Sulpicio* [*Sister San Sulpicio*, 1934], *Nobleza baturra* [*Rustic Chivalry*, 1935], and *Morena clara* [*Dark and Bright*, 1936]) and Benito Perojo (*Rumbo al Cairo* [*Bound for Cairo*, 1935], *Es mi hombre* [He's My Man, 1934], and *La verbena de la paloma* [*Fair of the Dove*, 1934]). Such films helped support the impression of the vitality of the pre-civil war sound-film industry. Without any government subsidies, and rivaled only by radio in the mass media, motion pictures became part of the fabric of popular Spanish culture.

In no small measure, the allure of some sound films derived from the emergence of popular Spanish film actresses who constituted in their own right a local variation of Hollywood's star system. Notable among these were Imperio Argentina (1906–2003), the singer who had appeared in Florián Rey's biggest hits; the comic actor Miguel Ligero (1890–1968); and the romantic lead Rosita Díaz Giménez (1908–1986) and her male counterpart, Manuel Luna (1898–1958).

This robust film culture was abruptly curtailed when the Spanish army, under the command of exiled General Francisco Franco, rose up against the Spanish Republican government on 18 July 1936. The ensuing civil war continued for nearly three years, ending with the Francoist victory. The short-term impact of the civil war was obvious. Aerial bombings of Madrid and the diversion of materials to the war effort brought the collapse of commercial film production. Some films already in production, such as Fernando Delgado's *El genio alegre* (The Happy Spirit, 1939) were not completed until the war's end. Franco sympathizers Benito Perojo and Florián Rey continued working at the Ufa (Universum Film Aktiengesellschaft) studios in Berlin, and, for Perojo, later in Cinecitta in Rome. This was how lavish folkloric films, such as Rey's *Carmen, la de*

LUIS BUÑUEL

b. Calanda, Spain, 22 February 1900, d. 29 July 1983

The best-known Spanish filmmaker before Pedro Almodóvar, Luis Buñuel had a film career that spanned fifty years and involved work in three national cinemas, those of Spain, France, and Mexico. Ironically, of the thirty-one films he made, only four of them were shot in his native Spain. Along with persistent attacks on Christian dogma and church hypocrisy, Buñuel's most characteristic theme is a contemptuous view of bourgeois morality and middle-class values. His Mexican period, beginning in 1946, includes some of his most internationally acclaimed films: *Los Olvidados* (*The Young and the Damned*, 1950), *El* (*This Strange Passion*, 1952), and *Nazarín* (1959). Though varying in style and subject matter, these works parody bourgeois morality and contain powerful and violent imagery.

His years at the famed Residencia de Estudiantes in Madrid in the early 1920s brought Buñuel into contact with the poet Federico García Lorca (1898–1936) and the painter Salvador Dalí (1904–1989), with whom he collaborated on his first two films, forging his identity as a surrealist. In *Un chien andalou* (*An Andalusian Dog*, 1929) and *L'Âge d'or* (*The Golden Age*, 1930), his two surrealist masterpieces made in collaboration with Dalí, he developed a series of violent images that were designed to shock his audience and played with editing techniques to disrupt visual continuity. Even while working on the documentary *Tierra sin pan* (*Land Without Bread*, 1933), his first film shot in Spain, he intensified the shocking images of people from backward rural communities by juxtaposing grotesque images with the tranquil strains of a Brahms symphony. The notoriety of these early films led some critics to read surrealist touches in his later works, especially his popular Mexican commercial films, most of which were largely divorced from surrealism.

His support of the defeated Spanish Republican government during the civil war (1936–1939) forced Buñuel into political exile. After twenty-five years spent forging a commercial career in Mexico, he returned to Spain in 1960 to film *Viridiana* (1961). The film, approved by strict Spanish censors, appeared to be a parable about Christian charity recounting the efforts of a young woman to be a good Christian. *Viridiana* won a special prize at the Cannes Film Festival but was immediately denounced by the Vatican as blasphemous. The Spanish government, which rightly saw that it had been ridiculed by the clever filmmaker, responded by banning the film in Spain, and even mention of Buñuel's name was prohibited in the Spanish press.

After *Simón del desierto* (*Simon of the Desert*, 1965), and with the exception of two films shot in Spain—*Tristana* (1970) and *Cet Obscur objet du désir* (*That Obscure Object of Desire*, 1977)—all of Buñuel's later films would be shot in France. In his mature final period, *Belle de jour* (1967), starring Catherine Deneuve, won international acclaim, and *Le Charme discret de la bourgeoisie* (*The Discreet Charm of the Bourgeoisie*, 1972) won an Oscar® for best foreign film.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Un chien andalou (*An Andalusian Dog*, 1929), *L'Âge d'or* (*The Golden Age*, 1930), *Tierra sin pan* (*Land Without Bread*, 1933), *Los Olvidados* (*The Young and the Damned*, 1950), *El* (*This Strange Passion*, 1952), *Viridiana* (1961), *Belle de jour* (1967), *Tristana* (1970), *Le Charme discret de la bourgeoisie* (*The Discreet Charm of the Bourgeoisie*, 1972)

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Marvin D'Lugo

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Triana (Carmen, the Girl from Triana, 1938) and Perojo's *Suspiros de España* (*Sighs of Spain*, 1939), were shot even as the war raged.

THE POSTWAR PERIOD: 1939–1951

Censorship was the most overt symptom of the Francoist state's desire to reshape the Spanish film industry. Other measures included special production subsidies for films of "national interest" and a rating system for subsidies that reflected the government's own evaluation of films. The Spanish film industry was thus easily coerced into developing the narratives that advanced the regime's ideological and cultural goals. The production subsidies proposed by the new regime created in the industry a dependency on government financial supports that would last well beyond the four decades of the Franco regime.

There were no stated norms for film censorship, so the censorship boards that operated over the next two decades delivered their verdicts on scripts and films based on their own predilections and biases. The effect of the intimidation built into the censorship and subsidy processes was to transfer to the producers, screenwriters, and directors of Spanish films a form of self-censorship. These were the people who would invent the narrative formulas and imagery that would promote the regime's ideology.

A related form of censorship sprang from the directive that the Castilian language be used for all films exhibited in Spanish territory. Dubbing quickly became a way of deleting dialogue that appeared to challenge the values, icons, or ideology of the regime. The policy required the dubbing of all non-Spanish films, and it had an unintended consequence of helping foreign films, which were then circulating in Spanish-dubbed versions, to gain a strong commercial foothold in the domestic market; the local industry has never recovered.

In the immediate postwar period compliant filmmakers produced a series of films that mythified the Francoist struggle. By far, the most important film of this genre was José Luis Sáenz de Heredia's (1911–1992) *Raza* (*Race*, 1942). The film was actually scripted by Franco and followed the exploits of a fictional soldier during the recent military uprising, suggesting parallels to Franco's personal career.

Among the most popular films of the 1940s were costume dramas that fell into various subgenres. One type, pseudoreligious in nature, was based freely on the lives of historical figures and the fictionalized lives of saints. The most notable of these films were Manuel Augusto García Víñola's *Inés de Castro* (1944), José López Rubio's (1903–1996) *Eugenia de Montijo* (1944), Rafael Gil's (1913–1986) *Reina santa* (Saintly Queen, 1947), and Juan de Orduña's (1900–1974) *Misión blanca* (The White Mission, 1946). Another popular genre was the historical costume epic that afforded audiences an escape from the drab social realities of the postwar period. Two films of this type were directed by Juan de Orduña for CIFESA: *Locura de amor* (*Love Crazy*, 1948) and *Agustina de Aragón* (*Augustina of Aragon*, or *The Siege*, 1950). Featuring the striking stage actress Aurora Bautista, these films became instant hits and, owing to their commercial and critical success, were deemed high points of Spanish filmmaking.

Even more popular in the 1940s were adaptations of nineteenth-century Spanish novels, triggered by the surprising success of *El escándalo* (*The Scandal*, José Luis Sáenz de Heredia, 1943) and *El clavo* (*The Nail*, Rafael Gil, 1944), both adaptations of works by Pedro de Alarcón (1833–1891). These films and those that quickly followed shared, in addition to sources in well-known novels, a strong melodramatic style. The popularity of *Lola Montés* (Antonio Román, 1944), Gil's *La pródiga* (*The Prodigal Woman*, 1946), and the historical biography *El Marqués de Salamanca* (Edgar Neville, 1948) proved the vitality of what by the decade's end had been formalized as costume melodrama.

Many Spanish studio-produced melodramas of the 1940s resembled low-budget imitations of Hollywood's costume epics of the same period, at least in terms of the efforts to develop a lavish studio style buttressed by a highly developed star system that featured Alfredo Mayo and José Nieto (b. 1942) in both heroic and romantic roles, and Amparito Rivelles (b. 1925), Ana Mariscal (1923–1995), and Luchy Soto (1919–1970) as female romantic leads. CIFESA had become the quasi-official studio of the government, producing some of the large-scale productions that made it the Spanish equivalent of MGM in the United States.

THE 1950s

Because of its political alliances with Nazi Germany and fascist Italy, after the Axis defeat in 1945 Spain became a pariah in democratized Europe. The reactionary tendencies in Spanish culture that resulted from this isolation changed with the US binational treaty of 1951, which coincided with the reorganization of Franco's cabinet that established a film office in the Ministry of Information and Tourism. The office's director, José María García Escudero, championed José Antonio Nieves Conde's film *Surcos* (*Furrows*, 1951), granting it a "special interest" subsidy, only to find the voices of old-guard conservatism condemning the film's "sordid" neo-realist visual style and social content. Opponents argued that Juan de Orduña's historical epic of Columbus's journeys to the New World, *Alba de América* (American Dawn, 1951), was a more appropriate reflection of national values. The scandal eventually led to García Ecudero's departure from his post. The rest of the decade was, in fact, a replay of the clash between conservative and modernizing forces within the government and the film industry.

The persistence of traditionalist cultural values was reflected in the popularity of melodramatic, pseudo-religious films during the early 1950s, best epitomized by the most widely acclaimed work of this reactionary genre: Ladislao Vajda's *Marcelino, pan y vino* (*The Miracle of Marcelino*, 1955). The film owes its popularity as much to the presence of the child actor Pablito Calvo as to the presumed religiosity of its narrative and theme. Other child actors who sustained similar box-office appeal for otherwise negligible films include Marisol (Pepa Flores) and Joselito.

The Spanish brand of contemporary comedy, which had endured throughout the previous decade, now became a vehicle for veiled social criticism of the regime's policies. The earliest example of this potent genre is the debut film of Juan Antonio Bardem (1922–2002) and Luis García Berlanga (b. 1921), *Esa pareja feliz* (*That Happy Pair*, 1953), a light comedy that highlighted the hard economic times of the early 1950s in the travails of a newlywed couple. While Bardem went on to specialize in more political works, such as the tense melodrama *Muerte de un ciclista* (*Age of Infidelity*, 1955), Berlanga's career evolved through ingenious social comedies. *Bienvenido, Mister Marshall* (*Welcome, Mister Marshall*, 1953), the most beloved Spanish popular film of the past half-century, is a satirical look at cultural mores and the ineptitude of the regime; *Los Jueves, milagro* (*Miracles of Thursday*, 1957) satirizes church bureaucracy and false miracles. Berlanga's subsequent social comedies, *Plácido* (1961) and *El verdugo* (*The Executioner*, 1963), take sharp aim at institutionalized charity and the Spanish style of execution, respectively. Thus, over the decade, the narrative and visual style of one of Spain's most beloved filmmakers moved to progressively more scathing indictments of the spirit and everyday practices of Francoist culture.

Working with Berlanga's script collaborator, Rafael Azcona, Italian-born Marco Ferreri (1928–1997) created two of the blackest social comedies of the period: *El pisito* (The Little Apartment, 1959) and *El cochecito* (*The Wheelchair*, 1960). Social criticism in these films was rooted in the Spanish variation of Italian neorealism, which often used black humor to portray the long-suffering working class and the economic hardships to which they had become conditioned. This tendency achieves its blackest images in Ferreri's *The Wheelchair*, in which an old pensioner poisons his family after they prevent him from buying a motorized wheelchair. Veering away from the comedic genre, Carlos Saura's (b. 1932) debut feature, *Los golfos* (*The Delinquents*, 1962), arguably the strongest expression of Spanish neorealism, depicts the plight of youthful members of the urban underclass whose sense of frustration in late-1950s Madrid leads them to petty robberies. Seemingly disconnected from Ferreri's or Berlanga's middle-class characters, Saura's protagonists nonetheless reveal a spiritual kinship to the same defiant spirit of social criticism that mark the neorealist comedies of the period.

REAWAKENING AND TRANSITION: 1960–1975

During the final decade and a half of the old regime (1960–1975), Spanish cinema witnessed the beginnings of the cultural transition beyond the dictatorship. The most emblematic event of that changing order was the scandal surrounding Buñuel's *Viridiana*. The famed surrealist filmmaker returned from exile in 1961 to make a film that appeared to be a reverential tale about a young postulant's dedication to Christian charity. Presented at the Cannes Film Festival of 1961 as the official Spanish entry, the film won a Palme d'or, only to be denounced by the Vatican newspaper *L'Osservatore*

Romano as blasphemous. The film was banned in Spain, and the production company, Bardem's Unión Industrial Cinematográfica SA (UNINCI), was dissolved. A decade later Buñuel returned to Spain to shoot another film while Franco was still alive. *Tristana* (1970), often considered Buñuel's masterpiece, was based on a minor novel by the nineteenth-century novelist Benito Pérez Galdós. His final "Spanish" film, also his last film, was *Cet Obscur objet du désir* (*That Obscure Object of Desire*, 1977). Though only four films of his total output of more than thirty were actually shot in his native Spain, Buñuel remains for many the quintessential Spanish filmmaker.

In the early 1960s a group of progressive technocrats assumed positions of power in key government ministries. Principal among these was Manuel Fraga Iribarne, who took charge of the reorganized Ministry of Information and Tourism, which controlled media censorship. The liberal Fraga orchestrated the return of García Escudero to the film office, encouraging him to publish a set of criteria that would guide the censorship of film scripts and subsequent final copies of films ready for distribution. This bureaucratization of censorship enabled filmmakers and their producers for the first time to challenge censorship cuts and negotiate revisions.

Censorship reform was part of an administrative initiative to invent a new image of Spain for international markets, especially tourism. Part of that plan called for a "New Spanish Cinema," much heralded through official promotions at international film festivals. The newness of Spanish cinema was based on a younger generation of directors, including Carlos Saura, Basilio Martín Patino (b. 1930), Miguel Picazo (b. 1927), Mario Camus (b. 1935), and Manuel Summers (b. 1935), most of whom would, in time, forge their own careers as mainstream filmmakers. By 1966 the strategies had yielded impressive results, boosting the annual production of Spanish films to an all-time high of 174. Some film historians later dismissed New Spanish Cinema as merely the Franco regime's window dressing to cover its repressive nature. But New Spanish Cinema did much to challenge the status quo by expanding the limits of permissible representation in Spanish films.

Most notable of such works was Saura's *La caza* (*The Hunt*, 1965), which examined the impact of the civil war on contemporary consciousness. Saura's success with broaching the negative image of the war while circumventing censorship owed, in part, to the dealings of his astute producer, Elías Querejeta (b. 1930). Querejeta engaged the censors, convincing them to allow certain images and dialogue to remain in the shooting script, and used the film's dialogue to highlight the ways self-censorship had deformed the characters' outlook. Another feature of the Saura-Querejeta collaboration was the unusual effort made to market the film at international festivals, drawing attention discreetly to the social realities of contemporary life in Spain. *The Hunt* won the Golden Bear award at the 1966 Berlin Film Festival. Throughout the final years of Franco's dictatorship, Querejeta's modest production company was responsible for the early careers of a number of other filmmakers, including Víctor Erice (b. 1940), Jaime Chávarri (b. 1943), and Manuel Gutiérrez Aragón (b. 1942).

Another historically significant movement of the period was the Barcelona School, young Catalan filmmakers who challenged the "look" of Spanish cinema. Though largely an effort at aesthetic renovation, the visual style seen in Vicente Aranda's (b. 1926) *Brillante porvenir* (*Brilliant Future*, 1965) and *Fata morgana* (*Left-Handed Fate*, 1965), *Dante no es únicamente severo* (Dante Is Not Only Rigorous, Joaquín Jordá, 1967), *Cada vez que*… (*Each Time That*…, Carles Durán, 1968), and *Ditirambo* (Gonzalo Suárez, 1969) expressed a striking alternative to the often drab views and linear narratives of Castilianized Spanish cinema. These young directors often took inspiration from contemporary art and advertising. Of the filmmakers of the Barcelona School, only Jaime Camino (b. 1936) and Aranda achieved prominent careers in more conventional mainstream Spanish filmmaking.

One of the dominant themes of oppositional cinema during the final years of the old regime, repressed and deformed memories of the past, was powerfully portrayed in *The Hunt*. The theme continued in other Saura films (*El jardín de las delicias* [*The Garden of Delights*, 1970], *La prima Angélica* [*Cousin Angelica*, 1974] and *Cría cuervos* [*Raise Ravens*, 1976]), and in Patino's documentary *Canciones para después de una guerra* (Songs for After a War, 1971). The most critically acclaimed of these efforts was Erice's *El espíritu de la colmena* (*The Spirit of the Beehive*, 1973), which in a seemingly apolitical way recounts the experiences of a girl of seven or eight in the Castilian provinces in the early post-civil war period. Through an elliptical style and an intricate visual narrative structure, the film stands as a unique expression of the creative power of filmmakers to subvert the spirit of censorship to present critical visions of life under the dictatorship. The film won a special prize at Cannes.

POLITICAL AND ARTISTIC TRANSITIONS: 1975–1982

The seven years following Franco's death saw the dismantling of the dictatorship and the implementation of democratic processes, culminating in 1982 with the

PEDRO ALMODÓVAR

b. Calzada de la Calatrava, Spain, 15 September 1949

The most acclaimed contemporary Spanish director, Pedro Almodóvar developed his skills as a filmmaker in underground shorts he made in the 1970s before turning to commercial feature-length films with *Pepi, Luci, Bom y otras chicas del montón* (*Pepi, Luci, Bom*, 1980). This raucous comedy, shot on a shoestring, eventually became a cult hit. It portrayed characters from Madrid's pop-culture movement of the late 1970s (*Movida*) in the flimsiest of plots. In a similar antibourgeois style, *Laberinto de pasiones* (*Labyrinth of Passions*, 1982) marked the film debuts of Imanol Arias and Antonio Banderas, both of whom have gone on to have important film careers.

Entre tinieblas (*Dark Habits*, 1983), Almodóvar's third film, reflects his first serious engagement in melodrama, a genre that has shaped much of his subsequent film work. With *¿Qué he hecho yo para merecer esto!!* (*What Have I Done to Deserve This?*, 1984), a black comedy with a strong social theme about urban families living on the periphery of Spain's economic prosperity, Almodóvar began to gain international attention. The film displays the acting range of its star, Carmen Maura, who had appeared in Almodóvar's films since her lead in *Pepi, Luci, Bom*. The actress and director went on to make three more films over the next three years: *Matador* (1986), *La Ley del deseo* (*Law of Desire*, 1987), and *Mujeres al borde de un ataque de nervios* (*Women on the Verge of a Nervous Breakdown*, 1988). In their plotting and the centrality given to women and gay characters, all of whom are motivated by liberated sexual desire, these three films reflect the modernizing process of post-Franco Spanish culture. With the success of these films Almodóvar, along with his brother Augustin, established his own production company, El Deseo S.A.

With *Tacones lejanos* (*High Heels*, 1991), Madrid, the principal setting of his first nine films, began to recede as Almodóvar's films became more dramatic than comedic in inspiration. Throughout the 1990s Almodóvar focused on strong female protagonists, and his films' stellar performances by Spanish actresses Marisa Paredes and Victoria Abril. At times, his transgressive humor has been controversial, particularly the presumably comic rape scene in *Kika* (1993). Almodóvar's films of the post-*Kika* period have achieved more general acceptance, as indicated by the Oscars® he won in two consecutive years, for *Todo sobre mi madre* (*All About My Mother*, 1999) for best foreign film, and *Hable con ella* (*Talk to Her*, 2002) for best screenplay. Both of these films, as well as his subsequent *La mala educación* (*Bad Education*, 2004), are complex narratives built around themes of artistic creativity, gender transformations, and the characters' affirmations of new social and sexual identities.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

¿Qué he hecho yo para merecer esto!! (*What Have I Done to Deserve This?*, 1984), *Mujeres al borde de un ataque de nervios* (*Women on the Verge of a Nervous Breakdown*, 1988), *Todo sobre mi madre* (*All About My Mother*, 1999), *La mala educación* (*Bad Education*, 2004)

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Marvin D'Lugo

election of the first socialist Spanish government since the civil war. There were three notable trends in film culture in this period: cinematic recreations of historical moments, often but not always related to the civil war (*Pascual Duarte* [Ricardo Franco, 1975], *Retrato de familia* [*Family Portrait*, Antonio Giménez Rico, 1976], *A un dios desconocido* [*To an Unknown God*, Jaime Chávarri, 1977]); documentaries that similarly framed previously proscribed themes related to life under the dictatorship (*El desencanto* [*The Disenchantment*, Chávarri, 1976], *La vieja memoria* [*The Old Memory*, Camino, 1978]); and irreverent comedies that embraced the style of US independent films of the 1970s (*Tigres de papel* [*Paper Tigers*, Fernando Colomo, 1977], *Pepi, Luci, Bom* [Pedro Almodóvar, 1980], *Opera prima* [*First Effort*, Fernando Trueba, 1979]).

The outburst of sexually explicit films on Spanish movie screens in the early 1980s was as much a testing of

Pedro Almodóvar. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

new freedoms as it was an effort to retain a national audience in the face of the barrage of previously banned European films that were now being shown in Spain. Documentaries such as *Vestida de azul* (*Dressed in Blue*, Giménez Rico, 1984) and fictional films such as *Cambio de sexo* (*Change of Sex*, Aranda, 1977) and *El diputado* (*The Deputy*, Eloy de la Iglesia, 1979) dealt with previously prohibited themes such as homosexuality, cross-dressing, and sex-change operations.

The socialist victory of 1982 brought a radical transformation of state policies, with filmmaker Pilar Miró (1940–1997) assuming the position of director general of cinema. Miró's aggressive efforts to promote Spanish cinema abroad resulted in the awarding of the first Oscar® for a Spanish film, in the best foreign film category for *Volver a empezar* (*To Begin Again*, José Luis Garci, 1981). Unfortunately, Miró's strategy of generously subsidizing the industry to produce more and better films (146 features were produced in 1984) also increased filmmakers' dependency on the state to sustain production. Significant support also came through a coproduction arrangement with Spanish state television (RTVE) for adaptations of literary classics, which, in turn, brought new international attention to Spanish cinema through prestigious festival awards. These included Camus's adaptation of Camilo José Cela's novel, *La colmena* (*The Beehive*, 1982), which won the Golden Bear at the Berlin Film Festival; acting awards for Paco Rabal and Alfredo Landa at the Cannes festival for their performances in Camus's adaptation of Miguel Delibes's *Los santos inocentes* (*Holy Innocents*, 1984); and Saura's award for best artistic contribution for *Carmen* that same year at Cannes.

SPANISH CINEMA SINCE 1983

The direction and look of Spanish cinema of recent decades has been transformed by the advent of regional cinemas and the emergence of a new generation of filmmakers who have once again reinvented a new Spain in their films. These developments occasioned new strategies of coproduction with state television and cofunding with foreign sources such as the European Community, gradually leading to a new dynamic in which Spanish cinema operates both globally and locally.

Though local in inspiration, regional cinema in Catalonia and the Basque country produced a series of films that often attracted a strong box office and critical acclaim throughout the country. Catalan cinema, which boasted a film production tradition that predated the civil war, achieved wide recognition through the films of three directors who developed strong national appeal. Camino became known for his historical drama *Dragon rapide* (1986). Ventura Pons's urban comedies set in Barcelona (*La rossa del bar* [The Blond at the Bar, 1986] and *El perquè de tot plegat* [*What's It All About*, 1995]) proposed a lighter view of contemporary Barcelona. But by far the most commercially successful of Catalan filmmakers was José Juan Bigas Luna (b. 1946), whose career began in the 1970s. His international hit *Jamón, jamón* (1992) introduced Penélope Cruz and Javier Bardem to international audiences, and both have gone on to important careers.

With no prior industry to build upon, Basque cinema had to invent itself, which it did in the early post-Franco period with films such as Eloy de la Iglesia's *El pico* and *El pico II* (The Shoot and The Shoot II, 1983 and 1984, respectively), which combined themes of youth and drug culture against the backdrop of regional politics. Imanol Uribe's trilogy of films about the Basque terrorist group, ETA, and Montxo Armendáriz's ethnographic dramas (*Tasio* [1984], *27 horas* [*27 Hours*, 1986], and *Las cartas de Alou* [*Letters From Alou*, 1990]) garnered interest both within the Basque region and beyond. A younger Basque filmmaker more recently heralded at

Pedro Almodóvar gained international success with films such as **Todo sobre mi madre (All About My Mother, *1999).***
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home and abroad is Julio Medem (b. 1958). The stunning narrative and visual style of his films is characterized by eccentric points of view, most notably in his debut film, *Vacas* (*Cows*, 1992), and *Los amantes del círculo polar* (*The Lovers of the Arctic Circle*, 1999).

The impact of these new regional voices has been great. Yet, without question, the principal new face of Spanish cinema of the 1980s, 1990s, and beginning of the twenty-first century has been Pedro Almodóvar (b. 1949), who became a cult figure in the early 1980s with youth-oriented comedies that reflected the urban culture of Madrid in the early post-Franco period (*Pepi, Luci, Bom* [1980], *Laberinto de pasiones* [*Labyrinth of Passion*, 1982]). With *¿Qué he hecho yo para merecer esto!!* (*What Have I Done To Deserve This?*, 1984) he began to be noted abroad. By the time his seventh feature, *Mujeres al borde de un ataque de nervios* (*Women on the Verge of a Nervous Breakdown*), was nominated for an Oscar® for best foreign film in 1988, Almodóvar had attained international celebrity status and his principal actors, Antonio Banderas and Carmen Maura, were developing their own international careers. Almodóvar's international success since *Women on the Verge*, which includes a best foreign film Oscar® for *Todo sobre mi madre* (*All About My Mother*, 1999), and an Oscar® for best screenplay for *Hable con ella* (*Talk to Her*, 2002), has ushered in a period in which Spanish cinema has finally achieved its promise of a cinema rooted both in contemporary national culture and the styles and themes of international film culture.

SEE ALSO *National Cinema*

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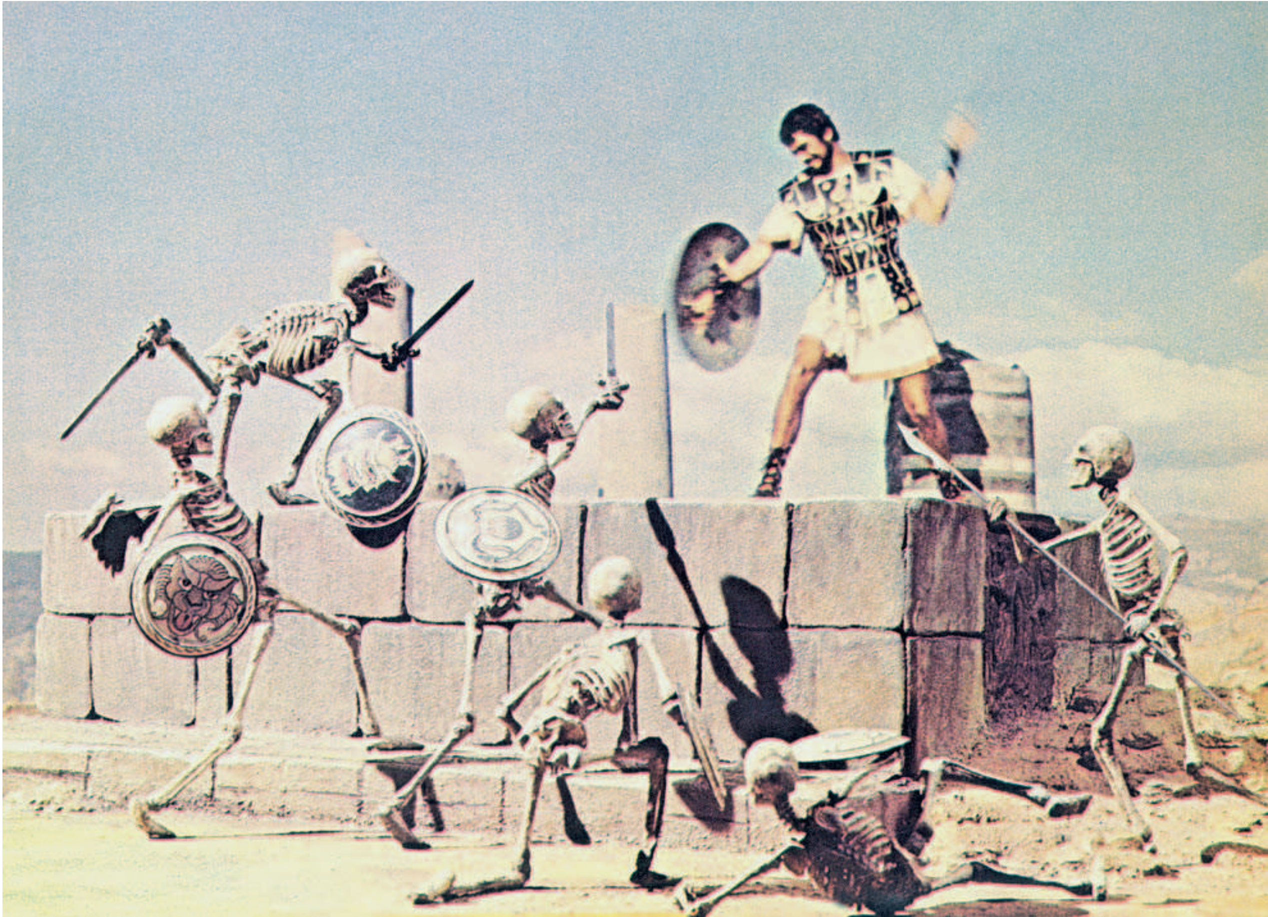
SPECIAL EFFECTS

Special effects in cinema can be divided into physical and optical effects (in the industry often referred to as "effects" and "special effects," respectively), the former done in front of the camera, the latter after the negative has been exposed. Unfortunately, this neat distinction breaks down over some optical effects that are produced by double exposures of the film strip or rear projection during shooting, and increasingly in the use of physical ("practical") elements as resources in digital postproduction. Effects are most commonly associated with creating images of scenes, events, and characters that do not exist in the real world or that cannot be photographed, but they are also used for economic reasons. Cost is both a stimulus to and a major constraint on the use of special effects. Closely related to the cost factor are time constraints, and increasingly the physical capacity of computer processors. Many effects techniques have been designed expressly to increase the temporal and computing efficiency of complex sequences. Despite much recent press criticism of Hollywood blockbuster films, it is relatively rare for a film to be promoted exclusively for its special effects; nevertheless, many films depend on effects for their appeal.

The crucial qualities sought by most effects professionals are believability and innovation: the phrases "special effects" and "cutting edge" are difficult to dissociate, providing the profession with its greatest single challenge. At the same time, while taking pride in their craft, effects professionals commonly refer to the subordination of special effects to the narrative demands of the project, and are particularly sensitive to the possibilities of creating creatures, objects, and locations with distinctive personalities.

PHYSICAL EFFECTS

Physical effects are created by several types of professionals, the most celebrated of whom are stuntpeople. Such work demands both athleticism and skilled training, often in specialized areas that include work with cars, animals, or dangerous environments. These effects also require the work of specialized riggers and prop makers. The former provide tools such as wirework rigs for flying and falling, small ramps to make cars flip over, various types of safety harnesses and mats onto which stuntpeople can fall, and other similar devices. Prop makers are responsible for sugar-glass tableware, breakaway furniture, lightweight or rubber weapons, and similar items. Also involved in many stunts are specialists in the training and handling of animals ("wranglers"), pyrotechnics experts (responsible for fire effects), and set designers. Though many stunts are performed on location, others have to be staged on specially built sets, so that the design of the sets must accommodate the performance of the stunt while providing for the stuntperson's safety. The set designer must also create positions for cameras, since many stunts are "oncers," that is, actions that can be performed only once, either because a portion of the set has to be destroyed, or because the action is too risky to perform over and over. Thus multiple cameras are needed, each of which must have a good "eyeline" on the action while remaining hidden from the other cameras. Filming stunts often requires the use of different camera speeds from the standard twenty-four frames per second of normal cinematography. During the "Battle on the Ice" sequence in *Alexander Nevsky* (1938), for example, Edouard Tissé, Sergei Eisenstein's cameraman, shot at speeds reported at fourteen frames per second, giving the



Ray Harryhausen's animated skeletons fight with Todd Armstrong in* Jason and the Argonauts *(Don Chaffey, 1963).
EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

effect of speeding up the action when replayed, but elsewhere overcranked the cameras to slow down smaller actions, in order to give the impression that the lightweight swords were in fact heavy battle weapons. Wounds can be simulated using gelatine sacs of fake blood or pumps, by firing gelatine caps or blood-soaked swabs at stuntpeople, or by exploding small charges ("squibs") of blood and meat painted into or under the performers' clothes (an effect extensively used in *The Wild Bunch*, 1969).

An example of a scene that is impossible to shoot occurs in *The Perfect Storm* (2000): an unrepeatable meteorological event, far too dangerous for filming even if it could be repeated, and mostly occurring in pitch darkness. To re-create the drama of the crew of one trawler, director Wolfgang Peterson's crew built a large tank containing an industrial gimbal on which was mounted a full-scale replica of the ship. As the boat was tossed in the tank and crew members directed high-pressure hoses onto the actors, massive shipping containers converted into water tanks dumped thousands of gallons of water onto the set. Shot in Steadicam for close-ups and against bluescreen (large sheets of a specific shade of blue which, used as a reference tone, can be removed from the image and replaced with other footage, giving the impression that the live action takes place in remote or imagined settings) for wide shots, the scene would be darkened in post-production, illuminated by occasional flashes of artificial lightning. Sometimes the impossibility of a shot is not physical but political or financial, and many films either use roughly similar buildings to emulate famous sites across the world, or build them in whole or in part as sets.

Likewise, miniature sets fall in the domain of the effects department. Not only do miniatures require detailed modeling: they create particular lighting demands. As every model train enthusiast knows, trees do not have the same structure as twigs. A specific challenge for miniatures is water, which acts very differently at smaller

and larger scales, and is frequently mixed with milk and other liquids to break up the surface tension and to provide a better response to light. Miniature passes including water are often backed up with a pass for which the water is replaced with a reflective material like mylar to provide reflections of the surroundings, and two or more passes are then combined in postproduction to create the final effect. Miniature fire likewise acts differently from large fires, and must be tricked: a common device is to use two light bulbs of a suitable color near each other, flicking them on and off to produce the play of firelight. Other sets, such as the Minas Morgul miniature for *The Lord of the Rings: The Return of the King* (2003), use fluorescent paints, and have to be shot not only using standard key and fill lights but ultraviolet illumination to bring out the unnatural colors. Miniature passes are frequently shot using smoke to obscure defects in the model or to allow for the compositing of the miniature shot with other elements. Smoke too acts differently at different scales, and specialized fumes are used for this purpose.

The talismanic use of miniature photography is most associated with the careers of Willis H. O'Brien (1886–1962) and Ray Harryhausen (b. 1920), especially the former's *The Lost World* (1927) and *King Kong* (1933), and the latter's *Sinbad* cycle. These films depend upon stop-motion cinematography, in which models built on articulated armatures, usually of light steel rods, are physically moved fractionally between frames in a miniature set. The result may look jerky to contemporary eyes but is widely cited as inspirational by a number of modern effects professionals. Particularly delightful is the constant ruffling of King Kong's fur as he is manhandled. During the 1970s and 1980s, advances in control systems made possible the rapid development of both human-operated puppets (for example, those from Jim Henson's [1936–1990] Creature Shop, which created the Muppets and many others), especially larger puppets requiring servo-motors to amplify the puppeteer's movements, and pure animatronic, robot-like puppets controlled remotely. A director who has used the technique widely is Steven Spielberg (b. 1946), whose *Jaws* (1975) is still frightening, and who developed convincing (and waterproof) dinosaur animatronics for *The Lost World: Jurassic Park* (1997). Consistency of lighting, relation to the rest of the miniature set, and the establishment of believable spatial relations between elements in the shot are critical factors in developing effective stop-motion sequences. In recent miniature cinematography, the key advances have included the development of methods for moving the miniature camera, and the evolution of the snorkel lens, which, as its name suggests, uses reflection to bring the lens far closer to the miniature. Mobile shots of miniatures, such as shots of fighting vessels in *Master and Commander: The Far Side of the World* (Peter Weir, 2003) were not possible in earlier effects films, where issues of parallax and the matching of camera moves between miniature and live-action shoots were far more difficult.

The problem of matching camera moves was considerably eased with the arrival of motion control. A computer installed in proximity to the camera records its motions relative to the tripod, as well as laterally, in relation to the physical space in which it may be dollied or tracked. The recording is then used to drive either a second pass through the same space, or to replicate a shot initiated in a studio at a remote location, or to govern the movements of a virtual camera. Problems still arise with handheld or Steadicam shots and with the use of zoom lenses, since focal length is crucial for reproducing the shot. Conforming such difficult elements remains a highly skilled artisanal task.

Creating artificial space has evolved from the nineteenth-century melodramatic stage, where elaborate moving sets were used to create the illusion of larger vistas than the theater could hold. Developing from these theatrical traditions, Georges Méliès (1861–1938) first used hanging drops behind the action, and cut-out foregrounds and sidings to create the illusion of depth in his Star Pictures productions of the early 1900s. Drops, however, lacked the light responses that a less "stagey" taste demanded (although many directors retained a taste for them, notably Federico Fellini in such later films as *E la nave va* [*And the Ship Sails On*, 1983] and *Il Casanova di Fellini* [*Fellini's Casanova*, 1976]). In their stead was developed the technique of matte painting, traditionally executed on glass sheets that could be placed in relation to live action in such a way the glass would appear to the camera as a natural continuation of the real space. One of the most celebrated examples of the technique was used to create Tara in *Gone with the Wind* (1939). Matte paintings are still used, often in the form of cycloramas ("cycs"), large semicircular drop curtains painted with pigments responsive to the lighting and film stock used for a shot, often composed of tiled photographs of real locations treated to add features, remove unwanted elements, or smooth over transitions from tile to tile. Cruder photocopied cycs are used to provide reflections of the virtual landscape onto real sets and actors.

In contemporary cinema, mattes are frequently replaced with blue- or greenscreen cycs against which the actors perform. Earlier versions of this technology filmed actors against an intensely lit blue or yellow backdrop through a beam-splitting prism inside the camera, which directed one stream of light to a strip that received only blue or yellow light, while the other received everything but, thus creating a perfect traveling matte. The

RAY HARRYHAUSEN

b. Los Angeles, California, 29 June 1920

An American model animation and special effects expert, Ray Harryhausen provided the visual effects for many science fiction and fantasy films. Harryhausen's work was characterized by a combination of anatomical authenticity and creative fantasy, whether he was animating actual animals (the dinosaurs of *One Million Years B.C.*, 1966) or imaginary beasts (the Venusian Ymir of *20 Million Miles to Earth*, 1957).

As a young man Harryhausen was interested in sculpture and palaeontology, both of which would give his later animated work its distinctive verisimilitude. Harryhausen was impressed by Willis O'Brien's stop-motion animation for the original *King Kong* (1933), which inspired him to experiment with a variety of animation techniques himself. He showed his work, which he had produced in the family garage, to O'Brien, who hired Harryhausen as his assistant for *Mighty Joe Young* (1949), another ape movie. Harryhausen immediately established his careful working methods by sending a motion picture cameraman to a zoo to photograph one of the gorillas, using the footage to help give the film's animated ape an impressive array of individualized gestures.

After working briefly for George Pal's Puppetoon series, Harryhausen contributed some of the animated effects for Frank Capra's *Why We Fight* films of the 1940s. Independently, Harryhausen produced a series of short animated fairy tales (e.g., *Little Red Riding Hood*, 1949, and *Hansel and Gretel*, 1951), and in 1953 he provided the special effects for one of the best dinosaur monster movies, *The Beast from 20,000 Fathoms* (1953), the first feature for which he was in charge of visual effects. The movie features a giant rhedosaurus, disturbed by atomic testing, who wreaks havoc on New York City. While working on *Beast*, a relatively low-budget movie, Harryhausen began exploring more resourceful ways of combining animated models with live backgrounds.

In *Jason and the Argonauts* (1963), Harryhausen developed the process he called Dynamization, which incorporates matte photography, sets built to scale, and the synchronization of animated and live-action photography. The film boasts some of Harryhausen's best work, including the justly famous sword fight between Jason and his men and seven skeletons, a sequence that alone took four and a half months to produce.

Harryhausen's work on *It Came from Beneath the Sea* (1955), about a giant octopus that attacks San Francisco, marked the beginning of a fruitful business relationship with producer Charles H. Schneer, which lasted for seventeen years and resulted in many films. Though some of Harryhausen's later work was more hurried and looks comparatively crude, it is important to keep in mind that he was working in the pre-digital era.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

King Kong (1933), *Mighty Joe Young* (1949), *The Beast from 20,000 Fathoms* (1953), *Earth vs. the Flying Saucers* (1956), *20 Million Miles to Earth* (1957), *The Seventh Voyage of Sinbad* (1959), *Jason and the Argonauts* (1963)

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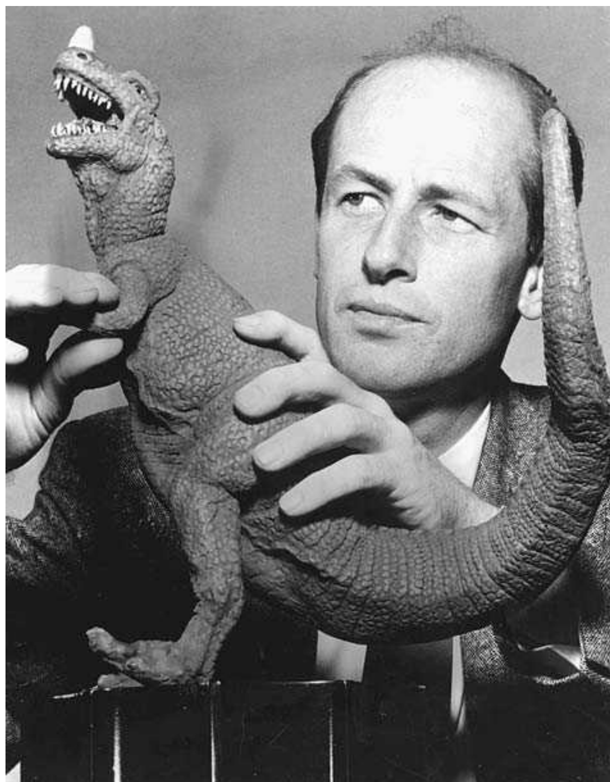
colors of contemporary cycs are likewise reference colors that can be simply subtracted from the photographic plate (the term used to describe an element used in compositing different versions of a scene into a single image) and replaced with a digital matte, itself frequently composed of tiled photographic elements.

This technique is especially effective in cases where directors would previously have used rear projection to provide a moving matte effect. Rear projection demanded rigorous synchronization of the rear projector with the camera, and produced substantial difficulties in matching the focal length of the camera recording the actors with the depth of the scene rear-projected, an effect visible in a number of Alfred Hitchcock films, among them the driving scene in *Notorious* (1946). Typically, recent films use a combination of older and



Ray Harryhausen with the Allosaur from* One Million Years B.C. *(Don Chaffey, 1966). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

newer effects. The jet-bike chase through the forest in *Star Wars: Episode VI—Return of the Jedi* (1983), for example, uses a traveling matte, in which an undercranked Steadicam race through a forest location was matched with a rotoscoped matte into which the actors, filmed against bluescreen, could be slotted onto the same strip of film without recourse to digital editing. Rotoscoping refers to the traditional animation technique of tracing the outlines of photographed action, frame by frame, to produce moving silhouettes, a technique now partly automated in digital editing software.

Other physical effects used since the very early days of cinema include filters, such as day-for-night, which cut down the ambient daylight to emulate moonlight, and dry-for-wet, especially useful when actors are required to produce emotional performances during underwater sequences. Scale effects such as the forced perspective used to produce the city square in *Sunrise: A Song of Two Humans* (F. W. Murnau, 1927) remain significant, as in the use of real lizards in *Journey to the Center of the Earth* (1959). Fantastic landscapes can be created by shooting small objects such as pebbles to make them appear the size of boulders, an effect used extensively in *The Incredible Shrinking Man* (1957), while its obverse appears in *Attack of the Fifty-Foot Woman* (1958).

Equally theatrical in origin is the use of makeup, prosthetics, and wigs, though again with the tendency to seek credibility rather than emotional effect. However, much of the more flamboyant use of these techniques—from Fredric March's transformation scene in *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (1931) to Jim Carrey's turn in *Lemony Snicket's A Series of Unfortunate Events* (2004), by way of John Carpenter's creature cycle of the 1980s and Tim Burton's *Beetlejuice* (1988)—tend to belong to the *guignol* tradition of the late nineteenth-century stage, a lineage that has inspired such masters of horror effects and makeup as Tom Savini (b. 1946) and Rob Bottin (b. 1959). Other stage-adapted techniques include the use of partial mirrors and reflections through glass plates held at a 45-degree angle to the camera, for such effects as ghosts or actors being consumed by flames that are actually several feet away but are reflected from the surface of the glass.

Other recent techniques deserving mention under the rubric of physical effects are bullet-time, motion capture, and digital scanning. Bullet-time, associated with effects supervisor John Gaeta's (b. 1965) work on *The Matrix* (1999), uses an array of still cameras timed by computer to construct an image of a single action viewed from multiple viewpoints in quick succession, giving the effect of freezing the action, while a single virtual camera travels around it. Motion capture, which revives techniques developed by the chronophotographer Étienne-Jules Marey in the 1880s, studs a performer's body or face with tiny reflectors. Instead of recording the visible light, motion capture uses infrared or other wavelengths to track the movement of these reflectors through three-dimensional space. The data so captured can then be applied to a digital double, or distorted to provide movements for an imaginary character. Digital scanning deploys a device rather like a barcode scanner on both objects and people to produce detailed three-dimensional geometry and surface maps, which can then be reworked in digital tools. Scans are used, for example, to scale up or down from models built by effects departments, rendering small sculptures as large edifices and vice versa. The technology is also used to scan actors emoting onto digital doubles engaged in impossible stunts rendered in digital spaces. Such scans were used, for example, to provide key frames for the animation of Gollum's face in some sequences of *The Lord of the Rings* (2001–2003), and to map Ian McKellen's face onto a digitized Gandalf in the sequence showing his fall from the bridge of Khazad-Dûm in the same film.

Gollum (Andy Serkis) in* The Lord of the Rings: Return of the King *(2003). **© NEW LINE/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

Like motion control technology, motion capture ("mo-cap") and digital scanning share a relationship with physical reality which is as close as that of photography. Photography and cinematography rely on reflected light in the visible spectrum to construct two-dimensional images. Mo-cap and scanning take nonvisible light to construct three-dimensional images. Like the technique of taking molds from physical surfaces and applying them to miniatures and set construction, or using life-masks taken from performers as the basis for prosthetic makeup, the relationship with the surfaces of the sampled reality is in many instances more accurate than that gathered by traditional cinematography.

It is important to note that many effects are available for low-budget film production, and many make innovative use of them. In *AMY!* (Laura Mulvey and Peter Wollen, 1979), what appears to be a full-sized chest of drawers reveals itself to be doll's house furniture. *Double Indemnity Performed by the Japanese-American Toy Theatre of London* is a 1970s video production enacted entirely by plastic wind-up toys. Spurts of fake blood are the hardy standby of many student films. Second-hand stores have provided props, costumes, and prosthetics for films as disparate as Peter Jackson's *Bad Taste* (1987) and *The Lord of the Rings*.

OPTICAL EFFECTS

Many optical effects are produced in camera, among them irising in and irising out (an effect that relies on literally manipulating the camera's iris, a technique already well established when Billy Bitzer (1872–1944) shot *Broken Blossoms* for Griffith in 1919 and blanking out areas of the field of view to emulate binoculars, telescopes, keyholes, gun sights, and similar shapes. Double exposure can be achieved in camera as well as in postproduction, by the simple expedient of rewinding the film and shooting over it again.

Many more effects relied on the optical printer, a device used to print from the master negative to the positive for editing. Dissolves from one shot to another and fades to black, for example, could be achieved by running two strips of negative through the printer simultaneously. Passing a matte (in this case a thin sheet of opaque material) across the interface of the two

filmstrips, exposing first one area and then the area previously masked by the matte, produced wipes, whose variety can be best seen displayed in RKO's *Flying Down to Rio* (1933). Different areas of the filmstrip can be printed with different images, a technique used extensively in the documentary *Woodstock* (1970). Crucially, optical printing can be used to match shots from disparate sources: for example, a landscape with characters reacting matched with a sky filled with billowing clouds (produced by spilling specially mixed pigments into a tank of translucent oil) for the arrival of the aliens in *Independence Day* (1996). The optical printer was also a crucial device in titling, where the lettering was filmed separately on a rostrum, and then printed over the photographic plate. Likewise, optical printing provided the base for such innovations as the mixture of cartoon with rotoscoped live action in Ub Iwerks's (1901–1971) early *Alice* animations, such as *Alice the Toreador* (1925), *Alice Rattled by Rats* (1925), and *Alice the Whaler* (1927).

Indeed, animation has remained a consistent source of effects within live action cinema, including such landmarks of animation as the city of the Krell in *Forbidden Planet* (1956) and the painterly effects of *Waking Life* (2001). The full integration of animation techniques into features had to wait, however, for the development of three-dimensional digital animation. Pioneer attempts like Disney's *Tron* (1982) and the genesis effect in *Star Trek: The Wrath of Khan* (1982) intimated what might be possible. The financial success of the first *Star Wars* (1977) indicated what could be achieved with almost exclusively analogue effects. By 1988, Industrial Light and Magic, the effects shop established by George Lucas to work on *Willow* (released that year, the film in which he pioneered the digital morph), would provide over a thousand shots for Robert Zemeckis's *Who Framed Roger Rabbit?* (also released that year). Certain techniques have remained fairly constant, notably the use of key frame animation to establish the most important moments (frequently the beginning and end) of an animated gesture. Others were the fruit of laborious research, such as the problem of soft objects (which explains the preponderance of billiard balls in early digital animation) and *z*-buffering (getting objects to touch without penetrating each other on the *z* or depth axis of the image, as opposed to the *x* and *y* axes of two-dimensional images). Celebrated in early examples such as the watery pseudopod in James Cameron's (b. 1954) *The Abyss* (1989), digital animation swiftly reached for less self-conscious, more embedded functions in movies, achieving a notable success in Cameron's *Titanic* in 1997, where the distinctions between set, model, and animation were all but invisible to contemporary audiences.

Early vector animation composed creations out of algebraic descriptions of curves. The popular NURBS (Non-Uniform Rational B-Splines) uses such vectors to define sections of the surface of a creature rendered initially in wire frame view, a lattice of interconnecting lines. The areas bounded by these lines (polygons) can be programmed to relate to neighboring polygons, so that if one stretches, another may contract to make up for the move. More recently, animators have moved toward subdivision modeling, in which a crude figure is gradually refined by adding and subtracting polygons to provide detail. Industry wisdom has it that "reality begins at 1 million polygons," a mathematical response to the idea that a typical frame of 35mm film has approximately that many grains of silver compounds. Wire frame was for some years the basic view designers had during production, since the frames required relatively little processing time. Once the movements were approved, the frames would have surfaces applied to them. These may be generated digitally, typically by the process of raytracing, which allows for both surface color and texture and for different lighting conditions. Alternatively, they may have a "skin" applied, a surface texture derived from photography, as in the case of the digital Harrier jump-jet in *True Lies* (1994). Especially for close-up shots, animators will frequently add bitmap effects, such as the paint effects available in Adobe Photoshop, to add extra detail or to provide digital "dirt." One attraction of three-dimensional modeling is that once built, a creature can be reused numerous times. A three-dimensional model is a dataset, and can be recycled not only in films but, for example, as a Computer-Aided Design and Manufacture (CADCAM) file, as was the case with the Buzz Lightyear character in *Toy Story* (1995), subsequently mass produced as a toy.

Individually handcrafted creatures may be too time-consuming, expensive, or processor-heavy for larger scale projects. Disney's *The Lion King* (1994) used a technique developed in scientific computing to analyze flocking behavior in order to animate the wildebeest stampede. Each wildebeest was given a small list of behaviors that it applied repeatedly, such as "run in the same direction as the others" and "always try to get to the inside of the group." Referred to as recursive (to describe the complex behavior emerging from the repeated application of a small rule set), this basic artificial life technology allowed the wildebeest effectively to animate themselves. Similar techniques have been used with larger numbers of "agents" with a broader range of behaviors in Disney's follow-up *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* (1996) for carnival crowds including a hundred or so different characters, each with a special attribute such as juggling, dancing, or carousing. Massive (Multiple Agent Simulation System in Virtual Environment), developed

RICHARD TAYLOR

b. Richard Leslie Taylor, Cheshire, England, 8 February 1965

With Oscars® for special makeup effects (2002, 2004), costume (2003, 2004) and visual effects (2002), the critical and popular success of *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy is to date the high point of Richard Taylor's career. Perhaps the first films planned from the start for DVD release, the trilogy privileged the detailed attention to props, sets, and makeup that characterizes Taylor's work as the cofounder and artistic director of Weta, the firm that coordinated the production effects for the trilogy.

Founded as RT Effects in 1987 by Taylor and long-time partner Tania Rodger, the small model-making and effects studio was relaunched in partnership with director Peter Jackson and producer and editor Jamie Selkirk to service advertising, film, and television. Though closely associated with Jackson's early horror genre pieces, Taylor made his first major international impression with effects for Peter Jackson's splatter epic *Braindead* (1992) and the TV series *Xena* and *Hercules*, both produced by Sam Raimi and shot in New Zealand, where the company is based.

Taylor's work is characterized by the extensive use of physical elements, perhaps most unusually the extensive use of miniatures, notably Saruman's subterranean factory and the city of Gondor in *Lord of the Rings*. Taylor honed his skills on caricature puppets for a TV satire show, on the lubricious monsters of Jackson's *Meet the Feebles* (1989) and the incompetent ghosts of *The Frighteners* (1996). Something of that humor remains in the puppetry and animatronics featured in Taylor's work ever since, as the craft developed from the cartoonish work of Jim Henson's Creature Shop toward the photorealism of Weta's oliphaunts. For *Lord of the Rings* the animatronics were supplemented with digital scans of models, which could then be composited with three-dimensional elements, adding a new range of dynamics fusing sculptural with filmic movement. The hybrid physical-digital environment of twenty-first-century effects owes a significant debt to Taylor's innovations.

Art house credits for *Once Were Warriors* (1994) and *Heavenly Creatures* (1994) may have helped secure work on *Master and Commander: The Far Side of the World* (2003), to which Taylor contributed stunning model work on the eighteenth-century sailing ships, and on *The Last Samurai* (2003), for whichWeta supplied the military weapons, which had become such a feature of *The Lord of the Rings*. The ability to build environments articulating an entire way of life extends to the meticulously detailed Edoras and Rivendell miniatures for *The Lord of the Rings*.

Jackson's *King Kong* (2005) and Andrew Adamson's *Chronicles of Narnia* (2005), both Weta projects, demonstrate that the invention continues, marked respectively by the legacies of Willis O'Brien and Ray Harryhausen. Now supplemented by Weta Digital, Weta Workshop's broadband satellite links connect the masters of the past to the globalized future of effects.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Meet the Feebles (1989), *Braindead* (1992), *Heavenly Creatures* (1994), *The Lord of the Rings* (2001–2003), *Master and Commander: The Far Side of the World* (2003), *The Chronicles of Narnia: The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe* (2005), *King Kong* (2005), *The Legend of Zorro* (2005)

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for *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy, extends these principles significantly. Massive uses motion-capture elements to provide its agents with vocabularies of up to two hundred movements. Each agent has collision-detection, and each emits a signal allowing other agents to identify whether it is friend or foe. Controls allow animators to increase or diminish the amount of "aggression" at any moment, triggering a fight or a riot. Otherwise, the agents are allowed to direct their own actions, guided by tracking algorithms that direct them toward a particular goal, such as a pass through a valley. Agents are animated at one of three levels, according to their size relative to the camera, with maximum detailing applied with subdivision modelling only to those closest. Many Massive agents are

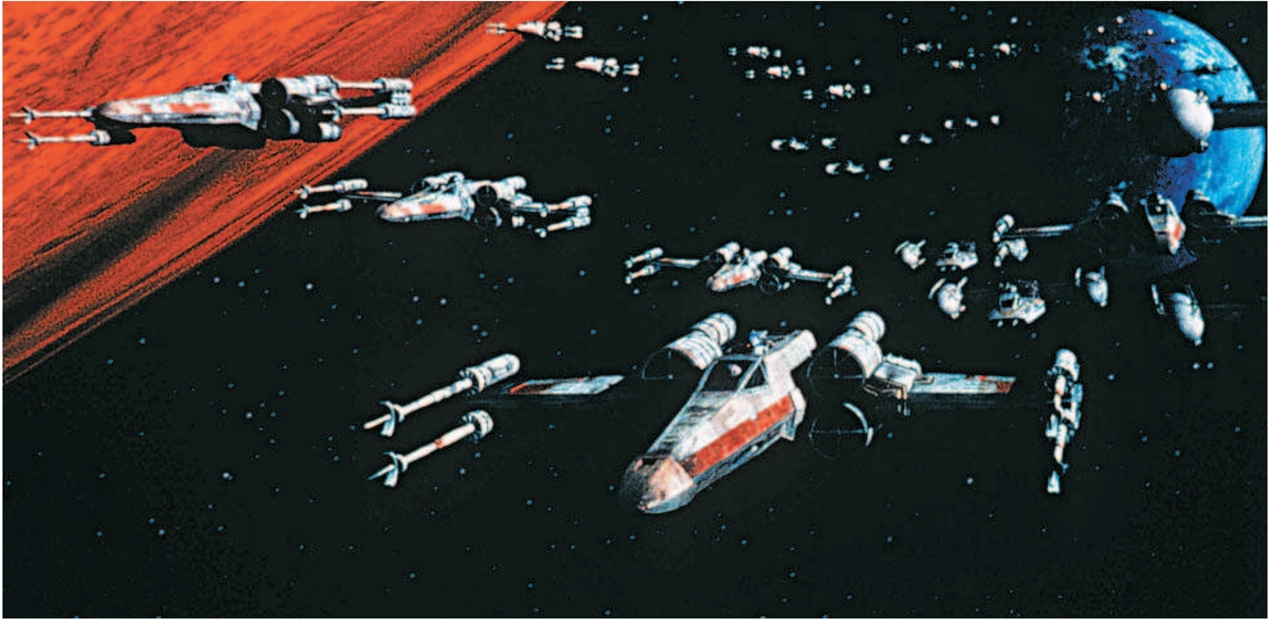
Richard Taylor. © NEW LINE/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

entirely digital, but many, such as the animated horses attacking the "oliphaunts" in *The Lord of the Rings: The Return of the King*, also use photographic elements, while others, such as many of the "hero" (close-to-camera) "orcs" were given features derived from digital scans of performers in prosthetic makeup and full costume. To cut render times for sequences employing up to a hundred thousand agents, the Massive renderer begins with the agents closest to the screen, so that only those visible behind that agent need to be rendered at all, although the others are still in some sense visible to the program, which tracks their movements while they are obscured from the virtual lens.

Certain aspects of digital postproduction still pose challenges. The most familiar elements of the world, including eyes and skin, are considered the most difficult to render successfully. The most complex and successful experiments on skin tone include subsurface refraction of light, using complex three-dimensional models with not only skin but blood vessels, muscles, and bones. Major three-dimensional models are articulated on virtual skeletons, with virtual muscles, and with algorithms governing the sliding of skin over muscle and bone. Eyes, so deeply associated with emotion, must also be given great depth by the use of layers of animation, each of which responds differently to virtual light. Such effects must then be matched with the live-action lighting conditions, with movement in the lit environment as well as their angle to the camera, and in relation to anything in the environment that might be reflected in their eyes. One solution to the problems posed by lesser challenges like water and fire is the use of sprites, practical elements, some filmed on location (like the stormy seas of *Master and Commander: The Far Side of the World*) and others created in studios, applied to three-dimensional geometry. In analogue days, such effects might be achieved in optical printers (a flamethrower shot was passed through the optical printer fifty times to provide the burning skies of *Voyage to the Bottom of the Sea*, 1961). Such sprites may then "track" other digital or photographic elements through software that instructs, for example, the sprite of a boat's wake to follow the boat, as in *Troy* (2004).

Other aspects are automations or more effective variants of traditional techniques. Editors have long been responsible for brushing out unwanted elements in a shot, either literally painting them out or using garbage mattes to hide them, replacing the matted area with a "beauty pass," a clean plate of the location without actors or equipment. These processes are now done digitally. The process of grading, during which photographic laboratories print the edited film to changing specifications in order to match the light and color responses, has also been overtaken by digital grading, a technology that, however, allows far more than supporting the use of filters for day-for-night shooting. Digital grading can be used to apply a color palette to an entire movie or sequence, and can be applied differentially to different areas of the image. This tool is useful not only for balancing exposures in scenes where one area is brightly lit and another in shadow, nor simply for highlighting detail in an actor's face; it is an essential tool for combining plates from disparate sources, especially when compositing may involve as many as fifty plates in a single frame.

Motion control files are extremely significant at this juncture, as is information on the types of lens used. Digital mattes, unlike their physical correlates, need to provide three-dimensional information if there is any camera movement, where a move would reveal another facet of the backdrop. A sky applied to a sequence may derive from "scenic" location shoots or be painted, but it must match the lighting on all the other plates—for example, casting cloud shadows or opening into brilliant sunshine on cue. The crisp detail of digital animations may need to have motion blur applied to make it more credible as the photographed object of a camera lens, and even such accidental artifacts as lens flares (an effect of sunlight bouncing inside the refracting elements of an actual camera lens) are often added digitally to give a



Digital animation in George Lucas's **Star Wars: Episode IV—A New Hope** ***(special edition, 1997).*** **KOBAL COLLECTION/ LUCASFILM/20TH CENTURY FOX. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

greater sense of the presence of a real camera on the virtual or hybrid set. Pyrotechnic effects may be scaled to match the scene, in which case the effects of their light on the immediate environment needs to be considered. Animatronics, water effects (sometimes shot at speeds over a hundred frames per second), puppets, digital effects, miniatures, and live action, many of them shot in multiple passes under different lights, must be blended together as seamlessly as possible. Excessive detailing may need to be toned down to produce a more coherent plane of vision, while providing for the effects of scale and of the interaction between layers. When major film projects may take two to three years to develop from storyboard (often digital animatic) to release, the problem of infinite "tweakability" enters, not least since each change to the master edit requires a change to scoring and sound effects, whose synchronization with the image must be perfect to convince an audience of its authenticity. Not surprisingly, the digital storage for feature films is now measured in terabytes.

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In classical film theory, only Béla Balasz (1884–1949) pronounced full enthusiasm for fantasy as a potential route for cinema. Though Sergei Eisenstein (1898–1948) was a consummate technician, and a great admirer of Disney, he, like André Bazin and Siegfried Kracauer, was committed to the idea of cinema as a realist vehicle in the purest sense. However, as Christian Metz once observed, "to some extent, all cinema is a special effect," and even classics of the realist canon, such as *Citizen Kane* (1941), have used the full range of physical and optical effects. More recent critics, following the lead of sociologist Jean Baudrillard, have complained (or rejoiced) that with special effects, cinema departs from the depiction of the world in order to produce a form of hyperreality whose social purpose is to point toward the unreality of the world of everyday experience.

Scholars reflecting on special effects, especially in the period since digital media made their biggest impact on movie production and postproduction, have derived much of their inspiration from phenomenology, following the lead of pioneer analyst Vivian Sobchack. In her work on science fiction film, Sobchack points especially to the construction of space—as a dimension as well as a place beyond the atmosphere—as a critical achievement. Michelle Pierson provides a detailed account of what she considers the crucial transition from the "wonder years" of the 1980s, when films like *Terminator 2* (1991) foregrounded their effects wizardry, to the 1990s, when effects became much more a tool for the production of familiar verisimilitude. Norman Klein and Angela Ndalianis emphasize the parallels between the postmodern culture of special effects and the baroque period of the counterreformation, with its use of spectacle and illusion as a means to win propaganda wars. Taking a more culturally oriented

approach, Scott Bukatman stresses the interplay between such themes as superhuman capabilities and cultural trends; like Klein and Ndalianis, Bukatman is interested in the connections between special effects cinema, theme parks, and such phenomena as Las Vegas casino hotels, some forms of sports, immersive technologies like virtual reality, and such related popular cultural forms as graphic novels and computer games. Urbanist and cultural commentator Paul Virilio includes special effects among the optical technologies with which he credits the acceleration of society, to the point of its disappearance. Vilém Flusser's preliminary work on digital photography, meanwhile, suggests that the apparatus of visual technologies exists to exhaust all possibilities, reducing humans to mere functionaries of that process. Between the annihilation of reality and the affirmation of the phenomena of human experience, the study of special effects, though nascent, is already beginning to alter our preconceptions of the nature and purpose of film.

SEE ALSO *Animation; Camera; Cinematography; Crew; Makeup; Postmodernism; Production Process; Technology*

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SPECTATORSHIP AND AUDIENCES

The film audience remains a central area of interest for both film studies and film industry professionals alike. Understanding how and why films connect with certain film viewers and not others can reveal a great deal about how film functions both as an art form and as entertainment. However, academic film studies and the film industry have very different motivations underlying their interest in the film viewer and therefore engage in different types of inquiry into the ways in which that viewer participates in the process of film going.

A straightforward way to distinguish between these two models is to think about film studies as interested in *how* film language constructs a film spectator, and the film industry as focused on *why* a film appeals to audiences. In other words, academic film studies is concerned with how film produces a larger system of meaning in which the hypothetical film viewer—referred to as the spectator—is enveloped. On the other hand, because the film industry is a moneymaking enterprise, the more it learns about individual film viewers, their tastes, likes, and dislikes, the better chance it has of ensuring the profitability of its investment.

THE FILM INDUSTRY AND AUDIENCES

The film industry is interested in studying the tastes and opinions of actual audiences through empirical studies, such as surveys, focus groups, and interviews. Because the film industry is a moneymaking enterprise, it remains successful only by producing films that make a profit over and above their (increasingly sizable) budget and marketing costs. The industry needs to bring in as many viewers as possible and therefore must keep close tabs on what types of stories will appeal to the greatest number of viewers at any given moment. The industry cannot afford to bank on hypothetical concepts of the film viewer but must seek out real audiences, both through research and through marketing in order to ensure that financial investments pay off. However, audiences shift over time in accordance with cultural tastes and trends.

The composition of film audiences has changed significantly over the course of American film history. Film content has largely mirrored the tastes of its audiences, which is a direct result of the industry's increasing proficiency in adapting to changing audience preferences. Film first emerged as a popular medium within the context of working-class and immigrant audiences who could afford the ticket prices at nickelodeon theaters. Despite the disdain of the middle and upper classes, who still preferred the entertainment of the legitimate theater, films during this period were attended by 26 million people a week. However, the evolution of film from short kinescopes to feature films in the mid-1910s significantly narrowed economic gaps, with film becoming a form of entertainment that slowly but effectively brought the working and middle classes together as one audience, increasing attendance significantly. Once film gained this wide audience, the newly established studio system targeted certain segments of the population over others; these demographic groups tended to be conceived along lines of age and gender rather than class. By 1922, 40 million film tickets were sold per week. By 1929 this number had increased to 90 million tickets per week.

However, historical events took their toll on film attendance. For instance, the economic repercussions of the Great Depression ate into film industry profits. In

1931 theater admissions dropped off by 12 percent to 70 million per week, and just one year later to 55 million per week. Over the course of these two years 4,000 theaters went out of business. And with the onset of World War II, audience composition changed dramatically: with a significant segment of the male population off at war, Hollywood films targeted a predominantly female audience. This contributed to the rise in the 1940s of female film genres such as woman's pictures, which appealed to the female audience of wives, girlfriends, daughters, and mothers of men who were deployed.

When the war ended and the troops returned home, the film industry was forced to compete with the increasingly prevalent new medium of television. Many middle-class American families were moving to the suburbs; along with the newfound emphasis on the domestic sphere of home and family, the flight away from urban centers, in which movie theaters were traditionally located, forced Hollywood to struggle to find its audience. Hollywood reached its peak in attendance in 1946, with some 100 million tickets sold per week, but by 1955 this number decreased by more than half to 46 million. Along with this trend away from the urban theaters was the rise of a new suburban audience of teenagers who were passionate about rock 'n' roll. The film industry recognized this new audience and acknowledged its spending power, making films such as *Rebel Without a Cause* (1955) and *The Blackboard Jungle* (1955) specifically for them.

In the 1960s a series of studio flops and vast overproduction drove the industry into a deep recession. Because of the breakdown of the classical studio system, Hollywood grew increasingly out of touch with the changing nature of its audience. As the threat of deregulation and the growing popularity of television grew even more powerful, the new teenage audience was not enough to sustain the film industry in the 1960s. The success of *Easy Rider* in 1969 was dramatic evidence of the changing makeup of the film audience, which was now younger and at the same time more sophisticated, showing interest in films that more accurately reflected their own lives. A survey sponsored by the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA) in 1968 revealed that 48 percent of the audience for that year were between sixteen and twenty-four years old. As a result of the popularity of youth-oriented and more experimental films in the late 1960s, such as *Easy Rider*, *Bonnie and Clyde* (1967), and *The Graduate* (1967), the 1970s was one of Hollywood's most artistically promising but fiscally inconsistent eras, with more independent, European-influenced films produced. It was only with the success of blockbuster films like *Jaws* (1976), *Star Wars* (1977), and *Raiders of the Lost Ark* (1981), which led to the Indiana Jones franchise, that Hollywood was lifted out of one of the most financially challenged periods in its history. As a result of these box-office successes, since the 1980s the film industry has relied on consistent formulas and franchises to bring in audiences.

An ongoing debate throughout film history concerns the degree to which film content can influence its audiences' thoughts and behavior. In response to accusations of immorality and depravity, primarily owing to its depictions of sex and violence, Hollywood early on developed a system of self-regulation to fend off government pressure and threats of censorship. The result of this self-regulation was a system of self-censorship known as the Production Code that influenced film content from 1922 to the mid-1950s. The Production Code technically remained in effect until 1966 but became increasingly difficult to enforce in the 1950s. In 1968 the MPAA established a ratings system that categorized films based on their age-appropriateness and that remains the current system of regulating audiences. As in the 1950s, preteen and teen audiences have proved to be extremely important as a target audience with disposable income to spend on entertainment. The introduction of the PG-13 rating in 1983 forced the film industry to make films that appeal to audiences of multiple ages in order to realize the biggest profit on their investment. R-rated films have been seen as riskier investments because their restricted age group eliminates this young audience, one of the most lucrative segments of the population.

Leaving nothing to chance, the film industry does its best to ensure a film's popularity and success by incorporating the audience into the production process. As a result of the blockbuster successes of the 1970s during an otherwise gloomy financial period, studios implemented pre-production market research to ensure a film's audience before its production. This was a significant change from the classical Hollywood model, in which an audience was found after a film's production. In addition, once a film has finished principal photography and a rough cut of the film is edited together, it is screened for a test audience who provide both quantitative and qualitative evaluations. Film studios go to great lengths to ensure that test screening audiences are made up of the widest possible range of the population so that they are able to assess what demographics the film appeals to and why. After the test screening, the studio evaluates the responses to the film and often will alter it considerably to eliminate overwhelmingly unpopular parts or to change the film's emphasis. The studio may even order reshoots to achieve what production executives think will be a more appealing movie.

There are many examples of films that were dramatically transformed after test audiences did not respond

Michael Douglas and Glenn Close in* Fatal Attraction *(Adrian Lyne, 1987). © PARAMOUNT PICTURES/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

well to a particular aspect of a film. One of the more well-known and interesting examples is *Fatal Attraction* (1987). In the original ending, Alex Forest (Glenn Close) committed suicide while listening to the opera *Madame Butterfly*. But this did not sit well with test audiences: because Alex was a menacing character whom they saw as crossing the line into unacceptable behavior, the test audience wanted to see her punished for her crimes against Dan Gallagher (Michael Douglas) and his family. For a cost of $1.7 million, the studio reshot the ending according to the test audience's wishes, with Alex being shot to death (after appearing to have drowned) by Dan's wife, Beth (Anne Archer). This ending proved box-office gold for Paramount Studios, as *Fatal Attraction* went on to gross over $100 million in four months.

Marketing departments of film studios have found new and creative ways, often unrelated to a film's content or quality, to attract audiences. Merchandising inspired by the film, such as action figures based on a film's characters or the licensing of film concepts to fast food chains, increases the public's awareness of a film. In addition, promotional tie-ins with television shows, radio stations, and magazines as well as popular-music soundtracks (with accompanying music videos featuring scenes from the film) create a "buzz" around a particular film that can attract audiences who might otherwise not know about it. With the rising influence of the Internet and movie-related Web sites, audiences can learn about the type of reception a film is getting at test screenings or, in the case of smaller, independent films, on the festival circuit before it is even released in theaters.

SPECTATORSHIP AND ACADEMIC FILM STUDIES

When film studies began to establish itself as an academic discipline in the 1970s, film theorists looked to other fields, most importantly semiotics and psychoanalysis, for cues on how to best articulate the ways in which film functions as a system of language. Both semiotics and psychoanalysis are based on the understanding that larger structures or systems govern the ways in which individuals engage with the world. These structures are inescapable; individuals have no control over their position within them and are subject to their processes. Film theorists saw many parallels between the pleasurable

experience of watching a film in a darkened theater and psychoanalytic discussions of unconscious states of being.

In accounting for the process of how a spectator experiences a film, theorists drew on Sigmund Freud and Jacques Lacan's theories of early childhood development, suggesting that the process of watching a film recreates a similar dynamic between what Lacan called the imaginary and symbolic worlds. Because film language works so effectively to make the viewer feel as though he or she were enmeshed in its world, the spectator is able to relive the pleasurable state of being in the imaginary stage again. Psychoanalytic theories of spectatorship make several assumptions that raise doubts about its ability to serve as a suitable model for understanding film viewing. First, in this model the spectator is always rendered a passive subject of the film text, subject to its meaning system. This suggests that film spectators do not have control over the ways in which they view films and the meaning they take from them—that, in fact, every spectator receives the same meaning from a film. Also, because Lacan's notion of Oedipal development is experienced only by the male child, psychoanalytic theories of spectatorship are pertinent only when applied to (heterosexual) male spectators. Furthermore, these theories do not take into consideration cultural and historical variants, implying that all (male) film viewers will respond to film language in the same way regardless of their historical, cultural, and political context.

Although the psychoanalytic model remains important within academic film studies and continues to produce active debates, its assumptions have been challenged by several theoretical positions that pose alternative ways of thinking about the film spectator. In her influential essay "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" (1975), Laura Mulvey takes a feminist stance toward the implicit gender dynamics of psychoanalytic theories of spectatorship by further interrogating the male specificity on which the entire framework rests. Like the development process, in which only the male child can enter into the symbolic world where language has meaning, she argues that film language is dictated by a male-controlled system. Film language is both controlled by men and designed for the benefit of male pleasure, which is inextricably linked with looking, voyeurism, and the objectification of the female image. Mulvey argues that, because the language of narrative cinema mimics aspects of the stage, film only serves to perpetuate a type of male-driven patriarchal language that facilitates male visual pleasure. As a result, female spectators have no access to it other than through the male gaze that consistently objectifies the female spectator's onscreen counterpart. Therefore the only pleasure that female spectators derive from it is masochistic (the pleasure in one's own pain). Mulvey argues that female spectators will be able to find true pleasure from films only by inventing a new type of film language that is not driven by narrative.

Mulvey's article posited a comprehensive paradigm that was difficult to overcome. Yet the work that followed succeeded in posing alternatives to her argument or expanding its framework. One of the main paths of research in this area focused on the potential for female film spectators to establish a different type of relationship with films specifically made to appeal to them—referred to as women's pictures, weepies, or melodramas. Because these films feature female characters and focus on female issues, theorists raised compelling questions as to whether this more feminine mode has the potential to challenge male-oriented film language. Following the lead of feminist theorists who debated (to varying degrees) the assumption that the subject or spectator implied by psychoanalysis is male, other film theorists responded to the psychoanalytic model by contesting its inherent dismissal of historical and cultural conditions, specifically those of race and sexual orientation. The emphasis of these alternative readings was both to argue for an active spectatorship informed by one's cultural and social position and to suggest the possibility for oppositional or alternative readings that deviate from the dominant (Caucasian, heterosexual, male) one set forth by mainstream cinema.

For instance, Manthia Diawara argues that psychoanalytic theories of spectatorship ignore the impact race has on a spectator's reading of films, contending that viewers have the potential to resist dominant readings and establish oppositional perspectives. He argues that it is therefore possible for African American spectators to identify with and resist Hollywood's often limited image of blacks, which Caucasian spectators do as well. In other words, a spectator's race does not determine his or her response to a given film. The feminist film theorists bell hooks and Jacqueline Bobo augmented this discussion of race and spectatorship by arguing that even more complex readings arise for African American female spectators because of their double exclusion on the grounds of gender and race.

Gay and lesbian theorists have also made significant contributions to the "rereading" of film spectatorship. Teresa de Lauretis, Andrea Weiss, and Patricia White, among others, suggest that lesbian spectatorial desire challenges the traditional heterosexist paradigm, creating a dynamic of desire outside of previously theorized notions of spectatorship. If lesbian spectators are outside of the traditional heterosexual system of desire, then they pose a significant threat to previous theories of spectatorship.

Signifying a departure from psychoanalytic concepts, an increasingly prevalent discussion within film studies of spectatorship focuses on the historical development of

audiences in the early film industry. By unearthing archival documents such as box-office records, studio files, and periodicals of this era, film historians have pieced together accounts not only of how audiences responded to early films, but also of how changing audience expectations affected the evolution of the film industry and film language.

SEE ALSO *Censorship; Fans and Fandom; Feminism; Film History; Psychoanalysis; Reception Theory; Star System*

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Michele Schreiber

SPORTS FILMS

Since the start of the motion picture industry in the United States, sports have been a frequent subject for the movies. Hollywood has produced hundreds of films about sports for the same reason that synergistic ties have been established between American movies and other cultural forms, including theater, literature, fashion, television, advertising, and toys. From the documentary-style "news films" of major prizefights and the World Series that were an important part of the early film industry to recent blockbusters such as *Space Jam* (1996), *Jerry Maguire* (1996), *The Waterboy* (1998), *The Rookie* (2002), and *Friday Night Lights* (2004), collaboration with sports has helped sell the movies.

Sports are rule-governed contests of physical skill in which humans compete against one another. In the sports film such athletic contests play a central role in defining the main characters. The Hollywood sports film in particular has two more important conventions: a utopian view of the world which assumes that anyone who works hard, is determined, and plays by the rules will succeed; and a need for plausibility based on resemblance to the actual sports world that qualifies its utopian outlook with the complexities of social difference. Put more simply, in their attempt to portray plausible athletes and sporting events, Hollywood films often include historical forces that complicate their narratives, which are otherwise focused on individual characters as causal agents.

SPORTS FILMS AND HISTORY

Knute Rockne—All American (1942) offers an example of this combination of utopian simplicity and historical complexity. In keeping with the patriotic tone of many Hollywood films made during World War II, Rockne's life is shown as representative of the social mobility possible in America: even a boy from a working-class, immigrant family can grow up to become a national sports hero. Yet while *Knute Rockne—All American* ostensibly offers the biography of the Notre Dame football coach as historical proof of the American dream, it inadvertently makes reference to the selective nature of this social mobility.

The film unintentionally shows that such opportunity did not extend to African Americans. Blacks appear only as minor characters in most sports films prior to the early 1950s, a marginalization which reflects their exclusion, until just before that time, from the highest levels of most commercial sports. Despite their brief appearance in the film, the two black characters in *Knute Rockne—All American* qualify its affirmation of the American Dream. In an early scene, when young Knute plays football for the first time in a sandlot game, an African American boy running the ball for the other team knocks him flat. The only other appearance of an African American character comes much later in the film, when Rockne, now the famous football coach at Notre Dame, returns to South Bend on the train after a tough loss. A black porter stops at the door of his compartment and asks Rockne if he would like his suit brushed off before they arrive. The presence of the porter ironically recalls the boy who had run over little Knute in the football legend's first experience with the game that was to make him famous. The difference in social position between Rockne and the porter suggests why the experience of the African American boy appears nowhere but in the one

Eight Men Out ***(John Sayles, 1988) explores the tension between individualism and teamwork in sport.*** EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

early scene. The promise of equal opportunity, which both blacks and whites were called upon to defend in the war, extended to some parts of American society and not others.

Despite the attempt in Hollywood sports films to leave out issues such as racism, sexism, class difference, homophobia, and even the physical limits on athletic productivity brought on by injury, illness, or age, the need to plausibly resemble the real sports world requires some representation of these influences on individual performance. Yet, even when sports films must acknowledge impediments to individual achievement, self-reliance is generally held up as the only way to overcome such barriers. In this regard the influence of the Hollywood sports film can be seen on films about athletics made outside the United States such as *Chariots of Fire* (1981) and *Bend It Like Beckham* (2002), which also follow this pattern of showing how a strong faith in individual achievement overcomes larger social forces.

Feature films about sports are especially fond of the idea that history is made by individuals. Only eleven feature films about sports history are not biography films (biopics): *The Harlem Globetrotters* (1951), *The Bingo Long Traveling All-Stars and Motor Kings* (1976), *Miracle on Ice* (1981), *Hoosiers* (1986), *Eight Men Out* (1988), *A League of Their Own* (1992), *When We Were Kings* (1996), *Soul of the Game* (1996), *Remember the Titans* (2000), *Friday Night Lights*, and *Glory Road* (2006)—and even these focus primarily on two or three main characters. Just as biopics promote the concept of self-reliance, media portrayal of sports in general also gives the greatest recognition to star performance, regardless of any gestures they might make to teamwork, fair play, and fan communities.

Even when teamwork figures prominently in media narratives about athletics, it doesn't reduce the value placed on individual performance. Rather, like the middle-class nuclear family, the team operates as a social structure to foster the development of self-reliant individuals; self-effacing play therefore subordinates itself to the more recognized actions of the star. *Hoosiers* offers a good example of this privileging of star performance.

Although much of the film is a nostalgic parable involving a big-city basketball coach who learns the importance of teamwork and community in a small Indiana town, that thematic emphasis is subordinated in the film's climactic scene to the individual heroism of a game-winning basket by a star player.

As part of their affirmation of the idea of meritocracy, media representation of professional sports continually remind us of the standard of living which star players achieve. While reports of seven- and eight-figure annual salaries create the fan resentment one hears expressed on sports-talk radio and finds in a film such as *The Replacements* (2000), they also reinforce the belief that opportunity for economic advancement exists in American society. The blockbuster *Jerry Maguire* makes this optimistic interpretation of big contracts its central theme.

The realism of sports films increases their historical complexity, but it can also support their endorsement of self-reliance. This realistic style figures most prominently in action scenes involving footage of actual contests, or set in stadia filled with crowds of extras, employing authentic uniforms and equipment and, often, real athletes. These cinematic contests are frequently narrated by announcers in the style of television or radio coverage and shown with a continuity-editing style that makes the sequence of shots seem motivated by the logic of the events rather than choices made by the filmmakers. For sports films this representational style has special resonance because it recalls real events in sports "history": athletic contests that the audience has witnessed in the past. Heightened realism in scenes in which the star competes is especially important in validating a belief that individual performance in these situations counts most in the achievement of success.

BOXING FILMS AND CLASS

More Hollywood films have been made about boxing than any other sport. The most common narrative for the prizefight film involves the boxer's quick rise from disadvantage to the title, followed by a fall from grace usually due to the seduction of wealth and fame, and some form of redemption in the third act. The heroic triumph over long odds implied in such a bare-bones plot summary explains in part why so many boxing films have been made, and also probably why some of the biggest male stars in the movies have played boxers, including James Cagney, John Garfield, Errol Flynn, Kirk Douglas, Burt Lancaster, Paul Newman, Tony Curtis, Elvis Presley, James Earl Jones, Robert DeNiro, Tom Cruise, Antonio Banderas, Denzel Washington, and the biggest box-office boxer of all time, Sylvester Stallone.

While boxing films frequently emphasize self-determination, the historical record again intrudes on many of these stories. Historical contextualization appears in the form of the economic exploitation of desperate and inexperienced boxers by those who run prizefighting, and through the fighters' own handicaps, which are due to their backgrounds of deprivation. Some boxing films therefore take the position that the most effective strategy for a working-class fighter to overcome these barriers requires the support of family and community.

Hollywood boxing movies can be classified into three groups. The first, made during the Depression years, serves as a metaphor for the society at large, attempting to resolve a contradiction between the values of rugged individualism and the values of community. Boxing films of the 1930s such as *Winner Take All* (1932), *Golden Boy* (1939), and *They Made Me a Criminal* (1939) celebrate a working-class hero who tries to beat the odds to escape the urban jungle and the exploitation of the fight game. In the spirit of the New Deal, however, these pictures also stress the importance of group support to help the protagonist succeed.

A second cycle of boxing films includes seven movies released between 1947 and 1956. Three of these, *Body and Soul* (1947), *The Set-Up* (1949), and *The Champion* (1949), use a combination of noir and neorealist styles to criticize the exploitation of working-class fighters. In reaction to the political repression of the McCarthy-era blacklists and the increasingly nonwhite makeup of prizefighting, films from the 1950s such as *The Ring* (1952), *The Joe Louis Story* (1953), *The Harder They Fall* (1956), and *Somebody Up There Likes Me* (1956) shifted their focus to liberal models of assimilation as the best response to class and racial disadvantage.

The third cycle, which started in 1976 and is ongoing, is the most diverse. *Rocky* (1976) and *Raging Bull* (1980) feature protagonists who passionately believe in their ability to single-handedly overcome social identities defined by class and gender. Sylvester Stallone's character in the first film realizes that goal, while Robert DeNiro's Jake LaMotta character in the latter movie achieves a kind of Christian transcendence for finally accepting its impossibility. Several of these third-cycle films, including *Rocky*, *When We Were Kings*, and *Only in America: The Don King Story* (1998), represent Muhammad Ali, either to support his politics of anticolonialism and black unity or to discredit his critique of white privilege in order to support the idea of a self-reliant individualism. Finally, several of the most recent boxing films, including *The Great White Hype* (1996), *The Hurricane* (1999), *Girlfight* (2000), *Play It to the Bone* (2000), and *Undefeated* (2003), illustrate that issues

of class, race, and gender are best understood by recognizing their tensions and interdependence.

SPORTS FILMS AND RACE

With the exception of two 1930s films, *Spirit of Youth* (1938) and *Keep Punching* (1939), which were made for black audiences, African Americans appeared only as secondary characters (if at all) in feature-length sports movies from the coming of sound through the beginning of the civil rights movement. Until the 1950s most of the infrequent appearances by black characters were in films about prizefighting, such as *Golden Boy* and *Body and Soul*, probably because it was the least exclusionary professional sport for reasons of race. Similar to the representation of women in classic Hollywood films, blacks functioned in these narratives of white, male self-definition through athletic competition as either supportive—but self-negating—helpers, or occasionally (along with Mexican or Chicano characters) as opponents: obstacles which the protagonists overcome in order to realize their heroic identities. A cycle of Hollywood films in the early 1950s, including *The Jackie Robinson Story* (1950), *The Harlem Globetrotters* (1951), and *The Joe Louis Story* (1953), featured black athletes and followed closely on the opening of previously all-white professional sports to African Americans just after World War II, but these were stories of self-reliance and white paternalism that attempted to deemphasize social determinants of racial identity.

In the 1980s and 1990s the National Basketball Association (NBA) became an important part of an increasingly spectacular, globalized, and racialized American popular culture. Broadcast revenues for the league rose 1,000 percent between 1986 and 1998 as the NBA's bursts of action highlighted by dunks and three-point shots fit smoothly into the fast-paced flow of spectacle that has come to dominate television and increasingly the movies. During this period Michael Jordan replaced Muhammad Ali as the best known American athlete worldwide. A big part of the NBA's greater appeal both in the United States and abroad came from its spectacle of black style, headlined for most of this period by Jordan; because more than 80 percent of the players are African American, the league exemplifies how cultural difference has become a hot commodity.

Several movies about basketball made during the period of the NBA's ascendancy incorporate the new difference. Michael Jordan figures in several of these films, starring in *Space Jam* (1996), appearing in *He Got Game* (1998), and invoked by *White Men Can't Jump* (1992), *Hoop Dreams* (1994), and *The Air Up There* (1994). With Jordan leading the way, what sold the NBA and the basketball movies made during the 1980s and 1990s was what Nelson George calls an "African American aesthetic." (p. xv). This aesthetic features constructions of black masculinity that correspond roughly to traditional positions about identity in the African American community. On the one hand there is Jordan's creative improvisation, grounded in black cultural tradition, yet also distinctive in the degree of its crossover appeal and in its use as proof that (some) blacks have access to the American dream. Almost as widely commodified, but with a less sanguine view of race in America, has been its flip side, the hypermasculine menace and intimidation represented in professional basketball by Charles Barkley, Shaquille O'Neal, and others, their "gangsta" personae overlapping to some degree with those of certain rap performers. Basketball films that portray this latter version of black manhood include *White Men Can't Jump*, *Space Jam*, and *Above the Rim* (1994).

GENDER

Within the utopian narrative typical of American sports films, the heroic individual who overcomes obstacles and achieves success through determination, self-reliance, and hard work is most often male. The primary notion of masculinity in sports films is that this male protagonist defines and proves himself through free and fair competition modeled on American society, which promises rewards to the most deserving individuals. The competitive opportunities offered to male athletes in most sports films justify patriarchal authority by naturalizing the idea of men as more assertive and determining, while women generally appear in the secondary roles of fans and dependent supporters. Differences in social position are therefore naturalized as evolutionary rather than depicted as a result of a lack of competitive opportunities. The competition involving men that sports movies generally showcase provides an opportunity to validate assumptions of male superiority. These films seldom acknowledge that women have not had as much access to sports. When gender discrimination comes up, in the few films about female athletes such as *Pat and Mike* (1952), *Personal Best* (1982), *Pumping Iron II* (1985), and *A League of Their Own* (1992), it is often portrayed not as a systemic flaw in sports competition or American society, but rather as just another ad hoc challenge that the strong and resourceful individual will overcome.

Because they so often feature male athletes, sports films provide a useful site for the analysis of dominant ideas of masculinity, yet they also show how it has been refigured over time in response to changes in American society. From the 1880s through the end of the twentieth century, the effects of industrialization, professionalization, deindustrialization, changing forms of media repre-

sentation, and the increased assertion of women and nonwhite and gay men have forced dominant masculinity to define itself in new ways. In an attempt to portray athletic events in a realistic style, the makers of sports films have responded to these social changes in their depictions of masculinity—by demonstrating its strength through service to others (*The Iron Major* [1943], *The Rookie*), by showing nonwhite men and women who embody its traits (*Space Jam*, *Girlfight*), even by presenting a white masculinity inflected with qualities associated with nonwhite athletes (*White Men Can't Jump*, *Any Given Sunday* [1999]).

A few sports films show assertive women, some of whom are athletes, pursuing a feminist desire for control of their careers and relationships; in *Pat and Mike*, *Bull Durham* (1987), and *Tin Cup* (1996) those strong women even verbally deconstruct masculinity. Several films about female athletes such as *Personal Best*, *Pumping Iron II*, and *A League of Their Own* present a disjuncture between scenes in which they demonstrate their ability to appropriate qualities associated with masculinity (especially physical strength and self-confidence) to perform in sports, and a narrative that pushes them toward compromise with conservative ideas of gender. Two more recent films, *Girlfight* and *Love and Basketball* (2000), take a step further by validating female athletes who can appropriate the positive traits of masculinity, without requiring they compromise the benefits that they realize from involvement in sports.

Despite the increased social equality shown in some recent films, most sports movies made in the last twenty-five years have continued to tell the stories of white, male protagonists, insisting on hard work and determination as the only ingredients that matter for athletic achievement. The success of *Rocky* in 1976 demonstrated a desire to dismiss the inequalities that the 1960s counterculture had identified in American society, and gave new life to utopian sports movies such as *The Natural* (1984), *Hoosiers*, *Field of Dreams* (1989), *Mr. Baseball* (1992), *Rudy* (1993), *Angels in the Outfield* (1994), *The Air Up There*, and *The Replacements*. These nostalgic films not only remember the mythology of white male protagonists, but also reassert the old portrayals of nonwhites and women as either obstacles that define the hero or faithful supporters of his achievement.

SEE ALSO *Class; Gender; Genre; Race and Ethnicity*

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Aaron Baker

SPY FILMS

The spy is the most contradictory hero in cinema. Although money and sex have motivated many spies in real life and fiction, the essential motivating force behind espionage is devotion to a cause, usually a nation, that is best expressed by concealing it. Because successful spies place loyalty to their country—or to their faction, their insurgency, or their political agenda—over all other loyalties, including their ties to family and friends, the lives they lead are lies. They may seem to be ordinary citizens, even citizens of enemy nations, but the mission that drives them can succeed only to the extent that it is hidden from those around them.

The most successful real-life spies may well remain unknown to this day. But since popular entertainment has no room for unknown heroes, spy films feature either unsuccessful spies, characters whose covert attempts to gather secret information about their cause's enemies are doomed to failure when they are unmasked, or spies like James Bond, whose success is somehow compatible with conventional Hollywood heroism, even fame among his fictional peers. These two character types represent the two leading tendencies in spy films.

GLAMOUR AND DISILLUSIONMENT

Spying is nearly as old as recorded history. The biblical Book of Joshua tells how Joshua, son of Nun, sent two spies secretly into Canaan in order to ascertain whether the land was fruitful and readily susceptible to conquest. Three thousand years later, Cardinal Richelieu established an elaborate network of secret agents to protect both Louis XIII of France and his own personal interests, an episode fictionalized in numerous novels by Alexandre Dumas and such film adaptations as *The Three Musketeers* (1921, 1948, 1973, 1993, etc.) and *The Man in the Iron Mask* (1939, 1998). Forty years after George Washington, stung by the ease with which the schoolmaster-turned-spy Nathan Hale had been captured, recruited Major Benjamin Tallmadge as head of the so-called Culper Ring to gather information about British troop movements, James Fenimore Cooper (1789–1951) used these adventures as the basis for his novel *The Spy* (1821, filmed 1914). And the tale of how Billie Boyd, an undercover agent for the Confederacy during the Civil War, shot and killed a Union soldier determined to enter her home by force, inspired a similar scene featuring Scarlett O'Hara, the indomitable heroine of *Gone with the Wind* (1939). It is not until the twentieth century, however, that spies and spying truly came into their own. Their rise corresponds to the rise of popular fiction, which provided an indispensable supplement to the variously shabby secret agents who had figured in such literary masterpieces as Fyodor Dostoyevsky's *The Possessed* (1871–1872), Henry James's *The Princess Casamassima* (1886), and Joseph Conrad's *The Secret Agent* (1907), and the rise of movies, a medium coeval with the culture of modern espionage. Graham Greene (b. 1952) applied the term "entertainments" to his own spy fiction from *The Confidential Agent* (1939, filmed 1945) to *The Third Man* (1949, filmed 1949) to *The Quiet American* (1955, filmed 2002). These tales, like Erskine Childers's *The Riddle of the Sands* (1903, filmed 1979), in which a pair of vacationing yachtsmen discover a German plot to invade England, and E. Phillips Oppenheim's *The Great Impersonation* (1920, filmed 1921, 1935, and 1942), in

which a German spy takes the place of a British aristocrat he resembles, set a tone of civilized adventure that dispelled the darker implications of espionage.

The earliest movie spies divide appropriately into two camps. On one side are tragic figures like the World War I nurse Edith Cavell, who smuggled more than two hundred Allied soldiers out of occupied Belgium before she was executed by the German Army (*Dawn*, 1928; *Nurse Edith Cavell*, 1939); the much better known Mata Hari, whose tactic of seducing her targets made her a natural for Greta Garbo (*Mata Hari*, 1931); and the wholly fictional Marie Kolverer, aka X27, the streetwalker-turned-spy played by the equally glamorous Marlene Dietrich in *Dishonored* (1931). On the other side are lighthearted stalwarts like Bulldog Drummond, the unflappable British gentleman whose run of two dozen films, mostly second features, began with *Bulldog Drummond* (1922) and sturdier, more melodramatic heroes like Nayland Smith, the earnest foe of the Yellow Peril represented by the implacable Dr. Fu Manchu in a long series of shorts and features (for example, *The Mysterious Dr. Fu Manchu*, 1929). In 1928, Fritz Lang (1890–1976), who had already used the figure of the gangster to incarnate Fu Manchu's dream of world domination in the epic crime film *Dr. Mabuse, der Spieler* (*Dr. Mabuse: the Gambler*, 1922), substituted the looming, larger-than-life figure of the spy to produce the first great spy film, *Spione* (*The Spy*, 1928).

Unlike Lang's megalomaniac villain Haghi, Bulldog Drummond and his cohorts were defending the vast colonial British Empire's attempt to bring the blessings of civilization to the colonies by playing "the great game," a phrase coined by Rudyard Kipling's *Kim* (1901, filmed 1950) and later applied to the genteel aristocratic tradition British Intelligence would foster by recruiting agents from the ranks of the nation's leading universities. Since the world of spies is a world in which everyone is in constant danger of being spied upon, spy films borrow and foster a sense of global paranoia increasingly characteristic of the jittery twentieth century. Faceless, often menacing intelligence agencies proliferated in every corner of the globe: Great Britain's Ministries of Information for domestic intelligence (MI5, founded in 1909) and foreign intelligence (MI6, founded in 1911), the various Soviet bureaus that eventually became known as the KGB and SMERSH (both 1917), and such American agencies as the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI, 1908), the Office of Strategic Services (OSS, 1942) and its peacetime successor, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA, 1947). Spies working for agencies modeled on them came to encapsulate both the dreams and fears of viewers afraid that individuals had lost the power to control the juggernaut of history and hopeful, or at least wishful, that heroic individuals could indeed make a difference. Unlike World War I, which was fueled by a chauvinistic faith in the racial superiority of the homeland and its easily recognizable citizens, World War II was marked by widespread rumors of a "fifth column" of undercover enemy agents already in place in the homeland in preparation for demoralizing tactics or armed insurrection. In a world in which every stranger could be a spy, the counterspy became the indispensable hero, the only figure who could unmask the enemy and protect the purity of hearth and home.

To this period of all-purpose Nazi villains belong such variously glamorized spies as the little-man hero of *Confessions of a Nazi Spy* (1939), the quasi-documentary pitting the FBI against American Nazis; the sportsman who stalks Adolf Hitler in Berchtesgaden to see if he can get a clear shot at him and then spends the rest of Lang's *Man Hunt* (1941) hounded by the vengeful German spies who honeycomb London; and the newlyweds who spend their European honeymoon tracking down a missing agent in *Above Suspicion* (1943). The true Everyman, however, was Peter Lorre's resolutely unglamorous Dutch novelist beguiled into sordid international intrigue in *The Mask of Dimitrios* (1944), based on a tale by Eric Ambler (1909–1998), who had emerged together with Greene as the foremost espionage novelist of the 1930s.

SPYING FOR HITCHCOCK

In the meantime, Ambler and Greene's British contemporary Alfred Hitchcock (1899–1980) had begun directing the most varied and entertaining series of films ever made about spies. It is no coincidence that *The Man Who Knew Too Much* (1934) and *The 39 Steps* (1935), the films that made Hitchcock famous throughout England and around the world respectively, are his first two films about spies. Both involve innocent characters who are thrown into a world of international intrigue under circumstances that prevent their seeking help from the police. Bob and Jill Lawrence become reluctant counterspies in *The Man Who Knew Too Much* because their daughter has been kidnapped to ensure their silence about a secret that turns out to be a plot to assassinate a foreign diplomat. Richard Hannay joins the cause in *The 39 Steps* because the police assume he murdered the female spy who escaped the foreign agents on her trail by coming home with him only to be murdered in his flat by her pursuers. Both films tap into the vein of colonialist adventure pioneered by Kipling, Childers, and John Buchan (1875–1940), who had invented Richard Hannay in his 1915 novel, but both also develop their intrigue through a series of episodes in wildly disparate tones. *The Man Who Knew Too Much* begins as domestic comedy before erupting in murder and kidnapping and

moving toward a nonconformist chapel where anything can happen, from hypnosis to a shootout, and the Albert Hall, where Jill Lawrence will have to choose between protecting her daughter and stopping the assassination she sees unfolding before her. Once its plot has been set in motion, *The 39 Steps* becomes a nonstop series of chases through a passenger train, the Scottish heaths, a luncheon party at a manor house, a parade, a political rally, and a quiet rural inn before ending in a showdown at the London Palladium.

The thrillers with which Hitchcock followed these stylishly witty melodramas were increasingly dark. *Secret Agent* (1936), based on two stories from *Ashenden* (1928), W. Somerset Maugham's (1874–1965) acrid fictionalization of his own experiences in World War I espionage, begins with the macabre funeral of writer Edgar Brodie, who, far from being dead, is reborn as Richard Ashenden for a dangerous mission to Switzerland. The film uses even more abrupt alternations between farcical romance and somber melodrama than *The Man Who Knew Too Much* to tell the story of Brodie's gradual disillusionment with the nastiness of espionage represented by his bloodthirsty colleague the General. In *Sabotage* (1936), Hitchcock uses Conrad's even darker novel *The Secret Agent* (1907) as the basis for a grim examination, still punctuated with improbable humor, of the very possibility of agency in a world in which everyone is forced to act in someone else's interests. Only in *The Lady Vanishes* (1938), in which the apparently impossible disappearance of an elderly teacher from a swiftly moving train unites a pair of bickering lovers in matrimony, did Hitchcock return to the more lighthearted mode of his first two spy films.

The most distinctive feature of these early Hitchcock spy films was to unite the glamour and disillusionment that had heretofore characterized the two separate branches of the genre. Hitchcock's spies are such ordinary and even reluctant participants in the intrigues that envelop them that they do not seem like spies at all. At the same time, Hannay and Ashenden hold out a hope—comically realized in Hannay's case, melodramatically thwarted in Ashenden's—that the most ordinary people, under nightmarish pressures, can become extraordinary heroes. After emigrating to America in 1939, Hitchcock continued to make spy films that were remarkable, given the wartime conditions under which they were made, for giving enemy spies a compelling and articulate voice. Stephen Fisher, unmasked as a German spy in *Foreign Correspondent* (1940), reminds his propeace daughter that he has fought for his country in the best way he could before he sacrifices his life to save those of other victims of German antiaircraft fire. Charles Tobin, the Fifth Columnist villain of *Saboteur* (1942), defends his tactics against the "moron millions" in a private room at a society ball. Willy, the U-boat commander who has sunk the ocean liner in *Lifeboat* (1944), is so much more fit and disciplined than the Allied survivors of the shipwreck that he becomes their leader and, in the process, outraged the film's wartime reviewers. Only in the short films *Bon Voyage* and *Adventure Malgache* (both 1944) do the enemy spies retreat into conventional villainy.

Hitchcock's most original contribution to the spy film, however, still lay ahead, in his unsparing analysis of the connection between spying and voyeurism as rejections of emotional commitment. Although many earlier films had used spies as metaphors for the widespread suspicion and alienation spawned by the twentieth century, *Notorious* (1946), in which an American agent sends his lover into the arms of a postwar German industrialist she ultimately marries and continues to betray, is the first of a new series of Hitchcock films—not only spy films like *North by Northwest* (1959), *Torn Curtain* (1966), and *Topaz* (1969), but apolitical thrillers from *Stage Fright* (1950) to *Rear Window* (1954) to *Psycho* (1960)—to treat the act of spying as a metaphor for other kinds of watching that value duty and detachment over vulnerability, openness, and intimacy. Whether or not they involve espionage, spying is a radical metaphor in all of Hitchcock's later films.

FROM COLD WAR TO NEW WORLD ORDER

Just as the synthesis of glamour and disillusionment in Hitchcock's British espionage films increasingly tended toward a critique of the whole project of spying, the two poles were split for other filmmakers whose view of spying was formed by the Cold War between the Soviet Union and the United States. Following a modest Red-baiting cycle that included *I Was a Communist for the FBI* (1951), *Big Jim McLain* (1952), and *Pickup on South Street* (1953), the glamour of spying returned full force in James Bond, the British superspy created by Ian Fleming in *Casino Royale* (1953) and brought to the screen in *Dr. No* (1962), *From Russia with Love* (1963), *Goldfinger* (1964), and their increasingly souped-up sequels. The formula Fleming had honed—political paranoia overcome by personal toughness, personal style, and a license to kill on behalf of Her Majesty's secret service—was retooled in the film franchise, the most financially successful in history, which made Bond considerably more suave and less brutal, though the combination varied greatly depending on whether Agent 007 was played by Sean Connery, George Lazenby, Roger Moore, Timothy Dalton, Pierce Brosnan, or Daniel Craig. A series of self-parodying imitations starring equally imperishable, but far more forgettable, agents like Derek Flint (*Our Man Flint*, 1966; *In Like Flint*, 1967),

Sean Connery as James Bond emphasized the glamour of espionage in such films as* From Russia with Love *(Terrence Young, 1963). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Matt Helm (*The Silencers*, 1966, and its sequels), and television's *The Man from U.N.C.L.E.* (1964–1968) helped make the spy the most ubiquitous culture hero of the 1960s.

Even as legendary counterintelligence chief James Jesus Angleton was relentlessly combing the ranks of the CIA for the double agents he called "moles," *The Spy Who Came in from the Cold* (1963) won John le Carré (b. 1931) a wide following for his far more jaundiced view of espionage, however idealistically motivated, as an endless series of double- and triple-crosses, often by one's own service. The 1965 film version was only the first and bleakest of a series of le Carré adaptations that included *The Little Drummer Girl* (1984), *The Russia House* (1990), and *The Tailor of Panama* (2001), as well as the television miniseries *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* (1979) and *Smiley's People* (1982), which features le Carré's most enduring creation, resolutely colorless agent George Smiley, who had made his film debut with his name changed to Charles Dobbs in *The Deadly Affair* (1966). The more insistently 007 and his disciples asserted their heroic identities, the more Smiley and his inoffensive colleagues like Harry Palmer (*The Ipcress File*, 1965; *Funeral in Berlin*, 1966; *The Billion Dollar Brain*, 1967) and television's John Drake (*Secret Agent*, 1964–1966) and Number Six (*The Prisoner*, 1967) shrank into the woodwork, convinced that the key to their survival lay in their ability to pass unnoticed.

Although the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1989 took the edge off a genre that had already lost its urgency, cloak and dagger films survive in as many contemporary guises as the secret agent's own. James Bond stand-ins like Harry Tasker (*True Lies*, 1994), though settling down to family life, refuse to retire, and outsized films of adventure, intrigue, or counterterrorism emphasizing Bond-like action (*Die Hard*,

1988, and its sequels), technology (*The Hunt for Red October*, 1990), or special effects (*Mission: Impossible*, 1996; *Mission: Impossible II*, 2000; *Mission: Impossible III*, 2006) continue to gross millions. The genre's appetite for historical nostalgia, already hinted at in *Lawrence of Arabia* (1962), has produced entries as varied as *The Day of the Jackal* (1973), *Eye of the Needle* (1981), *The English Patient* (1996), and the television miniseries *Reilly: The Ace of Spies* (1983). Films from *The Crying Game* (1992) to *Ronin* (1998) to *The Truman Show* (1998) have followed Hitchcock's lead in linking spying, or being spied on, to fears of a more general loss of identity, and *The Matrix* trilogy (1999–2003) has made counterterrorism a metaphor for a fashionably radical epistemological skepticism served up with state-of-the-art digital effects. It remains to be seen what the legacy of September 11, 2001 will be for this durable, protean genre.

SEE ALSO *Cold War; Crime Films; Genre; Thrillers*

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Thomas Leitch

STAR SYSTEM

To speak of stardom as a system is paradoxical. Film stardom promotes the individuality and uniqueness of certain film performers, yet the term "system" suggests regularity, repetition, and similarity. However, the operations of the star system in cinema rest precisely on this paradox: film stardom is systematic when cinema industries put in place the organized means to repeatedly cultivate, control, and circulate the individuated identities of performers.

STARS AS IMAGES, LABOR, AND CAPITAL

Stars function in three main ways within the culture and commerce of popular cinema. First, as performers who appear in films, stars are part of the aesthetic or symbolic content of films. Alongside films, movie stars also appear in other media, like television or radio advertisements, posters, and magazine interviews. Film stars are therefore always presented to the public as mediated identities—what is often referred to as a star's "image." Second, stars are a part of the labor force involved in making films. In an industrial model of film production, filmmaking is organized according to a specialized division of labor, with performers just one category of labor distinct among the various technical and crafts roles. However, not all performers are equal, and the greater artistic and economic power enjoyed by stars means they top a hierarchical structure of film actors as a privileged category of labor. This power is linked to the third way in which stars function in cinema. Stars are employed not only as a source of labor for making films but also as a key resource for use in their promotion. Film producers cast stars to expand the profile of the film in the cultural marketplace, making the star a form of investment or capital deployed in anticipation of future profits.

These three functions—image, labor, and capital—are linked in film stardom. Star images are formed not only through repetition of a performer's identity across films and other media, but also through the differences represented between those images. In the commerce of cinema, star images can be deployed in marketing campaigns to attract audiences by promoting an individuated range of meanings—for example, "a Jack Nicholson film"—offering the repetition of qualities seen in previous performances, while also differentiating a film from the many other star-driven popular titles in the marketplace. Through repetition and difference, star images therefore produce a marketable form of individuality that is fundamental to the star's status as capital. As Janet Staiger has observed in *The Classical Hollywood Cinema*, stars can be described as "a monopoly on a personality" (p. 101).

Ownership and control of that monopoly is organized through the contracting of star labor. For a single film, a series of films, or for a period of time, stars sign contracts with producers agreeing to the terms under which they will provide their labor. Contracts outline the terms by which the producer or distributor can profit from the rights to use the star's name or likeness in other contexts, such as promotional media or possibly tie-in products. Contracts also detail agreed terms by which the star is to be remunerated for his or her labor, either through a regular salary over a period of time or by payment of a straight fee for a number of films, possibly combined with a share in the future profits of a film. Contracts are therefore central to the operation of

stardom as a system for they document in concrete form the ownership and control of stars as image, labor, and capital.

FORMATION OF THE FILM STAR SYSTEM IN AMERICA

When film and cinema technologies first appeared in Europe and the United States in the mid-1890s, film was sold to consumers on the technological effect of moving images rather than the content of what those images represented. Consequently, the first entrepreneurs who aimed to exploit the commercial potential of the new medium saw its value as an instrument of technological innovation rather than as a new performance medium. In this commercial context, film acting remained an amateur or semiprofessional occupation. American theater already had an established star system, but the nascent film industry saw no immediate need to cultivate and promote stars. Frequently early cinema would see technicians or amateurs performing in films, although some professional theater actors did venture into acting for the camera. Until industrialization, the volume of film production was insufficient to provide actors with regular employment and film acting was regarded merely as a means for supplementing income from the theater.

In the period from 1907 to 1914, several developments occurred in American cinema that professionalized film acting and provided the foundations for the film star system. To supply the nickelodeon boom during the years 1907 to 1909, filmmakers increased the volume of film production, providing the beginnings of a move toward the large-scale industrialization of cinema, including the introduction of a specialized division of labor to rationalize film production. Before 1907 more documentaries and comedies were produced than dramas and tricks. After 1907, however, comedies and dramas together began to surpass nonfiction forms, and by the following year over 90 percent of films made were fictional narratives. These conditions may have provided the context for the professionalization of film acting, but the emergence of the star system in American cinema required further means to distinguish stars as a special category of film actor. In *Picture Personalities* (1990), a history of the early star system in America, Richard DeCordova argues that the system became possible only after film companies began actively advertising and promoting the names of their performers. Prior to 1909 the names of actors were kept anonymous, partly because producers feared the advertising of names would prompt actors to demand higher salaries; however, after this date the names of performers began to appear on film credits and posters. Besides its historical importance, naming remains fundamental to the operations of the star system, for the name individualizes the star's identity as a marker of repetition and difference, identifying the unique monopoly of a star's image. Naming therefore contributes to the commodification of the star's identity as an image that can be used and sold in public culture.

With naming, producers and moviegoers had the means to identify links between a series of film roles by a performer, providing the foundation for the construction of a performer's onscreen professional identity. However, DeCordova argues that the film star system fully came into being only after 1914, when the press in America began to publish stories and features covering the offscreen lives of film performers. This coverage documented the private lives of the performers in ways that were never truly private, for it always offered a vision of the star's life designed and offered up for public attention. Frequently, in the early days of cinema, the practice was to represent the private lives of stars as the perfect complement to the type of roles they played onscreen. However, during the early 1920s a series of star scandals made the headlines. Most famously, the comedian Roscoe "Fatty" Arbuckle (1887–1933) was tried but acquitted of raping and killing a young woman. Scandals disrupted beliefs in the private life of a star as the simple reflection of his or her onscreen image.

DeCordova's history of the star system tracks the emergence of different categories of knowledge or discourse about film performers. Naming made the performer's onscreen image—the product of a succession of film roles—known, and press coverage made a star's private life knowable. But as the discussion of scandal revealed secrets that often contradicted the version of the star's private life given to the press, a distinction could then be drawn between the star's "private" offscreen image (that is, the image of privacy publicly offered to the press) and the private offscreen image that was intended to remain private and secret but nevertheless publicly known. These categories are valuable for mapping the realms of knowledge about star performers that still endure in contemporary film culture.

THE STUDIO SYSTEM AND STARS

The emergence of publicly circulated knowledge about performers was foundational to the making of film stardom. In the 1930s and 1940s Hollywood stardom reached its most systematic phase. During these decades the major vertically integrated studios all instituted arrangements for systematically cultivating and marketing star performers. Talent scouts were hired by the studios to search theaters and clubs for promising new performers. Once signed to a studio, performers would receive in-house coaching to develop their skills. Before a

CLARK GABLE

b. William Clark Gable, Cadiz, Ohio, 1 February 1901, d. 16 November 1960

Although Clark Gable would obtain the title "the King" during his years in Hollywood, as a contracted performer at MGM, the dominance of the studio system would mean that Gable was always more ruled than ruling. After an unspectacular stage career, Gable secured a couple of supporting roles in film, with MGM then signing him to a two-year contract with six-month options at $350 per week. That year Gable made eight more films for MGM and two on loan to Warner Bros. as he became integrated into the studio system.

As an MGM star, Gable was paired with many of the studio's other contracted stars: Greta Garbo, Joan Crawford, Jean Harlow, and Norma Shearer. Repeatedly cast in romantic starring roles, he was frequently required to display a savage, sadistic attitude toward women. Although these roles contributed to making Gable a marketable star image, they equally limited his performance repertoire. In 1932 Gable commented to *Photoplay*, "I have never been consulted as to what part I would like to play. I am not paid to think."

Gable's individual career at MGM is indicative of the more general conditions defining the star system in Hollywood during the 1930s and 1940s, and the contracting of Gable's labor illustrates the legal and commercial operations of the star system. Shortly after winning the Best Actor Oscar® for his role in *It Happened One Night* (1934), a film he made on loan to Columbia as punishment for his objecting to being typecast by MGM, in July 1935 Gable signed a new seven-year contract with the studio. MGM held exclusive rights to the use of Gable's name, image, and voice. If Gable were injured or facially disfigured, the studio could suspend him without compensation. Gable would be billed as either star or co-star, with his name appearing on posters and other advertising in letters larger than that of other performers' names. He would work for forty weeks a year, making up to three films in that time.

Gable signed a new seven-year contract in January 1940, raising his salary, and a further contract signed in November 1946 granted him a percentage share in film grosses. In 1954, after MGM refused to renew Gable's contract, he signed for two films with 20th Century Fox. For the remaining six years of his life, Gable worked in the new freelance conditions of Hollywood stardom, appearing in productions for United Artists (e.g., *Run Silent, Run Deep*, 1958), Warner Bros. (e.g., *Band of Angels*, 1957), and Paramount (e.g., *Teacher's Pet*, 1958).

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Red Dust (1932), *It Happened One Night* (1934), *Manhattan Melodrama*, *Mutiny on the Bounty* (1935), *San Francisco* (1936), *Saratoga* (1937), *Gone with the Wind* (1939), *Mogambo* (1953), *Run Silent, Run Deep* (1958), *Teacher's Pet* (1958), *The Misfits* (1961)

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performer appeared in films, he or she might undergo vocal training along with singing and dancing lessons. Initially, a new performer would be tried out in several minor and supporting roles. Those performers who were regarded as star material would progress to lead roles in minor features before graduating to star in major productions. These arrangements provided the studios with systemized routes for the training and "apprenticeship" of performers.

To secure and protect the potential marketable value of the performer's identity produced through this system, the major studios signed their most promising performers to contracts that spanned a term of up to seven years. Term contracts defined the legal but also the commercial conditions of the Hollywood star system in the 1930s and 1940s. A contract defined the terms by which a studio had the rights to commercially exploit a star's image or likeness. In signing a term contract with a

Clark Gable. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

studio, a performer agreed to provide the studio exclusively with his or her services. If a performer advanced to the heights of stardom, he or she would be guaranteed riches and fame unknown in other arenas of the performing arts. However, the exclusivity of the personal services contract prevented the performer from seeking work with any other studio.

Alongside the legal and commercial functions, the term contract also served as an instrument of control. A studio could determine what films and roles a star would be cast in, frequently resulting in typecasting, against which many stars complained. Term contracts also served as instruments of discipline. As the emergence of star scandals beginning in the early 1920s destroyed the careers of some popular performers, the studios, to protect the marketable images they had so carefully cultivated and circulated, included morality clauses in contracts to guard against stars committing any damaging transgressions in their private lives.

Faced with the controlling terms under which they worked, many stars entered into disputes with the studios, usually over restrictive casting or when renegotiating their contracts. It was common for studios to loan out their stars to other studios but in certain cases this practice could be used as a way of disciplining a troublesome star by forcibly loaning out the performer to take an uninviting role for a lesser studio. In the most heated disputes, stars played what was the only card left for them—to withdraw their labor and refuse to work. However, in such situations the star could be suspended, with the period of the suspension then added on to the overall duration of the contract. The term contract was therefore both a blessing and a trap: it guaranteed performers regular employment on privileged terms but also granted the studio absolute control over their careers.

From the late 1940s the vertically integrated studio system was gradually dismantled. Hollywood was internally reorganized following the Paramount Decree of 1948, a Supreme Court antitrust ruling against the studios; external influences, including the impact of television, brought about a decline in the moviegoing audience. With film production consequently reduced, contracted stars and other leading talent became a hugely expensive overhead. From the end of the 1940s into the 1960s, the studios therefore gradually phased out the long-term contracting of stars. All performers, including stars, became part of a large freelance labor pool for the industry to draw on. Stars were no longer bound to the studios in the way they had been in the 1930s and 1940s. Freelance stars had greater freedom to select their roles and negotiate significant increases in their fees between films. They also obtained greater creative power through forming their own independent production companies. Without the term contract, the studios no longer had the means to control and discipline stars. Arguably, the star system was built on the very mechanics of that control, and so while Hollywood cinema has continued to be a popular cinema fronted by the images of stars, the rigid systemization of the 1930s and 1940s has been replaced by a looser system based on the circulation of a few major performers across the freelance labor pool.

STARDOM IN OTHER NATIONAL CINEMAS

Many popular cinemas have stars, but beyond Hollywood, few national film industries can claim to have developed a star system. As early American film saw considerable interaction between theater and film, so in Britain, France, and India professional performers of the dramatic and comedy stages occasionally worked onscreen; but most early film performers in these countries remained anonymous. In Britain, stage stars appeared on film from two sources: the legitimate theater

Clark Gable worked freelance on his last film,* The Misfits *(John Huston, 1961) with Marilyn Monroe. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

(for example, Sir Johnston Forbes-Robertson and Sir Herbert Tree) and the music hall (George Robey and Fred Evans). Similarly, in France at the start of the 1900s early films featured performers from the legitimate theater such as Coquelin and Réjane. From 1907 the Film d'Art company signed stars from the Comédie-Française, including Sarah Bernhardt (1844–1923), Louise Lagrange, and Gabrielle Robinne. Performances by music hall stars like Maurice Chevalier were also committed to film.

In India, after an initial period of *actualités*, comedies, and trick films, production of narrative features began from 1913 on. At this time the theater entrepreneur Jamsetji Framji Madan expanded his business interests into film. He formed Madan Theatres Limited in 1919, and systematically created a synthesis between theater and film, using stage hits as the material for early narrative film features while casting his leading stage actors in the screen adaptations. A contracted Madan player, the Anglo-Indian actor Patience Cooper, became the first major star of silent cinema in India, with her name promoted on posters by Madan. Cooper was representative of a group of Eurasian actresses, including Ruby Myers, who adopted the name Sulochana, and Renee Smith (b. 1912), who became Seeta Devi, that formed the initial wave of stars in the colonial Indian cinema.

Studios in Britain, France, and India placed their leading performers under contract. In 1905 the French comedian Max Linder (1883–1925) was signed by Pathé, where he would make a series of comedy shorts. Because Linder's performances received popular recognition outside France, Ginette Vincendeau has argued that he was the first international film star. Unlike the long-term contracts offered by the major studios in Hollywood, historically it became the familiar pattern in French cinema for film performers to sign contracts with a producer or director for only one to three films. Consequently, the French cinema never instituted a star system comparable to Hollywood's. The careers of performers were never controlled in the same manner and producers did not work to cultivate and circulate the images of stars with the same intensity, for any effort made by an individual producer to promote a star was sure to be of greater benefit to whomever the star next worked for.

Although the Indian industry would produce stars of its own, until the late 1940s popular cinema in India continued to be dominated by the films and stars of Hollywood. From the 1930s to early 1950s, a number of major studios stood at the forefront of the Indian industry, each with its own contracted stars: Bombay Talkies, Imperial Film Company, New Theatres, Prabhat Film Company, Ranjit Film Company (renamed Ranjit Movietone), and Sagar (later National Studios). For example, the silent star Sulochana signed to Imperial, where she was reportedly paid 2,500 rupees per month in 1933, making her the highest-paid film performer in the period; Kundan Lal Saigal (1904–1947) became the leading star of Indian cinema in the 1930s while signed to New Theatres. Following national independence in 1947, the film industry in India was transformed. As the Hollywood studio system was breaking up, in the early 1950s the studio system in India began to dissolve. A consequence of this change was that performers were no longer retained on term contracts but instead operated on a freelance basis, signing to perform in a specific film or series of films. In a direct challenge to the power of the studios, independent producers offered large payments to star names, thereby providing the context in which star fees would rapidly inflate, accounting for an increasing proportion of the production budget for a film.

Historically, the British cinema has always struggled to define and sustain itself against the overwhelming dominance of Hollywood film. Recognizing the importance of stars for popular cinema, the British film industry has made several attempts to cultivate its own stars

and star system. During the 1930s and 1940s leading studios retained stars on contract: Gainsborough Studios' stars included Margaret Lockwood (1916–1990) and James Mason (1909–1984), and in 1947 Dirk Bogarde was signed by Rank's Contract Artists Department, whose talent roster was informally known as "the Rankery." In an attempt to systemize the creation of star identities, during the late 1940s and early 1950s young male and female performers like Joan Collins, Diana Dors, John Gregson, and Christopher Lee had their screen personas groomed through the "Rank Charm School." However, the system never guaranteed work for the performers who passed through; because Rank cultivated a strong English middle-class persona for its performers, their appeal was not only restricted within the social parameters of British cinema but also overseas. As the examples of Charles Chaplin, Vivien Leigh, Cary Grant, Elizabeth Taylor, Richard Burton, and Catherine Zeta-Jones all illustrate, British-born performers have historically achieved levels of national or international fame to rival the Hollywood stars only after transferring their careers to Hollywood itself.

Although popular cinemas in other national contexts have created star performers and worked to put in place mechanisms to systematically promote the identities of stars, arguably the only cinema to have sustained a long term star *system* is Hollywood.

A MULTIPLE MEDIA SYSTEM

Stardom in the cinema has always relied on relationships with various other forms of popular mass media. Historically, relationships between film stardom and other media have operated in two main ways: the flows of performing talent between other media and film, and the use of other media as channels to promote film stars.

As already discussed, theater originally fed the film star system in the earliest decades of cinema. With the birth of radio broadcasting in the late 1920s, a new popular medium arose, creating stars of its own, providing performers such as Bing Crosby (1903–1977) with the exposure to build a film career that continued into the 1960s. After the international popularization of television from the early 1950s, the small screen provided a fresh window for film stars whose glory years had passed to present television drama anthologies. Examples include *Robert Montgomery Presents* (ABC, 1950–1957), *Charles Boyer Theater* (1953), and *The Gloria Swanson Show* (1954). However, for the American cinema, television increasingly provided the testing ground previously served by the in-house training offered by the studios. Numerous stars initially worked in television before achieving film stardom. Clint Eastwood (*Rawhide*, 1959–1966), John Travolta (*Welcome Back, Kotter*, 1975–1978), Robin Williams (*Mork and Mindy*, 1978), Michael J. Fox (*Family Ties*, 1982), Will Smith (*Fresh Prince of Bel Air*, 1990), Brad Pitt (*Glory Days*, 1990), Jim Carrey (*In Living Color*, 1990–1994), and George Clooney (*ER*, 1994–1999) are just a few of the performers to gain film stardom following successes in television.

The ways in which the images of stars are produced and circulated also contribute to relationships between film and other media. Alongside films themselves, stars make a number of other media appearances. The name, face, and voice of a star will appear in the press, in television and radio advertisements, and on posters, DVD cases, and magazine covers. The Internet has added to the mixture of media channels circulating star identities, contributing to the presentation of stars in a variety of contexts, from film promotions to fan sites and "celebrity nude" sites. Through these channels, film stars make multiple media appearances, often simultaneously, and cumulatively these channels create and circulate the image of the star. A star's image today is therefore multiply mediated. Film stardom works across diverse sources of media output to make a star's image a sign of similarity and difference. Of course, organizing the multiple appearances of a star's image across different media requires planning. A star's multiple media appearances are therefore among the clearest indicators that film stardom is never the product of the individual performer alone but always of an array of collaborative and institutional actions systematically designed to make performers known to the moviegoing public.

SEE ALSO *Fans and Fandom; Film History; Journals and Magazines; Publicity and Promotion; Stars; Studio System*

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STARS

Film stardom is a phenomenon formed between the industry that produces films, the actual content of films, and the ways in which moviegoers form their relationships with films. To a large extent, the popularity of cinema results from the production, distribution, presentation, and consumption of film stars. Looking at stars therefore provides a focus from which to reflect more generally upon the workings and attractions of cinema.

FILM STARDOM AS A CULTURAL INSTITUTION

In his 1990 history of the formation of the star system in American cinema, Richard DeCordova argues that after an initial period when the names of film performers were not publicly circulated and films actors remained anonymous to the moviegoing public, the first move towards a star system came with the earliest advertising of performers' names from 1909 onward. Ever since, film stardom has worked through the circulation of performer names and it is through the distribution of those names that the identities of film stars enter the broader public culture.

Star names appear in film credits, trailers, posters, interviews, talk shows and fanzines as a familiar and taken-for-granted feature of popular film culture. Why are star names so important to popular cinema? What is the function of star names and what do those names do to films? While a moviegoer may have seen many films, sufficient differences exist between single films as unique cultural artifacts. Moviegoers can therefore never be entirely certain what they will get at the first viewing of a new film. Audiences pay for their tickets at the box office or rent DVDs with an incomplete knowledge of what they are buying. As film production and distribution requires high levels of investment, the film industry bases its business on trying to sell expensively produced products to audiences who have very little idea of what they will get. Like systems of genre classification, stars names are one of the mechanisms used by the film industry to predetermine audience expectations.

A star's name places a film in relation to a string of other films featuring the same performer, working as a marker of continuity. "Tom Cruise" situates *Collateral* (2004) in relation to *Top Gun* (1986), *Mission: Impossible* (1996) or *The Last Samurai* (2003). Although one Tom Cruise film will never be exactly like the last, nevertheless the name of the star serves to cultivate a range of expectations and to guarantee the delivery of similar performer qualities. At the same time, the name is also a marker of difference: "Cruise" differentiates the aforementioned films from the chain of *Mad Max* (1979), *Lethal Weapon* (1987) and *Signs* (2002) linked by the "Mel Gibson" label.

Star names serve a commercial function similar to product brand names: a star's name links together a string of film performances or appearances, labeling the continuity of certain physical and verbal characteristics across a number of film performances and so creating a "branded" identity. Simultaneously, in the crowded marketplace of films, the star name differentiates a film from the many others in the market. Continuity and difference therefore define the function of star names in the commerce and culture of cinema.

History demonstrates the significance Hollywood placed on the names of performers. In the case of Frances Gumm, it is widely known that MGM renamed

Tom Cruise in* Collateral *(Michael Mann, 2004). © DREAMWORKS/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

her Judy Garland to give the child performer a more glamorous title. In other cases, renaming worked in the opposite direction to deexoticize of the performer's name. When MGM's head of production Louis B. Mayer supposedly claimed the name of the new contract player Lucille Fay LeSueur sounded too much like "sewer," a competition in *Photoplay* magazine saw moviegoers voting to rename her Joan Crawford. In other cases, renaming has served to mask the racial or ethnic roots of performers: for example, when Columbia signed New York-born dancer Margarita Carmen Casino, her Spanish patrilineage was obscured when the studio gave her the more Anglicized name of Rita Hayworth.

While film stars are known for their performances in films, their fame does not rest upon cinema alone. Aside from film roles, film stars make numerous appearances in other media. During the production of a film, stories frequently appear in magazines or newspapers about a star's work on the set. It is the role of the unit publicist to arrange for stories from the production unit about a film's stars to be prepared and made available to the press. Once the film is completed, the star becomes one of the crucial instruments used to market the film. While the average feature film is a relatively long media text, the poster or trailer must promote the idea of that film in a comparatively small amount of space or time. Stars are therefore frequently foregrounded in these media as a way to summarize and crystallize the larger body of the film. For example, posters for *As Good As It Gets* (1997) condensed the whole idea of the film into a single image of Jack Nicholson smiling. The star alone was used to represent the larger idea of the film and communicate it directly to the moviegoing public.

Trailers, posters, and advertisements are all forms of paid promotion. Alongside these marketing channels, stars are also used to give interviews for newspapers, magazines, or television. By holding a press conference or a high-profile premiere with stars in attendance, a film may gain front page coverage in a newspaper without paying for print advertisements. While costs are attached to running such events, these channels are classified not as paid promotions but rather as publicity, for they give a film relatively free exposure compared to the high costs of promotional campaigns.

Films, together with promotion and publicity, therefore result in a star's identity circulating across a range of media channels. However, for a star's profile to endure, his or her performances must be critically well received. Critical opinion, as published through the press, is important to a performer becoming recognized as a star. Criticism also works to evaluate stars by circulating opinions about performers. While members of the moviegoing public will ultimately decide whether they like a star or not, and those responses may or may not correspond with the opinions voiced in published reviews, professional film criticism nevertheless mediates responses to films and their performers.

Film stardom is therefore a multiple-media construction. Promotion, publicity, and criticism provide various contexts in which the names of stars circulate across a wide range of mass media. While film stardom cultivates belief in the power and significance of the extraordinary individual performer, that individuality is always dependent upon the industrial conditions of mass communication that plan and organize the circulation of star names; without those conditions, the making and dissemination of star identities would be impossible. It is the persistence of those conditions that has made film stardom a modern cultural institution.

STAR PERFORMANCE

While film technique has undergone substantial revision throughout film history, narrative filmmaking has maintained certain basic conventions to center and emphasize the star performer. Leading roles, close-ups, backlighting, tracking shots, or character-related soundtrack melodies are just some of the narrative and aesthetic devices repeatedly used to isolate and focus on star performers on-screen. Despite historical differences between styles in filmmaking, the persistence of these devices for nearly a century has resulted in the establishment of widely instituted aesthetic conventions in star performance.

Between the star and the larger ensemble of actors making up the cast, a distinction can be drawn between what Richard Maltby (p. 381) describes as the "integrated" and "autonomous" qualities of performances witnessed in popular cinema. While performances by the majority of actors appearing in a star-driven feature film will remain submerged and integrated into the flow of the narrative, the presentational techniques of star performance give the stars greater autonomy by lifting them out of the general narrative to isolate and foreground their actions. When Kate Winslet is first introduced in *Titanic* (1997), she appears on the crowded pier in Southampton among the hordes waiting to board the ship. Centralized and tightened framing, combined with an overhead craning shot, costume, lighting, and a surge of the musical score, all serve to differentiate her from the supporting actors and extras. When Winslet's colead, Leonardo DiCaprio, is introduced, the camera lurks behind his head, immediately creating an enigma within the shot, and the following montage then picks him out from the three other card players he is seated with. It would be easy to believe this autonomous quality is a result of acting or star presence but it is entirely an effect of film technique.

Throughout film history, stars have become associated with particular breakthrough performances that made their reputations: Brigitte Bardot in *Et Dieu . . . créa la femme* (*. . . And God Created Woman*, 1956), James Cagney in *The Public Enemy* (1931), Marlene Dietrich in *The Blue Angel* (1930), Marlon Brando in *A Streetcar Named Desire* (1951) or Julia Roberts in *Pretty Woman* (1990) are just a few examples of performances that could be regarded in this way. Such performances not only serve to give the star a widespread public profile but also become defining statements in that star's on-screen identity.

Where the entire construction of a film seems to rest upon the continuity of a star's established qualities, then it is appropriate to describe such films as "star vehicles," for they maximize exposure of the star's distinctive qualities. In the star vehicle, the continuities of a star's on-screen identity override the differences of character: whatever the particular role, in the films of Cameron Diaz or Brad Pitt, the central character always remains to some extent "Cameron Diaz" or "Brad Pitt." This is not to say that the star vehicle merely displays the "natural personality" of the star performer, for the on-screen identity of the star is as much a performed act as the individual roles he or she plays.

Star vehicles are frequently constructed in order for a star to demonstrate a particular feat or skill for which he or she is well known. After Elvis Presley's rapid rise to music stardom, the melodrama *Love Me Tender* (1956), set immediately after the end of the Civil War, may not have appeared the most obvious movie debut for him. However, despite its historical context, the film still plausibly integrated songs by Elvis into the narrative, and his subsequent roles in *Loving You* (1957) and *Jailhouse Rock* (1957) fully showcased his contemporary youth-orientated musical appeal. Similarly, after several decades working as a performer and director in Hong Kong cinema, Jackie Chan had acquired a reputation for his physical performances combining martial arts maneuvers with slapstick humor. This mixture of talents was subsequently foregrounded once Chan moved to Hollywood, as evident in *Rush Hour* (1998) and *Shanghai Noon* (2000). An Elvis song or Jackie Chan fight can therefore been seen as an example of the

Clint Eastwood brought his western persona to the role of* Dirty Harry *(Don Siegel, 1971). **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

conscious organization of a film's narrative in order to reserve moments for the performance of the "star turn."

So resonant is the breakthrough performance or star vehicle that any departure from the roles played in those contexts is frequently judged through reference to the familiar type. Critical commentators regarded Jim Carrey's performances in *The Majestic* (2001) and *Eternal Sunshine of the Spotless Mind* (2004) as straight roles aimed at transforming the comedy star's established on-screen identity. In these cases, Carrey's performances received a largely positive critical reception. However, in other cases, the continuity of a star's name may bring such a weight of expectations to a film that it becomes impossible for that star to break from type. For example, *When Harry Met Sally* (1989) provided Meg Ryan with a breakthrough role that associated her with the contemporary romantic comedy, resulting in further romantic roles in *Sleepless in Seattle* (1993) and *French Kiss* (1995). Through these roles, Ryan's name became so burdened with generic expectations and a particular character type that her appearance in the war drama *Courage Under Fire* (1996) received uniformly poor reviews, conditioned by the apparent implausibility of accepting Ryan in a combat drama. Continuity therefore builds but also restricts the on-screen identities of film stars, and star performance always rests on a delicate balance between the needs of continuity and the limitations of typecasting.

STAR STUDIES

Although film stars are widely-known public figures, few people ever get to meet an actual star in person. Instead, it is through the combination of film performances, promotion, publicity, and criticism that film stars reach the broad moviegoing public. Consequently, films stars are mediated identities. Somewhere in the world there is the real Tom Hanks; however, the vast majority of the

CLINT EASTWOOD

b. Clinton Eastwood, Jr., San Francisco, California, 31 May 1930

In an acting career spanning more than five decades, Clint Eastwood achieved stardom by epitomizing tough masculine independence. This image was the product not only of the characters he played, but of a performance style that remained emotionally impassive and contained. Although Eastwood played a variety of roles, his stardom was defined by those he took in westerns directed by Sergio Leone and police thrillers directed by Don Siegel.

Following a succession of minor film roles, Eastwood obtained steady work as the character Rowdy Yates in the TV western series *Rawhide* (1959–1966). This generic association led to Eastwood's casting in Leone's famous "Dollars Trilogy" of Italian or "spaghetti" westerns: *Per un pugno di dollari* (*A Fistful of Dollars*, 1964), *Per qualche dollaro in più* (*For a Few Dollars More*, 1965), and *Il Buono, il brutto, il cattivo* (*The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly*, 1966), in which Eastwood appeared as The Man With No Name, an anonymous bounty hunter practicing his trade along the US-Mexican border. Afterward, Eastwood worked with Siegel in *Coogan's Bluff* (1968), *Two Mules for Sister Sara* (1970), and *Dirty Harry* (1971), where he made his first appearance as San Francisco police Inspector Harry Callahan, a role he reprised in four later films.

Eastwood carried the same performance characteristics across both roles—taciturn manner, emotionless expressions, deadpan witticisms. No Name and Callahan are singular men who refuse allegiance to any larger collective or institution. They represent qualities of independent individualism that convey broader ideas of social and political significance. No Name is a mercenary hero, serving only his own interest and profiting from death. When placed in the context of the American western, the ambiguity of this character questions and subverts the moral ground on which the genre built a sense of national identity. Callahan remains a more reactionary figure, for while he cannot align himself with the institutionalized law, which he regards as inadequate to maintaining social order, he searches for a more effective moral code that legitimates the enforcer's use of brutality, torture, and gun violence. In both cases, Eastwood's emotionless acting underscored the moral ambivalence of the characters.

Eastwood made further westerns, including *The Outlaw Josey Wales* (1976) and *Pale Rider* (1985), while the final outing for the Callahan character came with *The Dead Pool* (1988). Although the Leone and Siegel films continued to define Eastwood's image, he diversified his generic range by appearing in comedy (*Every Which Way But Loose*, 1978) and romantic drama (*The Bridges of Madison County*, 1995). Alongside his acting, *Play Misty for Me* (1971) and *High Plains Drifter* (1973) also established Eastwood as a critically praised director, and he won Oscars® for his directing of *Unforgiven* (1992) and *Million Dollar Baby* (2004).

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

As Actor: *Per un pugno di dollari (A Fistful of Dollars*, 1964), *Il Buono, il brutto, il cattivo (The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly*, 1966), *Dirty Harry* (1971); As Actor and Director: *Play Misty for Me* (1971), *High Plains Drifter* (1973), *Unforgiven* (1992), *Million Dollar Baby* (2004); As Director: *Bird* (1988), *Mystic River* (2003)

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public will know only the mediated Tom Hanks. Films, promotion or publicity materials, and criticism are various forms of textual materials that mediate the identities of stars. As star texts cluster around a given name, they define the identities of individual stars, and as they accumulate over time, they also form a public sense of film stardom in general.

It was a focus on the mediation of star identities which, during the late 1970s, stimulated and energized the growth of star studies as a distinct stream of research

Clint Eastwood as the Man with No Name in **Il Buono, il brutto, il cattivo (The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly, *1966*).** EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

in film scholarship. The key to this development was the original publication in 1979 of Richard Dyer's book *Stars*. Dyer drew on historical, sociological, and psychological works to review previous scholarship on film stars and presented his own fresh approach to the study of film stardom. He did not contemplate the biographical truth of a star—the star-as-person—but concentrated instead on what he described as the "star image." Although the term "image" may suggest that Dyer was interested only in the visual texts mediating star identities, he emphasized that the study of star images must encompass the whole range of visual, verbal, and auditory star texts circulated through films, promotion, publicity, and criticism.

Dyer's approach was grounded in a semiotic form of analysis, in which a star's performance in a film is constructed across a combination of signs: visual (for example, hair color or style, the shapes of facial features, aspects of physical build, gestures, and costume), verbal (words spoken from a script or familiar turns of phrase) and nonverbal (the speed and volume of the voice, or dialect). Together these signs combine to form the star's on-screen image.

A star's performances produce the on-screen image but DeCordova argues that American cinema did not achieve a fully formed star system until the second decade of the twentieth century, when the press and other media began to run stories covering the private lives of stars. This trend has continued ever since with newspapers and magazines publishing stories and photos relating to the social events a star has attended, whom he or she is dating, his or her tastes in fashion, or the star's home. As these materials multiply the volume of signs in circulation about a star, they work to produce his or her off-screen image.

Fundamental to Dyer's perspective was a regard for film stars as constructed images. At the most basic level, a star's image is constructed because at any moment an actor's performance is formed through the confluence of

many signs and meanings. Star images are also intertextual constructions, for they are produced through the sharing and linking of meanings between a variety of sources of star texts. Finally, the meanings attached to any of the signs that make up the star's image are contingent upon particular historical and cultural circumstances. At different historical moments, images of different stars have defined audiences' ideas of beauty or desirability, for example. Star images are therefore cultural constructions, for the signs they present and the meanings they generate are products of the cultural circumstances in which they are circulated and read.

When the star-as-person is replaced by the star-as-image, the significance of particular stars is no longer explained by recourse to ineffable essential qualities of charisma or magnetism but rather through exploring how a star's significance is, or was, constructed through the tangible textual materials by which the images of stars are circulated.

Reading stars as images concentrates on regarding film stars as mediated identities. Such images are never the straightforward or transparent portrayal of the real personality of a star, but rather, represent an identity made and circulated through channels of mass communication. Whatever meanings are generated through those images may or may not correspond to the actual personality of a star; however, this does not mean the star image is something supplementary, untrue, or inauthentic, behind which lies the hidden truth of the real star. Instead, star image studies regard the image as the only means by which the public knows a star, and so assume that the truth or reality of any star is in the image. It is the work of analysis, then, to show how the various signs and texts that construct the image of a star serve to produce meaning and thereby construct what is known about a star.

Dyer's star-image approach considered how the meanings of star images are formed through, and reproduce, wider belief systems in society. At one level, star images provide us with the identities by which we are able to conceptualize distinct individual star identities, for example "Zeenat Aman," "Amitabh Bachchan," "Theda Bara," "Maurice Chevalier," "David Niven," "Shirley Temple" or "Bruce Willis." Each name represents an individual unique star identity. Equally, however, and in a contradictory manner, star images are also important for their typicality rather than their uniqueness. Star images are marketable or intelligible to the broad moviegoing public only because they represent socially and culturally shared meanings of masculinity or femininity, ethnicity, national identity, sexuality, or maturity, for example. Star images are therefore always socially meaningful images, and it is in their social significance that their ideological meaning can be read.

As a socially meaningful image, the significance of any star image inside the cinema is always the result of meanings produced outside the cinema, elsewhere in society. Dyer further explored the relations between star images and society in his 1987 study *Heavenly Bodies: Film Stars and Society*. Here he enriched the study of star images by seeking to situate the meanings of stars historically, taking star texts and attending to how their ideological significance related to the context in which they circulated. For his study of Marilyn Monroe (1926–1962) in *Heavenly Bodies*, Dyer used the sexiness of Monroe's image to consider the historical significance of her image in relation to ideas of sexuality and femininity at the time she first reached stardom in 1950s America. He explored how that image in the early 1950s was consistent with beliefs about the naturalness and innocence of sexuality, promoted in particular through the men's magazine *Playboy*, first published in 1953. For Dyer, the Monroe image appeared to enact the *Playboy* "philosophy" (p. 28). As *Playboy* addressed its male readership about the truth and naturalness of sex, so Monroe's image appeared to unproblematically affirm the correspondence of female sexuality to those beliefs.

By constructing his sense of context in this way, Dyer did not seek to situate his reading of Monroe and sexuality in relation to actual sexual practice in the 1950s. Rather, he interpreted Monroe through the ideas or discourses of sexuality circulating in the era, a collection of texts coexisting within a context of other texts, which together constructed notions of sexual truth and pleasure during the 1950s. If *Stars* made the study of star images into a work of intertextual analysis, that is, reading across a range of textual materials to see how they constructed the mediated identity of the star, then *Heavenly Bodies* extended that work into an interdiscursive realm by considering how the images of stars related to broader clusters of ideas and perceptions in circulation.

STARS AND MOVIEGOERS

Films, promotion, publicity, and criticism make film stardom dependent on industrially organized channels of mass communication to publicly circulate the names and identities of stars. Equally, film stardom requires a mass audience for the movies. The relationships formed between moviegoers and film stars can be conceptualized in various ways.

As already suggested, star names are part of the marketing address that the film industry makes to potential moviegoers. Stars may influence choices in both positive and negative ways, for a moviegoer may choose

LILLIAN GISH

b. Lillian Diana de Guiche, Springfield, Ohio, 14 October 1893, d. 27 February 1993

Lillian Gish was one of the first female stars of American cinema, best known for her performances in silent films but the recipient of an honorary Academy Award® in 1970 "for superlative artistry and for distinguished contribution to the progress of motion pictures" during an exceptionally long career.

After working as child stage actors, Lillian and her younger sister Dorothy joined the Biograph Company in 1912. There they worked with the director D. W. Griffith, making their screen debuts in the one-reel *An Unseen Enemy* (1912) and becoming part of his repertory company of actors.

Gish's rise to stardom came as Griffith moved to feature film production. After appearing as one of the four leads in *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), she took leading roles in Griffith's *Hearts of the World* (1918), *True Heart Susie* (1919), *Broken Blossoms* (1919), *Way Down East* (1920), and *Orphans of the Storm* (1921). While Gish's screen career lasted seventy-five years, during which she was cast in a variety of parts and worked with many directors, her roles in Griffith's films largely defined her on-screen image as the victimized child-woman.

Despite the various roles she played during the silent period, Gish's image was dominated by a particular character type: a fragile young woman, epitomizing innocence and virtue, whose goodness is wrongly judged and/or brutally punished. Frequently placed in dramatic situations in which her characters were vulnerable to injustice and deceit, Gish repeatedly portrayed ethereality and unworldliness. Although victimized by the evils of society, Gish's child-woman characters nevertheless represented an independent spirit ready to confront and challenge the dangers of a hostile world. Through repetition and similarity, these roles produced a strong association between star and genre, with Gish's image operating as a sign of virtue in silent melodrama.

Gish's image was equally based on her uniqueness. Her contemporary, Mary Pickford, similarly displayed childlike virtue in many roles, but Pickford's portrayals never carried the same ethereal or unworldly qualities as Gish's, instead provoking a sense of energy and health that gained her the label "America's Sweetheart." Ethereality also became a significant aspect of the off-screen image of Gish. Journalists and other commentators frequently noted her leisure-time commitment to reading classic literature or poetry as indicating a solitude and serious manner appropriate to her tragic roles. Press commentary therefore worked to create a fit between on- and off-screen images, constructing Gish's private life as the complement to the lives of her characters.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

The Birth of a Nation (1915), *Hearts of the World* (1918), *Broken Blossoms* (1919), *Way Down East* (1920), *Orphans of the Storm* (1921), *The Scarlet Letter* (1926), *The Wind* (1928), *Duel in the Sun* (1946), *The Cobweb* (1955), *The Night of the Hunter* (1955)

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to avoid a film precisely because it features John Travolta or Demi Moore just as much as another moviegoer may decide to see it for the same reason.

Stars may also become figures with which audiences identify in films. By foregrounding the performance of the star, narrative cinema creates the star's character as a figure of central narrative agency, and so the moviegoer frequently follows and understands the plot largely through the actions and reactions of the character played by the star. In some cases, scenes are constructed to place

Lillian Gish in D.W. Griffith's* Broken Blossoms *(1919).
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the moviegoer in a position to see and hear what the star's character witnesses. For example, In *What Lies Beneath* (2000), Michele Pfeiffer lies drugged and immobile in a bathtub filling with water as her murderous husband attempts to fake her suicide. The scene is shot and edited to place the moviegoer in a position to build identification with the star's subjective viewpoint.

Aside from showing what the star's character sees, other techniques are frequently used to encourage understanding of, and identification with, what the star's character knows or feels. Again in *What Lies Beneath*, one sequence involves Pfeiffer's character Claire in her daughter's bedroom discovering an old vest from her days as a music student at Juilliard. This sets off a chain of remembrances as she then leafs through a photo album in the basement. A range of emotional changes occurs during the sequence, from wistful longing to sadness and anxiety. These are not registered by Pfeiffer's acting, for the camera only occasionally looks at her. Instead, the musical score carries over from bedroom to basement, shifting in tone to convey Claire's range of feelings. Here the moviegoer is able to understand the star character's emotional point of view through the music. Identification with a star can therefore be achieved through various visual and aural techniques and these work independently of whether the moviegoer does or does not like a star: they do not depend on audience taste but rather are the effects of how image and sound work to direct and structure relations between the moviegoer and the presence of the star in the narrative.

Subjective viewpoint shots or point of view devices work to position moviegoers with the experience of the star's character in the narrative. In this case the relation between star and moviegoer is constructed through what the film does to the audience. However, the processes of identification involved with the star/moviegoer relationship are more complex than that. While films may place moviegoers in positions of identification with stars, the question still remains—what is it about stars that fascinates moviegoers? For Dyer, star images enthrall because they are able to draw together contradictory ideological meanings in the one figure: Monroe signified both innocence and sexiness in equal measure. John Ellis, in his 1992 book *Visible Fictions*, has suggested the off-screen images of stars provide audiences with only a scattering of elements from reviews, interviews, or gossip, which leave an incoherent and incomplete sense of the star. Moviegoers are drawn to seeing stars perform in films, Ellis argues, because it is only in those appearances that the various elements are brought together at a point of coherence and completion. Ellis also understands the relationship between star and moviegoer through various psychoanalytic concepts. As the film performance allows moviegoers to spy on figures apparently unaware they are being watched, there is a voyeuristic component to watching stars. Since stars appear to be both ordinary and extraordinary, they are also similar to and different from moviegoers. This closeness and distance makes the star an object of desire, for the star is simultaneously accessible and inaccessible. For psychoanalytic film theory, the identificatory relationship between the moviegoer and the star is based on star images providing ego ideals, making up for deficiencies or divisions in the self by presenting identities who appear to be complete and lacking nothing.

A crucial problem with these broad-based theories is that they tend to generalize the way in which moviegoers relate to stars. Moviegoers form a far wider array of responses to stars, combining adoration, esteem, and respect with feelings of loathing, disdain, and contempt. In a study of letters from female moviegoers remembering the pleasures they had found in watching female stars of 1940s cinema, Jackie Stacey, in her 1994 book *Star Gazing: Hollywood Cinema and Female Spectatorship*, noted how identification took a variety of forms both inside and outside the movie theater. Inside the theater,

moviegoers related experiences of forming a loyal attachment to a star, regarding a star as different and unattainable, or otherwise losing a sense of self by fantasizing about becoming the star. Stacey describes this range of identificatory fantasies as instances of "devotion," "worship," and "transcendence." Outside the theater, identification continued, as women described make-believe games of pretending to be the star or otherwise imitating a star's behavior, foregrounding an actual physical resemblance to the star, or copying the star's style. Here identification took various practical forms that extended the significance of a star image beyond the theater and into the everyday lives of moviegoers.

In these cases, identification was the product not of what the film did to the moviegoer, but rather what the moviegoer did with a star image. Stacey's research therefore began to point toward some of the identificatory relationships formed between moviegoers and film stars. Stacey's work provided valuable ground for beginning to think about the complex variety of emotional responses moviegoers have to stars and the manners in which they enact those relationships.

SEE ALSO *Acting; Fans and Fandom; Journals and Magazines; Reception Theory; Spectatorship and Audiences; Star System; Studio System*

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Paul McDonald

STRUCTURALISM AND POSTSTRUCTURALISM

Structuralism and poststructuralism are theoretical attitudes arising out of film studies' "linguistic turn"—the attempt to reconceptualize cinema using language as an explanatory paradigm—in the 1960s and 1970s. At this time, the discipline was just beginning to attain footing as a serious field of scholarly inquiry and become an established presence as an academic department at universities. In many ways symptomatic of the fledgling field's anxiety about being taken seriously, the structuralist movement's claim to a scientific approach to criticism was very appealing to film theorists looking to move beyond "film appreciation." Poststructuralism would both refine and overturn structuralist assumptions; where the structuralist impulse was to erect systems, poststructuralists looked for gaps and ruptures therein.

THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD: STRUCTURALISM

Structuralism is, broadly defined, an approach to human activity that sees it as analyzable in terms of networks of relationships; objects derive meaning from their positions in these relationships. Structural analysis attempts to equalize all texts (and forms of texts) by reducing them to the same underlying universal system. This system was articulated through the vocabulary of classical structural linguistics. The linguistic terminology found in Ferdinand de Saussure's *Course in General Linguistics* (compiled posthumously by his students and published in 1915) was particularly influential on the shape of the structuralist method. The ideas collected in this volume seek to outline a modern linguistics, but simultaneously envisage the conceptual framework for a general science of signs: "semiology" in his parlance. As a "science of signs, signifiyers, and signifying systems," semiotics—as semiology is now more commonly called—had a profound role in both structuralist and poststructuralist thought.

Saussure's semiotics was quickly appropriated by thinkers seeking a rigorous system to decipher myths and literature, particularly by Russians and Czechs. Vladimir Propp's *Morphology of the Folk Tale* (1929), for example, dissected the general structure of one hundred Russian folktales by determining which elements were constant and which were variable. Propp concluded that nearly all the tales in his analysis had the same basic structure. The various characters could fit into several categories of dramatis personae (hero, villain, victim, and so on); the various events contained in the stories could be classified into thirty-one possible actions and always occurred in the same order.

Although Propp and others pioneered a structuralist approach in the 1920s, it would take until the 1960s for structural analysis to take root and blossom in Western Europe and North America as a method for understanding a whole range of cultural phenomena. In the 1960s French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss applied Saussurean principles to his study of mythology and kinship systems. His bold transfer of structural-linguistic logic began the drive toward structural analysis in a host of fields, including literature and film studies.

In his anthropological work, Lévi-Strauss sought a unifying system that could explain why similar myths

appear in very different cultures. Myths derive their significance, according to his research in *Structural Anthropology* (1963), not from their individual elements, but rather from "bundles of relations." Applying to diverse mythologies Saussure's insights into *binarism* (that language derives meaning from difference: the word *apple* is insignificant and arbitrary as an individual unit; only because it is unique vis-à-vis the word *pear* and every other word can it be meaningful for human interaction), Lévi-Strauss demonstrated how myths function like Saussure's theory of language. No individual part of a myth has meaning in isolation; it acquires significance only in its relationship to the other elements in the myth's structure. Following from this, a single myth is first meaningful when it is situated among other myths, social practices, and kinship systems. For Lévi-Strauss, myths are universal, timeless stories whose ultimate function is to represent the resolution of social conflict.

Structuralist analysis became fashionable. Reflecting the method's quest for the universal, scholars began ferreting out underlying systems in all sorts of fields. Applying structuralist methodologies to individual literary works and genres, Tzvetan Todorov claimed that narrative fiction can be studied on three levels: the semantic (the content), the syntactic (structures, relations, and combinatory rules), and the rhetorical (diction, point of view). Todorov identified cultural laws that appear and drive every story, hidden codes operating silently just below the texts' surfaces but made legible by the structuralist method's deductive impulse.

Since structuralism's appeal lay in its ability to apply systematic, scientific rigor to fields traditionally analyzed in highly subjective and even impressionistic ways, it is no surprise that the 1960s saw structural analysis move from established academic departments such as literature and anthropology to areas hitherto deemed unworthy of scholarly inquiry. The early work of Roland Barthes, for example, extended structuralist thought to a variety of contemporary systems including advertising, fashion, and food. It was in this period that structuralism seemed the logical methodology for addressing another cultural phenomenon just beginning to be taken seriously: film. The insights of pioneers such as Lévi-Strauss and Todorov provided exciting possibilities for film scholars. The network of repetitions and differences that structural analysis systematizes could be used to create "scientific" interpretations of films that could supplant journalistic-style "film appreciation" criticism (the dominant mode of film analysis through the mid-1960s). Film studies would thus enjoy a significant but brief encounter with structuralism, approaching cinema with structuralist-informed genre analyses, auteurist criticism, and narrative investigations. Jim Kitses pioneered this approach in *Horizons West* (1969), looking at the genre of the western.

Will Wright's *Six Guns and Society: A Structural Study of the Western* (1975) was another important structuralist genre analysis. Drawing heavily on Saussurean linguistics, Lévi-Strauss's conceptual structure of tribal myths, Propp's morphology of the Russian folktale, and the political and economic theories of John Kenneth Galbraith and Jürgen Habermas, Wright outlines the "structure" of the western film. Among the sixty-four top-grossing westerns released since 1930, Wright proposed that fifty-five of them conformed to one of four basic plot lines. Wright's structural analysis of the western's thematics made an easy transition from Propp and Todorov's studies; here, too, the task was to deduce a formula for a genre. Wright's scheme of narrative function echoed Propp's list of thirty-one possible actions in the folktale. Symptomatic is the extent to which literary, social, political, and economic theory informed Wright's study. Even through the 1970s, film scholars sought to justify and ground their analyses in theoretical insights derived within "established" fields.

Auteur-structuralism, practiced most famously in Geoffrey Nowell-Smith's monograph *Luchino Visconti* (1967) and then subsequently theorized by Peter Wollen in his book *Signs and Meaning in the Cinema* (1969), sought an underlying structure of stylistic or thematic motifs as the defining characteristic of the film author's work. These characteristics were not always immediately apparent, nor was the author necessarily aware of them. Film scholars also used structuralist insights to perform individual film analyses. Raymond Bellour's 1972 study of *The Birds* (1963), for example, breaks down the Bodega Bay sequence into a shot-by-shot analysis; Peter Wollen's 1976 investigation of *North by Northwest* (1959) performs a "morphological analysis" of the film in the spirit of Propp.

POSTSTRUCTURALISM: FROM SYSTEM TO SUBVERSION

Beginning in the late 1960s a group of theorists led by Jacques Derrida began to challenge the very basic assumptions that had informed structuralist thought, starting with its cornerstone, Saussurean semiotics. These attacks followed once the initial enthusiasm for structuralism began to wane. Less a theory than an interpretive attitude, poststructuralism in its broadest sense refers to an attention towards those elements unexplained, excluded, or repressed by structuralism's tidy systems, as well as a general distrust in systematicity in general. There is debate among scholars as to whether poststructuralism should be seen as an extension of structuralism or whether it constitutes a negation, a kind of antistructuralism. Some argue it is not antistructural since many poststructuralists used the semiotic terminology

that informed structuralist thought. In its most general sense, poststructuralism—linked to thinkers such as Michel Foucault, Julia Kristeva, and Jacques Lacan, to Barthes's later work, and above all to Derrida—is characterized by a suspicion of totalizing systems and a radical skepticism towards theories which attempt to explain human activity, such as Marxism, Christianity, and even structuralism. If structuralism set out to erect systems of binary oppositions, for instance, poststructuralists concerned themselves with instances in which systems break down or are subverted.

For poststructuralists, a "text" was no longer a finished, self-contained object that could be "explained" by the analyst, thereby rejecting the assumption under which structuralists had operated. Rather, according to Derrida, the text—whether literature, film, advertisement, or any cultural form—is first produced in the act of "reading," or interpretation. Although poststructuralists still deployed semiological terminology (sign, signifier, signified), they did so to criticize notions of stable signifying systems (although many poststructuralists were in fact Marxists).

Poststructuralism took film studies in new and often disparate directions. Unlike literary studies, Derridean deconstruction did not typically exert an immediate influence; film scholars tended to apply Derrida's subversive spirit to their interpretations, rather than organize their thoughts around any of his ideas. One strain, found above all in French journals such as *Cahiers du cinéma* and *Cinétique*, latched onto structuralist-Marxist Louis Althusser's concept of ideology in an effort to "demythologize" or "denaturalize" film—that is, to reveal the hidden cultural and ideological codes which underpin cinematic (especially Hollywood) signification. One famous example is the 1972 collective *Cahiers du cinéma* on John Ford's *Young Mr. Lincoln* (1939), which "read" or "rescanned" the film for moments where the director's "inscription" of a unique "writing" created spaces in the text which escaped the dominant ideology. This brand of analysis, sometimes referred to as a "deconstructive reading," essentially looked for what Derrida called "play"—the space in which structure is transformed and decentered—as an alternative approach to auteurist criticism. Another poststructuralist offshoot, Lacanian psychoanalysis, offered a further alternative to classic structuralist film analysis. Figures such as Christian Metz connected Lacan's reinterpretation of Sigmund Freud's theories to structural linguistics for the way in which both deal directly with signification. Metz called this hybrid theoretical matrix the "semio-psychoanalysis of the cinema."

Some scholars did attempt to apply Derrida directly. Marie-Claire Ropars-Wuilleumier's work, in particular *Le Texte divisé* (1981), extends to the cinema Derrida's notion of *écriture* (a conception of signification based on unfixable rather than stable signs). For Ropars-Wuilleumier, the Derridean hieroglyph (composed of both graphic representations of speech and pictorial elements) resembles Sergei Eisenstein's montage theory. Both make meaning based on juxtapositions which disrupt the image itself. Peter Brunette and David Wills's *Screen/Play: Derrida and Film Theory* (1989) imagines an "anagrammatical" film analysis. On facing pages they "read" François Truffaut's *La Mariée était en noir* (*The Bride Wore Black*, 1967) and David Lynch's *Blue Velvet* (1986) in order to demonstrate textual "undecidabilities" and "fissures," moments where the stability of the texts' meaning breaks down. In so doing they seek to expose deconstruction as less a specific theory that can be applied to interpret a film than a questioning attitude or suspicion with which one approaches a text.

The support for cinema studies' "linguistic turn" has eroded in recent years. Critics have opined that semiotic language has been abused as a jargon used to supply a facade of scientific sophistication. For them, structuralism is essentialist, and its focus on form obscures thematic content and ideological superstructures; structuralism's claim that objects exist only in their relation to one another causes its analyses to be synchronic (ahistorical) rather than diachronic (historical). This absence of history is troubling to many. Poststructuralism, too, has come under attack for its own contradictions. Some critics have noted that a mode supposedly devoted to discovering moments where unities and systems break down has itself become a totalizing system. In general, film scholars have been particularly keen to depart from a theoretical paradigm based in linguistics; rather, film studies should develop a vocabulary appropriate to discussing the medium on its own terms. Despite these criticisms, however, one must acknowledge the lasting effects of structuralism and poststructuralism on the process of interpretation in the field of film studies. Structuralism's scientific method helped advance film studies beyond the discourse of film appreciation. Poststructuralism, for its part, leaves behind a critical climate which encourages long-held assumptions to be challenged, invigorating our understanding of the medium.

SEE ALSO *Film Studies; Narrative; Psychoanalysis; Semiotics*

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Mattias Frey

STUDIO SYSTEM

Since the advent of commercial cinema over a century ago, the costs and complexity of filmmaking have encouraged producers to develop a factory-oriented approach to production. The benefits of such an approach include the centralization of both production and management; the division and detailed subdivision of labor; a standardized mode of production, film style, and type of product; cost efficiencies derived from economies of scale; consistent production values; and the cultivation of a brand name in the movie marketplace. This approach coalesced in Hollywood, California in the 1910s, when that locale became the nexus of commercial film production in the United States. The dominant firms referred to their production facilities as "studios," which invoked the more artistic aspects of filmmaking, although operations were modeled on the kind of mass production that Henry Ford (1863–1947) was introducing to the auto industry at the time.

The Hollywood studios that emerged in the 1910s and 1920s—Paramount, Fox, Warner Bros., et al.—complemented their factory-based production operations with common business practices that enabled them to collectively dominate the movie industry in the US and, increasingly, overseas as well. The fact that most of the early studios still dominate the industry on a global scale underscores their capacity to adapt and survive, although they no longer control the industry to anywhere near the extent that they did from the 1920s to through the 1940s, during Hollywood's so-called classical era, when the studio system was at its height, and when the studios' collective dominion at home and abroad established Hollywood as a national cinema with tremendous global currency. Film studios in other countries have enjoyed great success for periods of time, occasionally to the extent that the terms "studio system" and "national cinema" apply to them as well. This success often coincided with the national and international popularity of a particular type of product or film style, as with Ufa and German Expressionism in the 1920s, or the remarkable run of Alfred Hitchcock-directed thrillers from Gaumont British Distributors Ltd. in the 1930s. In some instances, sheer size and volume of output put a studio on the global or regional map, as with Germany's Ufa, Italy's Cinecitta, and a few others. But only India's "Bollywood" has developed a studio system comparable to Hollywood's. Like the US film industry, India's emerged in the 1910s and 1920s in a major west-coast city, Bombay (now Mumbai), and developed a factory-based mode of production dominated by a number of powerful firms. Bollywood, like Hollywood, is a relentlessly market-driven industry geared for stars, genres, and standardized film styles, but it remains far more productive, turning out some eight hundred features per year—although a key distinction from Hollywood has been Bollywood's focus on its domestic and regional markets.

In the larger global context, Hollywood has been the dominant force throughout motion picture history due to the studio's collective control of distribution as well as production. This control diminished considerably in the postwar era due to the rise in independent production and freelance talent, as well as the threat of television and other new media, and it has eroded even further since the 1980s as the studios became subdivisions of global media conglomerates like Sony, Viacom, News Corporation, and General Electric. Still, the Hollywood studios are the strongest shaping forces in the movie industry, and their operations today are a fundamental extension of the system that they established at their inception.

THOMAS H. INCE

b. Thomas Harper Ince, Newport, Rhode Island, 6 November 1882,
d. on or about 19 November 1924

Thomas Ince wielded enormous influence over the Hollywood studio system, particularly the factory-based mode of production that came to characterize it. Ince wrote, directed, and produced scores of top features from 1914 until his untimely death in 1924, but his most important contributions involved not individual films but the filmmaking process. More than any other Hollywood pioneer, Ince anticipated and effectively defined the roles of film producer and production executive during the nascent studio era. And as a one-man writing staff who supervised every stage of production and eventual release, Ince also was a consummate creative producer and innovative entrepreneur who maintained a steady output of high-quality, commercially successful films. In the process, he refined a number of key aspects of the emerging system, from the shooting script as a blueprint for production to the centralized studio system and the assembly-line construction of multiple films.

Born into a show-business family (his parents were stage actors), Ince moved from stage to screen early in his career, and in 1911 moved from New York to Hollywood, where he soon gained a reputation as the director (and frequently the writer) of hundreds of shorts, many of them two-reel westerns starring William S. Hart. He directed his first feature, *The Battle of Gettysburg*, in 1913, although by then his interests were turning toward producing. In 1915, he joined D. W. Griffith and Mack Sennett to form Triangle Pictures, one of Hollywood's first major independent production companies. Ince enjoyed immediate success with feature-length hits like *The Coward* (1915) and *Civilization* (1916), and in 1916 he constructed his own studio in Culver City, California. Known as "Inceville," years later it became the home of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer.

By then Ince had abandoned directing altogether, concentrating instead on developing the resources and procedures for the systematic production of quality films. He supervised all production at his studio, personally scripting many of the films and insisting on strict adherence to detailed shooting scripts. He built a stable of contract stars and directors and kept a Wild West show on the lot to enhance the production value of his westerns, which were produced on a sprawling back lot that comprised thousands of acres. Willful and often difficult, Ince had a falling out with his Triangle partners, who took with them many of his key filmmaking talent as well, most notably Hart, when the partnership dissolved. He also shifted from Paramount to Metro to First National as his distributor, always looking for ways to optimize both his authority and his income.

Ince's career was cut short by his mysterious death during an outing aboard William Randolph Hearst's private yacht—a now-legendary incident that has overshadowed his accomplishments as one of the chief architects of the Hollywood studio system.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

The Battle of Gettysburg (1913), *The Coward* (1915), *Civilization* (1916), *Hell's Hinges* (1916), *Anna Christie* (1923)

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Thomas Schatz

THE EMERGENCE OF THE HOLLYWOOD STUDIO SYSTEM

The first Hollywood studios emerged between 1912 and 1915, as US filmmaking migrated to the Los Angeles area and quickly developed a standardized mode of production. Several major firms built massive filmmaking factories to accommodate the rapidly expanding industry, the most significant being Universal City, by far the largest in the world when it was completed in 1915. Meanwhile, smaller, independent producers developed modest operations geared for the efficient, systematic output of particular types of film—Thomas H. Ince's (1882–1924)

Thomas Ince. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

two-reel westerns, for instance, and Mack Sennett's (1880–1960) comedy shorts. Ince in particular refined a range of production practices to ensure cost efficiency and quality control, including centralized management, shooting scripts as blueprints for production, and a clear division of work roles in an assembly-line operation. The larger studios refined similar practices on a grander scale, enabling them to produce an enormous volume of pictures—up to 250 features, shorts, and serials per year in the case of Universal Pictures.

Another key aspect of the emerging studio system was the vertical integration of film production, distribution, and exhibition within a single corporation. The prime mover here was Paramount Pictures, created via the 1916 merger of a nationwide distributor, Paramount, with two production companies, Famous Players in New York and the Lasky Corporation in Los Angeles. The merger was engineered by Adolph Zukor (1873–1976), who soon controlled the entire operation and thus became the prototypical movie mogul. Zukor's bicoastal operation turned out over one-hundred feature films per year and threatened to corner the market, provoking a group of theater owners to join forces as the First National Exhibitors' Circuit Inc., a nationwide distribution company, and to create a West Coast production studio.

Soon Paramount and First National were competing for top talent, paying them record sums but increasingly controlling their careers. This led three major stars, Charlie Chaplin (1889–1977), Mary Pickford (1892–1979), and Douglas Fairbanks (1883–1939), along with producer-director D. W. Griffith (1875–1948), to create United Artists in 1919, defying the burgeoning studio system but scarcely stemming its development. By then Zukor was moving into exhibition, an expansion effort that peaked with the 1925 acquisition of the Balaban theater. Some studios, notably Fox, Warner Bros., and Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer—developed vertically integrated companies via expansion or merger. Hollywood's corporate power structure fully coalesced with the coming of sound in the late 1920s, when the massive costs of sound conversion and ensuing "talkie boom" weeded out the weaker companies and consolidated the majors' collective control. Talking pictures also spawned RKO (Radio-Keith-Orpheum) Radio Pictures, a fully integrated studio created via merger in 1928 by David Sarnoff, head of RCA (Radio Corporation of America), the parent company of RKO (as well as NBC) and a key force in the coming of sound.

The talkie boom carried Hollywood to its best year ever in 1930, despite the October 1929 stock market crash. The Depression did hit Hollywood with a vengeance in 1931 and 1932, although by then the basic contours of the studio system were firmly in place. The dominant powers were the Big Eight producer-distributors, which included two distinct classes of studios: the Big Five integrated majors—Paramount, MGM, Fox (later Twentieth Century Fox), Warner Bros., and RKO—whose theater chains gave them distinct advantages in size, resources, and market leverage; and the Little Three—Universal, Columbia, and United Artists—which produced top features and boasted nationwide distribution circuits but did not own their own theaters. The Big Five's superior resources enabled them to turn out a higher proportion of A-class films, while Columbia and Universal relied far more heavily on second-rate products. United Artists, meanwhile, saw its mission change as the founder-owners became less active, and by 1930 functioned mainly as a distributor for a handful of major independent producers. "Poverty Row" studios like Monogram and (later) Republic rounded out the system, which produced low-grade B movies but had no distribution or exhibition operations.

Key to the studio system was the Big Eight's domination of all areas of the industry. They enjoyed a monopoly over feature film distribution in the US and exercised indirect control of exhibition via trade practices, most notable a run-zone-clearance system that dictated the flow of film product through all of the nation's theaters, as well as block booking and blind bidding policies that forced theater owners to take a studio's entire annual output, sight unseen. The Big Five's theater chains were crucial here. Even though they comprised only about one sixth of the nation's theaters, they included most of the first-run theaters—that is, the movie palaces and deluxe downtown theaters that generated the lion's share of movie revenues, where all top features were launched. The Big Eight maintained their market controls through their trade association, the MPPDA (Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America; later MPAA, the Motion Picture Association of America), which encouraged cooperation among the studios while fending off continual threats of government regulation and the relentless complaints from independent producers and theater owners. This effort included the creation in 1934 of the Production Code Administration, Hollywood's self-censorship office, which exercised certain constraints over movie content but defused threats of boycott by the Catholic Legion of Decency as well as threats of government regulation of movie content.

The Depression posed a more serious threat, with four of the Big Eight studios suffering financial collapse. But the studio system survived, due mainly to the support of Wall Street as well as the "national recovery" campaign of President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945), launched in 1933 when he took office, which effectively sanctioned the studio's market controls while mandating labor organization. This ensured cash flow to the studios and transformed the factory system itself from an open shop into a fully organized operation, with the division of labor now fully codified. The studios' market controls drew heavier fire as the Depression eased, however, and eventually the Justice Department demanded that the studios cease block booking, blind bidding, and other monopolistic practices. The studios failed to comply, resulting in *US v. Paramount Pictures et al.*, an antitrust suit filed in July 1938. The resolution of the Supreme Court's legendary Paramount case changed the very nature and structure of the studio system.

THE GOLDEN AGE

That resolution was forestalled for a full decade by the studios' legal departments as well as by World War II, and in the meantime Hollywood enjoyed enormous critical and commercial success as the classical era reached a sustained peak during what is frequently referred to as Hollywood's "golden age." Essential to that success was the studio system, which reached full maturity during the 1930s as each of the Big Eight developed a distinctive house style according to its internal resources, stables of contract talent, and overall market strategy. Key here were the studios' trademark star-genre formulas—Universal's classic horror cycle with Boris Karloff and Bela Lugosi and its Deanna Durbin musicals, for instance, or Warner Bros.' gangster sagas with James Cagney and Edward G. Robinson, its backstage musicals with Dick Powell and Ruby Keeler, its swashbuckling romances with Errol Flynn and Olivia de Havilland, and its Bette Davis melodramas. Both companies also turned out a large proportion of B movies, some of which were equally formulaic and market-driven, but it was each studio's A-class star vehicles that defined its signature style and carried the freight during the classical era, moving its annual block of pictures through the nation's theaters.

Teams of top talent invariably formed around these star-genre formulas, ensuring their consistent quality and efficient output. The star was the prime component, of course, and thus the vital interdependence of the star system and the studio system. But directors, writers, composers, designers, and others were important to these units as well, with the producer serving as the administrative linchpin who oversaw production and managed relations with the executives in the "front office." The top executives, in turn, operated in tandem—and often in significant tension—with the home office in New York, which was the ultimate arbiter of fiscal policy and corporate control. But this was scarcely a top-down system in terms of creative authority. The New York office could not produce movies, nor could the studio's production executives—with the rare exceptions of truly creative executives like Darryl F. Zanuck (1902–1979) (initially at Warner Bros. and later at Fox) or David O. Selznick (1902–1965) (who was a production executive at Paramount, RKO, and MGM before launching Selznick International Pictures in 1936). This creative conflict and collaboration at all levels of studio operation, despite the ultimate authority of the owners and top studio executives, was an essential trait of the studio system. By the late 1930s, the American film industry had attained what the astute French critic and theorist André Bazin compared to "the equilibrium profile of a river," whose waters flow evenly along without disturbing its banks (Bazin, 1967, p. 31). Bazin and others saw Hollywood as having entered its classical era—a period of creative, commercial, industrial, and institutional balance, whose success was the result of "not only the talent of this or that filmmaker, but the genius of the system" (Bazin, 1968, p. 154).

Aerial view of Warner Bros. Hollywood studios in 1930. © HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS.

That system went into high gear in the 1940s, when war-related conditions spurred an unprecedented financial boom for the movie industry—particularly for the integrated majors. During the war, the Justice Department suspended its antitrust campaign "for the duration." The US conversion to war production brought people to the major cities and put money in their pockets but severely limited their capacity to spend it (due to rationing and the dearth of goods due to the general focus on "war production"). Movies provided a prime source of entertainment and diversion, particularly in major cities where the Big Five's theater chains were concentrated and the impact of the war economy was most pronounced. The major studios responded to the overheated first-run market by focusing on A-class pictures and cutting back on B-movie production, and by focusing film content on the war itself, at Washington's insistence, turning out newsreels and documentaries in unprecedented numbers, most of them war-related, as were roughly one quarter of all features films.

Although the movie industry did record business during the war and appeared to be as strong as ever, the studio system was beginning to weaken. Some of these various factors were war related, particularly changes to the tax codes (to underwrite the defense buildup) that put top talent in the 70–90 percent tax brackets, thus encouraging high-salaried stars, directors, and producers to "go freelance" by creating independent companies, which enabled them to be taxed at the far lower capital gains rate. The first-run market surge and unprecedented premium on A-class pictures also put a huge premium on top talent, giving them the leverage to demand more independence from the studios and greater creative control over their films. Olivia de Havilland (b. 1916) successfully challenged the studios' suspension policies in the courts, severely undercutting the contract system that kept top talent tied to particular studios.

The challenges to the studio system intensified enormously after the war. Hollywood enjoyed its best year

ever in terms of attendance and profits in 1946, as returning veterans and heavy courtship sustained the war boom, but in 1947 the movie industry's fortunes began to turn. In 1948, Hollywood went into an economic free fall that would continue for the next quarter century, resulting from the combined effects of suburban migration and the rapid emergence of commercial television. The crippling blow to the studio system was the Supreme Court's May 1948 *Paramount* decision, which demanded that the Big Five divest their theater chains and that all eight producer-distributors suspend the trade practices (block booking, blind booking) that had enabled them to control the motion picture marketplace.

THE TELEVISION ERA AND THE NEW HOLLYWOOD

Falling attendance and the *Paramount* decision effectively disintegrated the studio system, depriving the studios of the economic controls that ensured regular revenues, paid the studio overhead, and thereby rationalized their factory-based operations. The major studios survived by effectively overhauling the system itself, fundamentally changing the ways they did business and establishing practices (still in use today) that dramatically reduced their controls of production and exhibition, and that reduced their out as well. This brought an end to the system of mass production that had dominated the movie industry for decades, but it was an eminently sound strategy, because the mass consumption of screen entertainment in the United States rapidly shifted from going to the movies to watching TV. Essential to the studios' survival was their collective control of distribution, the one aspect of their monopolistic operations not affected by the *Paramount* decision, and their willingness to share control of filmmaking with independent producers, top talent, and talent agencies. Simply stated, the studios became primarily financing-and-distribution entities, reviewing projects that were developed and packaged by the growing ranks of independent producers, then in the event of a green light, leasing their production facilities and providing a portion of the production cost in exchange for the distribution rights—and, frequently, for the eventual ownership of the completed film. The studios themselves began producing fewer, "big" pictures—biblical epics and big-screen westerns—during the 1950s, precursors of the blockbusters that now rule the industry. The studios shared control of film production not only with independent producers and freelance directors, but also top stars whose marquee value gave them tremendous leverage. And because most filmmaking talent operated freelance by the 1950s, talent agencies like William Morris and MCA (Music Corporation of America) also became a major force in postwar film (and television) production.

The major studios initially resisted but soon came to terms with television in the 1950s, selling or leasing their older films to TV syndication companies while revamping their factory-based production operations for "telefilm" series production. By the 1960s, movies were running nightly on prime time television and the studios were turning out far more hours of telefilm series than feature films. Meanwhile, movie attendance continued to erode, despite rapid population growth, and the studios gambled on high-stakes blockbusters like *Cleopatra* (1963) and *The Sound of Music* (1965) but relied primarily on television to pay the bills. Studio fortunes by the late 1960s were at an all-time low, rendering them prime acquisition targets, and many were swallowed up by large conglomerates like Gulf + Western (Paramount), Transamerica (United Artists), and Kinney Services (Warner Bros.), as well as real estate tycoon Kirk Kerkorian (MGM). The MCA-Universal merger in 1962 was the first and by far the most successful alliance at the time, due to its savvy integration of film and television operations and its maintenance of at least a semblance of the old studio-based mode of production.

Universal also spurred the movie industry's recovery with the phenomenal success of *Jaws*, a 1975 release that spawned a new breed of blockbusters like *Star Wars* (1977), *Grease* (1978), and *Superman* (1978), summer releases launched via nationwide marketing and saturation release campaigns that resulted in record box-office revenue and were the dominant, defining products of the emergent "New Hollywood." The success of this blockbuster syndrome reinforced an economic recovery in the industry that continues today, and it enabled the studios to regain some of their lost authority as well, as they became increasingly adept at transforming blockbuster hits into entertainment franchises—multimedia product lines comprised of movie sequels, TV spinoffs, video games, theme-park rides, soundtrack albums, music videos, and an endless array of licensed merchandise. Hollywood's recovery accelerated during the 1980s, fueled by a range of factors that complemented the studios' burgeoning blockbuster mentality. One factor was the rapid growth of new media technologies and new delivery systems, most notably home video and pay-cable television (i.e., subscription "movie channels" like HBO), which proved to be as hit driven as the box office. Foreign markets were equally receptive to Hollywood blockbusters, and thus the studios' international distribution operations grew steadily during the 1980s, going into high gear in the 1990s, when the fall of the Soviet Union and the concurrent economic reforms in China created a truly global market for Hollywood films.

Twentieth Century Fox's **The Sound of Music** *(Robert Wise) was a successful blockbuster in 1965.* ® ™ AND COPYRIGHT © 20TH CENTURY FOX FILM CORP./COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Another crucial factor in Hollywood's continued recovery was Reagan-era economic and (de)regulatory policies, which generated a merger-and-acquisition wave that propelled the rise of global media conglomerates and fundamentally transformed the nature and role of the studio powers. The process began with News Corp.'s purchase of Twentieth Century Fox in 1985 and the launch of Fox Broadcasting (a fourth US television network) in 1986, and it accelerated in 1989 and 1990 with Sony's acquisition of Columbia, Matsushita's buyout of MCA-Universal, and the Time-Warner merger. This trend continued into the 1990s, highlighted by Viacom's purchase of Paramount Communications (formerly Gulf + Western) and Blockbuster Video, the Walt Disney Company's acquisition of "indie" giant Miramax and the ABC TV network, and Time Warner's purchase of Turner Broadcasting (with its myriad cable holdings, massive film and TV library, indie film subsidiaries, sports franchises, and theme-park operations).

In the wake of the Disney-ABC deal in August 1995, Neal Gabler, one of Hollywood's more astute observers, posited that this and other deals "mark[s] a fundamental shift in the balance of power in Hollywood—really the third revolution in the relationship between industry forces." Revolution I, he said, occurred nearly a century before, when the Hollywood studios first emerged and, in a heady churn of competition and collusion, created a system that enabled them to utterly control the movie industry for decades. Revolution II came with the postwar rise of television and the dismantling of the studio system by the courts. As the twentieth century drew to a close, deregulation, globalization, and new media

technologies were ushering in Revolution III. "By combining movies, broadcast television, video, foreign video, foreign television, merchandizing, theme parks, soundtrack albums, books and heaven knows what else, [Disney CEO Michael] Eisner has devised a new form of vertical integration," wrote Gabler, whose bottom-line assessment was rather simple: "The studios are back in power" (p. 15).

Gabler proved to be quite correct in terms of the latest media revolution and the return to vertical integration, but altogether wrong about the studios, which wield nowhere near the power that they did during the classical era. The conglomerate trend would continue with Time Warner's ill-fated merger with AOL, Viacom's purchase of CBS, General Electric's purchase of NBC and Universal, and countless other deals, all of which underscore the fact that power now resides not with the studios but with their parent companies, for whom "filmed entertainment" represents merely one of many entertainment divisions, along with publishing, music, television, theme parks, and the rest. The studios enjoy a privileged position in global entertainment's great chain of being because Hollywood-produced blockbusters are veritable launch vehicles for multimedia (and potentially multibillion-dollar) entertainment franchises, and thus the key holding for any media conglomerate is a Hollywood studio. Moreover, these blockbuster films and the media franchises they spawn bring a certain logic and coherence to the parent company's far-flung operations and its diversified media divisions, creating a system of sorts in the global entertainment industry. But this is a far cry from the studio system of old, wherein the Hollywood studios themselves controlled all phases of the industry, when their chief concerns were the quality and currency of their films for a vast movie-going public and the capacity to supply (and control) the US movie market.

SEE ALSO *B Movies; Columbia; Distribution; Exhibition; Independent Film; MGM (Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer); Merchandising; Paramount; Production Process; RKO Radio Pictures; Star System; Television; Twentieth Century Fox; United Artists; Universal; Warner Bros.*

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Thomas Schatz

SUPPORTING ACTORS

The category of supporting actor includes all actors who play secondary, supporting roles in films. These roles can be played by actors who also appear in leading roles in other films, or by character actors. Character actors typically play similar roles from film to film, and very frequently have a distinctive look, voice or manner which precludes them from playing leading roles in most mainstream films. George Clooney is an example of an actor who has played both leading roles (*Ocean's Eleven*, 2001) and supporting roles (*Syriana*, 2005). A more traditional character actor is Peter Lorre, who played similar supporting roles in films such as *Casablanca* (1942) and *The Maltese Falcon* (1941). While character actors frequently play supporting roles in films, they also occasionally play leading roles, such as Ruth Gordon in *Harold and Maude* (1971) and Peter Dinklage in *The Station Agent* (2003).

The system of leading and supporting actors used in American cinema is also found in other countries, where supporting actors serve the same function as they do in the United States. Great Britain's Dame Maggie Smith (*Gosford Park*, 2001), Spain's Juan Diego (*El Séptimo Día*, 2004) and France's Jean Carmet (*Les Misérables*, 1982), are examples of actors who have earned critical praise and numerous awards and nominations for supporting performances in their native countries.

BACKGROUND

Supporting roles were an essential element in the theater long before the movies were invented, and they served much the same function that they would come to serve in motion pictures. Supporting actors were unnecessary in the earliest movies: short documentaries, called *actualités*, featured images from real life and therefore did not use actors at all, and others were short, staged scenes that featured only a very small number of performers. By the early twentieth century, film narratives became more complex and started featuring a hierarchy of characters similar to what had previously existed in the theater, with some roles playing a more prominent part in the plot's development than others. As movies grew longer and their narratives more elaborate, supporting roles were needed to flesh out the stories. Once Hollywood's star system began to take shape around 1910, the use of supporting players became more pronounced, with one or two stars taking the major roles in each film and an array of character and supporting actors handling the remaining, smaller roles.

Although supporting actors had appeared in movies since very early on, the category of Supporting Actor was not officially recognized by the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences until 1937, eight years after the Academy began giving out their annual awards. The inclusion of supporting actors in the Academy Awards® was initially a way for the Academy to appease the members of the actors' union, the Screen Actors Guild, formed in 1933 as a response to studio business practices that actors felt were unfair, including cuts to and limits on actors' and writers' salaries, and a tightening of studio control of actors under contract. When the Academy sided with the studios in this dispute, the Screen Actors Guild denounced the organization and required its members to resign from the Academy. In 1936 the Screen Actors Guild, along with the Writers Guild and the newly formed Directors Guild, sent telegrams to its members encouraging them to boycott that year's awards

Walter Brennan (right) won the first Academy Award® for Best Supporting Actor in* Come and Get It *(Howard Hawks and Richard Rosson, 1936). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

ceremony. The following year, in an effort to placate the actors and increase their interest in the awards, the Academy added the categories of Best Actor and Actress in a Supporting Role. That same year the Academy increased the number of acting nominees in each category from three to five. The first year the supporting acting winners received plaques instead of statuettes, but in the following years they received the same statuettes as the other award winners. The winners of the first supporting actor and actress awards were Walter Brennan (1894–1974) for *Come and Get It* (1936) and Gale Sondergaard (1899–1985) for *Anthony Adverse* (1936).

THE SUPPORTING CHARACTER

Compared to leading roles, supporting roles frequently provide more opportunities for "nontraditional" actors—actors who fall outside the narrow boundaries of age, race, and appearance that have long defined leading roles in Hollywood. Although leading roles have historically tended to be played by actors who are young, white, and conventionally attractive, supporting roles have been filled by a vast spectrum of performers who do not necessarily fit the "look" of a typical Hollywood star.

In some films the leading characters are played by elderly actors, but the vast majority of movies feature leads in their twenties and thirties. Many older actors who play supporting roles were leading actors earlier in their careers and have made the transition to smaller roles, often because of the scarcity of leading roles for actors past a certain age. Alan Alda played leading roles in the 1970s and 1980s, but in the 1990s and 2000s has primarily played supporting roles in films such as *Flirting with Disaster* (1996) and *The Aviator* (2004), for which he was nominated for an Academy Award®. Meryl Streep's career has followed a similar trajectory; she appeared almost exclusively in leading roles throughout the 1980s, and though she still occasionally plays the lead, she appears with increasing frequency in supporting roles, such as in *The Hours* (2002), *Adaptation* (2002), and *Lemony Snicket's A Series of Unfortunate Events* (2004). Although older supporting actors are often cast in pedestrian roles as parents or grandparents, they are sometimes given the chance to play more challenging and showy roles. In *Rosemary's Baby* (1968) Ruth Gordon gives a memorable performance as Minnie Castevet, the brash and flamboyant neighbor to Mia Farrow's Rosemary. The difference between the characters played by Gordon, the character actor, and Farrow, the ingenue, is striking. Whereas Farrow is constricted by the audience's expectations for leading ladies and the conventions of the genre, which dictate how she should behave in certain situations, Gordon has more freedom to create her own character. Similarly, Thelma Ritter (1905–1969), who was forty-two when she made her film debut in *Miracle on 34th Street* (1947), exhibited a gloomy humor in her films, commenting wryly on the action and bluntly stating truths that the leading characters refused to acknowledge. Her age and her status as a supporting player made her characterizations possible; the leading ladies she played opposite, such as Grace Kelly in *Rear Window* (1954) and Doris Day in *Pillow Talk* (1959), would never have gotten away with Ritter's brand of acerbic wit.

Just as older actors have found a great many supporting roles available to them, so have child actors. Children have appeared in supporting roles in countless films, and many have received critical and public acclaim. At the age of ten, Tatum O'Neal won the Best Supporting Actress award for her work in *Paper Moon* (1973), becoming the youngest person to win an Academy Award®. Other notable supporting performances by child actors include Jack Wild as the Artful Dodger in *Oliver!* (1968), Mary Badham as Scout in *To Kill a Mockingbird* (1962), Anna Paquin in *The Piano* (1993), and Haley Joel Osment in *The Sixth Sense* (1999). Children, like adults, can give a wide range of performances in supporting roles, from

THELMA RITTER

b. Brooklyn, New York, 14 February 1905, d. 5 February 1969

Over the course of her career as one of the most popular supporting actresses in motion pictures, Thelma Ritter was nominated for a total of six Academy Awards® but never won, making her one of the most nominated actors in any category never to win an Oscar®. She appeared in movies, television, radio, and theater, in a career that spanned close to sixty years. With her trademark gravel voice and bleak expression, Ritter was best known for playing world-weary characters who could steal a scene with a blunt wisecrack or witty retort.

Rittter attended the American Academy of Dramatic Arts and then spent the next several years performing in stock companies around New York, with occasional stints in vaudeville and on Broadway. While performing in stock she played a wide variety of roles, both supporting and lead. In her later film career, her versatility enabled her to play many different types of roles as well as to shift easily between drama and comedy. In 1946 the director George Seaton, an old family friend, asked her to play a cameo bit in his film *Miracle on 34th Street* (1947). Ritter's performance as a weary shopper whose young son drags her to Macy's to visit Santa Claus so impressed studio head Daryl Zanuck that he ordered additional scenes for her and signed her to an exclusive contract.

Entering motion pictures at the age of forty-two, Ritter's age combined with her somewhat frumpy appearance and Brooklyn accent destined her for supporting rather than leading roles. She was often cast as a working woman, usually a maid or secretary whose wry, offhand remarks cut to the heart of the situation. As Stella, the cynical nurse in *Rear Window* (1954), and as Alma, the perpetually hungover maid in *Pillow Talk* (1959), she is engagingly straightforward and unflappable. Ritter's performance in *Pickup on South Street* (1953) as Moe, the weary yet opportunistic street vendor, alternates between comedy and pathos and is one of the best of her career. For this performance Ritter earned her fourth consecutive Academy Award® nomination. Her other nominations were for *All About Eve* (1950), *The Mating Season* (1951), *With a Song in My Heart* (1952), *Pillow Talk*, and, in a dramatic performance as the long-suffering mother to Burt Lancaster's title character, *Birdman of Alcatraz* (1962).

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Miracle on 34th Street (1947), *A Letter to Three Wives* (1949), *All About Eve* (1950), *The Mating Season* (1951), *Pickup on South Street* (1953), *Rear Window* (1954), *Pillow Talk* (1959), *The Misfits* (1961), *Birdman of Alcatraz* (1962), *Boeing Boeing* (1965)

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Kristen Anderson Wagner

sweet and endearing (Drew Barrymore in *E.T. The Extra-Terrestrial*, 1982), to demonic (Linda Blair in *The Exorcist*, 1973).

Throughout Hollywood history leading performers in films have overwhelmingly been white. This was especially true during Hollywood's classical era, when studio films featuring nonwhite performers in starring roles were almost unheard of. Supporting roles have been offered to actors of color with a much higher frequency than have leading roles, and these performances are marked with the versatility and artistry commonly found in supporting performances. The African American actress Hattie McDaniel (1895–1952) won a Supporting Actress Academy Award® for her 1939 performance as Mammy in *Gone with the Wind*, making her the first nonwhite actor to be nominated for, or win, an acting Oscar®. Despite this recognition of her talents, McDaniel spent the bulk of her career playing cooks and maids for white leading ladies such as Margaret Sullavan (*The Shopworn Angel*, 1938), Barbara Stanwyck (*The Mad Miss Manton*, 1938), and Ann Sheridan (*George Washington Slept Here*, 1942). Dooley Wilson, who won acclaim for his role as Sam, the piano player, in *Casablanca* (1942), also had a difficult time finding supporting roles of substance; like McDaniel, he frequently appeared as a servant in films such as *Higher and Higher* (1943), in which he played a chauffeur, and *My Favorite Blonde* (1942), in which he played a railway porter. Over the years, the caliber of supporting roles played by African Americans has increased tremendously,

Thelma Ritter with Jean Peters in* Pickup on South Street *(Samuel Fuller, 1953). ® ™ AND COPYRIGHT © 20TH CENTURY FOX FILM CORP./COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

allowing these actors to showcase their talents by playing a wide range of characters. In *Pinky* (1949) Ethel Waters turned in a moving performance as the title character's strong-willed grandmother; Whoopi Goldberg won an Academy Award® for her supporting performance as a flighty psychic in *Ghost* (1990); and in *The Crying Game* (1992), Jaye Davidson played an English transvestite in love with an IRA soldier. These vastly divergent roles demonstrate the range of characters played by African American supporting actors.

Like African American performers, other minority actors have found success in supporting roles when leading roles were unavailable to them. The Japanese-American actor Sessue Hayakawa (1889–1973) delivered a powerful performance as the inflexible head of a Japanese prisoner-of-war camp in *The Bridge on the River Kwai* (1957), and Rita Moreno's turn as the spirited Puerto Rican immigrant Anita in *West Side Story* (1961) earned her critical acclaim and an Academy Award®. Nonwhite actors have increasingly filled roles of complexity and substance. The Iranian-American actress Shohreh Aghdashloo gave a riveting performance as the wife and mother of a family torn apart by tragic circumstances in *House of Sand and Fog* (2003). Sandra Oh, a Canadian actress of Korean descent, played a comedic role as a free-spirited wine lover in *Sideways* (2004). Puerto Rican-born actor Benicio Del Toro has had memorable supporting roles in a number of films, among them *The Usual Suspects* (1995), *Traffic* (2000), and *21 Grams* (2003). Although a substantial discrepancy between the numbers of leading roles available to white and nonwhite actors persists, the freedom and creativity available in supporting roles is evident in the performances of countless minority actors.

The overwhelming majority of leading actors in Hollywood films are conventionally attractive, but the

same standards do not apply to supporting actors. Actors who fit specific character "types" due to their weight, height, or appearance can find work in supporting roles. Marty Feldman, whose gaunt face and bulging eyes prohibited him from working as a leading man, played a number of memorable supporting roles, such as in *The Adventure of Sherlock Holmes' Smarter Brother* (1975) and in *Young Frankenstein* (1974), as Igor, the hunchbacked laboratory assistant. Like Feldman, the talented comedian Mary Wickes was not considered conventionally attractive enough by the studios to play leading roles but found success and longevity as a character actress in films such as *The Man Who Came to Dinner* (1942) and *Sister Act* (1992). Other actors who do not fit Hollywood's conception of what a leading actor should look like have had similarly successful careers as supporting and character actors, including world-weary but tough-as-nails Ritter, rough-edged William Demarest, and three-foot-nine-inch Billy Barty.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR SUPPORTING ACTORS

Actors who specialize in supporting roles sometimes describe their work as similar to performing in a stock theater company, for which actors fill multiple roles in a variety of plays over the course of a single season. Similarly, an actor who plays supporting roles will frequently be asked to perform a wide assortment of types. Versatility is a key element in the career of many supporting players. Frances McDormand, for example, played two very different supporting roles in the films *Raising Arizona* (1987) and *Mississippi Burning* (1988). In the former, she does a comedic turn as a wildly enthusiastic mother of a small army of children; in the latter, she has a dramatic role as the abused wife of a small-town sheriff in 1964 Mississippi. Similarly, Samuel L. Jackson's supporting roles as a strung-out crack addict in *Jungle Fever* (1991) and a self-assured, cool-as-ice hit man in *Pulp Fiction* (1994) allowed him to showcase his versatility as an actor and paved the way for lead actor roles in subsequent films.

Some supporting actors, especially those who specialize in character parts, play the same sort of role from one film to the next. These actors are usually cast as a particular type and play it often enough that audiences know what to expect as soon as they see the actor in a film. Eve Arden, for example, made a career of playing wisecracking, independent women in films such as *Mildred Pierce* (1945) and *Anatomy of a Murder* (1959), and Henry Travers appeared in numerous films playing a kindly old man with a twinkle in his eye, as in *The Bells of St. Mary's* (1945) and *It's a Wonderful Life* (1946).

Appearing in supporting roles gives actors other advantages as well. Because they are not the stars of the films, supporting actors are not held responsible by the studio for a film's failure. Also, supporting actors can appear in more films in the course of a year than can leading actors because the amount of time they need to commit for filming is often significantly less. Supporting roles can be liberating for actors, because they are often allowed more latitude in terms of characterization. Agnes Moorehead, who played supporting roles in *The Magnificent Ambersons* (1942), *All That Heaven Allows* (1955), *Hush . . . Hush, Sweet Charlotte* (1964), and numerous other films, described the freedom enjoyed by supporting actors: "in each individual role the character actor is rarely limited in the amount of characterization he can invent. He is like a painter with a very large palette of colors from which to paint an interesting picture with dimension. It can be a subtle performance or an eccentric one" (quoted in Steen, p. 104).

Supporting actors are frequently called on to provide comic relief. These comic roles often occur in otherwise serious films to diffuse tension and provide the audience with a small break in the drama. Some actors, like Arden, Ritter, and Donald O'Connor, made careers out of playing comic seconds; others, including Moorehead and George Sanders, alternated between comic and dramatic supporting roles. A notable early example of a comic supporting role occurred in D. W. Griffith's epic *Intolerance* (1916). Constance Talmadge played a feisty mountain girl in the Babylonian sequences, providing light moments in this otherwise heavily dramatic film. Critics and audiences took note of her small part, propelling her to stardom as a leading comic actress of the silent era. Russ Tamblyn's performance as Riff in *West Side Story* serves a similar purpose; his comic songs and dancing allow the audience to enjoy a few laughs in the midst of the tragic story.

The wisecracking best friend who delivers witty remarks and wry observations is a supporting role found in countless films of all genres. Among many examples are Arden in *Mildred Pierce*, Barbara Bel Geddes in *Vertigo* (1958), Ritter in *The Misfits* (1961), and Patricia Clarkson in *Far from Heaven* (2002). These characters act as confidantes of the film's leading lady or man. Because the demands of narrative and convention exert less pressure on supporting actors, they are freer to experiment and test boundaries. The characters played by Arden, Bel Geddes, and Ritter are single and remain so throughout the film, enjoying an integrity of independence unavailable to the leading characters, who are expected to fulfill romantic expectations. While the leading characters must, as a rule, be sympathetic to the audience, the comic supporting characters can be blunt and abrasive. In *A Patch of Blue* (1965), Shelley Winters plays the abusive and bigoted mother of a blind daughter.

Winters, who won an Academy Award® for her performance in this film, is thoroughly convincing in creating an intensely unlikable character. Lee Ermey's drill sergeant in *Full Metal Jacket* (1987) is another character whose insulting and abrasive manner makes him entirely unsympathetic to the audience. Unlikable supporting characters can help create conflict in the plot, providing a counterpoint to the leading actors who serve as the films' heroes. In the more restrictive classical era, comic supporting characters could also enjoy some harmless amorality with impunity: they could drink, smoke, and chase after the opposite sex, behaviors generally denied to the leading characters.

Whereas leading actors generally need to keep their performances grounded in reality to make the film believable, supporting actors have more freedom to be excessive. In his portrayal of the silent film actor Max Schreck in *Shadow of the Vampire* (2000), Willem Dafoe's appearance and mannerisms are so grotesque that his character is at once fascinating and repulsive. In *Cabaret* (1972) Joel Gray is by turns flamboyant and intense as the Master of Ceremonies of a nightclub in pre-World War II Germany. In comedies, supporting actors are often more outrageously funny than the leads. Both Jean Hagen and Donald O'Connor deliver broad comedic performances in *Singin' in the Rain* (1952), Hagen as the silent film star whose shrill voice is poorly suited to talking pictures, and O'Connor as the leading man's best friend, who wins the most laughs with his almost impossibly flexible dances, pratfalls, and facial expressions. In *Bullets Over Broadway* (1994), Jennifer Tilly goes for a broad performance as a squeaky-voiced gangster's moll, and Dianne Wiest brings a touch of the absurd to the role of an aging actress. In both films the leading performances are much more restrained than the supporting roles.

The types of roles offered to supporting actors can often showcase their talents and lead to increased exposure and acclaim. Supporting actors who make bold choices, or find ways to stand out in their roles, can find themselves playing leading roles in later films. Because supporting roles frequently go to actors who are just starting out in the movies, there is tremendous potential for previously unknown actors to earn fame though their supporting performances. Kevin Spacey's performance in *The Usual Suspects* (1995) as the nervous con man Verbal Kint generated such attention that since then Spacey has primarily appeared in starring roles. Countless other actors primarily known as leading players began their career in supporting roles, including Cary Grant (*She Done Him Wrong*, 1933), Jean Harlow (*Dinner at Eight*, 1933), James Stewart (*After the Thin Man*, 1936), Glenn Close (*The World According to Garp*, 1982), and Denzel Washington (*Glory* 1989). Jodie Foster, who began as a child actor playing supporting roles in films such as *Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore* (1974) and *Taxi Driver* (1976), went on to become a leading player as an adult, earning Best Actress Academy Awards® for her roles in *The Accused* (1988) and *The Silence of the Lambs* (1991).

Occasionally, supporting roles are played by performers who are known for their work in other fields, and as such are new to acting. The baseball player Babe Ruth played himself in supporting roles in a number of films, most notably *The Pride of the Yankees* (1942). Musicians often appear in supporting roles in films, sometimes as musical performers—for example, Queen Latifah in *Chicago* (2002)—but sometimes in roles having nothing to do with music—Madonna in *Desperately Seeking Susan* (1985) and Frank Sinatra's Oscar®-winning turn in *From Here to Eternity* (1953). Other neophyte actors have appeared in supporting roles under a variety of circumstances. Harold Russell was cast in *The Best Years of Our Lives* (1946) as a returning soldier who had lost both of his hands in the war because he had, in fact, lost both of his hands in the war. Russell was awarded two Oscars® for his work in the film, one for his supporting performance, and a second special award for "bringing hope and courage" to other veterans.

SEE ALSO *Acting; Casting; Character Actors; Star System; Stars; Studio System*

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Kristen Anderson Wagner

SURREALISM

Surrealism was an avant-garde art movement in Paris from 1924 to 1941, consisting of a small group of writers, artists, and filmmakers, including André Breton (1896–1966), Salvador Dali (1904–1989), and Luis Buñuel (1900–1983). The movement used shocking, irrational, or absurd imagery and Freudian dream symbolism to challenge the traditional function of art to represent reality. Surrealism in film was limited to a small number of films, and the movement ended when it failed to remain shocking to audiences. Yet surrealism's aesthetic and creative principles remain influential to a number of international artists and filmmakers.

DADAIST ROOTS

The roots of surrealism begin with the dada movement. Dada was founded in 1915 in Zurich, Switzerland, by an international group of pacifist intellectuals and artists who fled to the neutral country in protest of World War I. This group felt that humanity's megalomania and industrial capitalism were the principle causes of the war, so they considered dada to be a "moral revolution." In the process of creating dada art, the artist held no special significance; he or she was merely the vessel through which the art emerged. The creative process became a work of automation, relying on chance to relay the voice of the unconscious. The dadaists felt that by allowing these random and impersonal forces to drive the creative process, art became a "cry from the bowels." The dada goal was to cast doubt on the power of language, literature, and art to represent reality, which they felt was absurdly chaotic and unrepresentable. They reveled in what they called the "anti-real." Dadaists saw art as a pretentious luxury, so they set out to change the context in which art was to be experienced. Marcel Duchamp (1887–1968) abandoned painting in 1913 and instead began selecting what he called "readymades," everyday objects with seemingly no artistic value. Duchamp's most notorious readymade was *Fountain*, simply a urinal tipped on its side. Dada artists created stream-of-consciousness poetry, photomontage art, found-object sculptures, and raucous improvisational theater meant to anger audiences and shock them into questioning reason, taste, and the place of art in contemporary society. Often during a dada performance or gallery showing, the audience would be so incensed that a riot would break out, much to the delight of the performers.

Tristan Tzara (1896–1963) quickly took a position as head of the movement, publishing his *Dada Manifesto* in 1918. Under his leadership, dada flourished on nihilism, chaos, unseriousness, and a dark sense of humor. After World War I, Tzara introduced dada to the intellectuals of Paris in 1919. Soon after its initial shock, Paris began to accept dada—even embrace it. The movement, no longer fulfilling its goal of creating anxiety and chaos in society, began to disband. Conflicts developed between Tzara and Breton, who had begun investigating Sigmund Freud's research into the unconscious and wanted to bring his theories into the creative process of dada. Tzara saw psychoanalysis as an instrument of mystification and bourgeois ideals, which he felt to be counter to the dada anti-real; Breton felt that Tzara's lack of seriousness was the cause for dada's approaching self-destruction, and he wanted to reorganize and reinvigorate the movement. He incorporated his interest in Freud with the automatic processes of dada art, resulting in the new movement of surrealism.

By 1922, dada was dead. While many dadaists considered Breton to be a traitor to dada, others made the transition directly into surrealism. After a brief period of what was termed "le mouvement flou,"(the fuzzy movement) in which the surrealists defined the movement by reference to the discarded dada, Breton (known as the Pope of Surrealism) published the first *Manifesto of Surrealism* in 1924. It was surrealism's declaration of the rights of man through the liberation of the unconscious. The goal of surrealism was to synthesize dream and reality so that the resulting art challenged the limits of representation and perception. Surrealism abandoned the dada goal of art as a direct transmitter of thought and focused instead on expressing the rupture and duality of language through imagery.

The surrealist image could be either verbal or pictorial and had a twofold function. First, images that seem incompatible with each other should be juxtaposed together in order to create startling analogies that disrupt passive audience enjoyment and conventional expectations of art. This technique was perhaps an influence of Soviet montage theory, with which the surrealists were familiar. Second, the image must mark the beginning of an exploration into the unknown rather than merely representing a thing of beauty. The surrealist experience of beauty instead involved a psychic disturbance, a "convulsive beauty" generated by the startling images and the analogies they create in the mind of the viewer. The surrealist painter Salvador Dali used the technique of photographic realism in order to discredit the world of reality. By depicting dream objects (melting clocks, for example) in everyday surroundings, he blurred the line between reality and fantasy. His paintings relied heavily on Freudian imagery. Painter René Magritte (1898–1967) interrogated familiar objects (hats, apples, pipes) by separating them from their meaning in language and presenting them as absurd riddles.

SURREALIST CINEMA

After World War I, France looked toward avant-garde cinema to make its mark against Hollywood. Impressionism, which focused on psychological realism, naturalism, and symbolism, became the dominant French film movement. The surrealists, many of whom were avid film spectators, despised impressionism, but they admired lowbrow American serials and slapstick comedies. Breton and his fellow surrealists found the modernism of Hollywood cinema an exciting medium in its infancy, unencumbered by a conscious artistic tradition.

Though dada rejected cinema as a medium of impressionism, a few dada artists experimented with filmmaking. The *Rhythmus* films (1921, 1923, 1925) of Hans Richter (1888–1976) and *Symphonie diagonale* (*Symphonie diaganale*, 1924) of Viking Eggeling (1880–1925) attempted to establish a universal pictorial language using abstract geometric shapes in rhythmic movement. Duchamp produced *Anémic cinéma* (*Anemic Cinema*, 1926), in which he filmed a spinning spiral design intercut with a spinning disc containing French phrases. Man Ray (1890–1976) filmed *Le Retour à la raison* (*Return to Reason*, 1923) using an avant-garde photography technique he pioneered and named the "rayograph." Though cubist artist Fernand Léger (1881–1955) and filmmaker Dudley Murphy (1897–1968) were not members of dada, their collaborative abstract film *Ballet mécanique* (1924) is often discussed in relation to these films because of its similar visual style and Léger's aim to exasperate viewers. Richter's *Vormittagsspuk* (*Ghosts Before Breakfast*, 1928) merged slapstick and dada to create a highly entertaining six-minute film.

Although Breton never mentioned film in any of his manifestos, cinema's visual nature and the dreamlike experience of watching film led the surrealists to consider cinema the ideal medium for carrying out their theories in practice. Between 1924 and 1935, surrealist Antonin Artaud (1896–1948) was the only surrealist writer to produce a body of theoretical work about the potential of the medium, which he called "raw cinema." His aim was to discover the mechanisms of dreams in order to reconstitute the violent power of dreaming as a process, overruling interpretation or explanation. He formulated the tearing away of image from representation and giving it to the viewer as a pure image. Spectators are then in a subjugated position to it, and the experience triggers a violent unleashing of their senses. Yet Artaud faced much trouble trying to turn his theories into actual films. impressionist filmmaker Germaine Dulac directed Artaud's only completed screenplay, *La Coquille et le clergyman* (*The Seashell and the Clergyman*, 1928), which Artaud rejected as a distortion of his theories on surrealism.

Man Ray attempted several surrealist films, including *Emak-Bakia* (1926) and *L'Étoile de mer* (*The Starfish*, 1928), but they failed to excite the surrealists, who considered them too dadaist. Two months after Breton had published the first *Manifesto of Surrealism*, dada artist Francis Picabia (1879–1953) and filmmaker René Clair presented their film, *Entr'acte* (1924), during the intermission of a ballet performance. Among a number of unrelated images, the film features Duchamp and Man Ray playing chess, and although it is considered to be surrealist, Picabia meant for it to be a personal attack on Breton.

GERMAINE DULAC
b. Amiens, France, 17 November 1882, d. 20 July 1942

A director, writer, and film theorist, Germaine Dulac was the first female avant-garde filmmaker in France. She was never an official member of the surrealist movement, but her theory of "pure cinema" shared similar goals and ideals to those of surrealism. Though many of Dulac's films were highly successful commercial narratives (serials and melodramas), her best moments evoked emotion without resorting to dramatic devices. Her skill of tapping into the unconscious processes of her characters and her viewers' perceptions linked her thematically to the surrealists.

Dulac's goal of "pure cinema" centered on producing films that were independent of literary, theatrical, or other artistic influences. Throughout her film career, she experimented with new ways of presenting characters' inner emotions and exploring their psychological states through cinematic means without ever being tied to one particular avant-garde movement. Her editing techniques have been compared to those of D. W. Griffith, creating an unconscious reaction in the mind of the viewer. She was also very skilled in incorporating music into her later sound films to create visual and aural rhythms.

Dulac's pre-film background involved feminism and journalism, and her films return time and again to themes of femininity. Her films directly challenge the romantic perceptions, metaphorical mythologies, and social constructions of womanhood. She distinguishes between male and female subjectivity in *La Mort du soleil* (*The Death of the Sun*, 1922) and focuses on female subjectivity in *La Souriante Madame Beudet* (*The Smiling Madame Beudet*, 1922), in which she uses a number of special effects, lighting, and editing techniques to represent directly the protagonist's thoughts and imagination.

In 1927 Dulac came across surrealist Antonin Artaud's screenplay for *La Coquille et le clergyman* (*The Seashell and the Clergyman*), which he had deposited at a film institute due to lack of funds to produce it. The surrealists considered Dulac, who was already well established in the Parisian avant-garde film community, to be strictly impressionist—too loyal to traditions of naturalism and symbolism for their liking. Dulac followed Artaud's script closely in her 1928 film, only changing a few practical elements when necessary. Yet Artaud claimed she had butchered his script, and he staged a riot during the premiere screening. Although André Breton had expelled Artaud from the surrealists the previous year, the group joined in the riot, screaming profanities and halting projection of the film. *La Coquille et le Clergyman* was removed from the program and its surrealism was overshadowed that year by Dali and Buñuel's *Un Chien andalou* (*An Andalusian Dog*, 1928). Though the surrealists themselves rejected the film, most critics today consider *La Coquille et le Clergyman* to be the first surrealist film.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Âmes de fous (*Crazy Souls* or *Souls of the Crazy Ones*, 1918), *La Mort du soleil* (*The Death of the Sun*, 1922), *La Souriante Madame Beudet* (*The Smiling Madame Beudet*, 1922), *La Coquille et le clergyman* (*The Seashell and the Clergyman*, 1928)

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The film generally considered to be the masterpiece of surrealist cinema, *Un Chien andalou* (*An Andalusian Dog*, 1928), was made by the painter Salvador Dali and his college friend Luis Buñuel (1900–1983). By 1927, the influence of surrealism was apparent in Dali's painting, although he was not officially a member of the movement. Buñuel had worked in the film industry through bit parts, odd jobs, and film criticism and was looking to become a director. The idea for the film came from an encounter between two of their dreams, and they

Germaine Dulac. ROGER VIOLLET/GETTY IMAGES.

wrote a script for it in a week. Their only rule was that no idea or image that might lend itself to a rational explanation of any kind would be used: all images in the film had to be shocking and completely unexpected. Buñuel brought rocks in his pockets to the premiere screening to throw at the audience if they hated it, but the surrealists loved it. The film had an eight-month run at the prestigious Studio 28, and Breton gave Buñuel the task of advancing surrealist cinema.

Un Chien andalou begins with a title card reading "Once upon a time..." followed by a shot of a man (played by Buñuel) sharpening a razor blade. After briefly looking at the moon, he then slices a woman's eyeball with the razor. This is followed by a shot of a cloud drifting across the moon in a similar slicing manner, a title card reading "Eight years later...," and a number of unrelated scenes, including one in which ants crawl out of a man's hand. By using audience expectation of narrative conventions through the deceptive title cards, the film draws in viewers before attacking them with seemingly inexplicable surrealist images. Buñuel and Dali play with and subvert Freudian imagery and sexual symbolism as a form of criticism and parody. The misleading narrative scaffolding, the eyeline matches, dissolves, and superimpositions all mock the clichés of impressionist film. Though originally based on Buñuel and Dali's dreams, *Un Chien andalou* is not a filmed dream but an exploration of how the mind dreams and creates meanings in the unconscious process.

The unprecedented success of *Un Chien andalou* was both a blessing and a curse for surrealism. Audience exposure to the film meant that the movement was getting its message to the public, but the movement itself was suspicious of success, especially commercial success, because popularity meant surrealism was too easily digestible and not reactionary enough. Breton was fearful of the museumification of surrealism.

Buñuel and Dali's next film, *L'Age d'or* (*The Golden Age*, 1930), was less accessible than *Un Chien andalou*. Wealthy aristocrat Vicomte de Noailles commissioned *L'Age d'or* in 1930 as a birthday present to his wife. Originally meant to be a sequel to *Un Chien andalou*, it was one of France's first sound films. Dali's input on this film was much less significant than on *Un Chien andalou*, and he eventually disowned the film, arguing that Buñuel had betrayed his artistic intentions. The film was faithful to surrealism, with its structural duality between gold and feces, invoking a psychoanalytic link between the basest and most precious of substances and mocking the narrative conventions of classical cinema. During the initial screening of the film, which subtly depicts Jesus as a serial killer and mocks the ruling class and bourgeoisie alike, a riot broke out in which angry audience members chanted and threw ink on the screen and smoke bombs into the crowd. They also destroyed a surrealist exhibit in the lobby of the theater. *L'Age d'or* was banned within three months of its release, and it was not seen again until 1980. This invisibility worked to the surrealists' advantage, as mystery and legend furthered the film's notoriety.

Buñuel officially broke with the surrealists in 1932, but his later films remained faithful to the surrealist ethic, particularly *Las Hurdes* (*Land Without Bread*, 1933) and *Los Olvidados* (*The Young and the Damned*, 1950). He continued to use surrealist imagery and absurd narrative techniques for the rest of his career, as evident in films like *El Ángel exterminador* (*The Exterminating Angel*, 1962); *Simón del desierto* (*Simon of the Desert*, 1965); and his final film, *Cet obscur objet du désir* (*That Obscure Object of Desire*, 1977). Dali went to Hollywood to collaborate with Walt Disney in 1946 (on a seven-minute surrealist cartoon, "Destino," that never passed the storyboarding phase) and Alfred Hitchcock. Hitchcock liked Dali's understanding of psychoanalysis and hired him to create the sets for the

The Surrealist film* Un Chien andalou (An Andalusian Dog, *1929) was a collaboration between filmmaker Luis Buñuel and painter Salvador Dali. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

surrealistic dream sequence in *Spellbound* (1945). All other attempts Dali made at filmmaking proved unsuccessful, and he soon after returned to painting.

Cinema came relatively late in the surrealist movement, and it was never fully utilized, much to the regret of Breton. This was probably due to the actual practicalities of filmmaking, which were inherently opposed to the surrealist ideals of chance and automation. Buñuel was the only surrealist to have gotten seriously involved in the technical and practical aspects of the medium, which may have also helped lead him to breaking with the movement. Another limiting factor in surrealist film experimentation was that amateur filmmaking was extremely expensive until after World War II; afterward, cheaper film equipment became available, but by then the surrealist movement had disbanded. In 1947 Hans Richter released *Dreams That Money Can Buy*, seven short episodes that examine the unconscious, written by and featuring Richter, Man Ray, Duchamp, Léger, Max Ernst (1891–1976), and Alexander Calder (1898–1976). Besides Buñuel's work, this is the last official surrealist film.

Though surrealist film was limited, the artistic ideals of surrealism have been influential for a number of filmmakers. American experimental filmmakers like Maya Deren, Stan Brakhage, and Kenneth Anger utilized the surrealistic approach to push the boundaries of film representation and shock audiences out of passive spectatorship. Deren's *Meshes of the Afternoon* (1943) uses a repetitive, loosely narrative structure and Freudian symbolism to examine female subjectivity in cinema. Brakhage sometimes painted or scratched abstract designs directly onto celluloid, and films of his such as *Dog Star Man* (1962) use repetitive or unrelated imagery in ways that often alienate viewers. In Anger's dreamlike *Fireworks* (1947), the director uses violent imagery to explore his own homosexuality. The surrealist aesthetic also is apparent in animation, particularly in Japanese animé and in the work of eastern European animators like Jan Svankmajer. European auteurs like Ingmar

Bergman, Federico Fellini, and Wim Wenders also owe a debt to surrealism. American filmmakers David Lynch and Terry Gilliam and Canadian David Cronenberg also rely heavily on surrealistic imagery, ironic juxtapositions, misleading narrative devices, and Freudian symbolism to shock, confuse, and challenge spectators.

SEE ALSO *Art Cinema; Experimental Film; Fine Art; France*

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SWEDEN

Moving pictures first attracted large Swedish audiences at the Stockholm exhibition in 1897. Though early silent films were generally only a few minutes long and often documented actual events, the erstwhile novelty rapidly established itself as popular entertainment during the next decade or so. In the absence of permanent movie theaters, operators traveled around the country, sometimes with a single snippet of film, screening it in whatever locale was available. These inauspicious beginnings notwithstanding, the artistic and commercial potential of the medium was apparent to some. Among the pioneers were the producer Charles Magnusson (1878–1948), the cinematographer Julius Jaenzon (1885–1961); and two directors, Victor Sjöström (1879–1960) and Mauritz Stiller (1883–1928), whose impact and contribution reached far beyond national borders.

In 1909 Magnusson became head of the production company Svenska Bio, renamed Svensk Filmindustri in 1919, which has dominated the industry ever since. Magnusson established a chain of movie theaters as an outlet for his films, a model of production and distribution that likewise still pertains. Magnusson's business acumen was combined with professional competence—he served occasionally as director, cameraman, and scriptwriter—and artistic vision. He also had the foresight to hire Jaenzon, Sjöström, and Stiller.

THE "GOLDEN AGE" OF SILENT FILM

When they joined Svenska Bio in 1912, Sjöström and Stiller had considerable experience in the theater but none in film. Both learned by doing, and they learned quickly. Encouraged by Magnusson, they drew on literary and theatrical source material and on carefully crafted scripts to convey fully developed fictional stories. Together with Jaenzon, their primary cinematographer, they experimented with innovative visual techniques such as double exposure and the tracking shot. To avoid the conventions and limitations of stage performance, they promoted a less affected style of acting for the screen and frequently filmed on location.

With *Ingeborg Holm* (1913), a complex, emotionally riveting portrayal of a destitute woman who loses custody of her children and goes mad, Sjöström established a new standard for narrative continuity. The film's criticism of the country's poor laws led to heated debate and legislative reform. Social commentary is also implicit in the pacifist message of the historical drama *Terje Vigen* (*A Man There Was*, 1917) and in *Berg-Ejvind och hans hustru* (*The Outlaw and His Wife*, 1918), where the protagonist has become a thief to feed his starving family. In both, Sjöström played the lead, performing his own stunts in dramatic outdoor scenes.

Sjöström and Stiller each adapted for the screen several prose works of Nobel Prize–winner Selma Lagerlöf (1858–1940), then Sweden's most acclaimed living writer. Film versions of Lagerlöf's texts reached a large audience both at home and abroad; collaboration with her not only enhanced the prestige of Sjöström and Stiller but also drew attention to the expressive capabilities of their chosen medium. *Tösen från Stormyrtorpet* (*The Girl from the Marsh Croft*, 1917) recalls other Sjöström films in its social indignation. In *Ingmarssönerna* (*The Sons of Ingmar*, 1919) and *Karin Ingmarsdotter* (*Karin, Daughter of Ingmar*, 1920), both based on Lagerlöf's novel, *Jerusalem* (2 vols., 1901–1902), idyllic nature scenes of birches, lakes, and

flowering meadows created a filmic representation of "Swedishness" that has subsequently become codified. *Körkarlen* (*The Phantom Carriage*, 1921), another Lagerlöf adaptation, shows Sjöström's mastery of continuity editing. It employs a complex flashback structure, alternating gritty realism with evocative, dreamlike sequences that feature double, even triple exposure as the protagonist, David Holm (played by Sjöström), is jolted into awareness of his past mistakes. Psychologically compelling as well as visually stunning, *The Phantom Carriage* brought Sjöström international acclaim.

In 1923 he moved to Hollywood, where (credited as Seastrom) he made several powerful features: *He Who Gets Slapped* (1924), *The Scarlet Letter* (1926), and *The Wind* (1928), the latter two starring Lillian Gish. After returning to Sweden in 1930, Sjöström worked primarily in the theater but in the 1940s served as artistic consultant to Svensk Filmindustri, where he mentored Ingmar Bergman (b. 1918).

Stiller's films fall largely into two categories, erotic comedies and psychological dramas based on works of Lagerlöf. The comedies, which include *Kärlek och journalistik* (*Love and Journalism*, 1916), *Thomas Graals bästa film* (*Thomas Graal's Best Film* or *Wanted: A Film Actress*, 1917), *Thomas Graals bästa barn* (*Thomas Graal's First Child*, 1918), and *Erotikon* (*Bounds That Chafe*, 1920), are set in upper-class milieus and reflect Stiller's cosmopolitan orientation. Particularly in the Thomas Graal films, his approach is eclectic, with sight gags and physical "business"; elements of drawing-room comedy and bedroom farce; and intertitles offering witty, sometimes ironic commentary on the action. *Thomas Graal's Best Film* incorporates a tongue-in-cheek inside view of the film industry and uses flashbacks and imagined reconstructions to explore the divergence between reality and various representations of it.

In all of Stiller's Lagerlöf adaptations—*Herr Arnes pengar* (*Sir Arne's Treasure*, 1919), *Gunnar Hedes saga* (*The Blizzard*, 1923), and *Gösta Berlings saga* (*The Atonement of Gösta Berling*, 1924)—striking visuals in outdoor scenes create drama and suspense. *Sir Arne's Treasure* embodies the ghosts that haunt Elsalill and Sir Archie in eerie, double-exposed images. Though less psychologically persuasive, the episodic *Gösta Berling* launched Greta Garbo (1905–1990) as an international star. Stiller accompanied her to Hollywood in 1924 but never made another film.

Many films of the silent period have been lost, making comprehensive or comparative critical assessment difficult. Though other Swedish directors, notably Georg af Klercker (1877–1951), were successful at home, none achieved the recognition of Sjöström and Stiller abroad. Their central role in the worldwide development of narrative film is widely acknowledged, but retrospectively their films also seem paradigmatic in ways that continue to resonate in a specifically Swedish context. In several seminal works, nature is not only a spectacular visual backdrop but intrinsic to the story itself, a pattern that recurs in Swedish popular film as well as art cinema. Emblematic images of the Swedish summer in Sjöström's Lagerlöf films established an iconography that countless later films have referred to and embellished. Not coincidentally, Jaenzon, the primary creator of the visual style associated with Sjöström and Stiller, trained virtually every important cinematographer of the next generation, including Bergman's first major collaborator, Gunnar Fischer (b. 1910).

THE FIRST DECADES OF SOUND

After the departure of Sjöström and Stiller, Swedish film production declined in quantity as well as quality, reaching a low point in 1929, when only six indigenous works premiered. Non-Swedish films, largely from the United States, made up the slack. The arrival of simultaneous sound and image recording at the beginning of the new decade brought profound changes to the industry. With the language barrier hampering exports, the domestic market predominated, but as moviegoing became increasingly popular, film production expanded again, to about twenty-five features per year during the 1930s. Chains of movie theaters were established throughout the country, the number doubling over the course of the decade, and several production companies arose in competition with Svensk Filmindustri, notably Europa Film (1930) and Sandrews (1937). In response to continuing Hollywood imports, the industry favored subtitles rather than dubbing, a consensus that still applies today.

The 1930s was a period of enormous change in Swedish society: the Social Democratic Party came to power in 1932 and the fundamental social legislation of the welfare state was put into place, but the country was also experiencing an economic depression. Almost all films of the decade responded to this social and economic instability by offering comforting images of security that focused on the preservation of the status quo, with conventionally happy endings rewarding virtue and punishing deviant, scandalous, or sinful behavior. The dominant film genres were comedy, generally with stage roots, and melodrama, where narrative patterns often were borrowed from Hollywood. Though the somewhat derisive term "pilsner-film" characterizes 1930s comedies as light, frothy entertainment, the focus in popular film on the family, domesticity, and conservative traditional values provides insight into the prevailing attitudes and concerns of the period.

Among the more skillful, versatile, and productive directors was Gustaf Molander (1888–1973), who had gained professional experience as a scriptwriter for Sjöström and Stiller. Two Molander films, *Swedenhielms* (*Swedenhielms Family*, 1935), a comedy that exemplifies supposedly typical traits of the Swedish aristocracy, and *Intermezzo* (1936), a melodrama about an extramarital affair between a concert violinist and his accompanist, featured Gösta Ekman (1890–1938), the reigning matinee idol of the day, and a fresh discovery, Ingrid Bergman (1915–1982). The latter made several more films with Molander before leaving for Hollywood, the English-language remake of *Intermezzo*, titled *Intermezzo: A Love Story* (1939), and an international career. During World War II, Molander skirted censorship restrictions aimed at preserving Sweden's neutrality by directing three films that condemned Nazi oppression. His sixty-two films over a four-decade period include three scripted by Ingmar Bergman.

Spared direct involvement in the war, Sweden experienced a period of remarkable economic prosperity in its aftermath, with an influx of workers going from the countryside to urban areas as industry expanded. During the 1940s the number of Swedish films produced reached an all-time high, an average of more than forty each year. Film imports resumed after a wartime hiatus and movie attendance soared. While the pre-war orientation toward escapist comedy and farce receded, contemporary social reality remained conspicuously absent in the indigenous subgenre that dominated the 1940s and 1950s, the rural melodrama, which expressed nostalgia for Sweden's agrarian past. By idealizing and romanticizing the hardworking, self-reliant, God-fearing farmer and promoting the central unifying values of loyalty to the land and a traditional way of life, these films convey a fossilized image of Swedish national identity and a worldview that has little sympathy for social change. Conversely, the forces of modernity, associated with the city and the allure of its superficial lifestyle, are viewed with skepticism.

One of the most popular films of the period, *Hon dansade en sommar* (*One Summer of Happiness*, Arne Mattsson, 1951), embodies the city versus country motif in a doomed love affair, narrated in an extended flashback to underscore a sense of fatalism. Documentary filmmaker Arne Sucksdorff (1917–2001) also focused on the pastoral in nature shorts like *Skuggor över snön* (*Shadows on the Snow*, 1949), using cross-cutting to introduce dramatic tension and narrative continuity. Genre distinctions are blurred in Sucksdorff's feature-length *Det stora äventyret* (*The Great Adventure*, 1953), which combines extensive documentary footage of animals and the natural world with a fictional parable about the lost paradise of childhood innocence. Nostalgia is communicated both visually and verbally through the reminiscences of the voice-over narrator.

Among the directors who established themselves during the 1940s, two stand out: Alf Sjöberg and Ingmar Bergman. Sjöberg, a theoretician who experimented with different cinematic styles, was seldom constrained by genre conventions. Several of his films nevertheless incorporate characteristic rural settings and iconographic imagery, in particular *Himlaspelet* (*The Heavenly Play*, 1942), an allegorical Everyman narrative that draws on provincial folkloristic motifs. *Bara en mor* (*Only a Mother*, 1949) delineates the life trajectory of an impoverished farm laborer's wife but also addresses broader social concerns, as does *Hets* (*Torment*, 1944), a scathing indictment of the hierarchical, regimented structure of the school system and the bourgeois family. Though scripted by Bergman, visually the film is Sjöberg's, with expressionistic use of shadows and frequent high- or low-angle shots.

As a stage director, Sjöberg was renowned for innovative approaches to the classics, including works of August Strindberg (1849–1912), Sweden's greatest dramatist. Sjöberg's film version of Strindberg's *Fröken Julie* (*Miss Julie*, 1951) opens up and extrapolates from the play to include interpolated scenes, characters, even subplots. Eschewing the conventional dissolve to indicate a flashback, Sjöberg positions past and present within the same space, even the same frame, a striking visual technique that also reinforces the theme of hereditary influences on character development. With a definitive performance by Anita Björk (b. 1925) in the title role, *Miss Julie* won international accolades. Two later Strindberg adaptations, *Karin Månsdotter* (1954) and *Fadern* (*The Father*, 1969), were less successful.

In Sweden, Bergman has generally been perceived as outside the mainstream, but several films of the 1950s, in particular *Sommarlek* (*Summer Interlude*, 1951), *Sommaren med Monika* (*Summer with Monika*, 1953), and the many-layered comedy *Sommarnattens leende* (*Smiles of a Summer Night*, 1955), use nature to frame and highlight the story in ways that recall both Sjöström and the visual repertory of the rural melodrama. The subject matter of *Torment* and *Summer with Monika*, youthful rebellion against societal constraints, is a cinematic commonplace not restricted to that period.

Bergman was the first Swedish director since Sjöström and Stiller to figure importantly in an international context. He frequently explored complex psychological, interpersonal, and existential issues, in historical settings in *Gycklarnas afton* (*Sawdust and Tinsel*, 1953), *Det sjunde inseglet* (*The Seventh Seal*, 1957), *Ansiktet* (*The Magician*, 1958), and *Jungfrukällan* (*The Virgin Spring*, 1960) and in contemporary milieus in *Smultronstället*

INGMAR BERGMAN

b. Ernst Ingmar Bergman, Uppsala, Sweden, 14 July 1918

Bergman was the only Swedish film director of the post-war period to achieve international renown; in his homeland he was equally celebrated for his groundbreaking theater productions. The son of a prominent Lutheran minister, he studied briefly at the University of Stockholm but soon turned his attention to writing and directing plays. In 1943 he was recruited as a scriptwriter for Svensk filmindustri and gradually assigned more responsibility, directing his own screenplay for the first time in 1949, with *Fängelse* (*Prison*). Though considered the quintessential auteur, Bergman collaborated closely with a small team of actors, including Gunnar Björnstrand, Max von Sydow, Harriet Andersson, Bibi Andersson, Ingrid Thulin, Gunnel Lindblom, and Liv Ullmann as well as technicans such as the acclaimed cinematographer Sven Nykvist. For von Sydow and Ullmann in particular, appearances in Bergman films led to international careers.

The sophisticated comedy *Sommarnattens leende* (*Smiles of a Summer Night*, 1955), which illustrates and comments on different kinds of love through the interaction of four couples, won an award at the Cannes Film Festival in 1956. Thenceforth, each Bergman film attracted international attention. In *Det sjunde inseglet* (*The Seventh Seal*, 1957), the convincingly recreated medieval setting also functions allegorically, with the Plague a stand-in for potential nuclear disaster or a new pandemic. The Knight's existential doubt as he tries to outwit Death in a game of chess has similarly modern overtones and has been parodied by, among others, Woody Allen in *Love and Death* (1975). *Smultronstället* (*Wild Strawberries*, 1957) pays tribute to Victor Sjöström by casting him in his final, memorable role and to Sjöström's masterpiece, *Körkarlen* (*The Phantom Carriage*, 1921), by emulating its theme and flashback structure. In these and other black and white films of the 1950s, the cinematographer Gunnar Fischer employs high contrast to create images of striking plasticity.

The trilogy *Såsom i en spegel* (*Through a Glass Darkly*, 1961), *Nattvardsgästerna* (*Winter Light*, 1963), and *Tystnaden* (*The Silence*, 1963) expands on the existential questioning of *The Seventh Seal* in a contemporary context, tentatively suggesting in the first film that love and open communication can replace an absent God, questioning that conclusion through the doubting minister of *Winter Light*, and seemingly rejecting it entirely in *The Silence*. The daringly experimental *Persona* (1966) illustrates a more profound breakdown—of communication, of identity, of the film medium itself. The vulnerability of the performer or artist is another recurring topic in, for instance, *Gycklarnas afton* (*The Naked Night* or *Sawdust and Tinsel*, 1953), *Ansiktet* (*The Magician*, 1958), and *Vargtimmen* (*Hour of the Wolf*, 1968).

In the increasingly politicized Sweden of the 1960s, Bergman's focus on religious and philosophical issues and individual psychology was judged an irrelevant anomaly; *Skammen* (*Shame*, 1968), a powerful antiwar statement, was criticized because it did not delineate the ideology of the opposing sides. In *Viskningar och rop* (*Cries and Whispers*, 1972), the symbolic use of color underscores Bergman's exploration of female psychology, which continued with *Hoestsonaten* (*Autumn Sonata*, 1978), a study of mother-daughter relationships that marked the return to Swedish film of Ingrid Bergman, in her penultimate role. Ingmar Bergman's official farewell to the cinema came with *Fanny och Alexander* (*Fanny and Alexander*, 1982), a masterful summing up of his thematic preoccupations and simultaneously an affirmation of the magical, transformative power of art. Bergman's parallel career as a theater director continued until 2003, interspersed with the publication of memoirs and scripts and occasional directing for television (*Larmar och gör sig till* [*In the Presence of a Clown*], 1997 and *Saraband*, 2003).

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Sommarlek (*Summer Interlude*, 1951), *Sommarnattens leende* (*Smiles of a Summer Night*, 1955), *Det Sjunde inseglet* (*The Seventh Seal*, 1957), *Smultronstället* (*Wild Strawberries*, 1957), *Jungfrukällan* (*The Virgin Spring*, 1960), *Såsom i en spegel* (*Through a Glass Darkly*, 1961), *Nattvardsgästerna* (*Winter Light*, 1963), *Tystnaden* (*The Silence*, 1963), *En Passion* (*The Passion of Anna*, 1969), *Viskningar och rop* (*Cries and Whispers*, 1972), *Trollflöjten* (*The Magic Flute*, 1975), *Ansikte mot ansikte* (*Face to Face*, 1976)

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(*Wild Strawberries*, 1957), *Såsom i en spegel* (*Through a Glass Darkly*, 1961), *Nattvardsgästerna* (*Winter Light*, 1963), *Tystnaden* (*The Silence*, 1963), and *Persona* (1966). Bergman's intensely personal vision—he wrote most of his own screenplays—aligned him with other European auteur directors of the 1950s and 1960s (such as those associated with the French New Wave) who situated cinema as an intellectually challenging and artistically sophisticated medium. In Sweden Bergman's films were often admired but seldom popular, and within the film industry his international prominence elicited both pride and resentment.

Several contemporaries of Sjöberg and Bergman also made significant contributions in the 1940s and 1950s. The prolific Hasse Ekman (1915–2004), son of Gösta, specialized in screwball comedy but also scripted and directed sensitive and psychologically convincing dramas such as *Ombyte av tåg* (*Change of Trains*, 1943), which prefigures the British film, *Brief Encounter* (1945); the antifascist *Excellensen* (*His Excellency*, 1944); and *Flicka och hyacinter* (*Girl with Hyacinths*, 1950), where the lesbian motif is treated sympathetically and without sensationalism. Hampe Faustman (1919–1961) established a unique profile by introducing political and social topics such as the rights of farm workers (*När ängarna blommar* [*When Meadows Bloom*], 1946), arms smuggling during the Spanish civil war (*Främmande hamn* [*Foreign Port*], 1948), and the situation of outsider figures (*Lars Hård*, 1948 and *Gud Fader och tattaren* [*God the Father and the Gypsy*], 1954). By the early 1960s, however, Faustman had died and Ekman had retired; Sucksdorff, lacking financing for his projects, had moved abroad; and Sjöberg was working mostly in the theater. Though continuity was provided by, among others, Bergman, a paradigm shift occurred in the film world as a younger generation of directors gradually came to prominence.

THE FILM REFORM

The most dramatic catalyst for change in the Swedish film industry was the introduction of television in 1956. By 1963 movie attendance had been reduced by half, leading to an economic crisis and radical reorganization through state intervention. The purpose of the film reform of that year was not only to rescue the industry from financial catastrophe, but also to encourage the production of so-called "quality film" and to recognize the cinema as a significant artistic and cultural medium worthy of government support and serious, professional study. The entertainment tax on film was eliminated, with 10 percent of the money generated by ticket sales instead going directly to the newly founded non-profit Swedish Film Institute, headed by Harry Schein (b. 1924), which supported selected "quality films" with direct subsidy as well as compensation for financial losses incurred. Through SFI, a film school to train directors, cinematographers, and sound technicians was established in 1964, and in 1969 film studies became an academic discipline at the University of Stockholm.

The effects of the film reform were far-reaching. Though the new system was imperfect (and has been modified periodically), it encouraged artistically ambitious directors by reducing their dependence on commercial success. About sixty feature film directors debuted in the decade following the reform, among them Vilgot Sjöman (1924–2006), Bo Widerberg (1930–1997), Jan Troell (b. 1931), and Mai Zetterling (1925–1994).

Sjöman's *Jag är nyfiken–gul* (*I Am Curious* [*Yellow*], 1967) epitomizes Swedish film of the 1960s in its political orientation, documentary emphasis, collaborative and improvisational method, and sexual frankness. A kaleidoscope illustrating Swedish attitudes toward political and social matters, both at home and abroad, the film intersperses actual interviews with several layers of fictional narrative. Though *I Am Curious (Yellow)* includes full frontal nudity, Sjöman's primary goal was not to

Ingmar Bergman explored personal and existential issues in such films as* Det Sjunde inseglet (The Seventh Seal, *1957).
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shock but to reflect contemporary attitudes and challenge cinematic expectations and taboos, in part by presenting sex as decidedly unglamorous. In Sweden, where violence rather than nudity or sexual content tends to be censored, the film premiered uncut. Abroad, *I Am Curious (Yellow)* was marketed as soft-core pornography. The American print, released only after a prolonged court battle, eliminated nearly half an hour of political commentary but none of the sex scenes.

While Sjöman's post-1960s career faded, Widerberg and Troell evolved in different directions. Widerberg's early films, including *Kvarteret Korpen* (*Raven's End*, 1963), about the dreams and aspirations of a working-class youth, are partly autobiographical; *Elvira Madigan* (1967), a star-crossed love story that garnered international attention, is a lyrical mood piece, beautifully photographed. In *Ådalen '31* (*The Ådalen Riots*, 1969) and *Joe Hill* (1971), the visual imagery remains striking, but Widerberg's focus on individual fates also encompasses a political dimension. Though the overt subject matter of both films is historical—a 1931 labor dispute in northern Sweden in which four people were killed and the legendary Swedish-American labor agitator and songwriter executed in 1915—audiences could draw contemporary parallels. Two Widerberg thrillers, *Mannen på taket* (*The Man on the Roof*, 1976) and *Mannen från Mallorca* (*The Man from Majorca*, 1984), expose corruption in high places, while *Ormens väg på hälleberget* (*The Serpent's Way*, 1986) depicts the struggle to retain human dignity in the face of poverty and sexual abuse. In *Lust och fägring stor* (*All Things Fair*, 1995), where a woman teacher initiates an affair with a male pupil, Widerberg returned to the personal sphere.

Troell initially gravitated to classic works of Swedish literature that illuminate particular historical epochs. His faithful yet imaginative and visually compelling adaptations include *Här har du ditt liv* (*Here's Your Life*, 1966), a poetic coming-of-age story set in northern Sweden

during World War I; the two-part epic *Utvandrarna* (*The Emigrants*, 1971) and *Nybyggarna* (*The New Land*, 1972), about a group of impoverished farmers who leave southern Sweden in 1850 to forge a new life in Minnesota; and *Ingenjör Andrées luftfärd* (*The Flight of the Eagle*, 1982), depicting an ill-fated attempt in the 1890s to reach the North Pole by balloon. *Hamsun* (1996) and *Så vit som en snö* (*As White as in Snow*, 2001) offer fictionalized interpretations of historical figures, the Nobel Prize-winning Norwegian author who became a Nazi sympathizer and Sweden's first aviatrix. Troell's long, leisurely paced films allow the narrative to evolve organically, largely through evocative images.

Though *I Am Curious* spawned some exploitation films, mostly for the export market, its predominantly female perspective on sexuality is symptomatic of the shifting cinematic examination of gender roles in the 1960s and beyond. In Lars-Magnus Lindgren's (1922–2004) *Käre John* (*Dear John*, 1964), both romantic partners affirm a connection between physical intimacy and emotional openness. Mai Zetterling highlights female psychology and eroticism in *Älskande par* (*Loving Couples*, 1964). Zetterling, an ingenue in films of the 1940s, including *Torment*, became a trailblazer for women directors, though after the visually experimental *Doktor Glas* (*Doctor Glas*, 1968) she worked mostly in England. Stig Björkman and Gunnel Lindblom examined the social, emotional, and sexual repercussions of divorce for individual women in *Den vita väggen* (*The White Wall*, 1975) and *Sally och friheten* (*Sally and Freedom*, 1981), respectively. Lindblom's *Paradistorg* (*Paradise Place*, 1977) and *Sommarkvällar på jorden* (*Summer Nights*, 1987) recall Zetterling's focus on family constellations and relationships among women. Unlike most contemporaries, Hasse Alfredson (b. 1931) and Tage Danielsson (1928–1985) conveyed social commentary through humor in their creative partnership. *Att angöra en brygga* (*Docking the Boat*, 1965) spoofs Swedish traditions and national types; in *Äppelkriget* (*The Apple War*, 1971), folklore creatures assist the local population in an environmental cause. *Picassos äventyr* (*The Adventures of Picasso*, 1978), a send-up of commercial exploitation in the art world, broadened the satirical scope.

RECENT TRENDS

Familiar genres such as the romantic comedy and the detective or secret agent drama also flourished after the film reform. Drawing especially large crowds in the 1980s and 1990s were a series of comedies by Lasse Åberg (b. 1940) about charter trips to various destinations and six heist films featuring the bumbling Jönsson League thieves. In the 1970s television, no longer solely a competitor, began co-producing films in return for broadcast rights. Contemporary features frequently reach a far larger audience on the air than in theatrical release; popular films from the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s have likewise experienced a renaissance thanks to television.

Though Hollywood imports dominate the market, Swedish-produced features have premiered at a steady rate of from twenty to twenty-five a year in the last several decades. Since around 1980, women directors have gradually established themselves on an equal footing. Among the most prominent is Suzanne Osten (b. 1944), whose films cover a wide range: a sensitive portrait of her mother in *Mamma* (*Our Life Is Now*, 1982); a revealing backstage account of an avant-garde opera production in *Bröderna Mozart* (*The Mozart Brothers*, 1986); an investigation of the psychosocial causes of neo-Nazism in *Tala! Det är så mörkt* (*Speak Up! It's So Dark*, 1993); and a more lighthearted consideration of race and gender in *Bara du mnd* (*Nature's Revenge*, 1983) and films about the nomadic Saami, while the "Mods" trilogy—*Dom kallar oss mods* (*They Call Us Misfits*, 1968), *Ett anständigt liv* (*A Respectable Life*, 1979), and *Det sociala arvet* (*The Social Contract*, 1993)—provided a condensed social history of a lost urban generation.

Because children's culture has a high profile in Sweden, many well-crafted features are aimed at young audiences. Olle Hellbom's (1925–1982) popular adaptations of stories by Astrid Lindgren (1907–2002), including several Pippi Longstocking tales and the allegorical fantasy *Bröderna Lejonhjärta* (*The Brothers Lionheart*, 1977), set the standard. Kay Pollak debuted with the children's film *Elvis! Elvis!* (1976), but *Barnens ö* (*Children's Island*, 1980), featuring a pre-adolescent boy as the protagonist, is intended primarily for adults. Two similar films, Lasse Hallström's (b. 1946) bittersweet *Mitt liv som hund* (*My Life as a Dog*, 1985) and Åke Sandgren's (b. 1955) less idyllic *Kådisbellan* (*The Slingshot*, 1993), did well internationally; Hallström went on to a successful Hollywood career with such films as *What's Eating Gilbert Grape* (1993), *The Cider House Rules* (1999), and *Chocolat* (2000).

Especially since the 1990s, films about and for young adults have gained ground. In *Fucking Åmål* (*Show Me Love*, 1998), which had considerable crossover appeal, Lukas Moodysson (b. 1969) encapsulates the boredom and frustration of small-town teenagers. *Tillsammans* (*Together*, 2000) gives a similarly dead-on group portrayal of a 1970s commune where political and sexual issues become entwined. Subsequent Moodysson films explore darker subject matter: the recruitment of a young Russian girl to sex slavery in Sweden in *Lilja 4-ever* (2002) and the making of a pornographic film in the

provocative *Ett hål i mitt hjärta* (*A Hole in My Heart*, 2004).

Since the 1950s Sweden has undergone a major demographic transformation from relative homogeneity to multicultural diversity. Various filmmakers have depicted the experience of immigrants and refugees adjusting to another culture, among them Johan Bergenstråhle in *Jag heter Stelios* (*Foreigners*, 1972), Marianne Ahrne in *Frihetens murar* (*The Walls of Freedom*, 1978), and Carlo Barsotti in *Ett Paradis utan biljard* (*A Paradise Without Billiards*, 1991). The 1990s brought a reconsideration of matters pertaining to World War II and Jewish identity in, for instance, Kjell Grede's *God afton, Herr Wallenberg* (*Good Evening, Mr. Wallenberg*, 1990) and Susanne Bier's (b. 1960) *Freud flyttar hemifrån* (*Freud's Leaving Home*, 1991). Around the year 2000, several directors with roots in the Middle East turned their attention to the next generation, especially young women struggling to negotiate between two cultural spheres: Josef Fares (b. 1977) in *Jalla! Jalla!* (2000), Reza Bagher (b. 1958) in *Vingar av glas* (*Wings of Glass*, 2000), and Susan Taslimi in *Hus i helvete* (*All Hell Let Loose*, 2002). Directors from non-Swedish backgrounds increasingly reflect their own cultural integration by widening their focus. The immigrant protagonist in Reza Parsa's *Före stormen* (*Before the Storm*, 2000) confronts an ethical dilemma arising from the past, but his life in Sweden is otherwise unproblematic. Bagher's *Populärmusik från Vittula* (*Popular Music from Vittula*, 2004) incorporates a quite different minority, Finnish speakers in the far north, while Fares's *Kopps* (*Cops*, 2003) does not address immigrant issues at all.

SEE ALSO *National Cinema*

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TECHNOLOGY

Ever since the invention of motion pictures, movie industries around the world have counted on a stream of technological developments to maximize production processes, increase profits, and entice audiences. Yet the history of film technology, spanning a little over one century, is a finite one, more subtle and incremental than one might assume. Indeed, the basics of film production went largely unchanged for a good part of the last century. Other than several watershed innovations that required systemic overhauls, such as synchronized sound, wide-screen formats, and color processes, most technological innovations were small by comparison, affecting the final product in ways that were often not noticeable to most viewers.

Only recently, in the past few decades, has the industry begun to explore new alternatives to conventional film stock, editing techniques, and the basic motion picture camera. One explanation is the uniqueness of the movies as a manufactured product. Unlike other technology products, such as automobiles, television sets, and appliances, the movies are neither tangible nor utilized in any conventional way by consumers. The product is less material than it is imagistic, something to be recounted and remembered rather than owned and handled. In the case of television, however, consumers do more than watch it. They own, display, and control the machine, which explains, in part, the medium's dramatic technological changes (remote control, cable, Tivo, flat-screen, and VHS/DVD). Movie formats have undergone dramatic changes as well, of course, but on the whole they have been more sporadic and aimed at attracting moviegoers during box-office slumps. Another, more compelling reason for the relative constancy of motion picture technology has been a reluctance on the part of movie industries—and especially the eight major and minor studios of classical Hollywood—to make systemic changes requiring costly, comprehensive overhauls of the industry. Nonetheless, and sometimes against its will, the moviemaking industries around the world have adopted new technologies in response to audience interests, economic imperatives, societal shifts, and aesthetic trends.

EARLY MOTION PICTURES

Beginning in the 1830s and continuing throughout the century, series photography generated early interest in the possibilities of motion pictures. Inventors and entrepreneurs quickly recognized the entertainment value of simulating the movement of photographs, such that by the middle of the nineteenth century a variety of peephole toys and coin machines were appearing in arcade parlors throughout the United States and Europe. These precinematic mechanisms were crucial in the technological leap from still photography to motion pictures projected on big screens for paying audiences. One of the earliest toys was the Zoetrope, a handheld spinning wheel with a series of photographs on the inside, visible to the viewer by thin slits along the top. The Mutoscope, a coin machine found in arcades, enabled viewers to see a series of photo cards flip by at the turn of a crank.

These early peephole toys and experiments with sequence photography indicate that the premise of the movies—that is, a sequential series of pictures on cards or film passed by the eye fast enough to suggest continuous movement—was well in place before the first motion pictures were made and projected onto a screen. Three

critical components, however, were missing: light-sensitive and fast film rolls that could travel through a camera and capture the action sequentially on frames; a camera that would record this action; and a projector that could run the film at such a pace and with enough light to throw the images, in seeming motion, onto a large screen.

In 1882 Étienne-Jules Marey (1830–1904), a French physiologist, invented the "chronophotographic gun" to record animal locomotion. The camera initially captured images on glass plates, but Marey soon switched to an easier, more manipulable format, paper film, thus introducing the film strip to cinematography and setting the stage for further developments. Indeed, only a few years later, in 1887, an Episcopalian minister from New Jersey, Hannibal Goodwin (1822–1900), developed the first celluloid roll film as a base for light-sensitive emulsions. Goodwin's success with celluloid film rolls was particularly significant because it made possible motion picture cameras and projection. George Eastman (1854–1932) soon thereafter adapted Goodwin's roll film, patented it, and made it the industry standard by 1890. Eastman Kodak issued this same basic stock, in rolls of two hundred feet, all the while making technical innovations to improve its quality. Eastman and his laboratories made it the most dependable film stock, and by 1910 studios and filmmakers from around the world were using it.

Thomas Alva Edison (1847–1931), inventor and entrepreneur, was in many ways an unlikely but important figure in the history of movie technology. Long before the first talkies, Edison was arguably the first to envision motion pictures as a marriage of image and sound. Before his company patented motion picture cameras—among other technologies vital to producing and projecting movies—he invented the phonograph, for which he always dreamed of producing visual accompaniment. Toward this end, he sought to invent a camera that would shoot a series of images onto a strip of film that, when projected at a certain speed, would convey a continuous sequence resembling live action. In 1883 he hired the young William Kennedy Laurie Dickson (1860–1935), who would greatly aid him in this quest. By 1895, Dickson ran Edison's West Orange, New Jersey, laboratory. After working on this project for a number of years, Dickson invented the first motion picture camera in 1891.

Borrowing from several earlier mechanisms, including time watch engineering and Marey's chronophotographic gun, Dickson came up with an instrument called the Kinetograph. What distinguished this new camera from other devices of the same period were two crucial additions, both of which remained defining attributes of motion picture cameras and projection throughout the twentieth century. First, it made use of a stop-motion device to regulate the intermittent motion of the film strip through the camera at various rates of frames per second (typically, 16 fps during the silent era and 24 fps for talking pictures). This allowed for the unexposed film strip to pause for a fraction of a second, during which time the shutter briefly opened long enough to sufficiently expose the film to a beam of light. Second, Dickson added sprocket holes on one side of the celluloid film strip, which could then be pulled through the machine by teethed gears. As Dickson carefully notes in his *History of the Kinetograph, Kinetoscope, and Kineto-Phonograph*, originally published in 1895, these perforations allowed for the locking device to keep the film in place for nine-tenths of a second, as the shutter opens and admits a beam of light long enough to expose the film.

The Kinetograph shot short films in 50-foot installments (typically less than 30 seconds), which could then be viewed in the Kinetoscope, a battery-powered coin machine—one of the last of its kind before motion picture exhibition became geared toward collective audiences—also designed by Edison's company. Unlike later projectors, this one operated at over 40 frames per second, nearly three times faster than what would become the standard rate. Soon entire parlor halls were filled with Kinetoscopes, drawing in customers who individually watched a number of short movies. Using the Kinetograph, Dickson shot thousands of short films in what was the first motion-picture studio, "the Black Maria," a barnlike structure with a sliding roof that allowed sunlight to enter and illuminate the subjects being shot. Since the camera was large and immobile, the "action" needed to be brought before it. The shorts were thus one-shot, one-scene "movies."

In spite of its unwieldy size and relatively primitive mechanics, the Kinetograph influenced nearly every motion picture camera made since, but especially those that followed in the decade after. Like their predecessor, these cameras were typically made of wood, sat on a box or tripod, had a hand crank for shooting and projecting, and came with sprockets that drove the film through the machine. In Europe several important early filmmakers and inventors adapted the Kinetograph to fit their own needs, which included more versatile, mobile filmmaking as well as projection. The French Lumière brothers, Auguste (1862–1954) and Louis (1864–1948), invented the Cinématographe in 1895, a remarkable machine that was camera, printer, and projector all in one device. The Lumières became famous for shooting their popular *actualités*, short, single-shot films of locations and scenarios, such as oncoming trains, people kissing, and distant lands. Unlike the Kinetograph, the Cinématographe was light and more easily transportable, able to capture city

scenes and "exotic" locales at a time when few were able to travel the world.

With the rapid growth of camera technology came attendant developments in projection. Many early cameras were also used as projectors, whereby an arc-light source would be attached to the back, which could be opened for projection purposes. Arc lights were a popular and powerful source of illumination for early theater and photographic portraiture, and were later used for motion picture production at a time when less sensitive film stocks required powerful lighting for full exposure. As early as 1888, Louis Aimé Augustin Le Prince (1842–c.1890), working in England, rivaled Dickson and his Kinetograph by patenting a motion picture camera-projector that used perforated film and intermittent stop-go motion. (Prince might have become more than a footnote in the early history of motion pictures had he and his machinery not disappeared without a trace in 1890.)

Several problems with early projection engineering needed solving, however. First, there was the matter of precisely regulating the film roll's intermittent but consistent movement through the machine, such that each frame would travel between the projection lamp and the open shutter for the same duration and at the correct pace for proper projection. German film pioneer Oskar Messter (1866–1943) developed the Maltese-cross system—still used today in most projectors—to ensure regular "stop-and-go" motion (Cook, p. 9). This gear, in the shape of a Maltese cross, sits atop the sprocket wheel that pulls the film through the projector. A pin on the edge of the wheel briefly locks with the gear, such that the film is momentarily (and repeatedly) paused and then released.

The second predicament with early projection was figuring out a method to prevent the film from tearing under the pressure of hundreds of feet of film spinning and intermittently tugging at the single strip between the reels (this pressure builds to a critical mass typically when the film is longer than 100 feet, equivalent to over a minute in duration). The solution came in 1896 with the invention of the Latham loop, an extra loop in the film's path through the projector that absorbed the tension and facilitated the showing of longer films. Although filmmakers may not have taken advantage of this newfound possibility until 1899, when longer films were introduced, exhibitors and studios did so by splicing shorter films together to make longer programs. In 1889 Edison's company and others around the world were taking patents out on projectors, and less than a decade later, on 23 April 1896, New York City was home to the first public projection of a motion picture in the United States. Both European and American audiences were quick to embrace the new entertainment, flocking to theaters and then reading about it the next day in their local newspapers.

There were many key players behind the initial technological developments of motion pictures. Yet few of these inventors were collaborating or even envisioning a common goal; even fewer foresaw the potential for movies to tell stories, create international celebrities, and entertain large audiences collectively gathered before one large screen. Eventually, however, technological advancements coalesced to match the period's fascination with mechanized movement. Together they soon offered up the possibility of the movies as an entertainment form and a highly profitable industry.

COLOR AND SOUND

Long before Technicolor revolutionized the look of movies, color appeared in movies through a number of different methods. One of the first narrative movie directors, Georges Méliès (1861–1938), known for his early special effects and camera trickery, used color on occasion to accentuate spectacle, such as bursts of yellow flame and the like. In order to achieve this effect, he had individual frames hand-painted, a laborious and expensive practice. Tinting and toning were more popular, if only because the process was easier and cheaper, though admittedly less dramatic in effect. Tinting involved dyeing the entire emulsion in one color, so that shots of sky or twilight would appear blue and fire scenes red, for instance. Toning, on the other hand, was the chemical coloring of the silver portions of the image, which changed the normally black areas of the frame into colored ones. Early directors such as England's Robert William Paul (1869–1943) and James Williamson (1855–1933) made extensive use of both techniques, which would continue in popularity throughout the nickelodeon era and beyond.

In 1908 Charles Urban (1871–1942), an American businessman and motion picture enthusiast, patented the first functional color film process, called Kinemacolor. Unlike later color processes that would become the standard, this one was a two-strip additive system. In an additive color process, the camera produced two pairs of red and green exposures simultaneously, thus requiring superimposition in the projection of the final product (Cook, p. 254). Urban and his partners quickly began making films with Kinemacolor in several countries, including England and the United States. It was mainly used on shorter films, which kept the budget down, but by the early teens it was appearing in longer features as well. Because of patent litigation and technical problems with the process, Kinemacolor disappeared several years later. Additive color methods were generally short-lived because they required faster shooting, more illumination and film stock, and tricky equipment for projecting in

superimposition, which the exhibitors resisted. In spite of its brief run, Kinemacolor was very popular in its time and established the foundation for future color processes, including Technicolor.

The next legitimate color process was developed by Technicolor in the 1920s. Herbert T. Kalmus (1881–1963), Daniel F. Comstock, and W. Burton Wescott had started the firm in 1915. Like Urban and others from this period, they began with an additive process, but once that failed, Kalmus sought to invent a subtractive process that would allow the colors to print on positive stocks and thus eliminate the superimposition of negatives. In 1922 Technicolor patented the first such color process, but the high cost made it untenable for most studios. A few years later, as talkies were emerging, Technicolor was using a two-strip subtractive process that attracted the studios' attention. Warner Bros., the most adventurous of the five major studios, was one of several companies to try it out on a limited basis. After several years into the Depression, however, the high cost again proved prohibitive for studios. Making it even less attractive were deficiencies inherent in a two-strip process, namely the lack of color range in the product (it had been proven in the nineteenth century that the full color spectrum could be achieved with combinations of only three primary colors: red, green, and blue).

In 1932 Technicolor came back with a three-strip method that included a "three-color beamsplitter and a third strip of film, so that each matrix—red, blue, green—had its own separation negative" (Bordwell, Staiger, and Thompson, p. 353). With the aid of a mirror and prisms, the image was rendered simultaneously onto three different emulsion film strips. One strip, sensitive to green, was placed behind the lens, while the other two—one sensitive to blue and the other to red—were back to back on a separate track and at a 90-degree angle from the first. Because the light was split by the prism and mirror, so that all three strips could register the image, shooting in three-strip Technicolor required a great deal more lighting on the set. Yet the result was a fuller, richer spectrum of colors on film, as is evident in the films that featured it, including Disney's animated *Three Little Pigs* (1933) and *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937), as well as *Gone with the Wind* (1939) and *The Wizard of Oz* (1939).

With each year, Technicolor improved its color process, which became faster and finer-grained, offering richer colors. The process still had its drawbacks, however, namely its high cost. Shooting a film in Technicolor could add in the hundreds of thousands of dollars to individual film budgets, so studios were not ready to make most or even a quarter of their productions in color. In addition to the need for more lighting, the three-strip Mitchell cameras, owned and leased by Technicolor, were expensive, large, and heavy, making for difficult on-location shooting. The lack of competition at this time also made Technicolor more in demand and thus pricier. Further increasing the price tag, the company often required that studios rent one of its trained cinematographers. As director Alfred Hitchcock learned during the production of his first color film, *Rope* (1948), this was not necessarily a bad thing. A notorious perfectionist, Hitchcock was disappointed with the sunset sky's red-orange colors, which he felt smacked of a "cheap postcard." He brought in a Technicolor camera technician to reshoot the last five ten-minute takes of *Rope*. As this story suggests, filmmakers (not merely directors and cinematographers, but also costume designers, art directors, and set designers, and makeup artists), long accustomed to black-and-white aesthetics, underwent a necessary period of adjustment. Three-strip Technicolor remained the best and only color film method until it was updated and made obsolete in the 1950s, when single-strip color processes would emerge and television would provide legitimate competition. Only thereafter would the industry's conversion to color be nearly absolute.

Just as the idea of movies in color had its roots in the earliest recorded history of the motion pictures, so too did the notion that movies could and should talk to us. Indeed, as long as motion pictures have been projected, they have rarely been without sound and even synchronized sound, in rhythm with the images on screen. During the silent era, live organists, pianists, and symphonic orchestras accompanied the projection of movies in theaters both big and small. On occasion, live actors would stand behind the screen to speak the lines. In other countries, such as Japan, a narrator (*benshi*) would sometimes provide commentary on the action. By the mid-1920s, however, advancements in recording and audio technology ushered in the era of "talkies."

At first, synchronized sound systems were often on-disc, meaning that the film's audio (lines, foley sounds, and/or score) would be recorded onto a recordlike disc. Then, as the film projected, a disc player would play the audio in synchronization with the images on screen. In the United States, Vitaphone successfully used this process in the years after World War I. This method was flawed, however, and was often unsatisfying for viewers because the synchronization of sound and image was tenuous, easily disrupted. Across the Atlantic, German engineers concomitantly developed a means of recording the soundtrack directly onto the film, such that sound and image were truly wed during projection. This method, which was called the Tri-Ergon Process, converted sound into light beams, which were first recorded onto the film strip and then reconverted to sound in the

projection process. In the early 1920s, Dr. Lee De Forest (1873–1961) was promoting a similar sound-on-film method in the United States. What gave De Forest the advantage over his counterparts was his ability to make sound audible to an entire audience with the aid of his patented Audion vacuum tubes, which were able to amplify sound coming out of a speaker without the usual distortion of the time.

In spite of these early sound-on-film innovations, the first talkies in Hollywood used a sound-on-disc system contracted by Vitaphone (owned by Western Electric). The major studios of the time, including Paramount and Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM), were not willing to take the risk on what would require such a costly overhaul of production and exhibition equipment. However, Warner Bros., a small but growing studio, anxious to compete with the major studios that threatened to squeeze out smaller competition, gambled by purchasing exclusive rights to Vitaphone in 1926. Warner Bros. started by making a program of talkie shorts before producing two features, *Don Juan* (1926) and *The Jazz Singer* (1927), both directed by Alan Crosland. *Don Juan* featured merely a scored soundtrack, so it still resembled a silent film. Like many films of this transitional period, *The Jazz Singer* was part silent and part talkie; it included several scenes with players speaking, but it otherwise used a prerecorded on-disc music score. Warner's gamble paid off handsomely nonetheless: the films did very well at the box office and only encouraged Warner Bros.—and the rest of Hollywood—to continue in the direction of talkies.

By 1929, most of Hollywood had made the conversion to talkies, implementing sound-on-film systems that allowed for the mechanical synchronization of image and sound. Much of Europe followed in the year or two after. Problems abounded during this initial phase of talkies for several reasons. Since the cameras of this era were so loud, they needed to be encased during shooting so that the sensitive microphones on the set would not pick up their audible hum. This made for a rather static kind of cinema, particularly in light of the precedents set by the highly mobile camera work of silent film masters such as F. W. Murnau (1888–1931) and Carl Theodor Dreyer (1889–1968). Arc lights, which had become standard by this time, also were loud enough to be picked up by the microphones. Hollywood switched soon thereafter to tungsten light sources, which, according to film historian Barry Salt, did not overly change the look of the films. In addition, the industry struggled at first with dialogue, which often came off as forced, unrealistic, and clichéd. Lastly, the industry discovered quickly that not all of its best silent stars were able to make the transition to the age of sound.

As several noted film historians have suggested, however, these growing pains were relatively few and short-lived for such an extensive industry-wide conversion. The industry solved most of these problems in time with developments in audio and recording technology. For instance, before long studios were using multiple audio tracks on films, looping in dialogue, music scores, and foley sounds during postproduction. Quieter cameras and more directional microphones also freed up the camera and increased the quality of sound. By the early 1930s, only a few years since the inception of the conversion to talkies, directors such as Fritz Lang (*M*, 1931), Lewis Milestone (*All Quiet on the Western Front*, 1930), and Hitchcock (*Blackmail*, 1929) were using sound and dialogue in complex ways, proving Soviet film theorist-director Sergei Eisenstein's (1898–1948) assertion that synchronized sound could be employed as audio montage and/or counterpoint. With the conversion to sound, purists throughout the world proclaimed that the advent of talkies would be the death knell of cinema as they knew it, a singularly visual art. It was not long before film industries and individual filmmakers silenced these critics.

THE TELEVISION AGE

In the Cold War era of communist witch hunts and blacklisting, Hollywood executives had even more pressing worries: the imminent death of the studio system and the meteoric rise of television, which subsequently led to a drastic decline in ticket sales. To combat the drop in profits, the studios quickly sought to attract moviegoers—particularly families—from the living room by enhancing and exploiting their medium's technological advantages, namely its relatively large image size and its color format. Not coincidentally, the 1950s were the first decade of drive-in movie theaters, stereo sound, widescreen formats, epics shot in glossy color, and a full gamut of movie ballyhoo such as 3-D film technology.

Beginning in 1952, Hollywood began to make the conversion to color production. As with other sectors of the movie industry, the government deemed Technicolor (and particularly its three-strip technology) a monopoly in 1950. That same year Eastmancolor, a single-strip format based on Germany's Agfacolor, emerged as a legitimate and cheaper means of shooting in color. Unlike the earlier three-strip processes, Eastmancolor (and other processes similar to it) fused the three emulsion strips into a single roll, soon eclipsing the competition and replacing Technicolor as the most widely used color process in the industry. Whereas in the 1940s less than a quarter of Hollywood features were shot in color, by the 1950s more than half were; by the 1970s, the conversion was nearly complete. Barring student

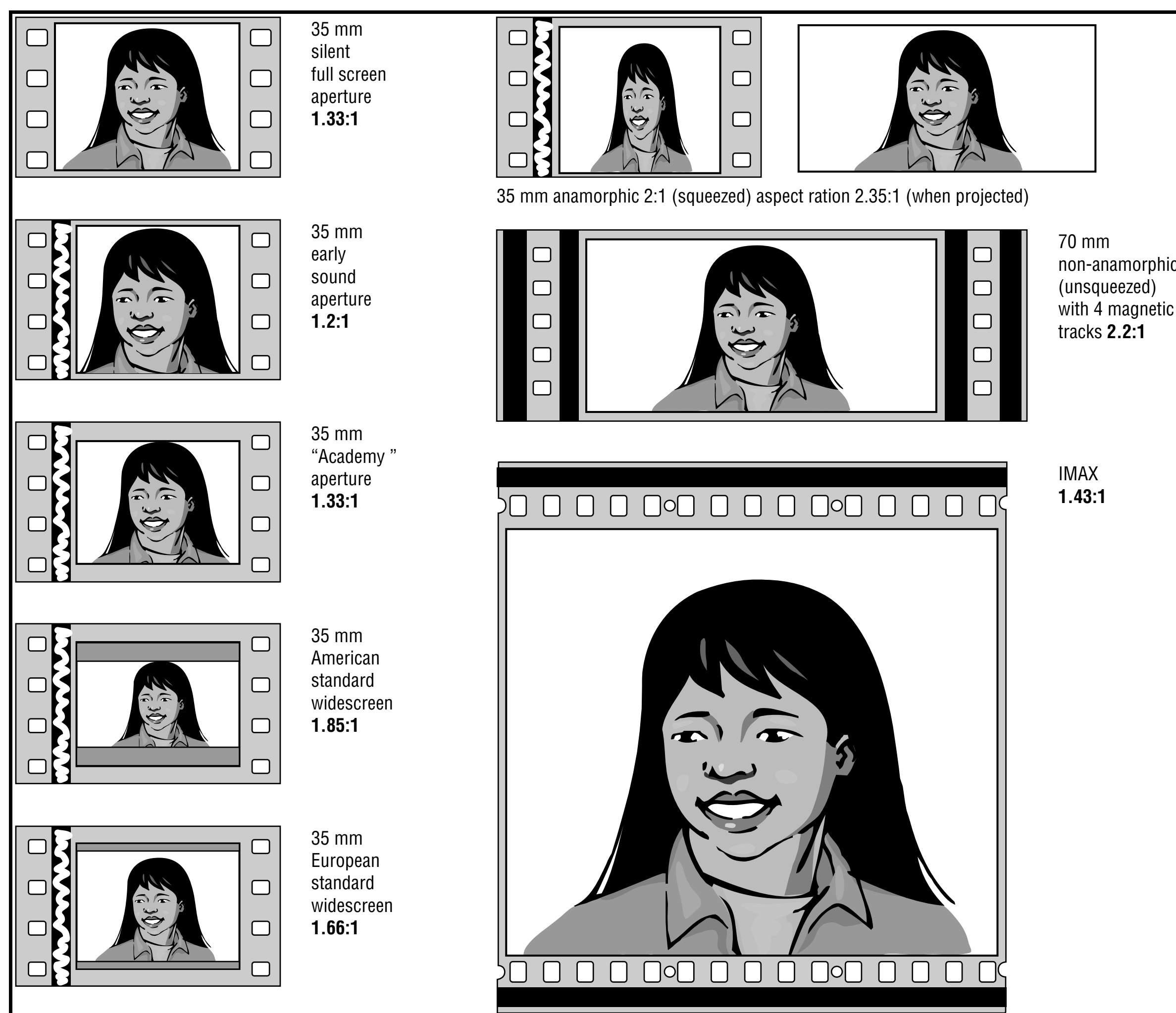

Diagram of aspect ratios for both standard and widescreen systems. © THOMSON GALE. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

productions and the occasional ''art'' film intentionally shot in black and white, movies made since the 1970s have been exclusively shot in color.

To complement the great rise in color production, and to increase its drawing power as spectacle entertainment on a grander scale than television, Hollywood sought to widen the aspect ratio of the motion picture image. Up until the early 1950s, the standard (or Academy) aspect ratio of motion pictures was nearly square, 1.33:1. Since the television screen adopted this same format, Hollywood had even more incentive to increase its screen image. The first such widescreen optical process, Cinerama, appeared in 1952. It was a multiple-camera and multiple-projector system that showed films on a curved screen, adding depth and spectacle to the experience of movie spectatorship. (The equivalent format for today's spectators is IMAX, a two-projector system that shows movies—many shot in 3-D—on a giant screen not only wider but also taller than typical widescreen formats.) The projected image was as much as three times the standard aspect ratio of a 35mm movie image. As with most early processes, however, this one proved too expensive and burdensome both for those shooting and projecting the picture. A small number of motion pictures were shot in this format, among them *How the West Was Won* (1962).

In 1954 CinemaScope emerged as the most popular widescreen format in Hollywood and other parts of the world. It was one of several optical formats that used anamorphic lenses, which allowed for a 2:1 image to be compressed onto a 35mm lens and then converted to its natural dimensions in projection. In time, CinemaScope

offered movies in a 2.35:1 format, which greatly widened the image seen by viewers. Not surprisingly, CinemaScope was used for epics, westerns, and other genres that were best suited for landscape shots, action scenes, and general spectacle. CinemaScope became extremely popular with audiences, who were drawn to the heightened experience of movie watching, and with the studios, which liked its cheap price tag and ease of use.

A number of widescreen variations became available during the 1950s and 1960s. Directors such as John Ford (*The Searchers*, 1956) and Alfred Hitchcock (*Vertigo*, 1958; and *North by Northwest*, 1959), for instance, famously used Paramount's VistaVision. Some filmmakers preferred VistaVision because it produced an unusually sharp image for widescreen formats, but it also used twice as much negative film stock as conventional shooting. By the 1960s Panavision gradually replaced CinemaScope as the standard format for widescreen cinematography. Non-anamorphic widescreen processes as well, such as 70mm, were used for popular films such as *Around the World in 80 Days* (1956), *Cleopatra* (1963), and *The Sound of Music* (1965).

In addition to changing the way moviegoers watched movies, widescreen cinema altered the way cinematographers approached shooting them as well. For many directors, there was more incentive to shoot long takes and to reduce the number of cuts. Yet the average length of shots in widescreen productions was only minimally longer than those in films shot in Academy ratio. The majority of filmmakers and cinematographers shooting in widescreen sought to take advantage of the extra width by lining up all the characters that could possibly fit in the frame and by adding more material to the *mise-en-scène*. Others, such as Jean-Luc Godard and Hitchcock, employed their own distinctive cinematic styles when using the new format. In *Le mépris* (*Contempt*, 1963), for instance, Godard seems to defy the film's width, establishing off-screen space while using only a fraction of the frame, and panning, rather than merely fixing upon, landscapes. For Godard the widescreen provided a means for compositional counterpoint. Hitchcock, in a different vein, remained true to his commitment to the principles of montage and thus cut even his widescreen films in ways that were not typical for this period. His great attention to composition, color, setting, and blocking are also on display in his later films, many of them shot using the VistaVision format.

Emulating a pattern in movie technology, stereoscopic (popularly known as "3-D") formats were introduced at an early stage in the history of motion pictures. In 1903 the Lumière brothers were the first to publicly screen a stereoscopic picture, *L'arrivee du train* (*The Train's Arrival*). The process was labor-intensive and highly expensive, however, making it largely unpopular. The increase in move lengths, due in large part to the rise of narrative and the star system beginning in the early teens, only exacerbated its high cost and unpopularity. Applying the anaglyphic system, stereoscopic productions required twice as much film stock, as shooting in 3-D necessitated using a twin-camera method that shot the same footage on two different reels, one tinted in red and the other in blue. Once processed, the film strips would be projected together for an audience wearing special glasses that had one red-filtered lens and one blue-filtered lens. Anaglyphic 3-D did not disappear, though, appearing in several European and US productions throughout the 1920s and 1930s.

By the early 1950s, Hollywood was desperate enough to overlook the format's imperfections in favor of its shock value. Several innovations ameliorated the process, as well, further explaining its enormous popularity during this period. A polarized version of the 3-D process increased precision, while simultaneously enhancing the viewing experience. Natural Vision, for instance, first introduced in 1952, fixed the dual cameras in a way that approximated the distance between the human eyes. This made for a more realistic sense of depth than earlier, less precise 3-D formats. Stereoscopic production and exhibition boomed for two years (1953 through 1954), appearing most often in adventure, science fiction, and horror movies, helping to give 3-D an aura of kitsch. Among over fifty titles shot in 3-D, its most famous include Universal's *Creature from the Black Lagoon* (1954) and *House of Wax* (1953). Hitchcock's *Dial M for Murder* (1954) and the only musical using the format, *Kiss Me Kate* (1953), were both shot in 3-D but were screened "flat" due to the sudden decline of the stereoscopic fad at the time.

Although the 3-D craze faded less than two years after its boom in the 1950s, stereoscopic filmmaking practices have reemerged time and again, suggesting their allure across generations. They returned in the 1960s, for instance, when a string of pornographic and X-rated 3-D films enjoyed great box office success. More recently, 3-D has made a comeback in the digital age of filmmaking.

THE DIGITAL AGE

A renewed interest in film realism influenced motion picture technology during and after World War II. In order to afford greater versatility and mobility, filmmakers took to using smaller cameras that could shoot on location without tripods or heavy equipment. Shortly after World War II, director Morris Engel (1918–2005), whose low-budget films shot in New York City would later influence John Cassavetes, helped Charlie Woodruff

Creature from the Black Lagoon ***(Jack Arnold, 1954) was one of the best films to be released in 3-D.*** **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

construct a portable 35mm camera that prefigured the Steadicam. By the middle of the 1950s, cinematographer Richard Leacock (b. 1921) and sound recording specialist D. A. Pennebraker (b. 1925) innovated a portable 16mm synchronized-sound camera that rested on the operator's shoulder. These light and highly mobile sync-sound cameras were instrumental in renewing a movement in documentary filmmaking during the 1960s. Filmmakers such as Shirley Clark, Robert Drew, and Frederick Wiseman helped popularize the 16mm cameras, which were famously used in productions such as *Primary* (1960) and *High School* (1968). Thanks to new developments in film technology, and inspired by new waves of filmmaking around the world, including Italian neorealism and cinéma vérité, handheld cinematography became not only feasible but also popular in both documentary and narrative movie production.

Beginning in the late 1970s, the Steadicam offered a new means of shooting handheld while maintaining steadiness of image. The Steadicam is a mount that stabilizes the camera by isolating it from all but the cinematographer's largest movements. In addition to absorbing shocks from movement, the mount also continually keeps the camera at its center of gravity. The Steadicam enabled filmmakers to shoot in tight spaces and accomplish difficult shots (such as circulars, extensive pans, and crowd scenes), while providing a degree of steadiness previously attained only by dolly shots or zooms. More recently, Hi-8 cameras, camcorders, and digital cameras have increased personal (and occasionally professional) handheld filmmaking practices. Director Martin Scorsese and his cinematographer Michael Chapman used the Steadicam quite effectively in a famous sequence in *Raging Bull* (1980), in which the

camera follows Jake LaMotta (Robert De Niro) as he winds through a throng of fans and reporters on his way to the boxing ring.

Computer- and digital-based filmmaking technologies have picked up where the Steadicam left off, allowing for even greater portability and image steadiness. In addition, these new technologies are able to heighten special effects, intermix digital or virtual domains with live action, convey scale, and reduce the labor necessary in setting up difficult shots and constructing complex settings. Indeed, the new age of cinema signals the end of perforated film strips, 35mm cameras, and editing methods that have remained largely the same since motion pictures were born. While many of these changes are yet to be standardized and institutionalized, the technology has been around in some form since the early 1980s.

Disney's *Tron* (1982) was the first movie to include high-resolution digital imagery, but it did so sparingly. Several years later, in 1989, James Cameron took the technology to a new level, intermixing live action and computer graphics in *The Abyss*. Cameron proved that computer-generated imagery (CGI) could add complex yet realistic special effects while remaining cost-effective (Cook, p. 955). Cameron's success invited further experimentation with digital technologies. Since the early 1990s, many productions have implemented CGI in some form. Robert Zemeckis, in *Forrest Gump* (1994), blended virtual history (past US presidents, for instance) with live action. Cameron created digital replicas of Miami as background in *True Lies* (1994). In *Star Wars: Episode 1, The Phantom Menace* (1999), George Lucas's crew shot every scene with computer-generated technology, simulating entire battle sequences with digitally designed extras multiplied to fill the screen. These effects are especially suitable for action-adventure films, of course, but they are being increasingly used across genres to reduce costs and save labor time.

Like previous phases of film technology, the digital age of cinema has had to weigh the advantages of spectacle with more practical matters of efficiency, economy, and realism. Digital technology has also resurrected stereoscopic filmmaking. After the success of IMAX 3-D in the 1990s, James Cameron's *Ghosts of the Abyss* (2003), a documentary on the Titanic, and Steven Spielberg's digitally animated *The Polar Express* (2004) both played on IMAX's giant screens. Directors Lucas and Cameron have also explored a new 3-D process in which technicians can render flat films stereoscopic using digital means. This conversion process would be applicable not only to newly made films but also to reissues of previously released movies. The technology is in place for both the conversion and projection of digital 3-D, but theaters will need first to make the conversion to digital projection, which will be the next costly—but perhaps inevitable—overhaul.

SEE ALSO *Camera; Camera Movement; Cinematography; Color; Early Cinema; Exhibition; Film History; Precinema; Silent Cinema; Sound; Special Effects; Theaters*

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Drew Todd

TEEN FILMS

The teen film has been a fixture in American cinema since the mid-twentieth century, yet serious study of the genre did not begin until the 1980s. David Considine wrote the first exhaustive study, *The Cinema of Adolescence*, in 1985, illuminating many of the messages and trends contained in films about teenagers. Since then film scholars have pointed to the ways in which the Hollywood studios capitalized on youth trends and attitudes through movies that directly addressed the teenage audience—resulting, in Thomas Doherty's term, in the "juvenilization" of Hollywood. Others have traced the evolution of adolescence in American movies in relation to social and political trends, as Hollywood and independent studios systematically developed different youth subgenres to depict an increasingly diverse array of teen experiences, the teen film became a formally codified genre.

EARLY TEEN FILMS

The appearance of actual adolescents in movies was not common until the 1930s. By that point Hollywood studios had firmly established their grip on American culture, and even more so on their contract players. But they had difficulty in maintaining public interest in young stars, who inevitably grew out of their youthful charms. This was the case with one of the first teen stars, Deanna Durbin (b. 1921), whose success started at age fifteen in films such as *Three Smart Girls* (1936), *One Hundred Men and a Girl* (1937), and *That Certain Age* (1938). Then audiences became disenchanted with her films, and she retired from acting in 1948 at the age of twenty-seven.

Mickey Rooney (b. 1920), on the other hand, was one of the rare performers who retained his youthful demeanor for some time. His sensitivity was evident in realistic teen roles in *The Devil Is a Sissy* (1936) and *Captains Courageous* (1937), and he soon grew into far more prominent roles, showing range as both a cynical delinquent in *Boys Town* (1938) and as a plucky musician in *Babes in Arms* (1939). But Rooney's most endearing role was that of adolescent Andy Hardy, a character who became the optimistic antidote to the disturbing tensions among America's children on the eve of World War II. By 1939 Rooney was the number-one box office draw in the country. In just over a decade, he made fifteen films as Andy Hardy, with such telling titles as *Love Finds Andy Hardy* (1938), *Life Begins for Andy Hardy* (1941), *Andy Hardy's Blonde Trouble* (1944), and *Love Laughs at Andy Hardy* (1947). The eleven-year run of these films, despite their whitewashed mythologies of youth, would be the most significant depiction of adolescent life in America until the mid-1950s, and no other teen character in film to date has enjoyed Andy's durability and popularity.

Other teenage performers who rose to prominence in the 1930s and 1940s include Rooney's recurring co-star, Judy Garland (1922–1969) (*Listen, Darling* [1938], *Little Nellie Kelly* [1940], *Meet Me in St. Louis* [1944]), and the striking Bonita Granville (*These Three* [1936], *The Beloved Brat* [1938], *Nancy Drew—Detective* [1938] and three other Nancy Drew films, and *Youth Runs Wild* [1944]). The prevailing moral codes of the time, as well as the Production Code, dictated that onscreen teens would be focused on their families, schools, and friends, rarely displaying any adolescent angst over their sexual development, alcohol or drug use, or rebellious impulses.

James Dean in* Giant *(George Stevens, 1956), his last film. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

The one controversial topic the studios did feel comfortable addressing was juvenile delinquency. In cautionary tales like *Wild Boys of the Road* (1933) and *Little Men* (1934), the studios showed young people how mischief could lead to much greater trouble. In fact, an entire series of films was built around this topic, beginning in 1937 with *Dead End*, which labored to show crime negatively, even though audiences were enthralled by its charismatic young characters who openly resent and combat the gentrification of their neighborhood. The film was such a hit that Warner Bros. developed more films around these so-called "Dead End Kids," and had an even bigger hit with *Angels with Dirty Faces* in 1938. Universal then took up the series, and in seven more films over the next four years the studio added new characters to the mix and dubbed them the "Dead End Kids and Little Tough Guys." None of these films was as notable as the first few, but in a curious parallel, Monogram began a different series in 1940 and later renamed the gang the "East Side Kids," even though most of the actors were now in their twenties. This series produced twenty-two films in six years, and in 1946 the actors embarked on yet another series with these characters, now called the "Bowery Boys," who had long since grown into adults. The series still remained a great success for Monogram, which released a remarkable thirty-one Bowery Boys films through 1953; Allied Artists carried on the tradition for another sixteen films until 1958. By that time a group that had started out as troubled teenage outlaws had entertained American audiences for over twenty years.

THE EMERGENCE OF TEEN CINEMA

The output of teen films into the early 1950s was rather meager, although America's fascination with juvenile delinquency (JD) never disappeared altogether. In 1949 two significant JD films began to renew interest in the cinematic subgenre: *City Across the River* intended to shock its audience by directly addressing the problem of

teen crime, and *Knock on Any Door* further explored the connected elements of society that breed delinquency. Yet these films were tame compared to the ephebiphobia (fear of teenagers) that swept the country in the mid-1950s, in the midst of the appearance of rock 'n' roll music and the booming postwar economy.

The Wild One (1953), despite featuring characters past their teens, was the first in a torrent of JD films, which became ubiquitous by the end of the 1950s. In 1955 two of the most powerful JD films appeared: *Rebel Without a Cause* and *Blackboard Jungle*. *Rebel* spoke about current teen tensions in sincere tones rather than didactic monologues, and, with the death of its star, James Dean (1931–1955), just days before its release, it had an automatically profound marketing campaign. The ensuing veneration of Dean as an icon of young coolness—and his performance as Jim Stark, which embodied that image—made the film an indelible symbol of youth in the agonizing process of self-discovery and the forging of identity. *Blackboard Jungle* used the more typical scenario of an inspiring teacher who tries to gain authority over his delinquent charges, although some of them are beyond reform. The film was significant not only for its use of rock music, but for its integration of nonwhite teens into the story, which enabled it to make a searing statement about uniting against tyranny.

Then followed a plethora of films that dealt with teenage delinquency and rebellion in alternately crazy and compassionate fashions. Few of these films, *Teenage Rebel* (1956), *Untamed Youth* (1957), *Juvenile Jungle* (1958), *Riot in Juvenile Prison* (1959), *This Rebel Breed* (1960), *Wild Youth* (1961) garnered even a fraction of the attention that *Rebel Without a Cause* and *Blackboard Jungle* received, and they were for the most part formulaic. Most of these films served as fodder for drive-ins and movie theaters that had difficulty booking films from the major studios, and the main reason exhibitors continued screening them was to bring in the lucrative teen crowd.

One studio in particular, American International Pictures (AIP), was quite adept at attracting that crowd. AIP began in 1956 and soon capitalized on the JD craze (*Reform School Girl*, 1957), and then the beach movie movement of the early 1960s (*Beach Party*, 1963), as well as the youth protest films of the later 1960s (*Wild in the Streets*, 1968). In many ways, AIP showed the larger studios that appealing to the young (especially male) crowd was the least risky of cinematic options, and studios have been following that logic to this day. Although this strategy may have worked financially, it yielded an abundance of artificial, fanatic, and often idiotic depictions of teenagers.

AIP can be given only so much credit for establishing specific subgenres of teen films, which were proliferating at many 1950s studios eager to address adolescent concerns in whatever way seemed to resonate with youth. There were by this point at least five styles of teen films that would persist into the 1960s. Hot-rod movies like *Hot Rod Rumble* (1957) or *Joy Ride* (1958) catered to teens' fantasies of speed and adventure. The rock movie, with music that was louder, more sexual, and more racially diverse than that of previous generations, also became a great vehicle for exploring teen rebellion. Examples included *Rock, Rock, Rock* (1956), *Don't Knock the Rock* (1956), *Carnival Rock* (1957), and *Go, Johnny, Go!* (1959). The teen beach movie essentially picked up where the rock movies left off, with an emphasis on music, partying, and sexual stimulation, as in *Gidget* (1959), *Where the Boys Are* (1960), *Muscle Beach Party* (1964), and *Beach Blanket Bingo* (1965). Horror films appealed to youth as well, likely because so many of them featured characters dealing with bodily changes, alienation, and anger, as in *I Was a Teenage Werewolf* (1957), *Teenage Monster* (1958), *Bloodlust!* (1961), *The Crawling Hand* (1963), and *Teen-Age Strangler* (1968).

The teen melodrama was a category of teen film that had very little coherence but a nonetheless distinct identity. These were films that took adolescent conditions seriously, rather than bundling them together with juvenile high jinx or fads. *Tea and Sympathy* (1956) was one such film, dealing implicitly with the subject of teenage homosexuality, of which a seventeen-year-old boy is "cured" by an understanding older woman. With *Eighteen and Anxious* (1957), *Unwed Mother* (1958), and *Blue Denim* (1959), the studios began addressing the controversial yet not uncommon problem of teen pregnancy. Teen melodramas became even more relevant as they became less repressed, taking on further adolescent conflicts: racism in *Take a Giant Step* (1959); sexism in *Billie* (1965); interracial dating in *West Side Story* (1961); sex education in *The Explosive Generation* (1961); mental health in *Splendor in the Grass* (1961) and *David and Lisa* (1962); sexual deviance in *Peyton Place* (1957), *A Summer Place* (1959), and *Lolita* (1962); and family problems in *All Fall Down* (1962), *Take Her, She's Mine* (1963), and *Under Age* (1964). Despite their earnest themes, however, most of these films did not (or could not) get at the deeper psychological and sexual issues affecting their characters, and often offered conservative and shallow solutions to their problems.

The sexual liberation that found its way to college campuses in the 1960s found its way to teen films soon thereafter, as in the devastating *Last Summer* (1969), a mature portrait of four teens whose repressed sexual tensions lead to assault and rape. *The Last Picture Show* (1971) also presented surprisingly sexual teens, in a 1950s setting no less, ruefully commenting on the

JAMES DEAN

b. Marion, Indiana, 8 February 1931, d. 30 September 1955

James Dean's breakthrough came when, in his early twenties, he gave profound performances playing teenagers in *East of Eden* (1955) and *Rebel Without a Cause* (1955). Before he could thoroughly enjoy the fame these films brought him, his life was tragically cut short in a car accident. His final film, *Giant* (1956), had not yet been released. Dean's untimely death seemed to assure him everlasting status as a cult figure for youth.

Dean was born in Indiana but moved with his family to Los Angeles at the age of five. When his mother suddenly died four years later, he returned to the Midwest and lived with his aunt and uncle on their farm, returning to L.A. after high school in pursuit of an acting career. Taking the advice of one of his first teachers there, James Whitmore, he made his way to New York City, where he won praise on stage. In 1952 he was accepted into the prestigious Actors Studio, where he learned the Method approach for which he would become well known. As he moved through various plays on and off Broadway, he had occasional small (uncredited) parts in films like *Has Anybody Seen My Gal?* (1952) and appeared in television shows such as *Studio One* (1952–1953) and *Danger* (1953–1954). After a lauded appearance in the Broadway production of *The Immoralist* in 1954, Dean earned a screen test for *East of Eden* at Warner Bros., and then moved to Hollywood in early 1955 to work on *Rebel*.

Dean became the first performer in Hollywood history to earn a posthumous nomination for an Academy Award®, as Best Actor in *East of Eden*; the next year, he became the only performer ever to be nominated for a second posthumous Oscar®, as Best Actor in *Giant*. Even though Dean had only three starring roles to his credit over this brief period, his image as an emotional, expressive, and tormented young man soon made him an icon of his era. Over the next generations, young male stars tried to emulate his cool tension, affecting his style and attitude. His legend would be further augmented by the dozens of biographies written about him and the many films made about his life. Indeed, there are more films about Dean than starring Dean, including *The James Dean Story* (1957), *James Dean: The First American Teenager* (1975), *James Dean and Me* (1995), and *James Dean: Race With Destiny* (1997)

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

East of Eden (1955), *Rebel Without a Cause* (1955), *Giant* (1956)

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American conditions of youth throughout the postwar era, during which sex often seemed an empty experience and marriage a simulated salvation. *Ode to Billy Joe* (1976) was one of the few teen films before the 1990s that explicitly addressed adolescent homosexuality, albeit in tragic terms. And in *Rich Kids* (1979), a boy and girl attempt to reconnect their broken families by acting out what they perceive to be adult activities, including intercourse.

Even as these films were telling teens that contemporary romance was nothing but trouble, a number of films were offering young men a more redemptive image of teen conditions in the past. *Summer of '42* (1971) was a young male fantasy of sexual validation without lingering responsibility. *American Graffiti* (1973) enticed its audience to celebrate the supposed nostalgia of an era that was only eleven years earlier, before the fun of the 1950s faded into the cynicism of the 1960s. *Grease* (1978) also hearkened back to the 1950s, yet avoided confronting the teen troubles that were so prevalent in films from that era.

While other films in the 1970s also resorted to nostalgic depictions of boys navigating manhood, such as *Cooley High* (1975) and *The Wanderers* (1979), films

James Dean. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

about girls in the 1970s showed them as increasingly erratic and unstable as they ventured toward womanhood. The clearest manifestation of this trend was *Carrie* (1976), in which the title character uses her telekinetic skills ultimately to kill everyone around her before killing herself. The movie became a provocative warning about the latent power of girls living under oppressed conditions. *The Little Girl Who Lives Down the Lane* (1976) presented another homicidal girl, and *I Never Promised You a Rose Garden* (1977) endeavored to show the torment of a teenage girl in a mental hospital. Clearly, boys were having more fun in their recollection of the past than girls were in their experiences of the present.

THE 1980s RESURGENCE

Teen films went through a conspicuous resurgence in the 1980s, a time without social upheaval and yet during which teen experimentation with sex and drugs was on the increase. Films began to reflect this trend. MTV, a new and comprehensive system for reaching the teen market through not only music videos but concerts, clothing, game shows, live events, and of course commercials, also contributed to the renewed emphasis on teens.

Another key factor in the 1980s spike in teen films that is often overlooked is the emergence of the shopping mall. Arcades and food courts replaced the pool halls and soda fountains of the past, attracting groups of teens, and the centralization of multiple theaters in or near such malls increased the number of screen venues and offered moviegoers greater variety and convenience. Thus the need to cater to the young audiences who frequented those malls became apparent to Hollywood, and an outpouring of films directed to and featuring teens ensued. Teens in the 1980s were then able to go to the mall and select the particular youth movie experience that appealed to them most, and Hollywood tried to keep up with changing teen interests and styles to ensure ongoing profits. More significantly for the audience, teens were then exposed to a wider range of characters and situations that directly addressed their current social conditions, even if many of the films that did so clearly had puerile provocation as their motive.

Halloween (1978) initiated the new cycle of teen horror films that would—like the killers they depicted—rise, die, and be reborn. The film refined the scenario that future "slasher" films followed: a mysterious figure stalks and kills teens, all of whom are sexually active, while one escapes with her life, ostensibly because she is a virgin. Thus followed similar films, most of which launched series: *Prom Night* (1980), *Friday the 13th* (1980), *The Slumber Party Massacre* (1982), and *A Nightmare on Elm Street* (1984). In these films, the price for teenage transgressions like premarital sex and hedonism was not punishment by social institutions like parents, teachers, or the law, but rather death at the hands of a greater evil. By the late 1980s much of the teen horror market moved to home video, where an R rating would have little or no bearing, and thereafter very few teen slasher movies were released. However, in the late 1990s the unexpected success of the revisionist *Scream* (1996), along with *I Know What You Did Last Summer* (1997) and the sequels to these films, revitalized the subgenre. Indeed, the youth horror film may have previously faded because it had come to rely on unintelligent, unsophisticated young characters. This was an image of themselves that teens began to reject, welcoming instead *Scream* and films like *The Faculty* (1998) and *Cherry Falls* (2000), in which not only the killers but also the heroes and heroines are smart and tough.

Many youth films in the early 1980s also began to feature teens engaging in sexual practices. The majority were decidedly negative in their portrayals, demonstrating the complications of sex, as well as the disappointments, confusions, and potential dangers. The most common plot of youth sex films throughout the early 1980s was the teen quest to lose one's virginity, as in *Little Darlings* (1980), *Porky's* (1982), *The Last American Virgin* (1982), *Losin' It* (1983), and *Joy of Sex* (1984). The sex quest film came into its prime with the very

The Brat Pack (from left: Judd Nelson, Emilio Estevez, Ally Sheedy, Molly Ringwald, and Anthony Michael Hall) in John Hughes's* The Breakfast Club *(1985). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

successful *Fast Times at Ridgemont High* (1982), which was followed by the even more popular *Risky Business* (1983); both of these films promoted new young actors (Sean Penn, Jennifer Jason Leigh, and Tom Cruise) who would further boost Hollywood's sagging box office. Despite numerous other films in this vein, the teen sex quest story line became exhausted, and worse yet, irresponsible given the spread of AIDS and a sudden increase in teen pregnancies. Hollywood then steered clear of teen sex for the most part until the mid-1990s.

A major figure in teen cinema of the 1980s was John Hughes (b. 1950), who wrote and directed his first film, *Sixteen Candles*, in 1984. In addition to launching the career of Molly Ringwald, the film won critical acclaim for its hilarious yet often sensitive depiction of a girl's rite of passage, and Hughes opened up the story by introducing an engaging cast of supporting characters. His ability not only to convey the contemporary adolescent experience, but to do so from a number of perspectives, would become the hallmark of his teen movies. Between 1984 and 1987 Hughes went on to direct or write six teen films, including *The Breakfast Club* (1985), *Pretty in Pink* (1986), and *Ferris Beuller's Day Off* (1986). Thereafter, teen characters in many American movies were shown with a greater depth of understanding. Hughes also cultivated a troupe of young stars, later dubbed the "Brat Pack," who populated most of the important teen films of the 1980s.

A distinctive and socially significant subgenre of teen films, the African American crime film, emerged in the early 1990s. These films showed urban black youth fighting for their lives in the face of a racist legal and political system, difficult family and class conditions, and the influence of media images of young black "gangstas." In doing so, they exposed audiences to (male) African American youth culture and forced them to question the state of race relations in the nation. These films were instrumental in reviving critical and financial legitimacy for teen films, which had declined the late 1980s. Most chronicles of these films begin with the hugely influential *Boyz N the Hood* (John Singleton, 1991), although *Straight Out of Brooklyn* (Matty Rich, 1991) opened just weeks before; both films feature young men who are old enough to know they can change their lives but not wise enough to know how. Similar films followed: *Juice*

JOHN HUGHES
b. Lansing, Michigan, 18 February 1950

The strikingly humorous and often affecting films that John Hughes made in just the few years between 1984 and 1987 became classics of the teen film genre. Hughes was a teenager himself when his family moved from Michigan to the suburbs of Chicago, a move that would resonate in many of his teenage characters who deal with displacement and alienation, and often do so in the Chicago area. After attending the University of Arizona for a few years and marrying his high school sweetheart, Hughes eventually became an editor at *National Lampoon* magazine in 1979, where he met various colleagues connected to the movie industry, leading to his first produced screenplay, *National Lampoon's Class Reunion* (1982). Hughes soon followed this dubious debut with scripts for the hits *Mr. Mom* (1983) and *National Lampoon's Vacation* (1983).

He was offered his first directorial assignment after penning *Sixteen Candles* (1984), which wrestled with teenage torments beyond the prevailing pabulum of the time, marked by both crass humor and sincere characterizations. In 1985 Hughes carried the success of this film into his next two teen productions, the farcical fantasy *Weird Science* and the influential adolescent angst drama *The Breakfast Club*. By this point, his recurring actors were labeled the "Brat Pack" and became the most recognizable young stars of the decade: Molly Ringwald, Emilio Estevez, Anthony Michael Hall, Judd Nelson, and Ally Sheedy. Although Hughes again employed Ringwald when he wrote the appealing *Pretty in Pink* (directed by Howard Deutch in 1986), he then abandoned his troupe, writing and directing the hit film *Ferris Beuller's Day Off* (1986) with other young performers.

Hughes wrote one more teen script that Deutch directed, *Some Kind of Wonderful* (1987), which offered more of the same familiar empowerment to its youth confronting gender and class conflicts. Hughes moved away from teen subject matter thereafter, writing or directing movies that featured younger children in prominent roles, such as *Uncle Buck* (1989), *Curly Sue* (1991), *Dennis the Menace* (1993), and the comedy phenomenon *Home Alone* (1990). Despite the occasional success of some of his later scripts, such as *101 Dalmatians* (1996), Hughes did not regain his previous fame, and by 2000 he began writing scripts under the pseudonym Edmond Dantés. In 2001 he produced a script by his son James, titled *New Port South*, yet even its teenage characters and suburban Chicago setting generated scant attention for the erstwhile auteur of 1980s teen cinema.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Sixteen Candles (1984), *The Breakfast Club* (1985), *Weird Science* (1985), *Ferris Bueller's Day Off* (1986), *Planes, Trains, and Automobiles* (1987), *Uncle Buck* (1989)

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(1992), *Menace II Society* (1993), *Fresh* (1994), and *Clockers* (1995). Yet by the mid-1990s, the moral lessons of these films had become worn and the characters too familiar. These films, action-packed with violence, did not deny the potent temptation of crime, nor did they deny race as a factor in the difficulties facing their young characters. Rather, these films suggested that the greatest menace is the city itself, where crime, racism, and death are pervasive.

These films were the first to promote teenage African American stars with any consistency, yet after the subgenre petered out, black performers were again relegated to sidekick and background roles in the vast majority of teen films. This would remain the case into the next decade, when some films began to explore the African American youth experience beyond urban crime: *George Washington* (2000), *Bring It On* (2000), *Remember the Titans* (2000), and *Save the Last Dance* (2001). Still, there remain strikingly few films about African American youth overall; *Love Don't Cost a Thing* (2003), which features a black cast, is simply a remake of a 1987 teen film that featured white characters. Despite the success of many black actors and films featuring them as well as other racial or ethnic groups, the industry remains woefully out of touch and disinterested in exploring the lives and culture of African American youth.

SINCE THE 1990s

By the mid-1990s, the visibility of teen films clearly increased from the previous ten years, with successful

John Hughes. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

television shows providing Hollywood with new teen stars, and with a renewed comfort in the industry for handling adolescent issues. Teen films of the mid- to late-1990s began looking at sexual orientation, gender discrimination, and the postmodern nature of teen culture in general. In the surest sign of change since the 1980s, teens on screen began having sex again, and even liking it, as they learned to explore their sexual practices and endeavored to educate themselves about the subject.

Curiously, the topic that became the most sensitive, and then essentially forbidden, was juvenile delinquency. From the mid-1990s onward, the real-life violence of numerous school shootings by students made onscreen teen violence increasingly difficult to handle. With rare exceptions like *Light It Up* (1999) and *O* (2001), Hollywood chose to ignore issues of juvenile delinquency rather than risk being blamed for encouraging it. One form of teen film that did take up issues of delinquency in politicized terms was that based on a new "tough girl" persona. Films like *Mi vida loca* (*My Crazy Life*, 1994), *Freeway* (1996), *Foxfire* (1996), and *Wild Things* (1998) focused on an exhilarating, if not liberating, sense of rebellion among girls. The roles of many girls in American movies such as *Girls Town* (1996), *The Opposite of Sex* (1998), *Girlfight* (2000), and *Mean Girls* (2004) began to reflect a potent image of young femininity. These films and their characters pursued the full range of girls' identities, ensuring that young women in cinema will no longer need to derive power from delinquency.

Films about teenage homosexuality became more common in the 1990s as well. Most queer youth depictions in the 1990s tended to deal with tensions around both sexual experience and romantic longing—in other words, the same tensions that heterosexual teens are shown dealing with in other films. Early examples included *My Own Private Idaho* (1991) and *Anything for Love* (also known as *Just One of the Girls*, 1993); but the first film to boldly portray teenage characters as a queer group was *Totally Fucked Up* (1993), which remains to date the most complete depiction of a queer teen ensemble, in this case four boys and two girls. Since then, the most prominent queer teen roles have been lesbian characters, raising the question of whether young male homosexuality is generally more difficult to depict, or more culturally problematic, than young female homosexuality. The few movies about gay boys generally gained less attention than movies about lesbian girls, such as *The Incredibly True Adventure of Two Girls in Love* (1995), *All Over Me* (1997), and *Boys Don't Cry* (1999). Queer teen characters have also appeared in *Election* (1999), *But I'm a Cheerleader* (2000), *L.I.E.* (2001), *Hedwig and the Angry Inch* (2001), and *Saved!* (2004). Depictions of gay youth have grown increasingly fair and realistic, though occasionally neutralized by negative representations in some films (like *Scary Movie*, 2000). Films that portray (and even celebrate) teenagers adapting to gay lifestyles may affect cultural attitudes toward gays.

After a dormancy of nearly a decade, teen sex in general returned to movies by the mid-1990s, most notoriously through the controversial and degrading *Kids* (1995), and through other dark portraits like *Wild Things*, *The Opposite of Sex*, *Cruel Intentions* (1999), *The Virgin Suicides* (1999), and *Thirteen* (2003). At the same time, Hollywood found itself more comfortable dealing with the comic and lighthearted aspects of teenage sexuality, as was evident in *Clueless* (1995), *Trojan War* (1997), *10 Things I Hate About You* (1999), and most successfully, *American Pie* (1999). For the first time, teen films were now taking sex seriously not only for boys, but for the girl characters who want more out of it; the comical *Coming Soon* (1999) was a celebration of girls discovering orgasm, with or without boys. A few other independent films have continued to represent more sexually mature and confident girls, such as *Real Women Have Curves* (2002) and *Raising Victor Vargas* (2002), but these films tend not to reach mainstream audiences.

Hollywood has in many ways improved its image of teens through films that show young people confronting race, religion, body image, romance, drugs, family, friendships, sex, sexual preference, and crime, all the while allowing their characters to explore their youth. Yet many of the most heavily promoted films, like *The Princess Diaries* (2001), *What a Girl Wants* (2003), and *Confessions of a Teenage Drama Queen* (2004), insult the intelligence of the very teens to whom these films are directed by giving them the illusion that their troubles are merely entertaining foibles and not legitimate concerns. The film industry is still seeking ways to speak to teens at their own level and exploit them for profit at the same time. History has shown this to be a difficult balance.

SEE ALSO *Genre*

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Timothy Shary

TELEVISION

The experience of seeing movies is likely to conjure thoughts of going to a movie theater: the smell of popcorn at the concession stand, the friendly bustle of fellow moviegoers in the lobby, the collective anticipation as the auditorium lights dim, and the sensation of being enveloped by a world that exists, temporarily, in the theater's darkness. Anyone who enjoys movies has vivid memories of going out to see movies; the romance of the movie theater is crucial to the appeal of cinema. But what about all of the movies we experience by staying in? The truth is that most of us born since 1950 have watched many more movies at home, on the glowing cathode-ray tube of a television set, than on the silver screen of a movie theater.

It is not often recognized, but the family home has been the most common site of movie exhibition for more than half of the cinema's first century. In the United States this pattern began with the appearance of commercial broadcast television, starting with the debut of regular prime-time programming in 1948, and has grown with each new video technology capable of delivering entertainment to the home—cable, videocassette recorders (VCRs), direct broadcast satellites (DBS), DVD (digital video disc) players, and video-on-demand (VOD). Over much of this period, watching movies on TV represented a calculated tradeoff for consumers: television offered a cheap and convenient alternative to the movie theater at the cost of a diminished experience of the movie itself. With the introduction of high-definition (HDTV) television sets and high-fidelity audio in the 1990s, however, the humble TV set has grown to be the centerpiece of a new "home theater," which can offer a viewing experience superior in most ways to that of a typical suburban multiplex. In fact, with theaters desperate for additional income, going out to the movies now often involves sitting through a barrage of noisy, forgettable commercials for products aimed mostly at teenagers. In an odd twist, the only hope for avoiding commercials has become to stay in and watch movies on television.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FILM AND TELEVISION

We tend to think of film and television as rival media, but their histories are so deeply intertwined that thinking of them separately is often a hindrance to understanding how the film and television industries operate or how people experience these media in their everyday lives. Starting in the late 1950s, Hollywood studios began to produce substantially more hours of film for television (in the form of TV series) than for movie theaters, and that pattern holds to this day. Since the early 1960s, it has been apparent that feature films are merely passing through movie theaters en route to their ultimate destination on home television screens. As physical artifacts, films may reside in studio vaults, but they remain alive in the culture due almost entirely to the existence of television. Whether films survive on cable channels or on DVD, they rarely appear on any screens other than television screens once they have completed their initial theatrical release. Given the importance of television in the film industry and in film culture, why do we think of film and television separately?

First, when television appeared on the scene, there was already a tradition of defining the cinema in contrast

with other media and art forms. Much classic film theory and criticism, for instance, sought to define film as an autonomous medium by comparing it with precedents in theater, painting, and fiction. In each case, the goal was to acknowledge continuities while highlighting the differences that made film unique. Within this framework, it seemed natural to look for the differences between film and television, even as the boundaries between the media blurred and television became the predominant site of exhibition for films produced in Hollywood.

Second, there is an inherent ambiguity in the way that the term "television" functions in common usage, and this complicates efforts to delineate the relationship between film and television. Depending upon the context of usage, the word "television" serves as convenient shorthand for speaking about at least four different aspects of the medium:

1. *Technology*: "Television" is used to identify the complex system of analog and digital video technology used to transmit and receive electronic images and sounds. While electronic signals are transmitted and received virtually simultaneously, the images and sounds encoded in those signals may be live or recorded. In other words, the "liveness" of television—a characteristic often used to distinguish television and film—is inherent in the acts of transmission and reception, but not necessarily in the content that appears on TV screens.
2. *Consumer Electronics*: "Television" also refers to the television set, an electronic consumer good that is integrated into the spaces and temporal rhythms of everyday life. While the movie theater offers a sanctuary, set aside from ordinary life, the TV set is embedded in life. Initially, the TV set was an object found mainly in the family home; increasingly, television screens of all sizes have been dispersed throughout society and can be found in countless informal social settings. As a consumer good, the HDTV set is also becoming a fetish object for connoisseurs of cutting-edge technology—independent of the particular content viewed on the screen.
3. *Industry*: "Television" refers also to the particular structure of commercial television, a government-regulated industry dominated by powerful networks that broadcast programs to attract viewers and then charge advertisers for the privilege of addressing those viewers with commercials. Using the airwaves to distribute content, the television industry initially had no choice but to rely on advertising revenue, which led to the peculiar flow of commercial television—the alternation of segmented programs punctuated regularly by commercials—as well as the reliance on series formats to deliver consistent audiences to advertisers.
4. *Content*: "Television" serves as a general term for the content of commercial television, particularly when comparing film and television. Considering the vast range of content available on television, this usage often leads to facile generalizations, suggesting that there is an inherent uniformity or underlying logic to the programs produced for television.

As a result of the ambiguity involved in the usage of the term "television," there is no sensible or consistent framework for thinking about the relationship of film and television. Instead, a single characteristic often serves as the basis for drawing a distinction between the two forms, even though it may obscure more significant similarities. For example, the common assumption that television is a medium directed at the home, while film is a medium directed at theaters, overlooks the importance of the TV set as a technology for film exhibition. Similarly, the emphasis on television's capacity for live transmission obscures the fact that most TV programs are recorded on film or videotape and that feature films make up a large percentage of TV programming.

Third, film has enjoyed a prestige that only recently has been accorded to television, and this status marker has encouraged people to view film and television separately. Every culture creates hierarchies of taste and prestige, and whether explicitly stated or implicitly assumed, film has had a higher cultural status than television. It has been a sign of success, for example, when an actor or a director moves out of television into movies. Similarly, film critics have enjoyed much greater prestige than any critic who has written about television. The scholarly field of film studies, and universities in general, were slow to welcome the study of television. All of this suggests that there has been an unrecognized, but nevertheless real, investment in a cultural hierarchy that treats film as a more serious and respectable pursuit than television, and this hierarchy supported the assumption that film and television are separate media. Of course, any hierarchy of cultural values is subject to change over time. When a television series like *The Sopranos* (beginning 1999) achieves greater critical acclaim than virtually any movie of the past decade, it is a signal that values are shifting.

TELEVISION AND FILM BEFORE 1960

By the time the networks introduced regular prime-time programs in 1948, television's arrival as a popular medium had been anticipated for nearly two decades, during which the public had followed news reports of scientific breakthroughs, public demonstrations, and political debates. Electronics manufacturers spearheaded

SIDNEY LUMET

b. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 25 March 1924

Sidney Lumet's career began at an extraordinary and unique moment in the history of American television. For a few years during the first decade of television, the TV networks broadcast live theatrical performances from studios in New York and Los Angeles to a vast audience nationwide. These ephemeral productions—as immediate and fleeting as any witnessed in the amphitheaters of ancient Greece, yet staged in the blinding glare of commercial television—served as the training ground for a generation of American film directors, which also included Franklin Schaffner, George Roy Hill, Martin Ritt, Arthur Penn, and John Frankenheimer.

Before beginning a fifty-year movie career, Lumet worked at CBS, where he directed hundreds of hours of live television for such series as *Danger* (1950–1955), *You Are There* (1953–1957), *Climax!* (1954–1958), and *Studio One* (1948–1958). The craft of directing live television, invented through trial and error by pioneers like Lumet, required economy, speed, and precision: concentrated rehearsals with an ensemble of actors, brief blocking of the camera setups, followed by intense concentration on the moment of performance because retakes were out of the question.

Lumet's approach to filmmaking bears traces of this formative experience. Unlike many directors, Lumet begins each film with several weeks of rehearsal in which he and his actors come to a shared understanding of each scene, to ensure that the actual production runs like clockwork. On the set, Lumet works quickly, seldom shooting more than four takes of any shot. He often completes a shooting schedule in thirty days or less, and brings productions in under budget. In an age of superstar directors who may spend years on a single film, Lumet has worked steadily, building a career, scene by scene, film by film, through classics (*Dog Day Afternoon*, 1975) and clunkers (*A Stranger Among Us*, 1992).

Lumet's best films—*Serpico* (1973), *Dog Day Afternoon*, *Running on Empty* (1988), and *Prince of the City* (1981)—are blunt and immediate. What they lack in formal precision, they make up for in the vitality of the performances and the conviction of the storytelling. Lumet can be a superb visual stylist when orchestrating confrontations between actors in confined spaces, but he is generally indifferent to the visual potential of his material and has never seemed concerned with creating a signature style. His approach to filmmaking, with its emphasis on preparation, ensemble acting, and an unobtrusive camera that captures the spontaneity of performance, translates the values of live television into the medium of film.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Twelve Angry Men (1957), *Long Day's Journey Into Night* (1962), *Fail-Safe* (1964), *The Pawnbroker* (1964), *The Hill* (1965), *Serpico* (1973), *Murder on the Orient Express* (1974), *Dog Day Afternoon* (1975), *Network* (1976), *Prince of the City* (1981), *The Verdict* (1982), *Running on Empty* (1988), *Q & A* (1990)

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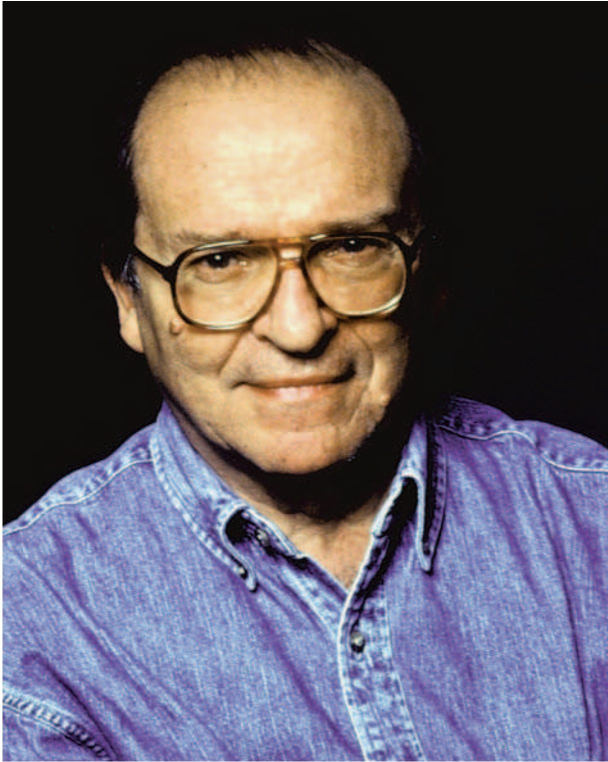
research into the technology of television broadcasting, which was envisioned by them as an extension of the existing system of radio broadcasting in which stations linked to powerful networks broadcast programs to home receivers. The Radio Corporation of America (RCA), which operated the NBC radio network, dominated the electronics industry and lobbied heavily to see its technology adapted by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) as the industry standard.

The Hollywood studios were far from passive bystanders during this period. Having already invested in radio, but seen the radio industry controlled by those companies able to establish networks, the studios hoped to command the television industry as they had dominated the movie industry, by controlling networks that would serve as the key channels of distribution in television. The studios also envisioned alternative uses for television technology that would conform more closely to



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the economic exchange of the theatrical box office. These included theater television, in which programs would be transmitted to theaters and shown on movies screens, and subscription television, in which home viewers would pay directly for the opportunity to view exclusive programs.

The plans of studio executives were thwarted by the FCC, which stepped in following the Supreme Court's 1948 Paramount decision, to investigate whether the major studios, with their record of monopolistic practices in the movie industry, should be allowed to own television stations. While the studios awaited a decision, the established radio networks—CBS, NBC, and ABC—signed affiliate agreements with the most powerful TV stations in the largest cities, leaving the studios without viable options for forming competitive networks. Thwarted in their ambitions, the major studios withdrew from television until the mid-1950s. Theater television died in its infancy and subscription television would not become a major factor for years to come.

In the meantime, smaller studios and independent producers rushed to supply television with programming. The networks initially promoted the idea that television programs should be produced and broadcast live in order to take advantage of the medium's unique qualities. The networks supplied local affiliates with live programs for their evening schedules and a small portion of their daytime schedule, but each affiliate, along with the small group of independent stations that had chosen not to join a network, still needed to fill the long hours of a broadcast day—and there was not yet a backlog of television programs available. Television stations looked to feature films as the only ready source of programming, and the only features available to them came from outside the major Hollywood studios: British companies and such Poverty Row studios as Monogram Pictures and Republic Pictures Corporation. The theatrical market for B movies had begun to dry up after World War II, and these companies eagerly courted this new market for low-budget films, licensing hundreds of titles for broadcast. It has been estimated that 5,000 feature film titles were available to television by 1950.

Responding to the same demand for programs, small-scale independent producers in Hollywood also began to produce filmed series for television. The most visible early producers in the low-budget "telefilm" business (as it came to be known) were the aging cowboy stars William "Hopalong Cassidy" Boyd (1895–1972), Gene Autry (1907–1998), and Roy Rogers (1911–1998), but they were soon joined by veteran film producers like Hal Roach (1892–1992), radio producers like Frederick W. Ziv (1905–2001), and entrepreneurial performers like Bing Crosby (1903–1977) as well as Lucille Ball (1911–1989) and Desi Arnaz (1917–1986), whose Desilu Studio grew to become one of the most successful television studios of the 1950s.

By mid-decade, as the television audience grew and the demand for programming drove prices higher, the major Hollywood studios discovered their own financial incentives for licensing feature films to television and for entering the field of television production. RKO opened the market for the major studios in 1954 when its owner, Howard Hughes, sold the studio's pre-1948 features to General Teleradio, the broadcasting subsidiary of General Tire and Rubber Company that operated independent station WOR in New York. Warner Bros. followed in 1956 by selling its library of 750 pre-1948 features for $21 million. After this financial windfall was earned from titles locked away in studio vaults, the floodgates opened at all of the studios. Soon the television listings were filled with movies scheduled morning, noon, and night. The most famous of these movie programs was New York station WOR's *Million Dollar Movie*, which broadcast the same movie five evenings in a row. New York-bred filmmakers like Martin Scorsese have spoken fondly of discovering classic Hollywood movies for the first time while watching the *Million Dollar Movie*. In a very real sense, television served as the first widely available archive

Twelve Angry Men ***(1957), based on Reginald Rose's teleplay, was television director Sidney Lumet's first feature film.***
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of American movies, sparking an awareness of film history and creating a new generation of movie fans.

As the Hollywood studios began to release their films to television, they also began to produce filmed television series. Walt Disney (1901–1966) led the way in 1954 with the debut of *Disneyland* (1954–1990), the series designed to launch his new theme park. Warner Bros., Twentieth Century Fox, and MGM joined prime time the following year. By the end of the 1950s, Hollywood studios were the predominant suppliers of prime time programs for the networks. The transformation was most obvious at Warner Bros., which at one point in 1959 had eight television series in production and not a single feature film. In order to meet the demand for television programs, Warner Bros. geared up to produce the equivalent of a feature film each working day.

While the studios specialized in high volume "telefilm" productions made with the efficiency of an assembly line, the most acclaimed television programs of the decade were anthology drama series that offered a new, original play performed and broadcast live each week. In the intensely creative environment required to produce a live production witnessed by millions of viewers, programs such as *Studio One* (1948–1958) and *Playhouse 90* (1956–1961) served as the training ground for a new generation of writers (Paddy Chayefsky, Reginald Rose, Rod Serling), directors (Arthur Penn, Sidney Lumet, John Frankenheimer, Franklin Shaffner, George Roy Hill) and actors (Paul Newman, Rod Steiger, James Dean, Piper Laurie, Kim Hunter, Geraldine Page and many more) who became the first in a long line of television-trained artists to make the transition into movies.

FILM ON NETWORK TELEVISION FROM 1960–1980

Diversifying into television may have seemed risky for a studio in the early 1950s, but within a decade television had become firmly entrenched in Hollywood, where the studios had come to depend for their very existence on the

income provided by television. Networks and local stations leaned almost exclusively on Hollywood to satisfy their endless need for programming. By the end of the 1950s, 80 percent of network prime-time programming was produced in Hollywood; it had become nearly impossible to turn on a TV set without encountering a film made in Hollywood, whether a television series or a feature film.

The most significant development for the movie studios occurred in 1960, when they came to an agreement with the Screen Actors Guild that allowed them to sell the television rights to films made after 1948. NBC, the network most committed to color television, introduced Hollywood feature films to prime time in September 1961 with the premiere of the series *NBC Saturday Night Movie* (1961–1977). ABC added movies to its prime time schedule in 1962. As the perennial first place network with the strongest schedule of regular series, CBS did not feel a need to add movies until 1965. Still, the networks embraced feature films so fervently that by 1968 they programmed seven movies a week in prime time, and four of these finished among the season's highest rated programs.

As recent Hollywood releases became an increasingly important component of prime time schedules, the competition for titles quickly drove up the prices. In 1965 the average price for network rights to a feature film was $400,000, but that figure doubled in just three years. The networks publicized the broadcast premiere of recent studio releases as major events. A milestone of the period occurred in 1966, when ABC paid Columbia $2 million for the rights to the studio's blockbuster hit, *The Bridge on the River Kwai* (1957). Sponsored solely by Ford Motor Company to promote its new product line, the movie drew an audience of 60 million viewers.

As television became a crucial secondary market for the movie industry, movies needed to be produced with the conditions of commercial television in mind. Many of these concessions to the television industry of the 1960s and 1970s contributed to the impression of the cinema's superiority. In an era when a new generation of filmmakers and critics were promoting the idea that film was an art form, television stations and networks chopped movies to fit into 90- or 120-minute time slots and interrupted them every 12 or 13 minutes for commercials. Because of the moral standards imposed on commercial television by advertisers and the FCC, studios soon required directors to shoot "tame" alternate versions of violent or sexually explicit scenes for the inevitable television version. Studios began to balk when directors used wide-screen compositions in which key action occurred at the edges of the frame—outside the narrower dimensions of the television screen. As a reminder, camera viewfinders were etched with the dimensions of the TV frame. Studios also began to use optical printers to create "pan-and-scan" versions of widescreen films. Using this technique, scenes shot in a single take often were cut into a series of alternating closeups, or reframed during the printing process by panning across the image, so that key action or dialogue occurred within the TV frame.

As the cost of television rights for feature films climbed during the 1960s, each of the networks began to develop movies made expressly for television. NBC partnered with MCA Universal to create a regular series of "world premiere" movies, beginning with *Fame is the Name of the Game* in 1966. As the network with the lowest-rated regular series, ABC showed the greatest interest in movies made for television. The ninety-minute *ABC Movie of the Week* premiered in 1968. As executive in charge of the movies, Barry Diller (b. 1942) essentially ran a miniature movie studio at ABC. He supervised the production of 26 movies per year, each made for less than $350,000. Among the many memorable ABC movies during this period were *Brian's Song* (1971), a tearjerker about a football player's terminal illness starring Billie Dee Williams and James Caan that became the year's fifth highest-rated broadcast, and *That Certain Summer* (1972), a TV milestone in which Hal Holbrook and Martin Sheen played a gay couple. By 1973 ABC scheduled a *Movie of the Week* three nights per week. Director Steven Spielberg, whose suspenseful 1971 film *Duel* managed to sustain excruciating tension even with the commercial breaks of network television, has become the most celebrated graduate of the made-for-TV movie.

As a market for filmed series, theatrical features, and original movies, television contributed substantially to the economic viability of the movie studios during the 1960s and 1970s. In fact, the television market inspired the first round of consolidation in the movie industry, as the rising value of film libraries made the studios appealing targets for conglomerates looking to diversify their investments. As a subsidiary of the conglomerate Gulf + Western, Paramount became the model for the full integration of the movie and TV industries in the late 1970s, when Barry Diller moved from ABC to Paramount, accompanied by his protégé, Michael Eisner (b. 1942). Paramount produced many of the television series that led ABC to the top of the ratings in the 1970s (*Happy Days* [1974–1984], *Laverne and Shirley* [1976–1983], *Mork and Mindy* [1978–1982], and *Taxi* [1978–1983]), but also learned how to leverage the familiarity of TV stars and TV properties to create cross-media cultural phenomena. The signal event in this process was Paramount's successful transformation of John Travolta from a supporting player in the TV series *Welcome Back, Kotter* (1975–1979), into the star of the blockbuster hits

Star Trek: The Motion Picture ***(Robert Wise, 1979) was the first of several successful films based on the popular television series.*** EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Saturday Night Fever (1977) and *Grease* (1978). The Diller regime also decided to transform the long-cancelled, cult-hit TV series *Star Trek* (1966–1969), into a movie franchise with *Star Trek: The Motion Picture* (1979), which revived the commercial prospects for a dormant studio property. The Paramount model spread throughout the industry in the 1980s, as Diller became the chairman of Twentieth Century Fox and Eisner became chairman of Walt Disney Studios.

THE IMPACT OF CABLE AND HOME VIDEO FROM 1980–2000

The first three decades of network television in America represent a period of remarkable stability for the television industry. Once the basic structure of the television industry had been established, the television seasons rolled past with comforting familiarity. However, the rapid growth of cable television and home video in the 1980s, followed by a new round of consolidation in the media industries, disrupted the balance of power in the television industry and led to the complete integration of television networks and Hollywood studios.

Cable television began in the 1940s and 1950s as community antenna television (CATV), a solution to reception problems in geographically isolated towns where people had trouble receiving television signals with a home antenna. The turning point for cable television came during the 1970s, when several corporations began to distribute program services by satellite, making it possible to reach audiences on a national—and eventually international—scale without the need for local affiliate stations. Time, Inc. was the first company to launch a satellite-based service when it premiered Home Box Office (HBO) in 1975. The service began on a small scale, with only a few hundred viewers for its initial broadcast, but it demonstrated that a subscription service for movies and special events could be a viable economic alternative to commercial broadcasting. By the end of the decade, other subscription-based movie channels, including Showtime, the Movie Channel, and HBO's own spinoff network, Cinemax, had followed suit. With these movie channels, and many other new cable channels, cable service expanded rapidly. In 1978, only 17 percent of American households had cable; by 1989, cable

penetration had reached 57 percent. This new market was a boon for the studios, which benefited from the increased prices that accompanied the competition for television rights to recently released films, and also for viewers, who were finally able to see complete, unedited feature films in their homes.

Videocassette recorders (VCRs) became a common feature in American homes during the 1980s. Videotape was introduced in 1956, but it was initially used only within the television industry. Its widespread use by television viewers awaited the development of the videocassette by Sony during the 1970s. The consumer market for home VCRs developed slowly at first because Sony and its rival Matsushita developed incompatible systems (Betamax and VHS, respectively). The market also stalled because of a lawsuit filed in 1976 by Disney and Universal against Sony, charging that home videotaping represented a violation of copyright laws. The issue was settled in Sony's favor by a 1984 Supreme Court decision, and the consumer market for VCRs exploded. Although in 1982, 4 percent of American households owned a VCR, by 1988, the figure had reached 60 percent.

As a result of the rise of cable and home video, the motion picture industry developed new release patterns that channeled movies from their debut in theaters to their eventual appearance on television through a carefully managed series of exclusive distribution "windows" designed to squeeze the maximum value from each stage of a movie's lifespan in the video age: theatrical release, home video, pay-per-view, pay cable, basic cable, and broadcast television. By the time a movie has made its way down the chain to broadcast TV, and is available for free to television viewers, it has received so much exposure that it is no longer a form of showcase programming.

As these technological developments shook the familiar patterns of the television and movie industries, a series of regulatory changes governing the television industry and relaxed enforcement of antitrust laws by the Reagan-era Justice Department heated up the media industries, subjecting them to a general trend of mergers and acquisitions that swept through corporate America in the 1980s. This climate gave rise to the series of mergers and acquisitions that saw the Big Three networks change hands in 1985 and 1986, which will be discussed in greater detail below. Regulatory changes also produced a sharp increase in the number of television stations, as corporations invested in chains of stations. In 1970, of the 862 stations in the country, only 82 operated independently of the three networks. The number of independent stations doubled in the 1980s. By 1995 there were 1,532 stations, of which 450 were independent of the three major networks. As the number of stations increased, it became possible to create new television networks.

In 1985, the media conglomerate News Corporation, owned by media tycoon Rupert Murdoch, purchased Twentieth Century Fox Studios. Then in 1986, Murdoch purchased six television stations which served as the foundation for launching the Fox Network, led by former Paramount chairman Barry Diller. Because Fox began by programming just a few nights each week, it technically did not meet the FCC definition of a full-fledged network, and therefore was not constrained by FCC rules that prohibited a network from producing its own programs. As a result, Fox served as the paradigm for a new era in the media industries, with a television network stocked with series produced by its corporate sibling, Twentieth Century Fox Television. Programs like *The Simpsons* (beginning 1989) and *The X-Files* (1993–2002) grew into network hits and lucrative commercial franchises within a perfect, closed loop of corporate synergy in which all profits remained within the parent company, News Corporation.

Pointing to the loophole that Fox had squeezed through in order to produce its own programs, the networks lobbied for an end to the FCC rules that had kept them from producing programs or sharing in the lucrative syndication market (where programs are sold to local stations and international markets) since the early 1970s. These Financial Interest and Syndication Rules were gradually repealed between 1991 and 1995. The policy change not only gave networks the opportunity to produce their own programs, but it also eliminated the last remaining barriers separating the movie and television industries. Studios quickly formed new television networks or merged with existing networks. Time Warner's WB Network and Viacom's United Paramount Network (UPN) debuted in 1995 (the two were merged into the CW in 2006). ABC came under the control of the Walt Disney Company in August 1995 when Disney acquired the network's parent company, Capital Cities/ABC Television Network for $19 billion. Viacom purchased CBS in 1999, and NBC acquired Vivendi Universal in 2005. In this stage of consolidation, the boundaries between film and television are certainly not perceived as barriers; rather, they represent opportunities for diversifying a media conglomerate's product lines.

DIGITAL TECHNOLOGY AND THE FUTURE OF FILM AND TELEVISION

At the turn of the twenty-first century, the boundaries between the media blurred, thanks to the convergence of digital technologies and consolidation in the media

MICHAEL MANN

b. Chicago, Illinois, 5 February 1943

Michael Mann is roughly the same age as Martin Scorsese, Francis Coppola, George Lucas, and the other directors of the film-school generation who revived American filmmaking in the 1970s, but he is seldom thought of as a member of that generation, despite the fact he too attended film school in the 1960s. Like the romantic loners who inhabit his films, Mann followed his own route to the film industry. He attended film school in London, instead of New York or Los Angeles, and while his peers traveled directly from film school to the movie industry, Mann detoured through television, where he learned his craft by writing for the police series *Police Story* (1973–1977) and *Starsky and Hutch* (1975–1979) and then by creating the series *Vega$* (1978–1981).

Mann understood the potential for rich storytelling inherent in the series format and appreciated the creative authority of the writer-producer in television. In 1981 he directed his first feature film, the accomplished existential thriller *Thief*, yet returned to television to produce *Miami Vice* (1984–1989) and *Crime Story* (1986–1988), two of the most innovative series in television history. In the tradition of the great auteur directors of the studio era, Mann burrowed deeply into an exhausted genre; beneath the familiar façade of the police series, he discovered the darkest impulses of his age and his own voice as an artist. Returning to film, Mann hit his stride at the turn of the millennium, and directing at least two classics (*The Last of the Mohicans* [1992], *Heat* [1995]) and a number of other films (*The Insider* [1999], *Ali* [2001], and *Collateral* [2004]) that express his enduring theme—the challenges faced by a man (it is always a man) who attempts to live by a personal moral code in a capricious, corrupting world.

Mann spent his formative years in television drama during the 1970s, when one police series looked exactly like every other. Yet to accompany his narrative voice, he developed a powerful personal style that is as evident in his television series as in his films. When he returned to television with the unfortunately short-lived *Robbery Homicide Division* (2002–2003), he shot the entire series on digital video (DV). Other television producers and filmmakers have used DV because it is less expensive than film, or because it is easier to manipulate for post-production effects, but Mann discovered the expressive qualities of the medium's hyperrealism. The television series turned out to be a trial run for *Collateral*, which used DV to transform nighttime Los Angeles into a throbbing, spectral world. Thanks to a visual aesthetic first worked out in television, Mann was able to create one of the most visually striking movies of the time.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Films: *Thief* (1981), *Manhunter* (1986), *The Last of the Mohicans* (1992), *Heat* (1995), *The Insider* (1999), *Ali* (2001), *Collateral* (2004); Television Series: *Miami Vice* (1984–1989), *Crime Story* (1986–1988), *Robbery Homicide Division* (2002–2003); Other: *AFI—The Director—Michael Mann* (2002)

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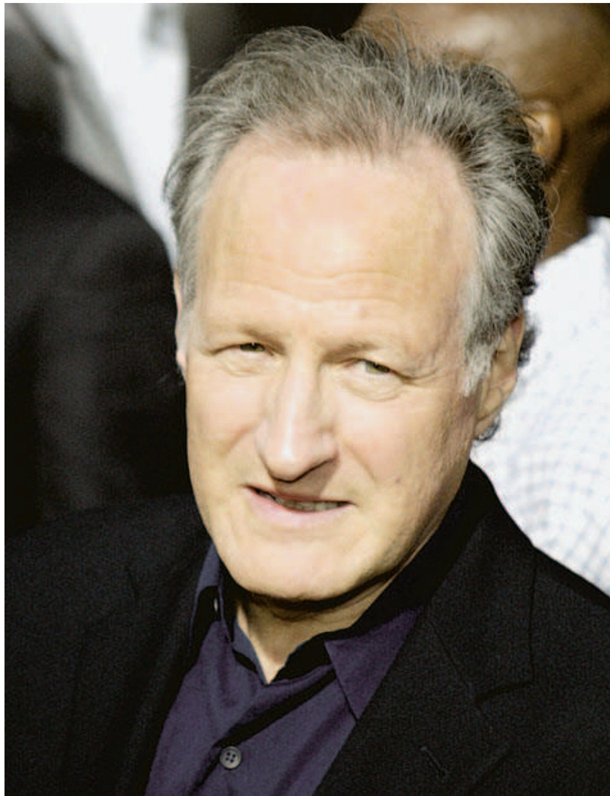
industries. Many filmmakers use digital video in place of film throughout the entire filmmaking process, and it is only a matter of time before movies are distributed and projected in theaters using digital technology. The vast libraries of film and television titles that give the conglomerates much of their economic value are being digitized and stored on computer servers. The latest round of mergers in the media industries has created conglomerates that actively promote cross-media synergy. The enticement of extraordinary riches for anyone fortunate enough to be involved in the creation of a hit TV series means that talent no longer flows from TV to movies; many producers, directors, writers, and performers move eagerly between film and television.

The two-way migration of talent between movies and television first took off in the 1980s, the decade when the director of a few stylish four-minute music videos on MTV could find him or herself with a contract to direct a feature film. Advances in television set technology and the reduced cost of larger screens made it possible for viewers to appreciate differences in visual styles on television. For the first time in the history of



Michael Mann. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

television, competition gave producers and networks an incentive to create distinctive styles. The proliferation of cable channels and the habits of viewers armed with remote controls made a distinctive visual style as important as character and setting in creating an identity for a television series.

When critics praised the groundbreaking crime series *Hill Street Blues* (1981–1987) and *Miami Vice* (1984–1989) in the 1980s, they spoke not only about the stories but also about stylistic innovations: the documentary techniques of *Hill Street Blues*, the adaptation of a music video aesthetic in *Miami Vice*, a series created and produced by Michael Mann (b. 1943), who moved easily between TV and movies. David Lynch made a big splash with *Twin Peaks* (1990–1991) a series that brought Lynch's unique vision to television before losing focus in its second season.

Since then directors, writers, and producers have continued to alternate between movies and television. Some directors, such as Oliver Stone (with the miniseries *Wild Palms* [1993]) and John Sayles (with the series *Shannon's Deal* [1990–1991]) have made token appearances in television. Others have served as executive producers, including Steven Spielberg (with the miniseries *Taken*, 2002) and George Lucas (with the series *The Young Indiana Jones Chronicles*, 1992–1993). Several screenwriters have shifted into television because of the storytelling potential of the series format and the creative control of the writer-producer in television. These include Joss Whedon (*Buffy the Vampire Slayer*, 1997–2003), Aaron Sorkin (*The West Wing*, 1999–2006), and Alan Ball (*Six Feet Under,* 2001–2005). There are several writer-directors who move consistently between film and television, depending on the nature of the project, including Michael Mann, Edward Zwick and Marshall Herskovitz, and Barry Levinson. The most successful producer in Hollywood during this era may be Jerry Bruckheimer, who continues to produce blockbuster hits like *Armageddon* (1998) and *Pirates of the Caribbean* (2003), while his company produces the three *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation* television series for CBS.

In order to attract the young adult viewers most desired by advertisers, television networks must attempt to create programs that attract and reward a discriminating audience. In the past, this audience may have been dissatisfied with commercial networks for interrupting or otherwise interfering with a drama or a movie, but they could only dream of an alternative. Today a flick of the remote control takes them directly to movies and uninterrupted drama series available on HBO and Showtime, collected in DVD box sets, and soon via video-on-demand—all experienced in theater-quality, high-definition and Surround Sound. Discerning viewers are still drawn to television, but they have acquired a taste for a viewing experience that is increasingly cinematic. In one portent of the future, the commercial networks have switched to widescreen framing for quality drama series like *ER* (beginning 1994) and *The West Wing*.

The experience of watching television at home is becoming more like the experience of watching movies on a big screen. The convergence of digital technologies is gradually eliminating the material distinction between film and video. Media corporations would like to move to a model of video-on-demand in which viewers select individual titles from the studio's library. With these changes on the horizon, it is possible to imagine a time in the not-too-distant future when the differences between film and television will be no more than a topic of historical interest.

SEE ALSO *Studio System; Technology*

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THEATER

In its mystery, blends different beauties, sang Mario Cavaradossi in Puccini's opera, *Tosca*. Indeed, the saga of stage and film interaction over the course of a century has resulted in what historian Robert Hamilton Ball has called "a strange and eventful history." The two media, one the inheritor of centuries of dramatic tradition and the other, an upstart technology bereft of dramatic antecedents, have been linked from the days of the very first moving picture experiments by Thomas Edison and W. K. L. Dickson late in the nineteenth century. Initially, the film medium was presumed to be merely a vehicle for the dissemination of theatrical events. As early as 1894, a writer in *The Critic* predicted that Thomas Edison's kinetoscope peepshow device could enable the viewer to "witness and hear shadow plays in which the only real performer will be the electromagnetic motor behind the scenes" (p. 330). That same year Edison himself boasted that in the near future a phonograph and kinetoscope could be linked together to bring plays and players from distant stages to the comfort of the parlor. But before the film medium would prove itself to be much more than a mere recording device for theatrical events, there would be subsequent decades of uncertain and tentative interaction and experimentation.

The first thirty years of theater-film interaction may be conveniently divided into three periods. In the first, roughly 1896–1907, pioneering filmmakers in America and Europe borrowed liberally from vaudeville acts, operas, dramas, and magic shows for their peep show and nickelodeon shorts. In the second, 1908–1915, filmmakers and theatrical entrepreneurs collaborated in translating famous plays and their players into feature-length theatrical films, commonly called "photoplays." (A "theatrical film" designates a motion picture that utilizes the subjects, processes, forms, personnel, and effects of the stage in a visible and prominent way.) Third, after a decade or so, during which the cinema developed as a commercial enterprise relatively independent of the theatrical establishment, the introduction of talking-picture technology in 1926–1930 saw a resurgence of extensive theatre-film interaction involving a new influx of stage stars and a new spate of photoplays.

THE SILENT PROSCENIUM, 1896–1916

Beginning shortly after the turn of the century and continuing sporadically for the next ten years or so, Lumière and Pathé studios in France, Edison and Biograph and Vitagraph studios in America, the Nordisk Film Kompagni in Denmark, Svenska Bopgrafteaterm in Sweden, were among the many production entities around the world that released film recordings of vaudeville turns, dramas (including Shakespeare), operas, and magic acts. Stage magician Georges Méliès' (1861–1938) made fantasy films that bore the stamp of the French "feerie drama" tradition, which in turn influenced theatrical adaptations in America by Edwin S. Porter (1870–1941), notably, *Jack and the Beanstalk* (1902). Charles Magnusson (1878–1948) was empowered by August Strindberg (1849–1912) to bring his plays to the Swedish screen. Popular, operatic, and "legitimate" performers like Victor Maurel (1848–1923) and Coquelin (1841–1909) in France and John Bunny (1863–1915), Florence Turner (1885–1946), and Mr. (1863–1919) and Mrs. Sidney Drew (1890–1925) in America—products of a star system the moviemakers would soon appropriate as their own—brought their signature roles,

opera performances, and stage routines to film (many of them via proto synchronized-sound technologies with curious names like "Synchroscope," "Vivaphone," "Chronophone" and "Kinetophone"). Shakespeare came to the screen, courtesy of D. W. Griffith (1875–1948) and other filmmakers, in a flood of one and two-reel abridged versions.

As demonstrated by the Edison studio's eight-minute photoplay *Jack and the Beanstalk*, which condensed the length of the original play into fourteen single-shot scenes, the screen itself was transformed into a proscenium stage, a shallow playing space bounded by the "wings" of the frame borders. A fixed camera position in medium distance simulated the spectator's third-row center auditorium seat. An uncut shot approximated a scene, and intertitles served as program cues. The action was blocked laterally in a plane parallel to the camera and consisted primarily of *tableaux vivants*. And theatrical performance techniques carried over to the screen an exaggerated, declamatory style more appropriate to a large theater house.

In their operations, some movie studios began to resemble theater houses. Of course, the use of artificial light in a theater house was insufficient for the cameras, so stages had to be built in accordance with the model of the standard theater house, but with the roofs left open and side walls constructed of glass to permit sufficient sunlight. Examples include Méliès' "théâtre de prises de vues," a glass-walled studio at Montreuil, France; Robert Paul's studio in England; and Edison's "Black Maria," which had a stage that revolved on a pivot 360 degrees to follow the course of the sun. According to one contemporary account published in 1907, some film studios were equipped with painted scenic flats, a property room, dressing rooms, and a completely equipped stage. "The studio manager orders rehearsals continued until his people have their parts 'face-perfect,' then he gives the word, the lens is focused, the cast works rapidly for twenty minutes while the long strip of celluloid whirls through the camera, and performance is preserved in living, dynamic embalmment (if the phrase may be permitted) for decades to come" (*Saturday Evening Post*, 1907, pp. 10–11).

In America alone, of the thousands of titles listed and described in the compendiums *Motion Pictures from the Library of Congress Paper Print Collection, 1894–1912* and the *American Film Institute Catalogue: Film Beginnings, 1893–1910* almost one-third prove either to be derived from specific theatrical events or to in some way simulate a theatrical mode. Typical entry descriptions include, "This was photographed as if from the audience at a theater"; or, "all activity parallels the camera plane"; or, "the set is a backdrop painted as an ocean scene"; or, "the action consists of participants being introduced to the audience." One such film, *The Critic* (Biograph, 1906), went to extraordinary lengths in its imitative method: "The camera, placed as though in the audience, shows several seats with spectators in the immediate foreground and a box to the right. The stage acts are burlesques of regular vaudeville acts." However, it would be a mistake to assume these effects were the result of ignorance of the more "cinematic" potentials of the film medium.

Active collaboration between theatrical and film entrepreneurs began in earnest around 1908. The naturalism of André Antoine's (1858–1943) celebrated Théâtre Libre was transferred to the screen via the Pathé company. The most influential studio operation was the Film d'Art company, formed in France in 1908. Actors from the Comédie Francaise appeared before the cameras in a number of plays, beginning with *L'Assassinat du duc de Guise (1908)* and continuing with productions based on plays by Victorien Sardou, Eugene Brieux, and Henri Lavedan. Film d'Art's prestige, opulent production values, and theater-house distribution created a sensation and led to the establishment of similar collaborative production companies in America and abroad in the next few years. Famous Players came first in 1912, a collaboration between the eminent Broadway producer Daniel Frohman (1851–1940) and film exhibitor Adolph Zukor (1873–1976). The *New York Dramatic Mirror* reported in July 1912: "The men back of this movement have become fully convinced that the time for the amalgamation of the legitimate stage and the motion picture has come. . . ." (p. 34). Frohman wielded his prestige to bring Sarah Bernhardt (1844–1923) in Film d'Art's photoplay of *Queen Elizabeth* (1912) to his Lyceum Theatre in New York City, the initial critical enthusiasm of which led to subsequent Famous Players productions, such as Minnie Maddern Fiske (1865–1932) duplicating her stage role in *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* (1913) and James O'Neill (1847–1920) reprising his signature role in *The Count of Monte Cristo* (1913). Other collaborative theater-film production companies included the Protective Amusement Company, which allied the New York theatrical syndicate producers Marc Klaw (1858–1936) and Abraham L. Erlanger (1860–1930) with the forces of the Biograph studio for the purpose of filming, among other properties, plays by Henry C. De Mille (1853–1893) and David Belasco (1853–1931); the Jesse L. Lasky Feature Play Company, which brought together theater promoter Jesse L. Lasky (1880–1958) with filmmaker Cecil B. DeMille (1881–1959) to adapt stage plays by David Belasco (1853–1931); the World Film Corporation, formed by stage entrepreneurs the Shubert brothers and William A. Brady (1863–1950) and filmmaker Lewis J. Selznick (1870–1933) to adapt plays by Edward Sheldon

HAROLD PINTER

b. London, England, 10 October 1930

Harold Pinter has said that his works begin with an image, rather than a theme, and that he is a visual writer. It is not surprising, then, that he has found success working in film. Although Pinter—winner of the 2005 Nobel Prize for Literature—is primarily known as a playwright, with many of his plays regarded as masterpieces of the English stage, he has also had a long and celebrated career writing for both film and television.

Pinter's screenplays are all adaptations of other works: his own plays, including *The Birthday Party* (1968) and *The Homecoming* (1969); other people's plays (*Butley*, 1974); and novels written by others, including F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Last Tycoon* (1976), John Fowles's *The French Lieutenant's Woman* (1981), Ian McEwan's *The Comfort of Strangers* (1990), and Margaret Atwood's *The Handmaid's Tale* (1990). His screenplays have won numerous awards and critical praise. They have also increasingly been the focus of his professional attention, and since the 1980s he has written more film and television screenplays than he has plays.

Pinter's interest in film began at an early age. At fourteen, he joined a local film club, and later he argued the merits of motion pictures as a member of his school's debating society. In the early 1960s he was commissioned by the BBC to write several radio and television scripts, and a number of his early plays appeared on television as well as on stage. His first screenplay, an adaptation of his play *The Caretaker*, was filmed in 1963. Pinter was immediately drawn to the technical opportunities afforded by motion pictures, especially the ability to use and manipulate time and space for dramatic effect. He also found the close-up to be an effective way of conveying conflict and drama without unnecessary dialogue, and has commented on the usefulness of editing as a way of creating meaning visually. The subtle complexities of his plays, in which a pause carries as much meaning as spoken dialogue, translate well to the screen. Just as the themes and structures of Pinter's plays have affected his screenplays, he has also used filmic techniques on stage, including the use of a voice-over in *Mountain Language* (1988), and lighting that simulates cutting between shots in *Party Time* (1991).

Pinter's films tend to be driven by character rather than plot, focusing on human relationships. They deal with many of the same themes that his plays do, including struggles for power and domination, the complex workings of time and memory, and the fear of a menacing unknown. These themes are present in the films he has adapted from other people's work as well as those he has adapted from his own plays.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

The Caretaker (1963), *The Servant* (1963), *The Pumpkin Eater* (1964), *The Go-Between* (1970), *The Homecoming* (1973), *The Last Tycoon* (1976), *The French Lieutenant's Woman* (1981), *Betrayal* (1983), *The Comfort of Strangers* (1990), *The Handmaid's Tale* (1990)

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Kristen Anderson Wagner

(1886–1946) and Clyde Fitch (1865–1909); and the Triangle Film Corporation, which imported dozens of prominent stage performers from New York to the Los Angeles film studios of D. W. Griffith.

The enthusiasm that greeted these photoplays and starring vehicles was short-lived. Voices that hailed them as priceless artifacts, documentations of the history of theatrical forms and performances, soon grew silent, replaced by complaints that they were hybrid monstrosities that were neither theatrical nor cinematic. As early as 1914 prominent American critics like Louis Reeves Harrison were complaining that these filmmakers were ignoring the creative possibilities of their own medium, "for screen visualization is an entirely different art, at its best when freed from the artificial limitations imposed by dramatic construction for stage performance" (p. 185).

Harold Pinter during the filming of* Betrayal *(David Jones, 1983). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

That same year several filmmakers published a series of critical attacks on photoplays in the *New York Dramatic Mirror*. Two years later, in 1916, appeared two pioneering works on film theory and aesthetics, Vachel Lindsay's *The Art of the Moving Picture* and Hugo Munsterberg's *The Photoplay: A Psychological Study*. Lindsay and Munsterberg were not denying the validity of theatrical adaptation in theory; rather, they objected to a translation process that was so closely imitative it denied any cinematic intervention or enhancement of the theatrical material. For example, Lindsay savaged *Queen Elizabeth*, saying it "might be compared to watching [a play] from the top gallery through smoked glass, with one's ears stopped with cotton" (p. 185). By contrast, he praised Griffith's Biblical epic, *Judith of Bethulia* (1914) as an example of a theatrical entertainment that had been "overhauled" by the "explosive power" of close-ups and editing and the narrative displacement of the continuities of time and space. "The photoplays of the future will be written from the foundations for the films," Lindsay predicted. "The soundest actors, photographers, and producers will be those who emphasize the points wherein the photoplay is unique" (p. 197).

The ticket-buying consumers seemed to agree. Most of the photoplays of 1912 to 1915 ultimately failed at the box office. The posturing of most of the stage-trained actors before the cameras had proven inferior to the greater subtlety of players who had begun their training before the cameras. For every Douglas Fairbanks and William S. Hart, who found greater success in the movies than on the stage, there were dozens of others, such as Sir Herbert Beerbohm Tree, William Gillette, and the comedy team Joe Weber and Lew Fields, who hastily retreated back to the stage they had forsaken.

THE NEW PROSCENIUM SPEAKS, 1926–1930

Yet, despite an intense period of maturation in the teens and twenties that saw the development of silent theatrical films displaying the unique propensities of the film medium, the talking picture revolution that began in the mid-twenties with experiments by Warner Bros. and Fox in America, Gaumont-British in England, and Tobis-Klangfilm in Europe initiated yet another spate of closely imitative theater-film collaborations. In the early thirties in France, many theatrically-oriented theater playwrights and directors, such as René Clair (1898–1981), Marcel Pagnol (1895–1974) and Sacha Guitry (1885–1957), filmed their own plays and/or staged their stories along theatrical models—notably Clair's operetta-like *Le Million* (1931), Pagnol's *Marius-Fanny-César* trilogy (1931–1936) and Guitry's *Faisons un rêve* (*Let Us Do a Dream,* 1937) and *Le Roman d'un tricheur* (*The Story of a Cheat,* 1936). Germany's storied Ufa studios (Universum Film Aktiengesellschaft) in Babelsberg was the site for numerous early 1930s musical extravaganzas, notably *Der Kongreß Tanzt* (Congress Dances) in 1931. In America in the late 1920s, Daniel Frohman and Adolph Zukor joined forces again, this time to collaborate on Paramount's *Interference* (1928), the first all-talking theatrical feature film. In a virtual repeat of their earlier pronouncements, they proclaimed a new era in theater-film cooperation. "No more will our best plays be confined to the few big cities," declared Frohman, speaking from the screen. "These plays, with their stirring drama enhanced by the richness of the human voice, will go to the whole world." By 1930 hundreds of film records of short vaudeville sketches, feature-length dramas, revues, and musical shows were once again flooding the movie houses. Actors with stage-trained voices forsook the stage and flocked to the East and West coast movie studios to face the dreaded "King Mike" (the label alluding to the primitive microphone technology of the day). *Variety* estimated that more than 205 stage personnel were working in the East and West Coast studios, including fifty-one playwrights, seventeen stage and dance directors, and ninety-five actors.

The most extensive collaborative endeavor at this time was Paramount's construction of sound stages in Astoria, New York, for the purpose of bringing nearby Broadway performers, directors, and producers as various as Fanny Brice (1891–1951), Rouben Mamoulian (1897–1987), and Florenz Ziegfeld (1867–1932) to the screen in their current stage successes. The years 1929 and 1930 saw theater and film directors work side by side in the filming of the Marx Brothers' *The Cocoanuts* (1929), *The Dance of Life* (1929, based on the play *Burlesque*), *The Doctor's Secret* (1929, based on James Barrie's *Half an Hour*), and many others. Warner Bros., in addition to bringing Broadway stars like Al Jolson to the screen and constructing a sound stage of its own in New York for theatrical adaptations—of its approximately one hundred talkies and part-talkies released by 1930, fully one-third were theatrically related—went into partnership with the Shubert brothers to finance stage productions in order to acquire advance film rights. This promised a double benefit to Warner—a ready-made supply of theatrical properties and a chain of legitimate houses in which to exhibit them. "An offer nowadays by a picture firm to bankroll a stage producer is very common," *Variety* reported on September 19, 1928. "The dialogue picture maker calculates it could produce a stage play, erect prestige for it by a Broadway run, and [photograph] the play, sending it on the road, but in the picture houses" (p. 5). (This move was later terminated on legal grounds by the Dramatists Guild.) "I believe that the plays I was doing in the theatre might be looked upon as 'high-brow,'" opined prominent Broadway actor George Arliss (1868–1946), who brought his *Disraeli* to the screen in 1929; "[and] there is no doubt that a considerable percentage of the people that came to see me in the theatre never went to the movietones [sic] at all. . . . The Warner Brothers realized that these lost sheep must be collected and brought into the fold. . . ." (p. 12).

To a significant degree, many of these theatrical shorts and features continued the tradition of close imitation of stage properties that had been seen—and subsequently abandoned—in silent photoplays. Whereas in the silent days this imitation had been largely a matter of intent, now it was a technical expedient. The cramped confines of the early sound stages and the limitations of the primitive microphones led at first to a "canned" product that was static and lifeless. Just as critiques of the silent films had included complaints that dialogue and expository titles retarded the action and that exaggerated acting styles jarred with the intimacy of the camera lens, now foes of the talkie photoplays rejected the audio-visual pleonasm of the synchronous union of image and sound, the "long photographic discussions between characters" and action that "had a repeated tendency to become too talkie and motionless." *Variety's* complaint in a review dated 13 March 1929 about *The Letter* (1929), in which Jeanne Eagels (1894–1929) recreated her stage role, that the film was "entirely a transcription of a stage work and the cinema version does little to make the subject matter its own" (p. 14) was typical. Writing in the *New York Times*, 28 July 1929, Italian playwright Luigi Pirandello (1867–1936) argued that in trying to transform itself into a theatrical event, films could never become more than a "bad photographic and mechanical copy" of a given play. And, as had happened before, several important theoretical works appeared addressing the new challenges to theatrical and cinematic identity. Joining Pirandello were Sergei Eisenstein (1898–1948) and Vsevolod Pudovkin (1893–1953) in Russia, Abel Gance (1889–1981) and René Clair in France, and Edmund Goulding (1891–1959) and George Jean Nathan (1882–1958) in America.

And, as had happened fifteen years earlier, the ticket-buying public in America again seemed to agree. By 1930 they were turning away from tedious, stage-bound adaptations such as *The Letter* in favor of films like Mamoulian's *Applause* (1929), an original screenplay that blended theatrical elements with a more cinematic non-synchronous conjunction of image and sound. And while they embraced several of the new stage-trained actors, notably Bette Davis, Spencer Tracy, Edward G. Robinson, and the Marx Brothers, they dismissed many more, such as Ruth Chatterton and Hal Skelly.

BREAKING THE NEW PROSCENIUM

It is a mistake to regard this thirty-year period as primarily a series of misguided intentions and artistic and commercial failures for both the theater and cinema establishments. Quite the contrary. Not only did thousands of plays and players reach a public to which they would otherwise have been unavailable, but the consequences of these collaborations resulted in a reassessment of each medium's artistic and commercial priorities and an exploration of alternative modes of expression. The appearance of *Queen Elizabeth* in France and Cecil B. DeMille's *The Squaw Man* (adapted from the play by Edwin Milton Royle, 1914) in America spearheaded the acceptance of feature-length films and attracted the attention of important dramatic critics. Moreover, these attempts at close theatrical imitation, lamentable as they might have seemed, served to throw into even higher relief the unique effects and propensities of the film medium. When the otherwise stagebound *The Count of Monte Cristo* displayed a few scenes in natural locales, audiences applauded. Likewise, the Belasco plays adapted by DeMille and the Lasky Feature Play Company held out possibilities for exterior filming that could not be realized on stage but which could be fully exploited on

Stage star Helen Morgan in Rouben Mamoulian's* Applause *(1929). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

film, thereby encouraging more filmmakers to quit the confines of the studio and shoot in natural locations.

Conversely, the theater's confrontation with the photographic realism of the cinema presented it with several alternatives. On the one hand, turn-of-century playwrights such as David Belasco and Eugene Walter (1874–1941) produced plays that attempted to rival the film spectacle (*The Girl of the Golden West*, 1905; film version 1915) and the intimate drama (*The Easiest Way*, 1909; film version 1917). On the other hand, as if in recognition of the folly of this sort of rivalry, the anti-realist movement, which had already begun in Europe in the 1880s with the symbolist theater of Stéphane Mallarmé (1842–1898) and Maurice Maeterlinck (1862–1949) at the Théâtre d'Art and the Théâtre de l'Oeuvre, gained headway in the new century in Paris with the experiments of Jacques Copeau's Theatre du Vieux Colombier, in Russia with Nikolai Evreinov (1879–1953) and Vsevolod Meyerhold (1874–1942) at the Moscow Art Theatre, and in Germany with the expressionist theater of Ernst Toller (1893–1939) (*Man and the Masses*) and Georg Kaiser (1878–1945) (the "Gas" Trilogy), in Italy with the Futurist "synthetic drama" of Filippo Marinetti (1876–1944) (*Feet* and *They Are Coming*, 1915) and in America with the expressionist-influenced works by Elmer Rice (1892–1967) (*The Adding Machine*, 1923), John Howard Lawson (1895–1977) (*Processional*, 1924), and Eugene O'Neill (1888–1953) (*The Emperor Jones*, 1920 and *The Hairy Ape*, 1922). O'Neill was only one of many playwrights and producers who were outspoken in their rejection of cinema, referring to it as "holding the family Kodak up to ill-nature." He wrote, "We have taken too many snapshots of each other in every gracious position; we have endured too much the banality of surfaces" (Cargill, p. 525).

TONY RICHARDSON

b. Cecil Antonio Richardson, Shipley, Yorkshire, England, 5 June 1928, d. 14 November 1991

Stage and screen director Tony Richardson was a major shaping influence in British theater and film during the 1950s and 1960s. Born the only child of a pharmacist in the West Riding region of Yorkshire, he was educated at Ashville College, Harrogate, and Wadham College, Oxford. After earning a B.A. in English Literature in 1951, he enrolled in the Director Training Program at the British Broadcasting Corporation. During the next four years he not only directed several notable television productions, including Shakespeare's *Othello* (1955), but completed his first film, a short independent documentary called *Momma Don't Allow* (1955), which helped inaugurate the iconoclastic Free Cinema movement.

Richardson brought this rebellious attitude to the stage when he and George Devine co-founded the English Stage Company and its performing arm, the Royal Court Theatre, in 1956 and promptly discovered British playwright John Osborne, whose bitterly sardonic attacks on social and political mores in *Look Back in Anger* (film 1956, 1958) and *The Entertainer* (film 1957, 1960) revolutionized virtually overnight the face of contemporary British theater. Richardson adapted both plays to the screen for his own production company, Woodfall Films.

For the rest of his career, Richardson continued to divide his energies between the stage and screen in both Europe and Hollywood. His theatrical projects included Shelagh Delaney's *A Taste of Honey* (film 1960, 1961) and a groundbreaking version of *Hamlet* at the Roundhouse Theater in Camden Town (both of whom he later adapted to the screen). But it is his screen work upon which Richardson's reputation primarily rests today. His movies may be divided into three groups—his literary adaptations (*Tom Jones*, 1963; *A Delicate Balance*, 1973; *The Hotel New Hampshire*, 1984); his original films (*The Charge of the Light Brigade*, 1968; *The Border*, 1982; and *Blue Sky*, 1994); and his television projects (*A Subject of Scandal and Concern*, 1960; *Beryl Markham: A Shadow on the Sun*, 1988).

"Perfection is not an aim," proclaimed Richardson about his work in Free Cinema and in the theater. "We reserve the right to fail." For awhile, those brave words fueled the brilliant experiments of his early career. However, his stubborn and unpredictable individuality, coupled with a penchant for spontaneity and a zest for bizarre humor, led to the erratic achievements of his later years. Critics savaged the caricatured humor of *The Loved One* (1965), the alleged pompousness of *A Delicate Balance* and the grotesquerie of *Hotel New Hampshire*.

Richardson's last film, *Blue Sky*, an indictment of American nuclear testing, was well received. However, the accolades came too late. Completed in 1990, the film was shelved for almost five years before its release. Richardson, in the meantime, had died from complications of AIDS in 1991.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING:

Mama Don't Allow (1955), *Look Back in Anger* (1958), *The Entertainer* (1960), *A Taste of Honey* (1961), *The Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner* (1962), *Tom Jones* (1963)

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John C. Tibbetts

Ironically, many of these antirealistic or anti-naturalistic alternatives found their roots, or at least their parallels, in cinematic precedents. Pudovkin compared Meyerhold's experiments in fractured scenes with the montage practices of film. Munsterberg related the non-linear sequencing in several plays to cinematic flashback techniques. O'Neill confessed that a viewing of *Das Kabinett des Doktor Caligari* (*The Cabinet of*

Tony Richardson during the production of* Hamlet *(1969).
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Dr. Caligari, 1920)—itself a cinematic record of German expressionist theater—"sure opened my eyes to wonderful possibilities I had never dreamed of before." Motion pictures as much as antirealist theater directly influenced the stage work of other American playwrights, like Rice and Lawson.

Meanwhile, motion pictures were being incorporated into stage presentations as early as 1896 when, according to the *North American Review*, projected films were utilized as scenic "backdrops." Writing in the September 1896 issue, George Parsons Lathrop speculated that the movies could render "painted scenery unnecessary in plays performed by flesh-and-blood actors" and "heighten theatrical verisimilitude" (p. 377). Before turning exclusively to film production, stage magician Méliès incorporated film footage into his platform performances at the Theatre Municipal du Chatelet and the Olympia Theatre. This practice was carried forward by German entrepreneur Erwin Piscator (1893–1966), who not only incorporated newsreels into his plays, notably *Hurrah, We Live!* (1927), but boldly called upon producers and writers to use films to provide atmosphere, such as lighting effects and moving backdrops, that would help to overcome the static illusion of the stage.

PROMINENT STAGE AND SCREEN ARTISTS

A century of theater-film interaction has seen many stage-trained directors, writers, and performers whose motion pictures bear the traces of their theatrical experience and sensibilities. In the silent period, David Wark Griffith quit the life of an itinerant player to score a spectacular success in the burgeoning film industry with smash hits *The Birth of a Nation* (1915) and *Way Down East* (1920) (both based on stage plays) in America. Mauritz Stiller (1883–1928) and Victor Sjostrom (1879–1960) quit the stage to make popular films like *Erotikon* (1920) and *Körkarlen* (*The Phantom Carriage*, 1921), respectively, for the Svenskfilmindustri in Sweden. Maurice Tourneur (1876–1961) left the French independent theater entrepreneur André Antoine (1858–1943) to come to America and direct the Mary Pickford vehicles *The Poor Little Rich Girl* (1917) and *The Pride of the Clan* (1917). After working with Max Reinhardt's (1873–1943) Deutsches Theater, Ernst Lubitsch (1892–1947) emigrated to America where he inaugurated the modern sophisticated sex farce with *The Marriage Circle* (1924) and *Lady Windemere's Fan* (1925). Sergei Eisenstein's experience with Vsevelod Meyerhold and the Moscow Art Theatre led to his revolutionary agit-prop films like *Bronenosets Potyomkin* (*Battleship Potemkin*, 1925).

The coming of sound brought to the screen a fresh crop of stage-trained directors who went on to make many popular films either adapted from plays or at least consistently displaying a theatrical sensibility. Some, like George Cukor (1899–1983) and James Whale (1896–1957), turned their backs on the stage in 1929 and devoted the rest of their careers to cinema. Others moved with equal success between theater and film. Rouben Mamoulian shifted effortlessly from premiere Broadway productions of *Porgy and Bess* and *Oklahoma!* to cinematic classics *Applause* (1929), *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (1931), and *Love Me Tonight* (1932). Orson Welles's (1915–1985) notoriety with the Mercury Theater productions in the mid-1930s led to an invitation from RKO to Hollywood, where, in addition to directing the groundbreaking *Citizen Kane* (1941) he made several Shakespearean adaptations, including *Macbeth* (1948) and *The Tragedy of Othello* (1952). After co-founding the Actors Studio with Lee Strasberg and instituting its famous "method" acting techniques, Elia Kazan (1909–2003) directed some of his greatest stage success for the screen, notably *A Streetcar Named Desire* (1951). Sidney Lumet's (b. 1924) background in New York's Yiddish Art Theatre led to directing television dramas in the early

Richard Burton as the quintessential angry young man in Tony Richardson's* Look Back in Anger *(1958), based on the play by John Osborne. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

1950s and his breakthrough film, *Twelve Angry Men* (1957).

In England, the success of the Royal Court Theatre in the 1950s spurred Tony Richardson (1928–1991), Karel Reisz (1926–2002), and Lindsay Anderson (1923–1994) to bring to the screen adaptations of plays by a new generation of playwrights of the time, such as *Look Back in Anger* (1958) and *The Entertainer* (1960), by quintessential "angry young man" John Osborne (1929–1994). In Italy, before he directed the landmark *Ladri di biciclette* (*The Bicycle Thieves*, 1948), Vittorio De Sica (1901–1974) was a popular stage actor—a profession he continued to practice between subsequent directing assignments. Similarly, actor Laurence Olivier (1907–1989) not only enjoyed a long career in the movies and also brought Shakepeare's *Henry V* (1944), *Hamlet* (1948), and *Richard III* (1955) to the screen. More recently, Kenneth Branagh (b. 1960) has continued Olivier's legacy with a dual career in theater and film, directing *Henry V* (1989) and *Much Ado About Nothing* (1993). Italians Luchino Visconti (1906–1976) and Franco Zeffirelli (b. 1923) have maintained dual careers in opera and film, occasionally bringing their own stage versions to the screen. And, of course, in Sweden Ingmar Bergman (b. 1918) continued to work steadily in theater, opera, and film. His film adaptation of Mozart's *The Magic Flute* (1975) remains one of cinema's most transcendent theatrical adaptations.

Many of today's foremost playwrights have also worked extensively, with varying degrees of success, in both theater and film. Clifford Odets (1906–1963), the best known of America's social protest playwrights in the 1930s, shifted uneasily between Harold Clurman's Group Theatre, for which he wrote *Waiting for Lefty* and *Awake and Sing!* (both 1935), and Hollywood. Although well paid for his film scripts for *None but the Lonely Heart* (1944), *Humoresque* (1946), *Deadline at Dawn* (1946), and *Sweet Smell of Success* (1957), he hated his work in cinema. However, his Hollywood experiences did inspire one of his strongest plays, *The Big Knife* (1949), which was adapted to the screen in 1955 by Robert Aldrich. In England, Harold Pinter (b. 1930),

John Osborne (1929–1994), David Hare (b. 1947), and Tom Stoppard (b. 1937) have written many screenplays, including adaptations of their own works—respectively, *Butley* (1974), *Look Back in Anger* (1958), *Plenty* (1985), and *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern Are Dead* (1990). The American playwright who most parallels their careers is David Mamet (b. 1947), who has directed several original screenplays, including *House of Games* (1987) and his own adaptations of classic plays, such as Terence Rattigan's *The Winslow Boy* (1999). Two stage-trained directors, Sam Mendes (b. 1965) and Julie Taymor (b. 1952), have demonstrated a distinctive flair for the cinema, respectively, directing the Oscar®-winning feature *American Beauty* (1999) and *Titus* (2000), a wildly postmodernist adaptation of Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*.

Undaunted by the restrictions of the proscenium stage and wholly cinematic in their vision of the theatrical translation to film, these new directors and writers were poised at the beginning of the twenty-first century to carry forward the tradition of intelligent dramatic adaptation. Doubtless, the advancements of 3-D and digital technology will bring new challenges to the process that will continue to redefine the very nature of that relationship.

SEE ALSO *Acting; Adaptation; Collaboration; Early Cinema; Silent Cinema*

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THEATERS

Throughout the twentieth century, motion pictures were screened in a host of different places, including schools, churches, parks, and retail stores. But until the use of the home VCR became widespread in the 1980s, the primary site for film exhibition was the movie theater, which offered on a regular basis—and always for the price of a ticket—a moving picture program, a social experience, and sometimes much more. "Despite the glamour of Hollywood," wrote economist Mae Huettig in 1944, "the crux of the motion picture industry is the theater" (p. 54). To a great extent, this remained true well into the late twentieth century.

From their introduction, movie theaters have varied considerably in size, architecture, technology, location, clientele, ownership, and symbolic significance. They have varied over time as well, with the first generation of nickelodeons giving way to buildings, grand or modest, that were actually constructed as film theaters, even veritable picture palaces, as they were quickly dubbed. The classical Hollywood system relied on glamorous, often huge, first-run metropolitan venues as well as more modest urban neighborhood theaters and small-town picture houses. When motion-picture attendance fell dramatically from the late 1940s through the 1970s, drive-ins provided a novel alternative to the traditional "hardtop" theater, as did art house cinemas specializing in non-Hollywood fare. The multiplex, often housed in a shopping center, became a principal exhibition site in the late 1960s and 1970s, only to be replaced by the free-standing megaplex, the latest evolution of the movie theater. Each of these theatrical screening sites offered not only a differently designed space for the public exhibition of film but also promoted a particular type of film program and provided a distinctive moviegoing experience. The various incarnations of the movie theater reflect the shifting place of cinema in the everyday life of the twentieth century.

THE NICKELODEON

By 1907 cities and towns across the United States and Canada were home to a new site for commercial amusement, the nickelodeon—an inexpensive, unadorned moving picture theater charging a mere five cents per ticket. It is difficult to ascertain when the first nickelodeon appeared. One frequently cited origin is the Nickelodeon theater in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, opened in June 1905 by Harry Davis, a local commercial entertainment entrepreneur. Before this date, moving pictures had often been screened in standard entertainment venues: outdoor tent shows; small-town opera houses; and, most notably, vaudeville theaters. Such sites were soon overshadowed by the nickelodeon. New theaters with names like the Bijou Dream and the Gem opened in every region, devoted primarily (though not exclusively) to screening film programs. Even if many of these theaters were short-lived enterprises, the nickelodeon boom unquestionably went a long way toward establishing moving pictures as a key form of commercial entertainment.

One reason for the remarkable jump in the number of moving picture theaters in the years from 1906 to 1909 was the increased availability of narrative film, which could be rented from film exchanges rather than purchased outright. Theaters owners thus had access to a steady stream of new product, which they presented in

Nickelodeons playing Edison Company films. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

a continuously run loop throughout the day. Along with a film program that was changed at least three times a week, nickelodeons frequently offered musical accompaniment, as well as "illustrated songs," which were vocal performances of popular tunes illustrated by colorful projected slides.

While certain nickelodeons tried to cater to a "better" clientele, the majority of the new theaters that suddenly appeared in urban downtowns, residential neighborhoods, and the main streets of rural communities made no attempt to compete in size and decor with concert halls or even local opera houses. An empty former retail store, a projector, two hundred or even fewer wooden chairs, a piano, and some sort of ticket booth would suffice to create a nickelodeon. To announce its presence and attract passersby, this new type of commercial showplace often quite literally spilled out onto the sidewalk. A decorated facade, complete with poster displays, drew attention to the venue, as did music that might be directed out toward the street. Typically open during the day and well into the evening, in certain places even on Sundays, the low-overhead nickel theater proved to be more than another faddish get-rich-quick scheme.

Early estimates from the motion picture trade press suggest that by 1910, as many as ten thousand nickelodeons were operating in the United States. As the nickelodeon boom continued, the movies increasingly became woven into the fabric of daily life, especially for workingclass audiences that could take advantage of this accessible and cheap form of public amusement. Heavily dependent on a regular clientele that lived within walking or streetcar distance, the nickelodeon both presented a nationally available product (the movies) and offered a

public, social entertainment experience that reflected the tastes of a particular community, neighborhood, or ethnic group.

Competition among theater operators was fierce, as all sought to make what might have initially been a patron's novel experience into a regular habit. From the ranks of nickelodeon operators came a number of men who would eventually shape the motion picture industry, including Marcus Loew (1870–1927) (one of the founders of MGM), William Fox (1879–1952) (founder of Fox studios), and the Warner brothers. In addition, almost immediately nickelodeons faced criticism from religious groups and civil authorities, in part because these cheap theaters attracted audiences that included women and children. Fire was also a very real danger, given the flammability of the 35mm nitrate film then in use. The danger was especially great for the large number of projectionists (or "operators") that the burgeoning industry required. Municipal building and safety codes were instituted to regulate the construction of projection booths, the seating arrangement, and the means of entry and exit. City license fees afforded another form of regulation.

THEATERS BUILT FOR THE MOVIES

The nickelodeon boom echoed throughout North America between 1906 and 1910, and in some regions, this type of low-overhead, barebones moving picture theater remained a viable business venture well into the 1910s, especially in villages and small towns. But the competition for the commercial amusement market and the desire to reach a broader—and likely more middle-class—audience meant that the simple storefront nickelodeon increasingly gave way to larger, more pretentious, and more permanent venues. Theaters originally built for stage productions and vaudeville were refitted to house moving picture shows, as were other retail spaces. Fenced-in, open-air theaters, called airdomes, made moviegoing an appealing activity on summertime evenings, especially in St. Louis, Missouri, and other larges cities, as well as small towns, across the American Midwest. Most important, buildings, like the Regent Theatre in New York City (built in 1912), began to be specifically designed for moving picture presentation. Since these buildings frequently had balconies, full-size stages, and even dressing rooms, they differed little in design from legitimate theaters of the period. Nonetheless, the construction of buildings designated as moving picture theaters signaled the growing prominence of film in the field of commercial amusement, as well as the increasing visibility of the movies in daily life.

Sometimes with considerably more than five hundred seats, these new moving picture theaters promised a blend of comfort and elegance to rival established urban theaters and the all-purpose, small-town venues, generically referred to as "opera houses." Such movie theaters typically featured electrically illuminated marquees, inviting foyers, decorative terra cotta facades, wood-paneled walls, marble or carpeted floors, and plushly upholstered chairs. They boasted of their modern air circulation and heating systems, in addition to fireproof projection booths and up-to-date safety precautions. Advertising often foregrounded these design features in an attempt to expand the social class makeup of the audience and to waylay public concern about the potential hazards of the movie theater, especially for children.

At the same time, since many of these theaters had one or two balcony sections, exhibitors could strictly segregate their patrons, sometimes by age or social class, but most often by race, with the less desirable balcony being "reserved" for African Americans. Even in the nickelodeon era, so-called "colored theaters" had begun to appear that catered specifically to African American audiences. With racial segregation a fact of everyday life well into the 1950s and 1960s, "colored" theaters—in a few cases owned as well as operated by African Americans—were a prominent feature of African American communities across the United States, especially in the sound era. More than four hundred such theaters were in operation in the early 1940s and even more in the immediate post-World War II period.

The movie theaters that began to appear in early 1910s were often equipped with well-appointed washrooms and lounges, whose attendants joined an increasingly large corps of movie theater employees: uniformed ushers and doormen, ticket-takers, projectionists, and musicians. The presence of these workers helped to link the theater to the community or neighborhood where it was located, a connection that was underscored when the theater was made available for charity events, amateur shows, and even public school outings.

In addition to their increasingly long and ambitious film programs, the new wave of movie theaters continued to feature musical entertainment, long after the illustrated song had ceased to be a regular part of the bill. Mechanical instruments like the Wurlitzer Photoplayer provided both musical accompaniment and sound effects. Even smaller theaters began to employ live "orchestras"—which, in practice, could mean anything from a drum-piano duo to an eight-piece ensemble performing in the pit in front of the stage.

PICTURE PALACES

Among the countless movie theaters built in the early and mid-1910s, a few metropolitan venues, like the

THOMAS W. LAMB

b. Dundee, Scotland, 1871, d. 26 February 1942

Thomas W. Lamb was the most important of several notable architects who had a significant effect on the design, prestige, and cultural role of the American movie theater during the age of the picture palace. Lamb (and his firm) designed more than three hundred theaters, primarily in the United States but also in Canada, England, Australia, and South Africa.

Born in Dundee, Scotland, in 1871, Lamb moved to the United States in 1899 and soon thereafter graduated from Cooper Union Institute with a degree in architecture. After working as a city building inspector, Lamb was hired by William Fox (future head of Fox studios) in 1909 to design his first major project, the City Theatre, in New York City. When called on three years later to design the Regent Theatre, which was promoted as the first high-class theater built expressly to screen motion pictures, Lamb devised a facade borrowing from Italian renaissance architecture and an auditorium that featured clear sightlines for all seats.

Then followed a series of major theaters designed by Lamb, primarily in midtown Manhattan, including the Strand (1914), the Rialto (1916), and the Rivoli (1917), with its facade of white-glazed terra-cotta columns resembling the Parthenon. Lamb's position as the preeminent theater architect in the United States was sealed when he designed what was to be the world's largest theater, the Capitol, which opened in October 1919. For the 5,300-seat Capitol, Lamb relied on huge fluted columns, heavy damask curtains, a grand dome, and extensive silver leaf decoration. Like the Capitol, Lamb's other theaters in this period (including venues in Brooklyn, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati) reflected his indebtedness to eighteenth-century British architect Robert Adam, whose neoclassical buildings were influenced by ancient Roman architecture.

In the mid-1920s Lamb's theaters became much more ornate, drawing, for example, on the flamboyance of the Italian baroque. In picture palaces like Loew's Midland Theater in Kansas City and the Fox in San Francisco, Lamb offered what he called "something more gay, more flashy" that would captivate audiences with its splendor. By the late-1920s Lamb's theaters became even more exotic, borrowing freely and combining elements from so-called "Oriental" designs (Persian, Hindu, and Byzantine) as well as European motifs. Lamb even borrowed from fellow theater architect John Eberson, and created a series of "atmospheric" theaters, where the traditional domed ceiling was replaced by a facsimile of the sky and the auditorium walls were decorated to resemble the interior of a garden or elegant patio. Lamb's work continued in a much different direction in the 1930s with designs for the art-deco styled Trans-Lux newsreel theaters.

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Gregory A. Waller

3,000-seat Strand Theatre in New York City (opened in 1914), set a new standard for opulence and size, initiating what would become the age of the picture palace. The term itself is difficult to define, though "picture palace" is generally taken to mean a multi-leveled venue with at least fifteen hundred seats; a fan-shaped auditorium; a complete stage and orchestra pit; a Mighty Wurlitzer or some other theater organ; state-of-the-art projection and lighting equipment; luxurious décor; ornate architectural features; and a massive, brightly lit facade that gave the theater an inescapable presence when viewed from the street. (The largest picture palaces, containing more than two thousand seats and located in a metropolitan downtown area, were also referred to as "deluxe" theaters.) A virtual army of well-trained, uniformed service employees staffed the well-appointed restrooms of the picture palace and guided patrons through a grand lobby, up a sweeping staircase, down wide promenades, and into the multi-tiered auditorium. Through the initiative of theater owners like Balaban and Katz (operating in Chicago), air conditioning became another selling point of the picture palace by the late 1920s. All these elements collectively made the picture palace not only an architectural showpiece that

stood out in the busy shopping district but also an experience quite distinct from the mundane.

Architects like Thomas W. Lamb (1871–1942) and John Eberson (1875–1965) were key figures in developing the opulent style of the American picture palace, which could vary quite dramatically from theater to theater, while always being an exercise in extravagance and ostentatious grandeur. Such theaters might be organized around a single theme—for example, a Spanish, Persian, and Chinese motif, which would be evident in the interior wall treatment, lighting, stage design, carpeting, fixtures, and furniture. The goal was to create an environment where the movies were only one part of a larger entertainment experience.

Eberson specialized in what were known as "atmospheric" picture palaces, beginning with the Majestic in Houston, Texas, which was built in 1922. The auditorium in an Eberson theater was constructed to resemble a magnificent courtyard or exotic garden, overflowing with decorative detail and covered with a plaster ceiling built to resemble an open sky filled with moving clouds or twinkling stars. Other architectural firms also had a significant influence on the design of the American picture palace, most notably Rapp and Rapp, which designed theaters in Chicago, St. Louis, and a number of other cities for Balaban and Katz and for Paramount studio's Publix Theater chain.

Theaters like Manhattan's 6,200-seat Roxy (opened in 1927), designed by Walter Ahlschlager and billed as the "cathedral of the movies," came to symbolize the excess and grandiose ambitions of the 1920s picture palace. As might be expected, the most deluxe theaters were found in New York, Chicago, Detroit, and Los Angeles, though a host of smaller cities, including Minneapolis, Minnesota, Portland, Oregon, and Jersey City, New Jersey, could boast of having world-class picture palaces, often built as part of the Loew's or Fox first-run theater circuits. Fewer than seventy-five deluxe theaters were operating at the end of the silent film era, yet these metropolitan venues provided a disproportionately large share of the box-office revenues for the major Hollywood studios.

At the same time, the studios also depended on the distribution of their continuous stream of features, shorts, and newsreels to the twenty thousand other movie theaters in the United States. Even with the construction of deluxe palaces, the average size of the movie theater in the late silent era remained around five hundred seats, approximately the same as it had been in the mid-1910s. In other words, most spectators experienced the movies not in a magnificent picture palace but in a much more modest and less spectacular venue, probably located in the same business district where they bought groceries, got haircuts, and shopped for dry goods. However, the elaborate design, luxurious interior decoration, and commanding street presence of the picture palace did constitute an ideal toward which smaller theaters might aspire as they were periodically remodeled or updated.

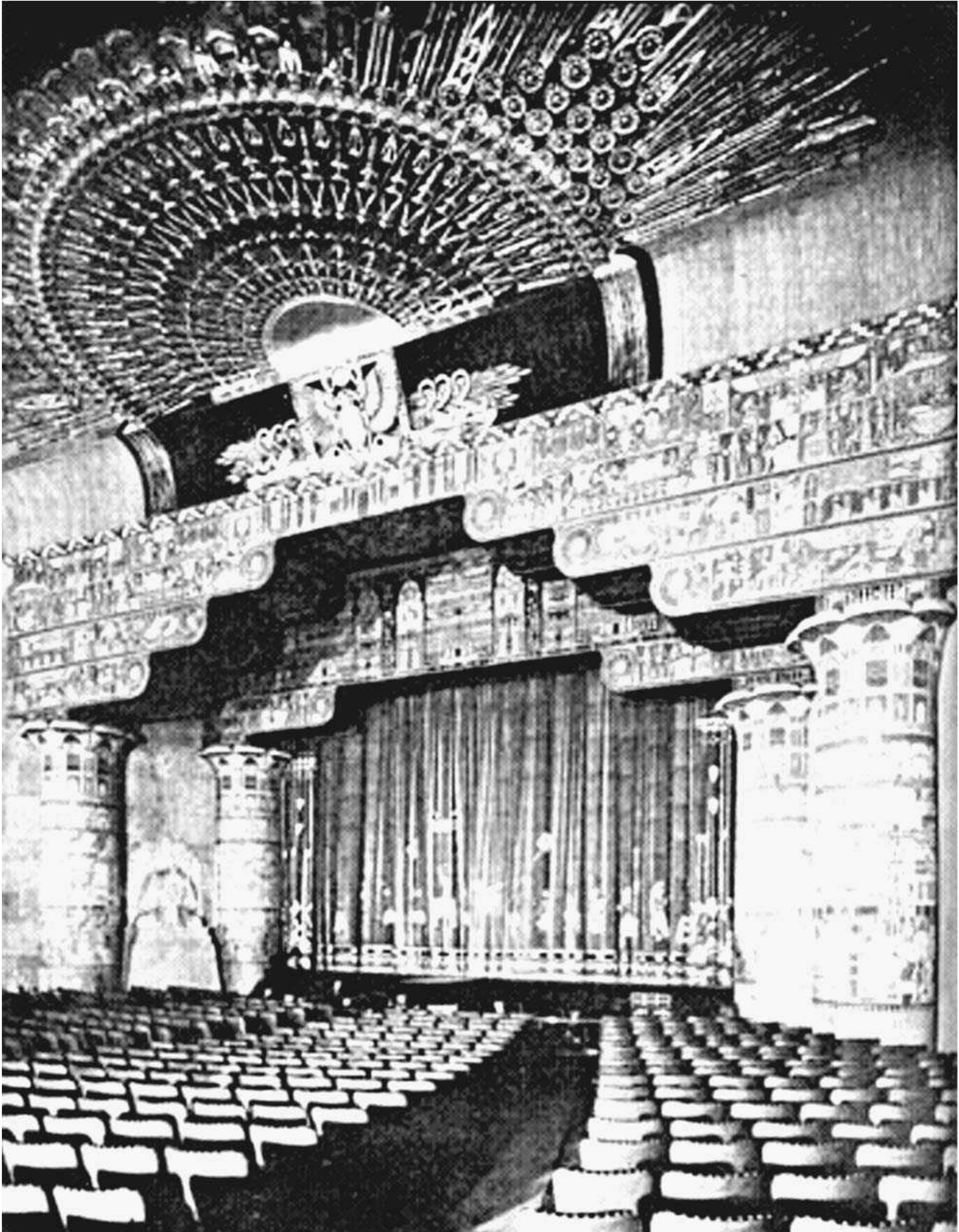
The picture palace quickly came to occupy a privileged symbolic position in writing about the "golden age" of the movies. If the picture palace has had a long life as an icon signifying a spectacular and glamorous Hollywood, as a building it was very costly to operate and maintain. The picture palace was also linked to the economic fortunes of the downtown area where it almost always was located. By the 1950s, these once-grand theaters began to be razed or transformed for other uses. Restoration work at the end of the twentieth century rescued a small number of America's picture palaces. An object of nostalgia and community pride, the preserved picture palace (like the Grand Lake Theatre in Oakland, California) was usually not reopened as a movie theater; instead, it was restored to serve primarily as a multi-use community theater and venue for high-culture performances.

WIRING FOR SOUND

The American film industry's transition to sound, which began in 1927 and was completed by 1930, had an immediate effect on the nation's movie theaters. The cost of installing a sound system—"wiring for sound," as it was called—could be prohibitive for the independent owner-operator of a small theater. There were competing sound systems, and each system required the purchase of new projection equipment in addition to speakers. Costs for converting theaters to sound had dropped significantly by 1929, though the investment could still run as high as seven thousand dollars for even a small theater. Good quality sound reproduction might even entail the redesigning of the auditorium itself to improve acoustics, as well as the installation of a quieter heating and cooling system. (The transition to sound thus indirectly led to an increased use of air conditioning.) On the positive side, the novelty of sound became, in the short term, a major drawing card for theaters.

Particularly from the late 1920s through the mid-1930s, the state of sound film technology required that projectionists be responsible for the audio as well as visual quality of the movies screened. Staffing of the movie theater changed as well with the introduction of sound, as talkies quickly replaced the regular live entertainment that had always been part of the moviegoing experience.

In effect, with Hollywood fully committed to the production of sound films, theater owners had no choice except to wire for sound, sell out, or close. Approximately two-thirds of the fifteen thousand theaters in the United States were wired for sound by 1930, as the new



Interior of Grauman's Egyptian Theatre c. 1930s. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

technology spread to small- and medium-sized theaters outside of first-run venues in major cities. The problems caused for theater owners by the industry's rapid transition to sound were compounded with the increasing economic effects of the Great Depression, which began in 1929. The *Film Daily Yearbook* estimated in 1933 that no more than half of the movie theaters in certain parts of the United States were actually wired for sound and open for business. At the same time, after a period of unbridled expansion and acquisition, major theater chains owned by Paramount, RKO, and Warner Bros. went into receivership, often meaning that the control of theaters reverted to individual owner-operators or to regionally based companies.

BEYOND THE PICTURE PALACE

Coupled with the economic woes of the 1930s and the costs of wiring theaters for sound films, exhibitors also faced the increasingly widespread popularity of radio (with its "free" entertainment). In addition, a burgeoning nontheatrical market for moving pictures had emerged with the growing availability of 16mm sound projectors in the later 1930s. Exhibitors increased efforts to attract audiences to the theater by lowering ticket prices and relying on special promotions, contests, and double-feature programs. Decreased costs made air conditioning a more available amenity by the later 1930s, so that the movie theater became one of the first public sites to offer ordinary citizens the luxury of climate-controlled comfort. At the same time, the sale of candy and, especially, popcorn emerged as a crucial source of revenue for the exhibitor, with carbonated soft drinks soon to follow in the 1940s. Vending machines and, eventually, a larger and more elaborate concession stand became a standard component of the movie theater. Concession sales often brought more profit to the theater than box office receipts.

The 1930s also saw a marked drop in the number of new theaters—and picture palaces, in particular—being constructed. However, even small-town venues that depended on rural audiences had long realized that periodic renovation and updating to decor as well as equipment was a sensible business practice that associated the theater with the "modern." Art deco design, with cleaner lines and less surface decoration, became a more prominent feature in renovated theaters and the relatively few newly constructed theaters. This style was featured in one of the few new theatrical ventures to emerge in the midst of the Depression: the small but sleekly designed newsreel theaters operated by Trans-Lux and other companies in major metropolitan areas. Equipped with an innovative rear-projection system, the first Trans-Lux theater opened in New York City in 1931, creating a trend that flourished during World War II and continued until the introduction of commercial television.

One architect who did continue to design striking new and remodeled theaters during the 1930s was S. Charles Lee (1899–1990), who worked principally in California. For example, Lee's streamlined aesthetic, which made ample use of rounded forms, horizontal lines, and industrial material (aluminum, glass, and chrome), was especially evident in the Academy Theatre, which was built in 1939 in Inglewood, California. Other architects, including, most notably, Ben Schlanger, also argued in the mid-1930s for an even more austere and efficient type of modern theater, designed and built exclusively for screening moving pictures and intended to maximize the viewing experience. In some respects, these ideas were not fully implemented until the emergence of the megaplex theater complexes of the 1980s and 1990s.

DRIVE-INS AND ART CINEMAS

Shrinking movie attendance from the late 1940s into the 1950s, coupled with the increasing suburbanization of America, led to a new round of theater closings as well as to certain technological innovations intended to underscore the superiority of the big-screen experience over the small, black-and-white image of home television. Preeminent were much-publicized wide-screen processes, which offered images wider and more horizontal than the standard "academy" ratio found on television. Although wide screen had been experimented with at various times in film history, it did not become a key selling point for Hollywood until the mid-1950s. To project wide-screen CinemaScope or VistaVision films, theaters needed to convert projectors as well as install a new screen. (Additional speakers for stereo sound were another option, more likely found in high-end theaters.) This upgrading was costly, but deemed necessary if theaters were to offer an experience that drew customers away from their television sets and back to the movies.

Another, more significant lure for moviegoers in the 1950s and beyond was the drive-in theater, which began in the United States, spread to Canada, and eventually even to Australia. In 1933 the first drive-in, called the Automobile Movie Theatre, was opened by Richard M Hollingshead Jr. in Camden, New Jersey. It accommodated four hundred cars arranged in a terraced and ramped space, allowing for relatively unobstructed sight lines toward the mounted screen. Fewer than three hundred drive-ins had appeared by the end of World War II, but by 1958 the number across the United States hit a peak of almost six thousand. They then constituted almost half of the nation's total screens, with many drive-ins to be found in rural areas or near smaller towns,

where setup costs were low and commercial amusements rare. Construction of drive-ins in suburbia accelerated in the late 1950s, driven by the availability of inexpensive land, the shifting demographics of America, and the ubiquity of the automobile.

Drive-ins, sometimes equipped with small playgrounds and picnic areas, offered ease of parking and access, a decidedly homey and informal atmosphere, an opportunity for an inexpensive family night out, and a site that promised relative freedom (and even privacy) for teenagers on dates. Cafeteria-style snack bars became a substantial source of income, offering hot dogs and pizza as well as candy, soft drinks, and popcorn. Live entertainment sometimes served as another drawing card. Even under the best circumstances, the drive-in was not an optimal venue for viewing motion pictures: high-quality screens were expensive to erect; twilight washed out the projected image, which could be proportionally quite small; and sound quality was poor because of portable speakers, though eventually some drive-ins transmitted movie soundtracks through car radios.

While drive-ins initially competed with indoor theaters for mainstream Hollywood movies, even gaining access on occasion to first-run releases, these outdoor venues eventually began to be associated primarily with more marginalized types of programming, often low-budget genre movies well outside the boundaries of standard family fare: teenpix in the 1960s; horror films; softcore sexploitation; and even, during the 1970s, X-rated fare. By the early 1990s, fewer than nine hundred drive-ins (including some multiscreen venues) remained in business, sometimes operating as swap meets and flea markets on the weekends.

Paralleling the rise of the drive-in was the abandonment, demolition, or conversion of a great many urban movie theaters, both pictures palaces and smaller neighborhood venues (which sometimes became churches or markets). Some larger downtown theaters stayed in business by shifting to Spanish-language films or to low-budget fare, like the wave of horror and science fiction films that emerged in the 1950s.

At the other end of the film exhibition business from the drive-in was the art cinema, whose roots were in small, metropolitan-area theaters that opened in the 1920s and 1930s like New York City's International Film Arts Guild and Little Carnegie Playhouse. Such venues targeted a well-to-do clientele by screening otherwise unavailable films that were experimental, foreign-language, or in some other way identifiable as "art" rather than commercial entertainment. By the early 1950s, the art house or, in industry parlance, "sure seater," was gaining popularity, not only in metropolitan centers but also in smaller cities and towns that were home to colleges and universities. Catering to an adult audience and often charging appreciably higher ticket prices than ordinary movie theaters, the typical art house was a newly constructed theater of approximately five hundred seats or a refurbished older venue, intimate and decorated with an eye toward modernist design rather than picture palace exoticism. Coffee was the concession of choice, complementing the films screened, which might include revivals of classics as well as new non-American films. Attendance at such theaters peaked in the 1960s and 1970s, before the widespread diffusion of the home VCR allowed for a different type of art film distribution.

FROM MULTIPLEX TO MEGAPLEX

Before 1960, a few theaters had been built in shopping centers. There were even rare attempts to create twin cinemas, so-called because they included two separate auditoria with a common foyer and box office. But the multiplex was very much a product of the 1960s, usually credited to Stanley H. Durwood (1920–1999), who built his first twin cinema in Kansas City, Missouri, in 1963. Housed in a suburban shopping center, Durwood's multiplex used the same projection facility and concession stand for both (one seating three hundred, the other four hundred). The concept proved profitable and repeatable, and Durwood's American Multi-Cinema (AMC) company quickly became one of the major theater chains in the United States.

The years from 1965 to 1970 saw approximately one hundred new shopping center theaters open annually in the United States, each promising ample parking, an array of retail stores, and more than enough room for an inexpensive multiplex. This new type of venue flourished while the total number of movie theaters in the United States remained relatively constant, at fewer than ten thousand (40 percent of which were drive-ins). The multiplex trend extended to urban settings, as certain picture palaces were remodeled to house multiple screens.

As the multiplex evolved after the mid-1960s, it came to feature up to eight box-shaped theaters, each seating usually fewer than three hundred patrons. When built within shopping malls, multiplexes became even more conveniently integrated into an inclusive, teenage-friendly retail environment. Small screens and cinder-block walls that provided poor soundproofing made the multiplex, at best, a marginally satisfactory site for watching the movies. One improvement in the 1960s that greatly benefited the multiplex was the introduction of the powerful xenon bulb, a steady-burning, long-lasting light source that replaced the carbon arc in motion picture projectors. Increasingly automated platter projectors allowed for the entire program (trailers, advertise-

ments, and feature film) to be placed on one reel that required no rewinding. Theoretically, at least, an untrained projectionist could simultaneously run all the screenings in a multiplex.

The 1970s saw significant improvement in the quality of theatrical sound reproduction, first with the introduction by Universal in *Earthquake* (1974) of "sensurround," then with the increased use of the highly influential Dolby noise reduction system in films like *Star Wars* (1977) and *Saturday Night Fever* (1977). By the mid-1980s, Dolby had become the industry standard, and the large number of new theaters constructed in the 1980s and 1990s prominently featured state-of-the-art sound systems, like Lucasfilm's THX and Sony's Dynamic Digital Sound, which made the audio experience an increasingly essential aspect of theatrical film exhibition.

The new multiscreen theaters built after the mid-1980s, called megaplexes, differed significantly from the boxy mall or shopping center twin cinemas. Offering fifteen or more screens under the same roof, the megaplex was typically housed in a spacious, freestanding building, surrounded by a vast parking lot and easily accessible by car. In more urban locations, the megaplex might be situated within a shopping mall, like the Beverly Center Cineplex in Los Angeles, built in 1982 by the Canadian Cineplex theater circuit, which would soon become Cineplex Odeon, one of the top theater chains in North America. Cineplex Odeon is often credited with beginning the era of the megaplex. The theater construction boom in the United States and, eventually, in much of Europe and Asia, that lasted well into the 1990s meant that the megaplex became the predominant type of movie theater during a period of surprising growth for the motion picture industry. Between 1988 and 1998 the total number of screens in the United States rose from twenty-three thousand to thirty-four thousand, while screens in western Europe rose ten percent (to over twenty-three thousand) and in Asia—exclusive of China—remained roughly constant.

Promoted and, in part, designed as entertainment "destinations" or "complexes," megaplexes often featured video arcades, flashy interior design, extensive concession areas, computerized ticket counters, and indoor cafes. Especially in comparison to the shopping center multiplex of a generation earlier, megaplexes promised an enriched moviegoing experience, with comfortable stadium seating arranged to provide each spectator with an unobstructed view of a screen that was appreciably larger in relation to the auditorium size than had previously been the case. Having twelve auditoria (with different seating capacities) under one roof allowed for great flexibility in maximizing box office receipts over the short and longer term, as a highly publicized blockbuster might open on five screens and within two weeks be cut back to one or two of the smaller screening sites.

From the nickelodeon to the megaplex, the movie theater has proven to be a remarkably durable and varied commercial entertainment enterprise. It is a site that has deeply shaped the way countless spectators have experienced the movies.

SEE ALSO *Art Cinema; Distribution; Early Cinema; Exhibition; Silent Cinema; Sound; Technology*

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THIRD CINEMA

Third Cinema is a descriptive and a prescriptive concept that in practice is linked to, yet extends beyond, the historical emergence of "Third World cinema" in West, Southeastern, and Eastern Asia; Africa; Latin America; and the Pacific Basin in the mid-twentieth century. Whereas Third World cinema is loosely tied to processes of decolonization and nation-building and includes industrial filmmaking in its scope, Third Cinema is an ideologically charged and aesthetically meaningful term that denotes the adoption of an independent, often oppositional stance towards commercial genre and auteurist cinemas emanating from the more developed, Western (or Westernized, in the cases of Israel and Australia) capitalist world. As such, Third Cinema is both less geographically bound and more actively shaped by anti-imperialist and counterculture movements that emerged during the 1960s. It points to the inherent power of cinema, as a modern medium of communication, to effect sociopolitical transformation within nations and across continents; and it frequently blends a socialist concern with workers' (and other oppressed peoples') emancipation and democratic access to the media with a commitment to cultural self-determination and artistic innovation.

Optimally, spectators of Third Cinema are enlightened as they critically confront their own reality through an audiovisual (rather than written or academic) analysis and recognize, in the portrayal of others' struggles, circumstances and aspirations that relate to their own. For filmmakers and cultural policymakers, Third Cinema involves the search for a sustainable and socially relevant means of artistic expression in underindustrialized and politically unstable or repressive conditions, while striving to promote solidarity among all peoples that have experienced, or continue to grapple with, the yoke of (neo) colonialism, with its racist, ethnocentric, classist, and sexist underpinnings. Third Cinema thus takes areas of national life often neglected by official discourse and industrial cinema and thrusts them into the international limelight. Broadly defined, Third Cinema can be produced with or without the support of the state, and directed by amateurs as well as seasoned professionals. It calls attention to parafilmic activity as well as to textual content, exploring alternative modes of production, distribution, and exhibition, sources of aesthetic inspiration, and even the meaning of the terms "professional," "mass," and "art" as they relate to cinema.

ORIGINS AND PERMUTATIONS

The term "Third Cinema" was coined in an interview with the Argentine Cine Liberación group, published in the journal *Cine Cubano* (March 1969), and was then more fully developed in the manifesto "Towards a Third Cinema: Notes and Experiences for the Development of a Cinema of Liberation in the Third World," written by Fernando Solanas (b. 1936) and Octavio Getino (b. 1935), members of that group. Since its publication in *Tricontinenal* (Havana, 1969), the essay has been translated and published in many languages. Solanas and Getino begin with the premise that in a situation of neocolonialism or underdevelopment, filmmakers need to begin shaping a practice that diverges both from "First Cinema," industrial cinema that is commercially distributed for profit, which can only lead to a sense of inadequacy and impotence for neocolonized audiences; and from "Second Cinema," art cinema developed by

Glauber Rocha on the set of* Barravento *(The Turning Wind, 1962). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

talented individuals, some of whom attempt to contest the status quo, yet whose work is ultimately recuperated by the "System," if only to represent the possibility of dissent. Hollywood cinema epitomizes the former, globally hegemonic model, whereas EuroAmerican and even Latin American auteurist cinemas, taking the form of the French *nouvelle vague* (new wave) or Brazilian *cinema nôvo*, exemplify the second option. In contrast to these, filmmakers are to side with "national culture" against the culture "of the rulers" and develop films that the "System cannot assimilate and which are foreign to its needs, or . . . that directly and explicitly set out to fight the System." (Martin, *New Latin American Cinema*, p. 42).

A number of core precepts follow from this mission. First, there is the creation of interdependence between a revolutionary aesthetic and revolutionary activity, of which the cinema is but one integral component—something easier said than done. Given the political struggle of Third filmmakers on two fronts, one where resistance is put up against neocolonial cultural domination and the other where the masses become engaged in historical and ideological analysis on the way to achieving national liberation and class equality, Third Cinema faces two tasks: the demystification of neocolonial art and media (with their "universalist" discourse), and the search for a film language that reflects and advances national concerns.

These tasks require a close, and preferably dialectical, relationship between film theory and practice. Indeed, Solanas and Getino formulated the theory of Third Cinema only *after* they had shot and released the three-part documentary, *La Hora de los Hornos* (*Hour of the Furnaces*, 1968), which exhibits the form taken by cinema when it is placed in the service of the "masses" following a thorough analysis of the contemporary economic, social, and political conjuncture. It is an essay film, incorporating documentary footage from a wide range of sources (including those antagonistic to the filmmakers' project), in which facts are presented and analyzed by way of intertitles and voice-over narration that often disrupt the spectator's immersion in the diegetic spaces of the images. According to Solanas and Getino's formulation, documentary is most instrumental in developing Third Cinema—it lays bare the lived experience of the majority, counterposing "naked reality" to "movie-life," or the version of reality the ruling class

GLAUBER ROCHA

b. Glauber Pedro de Andrade Rocha, Vitória da Conquista, Brazil, 14 March 1939, d. 22 August 1981

A prolific writer and film critic as well as film auteur, Glauber Rocha was a major exponent of the Brazilian *cinema nôvo* movement. His introduction to film practice through cinephilia, rather than formal training, triggered an affinity with the French New Wave, notably Jean-Luc Godard, as well as admiration for Italian neorealists, the postneorealist Pier Paolo Pasolini, the Soviet director Sergei Eisenstein, and Orson Welles. After completing two short films in his native Bahia in 1959, Rocha joined a circle of young cineastes and critics in Rio de Janeiro—the founders of *cinema nôvo*—which led to his direction of *Barravento* (*The Turning Wind*, 1962), a stark portrait of a Bahian fishing community.

Rocha hit his stride with *Deus e o Diabo na Terra do Sol* (*Black God, White Devil*, 1964), which invokes legendary *caboclo* (mixed race) cult figures from the Northeast within an epic format that exposes the injustices suffered by the region's rural residents. Rocha never sacrificed respect for popular mythology in favor of ideological demystification, and the dialectical tension between the two, combined with a hybrid style that ranges from the minimalist and austere to the baroque and operatic, supported an allegorical dimension that is often lost on foreign viewers.

Following the 1964 military coup d'état, Rocha reflected on the failure of populism and leftist tactics in the face of fascism in *Terra em Transe* (*Land in Anguish*, 1967). Prestigious awards and critical acclaim in Europe facilitated his exile during the harshest years of the dictatorship (1969 to 1976). Outside Brazil, Rocha directed four international coproductions with Cuba, Italy, and France, including a denunciation of European colonialism in Africa, *Der Leone Have Sept Cabeças* (*The Lion Has Seven Heads*, 1969). Upon returning home, he directed documentaries on Brazilian artists Emiliano Di Cavalcanti and Jorge Amado, prior to making his film summa, *A Idade da Terra* (*The Age of the Earth*, 1980), a highly reflexive and nonlinear work that investigates the possibility of resurrection in the wake of colonialism.

As a theorist, Rocha is best remembered for his manifesto "An Aesthetic of Hunger" (1965), which calls for an organic relationship between film style and the objective conditions surrounding film production, summarized in the statement "our originality is our hunger." Thus Rocha defends the symbolic depiction of violence while encouraging formal experimentation. Notwithstanding his abbreviated life and the controversy surrounding his reconciliation with the "liberalizing" military government in the late 1970s, Rocha's legacy looms large. His slogan "an idea in the head, a camera in the hand" has inspired subsequent generations of filmmakers, and his perspectives on the Cuban revolution have been revived by his son, Eryk, in a prizewinning feature documentary, *Rocha Que Voa* (*Stone in the Sky*, 2002).

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Deus e o Diabo na Terra do Sol (*Black God, White Devil*, 1964), *Terra em Transe* (*Land in Anguish*, 1967), *O Dragão da Maldade contra o Santo Guerreiro* (*Antonio das Mortes*, 1969), *Der Leone Have Sept Cabeças* (*The Lion Has Seven Heads*, 1969), *Cabezas cortadas* (*Cutting Heads*, 1970)

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would like the majority to consume (Martin, 1997, pp. 42, 44)—and the form of the documentary should jolt the spectator out of passivity into action. The political effectivity of Third Cinema is assisted, finally, by its circulation and screening in accessible formats (16mm) in nonconventional circuits, in the same places where the masses gather to organize themselves politically. This is a spontaneous, "guerrilla" form of cinema that is collectively produced, adapts to rapidly unfolding events, and can be useful to grass roots struggles being developed internationally; it advances the project of tricontinental revolution.

Of course, Third Cinema was not proposed solely in response to Argentina's stalled development and labor organization under military rule (1966–1971), but was inspired by the historical opportunities afforded by the defeat of French colonial power in Vietnam (1954) and Algeria (1962), the Cuban revolution (1959), and black African independence movements (mid-1950s to the mid-1970s). And it drew upon the precedent set by a previous generation of realist filmmakers who studied at the Centro Sperimentale di Cinematografia, such as Fernando Birri (b. 1925), whose *Tire Dié* (*Throw Me a Dime*, Argentina, 1960), and Nelson Pereira dos Santos (b. 1928), whose *Rio 40 Graus* (*Rio 100 Degrees F.*, Brazil, 1955) and *Rio Zona Norte* (*Rio, Northern Zone*, 1957) struck a chord with Third Cinema projects fueled by political urgency. In the sixties and seventies, Argentine Third Cinema, to which filmmakers of divergent leftist ideologies contributed (including Jorge Cedrón [1946–1980], *Operación Masacre*, [*Operation Massacre*, 1973], and the Grupo Cine de la Base), resonated with experiments elsewhere in Latin America, where filmmakers were advancing their own theories of nationally oriented, popularly based, and ideologically progressive cinema—such as Glauber Rocha (1938–1981) in Brazil, Tomás Gutiérrez Alea (1928–1996) and Julio García Espinosa (b. 1926) in Cuba, Jorge Sanjinés (b. 1937) in Bolivia, and the Grupo Tercer Cine in Chile. It also paralleled efforts in newly decolonized nations, such as Algeria, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and Senegal, to develop a socially meaningful and culturally reinvigorating film practice.

While the Argentine experiment was brutally cut short by the military coup d'état in 1976, which sent most of its participants into either torture chambers or exile, manifestations of Third Cinema have subsequently sprouted in countries where "optimum" historical conditions for radical change have not been present (at least not on the same scale). Examples include films by Paul Leduc (b. 1942) and Mari Carmen de Lara (b. 1957) in Mexico, Marta Rodríguez in Colombia, Lino Brocka (1939–1991) and Kidlat Tahimik (b. 1942) in the Philippines, Isaac Julien (b. 1960) in Great Britain, Euzhan Palcy (b. 1958) in Martinique, Masato Harada (b. 1949) in Japan, Mrinal Sen (b. 1923), Girish Karnad (b. 1938), and Govind Nihalani (b. 1940) in India, Youssef Chahine (b. 1926) and Taufik Salih (b. 1927) in Egypt, and Med Hondo (b. 1936) in Mauritania. Solanas and Getino also did not rule out the possibility for Third Cinema to develop in the shadow of First Cinema, and their citation of US-based Newsreel's solidarity with Third World Liberation movements can be followed by mention of the early work of Wayne Wang (b. 1949), Lourdes Portillo, Christine Choy, Elia Suleiman (b. 1960), Haile Gerima (b. 1946), Pedro Rivera and Susan Zeig, among others.

The theory of Third Cinema has been revisited and reworked, notably by Teshome Gabriel, who in his 1985 essay "Towards a Critical Theory of Third World Cinema" (Stam and Miller, *Film and Theory*, pp. 298–316) developed an historical sequence of its development within a process of decolonization as well as a consideration of film aesthetics in relation to oral and print forms of communication. Also, Michael Martin in his *Cinemas of the Black Diaspora* has considered its points of intersection with black diasporic cinema, while cautioning against reductionism; Jim Pines and Paul Willemen in their *Questions of Third Cinema* have seen in Third Cinema a means of reinvigorating a sterile oppositional practice and aesthetic debate in the First World; and Ella Shohat and Robert Stam in their *Unthinking Eurocentrism* have expanded upon the elements of reflexivity and allegory in Third Cinema to describe a more comprehensive and flexible "Third Worldist" approach to filmmaking.

PROBLEMS AND DEBATES

It is not difficult to find fault with a concept and the political investment placed in a corresponding mode of film practice introduced over three decades ago. Nevertheless, some constructive criticisms can be, and have been, made in relation to the implications of Solanas and Getino's argument on aesthetic, ethical, and ideological grounds. The first is the problem of an intellectual and artistic vanguard: those who are familiar with the language of neocolonial cinema and thought, yet who, in seeking a alternative, strike alliances with leaders of the "masses." This is a tenuous arrangement, and it sets up a potentially troublesome tension between "means" and "ends": does film technology remain in the hands of a select, educated few, and does political education, in the form of audiovisual exposition and analysis, flow in only one direction, from the lettered to the unschooled? This contradiction is addressed by Gabriel and García Espinosa in their essay "For an Imperfect Cinema," (Martin, *New Latin American Cinema*, pp. 71–82.) Does this not pave the way for

Glauber Rocha's **Deus e o Diabo na Terra do Sol (Black God, White Devil,** ***1964).*** **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

paternalism, at worst, or heavy handedness at best, raising the objections of peers, such as Raúl Ruiz (b. 1941), as to the lack of attention to the rich semiotic potential of film form owing to an excess of propagandizing? Sanjinés proposed a means of attenuating the gap between filmmaker and revolutionary subject by positioning the screenwriter in the role of "interpreter and translator," so as to serve merely as an "expressive vehicle" for the people, a change that finds reflection in film form, as well as content (Martin, *New Latin American Cinema*, p. 63).

A related issue is the role of the state, in that if it is to develop autonomy from commercial imperatives, Third World cinema cannot survive without state protection and financing; yet where should filmmakers be positioned in relation to the state apparatus, especially if that apparatus is vulnerable to occupation by unfriendly representatives? This question was raised when, with the success of Juan Perón's return to power by popular vote in 1973, Getino began to work inside the state censorship board and disapproved of ongoing clandestine film activity, a stance that was answered by accusations of bureaucratic conformity with the government line. In relation to who is able to make claims on the state, and how those claims might advance Third Cinema, it is useful to note the masculinist and occidental bias in the original theories, given that approaches may vary not only according to historical circumstances (which Solanas and Getino recommend), but according to gender and ethnicity. Feminist cinema and indigenous media have had far-reaching impact on the mode of production, chosen film language, and targeted audience, which might not always be a "mass" audience, yet is viewed as no less conducive to generating change at the national level. Finally, there is the complex goal of cultural self-determination, and the extent to which a truly autochthonous media practice can develop in underindustrialized or in neo- and postcolonial circumstances. Is it possible to conceive of West African cinema without European funding and technical

assistance? Was it wrong for European directors such as Joris Ivens (1898–1989) (Chile and China), Chris Marker (b. 1921) (Chile, Cuba, Guinea-Bissau), and Gillo Pontecorvo (b. 1919) (Algeria, the Caribbean) to play an advisory and collaborative role in the development of Third Cinema? How do these "Western assisted" efforts weigh against the film initiatives of Ruy Guerra (b. 1931) (Mozambique) in Latin America, and of Santiago Alvarez (1919–1998) (Cuba) in Chile and Vietnam, which on the surface suggest a more level playing field for Third World players?

Finally, historical trends, such as the increasing frequency with which film directors work in exile or on the move, have placed question marks around the relationship of Third Cinema to a "national project," prompting Iranian-born theorist Hamid Naficy to call for acknowledgment of its intersection with an "interstitial cinema" created by exilic directors (such as Palestinians Michel Khleifi [b. 1950] and Mona Hatoum) and wandering or diasporic directors (such as Brazilian-Algerian Karim Aïnouz [b. 1966] and Flora Gomes [b. 1949] from Guinea-Bissau), as well as filmmakers of minority ethnic backgrounds working within nation-states dominated by other groups (such as Kurds in Turkey, Turkish filmmakers in Germany). On the other hand, powerful film industries have become interested in "Third World" actors, settings, and subject matter, leading to films that resemble "Third Worldist" films in strategy and theme, but are directed by industry-savvy EuroAmericans, such as Joshua Marston, whose *Maria Full of Grace* (2004) was shot in Colombia, co-produced by HBO Films and Santa Fe Productions, with Journeyman Pictures, Tucán Producciones Cinematográficas Ltda. (Colombia), and Alter-Ciné (based in Mexico City). These developments suggest that Third Cinema is still very much alive as an object of renewed analysis and debate.

SEE ALSO *Africa South of the Sahara; Arab Cinema; Argentina; Brazil; Chile; Colonialism and Postcolonialism; Cuba; Diasporic Cinema; Egypt; Ideology; Marxism; Mexico; National Cinema*

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THRILLERS

The thriller goes the grain of mundane modern life while at the same time remaining immersed in it. This concept indicates that the thriller is an essentially modern form, whose rise coincides with the arrival of urban industrialism, mass society, middle-class lifestyle, and the twentieth century. Although it is often classified as a genre, in practice the thriller spreads itself across several recognized genres. One may speak of detective thrillers, horror thrillers, spy thrillers, and police thrillers, to name just a few. On the other hand, within a single genre—say, science fiction—there may be some films that are clearly thrillers (e.g., the 1956 alien-invasion drama *Invasion of the Body Snatchers*) and others that do not fit the label so well (such as the 1971 satiric fable *A Clockwork Orange*). The thriller can be thought of as a metagenre that gathers several other genres under its umbrella, and also as a band in the spectrum that colors certain thriller-receptive genres.

The slippery concept of the thriller is best grasped by comparing it to a closely related and sometimes overlapping form: the adventure tale. Both involve a sense of departure from humdrum existence into a realm that is more dangerous and exciting. In adventure tales like *Treasure Island* (1934), *The African Queen* (1951) and *Raiders of the Lost Ark* (1981), that sense of departure is obtained by a movement out of the everyday world and into another world that is clearly removed from the sphere of mundane, modern-day life: the South Seas, the Amazon jungle, the Arabian desert. The thriller, on the other hand, remains rooted within the ordinary world, into which are brought those transforming elements (a murder, a monster, a vital secret) that charge it with a spirit of danger and adventure. Rather than transporting us to an exotic other world, the thriller creates a double world, one that is both exotic and everyday, primitive and modern, marvelous and mundane.

Other, secondary characteristics of the thriller include: vulnerable protagonists; a corresponding sense of vulnerability created in the audience through suspense and ambivalent feelings (e.g., anxiety/pleasure, sympathy for the villain); labyrinthine settings and narrative structures, the better to entangle both hero and audience; and, mainly in earlier eras, exotic elements evoking the Mysterious East.

ORIGINS OF THE MOVIE THRILLER

The thriller goes against the grain of mundane modern life while at the same time remaining immersed in it. This concept indicates that the thriller is an essentially modern form, whose rise coincides with the arrival of urban industrialism, mass society, middle-class lifestyle, and the twentieth century. In other words, the thriller is a response to a modern world that is perceived under normal circumstances to be fundamentally not thrilling. As Alfred Hitchcock (1899–1980) observed in a 1936 magazine article (''Why 'Thrillers' Thrive,'' in Gottlieb, p. 109), ''Our civilization has so screened and sheltered us that it isn't practicable to experience sufficient thrills at firsthand.'' The thriller seeks to redeem the unadventurous modern world with a spirit of old-fashioned adventure.

Although the thriller did not fully emerge until the early part of the twentieth century, it has relevant roots reaching back to the eighteenth century. Three literary antecedents are especially important: the Gothic novel,

In thrillers like* North by Northwest *(Alfred Hitchcock, 1959), the marvelous enters the world of the mundane. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

beginning with Horace Walpole's (1717–1797) *The Castle of Otranto* (1765), whose horrific, hyperatmospheric tales involved the reader in a new way, with an increased emphasis on suspense and sensation; the Victorian sensation novel, inaugurated by Wilkie Collins's (1824–1889) *The Woman in White* (1860), which adapted the sensational and atmospheric effects of Gothic fiction to a more contemporary, familiar context; and the early detective story, pioneered by Edgar Allan Poe (1809–1849) (creator of C. Auguste Dupin, 1841) and Arthur Conan Doyle (1859–1930) (creator of Sherlock Holmes, 1887), whose adventures breathed an air of momentous mystery into the modern, urban, domestic world.

The roots of the thriller can be more generally related to the rise of urban-industrial society in the nineteenth century, which created a new mass audience, along with new popular entertainment forms to serve that audience. One of the most important was the melodramatic theater, which placed a premium on action and visual spectacle, including suspenseful, last-minute rescues of heroes and heroines tied to railroad tracks, menaced by buzz saws, and dangled from precipices.

Another relevant area of nineteenth-century popular entertainment encompasses amusement parks, fairgrounds, and their thrilling rides and attractions (e.g., the roller coaster, Ferris wheel, and fun house). Like these attractions, the thriller works primarily to evoke visceral, gut-level feelings, such as suspense, fright, excitement, speed, and motion, rather than subtle or weighty emotions, such as tragedy, pathos, pity, love, and nostalgia. The thriller stresses sensations more than sensitivity; it is a sensational form.

Amusement parks and fairgrounds were among the main venues for early motion picture exhibition, which was dominated by novelty-oriented short films. A large group of these films highlighted the sensation of motion by placing the camera on moving vehicles such as trolleys, trains, boats, and elevators. Such sensations were eventually incorporated into an early film genre known as the chase film (of which the Edison Company's 1903 hit *The Great Train Robbery* is an unusually ambitious

example), using a minimal story set-up as the springboard for an extended pursuit.

The period from 1907 to 1913 saw the movie industry's growing domination by narrative filmmaking, a development most closely identified with the American director D. W. Griffith (1875–1948). Among the techniques of film storytelling that Griffith refined, the one most pertinent to the thriller is cross-cutting (i.e., cutting back and forth between related actions occurring in different places). He applied this suspense-enhancing device to melodramatic last-minute rescue situations in a number of short films made for the Biograph Company, such as *The Lonedale Operator* (1911), in which a locomotive engineer races to save his besieged sweetheart, and *Death's Marathon* (1913), whose climax intermixes a distraught wife, her suicide-bent husband, a telephone connection, and a speeding automobile.

An eccentric contributor to the evolution of the movie thriller was the serial, whose episodic structure enabled action and suspense sequences to dominate a lengthy narrative with a nearly constant succession of thrills. Evolving in the mid-1910s, early American serials frequently featured female protagonists in recurring situations of jeopardy, as indicated by such titles as *The Adventures of Kathlyn* (1913), *The Perils of Pauline* (1914), and *The Mysteries of Myra* (1916). In Europe, the serial achieved greater artistic stature, particularly in the work of France's Louis Feuillade (1873–1925). In his celebrated serials *Fantômas* (1914), *Les Vampires* (1915–1916), and *Judex* (1916), supercriminals and secret societies transform sturdy bourgeois Paris into a surreptitious, almost surreal battleground, riddled with trap doors and hidden panels, infiltrated by hooded black-clad figures who scurry over rooftops and shimmy down drainpipes, and undermined by a constant succession of reversals and disguises.

LANG, HITCHCOCK, SPIES, AND MONSTERS

Fritz Lang (1890–1976), who rivals Alfred Hitchcock as the most important director in the evolution of the movie thriller, served his apprenticeship on German adventure series featuring exotic locales, Asian motifs, and Feuillade-influenced supercriminals. He transposed these exotic and adventurous concepts into the here and now of postwar German society in *Dr. Mabuse, der Spieler* (*Dr. Mabuse, The Gambler*, 1922), an epic crime thriller that paints a broad canvas of the chaos and decadence of Weimar Germany, manipulated from behind the scenes by the mastermind Mabuse.

In his later German classics—the thrillers *Spione* (*Spies*, 1928), *M* (1931), and *Das Testament der Dr. Mabuse* (*The Testament of Dr. Mabuse*, 1933), and the science fiction film *Metropolis* (1927)—Lang elaborated his concept of the modern city as a duplicitous labyrinth honeycombed with subterranean passages, infused with a mood of pervasive conspiracy, and stratified into a flashy overworld and a shadowy underworld that disconcertingly mirror one another. Similar visions of the thriller metropolis shape later thriller movies, including *The Third Man* (Carol Reed, 1949), which explores the confusion of postwar Vienna from the top of a Ferris wheel to the depths of the city sewers; *Dirty Harry* (Don Siegel, 1971), which traverses the heights and depths of San Francisco in roller-coaster contours; and *Blade Runner* (Ridley Scott, 1982), which imagines future Los Angeles as a high-tech, low-rent dystopia.

Lang's *Spies*, in which professional German agents battle a Mabuse-like supervillain, was the most distinguished spy movie of the silent era. In the 1930s, in response to the growing international tensions of the time, the spy genre rose to a new level of prominence in both literature and film. This trend centered in Great Britain, where the leading filmmaker involved was Alfred Hitchcock. Like his literary contemporaries Eric Ambler (1909–1998) and Graham Greene (1904–1991), Hitchcock usually focused his spy stories not on professional agents but on ordinary citizens caught up in the dirty business of espionage: In *The Man Who Knew Too Much* (1934), a British couple on a Swiss holiday accidentally learn of a planned political assassination; in *The 39 Steps* (1935), a London man stumbles upon a plot to steal vital British military secrets. The "amateur-spy" story enhances such thrilleresque qualities as the vulnerability of its inexperienced protagonists and the undermining of ordinary existence by alien forces.

Lang was one of the major directors associated with the German expressionist cinema, whose moody style, well suited for expressing such feelings as tension and fear, exerted a strong influence on thriller directors (including Hitchcock, who worked in Germany during the expressionist cinema's heyday of the 1920s) and thriller-related genres, such as film noir and the horror film. The latter enjoyed its first sustained cycle in the American cinema of the early 1930s, which produced such legendary horror movies as *Dracula* (1931), *Frankenstein* (1931), *The Mummy* (1932), and *Bride of Frankenstein* (1935). Much like the Gothic novel, these films take place primarily in exotic, antiquated settings. The more thrilleresque ploy of transposing traditional horror elements, such as monsters and witches, into commonplace, contemporary contexts was pioneered by the series of subtle, suggestive low-budget horror films including *Cat People* (1942) and *The Seventh Victim* (1943) produced by Val Lewton (1904–1951) in the early 1940s.

ALFRED HITCHCOCK
b. London, England, 13 August 1899, d. 29 April 1980

The most famous of all film directors, and the one most closely identified with the thriller, Alfred Hitchcock completed his first film in 1925. However, he did not cement his association with the thriller until the mid-1930s, when he directed five major spy films (*The Man Who Knew Too Much*, 1934; *The 39 Steps*, 1935; *Secret Agent*, 1936; *Sabotage*, 1936; and *The Lady Vanishes*, 1938). In this period, he developed such Hitchcockian trademarks as the double chase (in which a falsely suspected hero—such as Richard Hannay of *The 39 Steps*—must elude the authorities while he seeks the real culprit), the placement of sinister activities in unexpected and innocuous surroundings (the cozy pet shop where anarchist bombs are manufactured in *Sabotage*), and the shifting among different viewpoints to intensify and complexify suspense (the agonizing scene in *Secret Agent* wherein the approaching doom of a suspected traitor is intercut with the mounting anxiety of his worried wife, his whining dog, and a guilt-ridden collaborator in his assassination).

Hitchcock's interest in the spy thriller persisted after his 1939 move from Britain to Hollywood with *Saboteur* (1942) and *Notorious* (1946). However, he more frequently explored other areas, especially the psychological crime thriller, which stays closer to home as it concentrates on ordinary people caught up in crime rather than on professional criminals, detectives, or policemen. *Shadow of a Doubt* (1943), in which a teenager suspects that her beloved uncle is a notorious murderer, and *Strangers on a Train* (1951), in which a clean-cut tennis star finds himself embroiled in a madman's scheme to swap murders, are two of Hitchcock's most celebrated ventures in this vein.

In the mid-1950s, Hitchcock embarked on a series of mature masterpieces that represent the most impressive sustained achievement in the history of the movie thriller: *Rear Window* (1954), *Vertigo* (1958), *North by Northwest* (1959), *Psycho* (1960), and *The Birds* (1963). This period saw an enrichment of Hitchcock's already formidable tactics of identification and point of view, more boldly undermining the spectator's stability and evoking conflicting responses to the action, while still maintaining the basic drive of suspense. In *Rear Window*, our overdetermined identification with the wheelchair-bound, voyeuristic protagonist encourages a self-conscious questioning not only of his motives but also of our own motives as spectators. In *Psycho*, our strong attachment to an embezzling secretary is abruptly severed and then replaced by a split allegiance among a disturbingly sympathetic psychopath and two more normal but less compelling characters.

Hitchcock's identification with the thriller impeded his prestige, especially in eras when socially conscious, realist, and art films monopolized critical respect. The rise of critical attitudes more receptive to genre films and directorial authorship led to a major reevaluation of his artistic stature in the 1950s and 1960s. Hitchcock's thrillers—endlessly revived, written about, taught to film students, and referenced by filmmakers—are now enshrined as cultural monuments.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

The Lodger (1927), *Blackmail* (1929), *The Man Who Knew Too Much* (1934), *The 39 Steps* (1935), *Sabotage* (1936), *The Lady Vanishes* (1938), *Rebecca* (1940), *Shadow of a Doubt* (1943), *Notorious* (1946), *Strangers on a Train* (1951), *Rear Window* (1954), *Vertigo* (1958), *North by Northwest* (1959), *Psycho* (1960), *The Birds* (1963), *Marnie* (1964), *Frenzy* (1972)

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Martin Rubin

Alfred Hitchcock on the set of* Psycho *(1960). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

HEYDAY OF THE AMERICAN CRIME THRILLER

After 1940, major developments in the movie thriller centered around various phases of the crime thriller, especially in the American cinema. This cycle began in the detective genre, particularly the hard-boiled detective story associated with such writers as Dashiell Hammett (1894–1961) and Raymond Chandler (1888–1959) and adapted by such films as *The Maltese Falcon* (1941), *Murder, My Sweet* (1944), and *The Big Sleep* (1946). In contrast to the refined, detached sleuths of whod unit authors like Agatha Christie (1890–1976) and S. S. Van Dine (1887–1939), the hard-boiled style developed a more vulnerable detective hero, susceptible to physical violence and emotional entanglements.

The hard-boiled detective film fed directly into the film noir movement that blossomed in America in the mid-1940s. First identified by French film enthusiasts, film noir (literally, "black film") earns its dark name by virtue of both its shadowy visual style and its pessimistic themes. In the spectrum of thriller protagonists, the film noir hero is one of the most profoundly vulnerable, with a passive or susceptible personality that combines with hostile outside forces to sweep him away: the milquetoast husband (Edward G. Robinson) caught in a quagmire of sexual temptation and murder in *Scarlet Street* (1945); the weak-willed hitchhiker (Tom Neal) taken for a fate-filled ride in *Detour* (1945); the nonchalant gumshoe (Robert Mitchum) enmeshed by a femme fatale in *Out of the Past* (1947); the gullible sailor (Orson Welles) gobbled by a sharkish couple in *The Lady from Shanghai* (1948).

Closely following film noir and providing a rational, affirmative alternative to its nightmare world was the semidocumentary crime film, featuring well-adjusted organizational heroes such as James Stewart's crusading Chicago reporter in *Call Northside 777* (1948) and Barry Fitzgerald's veteran Manhattan cop in *The Naked City* (1948). The most celebrated aspect of these films was their use of factual story material and nonstudio locations, which supplied additional opportunities for articulating the frisson—the tension between the ordinary world and its adventure-heightened state—that stirs the feverish pulse of the thriller. For example, the climax of *He Walked by Night* (1948) transforms Los Angeles's utilitarian storm drains into a *Phantom of the Opera* netherworld of concrete caverns and rippling shadows.

By the early 1950s, film noir and semidocumentary elements had both been absorbed into the prevailing style of the era's crime films. An impressive series of 1950s police thrillers combined the organizational heroes of the semidocumentary with the social and spiritual malaise of film noir. "Flawed-cop" films such as *Where the Sidewalk Ends* (1950), *On Dangerous Ground* (1952), and *Touch of Evil* (1958)—with anguished, deeply compromised policemen moving through expressively charged locations—represent a peak of character depth and moral complexity in the history of the movie thriller.

Flourishing around the same time as the flawed-cop cycle was the syndicate-gangster film. Whereas earlier gangster films (e.g., *Little Caesar*, 1930; *Scarface*, 1932) had drawn a sharp distinction between the criminal and straight worlds, syndicate-gangster films (e.g., *The Big Heat*, 1953; *The Brothers Rico*, 1957; *Underworld U.S.A.*, 1961) portray vast criminal organizations that reach into every corner of ordinary American life and become virtually indistinguishable from it, moving the genre closer to the thriller's characteristic creation of a double world.

MODERNIZATION, REVISION, AND REVIVAL

Whereas the classical period of the movie thriller (ca. 1930–1960) was characterized by the entrenchment of most of the central thriller-related genres (such as spy, horror, detective, film noir), the period beginning around 1960 was marked primarily by reconceptions of those genres. Key thriller categories underwent major

overhauls, ranging from subversive debunking (the detective film) to neoclassical revival (neo-noir) to revitalization, both short-term (the spy film) and long-term (the police film, the horror film).

Among the factors contributing to these new directions were the decline of the old Hollywood studio system (exemplified by its self-enforced censorship system, the Production Code) and the vogue of imported foreign films, which achieved unprecedented influence in the 1950s and 1960s. Internationally successful foreign (especially French) thrillers such as *Le salaire de la peur* (*The Wages of Fear*, Henri-Georges Clouzot, 1952) and *Les Diaboliques* (*Diabolique*, Henri-Georges Clouzot, 1955), *Du Rififi chez les hommes* (*Rififi*, Jules Dassin, 1955), *À bout de souffle* (*Breathless*, Jean-Luc Godard, 1960), and *Tirez sur le pianiste* (*Shoot the Piano Player*, François Truffaut, 1960) flaunted a more ambivalent morality, cynical tone, overt stylization, digressive structure, and explicit presentation of sex and violence than did their American counterparts. These European models left their mark on the increasingly permissive and experimental Hollywood cinema of the 1960s and 1970s, including a series of revisionist detective films (*The Long Goodbye*, 1973; *Chinatown*, 1974; *Night Moves*, 1975) that questioned the effectiveness and relevance of the traditional private eye hero so devastatingly that the detective movie has never fully recovered.

An influential foreign phenomenon of a different sort was the British-based James Bond series (inaugurated by *Dr. No* in 1962), whose colorful escapades revitalized a spy movie genre that had been constrained by the political pressures of the early Cold War. However, the Bond movies' diminished sense of the familiar and the flippant invincibility of Bond himself moved the series closer to the sphere of the adventure tale. More relevant to the central concerns of the thriller was a countermovement of pessimistic "anti-Bond" spy films, such as *The Ipcress File* (1965), *The Quiller Memorandum* (1966), and *The Deadly Affair* (1967), which featured compromised, vulnerable heroes (much like the flawed-cop films of 1950s) and questioned the ethics and effectiveness of the conventional genre hero (much like the revisionist detective films of the 1970s).

VIOLENT GENRES

Rising on the heels of the 1960s spy boom was another genre cycle featuring loose-cannon organizational heroes: the modern police thriller, ignited by such hits as *Bullitt* (1968), *Dirty Harry* (1971), and *The French Connection* (1971). These films built up the justice-obsessed lawman into a virtual superhero fighting to protect society where official institutions have failed. *Bullitt* and *The French Connection* popularized a prime demonstration of the supercop's power: the extended, spectacular car chase.

Although the supercop had much in common with James Bond and other superspies of the 1960s, he operated in a harsher, more conflict-ridden world, closer to that of the anti-Bond spy films. One of the most significant aspects of modern police thrillers is their hellish vision of the modern metropolis, presented in lurid and violent terms made possible by the demise of the Production Code. The modern police thriller has been a remarkably durable movement, encompassing the popular *Lethal Weapon* (1987–1998) and *Die Hard* (1988–1995) series; major 1990s variants such as *Speed* (1994), *Seven* (1995), and *L.A. Confidential* (1997); and a significant portion of the influential Hong Kong action cinema, whose police thrillers (especially John Woo's *Ying hung boon sik* [*A Better Tomorrow*, 1986]; *Die xue shuang xiong* [*The Killer*, 1989]; and *Lashou shentan* [*Hard-Boiled*, 1992]) counterpoint the characteristic grittiness of the genre with extravagant, operatic doses of violence and melodrama.

A thriller genre even more dramatically affected by the liberalization of censorship was the horror movie. Led by both mainstream (*Rosemary's Baby*, 1968; *The Exorcist*, 1973) and low-budget (*Night of the Living Dead*, 1968; *The Texas Chainsaw Massacre*, 1974) hits, the horror movie experienced a period of unprecedented richness and innovation that lasted into the 1980s. Two factors were especially crucial to the horror renaissance: the explicitness of the films' visceral and violent content, which earned them the label "splatter" films, and the familiarity both of their settings (most resonantly, the zombie-infested shopping mall in George A. Romero's [b. 1940] *Dawn of the Dead*, 1978) and of their monsters, who tended to be less grotesque and more unsettlingly human than those in previous and subsequent manifestations of the horror film.

The horror movie boom was extended by the stalker film. Epitomized by the long-running *Halloween* (beginning in 1978), *Friday the 13th* (1980), and *A Nightmare on Elm Street* (1984) series, the stalker film typically depicts a group of young people being systematically slaughtered by a prowling psychopath. The stalker-film cycle retained the explicit gore and familiar, non-Gothic settings of 1970s splatter films but stripped away much of their ambivalence and subversiveness, depicting a more clear-cut, externalized conflict against monsters who are distanced, superhuman, and faceless. After a period of decline, the stalker film was rejuvenated by Wes Craven's *Scream* series (1996–2000), which added an extra layer of hip postmodern self-referentiality to an already highly self-aware subgenre.

RECENT DIRECTIONS

Another recent thriller movement marked by historical consciousness is neo-noir. Recycling and reconceiving film noir's dark themes, flamboyant stylization, and convoluted structures, the neo-noir revival was spurred in the 1980s by such films as *Body Heat* (1981), *Blood Simple* (1984), and *Blue Velvet* (1986), and it continued (with an extra dollop of self-consciousness akin to that of the *Scream*-led stalker revival) in *Pulp Fiction* (1994), *Memento* (2000), *Mulholland Drive* (2001), *Femme Fatale* (2002), and *Sin City* (2005). As Hollywood films of the post-*Star Wars* era became increasingly ruled by superheroism, the neo-noir movement helped to keep alive a more vulnerable, morally ambiguous concept of the thriller hero. The highly adaptable neo-noir movement has also flourished abroad, in such far-flung locales as Scotland (*Shallow Grave*, 1994), Norway (*Insomnia*, 1997), China (*Suzhou ha* [*Suzhou River*, 2000]), Argentina (*Plata quemada* [*Burnt Money*, 2001]), Iran (*Talaye sorkh* [*Crimson Gold*, 2003]), and Latvia (*Krisana* [*Fallen*, 2005]).

Related to both horror and neo-noir is a group of 1980s and 1990s films that could be called "intimate-enemy" thrillers and are often described by the phrase "the ______ from hell"—for example, the one-night stand from hell (*Fatal Attraction*, 1987), the nanny from hell (*The Hand That Rocks the Cradle*, 1992), the roommate from hell (*Single White Female*, 1992). Anticipated by Hitchcock's *Strangers on a Train* (1951) and Clint Eastwood's *Play Misty for Me* (1971), these films center on the clinging, insinuating emotional bond forged by the nemesis character who bedevils the hero.

After thriving in the 1990s with a number of groundbreaking classics and commercial blockbusters (including a throwback to the suggestive, nonviolent horror thriller in 1999's *The Blair Witch Project* and *The Sixth Sense*), the movie thriller of the new millennium has fallen on leaner times. The box office has been increasingly dominated by fantasy and adventure in the vein of *Star Wars*, *Harry Potter*, *Lord of the Rings*, and *The Chronicles of Narnia*, while the more mundane realm of the thriller has produced fewer big hits and trend-defining innovators. The most consistent commercial success has been achieved by a series of mid-decade horror movies (such as *Cabin Fever*, 2003; *The Texas Chainsaw Massacre*, 2003; *Saw*, 2004; *Dawn of the Dead*, 2004; and *When a Stranger Calls*, 2006), many of them remakes or derivatives of earlier hits, retailoring such venerable horror themes as epidemic disease, sudden disaster, and vulnerable isolation to address the anxieties of the post-9/11 era. It remains to be seen what new directions will revitalize this aging modern form that trades on our ambivalent desires both to escape from and to remain within the uneasy security of our increasingly downsized world.

SEE ALSO *Action and Adventure Films; B Movies; Crime Films; Film Noir; Genre; Horror Films; Spy Films; Violence*

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TURKEY

The cinematograph first entered the Ottoman palace in 1896 as the sultan's entertainment. The following year, the first public exhibition took place in the Sponeck pub in Istanbul. Cinema remained itinerant in Turkey until 1908, when Sigmund Weinberg, a Romanian citizen of Polish descent, opened the first movie theater, Pathé, in Istanbul. By the 1920s cinema had become a part of everyday life in the country's big cities, and a decade later magazines were already referring to a social "illness" called "cinemania." Cinema was the most popular mass entertainment in Turkish popular culture until the 1970s, when television was introduced.

When Turkish filmmaking became an industry in the 1950s it was catering to an audience whose expectations had been being shaped by foreign films since the 1920s. American films have always had an immense influence on mainstream Turkish cinema, and European films and movements have served as consistent models for filmmakers in search of alternative cinemas. Despite the foreign influences, Turkey's Westernization and modernization movements dating back to the 1920s, together with political and economical instabilities, have provided filmmakers with a rich source of inspiration, sometimes culminating in very original films. Nevertheless, ninety years of Turkish filmmaking, which has produced some six thousand films in a wide variety of genres and movements, lacks a coherent identity and style as a national cinema.

THE OTTOMAN AND EARLY REPUBLICAN PERIODS

The army officer Fuat Uzkınay's short documentary *Ayastefanos'taki Rus Abidesinin Yikilisi* (The Demolition of the Russian Monument at St. Stephen, 1914) is generally acknowledged as the first Turkish film. In 1915 General Enver, who was influenced by the practices of the film unit of the German army, established the Army Cinema Department with Weinberg as its first commissioner. This department and, later, the semiofficial organization the Veterans Association pioneered film production during the Ottoman period with war documentaries, newsreels, and a few features. In 1916 Weinberg attempted to make the first feature film, *Himmet Aga'nin Izdivaci* (*The Marriage of Himmet Aga*), but the shooting was interrupted with the conscription of the actors due to the Dardanelles War. The film was completed by Uzkınay in 1918. *Pence* (*The Claw,* 1917) and *Casus* (*The Spy,* 1917) by the journalist Sedat Simavi, were the first features shown to the public. The first period of Turkish feature filmmaking, consisting of eight films (mostly war and spy films and comedies adapted from French plays and Turkish novels), ended with the establishment of Turkey's first private studio, Kemal Film, in 1922.

Turkey entered a fast process of modernization with the establishment of the Turkish republic in 1923. Within the framework of republican projects intended to create a new Turkish identity as well as a nation-state, government reforms distanced the country from its Islamic and Eastern past and brought it closer to contemporary western societies. Although the new republican state included music and performing arts in its modernization agenda, it did not touch cinema at all, nor did it attempt to press cinema into service in the construction of the new national identity. Lacking both state support and intervention, Turkish filmmaking

began to take shape in the hands of Kemal Film and its director, Muhsin Ertugrul (1892–1979), one of the leading actors and directors of Turkish theater at the time.

Ertugrul dominated Turkish cinema until the late 1930s with some thirty films that all looked like plays on celluloid in terms of *mise-en-scène* and acting. After a transition period (1939–1950) during which theater's influence continued despite the end of Ertugrul's monopoly, Turkish films began to have a more cinematographic quality. Along with Lütfi Ömer Akad, who was the most significant director of the "cinematographers' period," Metin Erksan (b. 1929), Atif Yilmaz (b. 1926), Osman F. Seden (1924–1998), and Memduh Un (b. 1920), were the pioneers of the development of a cinematic language in Turkey during the 1950s.

YESILCAM (GREEN PINE) CINEMA

Cinema in Turkey meant mostly European and American films until 1948, when the 75 percent municipal tax on exhibition was reduced to 25 percent for indigenous films. After this tax break, which would be the only state support for film until the mid-1980s, an indigenous film industry based on private capital and enterprise began to take shape in Yesilcam Street of Beyoglu, Istanbul. With the rapid increase in the number of film companies, domestic films, movie theaters, and audiences, cinema ceased to be an elitist activity in big cities and became a popular entertainment spreading to even the small villages in Anatolia by the 1950s.

Yesilcam, which soon became the little Hollywood of Turkey with its own genres and star system, enjoyed its heyday between 1965 and 1975, with a yearly production of two hundred to three hundred films. In 1966 Turkey was fourth, just behind India, in world film production, with 238 films. Many of these were moralistic melodramas focusing on the theme of modernization and the relationships between heterosexual couples from different social and economic classes, which affirmed traditional gender roles and social values against "degenerate" modern lifestyles: *Surtuk* (Streetwalker, 1965), *Karagozlum* (My Dark Eyed One, 1967), *Ask Mabudesi* (Love Goddess, 1969). Also popular were serial comedies: *Hababam Sinifi* (Class of Hababam, 1975–1978), *Turist Omer* (*Omer the Tourist*, 1964–1973), *Tosun Pasa* (Tosun Pasha, 1976), *Kapicilar Kirali* (The King of Doorkeepers, 1976); historical action and adventure serials and films: *Kara Murat* (Karamurat, 1972–1978), *Malkocoglu* (1966–1971), *Adsiz Cengaver* (The Warrior Without a Name, 1970); and detective and gangster films: *Cingoz Recai* (Recai the Shrewd, 1969), *Vur Vur Kac Kac* (Hit Hit Run Run, 1972), *Umutsuzlar* (*The Hopeless Ones*, 1971).

The expansion of television beginning in 1968, as well as increasing social chaos and political violence, brought an enormous reduction in movie attendance, causing a crisis in Yesilcam towards the end of the 1970s. Because of that development, coupled with the indifference of the state, whose interest in cinema was limited to censorship until the mid-1980s, production fell to only sixty-eight films in 1980. "Sex films" that imitated Italian erotic comedies, and "arabesque films," which featured popular arabesque singers—the voices of migrants from rural areas to big cities—were the two major trends during the crisis that lasted from the end of the 1970s through the 1980s.

OUTSIDE THE MAINSTREAM

Despite the popular appeal of Yesilcam, criticism that it was a commercial cinema that steered away from social problems and realities motivated two major movements outside the mainstream. Alongside the social and the political developments following the 27 May 1960 revolution and the liberal social atmosphere created by the new constitution, there appeared a group of films focusing on the social problems of cities and villages, including issues of class, migration, urbanization, unemployment, and workers' rights. This "movement of social realism," which was influenced by Italian neorealism, began in 1960 with Metin Erksan's *Gecelerin Otesi* (*Beyond the Nights*) and lasted until 1965 with films by Halit Refig (*Gurbet Kuslari* [*Birds of Exile,* 1963]), Ertem Gorec (*Karanlikta Uyananlar* [Those Awakening in the Dark, 1965]), and Duygu Sagiroglu (*Bitmeyen Yol* [*The Road That Has No End,* 1965]). Most of the films associated with the movement were commercial failures and had to deal with state censorship, which had been in place since 1939.

Another movement outside Yesilcam practices, the "young Turkish cinema," emerged in the late 1970s with a generation of new filmmakers following the realistic path of Akad and Yilmaz Güney (1937–1984), whose *Umut* (*Hope*, 1970) became a milestone in Turkish cinema. Many of these filmmakers, including Korhan Yurtsever (*Firatin Cinleri* [*The Spirits of Euphrates*, 1977]), Yavuz Ozkan (*Maden* [*The Mine*, 1978]), Erden Kiral (*Kanal* [*The Canal*, 1978]), Zeki Okten (*Suru* [*The Herd*, 1978]), Yilmaz Güney, and Serif Gön (b. 1944) (*Yol* [*The Way*, 1982]), dealt with the social problems of rural areas from a political perspective. Their films also brought Turkish cinema international recognition at foreign film festivals. In 1982 *Yol* shared the Palme d'Or with Costa Gavras's *Missing* at the Cannes Film Festival. However, like the films of the movement of social realism, these films had to cope with censorship, and they never attained the popularity of Yesilcam films.

Yol (The Way, 1982), ***by Serif Gön and Yilmaz Güney, was a hit on the international film festival circuit.*** **© TRIUMPH FILMS/COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

POST-1980 TURKISH CINEMA

After a two-year military administration following the 1980 coup, Turkey entered a new stage of social change with the capitalistic policies of the new civil government. Among the major film trends in the 1980s were films dealing with the coup's psychological effects on individuals, especially intellectuals; "women's films" paralleling the rise of feminism in Turkey and depicting female characters in search of their identities and liberty; and films dealing with cinematic practice itself in terms of the filmmaker's social roles, creative desires, and disappointments.

Turkish cinema underwent another crisis at the end of the 1980s, mainly due to the expansion of color TV broadcasting, the video boom, increasing production costs, and declining movie attendance. Beginning in 1987 Warner Bros. and United International Pictures (UIP), the distributor of the films of Paramount and Universal, were given permission to set up exhibition and distribution agencies in Turkey. In 1989 only 13 of the 215 films shown in the country were Turkish films. By the 1990s Yesilcam had completely collapsed, having lost its audience to private TV channels and American blockbusters.

In 1990 Turkey became a member of Eurimages, the Council of Europe's fund for the joint production, distribution, and exhibition of European cinematographic works, and in the same year, the Turkish Ministry of Culture began to allocate funds to selected films. Those factors, combined with the relaxation of censorship beginning in 1986 and the expansion of private sponsorship, contributed to the resurrection of Turkish cinema in the 1990s. Several joint productions supported by Eurimages and the Ministry of Culture, such as Yavuz Turgul's *Eskiya* (*The Bandit*, 1996), were enormously popular with filmgoers. Another of these, *Vizontele*

(2001), about the introduction of television in a small Anatolian town, topped the domestic box office with more than three million admissions. Today Turkish cinema progresses with a yearly production of ten to eighteen films. Heavy media promotion, the featuring of well-known celebrities such as showmen and models, and high production values ensure their popularity. Besides mainstream films that reveal the influence of Hollywood action cinema, films by new young independent directors such as Zeki Demirkubuz and Nuri Bilge Ceylan promise a bright future for Turkish cinema. Ceylan's *Uzak* (*Distant*, 2002) won the Grand Jury Prize at the 2003 Cannes Film Festival.

SEE ALSO *National Cinema*

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Dilek Kaya Mutlu

TWENTIETH CENTURY FOX

Twentieth Century Fox (or 20th Century Fox) was among the first and the last major Hollywood studios to coalesce, initially emerging in the mid-teens as the Fox Film Corporation but not taking on its ultimate configuration until a 1935 merger with 20th Century Pictures, an upstart independent production company run by the inimitable Darryl F. Zanuck (1902–1979). Although the Fox Film Corporation had been an important industry force, not until the 20th Century merger and the installation of Zanuck as production chief did the studio finally come into its own. Arguably the top production executive of the studio era, Zanuck possessed a unique combination of filmmaking and management skills, as well as keen commercial instincts. Through some three decades under Zanuck, Fox's output struck an effective balance of lightweight entertainment and powerful drama—*The Mark of Zorro* and *The Grapes of Wrath* in the same year (1940), for instance, both of which Zanuck himself produced. Zanuck also enabled 20th Century Fox to sustain Hollywood's traditional mode of production and marketing strategies far longer than the other studios—well into the 1960s, in fact, when a few big hits like *The Sound of Music* (1965) were offset by too many costly flops, bringing an end to Zanuck's regime. Fox quickly adapted to the changing industry, enjoying a massive surge with the release of *Star Wars* (1977) and its first two sequels, which fashioned the consummate New Hollywood movie franchise and carried Fox into the 1980s.

The studio underwent another historic transition in the mid-1980s with the installation of Barry Diller (b. 1942) as president in 1984, and the ensuing purchase of the studio by Rupert Murdoch's (b. 1931) global media giant, News Corporation. While Diller had the commercial and creative instincts that Fox had been lacking since Zanuck's departure, Murdoch brought massive resources and an even broader vision. Together they created a new breed of media conglomerate and fundamentally recast the studio, beginning with the launch of Fox Broadcasting in 1985–1986. The tremendous success of the movie-television "synergy" at Fox changed the landscape of American media, auguring the later studio-network amalgams of Disney-ABC, Paramount-CBS, and NBC-Universal. Moreover, the current alignment of News Corp., with its multiple conduits to media consumers, and Fox Filmed Entertainment, the parent company of 20th Century Fox, has reformulated vertical integration for the cable and digital delivery era. So although the Fox of the early twenty-first century is a far cry from the movie studio(s) that generated it, many obvious affinities and connections persist. There is an affinity, too, between Murdoch, who controlled News Corp. as of 2005, and William Fox (1879–1952), whose equally boundless vision and reckless expansionism laid the groundwork for Murdoch's vast media empire.

THE FOX FILM CORPORATION AND TWENTIETH CENTURY PICTURES

Twentieth Century Fox began as a chain of penny arcades and nickelodeons operated in the early 1900s by William Fox, a young Jewish immigrant (born in Tulchva, Hungary, in 1879) with enormous entrepreneurial drive and vision. Like other industry pioneers, most notably Universal's Carl Laemmle (1867–1939), Fox moved into production and distribution to ensure a flow

DARRYL F. ZANUCK

b. Wahoo, Nebraska, 5 September 1902, d. 22 December 1979

Among Hollywood's pioneering producers and studio heads, Darryl Zanuck was unique for his longevity at the helm of the studio he co-founded, 20th Century Fox, as well as for his intense involvement in the filmmaking process. Along with Irving Thalberg and David Selznick, Zanuck was one of Hollywood's first-generation boy wonders, supervising production at a major studio (Warner Bros.) while still in his twenties. But Zanuck alone among top Hollywood executives rose through the creative ranks (as a writer at Warner), and he alone not only approved and supervised all A-class production on his lot but was also actively engaged in production. In some three decades atop Fox, it was not uncommon for Zanuck to take a script home and rewrite it over a weekend or to substantially rework a screenplay. Zanuck closely supervised post-production, often writing and even directing retakes or added scenes (including sequences in both *The Grapes of Wrath*, 1940, and *My Darling Clementine*, 1946). Zanuck took well-deserved producer credit on scores of 20th Century Fox films, including many of its top hits and now-canonized classics.

Zanuck was the most dynamic and colorful of the early studio heads. Diminutive, hyperaggressive, and supremely confident, he was a bantam battler and a control freak, a polo-field assailant and casting-couch predator. He was also a rare Midwestern WASP with creative talent within a generation of studio bosses dominated by first- and second-generation eastern European Jews with retail trade experience. Zanuck learned the business, of course, and he remained an astute student of cinema both as a commercial industry and an art form—one of those rare Hollywood executives able, in F. Scott Fitzgerald's famous phrase, "to keep the whole equation of pictures in their heads."

Zanuck helped create several important movie cycles, notably the gangster films and historical biopics of the 1930s and the social problem dramas of the 1940s, and he proved equally adept at producing Fox's dual output of entertaining "hokum" (his term) and "serious" pictures. He was the only top studio executive to join the military and to see active duty (as a colonel in the Signal Corps) during World War II, and his pet wartime project was the biopic *Wilson* (1944), which dramatized Woodrow Wilson's League of Nations to implicitly proclaim Zanuck's own support of the nascent United Nations. His postwar commitment to social problem dramas drew fire from the House Un-American Activities Committee as "un-American," and although he sustained that production cycle, Zanuck also joined the other studio bosses in capitulating to the blacklist.

Zanuck was an inveterate risk taker throughout his career. Examples are Fox's gamble on CinemaScope and Zanuck's subsequent venture into independent production in the 1950s and his blockbuster-scale productions after returning to Fox in the 1960s.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Lloyd's of London (1936), *Jesse James* (1939), *How Green Was My Valley* (1941), *Wilson* (1944), *Gentleman's Agreement* (1947), *All About Eve* (1950), *The Man in the Grey Flannel Suit* (1956), *The Longest Day* (1962), *The Agony and the Ecstasy* (1965)

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of product for his growing theater chain and soon came into conflict with the Motion Picture Patents Company, also known as the Edison Trust. Fox was one of the Trust's most aggressive combatants, challenging its hegemony in the courts and in the marketplace. Fox, Laemmle, and the other so-called independents prevailed, and soon they were creating a vertically integrated oligopoly of their own. In 1915 Fox, already a leading exhibitor, formally created the Fox Film Company via the merger of his established production and distribution

Darryl F. Zanuck. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

companies. The following year he moved his modest production operation to Hollywood, opening a studio on the corner of Sunset and Western. That began a period of tremendous growth for Fox, spurred by its two recent star discoveries, Theda Bara (1885–1955) and William Farnum (1876–1953). Under longtime production chief Winfield Sheehan (1883–1945), the studio turned out a winning combination of A-class star vehicles, most notably its exotic Bara pictures directed by J. Gordon Edwards (1867–1925), such as *Salome* (1918) and *The Siren's Song* (1919), alongside popular two-reel westerns starring Tom Mix (1880–1940) and Buck Jones (1889–1942).

The Fox Film Company reached a peak of sorts in the late silent era when, though it had few top stars under contract, its roster of staff directors included Raoul Walsh (1887–1980), Frank Borzage (1893–1962), John Ford (1894–1973), Howard Hawks (1896–1977), and F. W. Murnau (1888–1931). Sheehan tended to be a hands-off executive, so these directors enjoyed considerable control of their projects, which included such masterworks as Walsh's *What Price Glory* (1926), Borzage's *Seventh Heaven* (1927), and Murnau's *Sunrise* (1927), along with solid genre work like Ford's *Three Bad Men* (1926) and Hawks's *A Girl in Every Port* (1928). Most of these films contained a musical score and sound effects, as Fox in 1926 and 1927 was vying with Warner Bros. to crack the sound barrier via its Movietone sound-on-film system. In 1928 Fox completed construction on its new studio in Westwood (West Hollywood), dubbed "Movietone City," and also began experimenting with widescreen and 70mm pictures—most notably for *The Big Trail* (1930), a spectacular western directed by Walsh and starring John Wayne (1907–1979) in his first significant leading role. The film flopped, weakening the market for A-class westerns and relegating Wayne to a decade of B-western roles, while also adding to Fox's growing list of woes.

It was in 1930, in fact, that William Fox's chronic overreaching finally caught up with him. As his company flourished in 1928 and 1929, Fox borrowed heavily to further upgrade production and expand theater operations, to promote Fox's sound and widescreen technologies, and also, remarkably enough, to finance a hostile takeover bid to acquire Loew's/MGM. But then a series of events in 1929, including a near-fatal car accident, a threatened federal antitrust suit (over the Loew's takeover), and the stock market crash, devastated Fox both physically and financially. Overextended, incapacitated, and vulnerable to hostile creditors, Fox was ousted in 1930 and replaced as president by one of those creditors, Harley Clarke, while Sheehan remained head of production. There were some upbeat developments in the early sound era, especially on the talent front. Janet Gaynor (1906–1984), who burst to stardom in *Seventh Heaven* and *Sunrise*, enjoyed a successful transition to sound via two 1929 musical hits, *Happy Days* and *Sunny Side Up*, while the recently signed Will Rogers (1879–1935), longtime film (and vaudeville) personality, suddenly surged to top stardom in the sound era. But these rising stars could not stem the impact of the Depression, and the studio's fortunes faded badly after Fox's ouster. In 1932 Clarke was replaced by Sidney Kent, who proved to be a capable chief executive but could not forestall the inevitable. In 1933 Fox West Coast Theaters, the studio's exhibition arm—and, in effect, its parent company—went into receivership.

That same year, Darryl F. Zanuck left his position as production chief at Warner Bros. to join forces with Joseph Schenck (1878–1961) (brother of Nick Schenck, president of Loew's, Inc.) to create 20th Century Pictures, an independent production company designed to release A-class pictures through United Artists (UA). 20th Century was an immediate success, turning out some twenty films in the next two years, including *Moulin Rouge* (1934), *The House of Rothschild* (1934), *Les Misérables* (1935), and *The Call of the Wild* (1935).

Although 20th supplied the bulk of UA's output, repeated efforts by Schenck and Zanuck to form a partnership with UA were thwarted by two of its cofounders, Charlie Chaplin (1889–1977) and Mary Pickford (1892–1979), who still controlled the company. So Schenck and Zanuck were receptive to Sidney Kent's suggestion in early 1935 that they realign 20th with Fox, which had continued to produce after declaring bankruptcy but was still in disarray. What Kent wanted was a studio executive team, but Schenck and Zanuck saw a far greater opportunity for their newly created company. They not only maneuvered the deal into a veritable merger, they made it one in which 20th Century took the lead in terms of the corporate title, the logo, the remuneration, and corporate control. In a deal executed in May 1935, the two companies formed 20th Century Fox. Kent remained president, handling sales and theater operations out of New York, and Schenck became board chairman and nominal head of the studio, but 20th Century Fox clearly was Darryl Zanuck's domain. He replaced Sheehan as vice president in charge of production at a salary of $5,000 per week (the highest salary of the three top executives) plus 10 percent of the gross, and he assumed complete control of the studio—a position he would retain for most of the next thirty-five years.

THE CLASSICAL ERA

The 20th Century Fox merger was an instant success by any measure, especially in terms of production efficiency, quality pictures, increased revenues, and profits. The success came relatively quickly, but only after Zanuck did some extensive house-cleaning in terms of both contract talent and projects in development. Zanuck brought with him from 20th a few key artists and technicians, notably the composer Alfred Newman (1901–1970) and editor Barbara McLean (1903–1996) (essentially a co-editor with Zanuck, who directly supervised the cutting of all top productions). He retained some of Fox's top talent but invariably strengthened their departments. The veteran Fox cinematographers Ernest Palmer (1885–1978) and Arthur Miller (1895–1970) were joined by the Technicolor specialist Leon Shamroy (1901–1974), for instance, and the production designer William Sandorhazi was joined in the early Zanuck era by Boris Leven (1908–1986), Nathan Juran (1907–2002), James Basevi (1890–1962), and Lyle Wheeler (1905–1990). Zanuck's most significant efforts involved a limited pool of contract stars. Fox star Will Rogers was just reaching the very height of his career in 1935, and Shirley Temple (b. 1928), already a seasoned movie veteran at age seven, was just breaking through to top stardom (and top billing). Rogers starred in two sizable hits in 1935, the lavish period comedies *Steamboat Round the Bend* and *In Old Kentucky*, but was killed in a plane crash in August. Offsetting this unfortunate loss was Temple's emergence as Hollywood's top star in 1935 on the strength of multiple hits, including *The Little Colonel* and *Curly Top*; and her star continued to soar in *Poor Little Rich Girl* (1936), *Heidi* (1937), and *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm* (1938). Meanwhile, Zanuck quickly expanded the studio's star stable, signing a few established stars like Loretta Young (1913–2000) but relying primarily on recently or newly signed young talent like Tyrone Power (1913–1958), Alice Faye (1915–1998), Henry Fonda (1905–1982), Sonja Henie (1912–1969), and Don Ameche (1908–1993).

Zanuck supervised virtually all of the top feature production at Fox's Westwood plant, including some fifteen to twenty pictures per year that he personally produced. (From 1936 until he left for military duty in 1942, Zanuck was the credited producer on over 110 films.) Additionally, he monitored Sol Wurtzel's (1890–1958) B-movie operation on the Western Ave. lot, which accounted for nearly half of Fox's output. Thus Zanuck assumed a very different role at Fox from the one he had held as production chief at Warner Bros. Although he had been a "creative executive" at Warner's, now he was more actively engaged in production and more directly involved in shaping the rapidly emerging house style. Moreover, that style was generally brighter, more upbeat, and more technically polished at 20th Century Fox, particularly in the years just after the merger. This undoubtedly was a function of the resources available at Fox, as well as changes in the national temperament and Zanuck's own development as a filmmaker and purveyor of popular entertainment. Relying on a group of capable but undistinguished contract directors and his cadre of newly signed, would-be stars, Zanuck developed a mélange of energetic musicals, light comedy-drama, quasi-historical biopics, and adventure yarns steeped in sentimental Americana—or what Zanuck himself termed "hokum." Typical of 20th Century Fox's output in the mid-1930s were films like *Lloyd's of London* (1936), *In Old Chicago* (1937), and *Alexander's Ragtime Band* (1938), which may have lacked critical prestige but did excellent business.

In 1939 and 1940 Zanuck began a campaign to upgrade the studio's output, signing the top directors John Ford, Fritz Lang (1890–1976), Henry King (1886–1982), and Henry Hathaway (1898–1985), and assigning them increasingly ambitious projects. This resulted in superior product but also a growing rift in Fox's house style. Ford and Lang tended to take on more "serious" and artistically estimable films, often literary adaptations or biopics shot in black and white. Hathaway and King, conversely, directed more polished and blatantly "commercial" films—more accomplished versions, often in Technicolor, of the period musicals and quasi-historical adventures that Fox already was producing. Fox's rising stars tended to reinforce

HENRY FONDA

b. Grand Island, Nebraska, 16 May 1905, d. 12 August 1982

Henry Fonda appeared in fewer than a dozen films for 20th Century Fox, but those early roles effectively shaped his enduring persona—a common man of quiet decency, Midwestern stoicism, homespun virtue, and reluctant heroism. Fonda never forgave Darryl Zanuck for forcing him into a long-term contract to get the role of Tom Joad in *The Grapes of Wrath* (1940), but that transaction gave Fonda a career-defining role and brought 20th Century Fox precisely the kind of critical acclaim and industry prestige that Zanuck had hoped for.

Fonda spent his youth in Omaha, where he began an acting career that took him to Broadway. His role in a hit play, *The Farmer Takes a Wife*, brought him to Hollywood for the screen version, which was produced by Fox—as was Fonda's second picture, *Way Down East*—in 1935 just before the merger with 20th Century. Under contract to the independent producer Walter Wanger, Fonda worked primarily as a romantic co-star opposite leading ladies like Bette Davis, Barbara Stanwyck, and his ex-wife Margaret Sullavan. In his first two pictures for 20th Century Fox, Fonda was second-billed to Tyrone Power in *Jesse James* and Don Ameche in *The Story of Alexander Graham Bell* (both 1939). Then, at the behest of John Ford, Zanuck gave Fonda the title role in *Young Mr. Lincoln* (1939). This was the first of three consecutive projects with the director, who understood precisely how to make use of Fonda's reticent gallantry and resolute sense of justice, not to mention his lanky frame and angular features. Fonda was second-billed to Claudette Colbert in *Drums Along the Mohawk* (1939), a frontier drama that gave further weight to his epic-historic persona; but that persona took on a truly mythic dimension with his portrayal of a contemporary prairie nomad, the displaced Okie Tom Joad, in *The Grapes of Wrath*. Based on John Steinbeck's 1939 bestseller, the film is a masterwork of poetic realism and social conscience, with Ford's understated semidocumentary approach perfectly suited to Fonda's unaffected, natural acting style.

Zanuck cast him in more blatantly commercial pictures, but some of his best work was done in loan-out comedy roles, like Paramount's *All About Eve* (1941) and Warner's *The Male Animal* (1942). Fonda joined the Navy in 1942, his three-year hiatus bracketed by two memorable Fox westerns, *The Ox-Bow Incident* (1943), in which he played a drifter who tries unsuccessfully to stop a lynching, and *My Darling Clementine* (1946), a Ford-directed biopic of Wyatt Earp. Once his Fox contract expired in 1947, Fonda's film career slowed considerably, as he became a more selective freelance star and spent a good deal of time back on Broadway. Among his notable later performances are the besieged president in *Fail-Safe* (1964) and the retired professor in his last film, *On Golden Pond* (1981).

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

You Only Live Once (1937), *Young Mr. Lincoln* (1939), *Drums Along the Mohawk* (1939), *The Grapes of Wrath* (1940), *The Lady Eve* (1941), *The Ox-Bow Incident* (1943), *My Darling Clementine* (1946), *Fort Apache* (1948), *Mister Roberts* (1955), *The Wrong Man* (1956), *12 Angry Men* (1957), *How the West Was Won* (1962), *Fail-Safe* (1964), *On Golden Pond* (1981)

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this divide. Tyrone Power, for instance, was featured in quintessential hokum like *Jesse James* (King, 1939), *Johnny Apollo* (Hathaway, 1940), and *Brigham Young* (Hathaway, 1940), whereas Henry Fonda starred in the Ford-directed classics *Young Mr. Lincoln* (1939) and *The Grapes of Wrath*, and in Lang's dark, offbeat sequel to the Jesse James biopic, *The Return of Frank James* (1940). Zanuck himself produced films on both sides of this divide, although his rapport with the more cinematically accomplished directors, particularly Ford, was often strained. Zanuck did reward Ford handsomely for his work, however, paying him a salary in 1939 of $235,000, just short of his own. And although Ford did some of his best work at this time on independent productions like *Stagecoach* (1939), his work with Zanuck at Fox from 1939 through 1941 was simply unparalleled, culminating in *How Green Was My Valley* (1941), a critically acclaimed hit that won Oscars® for best picture and best director.

Henry Fonda. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

Like all of the major studios, 20th Century Fox underwent significant changes during World War II. As revenues and profits surged, output was reduced during the war from roughly fifty releases to one-half that total, and B-movie production was phased out altogether. Fox also saw wholesale changes in the executive ranks. In 1941 Joe Schenck began serving a federal prison term (for income tax evasion related to a labor union scandal); in 1942 Zanuck joined the Signal Corps, becoming the only top studio executive to serve overseas; and Sidney Kent died suddenly of a heart attack. This created a void in the studio's executive ranks, which the Fox board filled by appointing Spyros Skouras (1893–1971), head of the company's theater operations, as company president—a position he would hold for the next twenty years.

In terms of wartime production trends, Fox sustained the prewar split between heavier drama and lightweight fare. The more ambitious, substantial films included *The Ox-Bow Incident* (1943), a somber western involving lynch-mob violence and social injustice; *The Song of Bernadette* (1943), a "fictionalized biography" about the girl who saw visions of the Virgin Mary at Lourdes; and Zanuck's pet project, *Wilson* (1944), a biopic that centered on Woodrow Wilson's creation of the League of Nations (and a major box-office disappointment). The more upbeat commercial films were invariably star vehicles—costume adventures and war films with Tyrone Power like *The Black Swan* (1942) and *Crash Dive* (1943), and a run of Betty Grable (1916–1973) musical hits including *Springtime in the Rockies* (1942), *Coney Island* (1943), *Pin Up Girl* (1944), and *Diamond Horseshoe* (1945). Grable emerged during the war as Fox's top star and a bona fide national icon—an unabashedly sexy, brassy blonde with "million dollar legs" whose ubiquitous pin-up became a symbol of American pluck and playful sexuality.

Fox continued to thrive in the immediate postwar era, enjoying record revenues in 1946 and then returning to wartime levels through the late 1940s. The new executive setup proved effective, with Skouras operating primarily out of New York while Zanuck ran the studio and supervised production. Zanuck continued to produce Fox's top films but handled far fewer than he had a decade earlier—only fifteen films from 1945 to 1950, including *My Darling Clementine* (1946), *Gentleman's Agreement* (1947), *The Snake Pit* (1948), *Twelve O'Clock High* (1949), and *All About Eve* (1950). Reducing his own producing load, Zanuck allowed some of his top writers and directors to produce their own films. The most prominent was Otto Preminger (1906–1986), who enjoyed a career breakthrough as producer-director on *Laura* (1944), a noir thriller that featured two fast-rising Fox stars, Gene Tierney (1920–1991) and Dana Andrews (1909–1992), and made a sudden star of the middle-aged stage actor Clifton Webb (1889–1966), who also became a fixture at Fox. After that surprise hit, Preminger became one of the busiest and most successful hyphenates on the lot, serving as producer-director on *Centennial Summer* (1946), *Daisy Kenyon* (1947), *Whirlpool* (1949), and *Where the Sidewalk Ends* (1950).

Fox's house style underwent subtle but significant adjustments in the postwar era, as the penchant for darker, heavier drama became more pronounced. To be sure, there were the occasional Grable musicals and Power costumers—films like *Mother Wore Tights* and *Captain from Castile*, two of the studio's biggest 1947 hits. But these upbeat releases were far outweighed by a steady output of realistic crime films, trenchant melodramas, stylized noir thrillers, and "social problem films." Fox started the postwar trend toward location shooting and "police procedurals" with *The House on 92nd Street* (1945), shot entirely on location in New York City, and then pursued the trend more vigorously than any other studio. Meanwhile, a pervasive darkness crept into nearly all of Fox's films, even Technicolor melodramas like *Leave Her to Heaven* (1945). Particularly dark were Fox's social problem films—*Gentleman's Agreement*, *The Snake Pit*, *Pinky* (1949), and others—which took on

(Left to right) Celeste Holm, Gary Merrill, Bette Davis, and Anne Baxter in* All About Eve *(Joseph L. Mankiewicz, 1950), one of RKO's best postwar films. ® ™ AND COPYRIGHT © 20TH CENTURY FOX FILM CORP./COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

issues like racism and mental illness. In fact, Zanuck and Fox were still presenting bleak, probing portraits of the contemporary American condition in the late 1940s, long after the 1947 House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) investigation and conservative backlash had induced the other Hollywood studios to play it safe. That impulse culminated in 1950 with noir thrillers like *Whirlpool*, *Night and the City*, and *Where the Sidewalk Ends*, social dramas like *Panic in the Streets* and *No Way Out*, and even westerns like *The Gunfighter* and *Broken Arrow*, although by the early 1950s (and the second HUAC investigation), Fox too was backing away from films that might be construed as un-American.

FROM THE ZANUCK ERA TO THE NEW HOLLYWOOD

The year 1950 also marked the release of *All About Eve*, Fox's consummate postwar success. Produced by Zanuck, written and directed by Joseph L. Mankiewicz (1909–1993), the film starred Bette Davis (1908–1989) as a veteran stage star struggling with advancing age and a declining career, and its many awards included Oscars® for best picture, director, and screenplay. *All About Eve* also featured Marilyn Monroe (1926–1962) in a bit part—one of several in the early 1950s that paved the way to leading roles and top stardom. A worthy successor to Betty Grable, Monroe was the fifties-era blonde bombshell whose star vehicles—*Gentlemen Prefer Blondes*, *How to Marry a Millionaire* (both 1953), *River of No Return* (1954), *The Seven Year Itch* (1955), and others—were money in the till for Fox. These hits were also highlights in an otherwise lackluster period, when Fox's only other real star was its widescreen CinemaScope format, which debuted in *The Robe* (1953), turning that routine biblical yarn into a major hit and persuading Zanuck to produce all of the studio's releases in CinemaScope.

The emphasis on Monroe and widescreen spectacles underscored a shift to a more upbeat, conservative ethos at Fox, which intensified when Zanuck resigned his executive post in 1956 to pursue independent production in France and installed producer Buddy Adler (1909–1960) as head of the studio. That led to a particularly fallow period for Fox, which by 1960–1961 was showing net losses for the first time in decades—and threatened to grow much worse in light of the now-legendary budget overruns on *Cleopatra* (1963). Problems on that film, along with the success of Zanuck's own D-Day drama, *The Longest Day* (1962), prompted his return to Fox to salvage *Cleopatra* and reverse the studio's declining fortunes. Zanuck assumed the presidency of Fox in August 1962, replacing Skouras, and he appointed his son Richard (b. 1934) head of production. Within a year the studio was showing a profit, and in 1965 it enjoyed monumental success with *The Sound of Music*, whose $80 million in rental receipts made it Hollywood's all-time biggest hit.

Inspired by the runaway success of that film, Fox embarked on a woefully ill-advised production campaign that resulted in the musical extravaganzas *Doctor Dolittle* (1967), *Star!* (1968), and *Hello, Dolly!* (1969), and the wildly ambitious war epic, *Tora! Tora! Tora!* (1970), a US-Japanese co-production about the attack on Pearl Harbor. These and other big-budget projects failed at the box office, causing cumulative net losses in 1969–1970 of just over $100 million, contributing mightily to an industry-wide recession and to the ouster of Richard Zanuck in 1970 and Darryl Zanuck in 1971. At that point 20th Century Fox came under control of its board chairman, Dennis Stanfill, although like many of the studios at the time, it was without effective leadership, direction, or control. Interestingly enough, Fox did release some modest offbeat hits in that era, including *Planet of the Apes* (1968), which spun off several film sequels and TV series; *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* (1969), a prototypical action-adventure buddy movie co-starring Paul Newman and Robert Redford; and breakthrough hits by two of the era's leading auteurs: Robert Altman's (b. 1925) *M*A*S*H* (1970) and William Friedkin's (b. 1935) *The French Connection* (1971).

The French Connection gave Fox another batch of Oscars®, including best picture and best director, and helped spur a recovery that accelerated in 1973–1974 with the arrival of Alan Ladd Jr. (b. 1937) as head of production. Under Ladd, Fox turned out solid, predictable hits like *The Towering Inferno* (1974) and *The Omen* (1976), along with some inspired comedy hits like *Young Frankenstein* (1974), one of several Mel Brooks (b. 1926) films done at Fox, and *Silver Streak* (1976). The studio's fortunes were forever changed with the 1977 release of George Lucas's (b. 1944) space epic, *Star Wars*, which cost roughly $13 million and grossed well over $200 million, giving Fox another all-time box-office hit. But unfortunately for Fox, Ladd signed away the sequel rights to Lucas in lieu of his final payment as writer-director, which meant that Fox would collect only distribution fees on subsequent releases—which were among the most successful films of their respective release years (1980, 1983, 1999, 2003, and 2005). Other Fox hits from the Ladd era included several exceptional women's pictures, *Julia*, *The Turning Point* (both 1977), and *An Unmarried Woman* (1978), and two of the top box-office hits of 1979, *Alien* and *Breaking Away*.

Ladd left for independent production that same year, initiating a period of turmoil at Fox that intensified with the sale of the studio to the oil magnate Marvin Davis in 1981, and then the brief, unsuccessful tenures of Alan Hirschfield as chief executive and Sherry Lansing (b. 1944) as production head. Both Hirschfield and Lansing were out by 1983, as Fox continued to struggle and Davis's interest waned; but the company's fortunes began to turn in 1984 with the hiring of Barry Diller as president and CEO. At age forty-two, Diller already had a remarkable track record in US media, starting in the late 1960s at ABC where he developed the TV-movie and miniseries operations, and then at Paramount, where in 1974 he was named chairman of the studio's motion picture and television divisions. Diller found Fox to be undercapitalized and Davis unwilling to invest, so he began looking for outside investors. He found one in Rupert Murdoch, an Australian-born media baron whose global publishing empire, News Corp., had begun rapidly expanding into media. Impressed by Diller and the opportunity at hand, which was enhanced substantially by the deregulation of US media under President Ronald Reagan (1911–2004), Murdoch decided to invest heavily, purchasing half-ownership of Fox in 1984 and completing the acquisition in 1985 (for a bargain total price of $575 million). Murdoch also became a naturalized US citizen in 1985 to satisfy FCC regulations that prohibited foreign ownership of TV stations.

At that point Murdoch and Diller began assembling the necessary resources to create Fox Broadcasting, a fourth US television network to compete with ABC, CBS, and NBC. Although launching Fox-TV was a bold and visionary move, the rollout was done slowly and deliberately, beginning with a late night program in October 1986 and gradually working into prime time and then into a weeklong evening schedule as Fox acquired its own TV stations and a chain of affiliates. Meanwhile, Murdoch and Diller promoted the notion of

Marilyn Monroe sings "Diamonds are a Girl's Best Friend" in* Gentlemen Prefer Blondes *(Howard Hawks, 1953). **® ™ AND COPYRIGHT © 20TH CENTURY FOX FILM CORP./COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

movies and television as complementary components of Fox's ''filmed entertainment'' division. Thus the studio was no longer regarded as primarily a motion picture operation, and indeed Fox's share of the movie market gradually declined as its filmed entertainment revenues increased. The studio turned out a few blockbuster hits during Diller's regime, including *Aliens* (1986), *Die Hard* (1988), and *Home Alone* (1990), but it displayed nowhere near the blockbuster-driven mentality of its major competitors.

In 1992 Diller left Fox, satisfied with his achievements but determined to build and run his own company. Murdoch by then was tightening his grip on Fox as well as News Corp., which he continued to expand at a staggering pace, building a vertically and horizontally integrated global communications system that featured multiple courses of ''content,'' multiple modes of distribution, and multiple ''pipelines'' to the consumer—with Fox-TV being the most lucrative. The movie studio continued to turn out a steady supply of hits after Diller's departure, most notably *Titanic* (1997), which Fox co-financed and co-released with Paramount, and which earned over $1.8 billion in its initial worldwide theatrical release. Fox also saw huge revenues as the distributor of the rejuvenated *Star Wars* series, and in fact by 2005, *Titanic*, *Independence Day* (1996), and the *Star Wars* franchise gave Fox a share in six of the top twenty-five worldwide box-office hits. Meanwhile, Fox Searchlight, the studio's indie subdivision launched in the mid-1990s (primarily as a distributor of low-budget independent films), enjoyed a remarkable run of hits including *The Full Monty* (1997), *Boys Don't Cry* (1999), *Bend It Like Beckham* (2002), *Napoleon Dynamite* (2004), and *Sideways* (2004).

In the early twenty-first century, 20th Century Fox remains one of Hollywood's principal motion picture producer-distributors, and along with 20th Century Fox Television is a primary "content provider" for News Corp.'s vast media delivery holdings—the Fox-TV broadcast network, a dozen cable channels (including FX, the Fox Movie Channel, Fox News, et al.), and extensive cable and satellite holdings overseas. Thus the film and television studios, which co-exist within Fox Filmed Entertainment, are part of a worldwide, vertically integrated media system that has effectively reconstituted the studio system of old on a global, diversified scale. Movies are key to the system's success, of course, although Fox's most successful filmed entertainment franchises have come from the television side—hit series like *The Simpsons* and *The X-Files*, whose capacity to generate revenues far surpasses even the most successful movie blockbusters. Indeed, given the "ownership" of the contract talent and the mode of production involved, these TV series franchises are perhaps the clearest descendants of the star-genre formulas that made 20th Century Fox and the other Hollywood studios tick a half-century ago.

SEE ALSO *Star System; Studio System*

FURTHER READING

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UFA (UNIVERSUM FILM AKTIENGESELLSCHAFT)

The story of the Universum-Film AG, popularly known as ''Ufa,'' is inextricably bound to the history of German cinema in the first half of the twentieth century. As perhaps no other film company in relation to its national film culture, Ufa's changing fortunes were a barometer of the economic, political, aesthetic, and ideological struggles that took place in Germany until the aftermath of World War II. Although Ufa never monopolized the German market the way Paramount-MGM-Fox controlled the American industry, its power was both real, in terms of its combined production, distribution, and exhibition potential, and imagined, as the symbolic core of the German film industry's aesthetic aspirations. Founded by the German High Command in 1917, Ufa was the object of an American takeover in a country torn by postwar inflation, revolutions, and counterrevolutions, then co-opted in 1933 and inflated to a state-owned monopoly operated by the Nazi Party for its own propagandistic purposes, and ultimately deconstructed after the war by the Allies to protect American film interests, mirroring the German experience of war and revolution. Yet, ironically, the company tried to create for both its own employees and its audience a fragile, hermetic world, a *Lebenswelt* outside the strictures and commands of experience that existed only in the darkened caverns of the studio and in the minds of a people burdened with too much history.

Siegfried Kracauer was the first to recognize Ufa's ambiguous role in German history and cinema, stating unequivocally that ''the genesis of Ufa testifies to the authoritarian character of Imperial Germany'' (p. 37). From this thesis he developed his reflection theory of Germany's fall, seeing in the myriad monsters created in Ufa's Babelsberg studios the precursors to the bureaucrats operating the concentration camps. David Stewart Hull, on the other hand, places Ufa at the center of the *Filmwelt*, a world in a vacuum where the ''overriding concern was continuance of the artistic status quo and to hell with politics'' (p. 7). Most film historians have taken one of these two positions: while more liberal writers have viewed Ufa as a bogeyman of the German right, bent on ideologically battering the German electorate, conservative historians have described Ufa as an apolitical free-trade zone catering to the desires of German film buffs. Most recently, Klaus Kreimeier has tried to move beyond this dichotomy, arguing that Ufa was always a massive bundle of contradictions and functioned precisely because it was able to bring under one roof German Realpolitik and expressionistic dreams, monopolistic studio policies and individual artistic aspirations, simultaneously surrendering to ideological imperatives while encouraging experimental daring.

Ufa was officially founded after a highly covert operation on 18 December 1917 when the banking firm of Lindstrom AG bought all German branches of the Danish Nordisk-Film Company for ten million reichsmarks. Included in the deal was the largest German cinema chain, Union-Theater AG, its distribution company, and the Oliver-Film, Nordisk's German production studio. Also purchased were Germany's oldest film producer, the Messter company (and its distribution arm, Hansa-Filmverleih), for an additional four million reichsmarks

(plus 1.3 million reichsmarks in Ufa stock), and the Projektions "Union" A.G., Germany's second largest producer and owner of fifty-six cinemas, for 1.11 million reichsmarks, as well as several other smaller companies that owned laboratories, manufactured camera equipment, or provided related services. Thus with one fell swoop Ufa became Germany's first vertically and horizontally integrated film conglomerate, controlling exhibition, distribution, and production, which followed similar structural developments among the Hollywood majors. The merger had been organized by Emil Georg von Stauss, director of the Deutsche Bank, who, in association with high-placed individuals in the banking and electrical industry, had convinced the German military High Command under General Erich Ludendorff that such an enterprise was in the national interest: Ufa was to produce war propaganda and pro-German propaganda for neutral countries. Ludendorff had sent a memo on 4 July 1917 outlining the general strategy as well as the Prussian government's secret 55 percent financial participation. With the Armistice in 1918, however, the imperial government abdicated and Ufa was left to its own devices to produce entertainment films.

GERMAN ART CINEMA

Paul Davidson, the founder of the Projektions "Union" A.G., became the production head of Ufa, but he left most production decisions to the subsidiary companies, which were still largely independent, while continuing a policy of acquisition. Thus, in 1918 Ufa purchased the May-Film Co. (Joe May), BB-Film (Heinrich Bolten-Baeckers), Gloria (Hanns Lippmann), and Maxim (Max Galitzenstein) film companies. Ufa's first international success came with the so-called "Monumentalfilme" of Ernst Lubitsch (1892–1947) (*Passion* [*Madame DuBarry*, 1919]; *Deception* [*Anna Boleyn*, 1920] and Joe May (*Herrin der Welt*, [*Mistress of the World,* 1919–20]), big budget historical epics calculated for an international market. However, a sea change occurred when Erich Pommer's (1889–1966) Decla-Bioscop AG was merged with Ufa in November 1921; simultaneously its capital was increased from 25 to 200 million reichsmarks. Ufa was now a major player in the German and European market, controlling distribution in large parts of Central and Eastern Europe, much to the chagrin of the Americans.

Pommer, who had won an international success with *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari* (*The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*, 1920), gave his directors a large degree of freedom, preferring to concentrate on increasing Ufa's export business by guaranteeing a cinema of quality, which would be saleable abroad. As a result, Ufa directors produced some of the greatest films of the era, including *Die Nibelungen* (Fritz Lang, 1923–24), *Michael* (Carl Theodor Dreyer, 1924), *Der Letzte Mann* (*The Last Laugh*, F. W. Murnau, 1924), *Varieté* (*Jealousy*, E. A. Dupont, 1925), *Ein Walzertraum* (*The Waltz Dream*, Ludwig Berger, 1925), and *Geheimnisse einer Seele* (*Secrets of a Soul*, G. W. Pabst, 1926). This was accomplished by hiring Germany's best directors, expanding the Babelsberg studios outside Berlin to become the most modern facility in Europe, and bringing together a team of technicians, art directors, and cameramen who were encouraged to experiment. Among the innovators were cameramen Karl Freund (1890–1969) and Fritz Arno Wagner (1891–1958). The giant studio sets, innovative lighting designs, optical tricks (Schüfftan process), and daring camera movements in the films of Murnau, Lang, and Dupont would not have been possible without an atmosphere Kreimeier has described as that of a medieval "Bauhütte" (cathedral builders' guild). Unlike American studio stars, Germany's best known actors, including Conrad Veidt (1893–1943), Emil Jannings (1884–1950), Werner Krauss (1884–1959), and Brigitte Helm (1906–1996), were never contractually bound to the company, each working only intermittently for Ufa. Ufa also established newsreel, documentary, educational, and advertising departments and an experimental film laboratory, where Viking Eggeling (1880–1925) completed his abstract animations.

But by late 1925 Ufa was at the brink of financial collapse due to multiple factors, including the revaluation of the reichsmark after a period of hyperinflation, failing to invest profits in infrastructure, high production costs (*Metropolis* [1927] is later blamed), and the mounting pressure of American companies attempting to make inroads in the German and Central European markets. In December 1925, Ufa announced the so-called Parufamet contract, which gave virtual control of Ufa's first-run theatres to Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer and Paramount while also granting them 50 percent of income from Ufa's own productions. In exchange, Ufa received a loan for four million dollars and American distribution of its "suitable" films in theatres in the United States. But the Americans claimed that all but a handful of German films were unsuitable for distribution.

The contract was a disaster, and Ufa continued to bleed cash. Relief of sorts came in the form of Alfred Hugenberg, Germany's greatest newspaper czar who was also the leader of the right-wing German National Party (Hugenberg entered Hitler's first cabinet in 1933). Hugenberg purchased Ufa in March 1927 and immediately instituted reforms, putting his longtime lieutenant Ludwig Klitzsch at the head of the company. Klitzsch renegotiated the Parufamet contract by paying off the loan

ERICH POMMER

b. Hildesheim, Germany, 20 July 1889, d. 8 May 1966

Erich Pommer is one of the few internationally known German film producers, responsible for the "golden age" of Weimar cinema as the head of production at Ufa in its most productive period. He joined the Berlin branch of Gaumont Production Company in 1907 and by 1919 he was the sole owner of the Decla company, which produced *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari* (*The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*, Robert Wiene, 1920), establishing Pommer's reputation far beyond Germany's borders. While accounts differ as to Pommer's role in that production—the scriptwriters even accused Pommer of watering down the film's ideological message—most agree that Pommer's advertising campaign made the film a success. In April 1920 Decla merged with its largest competitor (besides Ufa), Bioscop, giving Pommer control over forty more theaters and the newly constructed Babelsberg studios outside Berlin.

The success of *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari* convinced Pommer to continue a policy of mixing art and commerce, which he pursued by green-lighting films by Robert Wiene, F. W. Murnau, and Fritz Lang and establishing a stable team of film technicians who would come to dominate German cinema. When Decla-Bioscop merged with Ufa in November 1921, Pommer became production head, producing such classics as *Dr. Mabuse* (Fritz Lang, 1922), *Die Nibelungen* (Lang, 1923–24), *Der Letzte Mann* (*The Last Laugh*, F. W. Murnau, 1924), *Varieté* (*Jealousy*, E. A. Dupont, 1925), *Faust* (Murnau, 1926), and *Metropolis* (Lang, 1927). Yet the latter film's cost overruns also spelled Pommer's doom, forcing him to resign in January 1926.

Pommer went to Paramount Studios in Hollywood and before year's end released *Hotel Imperial* (Mauritz Stiller, 1927), then *Barbed Wire* (Rowland V. Lee, 1927), both melodramas situated in World War I Europe, before being called back to Berlin. The media czar Alfred Hugenberg now controlled Ufa and had instituted an American-style producer-unit system to control costs. Some directors, like Wilhelm Thiele or Robert Siodmak, thought Pommer too controlling, but the fact remains that over the next several years he produced some of the most successful German silent and sound films of the late Republic, including *Asphalt* (Joe May, 1929), *Der Blaue Engel* (*The Blue Angel*, Josef von Sternberg, 1930), *Der Kongress Tanzt* (*Congress Dances*, Erik Charell, 1931), and *F.P.1 Antwortet Nicht* (*F.P.1 Doesn't Answer*, Karl Hartl, 1932). Unlike many of his earlier art films, these were highly profitable light entertainments, whether musicals or science fiction dramas.

The rise of National Socialism forced Pommer into exile and he never recovered, even though he worked in Paris (Fox), London (Korda), and Hollywood (RKO). In August 1946 Pommer was invited by the United States Army to return to Germany as a film control officer to rebuild the German film industry—a difficult task, given government bureaucracy and German resentments against the émigrés.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari (*The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*, Robert Wiene, 1920), *Die Nibelungen* (Fritz Lang, 1923–24), *Der Letzte Mann* (*The Last Laugh*, F. W. Murnau, 1924), *Varieté* (*Jealousy*, E. A. Dupont, 1925), *Barbed Wire* (Rowland V. Lee, 1927), *Der Kongress Tanzt* (*Congress Dances*, Erik Charell, 1931), *Jamaica Inn* (Alfred Hitchcock, 1939), *Kinder, Mütter, und ein General* (*Children, Mother, and the General*, László Benedek, 1955)

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and establishing a producer-unit system of production, much like the one Hollywood had in place by the late 1910s. He also brought Pommer back from Hollywood to head the company's A unit while B units for genre films were headed by Günther Stapenhorst (1883–1976), Alfred Zeisler (1897–1985), and Gregor Rabinowitsch (1889–1953).

In September 1929, Ufa completed construction of its new sound film studios in Babelsberg. Its first sound film, *Melodie des Herzens* (*Melody of the Heart*, Hanns Schwarz) opened on 16 December 1929, followed by *Der Blaue Engel* (*The Blue Angel*, 1930), which made Marlene Dietrich (1901–1992) famous around the world. Both

Erich Pommer. **THE KOBAL COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

films were shot in multiple language versions (German, English, and French) because synchronization still presented technical difficulties. Musical comedies, like *Melodie des Herzens, Die Drei von der Tankstelle* (*Three Good Friends*, Wilhelm Thiele, 1930), and *Der Kongress Tanzt* (*Congress Dances*, Erik Charell, 1931), were wildly popular, apolitical, and staple products in the early 1930s. Another genre that gained increasing prominence was historical films that resurrected the past glories of Prussian militarism, including *Das Flötenkonzert von Sanssouci* (*Flute Concert of Sans-Souci*, 1930) and *Morgenrot* (*Dawn*, 1933), the latter film opening one day after Adolf Hitler's ascension to power. *Dawn* depicts the "heroic" struggle of U-boats in World War I and was the perfect fascist film for the new era. (The hero states, "We Germans may not know how to live, but we certainly know how to die.")

NAZI CONTROL

Just as Ufa's *Dawn* anticipated Nazi cinema, its board preempted official Nazi policy: three days before the official Nazi boycott of German Jews was instituted, Ufa fired all of its Jewish employees (29 March 1933). While in the course of 1933 the Propaganda Ministry was established under Joseph Goebbels (1897–1945) in order to create a precensorship office for the ideological control of all German film productions and the industry was aryanized by making it illegal for Jews to make films, Ufa and other film companies remained economically independent. However, in 1937 the German Reich secretly purchased 51 percent of Ufa through a dummy corporation, Cautio Treuhand GmbH, and by 1939 owned 99 percent of Ufa stock. The government's ownership of Ufa was not publicly announced until February 1941, after which all other remaining German production companies were dissolved and integrated into the now wholly state-owned Ufa. This allowed the Allies to completely dismantle Ufa after the end of World War II, ostensibly as part of the denazification process but with the hidden agenda of guaranteeing that German cinema would never again threaten Hollywood hegemony.

But in 1933 Goebbels still had big plans for Ufa. His goal was to wean Germans from American films by creating a Hollywood-style star system on the one hand and by producing seemingly apolitical entertainment films on the other, which would lull the German public into believing that there were still ideology-free zones in the cinema. He specifically stated that he did not want to see Nazis on the screen but rather that the best propaganda was presented covertly. In order to create an atmosphere of internationalism (allowing Germans to forget that they could no longer travel abroad), Ufa imported new female stars, like Zarah Leander (1907–1981, Sweden), Marika Rökk (1913–2004, Hungary), and Kristina Söderbaum (1912–2001, Sweden), who appear in overheated melodramas by Detlef Sierck (1897–1987, also known as Douglas Sirk) and Veit Harlan (1899–1964) and musicals by Georg Jacoby (1883–1964). Leander, in particular, became wildly popular in such films as *Zu neuen Ufern* (*To New Shores*, 1937) and *Das Wunschkonzert* (*Request Concert*, 1940), films that addressed women's desire, all the while subtly inserting fascist attitudes in order to prepare women for war. For young male audiences, Ufa produced adventure films with Hans Albers (1891–1960) that glorified combat and war, thus preparing German youth for the coming war of aggression without overt political tones. As the war went from bad to worse for the Germans in 1942–43, Ufa focused almost exclusively on entertainment films that kept the minds of audiences off the rising death toll and falling bombs.

Meanwhile, Ufa also produced a yearly quota of Nazi propaganda films, usually historical epics that reconfigured German history by using the vocabulary of Nazi ideology and valorizing their heroes as *Führer*-figures in the image of Adolf Hitler. The cycle began with Gustav Ucicky's (1898–1961) *Flüchlinge* (*Refugees*, 1933), about the struggle of German nationals in China and ended with Harlan's *Kolberg* (1945), which portrays an episode from the Napoleonic Wars (1813) during which a group of

F. W. Murnau's* Der Letzte Mann (The Last Laugh, *1924) made innovative use of the moving camera, eliminating the need for subtitles. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Prussian citizens holds off the marauding Russian Army, thus directly paralleling the contemporary situation on the Eastern Front. However, by the time the film was premiered in Berlin, 90 percent of German cinemas had been bombed to smithereens by the Allies.

Ufa's history ends with a whimper. In June 1953 the "Lex Ufi" took effect, a law passed by the West German government to reprivatize the company, which by then consisted of little more than real estate. The giant Ufa studios in Neubabelsberg, within the Soviet zone of occupation, fell under the control of the Deutsche-Film Aktiengesellschaft (DEFA), the state-owned film production company of the German Democratic Republic. In 1964, Ufa film rights to the catalogue eventually passed into the hands of the F. W. Murnau Foundation, which was controlled by the German Ministry of the Interior.

SEE ALSO *Censorship; Germany; National Cinema; Propaganda*

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UNITED ARTISTS

Unlike the other major motion picture companies, United Artists (UA) never owned a studio or had actors and directors under contract. It functioned throughout its life solely as a distribution company for independent producers. The history of the company can be conveniently divided into three periods: (1) from 1919 to 1950, when the company was owned by Mary Pickford (1893–1979), Charles Chaplin (1889–1977), and their partners and functioned mainly as a boutique distributor of quality films; (2) from 1951 to 1981, when the company was rescued from near bankruptcy by a new management team headed by Arthur Krim (1910–1994) and Robert Benjamin, who transformed UA into a modern business enterprise; and (3) from 1981 to 2004, when the company was acquired by Kirk Kerkorian (b. 1917), who merged it with MGM and sold off and reacquired parts of both companies several times until he finally disposed of the remains to Sony in 2004.

THE BOUTIQUE

United Artists was founded in 1919 by Mary Pickford, Charles Chaplin, Douglas Fairbanks (1883–1939), and D. W. Griffith (1875–1948) as a means of insuring control over the marketing of their pictures. Capitalizing on their fame in the movies, Pickford, Chaplin, and their partners had risen from the ranks of studio employees to become heads of their own independent production companies. They enjoyed considerable autonomy over their work—from the writing of the scenario to the final cut—and released their films through leading companies, which provided them with production financing and a share of the profits. But rumors of a consolidation in the industry by companies that intended to cap salaries placed the stars on the defensive. By forming United Artists they would now have to secure their own financing and oversee the selling of their pictures, but the risks were worth taking to guarantee their independence.

During the early years of UA's existence, the founders delivered some of the finest pictures of their careers. The premiere UA release was Douglas Fairbanks' *His Majesty, the American*, which was released on 1 September 1919. Fairbanks went on to produce such swashbucklers as *Robin Hood* (1922) and *The Thief of Bagdad* (1924). Pickford's best-remembered pictures were *Pollyanna* (1920), *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (1921), and a remake of *Tess of the Storm Country* (1922). Griffith delivered *Broken Blossoms* (1919), *Way Down East* (1920), and *Orphans of the Storm* (1921), among others. Chaplin came through with the influential *A Woman of Paris* (1923) and his acknowledged masterpiece, *The Gold Rush* (1925).

Despite this record of excellence, which earned a reputation for the company as the Tiffany's of the industry, United Artists confronted a product shortage from the outset. The company was geared to release one picture a month—three pictures a year from each of the owners—to operate efficiently. But production progressed slower than had been anticipated. Chaplin, for example, decided to produce full-length features exclusively, rather than continue with two- or three-reelers; and Fairbanks began producing costume spectaculars, which cost more and took longer to make.

To fill out the roster, UA attempted to bring in other big-name stars as partners without success, since

they were either tied to the major studios or had no stomach for the risks of independent production. Not until Joseph M. Schenck (1878–1961), producer and entrepreneur, was brought in as a partner in 1924 to reorganize the company did circumstances improve. Schenck brought three stars with him under contract—his wife, Norma Talmadge (1897–1957); his sister-in-law, Constance Talmadge (1900–1973); and his brother-in-law, Buster Keaton (1895–1966). To solve the product crisis, Schenck formed Art Cinema Corporation to finance and produce pictures for UA distribution. This company was owned by Schenck and his business associates and was not a UA subsidiary. Art Cinema went on to deliver over fifty pictures to UA. Among them were three Buster Keaton masterpieces, *The General* (1927), *College* (1927), and *Steamboat Bill, Jr.* (1928).

To streamline operations and save on overhead expenses, Schenck proposed merging the company with the distribution arm of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, which was then a fledgling producer-distributor connected to the Loew's theater chain. But Chaplin vetoed the plan, fearing that MGM would use UA's films to force what he considered its inferior product on exhibitors, among other reasons. To survive the battle for the theaters, which was being waged by several companies to gain control of the exhibition market, Schenck proposed forming a United Artists theater chain to insure access to first-run houses at favorable rental rates for the company's films. Chaplin vetoed this proposal as well, with the result that in June 1926 Schenck and his UA partners on their own formed the United Artists Theatre Circuit, a publicly-held company, separate from United Artists, which went on to construct or acquire first-run theaters in the major metropolitan areas. Schenck had other plans to strengthen United Artists, such as a proposed merger with Warner Bros., but United Artists would remain what it was founded to be, what Chaplin doggedly insisted on its being, a distribution company for top-quality independent productions.

Nonetheless, Schenck's reorganization had stabilized the company and created a niche in which United Artists could function effectively throughout the studio era. The company had established distribution outlets in most overseas markets and was firmly ensconced as one of Hollywood's eight major motion picture companies, albeit the smallest. Of the original founders, only Charlie Chaplin remained active as a producer during the 1930s. The star system was now firmly controlled by the majors and the day of the actor-producer had passed. Chaplin therefore was an anomaly in the business. He not only produced his pictures using his own money, but he also wrote, directed, and starred in them as well—a one-man show—that included *City Lights* (1931), *Modern Times* (1936), *The Great Dictator* (1941), and *Monsieur Verdoux* (1947).

UA's most active producers during the 1930s were Samuel Goldwyn (1882–1974), Twentieth Century Pictures, Alexander Korda (1893–1956), David O. Selznick (1902–1965), Walter Wanger (1894–1968), and a few others. Three of these producers, Goldwyn, Korda and Selznick, also became partners in the company. As a group, they constituted a new breed of independent—the "creative" producer. The creative producer operated in much the same way as the head of a major studio, only on a much smaller scale. Sam Goldwyn, for example, owned a small studio in Hollywood, where he made forty pictures during the decade, all of which he personally financed. His production staff included some of the best talent around—art director Richard Day (1896–1972); cinematographer Gregg Toland (1904–1948); music director Alfred Newman (1901–1970); directors John Ford (1894–1973), Leo McCarey (1898–1969), King Vidor (1894–1982), and William Wyler (1902–1981); and writers Sidney Howard (1891–1939), Elmer Rice (1892–1967), Maxwell Anderson (1888–1959), Lillian Hellman (1906–1984), Ben Hecht (1894–1964), Robert E. Sherwood (1896–1955), and S. N. Behrman (1893–1973). What linked Goldwyn and the other producers to UA was the distribution contract, a document guaranteeing that UA would sell and promote their pictures in all the principal markets of the world. In return for this service, UA charged its producers a distribution fee to recoup its marketing expenses and to generate a profit.

United Artists released relatively few pictures each year, from fifteen to twenty. As a group, they could be labeled prestige pictures. As understood by the trade, the prestige picture was not a genre; rather, the term designated production values and promotion treatment. A prestige picture was typically a big-budget special of any genre based on a presold property and injected with plenty of star power, glamorous and elegant trappings, and elaborate special effects.

Sam Goldwyn produced a series of Eddie Cantor (1892–1964) musicals starting with *Whoopee!* (1930), which was shot in two-strip Technicolor and marked Busby Berkeley's entry into the movies, and two prestige films based on Pulitzer Prize–winning works, King Vidor's *Street Scene* (1931) and John Ford's *Arrowsmith* (1931). Goldwyn sustained his reputation as a producer of class pictures by making three pictures in collaboration with William Wyler, *Dodsworth* (1936), *Dead End* (1937), and *Wuthering Heights* (1939). *Wuthering Heights*, Goldwyn's last picture for UA, was one of the most highly admired pictures of the decade, winning the New York Film Critics award for best picture, among

other honors. Based on Emily Brontë's strange tale of a tortured romance, it starred Laurence Olivier as the demon-possessed Heathcliff and Merle Oberon as his beloved Cathy.

Twentieth Century, which was owned by Joseph Schenck and Darryl Zanuck (1902–1979), a former Warner Bros. producer, supplied UA with quality fare from 1933 until it merged with Fox Films in 1935, including Alfred Werker's *The House of Rothschild* (1934) and Richard Boleslawski's *Les Miserables* (1935). The British producer-director Alexander Korda (1893–1956) became a partner in UA in 1935 after delivering *The Private life of Henry VIII* (1933), an historical biopic starring Charles Laughton, which earned Laughton an Academy Award® for Best Actor and sparked a brief interest in the United States in British costume pictures and historical biopics. Korda went on to deliver such films as *The Scarlet Pimpernel* (1934), René Clair's *The Ghost Goes West* (1935), and *The Four Feathers* (1939).

In his attempt to compete with the very best in the business, David O. Selznick (1902–1965) produced a series of prestige picture for UA that included *The Prisoner of Zenda* (John Cromwell, 1937), *A Star Is Born* (William Wellman, 1937), and *Rebecca* (Alfred Hitchcock, 1940). Selznick's biggest hit, *Gone With The Wind* (1939), was given to MGM in return for Clark Gable's services and much-needed production financing. After being made a partner in UA in 1941, Selznick produced three hits, *Since You Went Away* (Cromwell, 1944), *I'll Be Seeing You* (William Dieterle, 1944), and *Spellbound* (Hitchcock, 1945).

Always in search of films from any appropriate source to fill out its roster, UA set up a production company in 1936 for Walter Wanger, a former studio producer turned independent like Selznick. With financing guaranteed by UA, Wanger produced three hits, Cromwell's *Algiers* (1938), Ford's *Stagecoach* (1939), and Hitchcock's *Foreign Correspondent* (1940).

In a category of his own, Walt Disney (1901–1966) released his phenomenally successful Mickey Mouse and Silly Symphony cartoons through the company from 1932 to 1937. *Flowers and Trees* (1932), *The Three Little Pigs* (1933), *The Tortoise and the Hare* (1934), *Three Orphan Kittens* (1935), and *The Country Cousin* (1936) won an Academy Award® for Disney each year he was at UA.

The ranks of independent producers swelled during World War II as a result of greater demand for entertainment by the public and a drop in production by the studios due to shortages of material and studio personnel. And since independent production became less speculative, commercial banks were willing to at least provide partial production financing under certain conditions. Most of the new entrants were speculators of various stripes, but they also included the occasional star or director who was fleeing the servitude of the studio system. UA opened its doors to many independent producers, some of them far below the company's previous standards. The few pictures that perpetuated UA's reputation in this period, in addition to Chaplin's *Great Dictator*, were *In Which We Serve* (Noel Coward, 1942), *Stage Door Canteen* (Sol Lessor, 1943), and *The Story of G.I. Joe* (Lester Cowan, 1945).

UA's best known pictures after the war were produced by old hands, the eccentric millionaire Howard Hughes (1905–1976), who had been dabbling in production since the 1930s, and UA founder Charles Chaplin, who kept up his pace of producing, directing, and starring in a film once every five to six years. In 1946, UA agreed to distribute Hughes's *The Outlaw* starring Jane Russell, a picture which Hughes had briefly released on his own in 1943 without a Production Code seal. Hughes made the required cuts for UA, but after the film was released he bypassed the company and launched a vulgar advertising campaign that prominently focused on Jane Russell's breasts. After the Production Code Administration (PCA) revoked its approval of the movie, Hughes brought suit against the organization charging unlawful restraint of trade, but he lost his fight. Although the major circuits barred the film, independent houses were more than happy to play it, and *The Outlaw* went on to gross more than any other picture UA had in release.

Chaplin's *Monsieur Verdoux* (1947) was controversial for entirely separate reasons. Critical reaction by the press to this picture, in which Chaplin abandoned his famous tramp to play a cynical middle-class bank clerk who happened also to be a modern Bluebeard, was hostile. Chaplin's popularity had sunk to its all-time low as a result of a paternity suit he was involved in and rising resentment over Chaplin's alleged pro-communist stand during the war. He was asked if he was a communist, he was asked why he had not become an American citizen, and he was accused of being unpatriotic. John Rankin, a member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, called for Chaplin's deportation. Following a hate campaign, led primarily by the Catholic War Veterans and the American Legion, and boycotts of the picture, Chaplin ordered it withdrawn from distribution. Even though it grossed more than $1.5 million abroad, Chaplin felt that the UA sales force was responsible for its poor domestic showing, with the result that he lost confidence in his company.

THE KRIM-BENJAMIN TAKEOVER

The motion picture industry entered a recession after the war, causing financial institutions to declare a moratorium

on independent production. Lacking capital resources and unable to finance production, UA went downhill. The threat of bankruptcy in 1951 convinced Mary Pickford and Charles Chaplin, the two remaining stockholders in the company, to turn over operating control of United Artists to a management team headed by two young lawyers, Arthur B. Krim and Robert S. Benjamin. The deal Krim and Benjamin struck was that if United Artists turned a profit in any one of the first three years of their management, the team would be allowed to purchase a 50 percent stake in the company for a nominal one dollar per share.

Taking the offensive, Krim and Benjamin gained the confidence and support of an increasing number of banks and initiated a broad financing program that attracted important producers, stars, and directors to the company. In return for distribution rights, UA now offered independent producers financing, creative control over their work, and a share of the profits. In essence, UA went into partnership with its producers. The company and a producer had to agree on the basic ingredients—story, cast, director, and budget—but in the making of the picture, UA gave the producer complete autonomy including the final cut.

After a picture was placed in release, United Artists charged its producer a schedule of distribution fees ranging from 30 to 45 percent of the film's rentals, depending on the market (that is, domestic or foreign). These fees were designed not only to recoup the company's expenses in maintaining a permanent worldwide sales organization, but also to generate profits. Since the marketing costs of a picture remained relatively fixed regardless of its box office performance, a hit could generate revenues well in excess of distribution expenses.

Distribution profits rewarded the company, to be sure, but UA also used them to offset losses on production loans and to contribute to a pool for the financing of new projects. For those pictures that earned back their investments, United Artists also enjoyed production profits. Since the distribution fee offset UA's risk as financier, the company could afford to be generous with the production profits. UA gave anywhere from 50 to 75 percent of the profits to the producer. These were the rewards for the filmmaker's efforts.

The Krim-Benjamin team turned a profit in its first year and within a few years bought out Chaplin and Pickford to own the company outright by 1955. In 1957, they took the company public and its stock was traded on the New York Stock Exchange. By then, UA's roster included fifty independents, among them such actor-producers as John Wayne (1907–1979), Frank Sinatra (1915–1998), Gregory Peck (1916–2003), Bob Hope (1903–2003), and Kirk Douglas (b. 1916); such director-producers as William Wyler (1902–1981), Stanley Kramer (1913–2001), and Otto Preminger (1906–1986); and such production units as the Mirisch Corporation and Hecht-Hill-Lancaster. No longer the smallest of the majors, United Artists grew to become the largest producer-distributor of motion pictures in the world by 1966.

Two prestige pictures came to the new UA the first year, Sam Spiegel's *The African Queen* (John Huston, 1951) and Stanley Kramer's *High Noon* (Fred Zinnemann, 1952). In 1952, UA released Arch Oboler's *Bwana Devil*, which started the 3-D craze, and in 1953, Otto Preminger's *The Moon Is Blue*, which ignited a campaign by UA to challenge the Production Code. The Hecht-Lancaster production of *Marty* (1955), a small-budget sleeper starring Ernest Borgnine, further boosted the company's reputation by winning the Oscar® for best picture. After going public, UA was off and running. Stanley Kramer delivered *The Defiant Ones* (1958) and *Judgment at Nuremberg* (1961); Kirk Douglas, *The Vikings* (1958); Otto Preminger, *Exodus* (1960); Burt Lancaster, *The Birdman of Alcatraz* (1962); and Jerome Hellman-John Schlesinger, *Midnight Cowboy* (1969). The latter was the only X-rated film to win the Oscar® for best picture.

By far, UA's most successful alliance was with the Mirisch Company. The brainchild of Harold Mirisch and his two brothers, Walter and Marvin, the Mirisch company operated as an "umbrella" organization that provided business and legal services to independents. The objective was to allow filmmakers to concentrate on production while the company managed the logistics of production, arranged the financing and distribution, and supervised the marketing. To produce its top-of-the-line product, Mirisch gave multiple-picture contracts to such ranking directors as Billy Wilder, John Sturges, Robert Wise, and George Roy Hill and to promising younger directors such as Blake Edwards and Norman Jewison.

The Mirisches produced nearly seventy pictures for UA over fifteen years. They were in every genre and consistently took Hollywood's top honors. Three pictures won Oscars® for best picture: *The Apartment* (Wilder, 1960), *West Side Story* (Robert Wise, 1961), and *In the Heat of the Night* (Norman Jewison, 1967). Other acclaimed Mirisch pictures included *Some Like It Hot* (Wilder, 1959), *The Magnificent Seven* (John Sturges, 1960), *The Pink Panther* (Blake Edwards, 1963), and *The Russians Are Coming, the Russians Are Coming* (Jewison, 1966).

United Artists operated internationally, like all the majors, which entailed marketing foreign films in the United States and investing in production overseas, in

BILLY WILDER

b. Samuel Wilder, Sucha Galicia, Austria-Hungary, 22 June 1906, d. 27 March 2002

Internationally acclaimed as one of Hollywood's great directors, Billy Wilder explored the dark side of postwar America. Wilder was a consummate craftsman, and worked in many styles and genres, among them film noir, social problem drama, melodrama, romantic comedy, and farce. His films challenged conventional movie taboos and were known for their acerbic wit and cynical social satire. Wilder's career peaked in 1960, when he won the best director, best screenplay, and best picture Oscars® for *The Apartment* to become the first person to win three Academy Awards® in a year.

A German emigré, Wilder got his break in 1936 and was hired as a screenwriter at Paramount, which paired him with Charles Brackett, the former drama critic for *The New Yorker*. Wilder and Brackett became the most successful writing team of the period, responsible for such scripts as *Bluebeard's Eighth Wife* (1938), *Midnight* (1939), and *Ninotchka* (1939, for MGM). Beginning directing in 1942, Wilder went on to make several award-winning films for Paramount, among them: *Double Indemnity* (1944), an archetypical film noir; *The Lost Weekend* (1945), a landmark social problem drama about alcoholism; and *Sunset Boulevard* (1950), a quintessential melodrama about Hollywood.

Turning independent producer in 1954, Wilder made *The Seven Year Itch* (1955) with Marilyn Monroe for Twentieth Century Fox and *Love in the Afternoon* (1957), a May-December romance with Gary Cooper and Audrey Hepburn, for Allied Artists before joining the Mirisch Corporation. Wilder catapulted the Mirisch company into the forefront of the independent producer ranks with *Some Like It Hot* (1959), a screwball farce starring Monroe, Tony Curtis, and Jack Lemmon. Co-written by I. A. L. Diamond, who enjoyed a twenty-five year partnership with Wilder, *Some Like It Hot* grossed more than any other comedy up to that time, and was the first of a long string of Mirisch entries to receive Academy Award® honors. Wilder and Diamond delivered two more hits, *The Apartment* (1960), a scathing comedy of manners about corporate America starring Lemmon, Shirley MacLaine, and Fred MacMurray; and *Irma La Douce* (1963), a sex farce about a Parisian streetwalker that again paired MacLaine and Lemmon. *Irma La Douce* became Wilder's biggest box office draw; afterwards, Wilder lost touch with his audience and his next films for Mirisch—*Kiss Me, Stupid* (1964), *The Fortune Cookie* (1966), and *The Private Life of Sherlock Holmes* (1970)—were box-office failures. Wilder continued to make quirky movies in the seventies but later found it difficult to find studio backing for his projects. He spent the remaining years of his life receiving accolades for his achievements in the movies.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Double Indemnity (1944), *The Lost Weekend* (1945), *Sunset Boulevard* (1950), *The Seven Year Itch* (1955), *Some Like It Hot* (1959), *The Apartment* (1960)

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Tino Balio

addition to marketing American films abroad. In its search for commercial product, United Artists fared best in Great Britain where it exploited the "Swinging London" phenomenon. Its British investment paid off big with Tony Richardson's production of *Tom Jones* (1963), a movie version of Henry Fielding's ribald and Hogarthian novel of the same name starring Albert Finney. The film won four Academy Awards®—for best picture, director, screenplay, and musical score—and set a new box office record for a foreign film.

United Artists financed two additional ventures that successfully capitalized on the British pop culture scene. The first was the James Bond films. Based on the novels of Ian Fleming (1908–1964), the James Bond series was produced by Cubby Broccoli and Harry Saltzman. Leading off with *Dr. No* (Terence Young, 1962),

Billy Wilder. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

Broccoli and Saltzman chose a relatively unknown actor from Edinburgh to play James Bond—Sean Connery. The Bond series continued with *From Russia with Love* (Terence Young, 1963), *Thunderball* (Terence Young, 1965), and additional hits to become the most successful series in film history. UA's second venture tapped British music. To determine if the Beatles, a new British guitar group from Liverpool, could generate interest in this country, UA commissioned Walter Shenson to produce *A Hard Day's Night* (Richard Lester, 1964) as a favor for UA's record division, which wanted a soundtrack LP of the Beatles to exploit in the American market. *A Hard Day's Night* captured the Beatles at the height of their first enormous wave of popularity. More than 1.5 million copies of the soundtrack LP were sold in the first two weeks of release and the picture went on to become a huge success.

THE TRANSAMERICA MERGER AND BEYOND

United Artists' successful track record made it an object of a takeover. The American film industry entered the age of conglomerates during the sixties as motion picture companies were either taken over by huge multifaceted corporations, absorbed into burgeoning entertainment conglomerates, or became conglomerates through diversification. The takeover of Paramount by Gulf + Western in 1966 marked the first such entry of a conglomerate into the film industry. This move was followed by the merger of United Artists with Transamerica Corporation, a full-line financial service organization headquartered in San Francisco in 1967. The takeover was a friendly one, but relations between parent and subsidiary soured when UA posted significant losses at the end of the sixties and Transamerica attempted to foist "new management techniques" on the company.

United Artists turned itself around by 1974 and reestablished ties to the creative community. Going into the 1970s, Woody Allen (b. 1935) delivered four pictures to UA—*Bananas* (1971), *Everything You Always Wanted to Know About Sex but Were Afraid to Ask* (1972), *Sleeper* (1973), and *Love and Death* (1975). Blake Edwards delivered a series of Pink Panther blockbusters—*The Return of the Pink Panther* (1975), *The Pink Panther Strikes Again* (1976), and *Revenge of the Pink Panther* (1978). And the Saul Zaentz-Michael Douglas production team delivered *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* (Milos Forman, 1975). Based on the Ken Kesey's celebrated cult novel, *Cuckoo's Nest*, starring Jack Nicholson and Louise Fletcher, grossed more than any previous UA release and achieved what no other picture in forty years had done—a sweep at the 1975 Academy Awards® (*It Happened One Night* was the first, in 1934). Nominated for nine Oscars®, *Cuckoo's Nest* won the top five—best picture, best director, best actor, best actress, and best screenplay adaptation. The following year, the Robert Chartoff-Irwin Winkler production of *Rocky* (John G. Alvidsen, 1976) won the Oscar® for best picture, the second time in a row for a UA picture. And in 1977, Woody Allen's *Annie Hall* won the Oscar® for best picture, the third time in a row for a UA picture and an industry record.

In January 1978, UA chairman Arthur Krim and top executives resigned from the company. The dismantling of what had been the industry's most stable management team stunned the film business and climaxed years of friction between the company and Transamerica, its conglomerate parent. Krim and his partners went on to form Orion Pictures, a boutique production-distribution company that struggled for most of its life until it finally filed for bankruptcy in 1991.

UA's new management had the misfortune of falling into a blockbuster trap. Sometimes a picture of enormous box office potential goes over budget immediately when put into production. What to do? If the company pulls the plug, the entire investment is lost and the company suffers the wrath of the creative community for not

The Apartment ***(Billy Wilder, 1960) won several Academy Awards® for United Artists.*** EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

permitting the filmmaker to realize the expected masterpiece. So more money is pumped in with the hope that no more catastrophes will occur. Such was the case of Michael Cimino's (b. 1943) *Heaven's Gate*. Proposed at $7.5 million, budgeted at $ 11.5 million, and written off finally at $44 million, the fiasco led to at least temporary unemployment for almost everyone associated with the picture and ultimately to the demise of UA itself.

UA had fallen into the blockbuster trap once before during the Krim-Benjamin regime. The picture was *The Greatest Story Ever Told* (George Stevens, 1965), a drama of the life of Christ based on the best-selling Fulton Oursler novel. Stevens was one of the most respected directors in the industry and the picture showed every promise of surpassing the box office performance of biblical spectaculars of the 1950s like *The Ten Commandments* (1956) and *Ben-Hur* (1959). *The Greatest Story*, though, earned the distinction of becoming the most ambitious and expensive film ever to be shot in the United States up to that time. Originally budgeted at a modest $7.4 million based on a twenty-three week shooting schedule, the picture ultimately cost $21 million and was brought in seventeen weeks behind schedule. The overrun was due in part to logistical problems, severe weather conditions on location in Nevada and Utah, and to the pace of Stevens's direction.

Critics found just about everything offensive—Stevens's literal and orthodox interpretations, the excessive running time, the sets "by Hallmark," the music, and particularly the cameos that employed thirty Academy Award® winners, among them Shelley Winters, Carroll Baker, John Wayne, and Sidney Poitier. To counter the adverse reviews, UA planned a slow and deliberate campaign that was designed to build the picture's prestige. Eventually, the picture recouped most of its investment.

Heaven's Gate met with a grimmer fate. It was booby-trapped from the start. Within months after UA approved *Heaven's Gate*, Cimino's *The Deer Hunter*

Jon Voight (left) and Dustin Hoffman in* Midnight Cowboy *(John Schlesinger, 1969), the only X-rated film to win an Oscar® for Best Picture. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

(1978) opened in New York and Los Angeles to smash business and won numerous awards, including five Oscars® for best picture, director, supporting actor, editing, and sound. Cimino began shooting *Heaven's Gate* immediately after the Academy Awards® ceremony. Two weeks into production, Cimino fell two weeks behind schedule. Sixteen weeks into production, costs had escalated to $21 million. Four weeks later, Cimino held a champagne party to celebrate the shooting of the millionth foot of film. Although UA took the drastic step of assuming fiscal control of the picture, the action came too late. A UA executive admitted that the studio seemed to have lost control of the film early on. Film critics were unanimous in their appraisal of the movie, calling *Heaven's Gate* an unqualified disaster. In its first theatrical run, the $44 million (including promotion costs) superbomb grossed at the box office exactly $12,032.61.

Transamerica had always enjoyed basking in UA's limelight; now it had to endure the humiliation of being associated with one of the most public motion picture failures of all time. Transamerica, therefore, was receptive to a preemptive offer from Kirk Kerkorian, the Las Vegas developer and new owner of MGM, to take UA off its hands. Transamerica got out of the motion picture business with a nice profit. The conglomerate paid $185 million for UA in 1967; Kerkorian offered and Transamerica accepted $320 million for the company in 1981. In acquiring UA, Kerkorian merged the company into a new corporate entity, MGM/UA Entertainment Company. Afterward, Kerkorian sold and bought all or parts of MGM at least four times. The final sale, for $4.8 billion, was to Sony in 2004, after which MGM and United Artists ceased to function as autonomous production entities.

SEE ALSO *Academy Awards®; Distribution; Independent Film; Producer; Studio System*

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UNIVERSAL

The history of Universal has been remarkably varied and complex. From the 1915 inauguration of its colossal facility in Hollywood, Universal was a model studio in terms of centralized mass production and efficient marketing. But its failure to develop an exhibition operation relegated Universal to "major minor" status during the classical era (i.e., from early 1920s through the 1940s), while the Big Five integrated majors ruled the industry. Thus Universal had the financial leverage and resources to develop only a few signature stars and product lines, although these did include such trademark cycles as the Deanna Durbin (b. 1921) musicals of the 1930s, the Abbott & Costello comedies of the 1940s, the Douglas Sirk (1897–1987)-directed melodramas of the 1950s, and, of course, the horror cycle that was the key marker of Universal's house style throughout the classical era.

After decades of relative stability as a second-class studio, Universal's postwar fortunes changed dramatically, due largely to the succession of owners and partners over the past half-century, successively International Pictures, Decca Records, the Music Corporation of America (MCA), Matsushita Electric, Vivendi, and General Electric. The most important and prolonged of these alliances involved MCA, which owned Universal from 1962 to 1990 and created a template of sorts for the media conglomerates that would come to rule and effectively define the New Hollywood. The keys to MCA-Universal's success were Lew Wasserman's (1913–2002) visionary leadership, the integration of its film and television operations, and the development of the modern movie blockbuster. But a sore spot for MCA-Universal, as it had been for the studio during the classical era, was the lack of a direct "pipeline" to consumers in the form of a theater chain, a broadcast or cable network, or some other delivery system.

Wasserman's decision in 1990 to sell the company to Matsushita, the Japanese electronics giant and the home-video pioneer, was intended to correct this shortcoming. That effort failed, leading to a period of sustained turmoil and a succession of four owners over a fifteen-year span. The most recent is General Electric, parent company of NBC, which bought the studio in 2004 and created "NBC Universal," which may mark a return to stability and industry might—albeit as a subsidiary of a global conglomerate with no real connections to the studio created almost a century ago.

THE CLASSICAL ERA

Universal was founded in 1912, when Carl Laemmle (1867–1939) and several other independent film pioneers pooled their interests to create the Universal Film Manufacturing Co. Within weeks, the new company was under the command of Laemmle, who controlled the studio for the next quarter-century. Laemmle got his start in the film business in Chicago in 1905 with a string of nickelodeon theaters, and he soon created a distribution "exchange" to ensure a steady flow of product. He ran afoul of the Motion Picture Patents Co., initiating a feud with Thomas Edison and his associates that intensified when he moved his company to New York, and, in 1909, launched a production operation, the Independent Motion Picture Co. (IMP). By 1912, when Laemmle merged IMP with several other firms to create Universal, the MPPC's power was waning and the demand for film product was surging. The movie business

JAMES WHALE

b. Dudley, Worcestershire, England, 22 July 1889, d. 29 May 1957

During a decade-long career in Hollywood, James Whale directed (and occasionally produced) some twenty films, most of them for Universal Pictures. He attained legendary stature for four of them: *Frankenstein* (1931), *The Old Dark House* (1932), *The Invisible Man* (1933), and *Bride of Frankenstein* (1935). The first of these, coming several months after Universal's breakthrough horror hit, *Dracula* (1931), solidified the genre as the cornerstone of Universal's "house style" in the 1930s and affirmed Whale as the studio's foremost staff director. The last of the four stands as a consummate achievement not only of classical horror but of classical Hollywood in general.

Whale started as a newspaper cartoonist in England before joining the service during World War I, and began acting in a German prisoner-of-war camp. He continued his stage career after the war, moving into set design and eventually directing. A hit play brought him to the United States in the late 1920s, and the talkie revolution brought him to Hollywood. Whale signed with Universal in 1931 to direct an adaptation of the stage play *Waterloo Bridge*, and he followed that project with *Frankenstein*. Whale himself cast the lead roles, selecting Colin Clive to play Dr. Frankenstein and a little-used Universal contract player, Boris Karloff, for the monster. The casting of Karloff was truly inspired, as the lanky, low-key British actor brought both menace and pathos to the role, thus creating a screen icon and a crucial genre convention—the monster as both sympathetic outcast and as rampaging beast. Karloff became one of Universal's contract stars and, along with Bela Lugosi, defined the studio's trademark genre.

Whale followed *Frankenstein* with a second-rate melodrama, *Impatient Maiden* (1932), establishing a pattern (begun with *Waterloo Bridge*) of alternating horror films and women's pictures. Then came another polished Karloff vehicle, *The Old Dark House*, an oddly effective melding of the haunted house formula with a comedy of manners that marked Whale's first effort to interject offbeat black humor into the horror genre. That effort continued in *The Invisible Man*, as the disembodied protagonist (voiced by Claude Rains) displays a self-deprecating wit and creates a succession of comic incidents before the effects of his experiments render him a murderous psychopath. *Bride of Frankenstein*, the culmination of Whale's style, expertly balances horrific drama and high kitsch, careening in its memorable finale into screwball romance as Karloff's genial monster is spurned by the doctor's newest creation, Elsa Lanchaster of the electric-shock hairdo.

Whale's next major assignment was a lavish, all-star remake of *Show Boat*, a solid critical and commercial success on its release in 1936. Nevertheless, the picture's production delays and budget overruns cost the Laemmles their studio. Although he directed another nine films before retiring in 1941 to concentrate on his painting, after *Showboat*, Whale's career as a successful, innovative filmmaker was at an end. Whale made an unsuccessful comeback attempt in the late 1940s and died, aptly enough, "under mysterious circumstances" (a drowning victim in his swimming pool) in 1957.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Frankenstein (1931), *The Old Dark House* (1932), *The Invisible Man* (1933), *Bride of Frankenstein* (1935), *Show Boat* (1936), *Gods and Monsters* (1998)

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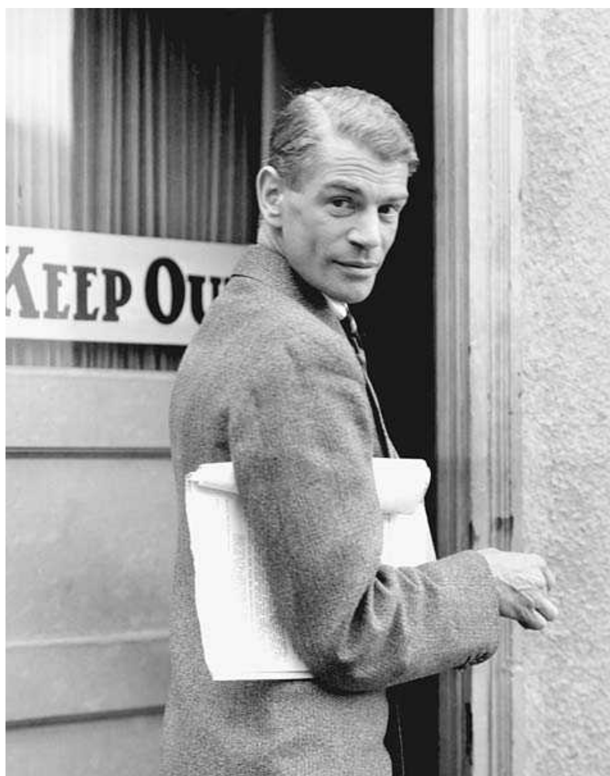
Thomas Schatz

was expanding and maturing rapidly, and Laemmle was determined to service that industry by developing Universal into the movie-industry equivalent of the Ford Motor Company. In early 1914, he purchased the 230-acre Taylor Ranch, some five miles north of Hollywood, and began construction on Universal City, by far the largest and most advanced filmmaking facility at that time. Inaugurated in March 1915, Universal City was a testament to a factory-based, assembly-line mode of production, with an annual output of some 250 features,



James Whale. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

shorts, serials, and newsreels that could be combined into a predictable, highly standardized "program" of pictures.

This left Universal increasingly out of step with the other major producers, who were rapidly moving to star-driven, feature-length films geared to the growing number of downtown theaters that catered to more "urbane," middle-class moviegoers. Despite the changing marketplace, Laemmle remained adamantly opposed to developing a theater chain—an enormously expensive enterprise—and to upgrading his output and paying top dollar for personnel. Thus, while a remarkable range of filmmaking talent started at Universal, including stars like Rudolph Valentino (1895–1926), Lon Chaney (1883–1930), and Mae Murray (1889–1965), and directors like John Ford (1894–1973), Erich von Stroheim (1885–1957), Rex Ingram (1892–1950), and Tod Browning (1882–1962), they eventually left in pursuit of higher salaries, bigger budgets, and greater creative control.

Another significant expatriate was Irving Thalberg (1899–1936), who began his career as Laemmle's secretary in New York City in 1919, just out of high school, and within three years was overseeing production at Universal City. Thalberg convinced Laemmle to produce a few of Hollywood's biggest "prestige pictures," notably Stroheim's *Foolish Wives* (1922) and two spectacular Chaney vehicles, *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* (1923) and *The Phantom of the Opera* (1925). But ongoing differences with Laemmle's conservative market strategy led to Thalberg's departure for Louis B. Mayer's independent production company, which in 1924 merged with Metro and Goldwyn to create MGM.

Universal was among the last of the studios to produce talkies because of Laemmle's commitment to program pictures for the subsequent-run (small town and rural) markets, which were the last theaters to convert to sound. Universal's eventual conversion coincided with the rise of Carl Laemmle, Jr. (1908–1979), who took command of the studio in April 1928, on his twenty-first birthday. Thereafter, "Junior" Laemmle supervised Universal's sound conversion and engineered its return to prestige-level pictures with adaptations of the stage hits *Broadway* and *Show Boat* in 1929, a lavish color musical revue, *King of Jazz* (1930), and a stunning adaptation of *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1930), directed by Lewis Milestone (1895–1980). Laemmle's plans to upgrade Universal's output were dashed when the Depression hit, and in fact he closed down production for several months in early 1931 to revamp operations and revert to an even more efficient, low-budget production strategy.

One key consequence of those cutbacks was Universal's move to horror, which became its trademark genre in the 1930s. This was a logical move for two basic reasons. First, Universal (like Paramount) had an excellent international distribution system, particularly in Europe, where it had been drawing on talent for several years—especially from Germany, whose recruits included Paul Fejos (1884–1960) and Paul Leni (1885–1929), early instigators of Universal's horror trend with *The Cat and the Canary* (1927) and *The Man Who Laughs* (1928), as well as Karl Freund (1890–1969), William Wyler (1902–1981), Conrad Veidt (1893–1943), and dozens of others. Second, the horror film was a remarkably cost-efficient genre to develop and maintain. Its design relied on darkness and mood rather than elaborate sets, and it was far less star-driven than other genres, although Universal did have the good fortune to cast two unknown actors in its breakthrough horror films—Bela Lugosi (1882–1956) in *Dracula* and Boris Karloff (1887–1969) in *Frankenstein* (both 1931)—who would become forever wedded to Universal's house genre, as would director James Whale (1889–1957) and cinematographer Karl Freund. *Dracula* and *Frankenstein* began a trend that coalesced rapidly with *Murders in the Rue Morgue*, *The Old Dark House*, and *The Mummy* (all 1932). Other studios followed suit, but none really challenged Universal's veritable monopoly on the horror film market during the 1930s.

Universal turned out a number of successful women's pictures as well, notably *Back Street* (1932), *Imitation of Life* (1934), and *Magnificent Obsession* (1935), which also contributed to its Depression-era house style. Far more important, though, was its ongoing commitment to subfeatures, ranging from *Jungle Jim* and *Radio Patrol* serials (generally twelve to fifteen weekly installments running two reels or twenty minutes each), to its seemingly endless output of B-western programmers starring Hoot Gibson (1892–1962), Tom Mix (1880–1940), Johnny Mack Brown (1904–1974), Buck Jones (1889–1942), and singing cowboy Ken Maynard (1895–1973). This irked "Junior" Laemmle, who again tried to raise the studio's sights as the Depression eased—this time with disastrous results. Several expensive prestige pictures, notably *Magnificent Obsession* (1935), *Sutter's Gold* (1936), and particularly a remake of *Show Boat* (1936), ran severely over budget, forcing the Laemmles to borrow heavily. When they failed to meet their obligations in early 1936, J. Cheever Cowdin of the Standard Capital Corporation of New York exercised his option to buy Universal Pictures. The Laemmles were forced out, replaced by Robert H. Cochrane (1879–1973) as company president and Charles Rogers (1892–1957) as studio head. By then, *Show Boat*, directed by James Whale and starring Irene Dunne (1898–1990), had been released to widespread critical and popular acclaim, becoming one of the biggest hits in studio history.

Universal had several other hits in 1936, the most important by far being *Three Smart Girls*, a modest musical marking the debut of fourteen-year-old soprano Deanna Durbin, which was produced by Boris Pasternak (1890–1960) and directed by Henry Koster (1905–1988), two German recruits who put the "teenage diva" through her paces in a run of hits including *One Hundred Men and a Girl* (1937), *Mad About Music* (1938), *That Certain Age* (1938), *Three Smart Girls Grow Up* (1939), and *Spring Parade* (1940). The Durbin films gave Universal another vital star-genre formula, adding a significant dimension to its house style and a veritable insurance policy at the box office. Durbin's hits also enabled Universal to take on A-class projects with outside talent, notably *Destry Rides Again* (1939), costarring Marlene Dietrich and James Stewart, and several films starring W. C. Fields (1880–1946), including *You Can't Cheat an Honest Man* (1939), *The Bank Dick*, and *My Little Chickadee* (both 1940).

Universal's late Depression recovery was orchestrated by Nate J. Blumberg and Cliff Work (1891–1963), who replaced Cochrane and Rogers in 1937. The studio actually showed year-end profits in 1939 for the first time in a full decade. The recovery continued into the 1940s, although Universal failed to realize the kind of boom enjoyed by the majors due to its lack of a theater chain and its relative dearth of A-class talent to exploit the overheated first-run market. The studio did sign deals during the war with a number of top independents producers, including Gregory LaCava (1892–1952), Jack Skirball (1896–1985), Frank Lloyd (1886–1960), and Walter Wanger (1894–1968). The most important of these was Wanger, who entered a long-term relationship after the release of *Eagle Squadron* in 1942, and went on to produce both in-house projects like *Arabian Nights* (1942), Universal's first Technicolor release, and *Scarlet Street* (1945) by way of Diana Productions, Wanger's partnership with the film's star (and his wife), Joan Bennett (1910–1990), and its director, Fritz Lang (1890–1976).

While relying on independent producers for much of its A-class product during the war, Universal continued to crank out low-cost programmers, including B westerns with Tex Ritter (1905–1974) and Rod Cameron (1910–1983), the Sherlock Holmes series with Basil Rathbone (1892–1967) (picked up from Fox), and low-budget horror films like *The Invisible Man Returns* (1940), *The Ghost of Frankenstein* (1942), and *The Wolf Man* (1941), launching a new cycle starring Lon Chaney, Jr. (1906–1973). Durbin's star faded badly in the early 1940s, but her decline was offset by the sudden stardom of Abbott & Costello. Concurrent with Paramount's Hope-Crosby hits, Abbott & Costello utterly dominated the box office charts during the war, initially with "service comedies" like *Buck Privates* and *In the Navy* (both 1941), and later with genre parodies, including a Hope-Crosby spoof, *Pardon My Sarong* (1942).

UNIVERSAL-INTERNATIONAL AND THE EARLY MCA YEARS

Universal's revenues and profits reached record levels during the war and then peaked in 1946, a year in which the studio underwent a profound change. In an effort to upgrade its films and compete more directly with the major studios, Universal merged with International Pictures, an independent company run by Leo Spitz and William Goetz (1903–1969) that specialized in prestige productions. Engineered by Cowdin, Blumberg, and British producer J. Arthur Rank (1888–1972), the merger installed Spitz and Goetz as heads of production, phased out B-movies and subfeatures, and reduced studio output from its wartime average of fifty per year (twice the majors' output) to thirty-five. Existing deals with Wanger, Mark Hellinger (1903–1947), and other independent producers were extended, while new pacts were signed with several others. Universal also entered a complex international distribution agreement with Rank and his British counterpart, Alexander Korda (1893–1956).

Universal-International (U-I) enjoyed critical success in the immediate postwar era, with Hellinger turning out three successive hits—*The Killers* (1946), *Brute Force*

Elsa Lanchester (left) and Boris Karloff in James Whale's* Bride of Frankenstein *(1935). **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

(1947), and *The Naked City* (1948)—that were among the strongest crime films of the era. Laurence Olivier (1907–1989) directed and starred in an adaptation of *Hamlet* (1948) that gave the studio its first top Oscars® in years. But critical success did not translate into box-office revenues: record profits of $4.6 million in 1946 became net losses of $3.2 million in 1948. So it was back to basics at Universal City, with the studio reverting to high-volume, low-cost formula films for the subsequent-run market, best characterized by three hit series: the *Abbott & Costello Meet* . . . cycle launched in 1948 with *Abbott & Costello Meet Frankenstein* (1948); the Ma and Pa Kettle series launched in 1949, and the Francis the Talking Mule series in 1950. All three were targeted at small town and rural audiences, and all three series flourished throughout the 1950s. While the low-grade series kept the studio machinery running and the revenues flowing, Bill Goetz managed to keep A-class feature production alive through a truly extraordinary deal with talent agent Lew Wasserman, head of MCA (Music Corporation of America), for the services of James Stewart (1908–1997) in *Winchester '73* (1950). The deal gave Stewart 50 percent of the net revenues of the film, making him an equal partner with U-I and forever changing the nature and scope of profit-participation deals in Hollywood. The success of *Winchester '73* led to similar deals with Stewart on films like *Bend of the River* (1952), *Thunder Bay* (1953), and *The Glenn Miller Story* (1953), and with several other top stars like Alan Ladd (1913–1964) (*Saskatchewan*, 1954) and Kirk Douglas (b. 1916) (*Man Without a Star*, 1955) as well.

Goetz negotiated the first of these deals, but his role at U-I rapidly diminished in the early 1950s due to another change in ownership. In late 1951, the music giant Decca Records, which had been looking for an entree into the movie business, began buying up

ABBOTT and COSTELLO

William A. (Bud) Abbott, b. Asbury Park, New Jersey, 2 October 1895, d. 24 April 1974
Louis Francis (Lou) Costello, b. Patterson, New Jersey, 6 March 1906, d. 3 March 1959

Bud Abbott and Lou Costello were Universal's top stars of the 1940s, eclipsed only by Paramount's comedy duo of Bob Hope and Bing Crosby, and they continued to costar in Universal comedies until the mid-1950s. The duo proved eminently adaptable, shifting from service comedies (comedies about life in the military) to genre parodies to comedy-horror hybrids, although the essence of their onscreen appeal remained the comic banter and classic shtick (like their "Who's on First?" routine) first developed on the vaudeville stage years earlier.

Indeed, the lanky, snide Abbott and dumpy, bumbling Costello were comedy veterans when they made their unlikely breakthrough as movie stars. They refined their comic skills on the burlesque circuit in the early 1930s, eventually taking their routines to radio and to Broadway. They signed with Universal for a second-rate (even by Universal standards) 1940 romp, *One Night in the Tropics* (1940), and then were featured in a military farce, *Buck Privates* (1941), as a pair of inept army draftees who comically survive basic training and become unlikely heroes. The plot was a pastiche of army jokes and vaudeville routines, interspersed with tunes performed by the Andrews Sisters—including the Oscar®-nominated "Boogie Woogie Bugle Boy," which became a wartime standard.

Buck Privates was a huge and unexpected hit, which Universal immediately followed with two more 1941 service comedies, *In the Navy* and *Keep 'Em Flying*. These were created at breakneck speed by Universal's Abbott and Costello unit, whose key contributors were the producer Alex Gottlieb, the director Arthur Lubin, the writer John Grant, and the cinematographer Joe Valentine. By the time the United States entered the war in December 1941, Abbott and Costello had become the industry's top box-office attraction. At that point Universal shifted the focus (out of respect for the "war effort") from service comedies to genre parodies, including *Pardon My Sarong* (1942), a spoof of the Hope-Crosby "Road" pictures. The duo remained atop the box-office charts throughout the war, along with Hope and Crosby and Betty Grable, but their appeal waned in the immediate postwar period amid repeated announcements of their impending split. They were soon written off as an offbeat wartime phenomenon.

As their stars faded, Universal writer Grant and the producer Robert Arthur devised a genre recombination strategy to meld the Abbott and Costello formula with the horror "reunion" pictures of the war years like *Frankenstein Meets the Wolf Man* (1943). The result was *Abbott & Costello Meet Frankenstein* (1948), which revived not only the duo's careers but also two fading studio formulas. That unlikely hit was followed by a succession of low-cost comedy-horror hybrids, from *Abbott & Costello Meet the Killer, Boris Karloff* (1949) to *Abbott & Costello Meet the Mummy* (1955). The pair finally split in 1957, two years before Lou Costello's death.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

One Night in the Tropics (1940), *Buck Privates* (1941), *Pardon My Sarong* (1942), *Lost in a Harem* (1944), *The Time of Their Lives* (1946), *Abbott & Costello Meet Frankenstein* (1948), *Abbott & Costello in the Foreign Legion* (1950), *Abbott & Costello Go to Mars* (1953)

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Universal stock, starting with the holdings of Spitz, Goetz, and Rank. By 1953, Decca had controlling interest and Spitz and Goetz were out altogether, replaced by the Decca president, Milton J. Rackmil, who served as president and CEO of U-I as well. Rackmil operated out of New York City and continued to focus primarily on Decca, while Nate Blumberg ran the studio and Ed Muhl, the long-time plant manager, oversaw production, with the day-to-day filmmaking handled by a handful of contract producers. In fact, Universal was one of the last

Bud Abbott (left) and Lou Costello find themselves in the* Foreign Legion *(1950). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

studios to maintain a producer-unit system, with over half of its output from 1952 to 1958 being handled by only five producers, each of whom specialized in a particular type of film.

Robert Arthur (1909–1986) handled low-budget comedies and series films, including the Abbott & Costello, Ma and Pa Kettle, and Francis series. Aaron Rosenberg (1912–1979) handled high-end drama, particularly Technicolor adventure films shot on location (including the Stewart films). Ross Hunter (1920–1996) produced Universal's "women's pictures"—mainly light romance and glossy melodrama. The latter included director Douglas Sirk's baroque weepies *All I Desire* (1953), *Magnificent Obsession* (1954), *All That Heaven Allows* (1955), and *Imitation of Life* (1959), which confounded critics but did excellent business. William Alland (1916–1997) specialized in B-grade westerns and science-fiction films, often in collaboration with director Jack Arnold (1916–1992): *It Came from Outer Space* (1953); *Creature from the Black Lagoon* (1954); *This Island Earth* (1955). Albert Zugsmith (1910–1993) was the most adventurous and eclectic of the lot, producing such wide-ranging films as the sci-fi classic *The Incredible Shrinking Man* (1957), Orson Welles's (1915–1985) film noir masterwork *Touch of Evil* (1958), and two of Sirk's most distinctive films, *Written on the Wind* (1956) and *The Tarnished Angels* (1958).

The films produced by Arthur, Rosenberg, Hunter, Alland, and Zugsmith defined Universal's house style until the late 1950s, when changes that had been transforming Hollywood finally caught up with the studio. The decade had been generally successful for both Decca and Universal, although the two companies never realized the kind of "synergies" that Rackmil and others anticipated. Universal had been operating in something of a time warp, maintaining a factory-oriented system

and seemingly oblivious to television, independent production, and the burgeoning blockbuster mentality. Then in 1958, after eight years of steady but modest profits, U-I's revenues dropped severely. Rackmil, realizing that the studio was woefully out of step with the changing industry, shut down production and began looking for a buyer, eventually striking a deal with MCA for the sale of the Universal City lot (for $11.25 million) while retaining control of Universal Pictures. Rackmil stayed on as nominal president of Universal after the sale in early 1959, but there was no question that the chief executive of the newly merged company was MCA's Lew Wasserman, who by then was arguably the most powerful individual in Hollywood—a prototype, in fact, for a new media mogul, just as MCA augured a new breed of entertainment company.

The phenomenal postwar rise of MCA as a force in Hollywood was propelled by its utter domination of three interrelated aspects of the movie and television industries: talent representation, telefilm series production, and TV syndication. MCA brokered more top talent, produced more prime time series, and leased more film and television titles from its library than any other company in the entertainment industry. By 1958, MCA's television subsidiary, Revue Productions, had outgrown its production facility, the former Republic Studio lot, and the purchase of the massive Universal City lot was a logical move at this stage of its development. Wasserman had his eye on the movie industry, however, so the purchase of the lot was simply step one in the acquisition of Universal Pictures itself. Step two was to facilitate the studio's recovery through releases laden with MCA talent: Doris Day and Rock Hudson in *Pillow Talk*, for instance, and Cary Grant and Tony Curtis in *Operation Petticoat* (both 1959). Those two hits helped carry Universal to record profits of $4.7 million in 1959, and the trend continued with *Spartacus* (1960), a picture that Universal fully financed and coproduced with Bryna Productions, an independent company set up by MCA for Kirk Douglas, who produced and starred in the historical epic. *Spartacus* was the most expensive film in Universal's history, marking its first foray into the heady realm of blockbuster productions; it was also the biggest box office hit of 1960.

By then, Wasserman had decided to acquire Universal by buying its parent company, Decca, but the acquisition was complicated by legal and regulatory issues. MCA was already contending with antitrust and conflict of interest challenges by the Justice Department and the FCC, and these intensified when the agency sought to acquire Universal. Thus Wasserman opted not only to sell off the talent agency but to dissolve it altogether when MCA bought Decca and Universal in 1962, creating an integrated film, television, and music company—a veritable paradigm for the modern media conglomerate.

THE MCA-UNIVERSAL ERA

Within days of the merger, Wasserman began construction on MCA World Headquarters, a.k.a. the Black Tower, a formidable sixteen-story, black glass monolith that soon came to symbolize MCA-Universal's awesome power in Hollywood. Wasserman also reinstituted the Universal Studio Tour, which dated back to the silent era, and whose success eventually would spawn the studio's colossal theme park operation. That was years away, however, as was MCA-Universal's domination of the movie business. What carried the company through the 1960s, which were troubled times for Hollywood at large as well as for Universal Pictures, was the same dual strategy of TV series production and syndication that had been the basis for MCA's rise in the 1950s. Universal Television cranked out one hit series after another in the 1960s, including, ironically enough, movie-length TV shows—both "long-form" (90-minute) TV series like *The Virginian* (1962–1971) and *The Name of the Game* (1968–1971), as well as made-for-TV movies, a format that Universal pioneered and steadily refined for NBC. By the early 1970s Universal boasted twice the television output of its closest competitors, Paramount and Warner, and had the world's leading TV syndication operation. Besides top series like *Marcus Welby M.D.* (1969–1976) and *Kojak* (1973–1978), Universal successfully melded the series and TV movie formats in the "NBC Mystery Movie" (1971–1977) amalgam of *Columbo*, *McCloud*, and *McMillan and Wife*. The importance of Universal's TV division was underscored in 1973 when MCA's founder, Jules Stein, retired, moving Wasserman up to the position of chairman-CEO, and the MCA presidency was filled by Universal Television head Sidney Sheinberg (b. 1935).

Wasserman and Sheinberg ruled the MCA-Universal empire for the next two decades, thus becoming the most enduring and stable management team in Hollywood. Their longevity was aided immensely by a succession of hits that took Universal Pictures—traditionally dead last among the movie studios in terms of revenues and market share—to the very top of the industry by the early 1980s. The surge began in 1973 with two major hits, *American Graffiti* and *The Sting*, continued in 1974 with two hit disaster spectacles, *Earthquake* and *Airport '75*, and then went into high gear with the June 1975 release of *Jaws*, an industry watershed. Besides putting whiz kid Steven Spielberg (b. 1946) on the industry map (it was his second feature), *Jaws* provided a prototype for the modern Hollywood blockbuster: a high-cost, high-speed, high-concept entertainment machine propelled by a

Industrial Light and Magic's velociraptors stalk Tim Murphy (Joseph Mazzello) in* Jurassic Park *(1993), one of Steven Spielberg's megahits for Universal. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

nationwide, "saturation" release campaign, which was subsequently milked for every licensing and tie-in dollar possible, including sequels and theme-park rides. *Jaws* was the first "summer blockbuster" and the first film to return over $100 million in rental receipts to its distributor—still the measure of a blockbuster hit. Universal kept the momentum going after *Jaws* with *Smokey and the Bandit* (1977), *Animal House*, *Jaws 2*, and *The Deer Hunter* (all 1978), *The Jerk* (1979), *The Blues Brothers* (1980), and then in 1982 released another Spielberg-directed megahit, *E.T.*, which, like *Jaws*—and like *Jurassic Park* in 1993—would break the existing box-office records, becoming the biggest all-time box office hit at the time of its release.

These blockbusters defined the New Hollywood and signaled a certain consistency in terms of product, but Universal was actually anything but consistent in terms of corporate structure, market strategy, and production operations during the 1980s and 1990s. When *Jaws* was released, Universal was still a factory-oriented studio relying on a dual output of film and television, and no company in Hollywood was better equipped to rule the industry in terms of sheer volume and efficiency. In 1975, employment at the studio surpassed 6,000 (an all-time record), and all thirty-four of its sound stages were active, with an average of twenty separate television and feature film units in production on any given day. Universal sustained that impetus into the early 1980s as it climbed to the top spot in the industry in terms of market share, revenues, and profits—an unthinkable prospect during the classical and postwar eras.

But MCA-Universal steadily declined during the 1980s for a number of reasons. Universal squandered its massive industry lead in television production by shifting its focus to feature films, and, like the rest of the industry, to the development of blockbuster hits and franchises. Universal also relied increasingly on talent agencies—particularly Mike Ovitz's Creative Artists Agency (CAA)—to package its most ambitious pictures, which included a few big hits like *Out of Africa* (1985) but also costly flops like *Howard the Duck* (1986). Meanwhile, MCA struggled to keep pace with its major competitors, which were rapidly expanding and diversifying, thanks in most cases to a major merger-and-acquisition wave that began with News

Corp-Fox in 1985 and swelled significantly in 1989 with the Time-Warner and Sony-Columbia mergers.

At that point, Wasserman decided to find a deep-pocketed buyer to keep MCA-Universal competitive in the global entertainment marketplace. In 1990 he sold the studio for $6.6 billion to the Japanese industrial giant Matsushita, whose VHS home-video system had vanquished Sony's Betamax, and which, like Sony, was looking to Hollywood for a "hardware-software" alliance. The Matsushita deal actually left MCA-Universal intact with Wasserman and Sheinberg still in control, but the union proved disastrous almost from the start because of the collapse of the Japanese economy and severe conflicts between the Japanese owners and the Hollywood-based management. Despite a run of hits in the early 1990s, including Spielberg's back-to-back 1993 hits, *Jurassic Park* and *Schindler's List*, Matsushita sold the studio to the Canadian distillery Seagram in 1995. In the wake of that deal, Seagram CEO Edgar Bronfman, Jr. dissolved MCA, sold off most of Universal's TV and cable assets, and shifted its focus to the music industry. While the latter effort was generally successful, Universal continued to flounder as a film studio, and so in 2000 Bronfman sold out to the French water and power giant Vivendi. This union was another unmitigated disaster, leading to the purchase in 2004 of Vivendi-Universal by General Electric, the parent company of NBC, and the subsequent creation of "NBC Universal." (GE paid roughly $14 billion for an 80-percent interest in Vivendi-Universal's US film and television interests.)

Universal's acquisition by GE and its alliance with NBC might recall the film-and-television colossus created by Wasserman nearly a half-century earlier, but in actuality, the studio and the industry at large have little in common with their postwar antecedents. Rather than creating a media powerhouse, GE's creation of NBC Universal simply gives the studio a fighting chance against the other media conglomerates that now compete in the global entertainment marketplace. And like Paramount, Warner Bros., Columbia, and the other surviving movie studios, Universal is simply one division of a diversified multinational corporation, one component of a vast entertainment machine.

SEE ALSO *Studio System; Star System*

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VIDEO

Although video and film are two very different mediums of representation, they overlap in significant ways, and their relationship continues to evolve on many levels. Both technologies combine images and sounds that are projected on screens to be viewed; both are time-based media; both have the capacity to reproduce reality accurately; and both are equally capable of distorting and manipulating reality. The literal and technical similarities might end there, but video and film are increasingly enmeshed and their differences blurred, to the extent that some detractors of video have already mourned the death of cinema, claiming that it has been overtaken and replaced by video. On the other hand, video can be seen as an extension of cinema that has expanded and amplified the possibilities of what was called in the early days "motion pictures." With the introduction of digital technology, the scope of cinema will only continue to expand.

The history of video must take into account its many distinct uses, from entertainment to surveillance, art to home video. Although videotape was available in the mid-1950s, it did not become widely used in television broadcasting until the 1960s, at which time artists also began to experiment with the technology. In the 1980s home video recording became affordable and hugely popular, along with VCRs and the proliferation of films on video. While the former constituted a veritable revolution in terms of access to the means of production, the latter had an equally important impact on the distribution of cinema and the ways that movies are watched. VCRs also made it possible to record television programs, giving TV viewers more control over broadcast schedules.

MEDIUM SPECIFICITY

With the introduction of digital film and video, DVDs, the Internet, and multimedia, video may become, retrospectively, an intermediary stage between cinema and digital media. But as a medium with its own properties, it plays an important role in the history of media institutions and aesthetics. The key difference between video and film is that videotape is magnetically coated and contains codes that trigger electronic signals to the projection apparatus, whether it be a TV monitor or a projector. Although several different formats of videotape exist, in general the information that can be stored in this system is substantially less than that which is photographically printed on a strip of celluloid. Video images are immediately recorded and accessible, whereas film, like photography, needs to be chemically "developed" to release images created by exposure to light. Both film and video can now be produced digitally, but videotape, like film, is an analog medium, which means that images are captured and stored as continuously variable forms, with gradations produced by the reflection of light.

Some of the techniques that video artists have used include long takes, loops, low-definition imagery, surveillance techniques, and multiple monitors. Shot durations are significantly increased with video, which can run for hours without the need to change reels of tape. Video is a medium that lends itself to gallery installation, where viewers are not expected to watch pieces from beginning to end as they would a film, but to move in and out of the ongoing temporality of the work. The video artist Bill Viola (b. 1951), for example, uses very long takes to capture the rhythms of nature, but also inserts special effects to create a sense of magic or hyperrealism (*I Do*

Not Know What It Is I Am Like [1986], *The Reflecting Pool* [1977–1979]). The special effects available to the video artist include electronic distortions of sound and image. Viola records sound simultaneously with the image, but he frequently slows both tracks down to create slightly distorted soundscapes. Sadie Benning (b. 1973) is one of many artists who uses a children's video format (Pixelvision) to capture low-definition images with a very shallow depth of field to create intimate, personal effects. In the 1970s the technology lent itself to a minimalist aesthetic, using real time to record performances, but as the technology evolved so did the range of subjects, styles, and effects.

Video art in gallery installations can involve components such as closed-circuit connections in which performers or gallery-goers appear live onscreen. Monitors can be placed within sculptural spaces such as Nam June Paik's (1932–2006) jungle installation *TV Garden* (1974–1978), in which monitors of various sizes are scattered among plants and running water, ironically interrupting nature with technology. One of the specific properties of video is sometimes described as the "flow" of information, images, and sound; akin to the flow of electricity that generates the image, and the ongoing flow of TV that never really ends, the flow of video is a transmission process. The image is continually being made anew by the electronic circuitry of the tape and the monitor. In video art the production of images is often privileged over narrative information, although many video artists, such as Lisa Steele in *Birthday Suit* (1974), also work in a narrative mode, experimenting with the codes of storytelling and performance.

Videotape's detractors are concerned about the loss of information and reduced image quality of video. Poor quality tape and "panned and scanned" movies on TV are in many ways distortions of original films. Moreover, video viewing typically takes place in less "controlled" situations than film screenings. Whether it is located in the home or in the gallery, in public spaces such as bars, airports, or sides of buildings, video addresses its viewer very differently than does cinema. Film theorists of the 1970s understood the film spectator as a fixed point in a darkened auditorium, a paradigm that is fundamentally altered with the video and television monitor. Thus it is not only the electronic image that defines video, but the apparatus of spectatorship it entails. The video spectator is said to be more "mobile," more "empowered" than the cinema spectator, who is glued to his or her seat and supposedly gripped by the narrative unfolding on the screen. When that same narrative is viewed on home video, the spectator may leave the room, fast-forward through the tape, or carry on a conversation while it plays. This is precisely anathema to the experimental filmmaker who has attempted to create a total aesthetic viewing experience; at the same time, it has entailed a shift in film theory away from narrative and toward issues of spectatorship.

Because video is technologically so closely connected to the cultural institutions of broadcast television, many video artists engage not only with the formal properties of the medium, but also with its affinities with TV. The tapes made by the director Jean-Luc Godard (b. 1930) with Anne-Marie Miéville (b. 1945), *Six fois deux/Sur et sous la communication* (1976) and *France/tour/detour/deux/enfants* (1977), are modeled on the TV-interview documentary form, as is the work of Steve Fagin (*The Machine that Killed Bad People*, 1990). The low costs of video production have also made it possible for more constituencies, outside the mainstream of corporate TV, to produce for television. Paper Tiger Television, for example, produced a series of activist, alternative critiques of the media in the 1980s and 1990s. Igloolik Isuma productions in Northern Canada, from which the film *Atanarjuat: The Fast Runner* (which was shot on digital video) emerged in 2002, produced dramatic and news videos for the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation as early as 1983.

The documentary potential of the medium, together with its accessibility, has been among its chief contributions to global image culture, giving rise to the cheap programming potential of reality TV, among other things. Because of the low costs of shooting and editing, filmmakers can collect more material more cheaply, and with much less training. It has become a key tool for activists and journalists, as well as for the multiple surveillance activities of security and police. Perhaps the most notorious instance of the documentary potential of video was the amateur footage captured in 1992 of Rodney King's beating by the Los Angeles police.

VIDEO IN FILM

Video has become in many ways the "everyday" form of film, the dominant means for the circulation of images in daily life. Film becomes, in contrast, a more specialized practice, a more expensive activity for both producers and viewers, who pay increasingly high ticket prices to see films projected in theaters. Because video has become part of everyday experience, filmmakers frequently include video within their films, sometimes for the aesthetic contrast between the high-definition film image and the low-definition video image. In Wim Wenders's (b. 1945) diary-documentary *Lightning Over Water* (1980), a film about the director Nicholas Ray (1911–1979) and his death from cancer, another man, Tom Farrell, is also making a documentary about the director, and Wenders includes Farrell's footage as well as Farrell himself with his video camera in his own film, suggesting

a kind of rivalry between the videographer and the filmmaker over Ray's legacy. In *Der Amerikanische Freund* (*The American Friend*, 1977), when a character is conned into killing a man on the subway, his nervous escape from the scene is captured on a set of surveillance monitors. For Wenders, video is an important technique for blending documentary and fictional modes.

Other filmmakers use video as a kind of wallpaper environment for their characters. In *Natural Born Killers* (Oliver Stone, 1994), a video image can be glimpsed in almost every scene, either on a TV or projected right onto the walls. One of the effects is to suggest that the murderous couple in the film are products of a violent media environment. Fictional video interviews played an important role in Steven Soderbergh's (b. 1963) *Sex, Lies, and Videotape* (1989), a film that kick-started the independent film movement in the United States when it won the audience award at the Sundance Film Festival in 1989. It also gave video a kinky caché, linking it to the sexual fantasies and power games of the film. In all of these instances, video features as a reflexive device that enables filmmakers to comment on the production of images within their films. The reality effects of their own film images are necessarily put into question, even while they are able to enhance the spectacular appeal by creating images within images.

In the TV series *The Sopranos* (beginning in 1999), which is shot on film, characters are often watching TV, and those shows constitute intertextual references by which *The Sopranos* comments on its own dramatic and cultural status as a gangster narrative. In this series video carries with it connotations of the archive, or a cultural image-bank that filmmakers can draw on. In Atom Egoyan's (b. 1960) film *Exotica* (1994), video functions more as the repressed memory of one of the characters. Footage of the main character's dead daughter and departed wife, which he himself shot on video, is replayed in grainy black and white in fragments that haunt him, and indeed haunt the film itself as a repressed memory.

Found footage practices have a long history in experimental filmmaking, but video has made the tendency much more accessible and prolific. Music videos began to appear on TV in the 1980s, appropriating many techniques, including found footage, from experimental film practices. Music videos were also among the first commercial media to adopt nonnarrative principles of construction, deploying associative montage techniques, special effects, and found imagery. A small genre of "scratch video" emerged in the 1980s as well, when it became possible for amateurs to copy and edit fragments of commercial tape at home. This has evolved into the projection of video collages at dance clubs. These nonlinear and nonnarrative uses of video opened up new roles for visual media in everyday life.

DIGITAL MEDIA

Since the 1990s video has become increasingly enmeshed with computer technologies, with a variety of repercussions on film practices. So-called digital cinema effectively combines techniques of film and video, further blurring their differences. Films can be shot on film or video and transferred to different formats for editing and distribution. Digital editing is now the dominant mode of film editing. Editing programs available for home computers have once again democratized the means of media production. Because digital information can be combined and manipulated seamlessly, digitization of music, sound effects, artwork, photography, and computer-generated special effects enables a convergence of media, and thus has become an important part of the postproduction stage of filmmaking.

The media theorist Lev Manovich has suggested that film is moving closer to animation with digital technologies and away from its photographic origins. Because digital images can be manipulated on the level of representation, through software available on home computers, the film image is no longer always indexical: what we see onscreen did not necessarily exist "in reality" in front of the camera but may have been manufactured. Thanks to digital media, the "visible evidence" of film and photography can no longer be taken for granted.

On the other hand, the enhanced image and sound quality of digital technology can also be exploited for a greater sense of realism. Feature films that have been shot entirely on digital video include Lars von Trier's (b. 1956) *Dancer in the Dark* (2000), Wenders's *Buena Vista Social Club* (1999), and Alan Cumming's *The Anniversary Party* (2001). Von Trier, in particular, exploits lightweight digital camera equipment, which is easily hand-held, for the intimacy it makes possible with his actors. In the low-tech aesthetic of Kevin Smith's *Dogma* (1999), digital video offers an inexpensive means of shooting with a smaller crew and less ancillary equipment. Blown up to 35mm film, the image is as sharp as an original film image, and offers a cheap alternative for independent filmmakers who have traditionally used 16mm film.

One of the key advantages of digital cinema is the length of shots that are made possible, an especially useful technique for films involving improvisational acting and for documentary filmmaking. One of the more experimental uses of digital technology is Mike Figgis's (b. 1948) *Timecode* (2000), which shows four simultaneous long takes on a screen divided into four quadrants, each corresponding to a different camera that follows the actors as they improvise around a script set in a film

Björk (left) and Catherine Deneuve in* Dancer in the Dark *(Lars von Trier, 2000), which was shot entirely on digital video.
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production studio in Los Angeles. By contrast, Aleksandr Sokurov's (b. 1951) *Russkiy kovcheg* (*Russian Ark*, 2002) uses a single long camera movement for the entire film, creating a fluid movement through an architectural space that appears to be a literal movement through history. The ninety-minute-long Steadicam shot was stored on a hard disk system and was accomplished in a single take following months of rehearsals with 867 actors in the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg.

Films produced entirely on digital equipment are often transferred to film for theatrical release. On the other hand, the video market has become such an important aspect of the film industry that many films are released "straight-to-video." This has created something of a two-tiered system within the film industry, in which only the most expensive productions and most promising titles get released as "films."

VIDEO, PEDAGOGY, AND FILM SCHOLARSHIP

DVD technology has served as a catalyst for film history. Many titles from the Hollywood archive, as well as European, Asian, and other world cinemas, have been released on DVD, often with "special features" including critical commentary, outtakes, production documents, directorial and other cast and crew testimonials, and multiple viewing choices such as subtitle languages and aspect-ratios. In many instances the digitized sounds and images restore the films to something approximating their original forms. The DVD market provides an important stimulus for expensive restoration projects.

The influence of video on film scholarship and the teaching of film studies should not be underestimated, as the advent of DVDs is only one step in a process that began with the introduction of video as a tool for preserving and distributing film titles. This has been especially important for films that are marginal to the mainstream, including American B movies and cult films, Japanese and other Asian films dating back to the 1930s, and the many riches of other world cinemas, experimental cinema, and documentary cinema. Video markets have enabled the circulation of titles among collectors and scholars interested in film as a cultural phenomenon. Many of these obscure titles have long

since been unavailable on film, and it may be a long time before they are released on DVD.

Film analysis was once performed on Steenbeck editing machines, using reels of fragile celluloid. Since the 1980s students and scholars have been able to view the wealth of film history on videotape, which is much more amenable to repeated viewings, rewinding, and freeze-frames. Celluloid film is an extremely delicate material and rapidly deteriorates with multiple projections, making the teaching of film difficult and expensive. Few educational institutions were able to provide the facilities for film viewing, or for film collections, often relying on poor and decaying prints shown on faulty projection equipment. Videotape is not a permanent medium either, and DVD technology, too, will no doubt eventually show its material weaknesses; but in the mean time these technologies are an invaluable means of preserving film history and making it accessible. It is largely thanks to electronic media that film studies has been able to find a place in educational institutions around the world.

Video is not necessarily a competitor with film, or a poor sibling, but perhaps an extension or augmentation of film, especially as it evolves into digital technologies. Video has enabled us to see film differently, perhaps as something that is disappearing, but also as something sensual, a communal experience that takes place in a dark crowded theater. The cinema is a place we have to go to, but video has become part of the world around us.

SEE ALSO *Film History; Film Studies; Independent Film; Spectatorship and Audiences; Technology; Television*

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Catherine Russell

VIDEO GAMES

The field of computer game studies is a relatively new one, especially in terms of detailed textual analysis of the forms of games themselves (as opposed to studies based on assumptions about their social or psychological effects). A number of different theoretical paradigms are in potential competition in current efforts to map the field. Cinema might seem a logical point of reference for many games, especially with the movement of adventure-style games from text to animated graphical form, and subsequently to three-dimensional graphics, a process that began in the early 1980s. There are a number of ways that games borrow from, or can be understood in the light of, aspects of cinema. What must be avoided, however, is an "imperialist" venture of the kind feared by some game theorists (for example, Espen Aarseth's *Cybertext* points out fallacies in the application of literary theory to games). Perspectives drawn from the study of film offer one set of tools with which to approach computer-based games (although not all games or all types of games), tools that might be more useful in highlighting some aspects of games than others.

A number of areas of broad similarity, or overlap, between games and cinema can be identified. Direct movements from cinema to game are found in some titles, including the games that have become obligatory among the spinoff products from contemporary Hollywood blockbusters and animated features. But many games draw on cinematic resonances more generally in their use of audio-visual conventions.

If some games are based directly on films, or franchises that include films, others are associated with genres or subgenres, particularly in areas such as science fiction, fantasy, and horror. Many games draw on iconographies and audio-visual styles that can be linked to particular film titles but that have become more widely prevalent: the *Blade Runner* or *The Lord of the Rings* look, for example. Some games draw on more specific and localized cinematic devices. A well known example is the "bullet-time" mode used in the *Max Payne* action-adventure games (2001, 2003), based on slow-motion bullet effects used by the Hong Kong action director John Woo and especially its translation in *The Matrix* (1999). One mission in the game *Medal of Honor: Allied Assault* (2002) includes a Normandy beach-landing sequence that follows almost exactly the initial moves of the film *Saving Private Ryan* (1998).

It is important to acknowledge that there are major differences between games and cinema, even in the case of games with which cinema has the most in common. Games clearly need to be studied on their own terms, the criteria for which often diverge considerably from those most relevant to cinema or any other media. The act of comparison should not involve reduction of one medium to the terms of another; it should, instead, be a way of highlighting factors specific to each.

CUT SCENES AND POINT OF VIEW

The use of cinematic cut scenes in computer-based games is one of the more obvious connections between cinema and games. Cut scenes are short, pre-rendered sequences in which the game player performs a role closer to that of a detached observer than is the case in more active periods of gameplay. Cut scenes tend to employ camera movement, shot-selection, framing, and editing similar to that used in cinema. Many games use cut scenes to

establish the initial setting, character and background storyline. Opening cut scenes frequently employ the same expository devices as cinema, using a combination of long shots, medium shots, and close-ups to provide orientation into the game-world for the player. Cut scenes are also used at varying intervals throughout many games to forward the storyline and to entice or reward players with sequences of spectacular action, connect disparate spaces, and provide dialogue between new playing characters. They may be used to provide clues or to establish enigmas that have a bearing on the narrative trajectory of the game. Critics of the use of cinema as a reference point for games often suggest that cut scenes provide the only formal connection between the two because such scenes are freer than interactive sequences to use the particular formal devices associated with film (in sequences in which the camera is able to break its usual connection with the visual perspective of the player/character). Cut scenes have, historically, been clearly marked by higher visual qualities than interactive sequences, although this has steadily been reduced with the advent of increased graphics processing resources.

The point of view structure of games can also be examined from a perspective informed by approaches to the study of cinema: the specific ways, for example, in which particular first- and third-person perspectives operate from moment to moment or from one game to another. This is a complicated area that involves some major differences between cinema and games. Pre-rendered camera angles are used during gameplay in some third-person shooter games, including *Dino Crisis* (1999) and the *Resident Evil* (beginning in 1997) games made before *Resident Evil 4* (2005). Predetermined framing of this kind departs from the point of view of the player/character and functions like that of film, to some extent, directing the attention of the player and creating visual diversity though shifts in perspective. The point of view that results is not anchored to the perspective of the character played, however, and comes at the expense of player freedom.

Pre-rendered framing is not found in first-person games or in games designed to be playable in multi-player mode (such as *Quake* [1996], *Half-Life* [1998], *EverQuest* [1999] and *World of Warcraft* [2004]). Framing that shifts perspective within gameplay sequences is perhaps more cinematic than that found in most other types of games, although important differences remain.

The first-person perspective used in many games is a rarity in film in other than brief sequences (the major exception is the 1947 noir film *Lady in the Lake*). This point is highlighted by the limited extent to which it is used even in the combat sequences of *Wing Commander* (1999), a direct adaptation of the game. Third-person cinema, by comparison, usually involves a much greater and more fluid range of point of view orientations between camera, protagonist and viewer than is found in games. The intermittent fixed views offered within games such as *Resident Evil* and *Dino Crisis* have a rigidity that creates a very different, sometimes frustratingly limited, perspective on the action, although they can function to create suspense by enabling the player to see what awaits at a location not yet visible to the character. By contrast, role-playing games (RPGs) and "God" games such as *The Sims* (2000), *Civilization* (1990), *Black and White* (2001) or *Settlers* (2005)—in which the player creates a world or presides over a society—are among examples that demonstrate little cinematic association in terms of formal strategies. In the 1990s some "God" games, real-time strategy (RTS) games and RPGs, such as the early entries of the *Final Fantasy* series (beginning in 1990) and *Baldur's Gate* (1998), displayed the field of battle or action in aerial mode. This fixed view is opposed to the more varied shots found in cinema and the restrictive tracking, point of view, and eye-level shots that characterize first- and third-person games. In later incarnations and with greater graphic processing resources, players are able to "zoom" in and out of the action. This enhanced facility accords with the pragmatic value of the various viewpoints required to direct and manage gameplay, and in moving from a fixed aerial or three-quarters point of view to a more fluid and player-led arrangement, greater cinematic resonance comes into play. But the important difference is that the players make the choice of "shot" to suit their situation.

Even where there are some cinematic resonances, different devices of visual orientation operate in games because of the relationships established between players and the space-time coordinates of game-worlds. Mainstream cinema has developed well established systems of spatial orientation, especially the continuity editing system, to avoid confusing the viewer during shifts from one camera position to another. Many first- and third-person games permit the player to look and move throughout 360 degrees (as far as obstacles permit). This is possible with less disorientation than would usually be expected in a cinematic context because the player-character moves through a particular virtual space in real-time with the camera-view often anchored to a single viewpoint. Even so, the exploration of 360-degree space in games can become disorientating, especially when done under pressure or in a rush (hence the frequent inclusion of maps and compasses in games that require players to explore large spaces). Games are far less likely than films to use ellipses to eliminate "dead" time. Time in games may be spent exploring the available space or interacting with objects that do not have any significant bearing

Milla Jovovich prepares to battle zombies in* Resident Evil *(Paul W.S. Anderson, 2002), based on the popular video game.
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on the main set tasks. Most films give screen time only to what is deemed essential to the storyline or the building of character or mood. Action-adventure-type games operate mainly in something closer to real-time with ellipses occurring primarily at the end of levels or chapters. This creates a significant difference between the pace (and length) of games and that of films. Thus despite the shared use of some aspects of framing, *mise-en-scène*, dialogue, and music, the structuring of point-of-view, time, and space are quite different.

DIGITAL ANIMATION

Some important developments in technologies, and the formal capacity they offer for rendering versions of new fictional worlds, are also shared between cinema and games, most obviously in the area of digital animation. The fact that new standards of realism in computer-generated graphics are offered as one selling point of games and animated films creates a point of crossover between the two media. This is especially the case in a film such as *Final Fantasy: The Spirits Within* (2001), based on the successful *Final Fantasy* game series. The crossover between more overtly "fantastic" digital special effects in live-action cinema and those used in games, such as the morphing effects in *Primal* (2003) and *American McGee's Alice* (2000), is another prominent point of contact. Similar representational capacities are drawn upon by the two media, a fact of significance to the libraries of images, image-textures, and devices available to each. The availability of particular kinds of effects might in some cases encourage particular types of production. Horror and fantasy, for example, lend themselves especially well to the spectacular display of fantastical morphing effects in both films and games.

This is another area in which differences are in play, even when such fundamentally similar building blocks are involved. The level of surface, visual realism attained in the film version of *Final Fantasy* is higher—more detailed—than that found in the interactive segments of games contemporary with this film, mainly because priorities other than graphical realism have an important call on the hardware resources available during game

processing. The same goes for the morphing effects in *Primal* as compared to their equivalent on film. A similar kind of transformation might be present in some films and games, creating similar potential for the development of narrative or spectacular effects. But the quality of resolution—and, arguably, the importance of this factor among others—remains different. These differences, driven by substantially different priorities and agendas, have various implications for effects produced in the name of both realism and spectacular attraction for its own sake.

Developments in graphics processing are closing the gap, however, a promise that figures largely in advance publicity claims for forthcoming products (software and hardware), as is evident in each new generation of games and games designed to take advantage of the capabilities offered by new processing technologies. The development of new generations of graphics technology contributes to the ability of games and cinema to create increasingly spectacular audio-visual effects (realistic-looking water and fire or dynamic lighting/shadows, for example). And as processing power increases, animated characters in tie-in games become more like the actors who originally played them—in terms of both facial features and movement (as is the case with the player/character in *Constantine* [2005], composed from motion-captured movement, the recorded voice, and digital-mapped face of the actor Keanu Reeves).

In a multiplayer online context, limitations of telephony still have an impact on levels of graphical realism, more detailed graphics creating a slower rate of exchange between server and PC. Action-adventure-type games and some types of cinema also share an investment in the production of intense sensational experiences that impact forcefully on the player or viewer. Varying combinations of rapid editing and unstable camerawork are used in contemporary Hollywood action cinema to create maximum sensation. Games sometimes mimic devices used in Hollywood—the fireball impact effect, for example—but they also take this a stage further, requiring a frenzied response on the part of the player.

NARRATIVE AND PARTICIPATION

One of the most important points of difference between film and games is the aspect of player participation. If games can offer something like a cinematic experience, it is made more complex by the fact that games are played, engaged with, in a manner that is much more active and formative of the resulting experience than is the case with watching a film. However, opposition between game-playing and film-viewing as a distinction between activity on the one hand (games) and passivity on the other (cinema) is not that simple. Film-viewing is far from a passive experience; it involves a range of cognitive and other processes in the act of interpretation and emotional response.

Games, however, place a central importance on the act of doing that goes beyond the kinetic and emotional responses that might be produced by a film. To use the term "interactive" to describe this dynamic is problematic, however, as Espen Aarseth suggests. Taken literally, the term can be applied so widely that it no longer has the power to distinguish between the interactions that occur between users and texts of all kinds, such as literature or cinema, with which games are often compared. Aarseth proposed instead the term "ergodic" (derived from the Greek *ergon* and *hodos*, meaning "work" and "path"), to identify forms in which "nontrivial effort is required to allow the reader to traverse the text" (1997, p. 1), meaning an effort greater than that involved in reading a novel or watching a film.

The player of video games has to respond to events in a manner that affects what happens on screen, something not demanded of readers of books or viewers of films. Success often depends on rapid responses, effective hand-eye coordination and learned moves or skills made through the use of devices such as keyboards or gamepads, or puzzle-solving skills. Games are demanding forms of popular audio-visual entertainment, requiring sustained work that is not usually associated with the experience of popular, mainstream cinema. It is possible for players to "fail" a game, or to give up in frustration, if they do not develop the skills demanded by the particular title, a fate that has no equivalent in mainstream cinema. Games are a participatory medium; the game-world is left undiscovered, character capabilities left locked, and story arcs do not unfold unless the player is actively willing to build the specific skills required to progress through a game.

Another key point of difference that is often highlighted between games and other media is the role of narrative. Narrative, generally, plays a less important role in games than it does in films, despite the widespread claim that narrative has become attenuated in contemporary Hollywood cinema. Narrative remains a central component of even the special-effects driven Hollywood blockbuster. Narrative is also present in many games: narrative progress is sometimes offered as a reward for successful gameplay, or provides a general context within which gameplay is conducted; and in multiplayer games many small narratives delivered in a range of ways provide the mythology that gives added meaning to a virtual world. But, generally, narrative plays a role secondary to engagement in more active gameplay.

Narrative rationales tend to disappear into the background during much of gameplay. Jesper Juul suggests

that there is an inherent conflict between interactivity and narrative: "There is a conflict between the *now* of the interaction and the *past* or '*prior*' of the narrative.... The relations between reader/story and player/game are completely different—the player inhabits a twilight zone where he/she is both empirical subject outside the game *and* undertakes a role inside the game" ("Games Telling Stories."). Narrative is preset, built into the fabric of a game, available to be discovered or realized, in whole or in part—or, in some cases, in one version or another, depending on the paths taken by the player. Narrative has happened, or been created, while "playing" is always happening, a particular realization of the potential offered by a game, the precise shape or outcome is indeterminate.

The ideal suggested by the game designer Richard Rouse is to achieve a balance between narrative as predetermined and structured into the game and the variable "player's story" generated in each individual experience of the game. The player's story "is the most important story to be found in the game, since it is the story that the player will be most involved with, and its is the story in which the player's decisions have the most impact" (pp. 216–217). Carefully predetermined narrative structure is necessary, however, to games in which dynamics such as variable pace, tension, foreshadowing, and building towards a climax are important or desirable. The extent to which narrative dimensions are experienced as separate from, or part of, gameplay is also determined by the kinds of storytelling devices used by individual games. The sense that narrative is essentially separate from gameplay is encouraged by the prevalence of what Rouse terms "out-of-game" narrative devices, such as cut scenes, that put gameplay on hold temporarily. Strongly favoured by Rouse is the use of "in-game" devices to provide story: signs, written notes, nonplaying character (NPC) dialogue or behavior, and the design of levels. In *Half-Life*, a first-person shooter with a narrative more complex than similar games, information important to the trajectory of the plot is provided within the gamespace. NPCs speak of what is happening without the game shifting into a cut scene, the player-character remaining free to move around as usual. The effect is a sense of seamlessness close to that which might be expected of mainstream cinema, even though created in a different manner.

Moments of the most heightened and intensively interactive gameplay often entail features such as cause/effect relationships and linear progression (although the latter, in particular, is far from guaranteed: it is quite possible to regress, to lose ground, during activities such as combat or the negotiation of difficult terrain). These are qualities often associated with narrative, as, for example, in David Bordwell's influential formulation of "classical" Hollywood narrative. By themselves, however, they are not sufficient to constitute narrative or story, unless defined at the minimal level. Moment-by-moment developments gain narrative resonance through their position in a wider frame that is largely pre-established. Games often balance player freedom with narrational devices that shape and give structure to the player's experience, including the provision of cues that guide the movement of the player-character or music or sound effects that warn of approaching danger, as is often the case in the *Silent Hill* horror cycle (beginning in 1999). One of the major dynamics of many games is the oscillation between these different modes of engagement, the rhythm of which often varies from one example to another.

REMEDIATION AND SYNERGY

Where games do borrow from cinema, this is for reasons that are far from arbitrary. "New" media tends to borrow from older equivalents more generally, as suggested by Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin's concept of "remediation." As they argue, the experience of playing computer games that offer cinematic milieu might be understood in terms of a move "inside" the world of the cinema screen. The immediate thrill produced by direct engagement in the interactive experience is often based on a sense of "hypermediacy," of awareness that the world occupied virtually is akin to that of other forms of representation. Film-based or film-related video games are sold at least partly on the basis of the attraction of an occupation of worlds the contours of which have been established in other media—most directly, in film, but often also in literature, comic books, or television. The player can, at one remove, become the central figure in a cinematic milieu, following and extending the experience offered by a film. *Aliens vs. Predator 2* (2001), for example, can be played from the perspective of either marine, alien, or predator; here, the world of the game is extended in terms of player participation and variation of perspective/allegiance. A novelty offered by the game's sequel is the ability to inhabit the life cycle of the alien, something not available in the film. The cinematic dimension, in this case, is a substantial component of the specific experience offered by the game as a game, and not merely something imported externally.

An incorporation of elements of the "cinematic" can be a substantial component of some games. "Cinematic" needs to be understood in terms of both textual devices and intertextuality. Games draw on other media, including television in many cases, but cinema is the remediated form to which attention is most often drawn by the industry. The reason for this is the greater cultural prestige enjoyed by cinema (as institution) and film (as a medium of expression). Often publicists and reviewers

claim that a game is very "cinematic," which is meant as a positive assessment of quality, even if such hierarchies of taste are resisted by some gamers and game theorists. Visual iconography regularly crosses the boundary between cinema and games, as do genres designed to invoke kinetic experience, such as horror and action-adventure. Audio styles associated with cinema have also been used in games, including "cinematic" orchestral music used to contribute to the "epic" quality sought by some fantasy titles (portions of the soundtrack from *The Lord of the Rings* films [2002–2003] are used in *World of Warcraft*, for example). The function of such devices is to provide additional atmosphere for action, to add resonance and meaning to the process of participation in the game-world.

Cinema and games are often produced and distributed by the same media corporations. Game spin-offs offer substantial additional revenues to the Hollywood studios. The Sony Corporation is the most obvious example, home to both Sony Pictures and PlayStation. In the year ending March 2004, sales and operating revenue accounted for $7.1 billion from pictures and $7.4 billion from games. In addition to such earnings, tie-in games are also valued by Hollywood as a way of attracting new audiences for major properties such as the James Bond franchise. The development and production process required by games has also come to take on some of the characteristics, and scale, of the film business. Very much on the model of contemporary Hollywood, the games industry has become a hit-driven business. The games industry also share with Hollywood the continued use of "author" names, in some cases to sell products within the anonymous corporate context.

A number of games, such as *Tomb Raider* (2001, 2003) and *Resident Evil* (2002, 2004) have been turned into films, but these have generally not been very successful and they tend to ignore the formal characteristics of games (even if their protagonists might, on occasion, face tasks similar to those in which the game player is engaged). The same is true of films that have used games, or imagined versions of future gaming, as part of their subject matter, such as *eXistenZ* (1999) and *Avalon* (2001). Films that draw on games at a formal level are few and far between, the most cited example being *Lola rennt* (*Run Lola Run*, 1998), which features a structure of repetition-within-difference and a climactic time-out device, both of which can be seen as a more substantial remediation of some game characteristics than anything found in the game tie-in examples cited above. Games are also cited by the director as an influence (but one among many) in Gus Van Sant's *Elephant* (2003), the bulk of which is composed of a lengthy series of tracking shots in which the camera follows from behind the movements of characters in an overlapping narrative structure leading to a Columbine-style high school massacre (the film also includes one fleeting shot during the massacre that directly mimics the perspective of a first-person shooter game played previously by the killers). Films provide ready-made characters and narrative resonance that can carry over and play into the experience of a spin-off game, even where the dimension of character and narrative are not greatly elaborated in the game itself. This is an effect that is harder to achieve in reverse, as the case of *Super Mario Bros.* (1993) shows. Computer games are not a form of interactive cinema; the way games interpolate players into their own spaces and engage them in a particular range of tasks is very different from the experience of watching a film.

SEE ALSO *Merchandising; Narrative; Technology*

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VIETNAM WAR

After France withdrew its troops from Indochina in 1954, its former colony was partitioned by the Geneva Accords into North and South until elections could be held to determine the leadership of a united Vietnam. Fearing that Ho Chi Minh (1890–1969)—leader of the North who with the Viet Minh had defeated French troops at Dien Bien Phu—would succeed in uniting the nation as a communist state, the United States supported the South. Over the next decade, US military support for the South escalated, culminating in 1964 air strikes over North Vietnam and the deployment of ground troops the following year. Although the conflict was never officially declared as a war, it was represented and fought as such. By 1975, when the last remaining Americans were airlifted from Saigon, the United States had used in Vietnam over twice the amount of military force that it expended in World War II in both the European and Asian theaters; despite its efforts, North and South Vietnam were united as the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in 1976.

Through advanced firepower and chemical weaponry deployed during more than a decade of military involvement in the region, the United States and its allies succeeded in transforming Vietnam's political, economic, and social realities. But this transformation was not the one envisioned by US political leaders; nor was it the one communicated to the American people when they embarked upon military action in the area. A conflict that had a lasting effect on both the American culture and the Vietnamese culture, the Vietnam War as portrayed in US cinema bears witness to the difficulty the government had in promoting the cause of this war during the conflict and its problematic status in US popular culture for decades to come. Ultimately, the Vietnam War demonstrated both the terrible power and the limitations of America's political aims and national ideology as they were deployed by military action and promoted by the fantasy-making apparatus of cinema.

AMERICAN CINEMA AND THE CHALLENGE OF VIETNAM: 1964–1975

In contrast to the central role played by Hollywood in World War II, representations of the Vietnam War were rare in mainstream American cinema while US troops occupied Southeast Asia. Although a variety of fiction films referenced or showed the influence of the war, few combat films were made about Vietnam during the period of actual combat. Instead, the primary media representation of combat was television news coverage. Because Vietnam was the first "television war," some critics have surmised that an excess of and explicitness in television coverage made the combat film unappealing to audiences—just as some government leaders accused the news media of turning the population against the cause of war. Some vivid, even horrifying, images of the war appeared in print and on television; yet content analyses of television news has shown that, on the whole, war coverage was neither as plentiful nor as sensational as its critics have suggested.

Other factors, both industrial and ideological, appear to have had a more direct effect on the production of war films during the period. Hollywood studios were suffering in the late 1960s from a recession brought on by post-World War II industrial and cultural changes and by their consequent investment in some disastrously

unsuccessful blockbuster films. Likewise, there was some difficulty in finding appropriate means to communicate the goals of America's action in Vietnam, as the US government discovered in its failed attempt to utilize techniques drawn from World War II documentary for its first Vietnam-era production, *Why Vietnam?* (1965). Its title and style deliberately echo Frank Capra's *Why We Fight* series (1943–1945), as did its rhetorical methods: it attempted to bring a clear moral purpose to the US role in Southeast Asia by comparing Ho Chi Minh to Hitler and Mussolini, thereby representing US action as primarily defensive. It was publicly criticized in 1967, and in 1971 the US Department of Defense report *United States-Vietnam Relations, 1945–1967* (also known as the Pentagon Papers) revealed that it had included deliberate misrepresentations. Troubled in its reception, the documentary never achieved its hoped for audience; and, although it continued to be shown to troops, it was pulled from civilian distribution. Similarly unsuccessful in its effort to present the nobility of the American cause, the US Information Agency documentary *Vietnam! Vietnam!* (1971), a full-color feature-length film executively produced by Hollywood veteran John Ford, was made for international distribution that it never achieved; its clear-cut representations of good versus evil were no longer, considered relevant by the time of its release. Thus for economic and political reasons, both Hollywood studios and the US government were hesitant to put this new war on screen. As a result, by 1970 a number of otherwise successful screenwriters, such as Samuel Fuller, Sy Barlett, and Stanley Kramer, had scripts in circulation that focused on the Vietnam War, but they found no support from studios or from the Pentagon. At the Pentagon, the Department of Defense Motion Picture Production Branch supported only one film during the war, with an estimated $1 million worth of military hardware and expertise: John Wayne's *The Green Berets* (1968). Studio and governmental reluctance to support projects dealing with Vietnam highlighted what appeared to be the particular difficulty of telling its story—or at least the difficulty of applying the generic formulae that had worked for previous wars, whereby the cause of America is transparently good, the enemy undeniably evil, combat goals clearly defined, and failure unthinkable.

The few combat films made about the Vietnam War during the conflict reflect these difficulties: *The Green Berets* as well as *A Yank in VietNam* (1964), *Operation C.I.A.* (1966), and *To the Shores of Hell* (1965) made an effort to fit America's complex relation with Vietnam within the parameters of the classic Hollywood narrative and the combat genre, by focusing on a well-defined mission or target; and, each is marked with its own type of ambiguity. Most notable in these terms is the *The Green Berets*, which applied generic elements of both the World War II combat film and the western in its effort to depict the heroism of the Special Forces and their struggle to protect Vietnamese peasantry from the hostile "Cong." An attempt to garner support for the war when, according to a 1967 poll, public opinion was beginning to move in opposition, it tells the story of a cynical journalist who is swayed to the cause of the war when he witnesses enemy atrocities. In doing so, the film dramatizes the notion that only eyewitnesses can really understand America's war in Vietnam, a war unlike previous wars because its nature and purpose are effectively unrepresentable. The difficulty of understanding and representing Vietnam and its consequent difference from previous wars are themes that persisted in its fictional—and documentary—representations. Films such as the Oscar®-winning documentary feature *La Section Anderson* (*The Anderson Platoon*, 1967) and *A Face of War* (1968) underplayed political explanation and contexts to focus instead on the day-to-day experiences of war and privileged the "grunt" point of view as the primary site of knowledge about the war.

VETERANS AND ALLEGORIES: 1964–1975

For many critics, the failure of *The Green Berets* to tell an accurate story of the war and to find and persuade an audience signaled the end of the combat film as a genre. For the duration of the war, Vietnam was represented on screen not by images of battle but by images of the war's veterans. Films focusing solely on individuals tended to depoliticize and personalize the conflict. The earliest of these were low-budget, independently produced "exploitation" pictures that incorporated Vietnam veterans into narratively simple, sensationalist, and action-oriented biker, blaxploitation, and horror films designed to capitalize on the topicality of Vietnam. Later these films would be joined by a few independent features, studio-produced exploitation pictures, and made-for-television melodramas. Taken together, they demonstrate the way that Vietnam was first imagined on screen as primarily a domestic problem for the United States and as a violent disruption of the status quo—another thematic trope that continued in representations of the war well after 1975.

Biker films produced by companies such as American International Pictures (AIP) featured violent veterans, often characterized as former Green Berets whose fighting skills are used in and against the United States. In such films, war's violence comes home with the veteran who fights against the police, the establishment, and other gangs, as in *Angels from Hell* (1968) or *The Hard Ride* (1971); or veterans may take over the role of the police as dispensers of vigilante justice, as in *The Born*

Losers (1967) and *Chrome and Hot Leather* (1971). Although such films had little to say about the war directly, their emphasis on the rage and violence of veterans is worth noting—particularly given the fact that they were most heavily distributed in those rural and urban areas of the United States where the draft hit hardest. Of particular interest in these terms are black-themed action or blaxploitation films that featured black veterans who return to battle the mob, drug dealers, and murderers of their family and friends. In the way that such films as *Slaughter* (1972), *Black Gunn* (1972), and *Gordon's War* (1973) focused on black communities and families alienated from white lawmakers and official sources of power, they blended references to the Vietnam War with representations of militant black power. In doing so, they obliquely referenced the politicization of black soldiers and civilians and their opposition to a war viewed as irrelevant to the needs and priorities of black America.

In addition to these action-oriented films, low-budget horror films likewise featured violent veterans as a metonym for war brought home to America. Such films as *Psycho a Go-Go* (1965) and *The Crazies* (1973) associated the war with psychosomatic transformations that produce monsters. The low-budget Canadian-produced *Deathdream* (also known as *Dead of Night*, 1972) voiced tacit criticism through its graphic horror, as an undead veteran systematically takes revenge on the family and community members who sent him to war.

Outside of generic exploitation formats, other low-budget independent productions dealt with many of the same tropes of war invading the home through the figure of the veteran. Such films offered space for directors blocked from mainstream production to comment on the war and its effects, for the low-budget milieu of the domestic melodrama or the art cinema feature allowed them to circumvent Pentagon support and the large-scale, studio-based funding required for films in the combat genre. For instance, when Elia Kazan was unable to obtain studio backing for his Vietnam War screenplays, he shot what he called a "home movie," using his own home as a set and a script written by his son, Chris. In *The Visitors* (1972), which mixes family melodrama with graphic violence, veterans visit an old buddy who testified against them for war crimes, kill his dog, and rape his wife before leaving. Brian De Palma's *Greetings* (1968) and *Hi, Mom!* (1970) work for more comic effect with draft dodgers and psychotic veterans who blend in with the generally surreal landscape that is De Palma's vision of America during the war years.

By 1971 low-budget films featuring violent vets had become lucrative enough to attract the interest of Hollywood, in particular, the sequel to *Born Losers*, *Billy Jack* (1971), which by 1973 had grossed $60 million and attracted a family audience with its fight-for-peace vigilantism. Just as in the 1960s Hollywood studios had borrowed aspects of European art cinema to win over younger and more educated audiences no longer interested in its standard family entertainment fare, in the 1970s they imported plotlines, marketing strategies, and exhibition techniques from exploitation pictures. Along with simplified plots and sensational violence, they took up the theme of returned veterans-turned-violent vigilantes: in 1973 *Magnum Force* and *The Stone Killer* and their stars Clint Eastwood and Charles Bronson, respectively, ushered in a new generation of action heroes. By the mid-1970s the figure of the violent, often psychotic, veteran was so familiar that in *Taxi Driver* (1976) a brief mention of Vietnam provides ample motivation for the psychosocial and physical transformations experienced by its troubled protagonist, Travis Bickle (Robert De Niro).

At the same time that the combat genre was replaced by films that represented the war indirectly in the person of the returned Vietnam veteran, and low-budget exploitation films capitalized on Americans' emotional responses to Vietnam, some mainstream productions appeared to offer covert criticism of the war. The western, like the combat film, had long served as a vehicle for America's perception of itself and its history, offering mythic representations of the frontier, Manifest Destiny, the relation between civilization and wilderness, and the nature of heroism and masculinity. Released after revelations of the My Lai massacre in 1969, revisionist westerns like *Little Big Man* (1970), *Soldier Blue* (1970), and *Ulzana's Raid* (1972) appeared to reference such atrocities in their representation of violence between Native Americans and white settlers; in doing so, they critically reconsidered the mythic basis of American identity and offered a tacit critique of US policies in Southeast Asia. Such allegorical representations notwithstanding, explicitly antiwar films were as rare in American mainstream cinema as combat films were during the conflict. However, the year after US troops were withdrawn, the antiwar documentary *Hearts and Minds* (1974), which combined archival footage and interviews with veterans to excite emotional responses against the war, was widely distributed throughout the United States and won an Academy Award® the same year.

AMERICAN CINEMA AFTER THE WAR

Fewer representations of Vietnam veterans appeared on screen for several years after the withdrawal of troops, but this changed with a series of films, such as *Who'll Stop the Rain* (1978), *Coming Home* (1978), and *Birdy* (1984), that featured violent or victimized veterans who stand in

FRANCIS FORD COPPOLA
b. Detroit, Michigan, 7 April 1939

Francis Ford Coppola is an independent whose career has undergone wide fluctuations both in critical and popular reception and in financial resources. A major figure of the so-called "movie brat" generation, he emerged in the 1960s among the wave of filmmakers who had studied film formally before making them. Known primarily for *The Godfather* trilogy—*The Godfather* (1972), *The Godfather: Part II* (1974), and *The Godfather: Part III* (1990)—Coppola's greatest achievement in film may be his Vietnam war epic, *Apocalypse Now* (1979).

Raised in a family involved in the arts, in the early 1960s Coppola studied film at UCLA, a program that has produced a number of other important filmmakers. While still in film school he worked on several films, including his first feature, *Dementia 13* (1963) for B-movie king Roger Corman. Coppola's thesis project, the youth comedy *You're a Big Boy Now* (1966), was distributed theatrically by Warner Bros. He established his own production company, American Zoetrope, in 1969, but the company foundered financially and eventually filed for bankruptcy. *The Conversation* (1974), about a troubled surveillance expert, which he wrote and directed, garnered both Oscar® nominations and a Palme d'Or at the Cannes Film Festival; the film displayed Coppola's art-film aspirations, but the commercial success of *The Godfather*—at one point it ranked as the most successful film of all time—was more influential on Coppola's career.

Apocalypse Now, loosely based on Joseph Conrad's novella *Heart of Darkness*, is the story of a Special Forces captain (Martin Sheen), who is assigned to travel up the Nung river in Cambodia during the Vietnam War in search of an infamous rogue officer (Marlon Brando), who has established his own violent cult society somewhere upriver, and "terminate him with extreme prejudice." The making of the film was plagued by a number of legendary difficulties (as well as a ballooning budget); as a result of long delays in production, the film loses a degree of narrative coherence but gains in its place an almost hallucinatory power in evoking the absurdity and confusion of a war that few Americans understood.

Coppola's career since *Apocalypse Now* has been uneven. *One from the Heart* (1982), his first film after *Apocalypse Now*, is fascinating as a stylish musical set entirely in an expressionist Las Vegas, but it failed to connect with audiences. The overblown *Bram Stoker's Dracula* (1992) was more successful at the box office; his two adaptations of S. E. Hinton's novels about youth growing up in 1960s Oklahoma, *Rumble Fish* (1983) and *The Outsiders* (1983), are among his most interesting work. Coppola also has produced films by other important directors such as Wim Wenders and Akira Kurosawa and been involved in a number of publishing ventures.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

The Godfather (1972), *The Conversation* (1974), *The Godfather: Part II* (1974), *Apocalypse Now* (1979), *Gardens of Stone* (1987), *Bram Stoker's Dracula* (1992)

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Barry Keith Grant

for the war's effects on America. *Coming Home*, for example, narrowly focuses its antiwar message on the damage inflicted on the bodies and minds of American soldiers. It seeks to resolve the problems of war—which it imagines primarily as problems of masculine identity—within the conventions of melodrama, by working through a love triangle that includes two veterans with very different perspectives on the war and their role as soldiers, along with the political-but-bankable star, Jane Fonda.

The most notable change in the cinematic representation of Vietnam after the war was that mainstream filmmakers

Francis Ford Coppola. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

appeared to feel confident enough in their audience to put Vietnam combat on screen for the first time. Late 1970s war films reflected Americans' ambivalence about—and its exhaustion from—the war. *The Boys in Company C* (1978) and *Go Tell the Spartans* (1978), both relatively modest but carefully scripted encounters with the madness of that war, attracted little critical response. By contrast, Michael Cimino's *The Deer Hunter* (1978) and Francis Ford Coppola's *Apocalypse Now* (1979) both won multiple awards for their epic treatments of the war and its insanity. Cimino's film portrayed the effects of war on a community of second-generation Ukranian-American steelworkers, employing a blend of naturalism (in setting, acting, cinematography) and fantasy (motifs of the "one shot" of Russian roulette) designed to evoke an emotional response to its image of shattered innocence and belief. The stylistic excesses of Coppola's film, offering a nearly surrealist image of the war, were used in a similar way to evoke a subjective sense of the war's losses. Garnering praise for their style, performances, and direction, both films were also strongly criticized for their lack of historical specificity. Instead of a historically accurate depiction of the war, they offered a mythic space in which national and personal ideals were explored and challenged. Rather like Hollywood's representation of the West in frontier days, such representations were best understood not according to their historical veracity, but in terms of their applicability to the contemporary values and beliefs of the audience.

The films that followed in the early 1980s likewise constructed a mythic Vietnam: the POW/MIA revenge films *Uncommon Valor* (1983), *Missing in Action* (1984), and *Rambo: First Blood Part II* (1985) all combined the spectacular elements of action cinema with right-wing nationalistic fantasy to refigure the vigilante of 1970s exploitation cinema as a lone veteran who returns to Vietnam, this time "to win." In each case the focus of the veteran/soldier's quest is the MIA/POW: soldiers unaccounted for after the repatriation of POWs in 1973 were, according to the logic of these films, still alive; likewise, the Vietnam War had never ended. A complex figure, despite the simplicity of its film treatment, the MIA/POW of these films stands in for all that was lost during the turbulent period of the war, including trust in the government in the wake of the revelations of Watergate and the Pentagon Papers. The vigilante heroes of these films fight as much against government corruption as they do against evil communists; the films offer narrative engagements with the numerous conspiracy theories that circled around America's conduct of the war and its treatment of its own soldiers.

During the latter half of the 1980s, a more recognizable war returned to the screen in such films as *Platoon* (1986), *Hamburger Hill* (1987), *Full Metal Jacket* (1989), *Casualties of War* (1989), *Born on the Fourth of July* (1989), and *84C MoPic* (1989). These works made a stylistic shift from the action-adventure films that preceded them in the first part of the decade; they were marketed and praised for the realism, authenticity, and verifiability of their presentation of war. Employing the generically familiar traits of the World War II combat film, they reference extra-cinematic authorities, eyewitness accounts, and real historical events to buttress their claims to historical truth. They provided a sense of authenticity in their settings, with 1960s fashions, consumer goods, and recognizable locations. They were perhaps most persuasive—and influential on the war film—in their representation of the visual and aural texture of battle; *We Were Soldiers* (2002), which depicts the war's first major battle of 1965, is evidence of their ongoing influence. While a film like *Apocalypse Now* affected viewers with the surreality of its image of Vietnam, these films focused instead on its visceral character: their sense of verifiability was confirmed by camera movement that referenced combat and documentary reportage; and their soundtracks heightened the effect with period rock music, bone-shaking weapons' fire, and the slap-thud of Hueys.

Francis Ford Coppola's* Apocalypse Now *(1979) offered a surrealist vision of the war in Vietnam. **© UNITED ARTISTS/ COURTESY EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

Yet, at the same time that they offered a Vietnam never before seen—or heard—on screen, the representations of combat in these 1980s films were indebted to earlier representations of the war that likewise invoked the individual, eyewitness experience as the key to understanding it. Similar in these terms was the TV-documentary *Dear America: Letters Home from Vietnam* (1987), made for HBO and later given theatrical release. Featuring dramatic readings of letters from soldiers, their families, and their loved ones, it emphasizes personal experience over politics and ideology to produce a therapeutic text of remembrance. Its critics viewed it as a profoundly political film, however, for the way that it forestalled any critical or oppositional stance toward the war via its emotional engagement with the soldiers' experience.

In the 1990s and 2000s, following the American victory in the Cold War and its—somewhat anticlimactic and short-lived—triumph in the Persian Gulf, the Vietnam War was less prevalent on screen, despite the fact that documentaries such as *Daughter from Danang* (2002)—which recounted the reunion of an Amerasian woman and her Vietnamese mother—served as a reminder of the ongoing effects of war on both soldiers and noncombatants. Some critics observed that the popularity of *Forrest Gump* (1994) signaled the end of America's struggle with this chapter of its history: its slow-witted protagonist's affability and ignorance effectively smoothed the edges of every major event of the 1960s in which he unwittingly participated—including the Vietnam War. Nevertheless, Coppola's remixed and restored *Apocalypse Now Redux* (2001) seems as relevant as its 1979 predecessor as a film that recognizes and confronts the madness and excess of war: Vietnam was not the first—or last—conflict to inspire such films, but they are an important part of its legacy in American cinema.

SEE ALSO *Genre; Historical Films; Violence; War Films*

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Amanda Howell

VIOLENCE

The representation of violence in the cinema has been a topic nearly as contentious as sexuality for those concerned with what is proper for the content of film. Yet censorship organizations have focused less on violence than on sexual images or images suggestive of various forms of gender liberation. Cursory application of psychoanalytic theory provides at least tentative answers for this: Western civilization, heavily influenced by organized religion, has been fairly obsessed with policing the body and in controlling sexual conduct of both men and women. Freudian and post-Freudian thinking has postulated that the libido is policed in such fashion as to channel its energies to the service of commerce and state interests. Violent acts—from sports to warfare—have been theorized as a way of providing a safety valve for errant sexual energies. Violence has been viewed, if the cinema is any guide, as a reasonably acceptable form of human expression in a highly competitive civilization that sanctions warfare as a way for states to settle grievances.

There are variations to this acceptance, as becomes plainly obvious when observing how the Production Code and organizations such as the Catholic Legion of Decency regulate the violent image. The regulatory process often sanctions violent images that conform to standing political and moral values, but disallows those that challenge capitalism and notions of social normality. In general, the European cinema has taken a progressive attitude toward images of violence, showing its consequences or using it to jolt the complacent spectator, as with the graphic scenes of bloodshed in Sergei Eisenstein's masterpieces *Stachka* (*Strike*, 1925) and *Bronenosets Potyomkin* (*Battleship Potemkin*, 1925), or the shock effect of the sliced eyeball in Luis Buñuel's and Salvador Dali's *Un chien andalou* (*An Andalusian Dog*, 1929).

BEGINNINGS

Since its inception, American cinema has been fascinated with violence. A breakthrough film in the development of narrative was Edwin S. Porter's *The Great Train Robbery* (1903). Filmed in New Jersey, this proto-western suggests the appealing, deeply embedded nature of violence in the frontier experience and the American civilizing process, and the rather spontaneous way that the attendant violence appears in the earliest developments of cinema. The film's final image, of a mustachioed gunman firing a revolver directly at the camera/spectator, became iconic on several levels, not least of which was the assault on the audience effectuated by the violent image. The film's explicit idea—that one takes what one wants with the use of guns—has been said by various directors and critics to be a controlling idea of the American cinema. Martin Scorsese (b. 1942) concludes *GoodFellas* (1990) with an image of the actor Joe Pesci firing at the camera in a manner replicating the final shot of *The Great Train Robbery*.

While regional censorship as well as internal industry monitoring had some impact on the amount of violence in the early cinema, film at its inception contained startling scenes of graphic violence. D. W. Griffith's (1875–1948) *Intolerance* (1916) is notable not only for its baroque parallel narratives, but also for its scenes of decapitation, dismemberment, and stabbings. A conservative populist, Griffith surprises contemporary audiences with the

"Jenkins Mill" sequence in *Intolerance*, which is a loose reconstruction of the 1914 Ludlow Massacre in which the National Guard and hired goons gunned down striking coal miners opposed to the brutal labor policies of the Rockefeller family. A director of great contradictions—most obviously in his racist rendering of the Civil War, *The Birth of a Nation* (1915)—Griffith was among the early American filmmakers who believed that the portrayal of violence must be uncompromised to show its consequences for humanity. Other works of the early American cinema such as Erich von Stroheim's *Greed* (1924), based on the novel *McTeague* by Frank Norris, offered a gritty portrayal of a rapacious society, culminating in a famous grueling scene in Death Valley in which the protagonist pistol-whips his pursuer to death before expiring of heat exhaustion.

The relatively free use of violence in early American film narrative did not go unnoticed by various bodies that saw Hollywood culture as a "new Babylon," and its films as depraved renderings of human civilization. In order to fend off increasing calls for government censorship, the Hollywood industry worked out an arrangement to police all in-house productions. In 1922 the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors Association (MPPDA) was constituted. It was chaired by former postmaster general Will Hays (1887–1937), hence it was commonly referred to as the Hays Office. The Hays Office developed within ten years an enforcement arm with a rigid and complicated set of rules known as the Production Code Administration (PCA). The monitoring of films in production by the PCA eventually was effected by an agreement worked out between the industry and two representatives of the Catholic Church—Daniel Lord, a priest, and Martin Quigley, an ultraconservative writer and publisher. As the Catholic Church played an increasing role in the monitoring of Hollywood, the industry balked at restrictions placed on their creativity, and this conflict led to the establishment of the Studio Relations Committee, whose intent was to negotiate differences between the studios and the PCA. The PCA focused not merely on violence but especially on all forms of sexual expression outside of heterosexual marriage—which itself had to be presented within strict and rather absurd guidelines (for example, married couples had to be depicted as sleeping in separate beds). As the industry complained, the Catholic Church took renewed steps to pressure filmmakers by forming in 1934 the Catholic Legion of Decency, which put in place a rating system that could "condemn" or render "morally objectionable" films seen as indecent. The Legion had a powerful influence not only on the Catholic audience but also on general public perception of Hollywood fare. Joseph Breen (1890–1965), a Catholic known for rabidly anti-Semitic views, became head of the PCA in 1934; the office and its policies were often referred to as the "Breen Code."

Despite the increasingly rigid policing of films from within and without the industry, film directors tried to subvert the Code. Images of violence could be portrayed so long as they fit within the moral and political precepts of the PCA. Three popular films of the early 1930s, released before the Code took hold, *Public Enemy* (1931), *Scarface* (1932), and *Little Caesar* (1931), popularized the gangster film, in part due to fascination with small- and big-time criminals as rebel figures during the Prohibition era and the first years of the Great Depression. These three films were in many respects test cases for later violations of the Production Code. While all three contained scenes of shootings and acts of sadistic violence, they presented themselves as public-service films aimed at addressing conscientiously (rather than glamorizing) the image of the criminal, and at debunking crime as a form of social rebellion. *Public Enemy*, *Scarface*, and *Little Caesar* all conclude with the demise of the "villain" (who actually is the most charismatic figure in all three films). But because this basic moral point—that crime doesn't pay—is hammered home in these films, the Code rules that were violated—including one that forbade the depiction of a gunman and the person being shot in the same frame—were violated with impunity.

Censorious intervention on the subject of violence sometimes had disastrous and counterproductive results, as is so often the case in matters of censorship. A key example is the treatment of James Whale's *Frankenstein* (1931). The horror film was seen as an inherently low-brow and immoral genre by church groups and other authorities, and it came under even greater scrutiny than the crime film in regard to the rendering of violence. In an important scene in *Frankenstein*, the monster, brilliantly played by Boris Karloff, encounters a little girl playing with flowers by a pond. The monster, who behaves like an overgrown child, joins the girl in her game of tossing flowers on the pond to watch them float, then innocently throws the child onto the pond to see if she too will float. When she drowns, the monster becomes alarmed and flees into the forest. Regional censorship boards preempted the Code and demanded that much of this sequence be removed, so instead of seeing the monster's innocence in his play, and his panic when the girl drowns, we only see the monster reaching for the child, then the film cuts to an image of the girl's father, in a state of shock, carrying his dead child through the local village, the girl's stockings around her ankles. This edit of the film remained in circulation as the standard version of *Frankenstein* for more forty years. The audience is led to imagine all sorts of images of child molestation and murder, and the notion of the monster as actual victim, scorned and persecuted by his creator/father, is turned upside down in service of a perverse, simpleminded morality.

WORLD WAR II AND AFTERMATH

World War II brought the War Information Office, a collaboration between the US government and Hollywood that produced not only newsreels that functioned as propaganda for the Allied effort, but also a variety of fiction and nonfiction films that portrayed the Axis powers as monstrous while overlooking entirely the economic origins of the war. War films such as *Bataan* (1943) were allowed a surprising amount of sanctioned and savage violence because they demonized the evil "Jap." Postwar films such as *The Sands of Iwo Jima* (1949) portrayed violence as rather bloodless and painless as they lionized sacrificial violence and heroism; at the time, this was Hollywood's standard approach to the subject. The war years saw changes within other genres too, such as the crime film. Raoul Walsh's *High Sierra* (1941) took on the PCA by portraying the gangster as a hero of the people who sympathized with victims of the Great Depression. The gun violence of the alienated gangster in *High Sierra* was tolerated since he is brought down by the police at the end, although it is clear with whom the film's sympathies rest.

World War II was a transitional moment in Hollywood's portrayal of violence, as the industry and the nation began to think through the implications of the war and what instructions it offered about humanity. Crime films such as Henry Hathaway's *Kiss of Death* (1947) and Walsh's *White Heat* (1949) focused on the criminal psychopath, suggesting the influence of Freudianism on mass consciousness as well as the more general notion that social ills could not be attributed to a few "bad boys," as in previous renderings of criminal violence. *Kiss of Death* features a scene showing the crazed hoodlum Tommy Udo (Richard Widwark) shoving a wheelchair-bound old woman down a staircase; Cody Jarrett (James Cagney) in *White Heat* brutally dispatches his enemies, and ends his own life in an apocalyptic gun battle that results in a Hiroshima-like explosion at an oil depot. Again, a touch of crime-doesn't-pay moralism allowed these films to be screened. Psychotic menace and catastrophic violence became emblems of an increasingly unstable society showing signs of the trauma of the Depression and the war years.

Despite the ostensible conservatism of the 1950s, portrayals of violence became more graphic, as if to complement the darkened and uncertain mood in the United States. During this period the Production Code was steadily weakened by increased public demand for more realistic cinema; at the same time, the Hollywood studio system began to decline due to court challenges to Hollywood's monopoly practices, the demise of studio bosses, and the selling off of parts of the system itself. The circumstances provided a favorable backdrop to films noir such as Fritz Lang's *The Big Heat* (1953) and Robert Aldrich's *Kiss Me Deadly* (1955). The noir thriller, influenced by the bleak vision of German expressionist cinema, was filled with acts of sadistic savagery, such as a villain throwing boiling coffee into a young woman's face in *The Big Heat*, or *Kiss Me Deadly*'s nominal hero slamming a helpless man's hand repeatedly in a desk drawer as the camera cuts to the hero's grinning face. *Kiss Me Deadly* and Robert Wise's *Odds Against Tomorrow* (1959) also conclude with massive explosions that recall the A-bomb, emphasizing the pervasive anxieties of the age.

The 1950s saw a reevaluation of history that became manifest in the rendering of violence. The westerns of Anthony Mann, including *Winchester '73* (1950), *The Man From Laramie* (1955), and *Man of the West* (1958), contained often grueling scenes of violence that seem part of a general assessment of the conventions of the genre, in particular its function in portraying the hero's hidden psychological motives and the real underpinnings of the American expansionist process. The war film also took part in generic reevaluation, with films such as Aldrich's *Attack!* (1959) showing shocking violence (in one scene a man's arm is crushed by a tank) within narratives that questioned the military command structure and the reasons for war. To be sure, such films were answered, in a fashion, by flagwaving fare such as *To Hell and Back* (1955), a biopic about Audie Murphy (1924–1971), the most decorated soldier of World War II, who plays himself in the film. Films with such conservative agendas tended to gloss over the effects of violence rather than show its consequences, or the reasons for warfare and other violent conflicts in the first place, while also challenging PCA standards.

THE 1960s AND AFTER

The 1960s brought significant change to the rendering of film violence long before the US assault on Vietnam registered in the public mind via the mass media. Alfred Hitchcock's *Psycho* (1960) took the horror film in a new direction with his portrayal of serial murder, in particular the film's famous shower scene wherein the ostensible heroine is stabbed to death, her blood running down the drain. Three years later, the same director's *The Birds* (1963), another venture into the *fantastique* that was a fable of the disintegration of small-town life, pushed the disintegrated PCA further with images of maddened birds pecking out people's eyes and tearing their flesh. The film included fairly unprecedented scenes of violent attacks on children. By the late 1960s, with the studio system gone, the PCA was replaced by the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA), which produced a ratings system that assigned a letter to films on their release to designate their appropriateness for specific

ARTHUR PENN

b. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 27 September 1922

Although his contribution to the depiction of film violence in *Bonnie and Clyde* (1967) was indeed startling and groundbreaking, Arthur Penn, like Sam Peckinpah, should be seen as something other than a filmmaker preoccupied with bloodshed. Arthur Penn is a skilled dramatist who, like other innovators in screen violence, offered moral and other lessons about the prominence of violence in American life.

Beginning in television directing productions for *Philco Playhouse* and *Playhouse 90*, Penn moved to Broadway, winning a Tony for *The Miracle Worker* (1959), about the lives of Helen Keller and her teacher Anne Sullivan, which he also brought to the screen, earning Oscars® for actresses Anne Bancroft and Patty Duke in 1962. *The Miracle Worker* and *Alice's Restaurant* (1969), Penn's tribute to the 1960s counterculture, are among his more revered works. Still, *Bonnie and Clyde* is no doubt the film most associated with Penn, for it was a landmark in American cinema. At first, *Bonnie and Clyde* was dismissed by critics, who were shocked by the film's violence, particularly its sudden and very bloody ending, wherein Clyde (Warren Beatty) and Bonnie (Faye Dunaway) are ambushed by lawmen as they drive through the countryside, as well as by the sudden shifts in tone from violent to comic. Their bodies are jolted repeatedly by rifle fire as Penn shoots the sequence with several cameras, the scene recorded with the combination of slow-motion and rapid editing that Peckinpah would expand on many times over in *The Wild Bunch* (1969).

The notoriety of *Bonnie and Clyde* tends to overshadow Penn's other accomplishments in the depiction of film violence. *The Chase* (1966) is an uncompromising portrayal of the disintegration of American life in the 1960s, symbolized by the chaos that overtakes a small-minded, greedy, bigoted small town in the Southwest. Toward the film's conclusion, a group of perfectly middle-class citizens savagely beats the town sheriff (Marlon Brando) to gain favor with a local land baron (E. G. Marshall). The film brilliantly portrays the rage simmering within Middle America, a theme also explored in Penn's crime film *Night Moves* (1975). Penn's first film, *The Left-Handed Gun* (1958), explores both the legend of Billy the Kid and the allure of the myth of banditry. A later western, *The Missouri Breaks* (1976), is a scathing portrayal of the American frontier as the site of a struggle of the poor against the rich and ruthless, with some jarring moments of violence perpetrated by a mercenary in the employ of powerful financial interests.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

The Left-Handed Gun (1958), *The Miracle Worker* (1962), *Mickey One* (1965), *The Chase* (1966), *Bonnie and Clyde* (1967), *Alice's Restaurant* (1969), *Little Big Man* (1970), *Night Moves* (1975), *The Missouri Breaks* (1976)

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audiences: *G* ("general") for audiences of all ages, *PG* ("parental guidance") for adults and adolescents, *R* ("restricted") for adults and young people accompanied by adults, and *X* for adults only. The MPAA system closely mirrored the categories of the Legion of Decency, although it also allowed greater creative freedom to the filmmaker, dropping in-house regulation and leaving the decision making to the audience.

Accompanying this change were technological advances that allowed for more graphic images of violence, including "squibs," explosive charges placed inside an actor's clothes that can simulate the bloody exit of a bullet or other projectile. Although crude forms of squibs had been available for decades, their use had been proscribed by the PCA. By the late 1960s they were widely used, most shockingly (at the time) in Arthur Penn's (b. 1922) *Bonnie and Clyde* (1967). The film's violent ending, during which the outlaw couple is ambushed and shot repeatedly by a Texas Ranger and his posse, offended audiences of the day, but its portrayal of

Arthur Penn on the set of **Four Friends** ***(1981).*** **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

violence was closely connected to its sympathy with both the populist spirit of the Depression (the time period of its narrative) and the antiauthoritarian zeitgeist of the late 1960s. The violence of *Bonnie and Clyde*, taking place in desiccated versions of John Ford's landscapes, was intricately entangled in the events of the 1960s, especially the Vietnam War and the assassination of President John F. Kennedy on November 21, 1963. In the film's ending—which combines rapid cutting with slow motion—a portion of Clyde's head is blown away to simulate, according to Penn in various interviews, the shocking murder of Kennedy as depicted in the infamous home movie taken by the bystander Abraham Zapruder.

The US incursion into Southeast Asia occurred as television was reaching its peak as the central medium for news and entertainment. The Vietnam War was covered regularly by nightly news programs, bringing graphic footage of real violence committed against real people into American living rooms. As the war appeared to the United States to be lost with the Tet offensive of 1968, war footage seemed omnipresent. Some newscasts contained footage of outrageous atrocities, such as images of children running from napalm attacks, which Americans, many of whom had come of age in the sleepy 1950s, could hardly comprehend seeing on the previously sanitized network television programs. Coverage of the war, as well as urban protests against the war and attacks by police on African Americans and others working for civil rights, brought about a major change in public sensibility, which was reflected in the violence of late-1960s cinema and the films of succeeding decades. At the time, scholars such as Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. expressed concern about a new "pornography of violence" overtaking culture as universities began a long cycle of empirical research projects into the effects of media violence on the public, especially children.

Within two years the violence in *Bonnie and Clyde* was far surpassed by that in Sam Peckinpah's (1925–1984) landmark western *The Wild Bunch* (1969), about a gang of aging outlaws looking for a last big score on the Texas/Mexico border at the outbreak of World War I. *The Wild Bunch* was a meditation on scrapped American ideals that was as significant as *Citizen Kane* (1941). It is unfortunate that the violence of *The Wild Bunch* nearly obscured the film's dramatic power for many journalistic reviewers of the day, who frequently commented on Peckinpah's "blood ballets" rather than the quality of his narrative. There is no question, however, that *The Wild Bunch* was the bloodiest mainstream film the mass audience had seen to that date and that it was a direct response to the US intervention in Vietnam. The film opens and closes with two spectacular massacres that make full and complex use of the squib to show the explosive impact of bullets on the human body. Peckinpah's intention was to remove the frivolousness from cinematic violence in order to show the consequence of the violent act, whose depiction had been long suppressed by the Production Code.

During the years of the Vietnam War, various genres made use of the creative freedom allowed by the new rating system by using violent images to comment on the savagery of the war itself and the new culture of violence that the war had created. George Romero's (b. 1940) *Night of the Living Dead* (1969), the first part of a "zombie tetrology" (concluded in 2005 with *Land of the Dead*) that spanned five decades, was a low-budget, black-and-white horror film that portrayed modern America as a mob of mindless, flesh-consuming cannibals who are shot down by an even more mindless mob of cruel, vengeful enforcers of normality. The horror genre became a site of increasingly graphic violence in the years during and immediately after the Vietnam War and the Watergate scandal (1972–1974). Tobe Hooper's (b. 1943) *The Texas Chainsaw Massacre* (1974) created an image of a disintegrating America in which the driving forces are predation and madness. Similar ideas appeared in Wes Craven's (b. 1939) *Last House on the Left* (1972), which posited the notion that the suburban family is

SAM PECKINPAH

b. Fresno, California, 21 February 1925, d. 28 December 1984

Sam Peckinpah is widely regarded as a director who made significant innovations in the portrayal of violence in cinema in the 1960s. A volatile alcoholic, Peckinpah was the archetype of the determined film artist trying to exist within a commercial system that labeled him *l'enfant terrible*. He had a distinguished beginning in television, cocreating one TV western, *The Rifleman* (1957–1963), and creating another, *The Westerner* (1960). Then began Peckinpah's extraordinary but troubled career in the cinema.

Ride the High Country (1962), only his second western, is a melancholy meditation on the fading of the American West's heroes and villains, a topic that was a Peckinpah obsession. *Major Dundee* (1965) was Peckinpah's first attempt to bring to the screen, in the form of a gritty post-Civil War western, his hard-bitten sense of the violent world of men. The film made him a Hollywood pariah for several years. He returned with *The Wild Bunch* (1969), his most famous film and his bloodiest. About a gang of aging outlaws fighting a last stand on the Texas-Mexico border at the outbreak of World War I, *The Wild Bunch* made full use of Peckinpah's interest in a realistic portrayal of screen violence. Peckinpah photographed battle scenes with multiple cameras at various speeds; in the final edit, the film's violent scenes clearly owe a debt to Sergei Eisenstein. Yet Peckinpah's emphasis on the explosive squib to simulate a bullet's impact on the body was fairly unprecedented, as was his sense of the chaos and madness of warfare.

Peckinpah soon became known as "Bloody Sam" and Hollywood's "master of violence." Perhaps too self-conscious of the labels, Peckinpah's next major film, *Straw Dogs* (1971), seems a strained essay film on masculinity's inherently violent nature. *Pat Garrett and Billy the Kid* (1973) marked his return to the western. Like *The Wild Bunch* and *The Getaway* (1972), *Pat Garrett* shows sympathy for the underclass as well as the criminal outsider, and, like *Major Dundee*, it was hurt by troubles with producers and the studio, and by Peckinpah's increasing personal problems. *Bring Me the Head of Alfredo Garcia* (1974) is Peckinpah's gruesome, quasi-surrealist tribute to one of his influences, Luis Buñuel. Peckinpah's last major film was *Cross of Iron* (1977), a World War II epic about the German retreat from the siege of Stalingrad, and a compelling meditation on the male group. While his career may have been compromised by his lifestyle, Peckinpah brought to the cinema not just new techniques for the portrayal of violence but also a new sensibility, one far more conscientious than that of other directors who have tried to render violence before and after the Production Code.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Ride the High Country (1962), *The Wild Bunch* (1969), *The Ballad of Cable Hogue* (1970), *Straw Dogs* (1971), *The Getaway* (1972), *Junior Bonner* (1972), *Pat Garrett and Billy the Kid* (1973), *Bring Me the Head of Alfredo Garcia* (1974), *Cross of Iron* (1977), *The Osterman Weekend* (1983)

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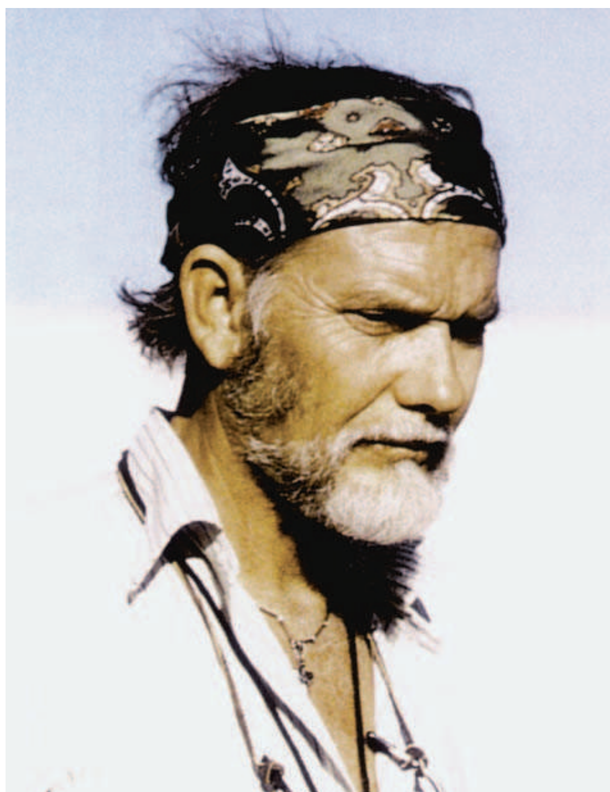
every bit as monstrous as the bad men they are taught to fear in the media. A cycle of "slasher" films, most famously represented by *Friday the 13th* (1980), *Halloween* (1978), and *A Nightmare on Elm Street* (1984), continued the horror film's trend of replacing mythical monsters with psychopathic, vaguely motivated serial killers who prey on sexually active young people. All of these films spawned sequels and inspired other, similar series, finally taking the genre into a downward spiral as it set aside social commentary to emphasize gore. Where social commentary remained, its tone became steadily more conservative as if to jibe with the post-1960s reaction that



Sam Peckinpah. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

culminated in the Reagan era (1981–1989) and the years following.

The post-Code era brought a number of epic Hollywood productions whose violence would have been unthinkable during the studio era, most notably Francis Ford Coppola's (b. 1939) films about the mafia, *The Godfather* (1972) and its sequel, *The Godfather II* (1974). Both films contain scenes depicting the machine-gunning of people at close range, garrotings, stabbings, the exploding of cars (one of which contains a young woman), and various other forms of bloodletting. Stanley Kubrick's (1928–1999) *A Clockwork Orange* (1971) was viewed during its time as another breakthrough in screen violence, but Kubrick's adaptation of Anthony Burgess's novel about a dystopia overrun by youth gangs was seen by some critics as bloodless on various counts, an overly stylized and emotionally icy view of humanity that is a representative example of the director's cynicism.

The 1970s and the aftermath of the Vietnam War and Watergate brought a phase of film violence that exploited middle-class rage over the collapse of confidence in government and other institutions. Don Siegel's *Dirty Harry* (1971), William Friedkin's *The French Connection* (1971), Michael Winner's *Death Wish* (1974), and Phil Karlson's *Walking Tall* (1973) endorsed to varying degrees police or civilian vigilantism again the criminal underworld, which was frequently associated with the youth counterculture. *Dirty Harry* and particularly *The French Connection* portrayed rather uncritically the police as dangerous psychopaths who too often use gun violence to restore civil society. These portrayals of police violence conveyed a level of cynicism not seen in US cinema before the 1960s.

Martin Scorsese's *Taxi Driver* (1975), loosely adapted from Fyodor Dostoevsky's *Notes from Underground* (1864), offered to post-Vietnam society an intelligent meditation on violence in America. The film's tale of a lonely, deranged cab driver (Robert De Niro)—whose search for identity concludes with a bloody massacre in a brothel—captured much of the malaise of the 1970s as the American social fabric disintegrated in the wake of Vietnam even as new waves of reaction approached. The 1970s also saw the phenomenon of the disaster film, whose origins can be traced to some of the early silent epics and films such as *San Francisco* (1936). The 1970s disaster films partook of a spectacularization of large-scale destruction that seemed to speak to the nation's crisis in confidence. *The Towering Inferno* (1974) and *Earthquake* (1974) invited the audience to enjoy the destruction of middle-class life and of the nation itself, either in microcosm (the burning of an immense skyscraper in *Towering Inferno*) or macrocosm (the collapse of Los Angeles in *Earthquake*). These films featured little outright bloodletting and nothing in the way of meditations on the nature of violence in the manner of *The Wild Bunch* or *Taxi Driver*. Instead, they suggested the apocalyptic temperament then prevalent in mass culture and the film industry that would reappear by the end of the century in films such as *Deep Impact* (1998), *Armageddon* (1998), and *The Day After Tomorrow* (2004). The sensibility of the 1970s disaster cycle is marked by a feeling of nihilism and despair that sees no point to political or social reform, preferring instead the solace of wishful fantasies of self-annihilation. In their favor, the 1970s disaster films at least offered a few consolations about the regenerative nature of society.

The 1970s brought a delayed examination of the Vietnam War in films such as *The Deer Hunter* (1978) and *Apocalypse Now* (1979); the former saw the war in terms of the wounds to the national psyche while demonizing the people of Vietnam, the latter viewed the war as a gross, horrific spectacle that signaled the end of the American process of conquest. The war has been revisited numerous times in films since, most notably in Oliver Stone's (b. 1946) *Platoon* (1986) and *Born on the Fourth of July* (1989), films whose graphic violence focused

Ernest Borgnine and William Holden in the violent climax of* The Wild Bunch *(Sam Peckinpah, 1969). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

principally on the wounds suffered by US veterans who were seduced into service by a deceitful government. But reactionary retellings of the Vietnam War accompanied the government of Ronald Reagan. The *Rambo* films starring Sylvester Stallone, in particular *Rambo II* (1985), took advantage of the "deceived veteran" theme but also tried, in effect, to rewrite the history of the war. Not coincidentally, these films and those starring former bodybuilder Arnold Schwarzenegger (b. 1947) reintroduced a cartoonish approach to violence in which bloodletting had little or no tangible consequence as they foregrounded the hypermasculinity of barechested, muscular men wielding large machine guns. Schwarzenegger helped establish a new form of painless, absurd violence in James Cameron's *The Terminator* (1984), which spawned two sequels (*Terminator 2: Judgment Day*, 1991, and *Terminator 3: Rise of the Machines*, 2003). The Terminator films, like many similar movies, took the portrayal of violence several decades backward as they invited the audience to enjoy a spectacle of urban destruction that caused little or no real suffering for the films' characters, a trend of the latter-day disaster films.

In the reactionary turn of the millennium, the commercial cinema undertook a valorization of military violence and US involvement in various wars in films such as *The Patriot* (2000), *We Were Soldiers* (2002), *Black Hawk Down* (2001), and especially *Saving Private Ryan* (1998). Steven Spielberg's *Saving Private Ryan* makes use of the graphic bloodshed effects introduced in the 1960s by Peckinpah and others while diluting or obliterating the moral lessons of Peckinpah, Penn, and others. The graphic violence of *Saving Private Ryan* serves a simpleminded

celebration of national identity. Unlike the films of Peckinpah, *Saving Private Ryan* shows little ambiguity about the uses of violence; indeed, it celebrates warfare as a rite of national identity.

Yet the 1990s also saw a reevaluation of screen violence similar to that undertaken earlier by Penn, Peckinpah, and others. Actor and director Clint Eastwood (b. 1930), whose career was established by the violent Italian westerns of Sergio Leone (1929–1989) such as *Il Buono, il brutto, il cattivo* (*The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly*, 1966) and by *Dirty Harry* (1971) and its sequels, undertook a major revision of the western in *Unforgiven* (1993), which tries to reassert the terrible consequences of violence within a narrative that questions the mythologizing of the western genre. Several rather philosophical interrogations of media violence appeared in the 1990s, most notably Oliver Stone's ambitious but unfocused *Natural Born Killers* (1994), which is distinguished by a Brechtian, presentational style. While apparently concerned with the relationship of the media image and film violence to violence in American society, the film veers into a reflection on violence within the American character that makes the film confused and overwhelming.

The postmodern style of the 1990s cinema brought several "hip" comments on film violence that seem little more than pastiche exercises, or compilations of various tropes and conventions from earlier films with little added critical focus. The most notable maker of these films is Quentin Tarantino (b. 1963), whose *Reservoir Dogs* (1991), *Pulp Fiction* (1994), *Jackie Brown* (1997), and *Kill Bill* films (2003 and 2004) made him in the minds of some critics and audiences the new "master of violence." His films are alarmingly cynical and empty of any specific notion either of cinema violence or of violence in American society, and merely overwhelm the audience with hyperbolic bloodshed.

The period since the 1980s might be termed the "era of the bloodbath" in that the new freedom allowed filmmakers has made violent scenes omnipresent, and steadily more graphic, as directors try to one-up each other in their uses of onscreen violence. (Tarantino will no doubt continue to be the representative model for pseudo-sophisticated uses of violence that reference the films of the past without their moral or political lessons.) Filmic violence has become pointless, boring, and rather shameless, lacking the moral force and shock effect of films

Alex (Malcolm McDowell) is given treatment to curb his violent tendencies in* A Clockwork Orange *(Stanley Kubrick, 1971). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

such as *The Wild Bunch*. While there are exceptions to this rule, the overall tone of the new Hollywood violence is one of cynicism and contempt for humanity, perhaps a reflection of increasing despair as economic conditions worsen and America loses the respect of other nations in the new globalized world order.

SEE ALSO *Censorship; Disaster Films; Horror Films; Vietnam War; War Films; Westerns*

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Christopher Sharrett

WALT DISNEY COMPANY

Though the Walt Disney Company began as an independent production company producing cartoons distributed by other companies, in 2005 the company was one of the Hollywood majors and the second largest entertainment conglomerate in the world.

EARLY HISTORY

The history of the Walt Disney Company is bound up with the history of Walt Disney himself. Disney began cartooning in Kansas City with a series called *Alice's Wonderland* (1923), which included live action and animation. When he moved to California in 1923, he made arrangements with a New York company to distribute the Alice films. (The company considers this as its starting date.) Since Walt Disney (1901–1966) was a partner with his brother Roy (b. 1930), the company was originally called the Disney Brothers Cartoon Studio. However, the name was shortly changed to the Walt Disney Studio, which had moved to a location on Hyperion Avenue in Hollywood.

Beginning in 1927, the company developed an all-animated series called *Oswald the Lucky Rabbit*. After losing the rights to the character, Walt and his chief animator, Ub Iwerks (1901–1971), developed Mickey Mouse, the character that has come to symbolize the company itself. Mickey was featured in cartoons that utilized synchronized sound, the first of which was *Steamboat Willie*, which opened in New York on 18 November 1928. A long series of cartoons based on the popular character became the staple product of the company.

The company also began producing another series to feature sound and animation innovations. The *Silly Symphonies* series included "Flowers and Trees" (1932), the first full-color cartoon, which won the first Academy Award® for Best Cartoon that same year. The Disney studio continued to win the award during the entire 1930s and most years thereafter. Disney also developed merchandising connected to its cartoon characters, beginning with a $300 license to put Mickey Mouse on writing tablets in 1929. Other products quickly followed, including dolls, toys, dishes, and so on, attracting funds that the company used to produce its innovative and popular cartoons.

The company expanded into feature-length animation with *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937). Although there were doubts about the viability of feature length animated films, the project was an enormous success, becoming the highest grossing film of all time, until it was surpassed by *Gone With the Wind* (1939). The company continued to produce animated cartoons and features, including *Pinocchio* and *Fantasia*, both released in 1940. Many technical achievements were developed by the studio in the process, but the cost of the films strained the small company's resources, especially during World War II, when foreign markets were closed.

During World War II, Disney produced two films in South America for the US Department of State (*Saludos Amigos* [1942] and *The Three Caballeros* [1944]), as well as propaganda and training films for the military. After the war, the company repackaged some of its cartoons into features (*Make Mine Music* [1946] and *Melody Time* [1948]), as well as developing such live-action films as *Song of the South* (1946) and *So Dear to My Heart* (1949), both of which included animated segments. Disney's

Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs ***(David Hand, 1937) was Disney's first feature-lengh animated film.*** **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

True-Life Adventure series introduced a new style of nature film, which attracted numerous awards and accolades.

Disney's first completely live-action film, *Treasure Island*, was released in 1950, as was the classic animated feature *Cinderella* and the first Disney television show at Christmas time. After two Christmas specials, Disney moved further into television with the beginning of the *Disneyland* anthology series in 1954. Over the years this series eventually appeared on all three networks under six different titles. When *The Mickey Mouse Club*, one of the most popular children's series on television, debuted in 1955, it introduced a group of young performers called Mouseketeers. These television shows promoted Disney products and developed an outlet for new products.

Another opportunity to promote Disney products was provided by the creation of Disneyland, a theme park that opened on 17 July 1955, in Anaheim, California. Featuring characters and stories from Disney films, the park was immediately successful and has continuously added new attractions based on new Disney films.

The Disney Company also finally started its own distribution company (Buena Vista Distribution) during the 1950s, having depended until then on other distribution firms to deliver its cartoons and features to theaters. Also during the 1950s, the company released *20,000 Leagues Under the Sea*; the first in a series of wacky comedies, *The Shaggy Dog* (1954); and a TV series about the legendary fictional hero, Zorro. The company also developed Audio-Animatronics, which were introduced at Disneyland beginning with the Enchanted Tiki Room. Walt Disney died on 15 December 1966, shortly after the release of *Mary Poppins* (1964).

AFTER WALT: THE SIXTIES THROUGH THE DISNEY DECADE

By the 1960s, the company had developed a diversified foundation, with the Disney brand firmly established in a wide range of film products (live action and animation), as well as television, theme parks, and merchandise. The Disney firm also benefited from a policy of re-releasing its popular (already amortized) feature films every few

years, reaping additional profits with minimal additional expenditures. For instance, *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* was re-released in 1952, 1958, and 1967, amassing an additional $50 million.

With some success, Roy Disney, Donn Tatum (previously, vice president of administration), and Cardon E. Walker (formerly in marketing) served as the management team until 1971. Film releases included *The Jungle Book* (1967), *Winnie the Pooh and the Blustery Day* (1968)—the beginnings of a franchise that would become especially lucrative during the 1990s—and *The Love Bug* (1968). Roy Disney saw Walt Disney World in Orlando, Florida, open in October 1971, but he died a few months later.

After Roy's death, Tatum moved into the chairman position and Walker became president. By this time, however, the company had become even more oriented to recreation and real estate than entertainment, exemplified by the theme park expansion (Tokyo Disneyland opened on 15 April 1983) and an ambitious plan to develop a mountain resort in Mineral King, California (which eventually failed).

Meanwhile, the film division was turning out mainly box-office duds, which fell far short of previous Disney successes. Part of the reason may have been the attempt to cling to the past, attempting to reproduce the classic Disney films and avoiding the changes that were being adopted by the rest of the industry. For instance, the management turned down proposals for *Raiders of the Lost Ark* and *ET, The Extra-Terrestrial*—both films that became huge box office hits. By the early 1980s, Disney's share of the box office was less than 4 percent.

Moreover, the company seemed to be moving into new media outlets at a leisurely pace. By the early 1980s, much of the film industry had started to adjust to the introduction of cable and home video as new opportunities for distribution of theatrical motion pictures, plus opportunities for new investments. The Disney company made a few moves in this direction, with the launching of the Disney Channel in April 1983, and an adult-oriented film label, Touchstone, inaugurated in 1984 with the release of *Splash*. However, by the mid-1980s, most analysts agreed that the company's management was basically "sitting on its assets," trying to "do what Walt would have done" and not doing a very good job of it.

Finally in 1984, Disney's uninspired management was challenged by a group of outside high-profile investors and eventually lost control of the company. A group of corporate raiders who recognized the value of the enterprise started accumulating huge blocks of Disney stock and jockeying for position to take over the company. In the end, the billionaire Bass brothers of Ft. Worth, Texas, invested nearly $500 million in Disney, preventing a hostile takeover and the possible dismantling of the company. Bass Brothers Enterprises ended up with nearly 25 percent of the Disney stock, enough to control the company and to appoint their own managers.

The new management team (which dubbed itself "Team Disney") was led by Michael Eisner (b. 1942), former head of Paramount, as chief executive officer. Team Disney also included former Warner Brothers's vice chairman, Frank Wells, who served as Disney's president and chief operating officer until his death in 1994. Jeffrey Katzenberg (b. 1950) (also from Paramount) became head of the Film Division.

Immediately after the team was put into place, it proceeded to break a strike at Disneyland and fire 400 Disney employees. Other cost-cutting measures and strategies were introduced, as discussed below. But the real evidence of Team Disney's achievements for Disney's owners is in the value of the company's stock and its balance sheets. From 1983 to 1987, annual revenues more than doubled, profits nearly quintupled, and the value of Disney stock increased from $2 billion to $10 billion; by 1994, it was worth $28 billion. By 1999, company revenues totaled nearly $23 billion, assets were over $41 billion, and net income was $1.85 billion.

When the new ownership and management team took over in 1984, the Disney empire extended its reach more widely than ever. While drawing on valuable assets and previous policies, Team Disney also introduced new strategies that must be understood in the context of the entertainment business of the 1990s. As with the other major Hollywood companies, Disney's expansion did not depend solely on motion pictures, but on a wide array of business activities in which the new management team aggressively exploited the Disney brand name, as well as diversifying outside of the traditional Disney label. Team Disney rejuvenated the sagging corporation through a variety of new policies, including reviving the classic Disney (by repackaging existing products and creating new animated features), modernizing some Disney characters, implementing rabid cost cutting (especially on feature films), introducing dramatic price increases at the theme parks, and employing new technological developments (such as computer animation).

However, Team Disney also emphasized at least four other related strategies that the Disney Company had already developed: corporate partnerships, limited exposure in new investments, diversified expansion, and further development of its corporate synergy. Disney not only added a wide range of corporate activities, but the company linked these different business endeavors under the Disney brand (and, more recently, the ABC and ESPN brands). The management's stated goal was to identify the most profitable holdings and develop

Mary Poppins ***(Robert Stevenson, 1964) was a big hit for Disney.*** EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

synergies across the corporation. So not only was Team Disney busy diversifying, it became masters at business cross-fertilization, perhaps the quintessential masters of synergy. During the early years of the Disney Decade, the company continued to expand and prosper utilizing these strategies. In 1991, the company ranked in the top 200 US corporations in terms of sales and assets and was 43rd in terms of profits. The company's stock was worth $16 billion.

Despite earning $1.1 billion in profits and more than $10 billion in revenues, as well as becoming the first film company to gross over $1 billion annually in domestic box office, a shadow fell over the Magic Kingdom in 1994. Wells died in a helicopter accident, Eisner had heart surgery, EuroDisney (which had opened in 1992) was suffering huge losses, and a proposal for a new historic theme park was getting hammered by nearly everyone. It looked like the company was running out of magic. Then in July 1995, the company stunned Wall Street and the media with the dramatic $19 billion takeover of Capital Cities/ABC. The move greatly enhanced the company's position in television, sports programming, and international marketing, in addition to adding publishing and multimedia components to its operations. Thus, Disney became—at least for a short while—the world's largest media company, with $16.5 billion in annual revenues.

DISNEY IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

The Walt Disney Company today is made up of several divisions: Studio Entertainment, Parks and Resorts, Consumer Products, and Media Networks. As the company boasts on its website, "Each segment consists of integrated, well-connected businesses that operate in concert to maximize exposure and growth worldwide."

Studio Entertainment. The Disney Company creates a wide range of entertainment products, including animated and live-action films under the Walt Disney label (such as *The Lion King* and *The Pirates of the Caribbean*), as well as using the Touchstone, Hollywood, Miramax, and Dimension labels, which have released a wide variety of films such as *Splash*, *Pulp Fiction,* and *Cold Mountain*. Thus, the company distributes adult and foreign films that are not associated with the family-oriented, PG-rated Disney brand. The Studio Entertainment division contributed over $8.7 billion of the company's revenues for 2004.

Buena Vista Home Entertainment manages Disney's home video business and interactive products around the world. As with its film products, Disney has diversified its television offerings, producing and distributing a variety of programming under the ABC, Buena Vista, Touchstone, and Walt Disney labels. Disney also produces theatrical versions of successful animated films through Buena Vista Theatrical Productions and has become an undeniable presence in Manhattan, not only by way of its stage productions and the Disney Store in Times Square, but through extensive real estate holdings, including the headquarters of ABC.

Audio and musical products offer further opportunities to feature Disney properties and are especially lucrative for animated features. Buena Vista Music Group coordinates Disney's various recorded music businesses, which include Walt Disney Records, Buena Vista Records, Hollywood Records, and Lyric Street Records, which make a wide range of audio and music products.

Consumer Products. Not only are Disney's merchandising activities legendary in terms of their historical precedence, the more recent strategies are remarkable. The Walt Disney Company is certainly the foremost merchandising company in Hollywood and produces or licenses a seemingly endless array of products. The Consumer Products division contributed over $2.5 billion of the company's revenues in 2004.

Disney Consumer Products, one of the largest licensors in the world, is divided into Disney Hardlines, Disney Softlines, and Disney Toys. Disney merchandise is marketed at retail outlets around the world, its own outlets at the theme parks, through on-line sites, by way of the Disney Catalogue, and at Disney Stores worldwide. The Disney Company also produces a wide range of printed material, ranging from comic books and children's magazines to adult-oriented magazines and books. At the end of 1998, the company maintained that its print products, which are published in 37 languages and distributed in more than 100 countries, make it rank above all other publishers in the world in the area of children's books and magazines. In addition to publishing under the Hyperion banner (including, ESPN Books, Talk/Miramax Book, ABC Daytime Press, and Hyperion East), it publishes the number one children's magazine in the United States, *Disney Adventures*. The Consumer Products division also includes Buena Vista Games, which turns Disney content into interactive gaming products, and the Baby Einstein Company, which produces developmental media for infants.

Parks and Resorts. Walt Disney Parks and Resorts operates or licenses 10 theme parks on three continents along with 35 resort hotels, two luxury cruise ships and a wide variety of other entertainment offerings. The division contributed over $7.7 billion of the company's revenues in 2004.

The Disney empire includes six major theme parks: Disneyland (including hotels, shopping, dining and entertainment venues and a new addition, California Adventure); Walt Disney World Destination Resort

(including four different theme parks, numerous hotels, recreational activities and shopping outlets); Tokyo Disneyland (with Tokyo DisneySea, since 2001); Disneyland Paris and Hong Kong Disneyland, which opened in September 2005.

Disney Regional Entertainment currently operates eight ESPN Zones, featuring sports-themed dining and entertainment. The Disney Cruise Line features voyages from the Florida complex to the Bahamas, with onboard activities for adults and for families. The company also was the mastermind of Celebration, the neotraditional planned community south of Disney World. A number of sports properties supplement the company's strong sports media holdings (see below), including the Mighty Ducks (hockey), as well as extensive sports facilities in Florida.

Media Networks. Through the acquisition of Capital Cities/ABC in 1995, Disney firmly established its role as one of the dominant players in the US media industry. The ABC television network provides abundant opportunities to promote Disney-produced programming and other businesses, as well as exploiting the more popular ABC programs throughout the rest of the Disney empire. In 2004, the Media Networks division attracted over $11.7 billion, more than any of the other divisions.

The ABC Television Network includes ABC Entertainment, ABC Daytime, ABC News, ABC Sports, ABC Kids, and the Disney-owned production company, Touchstone Television. In addition, Disney owns 10 television stations (affiliated with ABC) that reach approximately 25 percent of the nation's households, as well as 72 radio stations, including Radio Disney, ESPN Radio, and ABC News Radio.

Disney's ownership of ESPN is through ABC, which owns 80 percent of ESPN Inc. in partnership with the Hearst Corporation. The franchise includes four domestic cable networks, regional syndication, 21 international networks, radio, Internet, retail, print and location-based dining, and entertainment. At the end of 1999, the flagship network reached over 77 million subscribers domestically, while ESPN International is said to reach more than 152 million households in 190 countries. The ESPN franchise diversified its activities even further, adding ESPN Magazine, ESPN Radio, ESPN Zones (restaurant entertainment centers), ESPN Skybox on Disney Cruise Line ships, and ESPN merchandise. Meanwhile, *ESPN.com* is maintained to be the most popular sports site on the Internet.

Disney's other cable holdings include the Disney Channel, ABC Family, 37.5 percent of the A&E Network, 37.5 percent of The History Channel, 50 percent of Lifetime Entertainment Services (including Lifetime and the Lifetime Movie Network), 39.6 percent of E! Entertainment Television, Toon Disney (with recycled Disney programming), and SoapNet (a 24-hour soap opera channel). The segment also operates Walt Disney Television Animation and Fox Kids International, as well as Buena Vista Television and Buena Vista Television International.

Meanwhile, The Walt Disney Internet Group manages the company's Internet business. The Company's Internet site, *www.disney.com*, is consistently rated as one of the Web's most popular sites, while *The Daily Blast* serves as a subscriber-based Website, which includes various features from Disney-owned enterprises. While the Walt Disney Company seems to have been plagued in the early years of the twenty-first century with a series of highly visible controversies pertaining to executive compensation, the composition of its Board of Directors, and Eisner's replacement, the conglomerate still holds valuable assets that continue to pay dividends. The company reported revenues of over $30 billion for 2004, with nearly $4.5 billion income and $1.12 earnings per share.

SEE ALSO *Animation; Cartoons; Merchandising; Studio System*

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WAR FILMS

War has been a popular topic for motion pictures since the invention of the medium in the late 1800s. But there is no single generic type of war film, as the category encompasses many types of filmed stories about conflict. The Napoleonic Wars have been the subject of costume dramas, frontier wars in westerns pit cowboys against Indians. *Star Wars* (1977) presents an imaginary intergalactic conflict in the realm of science fiction. Other films make use of war as metaphor: *The War of the Roses* (1989) is a screwball comedy about a feuding married couple, while *Used Cars* (1980) is a "war" between two rival car lots. Some onscreen wars are never won: Wile E. Coyote and the Road Runner are forever locked in comic conflict in cartoons.

Movies called "war films" do not reflect one attitude or a single purpose. They may be antiwar (*All Quiet on the Western Front*, 1930) or pro-war (*Bataan*, 1943). *How I Won the War* (1967) is a satiric and mocking comedy about World War I, but *The Big Parade* (1925) tells a tragic story about the toll its events take on one man's personal life. *The Green Berets* (1968) is a gung-ho celebration of the US Special Forces and their role in Vietnam, but *Platoon* (1986) presents the soldier's life there as an almost insane universe.

The popularity of the war film and of war as a topic in movies is borne out by two factors: artistic recognition as reflected in Academy Awards® for Best Picture, and box-office returns. War films that have won Best Picture Oscars® include *Wings* (1927), the very first such winner; *All Quiet on the Western Front*; *Patton* (1970), a biographical portrait of World War II general George S. Patton; *The Deer Hunter* (1978), a stark look at the lives of young steelworkers before, during, and after their combat in Vietnam; and *Platoon*, combat veteran Oliver Stone's (b. 1946) first-person account of the infantry in Vietnam. Other Oscar® winners whose stories involve war include *Gone with the Wind* (1939), *From Here to Eternity* (1953), *The Bridge on the River Kwai* (1957), *Lawrence of Arabia* (1962), *Braveheart* (1995), *Mrs. Miniver* (1942), *Casablanca* (1942), *The Best Years of Our Lives* (1946), and *Schindler's List* (1993). Because they are based in reality and frequently star big-name actors and contain scenes of exciting action, war movies, both pro- and anti-, have a strong record of success at the box office. Among the many top-grossing films, as evidenced by records reported in the *The Motion Picture Herald*, *Motion Picture Daily*, and *Film Daily*, are *Hell's Angels* (1930), *Sergeant York* (1941), *Air Force* (1943), *So Proudly We Hail!* (1943), *Guadalcanal Diary* (1943), *Battleground* (1949), *Operation Pacific* (1951), *Battle Cry* (1955), *The Longest Day* (1962), *Tora! Tora! Tora!* (1970), *Midway* (1976), *Saving Private Ryan* (1998), *Three Kings* (1999), and *Pearl Harbor* (2001).

DEFINING THE WAR FILM

Coming up with a generic definition of the war film presents problems. Sometimes movies are labeled "war films" even when they are not set in combat. *Since You Went Away* (1944), the story of the American home front in 1944, is not about fighting battles with weapons but fighting the daily battle of morale for those whose lives are indirectly affected. Similarly, *The Best Years of Our Lives* is about the return to civilian life of three soldiers from different economic backgrounds and the difficult adjustments they must make. Yet the basis of the story is the combat stress they experienced and the impact it had

on them mentally and physically. *Coming Home* (1978), set largely outside of combat, is nevertheless a movie about the Vietnam War. War can also be presented as a metaphor (*War of the Buttons*, 1994, in which children's playtime quarrels escalate) or as a computerized challenge (*War Games*, 1983).

To define the war film, it is thus necessary to establish parameters, the first of which is to separate fact (documentaries and newsreels) from fiction (created stories, even if based in fact), and to determine how much fighting must appear on screen to constitute designating a movie a war film. Some movies have war as a significant background but do not depict any combat. Some have combat sequences as an episode in the larger story, like *Gone with the Wind*, which begins in the peaceful Old South, moves forward into and through the Civil War, and goes on to the Reconstruction period and postwar problems. For this reason, *Gone with the Wind*, a major film about the Civil War, is seldom labeled simply as a war film.

The war film as a genre is best defined as a movie in which a fictionalized or fact-based story is told about an actual historical war. Fighting that war, planning it, and undergoing combat within it should fill the major portion of the running time. This would include biographies of combatants, such as the World War II hero Audie Murphy (1924–1971) (*To Hell and Back*, 1955), and movies set inside combat but which remove their characters from the conflict through visualized flashbacks (*Beach Red*, 1967). This definition eliminates the home setting, the war as background or single episode movie, the military camp film, the training camp movie, and the biography that does not contain actual combat.

The purpose of the war film made by commercial enterprises is primarily to entertain. A film made during the war itself, such as the 1943 *Guadalcanal Diary*, has additional goals: to lift morale, to help civilians understand what their fighting men are going through, to provide information, and to involve the audience in positive support for the war that might perhaps influence an outcome still in doubt. A war movie made after the strife has ended needs to find other purposes, and unlike movies made during the fighting, needs to justify its morality. Once the war movie becomes a familiar genre, as in the World War II combat film, it is a story the audience knows and accepts. Such war stories can then be used to address other issues of national concern. For instance, in 1940 and 1941 two movies about World War I, *The Fighting 69th* and *Sergeant York*, were like recruiting posters for the European war that was on America's horizon. In 1949, a time of racial strife in America, *Home of the Brave* told the story of a black soldier who goes to pieces during World War II combat in the South Pacific because of racial prejudice aimed at him personally. He is brought back from his mission in a state of shock and paralysis, and the technique of narcosynthesis is used to draw his story out through flashbacks. In 1996, when the role of women in combat was in the news, *Courage Under Fire*, starring Meg Ryan, was a successful movie about a female captain nominated for the Medal of Honor. During the war in Vietnam, and the controversy surrounding America's involvement, stories about World War II were created that reflected a loss of faith in the government. Such movies as *The Dirty Dozen* (1967) and *Play Dirty* (1968) presented America's involvement in World War II as an ugly process of cheating, with criminals or criminal minds fighting the war by violating the rules of the Geneva Convention.

After the combat genre was established, movies appeared with comic tones that would have been inappropriate during the war itself. *What Did You Do in the War, Daddy?* (1966) and *Operation Petticoat* (1959) were successful comedies set in World War II, the first in the Italian campaign and the second in a submarine in the South Pacific. *M*A*S*H* (1970) was a harsh comedy about Korea, set in a mobile surgical hospital unit; the television sitcom *McHale's Navy* treated the PT-boat war in the Pacific as a lark; and *Hogan's Heroes*, also a television series, made fun of life in a prisoner-of-war camp in Germany.

HISTORY

As soon as cameras could take moving pictures of combat, war became a popular subject for narrative movies. Although no one can be certain of the exact "first" war movie, many historians feel it is probably a one-and-a-half-minute pro-war film, *Tearing Down the Spanish Flag*, made on a set in New York City immediately after the United States declared war on Spain in April 1898. The precedent was set. All the wars in American history have had stories told about them by Hollywood, although some wars are more popular than others. A relatively small number are based on the Revolutionary War, among them *The Patriot* (2000), staring Mel Gibson, and *Revolution* (1985), starring Al Pacino. The Civil War was a popular topic in silent film days, but because "the enemy is us," it has become a war used to tell stories about family conflicts ("brother against brother"), racial issues, or romances. Successful Civil War movies include *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), *Gone with the Wind*, *The Red Badge of Courage* (1951), *The Horse Soldiers* (1959), and *Glory* (1989).

World War I inspired such successful films as *The Big Parade* (1925), *What Price Glory* (made in 1926 and remade in 1952), *Lilac Time* (1928), *Wings*, *Hell's Angels*,

Steven Spielberg's* Saving Private Ryan *(1998) brought new realism to the depiction of combat. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

SAMUEL FULLER

b. Worcester, Massachusetts, 12 August 1912, d. 30 October 1997

Samuel Fuller is a key figure in the history of the American war film because his movies are shaped by his own experience in combat. Fuller became a crime reporter by the age of seventeen and moved to Hollywood to begin writing screenplays in 1936. He joined the army after World War II broke out, serving in the Sixteenth Regiment of the First Army Division ("the Big Red One"), receiving the Bronze Star, the Silver Star, and the Purple Heart. Fuller fought the full European war, from the African campaigns on through Sicily and Anzio to, ultimately, landing at Omaha Beach on D-Day. His combat experience became the seminal event of his life. No matter what settings his films take, they are all in some way about war. In Jean-Luc Godard's *Pierrot le fou* (1965), Fuller, appearing as himself, states his credo: "Film is like a battleground: love, hate, action, violence, death." Although other directors, such as Oliver Stone, have been in combat, it is fair to say that no other movie director served as long in the trenches as Fuller.

Fuller's war movies cover World War II (*Merrill's Marauders*, 1962; the autobiographical *The Big Red One*, 1980), the Korean conflict (*The Steel Helmet*, 1951; *Fixed Bayonets*, 1951), the Cold War (*Pickup on South Street*, 1953; *Hell and High Water*, 1954), and an early presentation of the problems in Vietnam, concerning the French colonials versus the Viet-Minh rebels (*China Gate*, 1957). He also made *Verboten* (1959, set in postwar Germany); *House of Bamboo* (1955), about a gang of ex-Army men who organize their criminality along military lines; and a story of the native American "wars," *Run of the Arrow* (1957). Only *Merrill's Marauders* (1962) is based on a true story, that of Brigadier General Frank D. Merrill, who commanded the first American infantrymen to fight in Asia, the 5437th Composite Group, who were trained as guerrillas to fight deep behind Japanese lines in Burma.

Fuller's war movies are presented in a distinctive visual style that may be described as combative, to the extent that they break cinematic rules. He shifts from rapid montages to lengthy camera movements, from close-ups to long shots, from real locations to rear projections, and from objective to subjective points-of-view without first clearly establishing the original position. Perhaps the definitive statement regarding war movies was made by Fuller: "The only way you could . . . really let the audience feel what it's like is to fire live ammo over the heads of the people in the audience."

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

I Shot Jesse James (1949), *The Steel Helmet* (1951), *Fixed Bayonets!* (1951), *Pickup on South Street* (1953), *House of Bamboo* (1955), *Run of the Arrow* (1957), *China Gate* (1957), *Forty Guns* (1957), *Verboten!* (1959), *Merrill's Marauders* (1962), *Shock Corridor* (1963), *The Naked Kiss* (1964), *The Big Red One* (1980), *White Dog* (1982)

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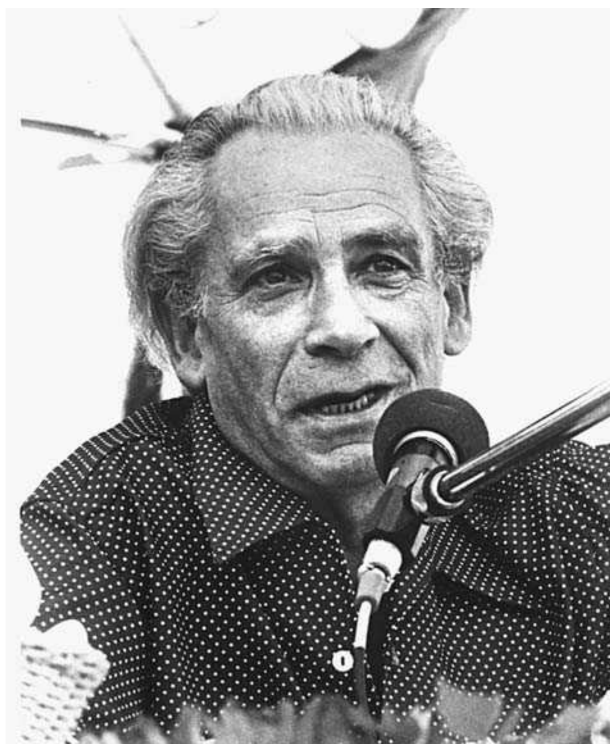
Jeanine Basinger

All Quiet on the Western Front, *The Fighting 69th*, *Dawn Patrol* (made in both 1930 and 1938), and *Sergeant York*. Although the World War I movie tended to be less popular after World War II, there are such later films as *Lafayette Escadrille* (1958), *Paths of Glory* (1957) and *The Blue Max* (1966). World War II has been the most frequently depicted conflict in American cinema and is discussed in more depth below.

Stories of the Korean War include *The Steel Helmet* (1951), *Fixed Bayonets!* (1951), *The Bridges at Toko-Ri* (1955), and *M*A*S*H*. Vietnam movies, apart from *The Green Berets*, were seldom made during the war itself. Early examples include *The Boys in Company C* (1978), *Go Tell the Spartans* (1978), and two highly respected and influential films, *The Deer Hunter* (1978) and *Apocalypse Now* (1979). Other Vietnam films are



Samuel Fuller. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

Platoon, *Full Metal Jacket* (1987), and *We Were Soldiers* (2002). War movies have been set in Grenada (*Heartbreak Ridge*, 1986), the Persian Gulf (*Three Kings*; *Jarhead*, 2005), and Nigeria (*Tears of the Sun*, 2003). A new war, the war of terrorism, has emerged in noncombat movies such as the *Die Hard* series with Bruce Willis (1988, 1990, and 1995), in which terrorist groups threaten various American settings. The terrorist movie first appeared in the 1970s with the French-Italian film, *Nada* (1974), in which left-wing terrorists kidnap the American ambassador to France, and *Rosebud* (1975), a story about Arab terrorists kidnapping a yacht to hold five wealthy young women as political hostages.

The popularity of the war movie has not diminished since the turn of the twenty-first century. In 2000 a World War II submarine movie was released (*U-571*), and a Vietnam-era training camp movie, *Tigerland*, earned critical respect. The year 2001 brought *Enemy at the Gates*, about war-torn Stalingrad in 1942, *Captain Corelli's Mandolin*, set on a Greek island in World War I, and a successful television miniseries based on fact, *Band of Brothers*. Two movies about combat were huge box-office hits in 2001: *Pearl Harbor*, which once again recreated the events of 7 December 1941, and *Black Hawk Down*, based on the true story of the US Army Rangers and Delta Force soldiers sent to Somalia in 1993 to capture a local warlord's top lieutenants.

Certain directors have been associated with movies about war, among them John Ford (1894–1973), who served in the Navy, as well as George Stevens (1904–1975), John Huston (1906–1987), and William Wyler (1902–1981), all of whom made documentaries under combat circumstances while serving in the Signal Corps in World War II. Samuel Fuller (1912–1997) and Oliver Stone both experienced actual combat and have written, directed, and produced war films. Fuller fought in World War II in the infantry, and Stone did the same during Vietnam. Fuller's *The Big Red One* (1980) is about his own combat experience in World War II, and Stone's *Platoon* won the Best Picture Oscar® in 1986. Other directors associated with the genre today include Steven Spielberg (b. 1946), who not only made the very popular *Saving Private Ryan* but also *Empire of the Sun* (1987), about a young boy's prisoner-of-war experience when Japan invades China, and *Band of Brothers*.

Stars whose images define the American wartime military presence include John Wayne (1907–1979), Henry Fonda (1905–1982), Robert Mitchum (1917–1997), and Dana Andrews (1909–1992), all of whom are associated with successful combat movies. Contemporary actors who have portrayed military men include Tom Hanks, Harrison Ford, Clint Eastwood, Bruce Willis, and Sylvester Stallone, who portrayed an ex-Green Beret in the *Rambo* movies (1982, 1985, and 1988), none of which actually took place during the Vietnam War.

THE WORLD WAR II COMBAT FILM

As mentioned above, the most frequently depicted war in Hollywood films is World War II, and the most popular form of the World War II war movie has been the combat film. This subgenre became so popular that it in turn influenced ways of telling stories in westerns, science fiction, and other generic "wars." Important titles include Ford's *They Were Expendable* (1945), with John Wayne; Wyler's *Battleground* (1949); *The Longest Day*, an epic recreation of D-Day; Fuller's *The Big Red One*; and Spielberg's *Saving Private Ryan*, a movie that inspired a new spate of World War II movies.

The primary characteristics now associated with the combat-film genre derive from the film *Bataan*, released in June 1943, a little more than a year after the peninsula fell to the Japanese. Its reviews were uniformly excellent and its box office was solid. The historical model for the film's characters and action was the 1934 Ford film, *The Lost Patrol*, written by Dudley Nichols. *Bataan* tells the story of a group of hastily assembled volunteers who, through their bravery and tenacity, hold off an

overwhelmingly large group of the enemy long enough to buy much-needed time for American forces. Because all die at the end, it is an example of "the last stand" celebration of American bravery, the most familiar mythic example of which is the story of the Alamo.

Many World War II combat films contain the story elements found in *Bataan*: a group that is a democratic ethnic and religious mixture; a hero who is part of the group, but who is forced to separate himself in order to be a good leader; a specific objective to be met; a specific enemy; and recognized military equipment and costume. The basic narrative conventions of hero, group, and objective of the World War II combat genre can be traced from films released from the 1940s onward, decade by decade. In the 1950s such films as *Halls of Montezuma* (1950), *Battle Cry* (1955), and *Men in War* (1957) continued the tradition. Even though *Halls of Montezuma* and *Battle Cry* are set in World War II and *Men in War* in Korea, all three retain the basic story in which a diverse group of soldiers are on patrol under stern leadership, seeking to achieve their objective while fighting a difficult enemy. Similar films from the 1960s include *Marines, Let's Go* (1961), *Merrill's Marauders* (1962), *Up from the Beach* (1965), and the Vietnam-based *The Green Berets*. The 1970s brought *Kelly's Heroes* (1970) and *The Boys in Company C*; the 1980s *The Big Red One* and *Heartbreak Ridge*; and the 1990s *A Midnight Clear* (1992) and *Saving Private Ryan*, which, although it was hailed as a "new" and "different" World War II combat film, followed the generic convention in many ways. The visual presentation is more graphic and realistic, but the narrative is the familiar story of a tough hero (Tom Hanks) who has to separate himself from his men in order to be an effective leader. His group is diverse, including an Italian, a Jew, a cynic from Brooklyn, and a mountain sharpshooter. Their difficult objective is to rescue a single soldier, the only brother of four not yet killed in combat, as a symbolic mission. The new millennium has continued to bring war films based on the original format, such as *Windtalkers* and *We Were Soldiers* (both 2002) and *Tears of the Sun* (2003).

Once the conventions of the combat film were set, they were used for many wars, such as Korea (*Men in War*), Vietnam (*The Green Berets*, *The Boys in Company C*), Grenada (*Heartbreak Ridge*), an imaginary future war on American soil (*Red Dawn*), the Persian Gulf (*Three Kings*), and Somalia (*Black Hawk Down*). Although the purpose of the combat film is not the same in 1998 as in 1943, its conventions still serve a purpose. Each of the postwar combat films reflects the decade in which it was released. *Saving Private Ryan*, for example, modernized the genre with new technology and increased violence, and put the older elements together to challenge moviegoers to think about the increased use of violence as well as to consider seriously the sacrifices combat soldiers made for Americans during World War II.

PROPAGANDA

The United States, with a guaranteed freedom of the press, has provided its citizens access to information as a right of the democratic process. The idea of "propaganda" is linked to totalitarian governments, with an attendant suspicion of inaccurate, slanted information. Therefore, when the United States became involved in two world wars, it faced the issue of how to mobilize its populace, provide accurate information, and influence morale without violating the basic tenets of democracy. The movie business became an important force in this process. After America declared war against Germany on 6 April 1917, the Committee on Public Information was formed, headed by the liberal journalist George Creel. The Committee organized a campaign to stimulate nationalism through patriotic speeches, recruiting posters, and pamphlets, but more significantly by using motion pictures, resulting in such strongly anti-German movies as *The Kaiser, the Beast of Berlin* (1918) and *My Four Years in Germany* (1918). Successful directors created movies that also supported the war, including D. W. Griffith (1875–1948) with *Hearts of the World* (1918), part of which was actually shot on Europe's battlefields, and Cecil B. DeMille (1881–1959) with *The Little American* (1917), starring the very popular Mary Pickford.

When World War II began in Europe on 1 September 1939, both Russia and Germany had established film propaganda machines. Vladimir Lenin, the first head of the Soviet government after the Russian Revolution of 1917, said, "of all the arts, the most important for us is the cinema"; he understood that movies could help spread the goals of the revolution to rural areas and provide visual information for illiterate peasants. He created a nationalized Soviet film industry, and filmmakers such as Sergei Eisenstein (1898–1948) made great films that were also effective propaganda: *Bronenosets Potyomkin* (*Battleship Potemkin*, also known as *Potemkin*, 1925) and *Oktyabr* (*October* and *Ten Days that Shook the World*, 1927). Nazi Germany marshaled an effective system of selling Hitler's ideas under the leadership of Joseph Goebbels (1897–1945), with the talented Leni Riefenstahl (1902–2003) as one of the chief directors. Riefenstahl's *Triumph des Willens* (*Triumph of the Will*, 1935), the official record of the Nazi Party Congress in Nuremberg, and *Olympia* (1938), her presentation of the 1936 Olympic games in Berlin, stand today as preeminent examples of propaganda. Italy, Japan and Great Britain also had experience in using

Mark Hamill and Lee Marvin in Samuel Fuller's **The Big Red One** *(1980), based on Fuller's own war experiences.* EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

movies to influence their people and to popularize their political ideas.

The United States, however, found itself the only country without an established agency for such purposes. President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1933–1945), who understood the importance of the media in politics, began the process of creating an official "propaganda" agency for America in late 1939. After various committees were formed and disbanded between 1939 and 1941, the bombing of Pearl Harbor clarified the need for a single entity to direct American propaganda. Roosevelt appointed Lowell Mellett, a former journalist, to coordinate government films, to establish a working relationship with Hollywood, and to make sure that the studios cooperated with the war effort. Roosevelt's executive order establishing this group, which would become the Office of War Information (OWI), clearly stated that movies would be one of the most important avenues with which "to inform" the public about the war. In April 1942 Mellett set up his Hollywood office, which was placed under the Domestic Branch of the OWI. The OWI provided Hollywood with a list of seven questions with which to review all films made during the war:

1) Will this picture help win the war?
2) What war information problem does it seek to clarify, dramatize, or interpret?
3) If it is an "escape" picture, will it harm the war effort by creating a false picture of America, her allies, or the world we live in?
4) Does it merely use the war as the basis for a profitable picture, contributing nothing of real significance to the war effort and possibly lessening the effect of other pictures of more importance?
5) Does it contribute something new to our understanding of the world conflict and the various forces involved, or has the subject already been adequately covered?
6) When the picture reaches its maximum circulation on the screen, will it reflect conditions as they are

JOHN WAYNE

b. Marion Michael Morrison, Winterset, Iowa, 26 May 1907, d. 11 June 1979

John Wayne's long and successful movie career earned him legendary status. He became an internationally recognized American icon, representing the strong, silent hero who lived by the virtues of bravery, commitment to traditions, respect for women and children, and a deep patriotism. Wayne was most commonly associated with the western genre, beginning with *The Big Trail* (1930), his first starring role, to his final movie, *The Shootist* (1976). More than any other film star, Wayne came to represent the concept of "American."

Wayne is the undisputed Hollywood movie box-office champion, having been ranked in the top-ten most popular stars for over two consecutive decades, a record that has never been equaled. A popular joke is that the United States didn't win World War II—John Wayne did. However, Wayne made only five movies between 1942 and 1945: *Reunion in France*, *Flying Tigers* (both 1942), *The Fighting Seabees* (1944), *Back to Bataan* (1945), and, in his most important combat role of the era, as a PT-boat officer in John Ford's *They Were Expendable* (1945).

Wayne's association with war movies increased after World War II ended, in both postwar combat films and cavalry westerns directed by Ford: *Fort Apache* (1948), *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* (1949), and *Rio Grande* (1950). Wayne also played a Civil War cavalry officer in *The Horse Soldiers* (1959), General Sherman in an episode of *How the West Was Won* (1962), and Davy Crockett in *The Alamo* (1960), a film he also produced and directed. Wayne's later World War II combat movies began with *Sands of Iwo Jima* (1949), for which he was nominated for an Academy Award® as Best Actor. His creation of Sergeant Stryker, a man who "has the regulations tattooed on his back," became the model for the postwar tough-guy top sergeant of World War II, a loner who puts duty before personal life and who, as a result, is misunderstood by his men.

Although Wayne made more westerns than war movies, *Sands of Iwo Jima* solidified his association with World War II. All his World War II movies were box-office hits: *Operation Pacific* (1951), *Flying Leathernecks* (1965), *The Longest Day* (1962), and *In Harm's Way* (1965). His least successful and most controversial war film was *The Green Berets*, a 1968 pro-Vietnam film which, like *The Alamo*, he starred in, produced, and directed.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Stagecoach (1939), *Flying Tigers* (1942), *They Were Expendable* (1945), *Fort Apache* (1948), *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* (1949), *Sands of Iwo Jima* (1949), *Operation Pacific* (1951), *Flying Leathernecks* (1951), *The Horse Soldiers* (1959), *The Longest Day* (1962), *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance* (1962), *In Harm's Way* (1965), *The Green Berets* (1968), *True Grit* (1969)

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and fill a need current at that time, or will it be outdated?

7) Does the picture tell the truth or will the young people of today have reason to say they were misled by propaganda?

The most discussed of the questions became the famous "number seven," which touched on the heart of the propaganda issue for a democratic nation. The guidelines stated that any movie, whether it was directly about the conflict or not, would be significant to the war effort. The OWI enlisted the famed director Frank Capra (1897–1991) to direct or supervise a series of movies called *Why We Fight* (1943–1945). First as an army major, but promoted later to colonel, Capra worked under the aegis of the Special Services Branch and the Army Pictorial Service at the 834th Photo Signal Detachment.

John Wayne in* Jet Pilot *(Josef von Sternberg, 1957).
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Other famous war documentaries made by Hollywood directors were Huston's *Report from the Aleutians* (1943) and *The Battle of San Pietro* (1945), Wyler's *The Memphis Belle* (1944), and Walt Disney's *Victory Through Air Power* (1943). Two influential documentaries were made by John Ford: *The Battle of Midway* (1942) and *December 7th* (1943). *The Battle of Midway* was the first documentary of World War II to find wide release and popular response. It was an accident of fate that Ford, a commander in the Navy, was on Midway the day the Japanese attacked. He ran out, placed three 16mm cameras in the sands, and shot as much footage as he could. Two of the cameras were destroyed and Ford was wounded, but the resulting film showed Americans what it looked like to be in the midst of the chaos of combat. *December 7th*, photographed by Gregg Toland (1904–1948), the legendary cinematographer of *Citizen Kane* (1941), is a classic example of the blurring of filmed fact and fiction. On the day that Pearl Harbor was bombed, few cameras were available to cover the events. The scenes many people today believe to be photographs of soldiers and sailors engaging the enemy were, in fact, scenes with actors, staged inside a studio. The National Audio Visual Center's booklet on World War II documentaries comments:

> The film represents one of the rare instances where moments of illusion have become, for most of us, the documentary reality. However, because the fact and fiction of *December 7th* are blended together so skillfully, its impact is not seriously diminished. On the contrary, the film stands as an almost textbook example of the use of a succession of edited images to involve and overwhelm an audience.

TECHNOLOGY

The development of sound, color, and the widescreen process changed the look of war on the screen, increasing the opportunity for Hollywood filmmakers to work on a wider canvas with greater realism. Adding the sounds of guns firing, the sight of red blood flowing, and a complex spatial continuity increased the war film's power to startle and emotionally engage the audience. Changing morality loosened censorship restrictions, so that using these new developments for an increase in gore, horror, and the depiction of death and dismemberment was acceptable.

The presentation of war movies was also influenced by moving images seen in newsreels and on television. This history of "reality" as an influence can be traced back to the late 1890s. According to the film historian Raymond Fielding, both the Spanish-American and Boer Wars were covered by film. One of the first military conflicts to be recorded on film, the Boer War in South Africa attracted motion picture cameramen from many countries following its outbreak in 1899. Fielding also points out that the footage of the 1898 Spanish-American War was a mixture of authentic and staged footage. Newsreels provided photographic news coverage well in advance of newspapers and magazines. For instance, the Mexican Revolution in 1914 was well covered by moving picture cameras, and Pancho Villa (1878–1923), the revolutionary leader, was signed to an exclusive contract by Mutual Films. Early news coverage, however, was tainted partly by the "recreation" of major events that were sold as real. One such early recreation is the 1897 "miniaturized" *Battle of Manila Bay* (1898), by J. Stuart Blackton and Albert E. Smith. Other famous reenactments include one on the assassination of President William McKinley (1843–1901), the sinking of the battleship *Maine*, the coronation of Edward VII, and the trial of Alfred Dreyfus.

Because of censorship rules and the unwillingness of military personnel to allow civilian cameramen onto the front lines, photographic coverage of World War I for newsreels was done largely by the US Signal Corps. Long-focus lenses were used, and the technical innovation of handheld cameras that did not require heavy tripods facilitated their shooting. During World War II

coverage increased dramatically, although newsreels of the war were sent to Washington for review before release into theaters, largely because of military sensitivity regarding the sight of casualties or dead bodies by the civilian audience.

World War II brought an increased ability to process footage rapidly. This meant that World War II was the first war in which noncombatants could see the events soon after they occurred. Weekly newsreels that presented portions of the extensive footage shot in combat were part of every theater's regular programming during the war. There were also full-length documentaries made by the film units of the Signal Corps. The United States spent more than $50 million annually to obtain filmed coverage of World War II. By the time of the war in Vietnam, the development of lightweight television cameras and videotape allowed TV reporters to provide nightly coverage on the home screens of Americans.

Technology, whether for early newsreels, documentaries, or television, influences the fictionalized presentation of war movies in three ways: audiences develop expectations regarding the physical look of combat and narratives about war; filmmakers, having this same viewing experience, attempt to recreate the look or even include some of the footage inside their narratives; and when the filmmakers who shot the real footage in the field return to civilian life, they often bring their expertise to fiction films.

Presently, the main technological developments that influence war movies are digital. Computer-generated images allow filmmakers to create detailed and elaborate combat images at relatively low cost, and to provide new perspectives on events. *Pearl Harbor*, for example, showed the bombing of the *U.S.S. Arizona* both from above (riding a bomb directly into the hit) and below (going underwater to see the struggles of drowning men). As these processes are further developed and new technologies invented, the look of the war film will evolve accordingly, whether in terms of realism or stylized "bullet time" imagery.

SEE ALSO *Action and Adventure Films; Genre; Propaganda; Vietnam War; Violence; World War I; World War II*

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WARNER BROS.

Since its emergence as a major Hollywood studio in the late 1920s, Warner Bros. has remained at the forefront of the American film industry, proving itself time and again as the boldest innovator among the studios. Warner coalesced as an integrated major studio on the basis of its pioneering role in the coming of "talkies," quickly developing under Harry (1881–1958) and Jack Warner (1892–1978) into a competitive industry force with perhaps the most distinctive house style in Hollywood. After struggling through the early postwar era, Warner Bros. again played a pioneering role when, in the mid-1950s, it led major studios into television series production, which quickly proved to be a more reliable and profitable endeavor than movie production. Once the most factory-oriented of the integrated majors, Warner Bros. eventually came to terms with independent production, and in fact it was a major proponent of the director-driven American New Wave of the late 1960s and early 1970s.

That movement was soon overwhelmed by the New Hollywood, with its media conglomerates, blockbuster films, and entertainment franchises. Here too Warner Bros. helped shape and define a changing industry—albeit as a subdivision of two successive corporate juggernauts. The first of these parent companies was Warner Communications Inc., which became an American entertainment giant during the 1970s under Steve Ross, and continued to expand in the 1980s despite huge losses incurred by its ground-breaking video-game division, Atari. The second was Time Warner, Inc., whose creation via merger in 1989 spurred a new era of global media conglomerates. The Warner Bros. film studio was a key component of the vast Time Warner empire, even after the 1996 acquisition of Turner Broadcasting, which added extensive broadcast and cable assets, the world's largest media library, and three additional film companies (including New Line) to the mix.

In the twenty-first century the pioneering impulse led to disaster, with the hugely unsuccessful merger of Time Warner with the Internet giant America Online (AOL). Time Warner and its myriad media divisions survived, however, thanks largely to a new breed of global entertainment franchise launched by *The Matrix* movies (1999–2003), the *Harry Potter* series (2001–2005), and *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy (2001–2003). Meanwhile, other subsidiaries, notably cable movie channels HBO and TCM (Turner Classic Movies), have exploited the vast Time Warner library and kept the Warner Bros. trademark and its movies in continuous circulation. Thus Warner Bros., as a studio and a movie-industry brand, remains enormously successful more than eighty years after its birth.

GENESIS AND RAPID GROWTH

The genesis of the Warner movie empire actually began in Ohio and Pennsylvania, where the three older Warner brothers, Harry, Albert (Abe), and Sam, all still in their twenties, went into the nickelodeon business around 1903. (Jack, born in 1892, sang during intermissions and reel changes.) Like many early exhibitors, they soon moved into distribution to ensure a flow of product, only to tangle with the Motion Picture Patents Company. They persisted, however, and eventually reached a watershed of sorts in 1918 with the release of *My Four Years in Germany*, a semi-documentary that became an enormous

box-office success and enabled the Warners to move into production with a modest operation on Sunset Boulevard in Hollywood. Continued growth accelerated in 1923, when the Warner Brothers West Coast Studio was incorporated as Warner Bros., and operations were expanded substantially. Warner Bros. released fourteen films that year, including *Where the North Begins*, which launched its successful series featuring the dog Rin Tin Tin. The studio produced several notable films in the next few years—including Ernst Lubitsch's (1892–1947) *The Marriage Circle* (1924) and *Lady Windermere's Fan* (1925)—but its most significant efforts involved not film production but film technology as it pioneered the development of "talking pictures."

The impulse behind Warner Bros.' early experimentation with sound, which was the brainchild of Sam Warner, was not dialogue but music. The Warners hoped to bring full orchestral accompaniment to all of their releases, including those in smaller, subsequent-run theaters that could not afford an orchestra. In 1925 Warner Bros. acquired the Vitagraph studio (in New York) and, a year later, founded Vitaphone in a partnership with Western Electric to develop a sound-on-disc system. Early sound programs featured musical and vaudeville shorts and an occasional feature-length film with an orchestral soundtrack—most notably the successful 1926 release of *Don Juan*, starring John Barrymore (1882–1942). The breakthrough was *The Jazz Singer*, an October 1927 release starring Al Jolson (1886–1950), the phenomenal success of which not only energized the talkie revolution but secured Warner Bros.' position at its forefront. It also sent Harry Warner headlong into further expansion and theater conversion, but without the assistance of Sam Warner, who died of a cerebral hemorrhage on the eve of *The Jazz Singer*'s premiere.

Shortly after the release of *The Jazz Singer*, construction was completed on four sound stages at Warner Bros.' Sunset studio, and plans were finalized for complete sound conversion within a year. Work began immediately on a slate of "part-talkies," with efforts made at both Vitagraph and Sunset to produce an "all-talking" feature. That milestone was passed in July 1928 with *The Lights of New York*, a Vitaphone two-reeler that was expanded into modest feature length (57 minutes) by director Bryan Foy (1896–1977), a veteran producer of Vitaphone shorts. Hollywood's first all-talking feature film was a commercial hit, providing further impetus for Warner Bros.' breakneck expansion. In September 1928 Warner Bros. purchased the Stanley Corporation of America, a chain of 250 theaters, and in October bought controlling interest in a fully integrated company, First National, whose holdings included a massive studio facility in Burbank, north of Hollywood. Harry Warner closed the decade with the November 1929 purchase of the remaining First National stock, thus completing Warner Bros.' rapid climb to integrated major status.

In terms of filmmaking, the most significant developments during this phase involved the company's executive personnel, as Jack Warner assumed control of the West Coast production operations and the role of production chief was gradually assumed by Darryl Zanuck (1902–1979), who had joined the studio as a screenwriter in 1924 (at age twenty-two) and by the late 1920s had become the studio's de facto production supervisor. Another key executive was Hal B. Wallis (1899–1986), who joined Warner's publicity department in 1922 (at age twenty-three) and by the late 1920s was managing First National studio as it was being converted to sound. When that conversion was completed, the Burbank lot became the principal Warner Bros. facility. The newly melded company, known briefly as Warner Bros.-First National, reduced its output from some eighty pictures per year in the late 1920s to about fifty-five per year during the 1930s. Virtually all of Warner's top feature production came under the supervision of Darryl Zanuck, who by 1930 was earning $5,000 per week—a hefty sum by any studio's standards, and indicative of Zanuck's value to the company. During the next few years, operating under Zanuck as "central producer," Warner's studio style began to take shape. The Depression was also a huge factor, in that it forced the studio to reduce output and to operate more economically, which meant tighter budgets, lower-cost contract talent (especially stars), and a heavier reliance on genre—the key ingredients to Warner's emergent studio style.

CLASSICAL-ERA WARNER BROS.

During the early 1930s, Zanuck orchestrated the development of the film narratives, genres, and production trends that would define Warner Bros. for the next two decades, featuring contemporary stories "torn from today's headlines" distinguished by a cynicism and hard-bitten realism in style, tone, and technique. Zanuck also cultivated stables of contract talent who were the key creators of the Warner's style, notably a new crop of stars like Edward G. Robinson (1893–1973), James Cagney (1899–1986), Paul Muni (1895–1967), Dick Powell (1904–1963), and Ruby Keeler (1909–1993), and a cadre of high-speed, no-nonsense directors including Mervyn LeRoy (1900–1987), Roy Del Ruth (1893–1961), Michael Curtiz (1886–1962), Archie Mayo (1891–1968), and William Dieterle (1893–1972). Warner's trademark genres in the early Depression era were the gangster film and backstage musical, spurred by the 1931 gangster classics *Little Caesar* (starring Robinson) and *The Public Enemy* (starring Cagney), the

MICHAEL CURTIZ

b. Mihaly Kertesz, Budapest, Hungary, 24 December 1888, d. 10 April 1962

Warner Bros.' consummate house director during the classical era, Michael Curtiz was an expert technician who worked in a variety of genres and with a wide range of top studio stars, and like all of Warner's long-term contract directors, he was amazingly prolific. Curtiz directed nearly one hundred features over some twenty-seven years at Warner (1926–1953), including over fifty films during the manic 1930s. Most were routine studio fare, although he occasionally directed prestige productions like the Errol Flynn-Olivia de Havilland vehicles. As Warner's output slowed and its ambitions increased during the 1940s, Curtiz handled many of the studio's top pictures, including back-to-back hits in 1942, *Yankee Doodle Dandy* and *Casablanca*, two of Warner's signature wartime releases.

Born and raised in Budapest, where he began his film career (as Mihaly Kertesz), Curtiz was directing films in Germany when Warner signed him in 1926. During his first decade at Warner Bros., Curtiz proved eminently adaptable to the studio machinery and the Hollywood idiom, although he was overshadowed by other Warner directors like Mervyn LeRoy, Roy del Ruth, and Lloyd Bacon. His breakthrough came in 1935 on *Captain Blood*, the first of the studio's romantic swashbucklers co-starring Errol Flynn and Olivia de Havilland. The film was a hit, and from that point the careers of the frantic, disciplined Curtiz and the dashing, irrepressible Flynn were inexorably entwined—despite the fact that the two men detested one another. From a sword-wielding Brit in *Captain Blood*, *The Charge of the Light Brigade* (1936), *The Adventures of Robin Hood* (1938), and *The Sea Hawk* (1940) to a gun-toting westerner in *Dodge City* (1939), *Santa Fe Trail* (1940), and *Virginia City* (1940), Curtiz and Flynn fashioned a new breed of Warners hero—more athletic, romantic, and gallant than those portrayed by James Cagney, Paul Muni, or Humphrey Bogart and a mythic figure who only made sense in costume or in uniform.

Curtiz eventually severed the alliance with Flynn, whose career and caretaking were handed off to Raoul Walsh. Meanwhile, Curtiz handled projects that signaled his stature at Warners as well as his remarkable range: wartime thrillers like *Casablanca*, *Mission to Moscow* (1943), and *Passage to Marseille* (1944); dark melodramas like *Mildred Pierce* (1945), *The Unsuspected* (1947), and *Flamingo Road* (1949); period comedies like *Roughly Speaking* (1945) and *Life With Father* (1947); and musicals like *Yankee Doodle Dandy*, *Night and Day* (1946), *Romance on the High Seas* (1948), *My Dream Is Yours* (1949), and *Young Man with a Horn* (1950).

By the early 1950s, however, the studio system was collapsing and Curtiz was losing his edge—scarcely surprising, considering how much the Warner system and Curtiz, the house director, were attuned to one another—and he finally left Warner Bros. in 1953. His next two projects, *The Egyptian* (1954) and *White Christmas* (1954), were lavish star vehicles that well indicated his lofty industry stature, but Curtiz was lost once he left the Warners lot and his career was effectively over.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

20,000 Years in Sing Sing (1932), *Mystery of the Wax Museum* (1933), *Captain Blood* (1935), *Kid Galahad* (1937), *The Adventures of Robin Hood* (1938), *Angels with Dirty Faces* (1938), *Dodge City* (1939), *Yankee Doodle Dandy* (1942), *This Is the Army* (1943), *Casablanca* (1942), *Mildred Pierce* (1945), *Life with Father* (1947), *Young Man with a Horn* (1950), *White Christmas* (1954)

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prison dramas *I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang* (1932, with Muni) and *20,000 Years in Sing Sing* (1932, with Spencer Tracy), and the backstage musicals *42nd Street* (1933, with Powell and Bebe Daniels) and *Gold Diggers of 1933* (1933, with Powell, Keeler, Joan Blondell [1906–1979], and Ginger Rogers [1911–1995]). The latter were vigorous urban dramas with the same cynical edge as the gangster films' but were interspersed with lavish musical numbers directed, designed, and choreographed (often with kaleidoscopic routines shot from

Michael Curtiz. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

overhead) by the inimitable Busby Berkeley (1895–1976). Another important early cycle included historical costume dramas and biographies ("biopics") like *Disraeli* (1929), *Alexander Hamilton* (1931), and *Voltaire* (1933), starring George Arliss (1868–1946) and directed by Alfred Green (1889–1960), which were among the studio's more costly and prestigious productions. In terms of sheer efficiency and directing talent, the studio's top filmmaker was Mervyn LeRoy, who was versatile enough to handle *Little Caesar*, *I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang*, and *Gold Diggers of 1933*, and efficient enough to direct twenty-three films from 1930 to 1933.

March 1933 marked a crucial moment for the industry and for Warner Bros. The new president, Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1882–1945), declared a "bank holiday" and National Recovery campaign, mandating salary cuts throughout US industry. Whereas the studio owners, including the Warners, readily complied, Zanuck insisted that, despite massive losses in 1931 and 1932, Warner Bros. had weathered the Depression and thus the salary cuts were unnecessary. When the Warners stood firm, Zanuck resigned; with Joseph Schenck (1878–1961), he created 20th Century Pictures, an independent production company that would merge with Fox two years later. Zanuck was succeeded by Hal Wallis, a capable administrator who lacked the vision, drive, and creative instincts of his predecessor, but who worked effectively with Jack Warner to further refine the studio's distinctive style. During the Wallis era, Warner sustained its trademark gangster and musical cycles, replaced George Arliss (who left for 20th Century with Zanuck) with Paul Muni as its resident biopic star, and launched several crucial new star-genre formulas as well—notably women's films with Bette Davis (1908–1989) and swashbuckling romances with Errol Flynn (1909–1959) and Olivia de Havilland (b. 1916).

All of these cycles were maintained by production units under the purview of supervisors like Henry Blanke (1901–1981), Sam Bischoff (1890–1975), and Robert Lord (1900–1976), who in 1937 finally began getting screen credit as "associate producers" after years of resistance from the Warners. The key figures in these units generally were a staff director and a contract star, as with the Flynn-de Havilland romances directed by Michael Curtiz and the Cagney crime dramas directed by Lloyd Bacon (1889–1955). The studio's most efficient and accomplished team was the biopic unit featuring Paul Muni, director William Dieterle, and cinematographer Tony Gaudio (1883–1951); under the producer Henry Blanke, this team turned out some of Warner's most acclaimed films of the decade, including *The Story of Louis Pasteur* (1936) and *The Life of Emile Zola* (1937). The Davis melodramas relied less on any one director (or producer) than on screenwriter Casey Robinson, composer Max Steiner, and costume designer Orry-Kelly, who collaborated on *Dark Victory* (1939), *The Old Maid* (1939), *All This, and Heaven Too* (1940), *Now, Voyager* (1942), and other Davis vehicles. Meanwhile, producer Bryan Foy oversaw Warner's B-picture operation, which cranked out twenty-five to thirty high-speed, low-cost productions per year, most of them urban crime films and melodramas and none of which featured top talent on either side of the camera.

Warner Bros. had a strong penchant for typecasting during the 1930s, which some stars like Errol Flynn preferred while others like Davis, Cagney, and Robinson openly resisted, battling Wallis and Jack Warner for better and more varied roles. Whereas the top stars eventually won greater authority over their films, contract players with less "marquee value" had little recourse besides "suspension"—that is, an unpaid leave with suspended time added to the term of their contract. Warner's suspension policy was challenged in the courts by de Havilland, which cost her two years of her career in the early 1940s but resulted in a historic ruling that ended the studios' entrenched, industrywide suspension system.

Warner Bros.' economic fortunes surged during the war era, when its production operations, market strategy,

BETTE DAVIS

b. Ruth Elizabeth Davis, Lowell, Massachusetts, 5 April 1908, d. 6 October 1989

Bette Davis's eighteen-year stint with Warner Bros. (1931–1949) was remarkable for several reasons. As the only top female star at a studio with a predominantly male ethos, she effectively countered the films of James Cagney, Edward G. Robinson, Errol Flynn, and Humphrey Bogart in a steady output of quality "woman's pictures." Davis lacked the physical beauty and sexual allure that were deemed essential for Hollywood stardom, relying instead on her acting skills and her work ethic (she appeared in some fifty films while at the studio).

Early on, Warner Bros. had no idea what to do with the headstrong, gifted Davis, whose screen persona was crucially shaped in projects that she engineered. In 1934, after two unhappy years with Warner, Davis convinced the studio to loan her to RKO to co-star in *Of Human Bondage* (1934), in which she delivered a powerful performance in a role that was at once captivating and utterly unsympathetic. Its success improved her status back at the studio, and she won an Oscar® a year later for her role in *Dangerous* (1935), an altogether routine Warner crime drama that underscored the studio's perception of her as a "female Jimmy Cagney." Subsequent battles with Jack Warner gave Davis a new contract and increased creative control over her pictures, leading to an agreement to bring in William Wyler (then under contract to Sam Goldwyn) to direct *Jezebel* (1938), another career-defining role.

Davis's bravura performance in *Jezebel* as a spoiled, headstrong Southern belle eventually redeemed through suffering won Davis another Oscar®; even more important, it solidified Warner's commitment to quality women's pictures with suitable roles for Davis. The result was an extraordinary run of pictures over the next four years, including *The Sisters* (1938), *Dark Victory* (1939), *The Old Maid* (1939), *All This, and Heaven Too* (1940), *The Letter* (1940), *The Great Lie* (1941), *The Little Foxes* (1941), and *Now, Voyager* (1942). Many were scripted by Casey Robinson, who became Davis's chief collaborator at Warner Bros., and each role was a variation on the contradictory heroine in *Jezebel*, with Davis cast either as an emasculating shrew or an engaging innocent.

Davis tried lighter fare, including an occasional comedy, but women's pictures remained her métier. Few of her subsequent films matched that extraordinary prewar run, however, and after a succession of lavish postwar disappointments, she left Warner Bros. Davis immediately enjoyed a "comeback" at Fox with *All About Eve* (1950), but in fact her career as a top star was winding down. In the 1960s she experienced an odd resurgence in a cycle of thrillers and gothic horror films, including two for Warner Bros., *What Ever Happened to Baby Jane?* (1962) and *Dead Ringer* (1964), both of which were shrill send-ups of her earlier work for the studio.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Of Human Bondage (1934), *Jezebel* (1938), *Dark Victory* (1939), *The Letter* (1940), *The Little Foxes* (1941), *Now, Voyager* (1942), *Deception* (1946), *All About Eve* (1950), *What Ever Happened to Baby Jane?* (1962)

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and house style underwent significant change. The studio phased out B-movie production altogether in the early 1940s, cutting its output in half to focus on A-class pictures for the overheated first-run market. (Warner's output plummeted from forty-eight films in 1941 to only twenty-one in 1943, and averaged twenty per year for the next five years.) Another war-related change involved an emphasis on the domestic market, which brought a shift in narrative and thematic focus from Europe to the United States, especially in its costume dramas and biopics. British-themed Flynn–de Havilland swashbucklers like *Captain Blood* (1935), *The Adventures of Robin Hood* (1938), and *The Sea Hawk* (1940), for instance, gave way to westerns and American biopics like *Virginia City* (1940), *They Died with Their Boots On* (1941), and *Gentleman Jim* (1942). Meanwhile, other major changes

Bette Davis. **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

in studio style had little or nothing to do with the war, as with the transition in Warner's trademark crime films from gangster sagas to "hardboiled" thrillers and film noir. That transition was spurred by the emergence of Humphrey Bogart (1899–1957) as a top star in two 1941 films, *High Sierra* and *The Maltese Falcon*; he secured his status as Warner's most important wartime star a year later in *Casablanca*. Bogart's value to the studio was underscored by the departure of both Cagney and Robinson in 1942, although the rise of John Garfield (1913–1952) in war films like *Air Force* (1943), *Destination Tokyo* (1943), and *Pride of the Marines* (1945) also helped offset those losses.

The acute reduction of Warner Bros.' wartime output coincided with a radical change in production management, as the studio relied increasingly on independent producers. This trend began in 1940 with deals involving Jesse Lasky (1880–1958) for *Sergeant York* (1941) and Frank Capra (1897–1991) for *Meet John Doe* (1941) and *Arsenic and Old Lace* (completed in early 1942 but not released until 1944). It accelerated in early 1942 when Warner Bros. signed independent deals with Wallis, Howard Hawks (1896–1977), and Mark Hellinger (1903–1947). The Wallis deal, which committed him to four pictures per year for the next four years, signaled Warner's shift away from a "central producer" system; it was especially significant because Wallis's first independent project was *Casablanca*, a huge hit that gave Warner Bros. the Oscar® for best picture but generated a clash with Jack Warner that led to Wallis's departure in 1944. By then Warner had moved completely to a unit-producer system, with top contract producers like Henry Blanke and Jerry Wald (1911–1962) as well as quasi-independent producer-directors like Hawks and John Huston (1906–1987) enjoying unprecedented control over their pictures.

Like all of the studios, Warner Bros. saw its profits surge immediately after the war, although in Warner's case revenues peaked in 1947 (versus 1946 for the other studios) before starting a steep decline. Moreover, Warner's late-1940s fade was not as severe because it was producing fewer pictures and unloading its contract talent and other resources at a rapid rate. Warner Bros. produced very few top hits during the postwar era, although it did sustain its trademark noir thrillers, dark dramas, and women's pictures. Bogart's star continued to ascend with the Hawks-directed film noir masterwork *The Big Sleep* (1946), and two consummate Huston films, *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre* (1948) and *Key Largo* (1948). Davis's star was rapidly falling, but former MGM diva Joan Crawford (1904–1977) came out of retirement to star in several Warner Bros. hits, including *Mildred Pierce* (1945) and *Humoresque* (1946). Two especially telling postwar star vehicles were *Key Largo*, which teamed Bogart and Lauren Bacall (b. 1924) with Edward G. Robinson, and *White Heat* (1949), a low-budget crime thriller starring James Cagney. More than any of Warner Bros.' other postwar films, these two signaled the end of its classical-era star-genre cycles, as Robinson and Cagney each portrayed a gangster throwback whose requisite demise at film's end comes in truly spectacular fashion.

THE TELEVISION ERA AND THE NEW HOLLYWOOD

When the movie industry's postwar collapse caught up with Warner Bros. in 1948, contracts with top stars like Davis, Bogart, and Flynn were phased out, as were many other contract personnel. Conditions became so dire, in fact, that, despite a suspension of production for several months to regroup, the studio still failed to place a single film in the top twenty-five box-office releases in 1949. Deep budget cuts and personnel layoffs offset falling revenues in 1950, when Warner Bros. actually posted net profits of $10.2 million—ironically the highest of any studio that year, and Warner's first-ever finish atop the Hollywood heap. The company continued to struggle in the early 1950s, gradually (and grudgingly) coming to terms with an industry geared to

Bette Davis and Paul Henreid in* Now, Voyager *(Irving Rapper, 1942). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

freelance talent, independent production, and a burgeoning blockbuster mentality. Warner's most important films at the time were produced by independents and bore little resemblance to its classical era films—as with Charles K. Feldman's (1904–1968) production of *A Streetcar Named Desire* (1951), for instance, or *The Searchers* (1956), produced by Merian C. Cooper (1893–1973) and directed by his long-time partner, John Ford (1894–1973). Even projects involving former contract talent were distinctly at odds with the filmmakers' earlier work for the studio. Hawks and Huston returned as freelance producer-directors in the mid-1950s, for instance, and their respective productions, *Land of the Pharaohs* (1955) and *Moby Dick* (1956), were lavish color spectacles that bore no resemblance at all to their preceding Warner's films, *The Big Sleep* and *Key Largo*. Warner Bros. did successfully develop one contract star during the 1950s, James Dean (1931–1955), who shot to stardom in *East of Eden*, *Rebel Without a Cause* (both 1955), and *Giant* (1956), but was killed in a car accident just weeks after completing *Giant*.

Warner's move to "bigger" independent movie productions in the 1950s was a matter of necessity, but its venture into telefilm series production evinced the boldness displayed when the company pioneered talkies three decades earlier. In early 1955, Warner's entered a deal with the ABC-TV network to produce an hour-long series, *Warner Brothers Presents*, designed to expand three of its feature films, *Casablanca*, *Kings Row* (1942), and *Cheyenne* (1947), into rotating series, with the last quarter-hour of each program devoted to promoting the studio and its upcoming movie releases. After the initial (1955–1956) season only *Cheyenne* remained, becoming a major hit and a watershed in network television's move to studio-produced hour-long telefilm series—especially Westerns, with Warner Bros. Television generating a

Claude Rains, Paul Henreid, Humphrey Bogart, and Ingrid Bergman in* Casablanca *(Michael Curtiz, 1942). **EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.**

remarkable run of hits from 1957 to 1958, including *Sugarfoot*, *Maverick*, *Colt .45*, and *Bronco*. By 1959 Warner Bros. was producing over one-third of ABC's prime-time programming, and as Christopher Anderson has aptly noted, the studio managed to adapt its assembly-line, B-picture operation to the requirements of network series production.

Warner's motion picture operation continued to adapt as well, turning out big-budget musical hits in the early 1960s like *The Music Man* (1962), *Gypsy* (1962), and *My Fair Lady* (1964), and then, later in the decade, producing several of the key films in a veritable American new wave—a "director's cinema" that redefined the independent movement and marked yet another significant break with studio tradition. Warner's contribution to the movement was extensive and quite impressive, and it included *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* (directed by Mike Nichols, 1966), *Bonnie and Clyde* (Arthur Penn, 1967), *Bullitt* (Peter Yates, 1968), *The Wild Bunch* (Sam Peckinpah, 1969), *Woodstock* (Michael Wadleigh, 1970), *A Clockwork Orange* (Stanley Kubrick, 1971), *McCabe & Mrs. Miller* (Robert Altman, 1971), *Klute* (Alan Pakula, 1971), *Deliverance* (John Boorman, 1972), *Mean Streets* (Martin Scorsese, 1973), and *Badlands* (Terrence Malick, 1973). These auteur films scarcely evinced a consistent studio style, although they did manifest a coherent market strategy and a sustained effort to court a new generation of filmmakers and a younger, hipper, more political and cine-literate audience.

Warner Bros.' changing production and market strategy was directly related to changes in ownership and management. These began when Jack Warner, the last of the original owner-operators, decided to sell his stock to the Canadian company Seven Arts, leading to the studio's brief (1967–1969) incarnation as Warner Brothers-Seven Arts. A severe market slump in 1969 led to another sale, this time to a heavily capitalized, highly diversified conglomerate, Kinney Service Corporation. Kinney's president and CEO, Steve Ross, created

Warner Communications Inc. (WCI), which he built over the next two decades into a model media conglomerate, with Warner Bros. as its principal asset. Ross immediately brought in three new top executives to run WCI's movie division: former agent Ted Ashley as chairman and CEO, independent producer John Calley as head of production, and attorney Frank Wells as studio president. In the course of the 1970s, the trio turned massive losses into steady profits, thanks mainly to a few huge hits like *The Exorcist* (1973), *All the President's Men* (1976), and *Superman* (1978), as well as a steady output of more modest successes involving Clint Eastwood (b. 1930), whose partnership with Warner's—mainly via his Malpaso Company—generated literally dozens of hit films in the ensuing decades. Warner's Eastwood hits during the 1970s included *Dirty Harry* (1971) and its first two sequels, *Magnum Force* (1973), and *The Enforcer* (1976); westerns like the Eastwood-directed *The Outlaw Josie Wales* (1976); and the offbeat *Every Which Way But Loose* (1978), an action-buddy comedy starring Eastwood and featuring an orangutan, and its sequel, *Any Which Way You Can* (1980), which were huge box-office hits.

Studio and parent company underwent further changes in the 1980s, as Warner's steadily adapted to the current era of global media conglomerates. Ross began an aggressive campaign to expand WCI's media holdings in the early 1980s, and he also replaced the studio management team with Robert Daly, who became Warner Bros.' chairman and CEO in 1980, and Terry Semel, who was named president in 1981. Daly and Semel took charge of the movie division just as Ross was shifting his focus to WCI's video-game division, Atari, whose fantastic profits led to overly aggressive expansion and, by 1983, record losses for WCI. At that point Ross retrenched, selling Atari and refocusing on more "traditional" media—movies, television, cable, music, and publishing. Soon WCI was back on track, and Warner Bros. resumed its dominant position within the media empire. The studio was generally successful despite it widely diverse output, with the only real consistency coming from Eastwood's male action films, the Superman sequels, and the increasingly inevitable impulse to turn film hits into movie franchises, as with *Police Academy* (1984), *Lethal Weapon* (1987), and many others. Moreover, Warner Bros.' evergreen Looney Tunes division—the home of cartoon veterans Bugs Bunny, Daffy Duck, and others, which dated back to the 1930s—was successfully revived in the 1980s, generating additional feature films and cable TV programming, as well as a licensing-and-merchandising operation that by the 1990s fueled a growing chain of Warner Bros. retail stores.

TIME WARNER: THE MODERN CONGLOMERATE ERA

The year 1989 was a watershed for Warner Bros. on two interrelated fronts. One was the release of *Batman*, a feat of blockbuster filmmaking that effectively redefined the creation and propagation of the movie-driven global entertainment franchise. *Batman* reached $100 million in only ten days, a studio record, and went on to become the biggest hit and the most successful franchise in Warner's history to that point. Much of that success was due to the other epochal event in 1989, WCI's merger with Time, Inc., which marked another major stage in Ross's relentless expansion campaign and in the conglomeration of Hollywood as well. The Time Warner merger was actually a $14 billion "takeover" of WCI by Time, Inc., although it was engineered mainly by Ross in an effort to combine Warner's assets with a publishing giant whose holdings also happened to include crucial media assets like HBO. The release of *Batman* and the Time Warner merger took the studio, the parent company, and the industry at large into another realm, mobilizing an array of merchandising and other tie-ins.

Warner's expansion continued despite Ross's untimely death in December 1992, most notably with the $8 billion acquisition of Turner Broadcasting System (TBS) in 1996. This acquisition added substantially to the Time Warner mix, bringing in further cable holdings (CNN, TBS, et al.), three leading independent film companies (Castle Rock, New Line, and Fine Line), and the world's largest film and television library. Meanwhile, the movie studio surged to unprecedented heights, as Warner Bros. and Disney utterly dominated the movie industry throughout the 1990s in terms of revenues and market share. The studio's success was spurred by the *Batman* and *Lethal Weapon* series, as well as its Eastwood films (most notably *Unforgiven*, 1992) and a steady output of top hits like *Robin Hood: Prince of Thieves* (1991), *The Fugitive* (1993), *Twister* (1996), and *The Perfect Storm* (2000).

Time Warner's movie fortunes surged in the early 2000s, thanks largely to the franchises launched by *The Matrix*, *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone*, and *The Lord of the Rings*. Designed as global entertainment machines, all three added billions to the parent company's bottom line while indicating how complex and multifaceted even the movie division itself had become. Only the Harry Potter films were actually produced and distributed by Warner Bros., while Warner's distributed the *Matrix* films but had nothing at all to do with the *Rings* films, which were produced and distributed by New Line.

The success of those three franchises helped offset the truly catastrophic losses that accompanied Time

Warner's merger in early 2000 with AOL, the Internet giant that promised to give the media company an insurmountable lead over its competitors in the burgeoning Digital Age. The deal, valued at an astounding—and massively overinflated—sum of $164 billion, was negotiated by Ross's successor, Gerald Levin, and AOL's Steve Case, and it was announced just as the "dot-com bubble" burst and the so-called New Economy collapsed. AOL-Time Warner had a brief disastrous run under Levin and Case, reporting losses of $99 billion in 2002; that same year Case was removed as executive chairman and the corporate name reverted to Time Warner. The conglomerate thrived in the following years under Richard Parsons, and was ranked by *Forbes* magazine in early 2005 as the world's top media company, with a market value of $79.1 billion. (Disney was a distant second at $57.2 billion.) By then Time Warner could count on Warner Bros. for one or two modest, critically acclaimed hits per year—most reliably from Eastwood-Malpaso, which delivered *Mystic River* (2003) and *Million Dollar Baby* (2004).

Given the state of the global entertainment industry and the media conglomerates that dominate and control it, however, Warner Bros.' prime directive is to generate and sustain the blockbuster franchises that now rule the industry. Both Warner Bros. and New Line have accommodated Time Warner on that score—more so, in fact, than any other motion picture subdivisions in Hollywood. The successful regeneration of Warner's Batman franchise with *Batman Begins* (2005) underscores the studio's (and the parent company's) franchise mentality, although the success and relative value of that now-antiquated series pales in comparison to Time Warner's more recent blockbuster cycles, particularly in terms of box-office performance. Taken together, Warner's first three *Harry Potter* films and New Line's *Lord of the Rings* trilogy comprise six of the top fourteen all-time worldwide box-office hits (as of mid-2005), generating $5.56 billion in theatrical release alone—only a fraction of what will be returned in DVD, television, and pay-cable revenues, and the myriad other revenue streams. These films are, for better or worse, the essential studio products in an age of global media conglomerates, and the defining products in terms of Warner Bros.' studio style.

SEE ALSO *Star System; Studio System*

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WESTERNS

The western is unique among film genres in that it is set in a specific location and within a limited historical period: the western frontier of North America between roughly 1865 and 1890, from the end of the Civil War (1861–1865) to the closing of the frontier just before the twentieth century. Ostensibly grounded in the facts of history, genuine locations, and the biographies of actual individuals, the western seems a distinctly American form, but the genre's international appeal suggests its symbolic meanings and perhaps mythic functions. From the vantage point of the early twenty-first century, the film western now appears to have been an artifact of the past century, since the genre evidently no longer maintains either the popularity or the social significance it enjoyed for decades. At its worst, the western's established conventions have become worn clichés, and its once implicit gender and racial politics now appear explicitly offensive. Yet, premature announcements of the "death of the western" have been made before, and if its once vast popularity has clearly declined, the western's central importance to the history of the cinema and to American popular culture remains undeniable.

Although viewed as one of Hollywood's most stable genres, the western has regularly allowed for hybrids, including western comedies (*Paleface*, 1948; *Blazing Saddles*, 1974), western musicals (*Annie Get Your Gun*, 1950; *Oklahoma!*, 1955), a few horror westerns (*Billy the Kid versus Dracula*, 1966), and even, eventually, pornographic westerns (*Wild Gals of the Naked West*, 1962; *The Ramrodder*, 1969). Moreover, if extended beyond its exclusively narrative modes, the western has clearly informed popular music (most obviously the type identified as "country and western"), clothing, tourist attractions (including dude ranches), toys, and furniture. Along with its more familiar presence in films, television, comic books, and literature, the western in disparate media occupied a central role in the popular imagination of American audiences and consumers for most of the twentieth century.

ORIGINS OF THE WESTERN

Recognizable early sources of the popular western can be located in persistent manifestations of the Pocahontas legend, in Indian captivity narratives such as *A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison* (1824), and in travel memoirs such as Francis Parkman's (1823–1893) *The Oregon Trail* (1849). Fiction, especially James Fenimore Cooper's (1789–1851) five Leatherstocking novels (1823–1841) and Bret Harte's (1836–1902) frontier tales from the late 1860s also established influential patterns for later representations of the western hero, modeled after Cooper's semisavage Natty Bumppo, and the emerging frontier community. By the last decades of the nineteenth century the conquest of the West was central to the formation of an American national identity articulated in Theodore Roosevelt's (1858–1919) six-volume *The Winning of the West* (1889–1896), the imperialist notion of Manifest Destiny (1885) popularized by John Fiske (1842–1901), and the influential essay "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" (1893) by Frederick Jackson Turner (1861–1932), which argued for the ongoing role of the vanishing physical frontier as a symbolic space crucial to democratic American individualism.

However, the first regular commercial packaging of the West and its adventures for mass audiences began as the actual "Wild West" was being tamed. Dime novels (beginning around 1860), frontier melodramas (at their height in the 1870s and 1880s), and Wild West shows (from 1883 onwards) all represented the West for a growing public eager to experience the exciting remnants of the living history that was fading away. No single figure embodies this transformation of the West into the western as vividly as William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody (1846–1917), an authentic western figure who translated his life and legend into popular media through his appearances in dime novels, on stage, in his own Wild West show (beginning in 1883), and eventually in a number of early films. Cinema arrived just as the frontier closed, and quickly played a major role in the developing representation of that recent past as a romantic adventure. In Chicago in 1893, Turner delivered his lecture on the frontier only a few miles away from Buffalo Bill's Wild West show, and just a few months before Edison's moving-picture camera recorded members of Cody's company, including Native Americans and the female sharpshooter Annie Oakley (b. 1935). Turner's view that the frontier was now more symbolic than geographical has been forever after linked to the emergence of the western as one of cinema's most popular genres.

By the early twentieth century, western novels such as Owen Wister's (1860–1938) *The Virginian* (1902) and the pulp magazines replacing the dime novel satisfied a growing appetite for western stories and images that early cinema was also quick to exploit. Publishing as B. M. Bower, the writer Bertha Muzzy Sinclair (1871–1940) gained popularity beginning with *Chip of the Flying U* (1904), the first in a series of humorous ranch tales frequently adapted to film. By the time that the prolific Zane Grey (1872–1939) published his best-selling *Riders of the Purple Sage* (1912) and his friend Frederic Remington (1861–1909) began to sketch and paint western scenes, the iconography, action-driven plots, and basic cast of characters for the film western were well in place, offering a formula that consumers were willing to enjoy with only minor variations.

EARLY FILM WESTERNS AND THE COMING OF SOUND

The western, often viewed as an unusually stable form, did not in fact achieve definition as a film genre until around 1910, when it became one of early cinema's most familiar and successful products. Although Edwin S. Porter's (1870–1941) *The Great Train Robbery* (1903), produced for the Edison Company and based on an 1896 stage melodrama, is often identified as the first western, film historians have demonstrated that the generic category itself was not yet firmly in place, so Porter's film can only be identified as a western in retrospect. Alongside other early "cowboy pictures" and "western romances," a vogue for often sympathetic "Indian films" throughout the early silent period revealed the lingering attachment to Cooper's Indians rather than to the cowboy who would soon dominate representations of the West. Films designated as "westerns" began to be produced regularly by the growing film industry in the actual West as film companies such as Selig-Polyscope and Bison began to relocate to California, and in 1910 the genre found its first star in the actor (and cofounder of the Essanay Company) Gilbert M. Anderson (1880–1971), who as "Broncho Billy" appeared in hundreds of short films, often as a good-hearted outlaw. Thomas Ince concentrated on the production of westerns in authentic locations for Bison 101 (which combined Bison and the Miller Brothers 101 Ranch Wild West show), including films featuring the stage actor William S. Hart (1870–1946), who later was crucial to the development of the feature-length western for the Triangle Company. Hart's films often featured him as a morally ambiguous "good bad man" whose severe demeanor and attention to realistic details was eventually challenged by the former rodeo performer Tom Mix, whose stunt-filled films featured the kinetic actor in flamboyant costumes. The contrast between the grim morality of Hart's films and Mix's action-packed romps persisted in the genre's development, with the western's bid for historical realism regularly challenged by less authentic but often more popular examples.

The promotion of other silent cowboy stars such as Hoot Gibson (1892–1962), Tim McCoy (1891–1978), and Buck Jones (1889–1942) in series westerns produced throughout the 1920s suggests that the western marketed male stars to a largely male audience, but the number of early cowgirl films and stars demonstrates that the early genre had significant appeal for female audiences as well. Louise Lester (1867–1952) starred in a series of "Calamity Anne" films directed by Alan Dwan for the American Film Company between 1912 and 1914, and Marie Walcamp (1894–1936) played cowgirl Tempest Cody in a series of nine films for Universal in 1919. As early as 1917, the screenwriter and director Ruth Ann Baldwin was parodying the genre in her film *49–17*. Perhaps the most important silent cowgirl was Texas Guinan (1884–1933), "the female Bill Hart," who starred in westerns directed by Frank Borzage and Francis Ford, as well as in movies from her own production company. The fact that few of these films survive has perhaps perpetuated the common misunderstanding of the genre as an almost exclusively "male" form.

A number of westerns produced late in the silent period for major studios demonstrated the mature genre's

William S. Hart in* Tumbleweeds *(King Baggot, 1925). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

epic ambitions: *The Covered Wagon* (1923), William S. Hart's final film, *Tumbleweeds* (1925), and *The Iron Horse* (1924), directed by John Ford (1894–1973), all treated the western as a sprawling national history lesson. These, and even cheaply made series westerns, relied on extensive location shooting and thrilling stunt work, elements that would be difficult to sustain when immobile microphones and heavy sound equipment arrived to limit filmmakers' options in the great outdoors.

Critical accounts of the western film often begin with the appearance of *Stagecoach* (1939), neglecting the steady production and popularity of the western in the decade preceding Ford's first sound western. Like other genres, but especially given its reliance on exteriors, the western struggled with early sound technology, although *In Old Arizona* (1929), *The Virginian* (1929), *Billy the Kid* (1930), and the early Oscar® winner *Cimarron* (1931) all found inventive ways to incorporate the distinctive sounds—of galloping hooves, gunshots, and jangling spurs—that soon became as fundamental to the experience of the genre as its iconic images. Universal's striking *Law and Order* (1932) and Cecil B. DeMille's *The Plainsman* (1936) invoked actual events (the shootout at the OK Corral) and figures (Wild Bill Hickok [1837–1876] and Calamity Jane [1852?–1903]) with little concern for accurate detail, a practice that has motivated some critics to bemoan the genre's persistent distortions. But the early years of the sound western have been neglected mostly because of the critical aversion to the hundreds of formulaic series westerns ("B" westerns) produced throughout the decade. Series westerns exploited the sound film's ability to feature the singing cowboy, most famously embodied by the affable Gene Autry (1907–1998), whose films for Republic Studios (frequently written by women) usually had the radio star playing himself in the present, allowing for the use of automobiles, airplanes, and radio stations in narratives that often addressed the immediate social problems of the Depression despite their western trappings. In fact, Autry's films often function as populist parables, directly

engaging with contemporary issues in cleverly self-reflexive ways. Perhaps inspired by Zane Gray's popular novels featuring mythic horses, the series western also emphasized the talented steeds of cowboy heroes such as Autry (Champion) and Ken Maynard (1895–1973) (Tarzan). Throughout the period, B westerns were enormously popular among boys, rural audiences, and women, the latter apparently charmed by Autry's smooth voice and gentlemanly demeanor.

THE A WESTERN IN HOLLYWOOD

While the critically celebrated *Stagecoach* has often eclipsed the hundreds of westerns that preceded it, there's no questioning the artistry or impact of the film, which associated director Ford and star John Wayne (1907–1979) with the genre for the rest of their long careers. *Stagecoach* was in fact one example among an increased production of prominent westerns by major Hollywood studios (even as B westerns continued to be cranked out by Poverty Row studios, with Roy Rogers (1911–1998) emerging as Gene Autry's heir when the latter went to war). In the same year as *Stagecoach*, 1939, Universal was parodying the genre with George Marshall's *Destry Rides Again*, while Warner Bros. produced the successful *Dodge City*, directed by Michael Curtiz in Technicolor. De Mille's *Union Pacific* at Paramount revived the epic, train-centered western of the late silent period, while historical lawmen and outlaws were revived in Allan Dwan's *Frontier Marshall* for Fox, with Randolph Scott (1898–1987) as Wyatt Earp, and in Henry King's box-office hit *Jesse James*, also for Fox, starring Tyrone Power as Jesse and Henry Fonda (1905–1982) as brother Frank. All of these prominent westerns appeared simultaneously with, rather than as a result of, *Stagecoach*, even though Ford's film more than any other demonstrated that the genre could produce skillfully crafted narratives and rich characterizations, even while maintaining the commercially requisite thrills of the chase and the final reel shootout.

Across the following decade, and despite the disruption of World War II, the western's popularity continued. *The Westerner* (William Wyler, 1940) earned Walter Brennan an Oscar® for his comic yet moving depiction of Judge Roy Bean. Other notable examples from the period include *Western Union* (Fritz Lang, 1941), the notoriously erotic *The Outlaw* (Howard Hughes, 1943), the stark *The Ox-Bow Incident* (William Wellman, 1943), the eccentric *Canyon Passage* (Jacques Tourneur, 1946), and producer David O. Selznick's florid *Duel in the Sun* (King Vidor, 1946). Ford's return to the genre with the elegant *My Darling Clementine* (1946) inaugurated his regular engagement with the western throughout the postwar period. Films from the end of the decade also demonstrated the genre's surprising affiliation with film noir and the psychological melodrama: *Pursued* (Raoul Walsh, 1947) remains the most successful fusion of the western and film noir, while *Ramrod* (Andre De Toth, 1947) effectively incorporated Freudian undercurrents. In the midst of Ford's loose "cavalry trilogy," consisting of *Fort Apache* (1948), *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* (1949), and *Rio Grande* (1950), all starring John Wayne, director Howard Hawks (1896–1977) also made one of the genre's masterpieces, *Red River* (1948), contrasting an often unsympathetic Wayne with Montgomery Clift in an Oedipal narrative set against an epic cattle drive.

The 1950s eventually witnessed the decline of the Hollywood studio system and the rise of television (dominated in its early decades by westerns such as Gunsmoke and Bonanza), but the period also saw a notable upsurge in the popularity of the film western, which critics have attempted to explain in political, economic, and psychoanalytic terms. The era is especially known for its "adult" or "psychological" westerns, which turned the physical violence of the frontier inwards towards phobias and traumas. *The Gunfighter* (Henry King, 1950) dramatized the psychological cost of maintaining a reputation as a fast gun, whereas *The Left-Handed Gun* (Arthur Penn, 1958) depicted Billy the Kid as a troubled juvenile delinquent. Notably, James Stewart's (1908–1997) first collaboration with director Anthony Mann (1906–1967), *Winchester '73* (1950), began a series of bold western psychodramas, including *Bend of the River* (1952), *The Naked Spur* (1953), and *The Man from Laramie* (1955), which were driven by the hero's almost uncontrolled mania for revenge. In the middle of the decade Ford released his masterpiece *The Searchers* (1956), but its significance, especially in its direct confrontation with the sexual and racial fears that drove the conquest of Native Americans, would only be fully appreciated by a later generation of critics and filmmakers. Films such as *Broken Arrow* (Delmer Daves, 1950) and *The Devil's Doorway* (Mann, 1950) also treated their central Native American characters sympathetically, recalling some westerns of the silent period. The era's best-known westerns are the elemental *High Noon* (Fred Zinnemann, 1952) and the self-consciously mythic *Shane* (George Stevens, 1953), which might be set against the quirky *Rancho Notorious* (Lang, 1952) and the campy *Johnny Guitar* (Nicholas Ray, 1954), respectively featuring aging stars Marlene Dietrich and Joan Crawford, to indicate the available range of the genre in the period. On a more modest scale, the decade concluded with the first of a series of lean and powerful films directed by Budd Boetticher (1916–2001) and starring Randolph Scott, beginning with *Seven Men from Now* (1956) and including *The Tall T* (1957), *Ride Lonesome*

JOHN FORD

b. John Martin Feeney, Cape Elizabeth, Maine, 1 February 1894, d. 31 August 1973

Although most of his more than two hundred films (four of which garnered him Academy Awards® as best director) were not westerns, John Ford is widely recognized as the greatest director of the quintessential American film genre. While Ford himself dismissed the critical evaluation of his work that began late in his life, he is acclaimed as not only one of the genre's key storytellers but also its intuitive poet, a creator of evocative cultural images as meaningful as his films' stories. After 1939 these images were repeatedly grounded in the dramatic landscape of Monument Valley, the location Ford made one of his visual signatures and eventually an iconic space that summarizes the genre itself. Ford's recurrent troupe of actors, including John Wayne, Henry Fonda, Ward Bond, and Ben Johnson, came to define the western hero through their performances in the director's films.

Ford (often with his brother Francis) made more than thirty silent westerns, few of which survive. Beginning with *Straight Shooting* (1917), by the end of the silent era Ford had moved from modest productions to the epic *The Iron Horse* (1924). Ford stayed away from westerns again until *Stagecoach* (1939), a watershed in the genre's history. Filmed in Monument Valley and featuring the B-western actor John Wayne among an ensemble cast, it established an ongoing link between the genre, location, star, and director for another two decades, a confluence that resulted in some of the western's greatest achievements. Following World War II (in which he made documentary and propaganda films), Ford returned to the western with *My Darling Clementine* (1946), a self-consciously mythic dramatization of the shoot-out at the OK Corral. The "cavalry trilogy" of *Fort Apache* (1948), *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* (1949), and *Rio Grande* (1950), all starring Wayne, also balanced the commercial requirement of dramatic action with quiet nostalgia and Ford's unique attention to small details, now performed by a set of familiar faces.

The Searchers (1956) is now recognized to be Ford's masterpiece, a formally rigorous yet highly ambivalent and surprisingly direct treatment of the racism and sexual repression that fueled the conquest of the West, concentrated in John Wayne's impressive performance as an obsessively driven loner. *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance* (1962) is a late, bittersweet exploration of the genre's mythic values, and Ford's final western, *Cheyenne Autumn* (1964), has been seen as an apology for the director's earlier contribution to the negative representation of Native Americans in popular cinema. By the time that Ford received the first Lifetime Achievement Award from the American Film Institute, he was more widely celebrated for his westerns than for his more literary, award-winning films such as *The Informer* (1935) and *How Green was My Valley* (1941). While the more conservative elements of Ford's films are regularly challenged, their power as national myths and as defining examples of Hollywood genre filmmaking remains unquestioned.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

The Iron Horse (1924), *The Informer* (1935), *Drums Along the Mohawk* (1939), *Stagecoach* (1939), *Young Mr. Lincoln* (1939), *The Grapes of Wrath* (1940), *How Green Was My Valley* (1941), *They Were Expendable* (1945), *My Darling Clementine* (1946), *Fort Apache* (1948), *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* (1949), *Wagon Master* (1950), *Rio Grande* (1950), *The Quiet Man* (1952), *The Searchers* (1956), *Sergeant Rutledge* (1960), *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance* (1962), *Cheyenne Autumn* (1964)

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John Ford. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

(1959), and *Comanche Station* (1960): pared down to basic elements, Boetticher's films show the genre reduced to its core mythology. Challenging the sexual neuroses and Oedipal tragedies of the postwar western, Hawks also released *Rio Bravo* (1959), a surprisingly effective reassertion of some of the genre's traditional values.

THE WESTERN IN DECLINE

As the Hollywood studio system began to break apart, the regular production of film westerns also declined, though early television relied on the genre to attract its first audiences. Western films had already employed color and widescreen processes to draw audiences away from the small screen, and films set in the modern West, such as *Lonely Are the Brave* (David Miller, 1962) and *Hud* (Martin Ritt, 1963), or addressing the growing youth market, such as *Billy Jack* (Tom Laughlin, 1971), attempted to update the old form. Nevertheless, the lighthearted *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* (George Roy Hill, 1969) emerged as one of the most successful westerns of all time, even as the genre seemed to be losing its relevance for younger audiences.

The late renewal of the genre would came from somewhat surprising sources: the director Sam Peckinpah (1925–1984), a veteran of television westerns, released *Ride the High Country* (1962), starring veteran cowboy stars Randolph Scott and Joel McCrea (1905–1990) in a film that realistically announced the end of an era. Peckinpah's greater impact came with *The Wild Bunch* (1969), an extremely violent film about a team of outlaws on the run in Mexico that was widely understood as a commentary on the ongoing war in Vietnam. Famous for its intricately edited, slow-motion bloodbaths, the film was both condemned and hailed as a masterpiece; there is no question that it altered the future depiction of violence in cinema. Another, even more unanticipated source for the western's revival was the body of Italian westerns known with some derision as "spaghetti westerns." Drawing upon a long European fascination with the western, the most internationally successful and influential examples, including *Per un pugno di dollari* (*A Fistful of Dollars*, 1964) and *Il Buono, il brutto, il cattivo* (*The Good, The Bad, and the Ugly*, 1966) were directed by Sergio Leone (1929–1989), at first starring the American actor Clint Eastwood (b. 1930). Although they were even more thoroughly stylized than Peckinpah's films, the Italian westerns shared his vision of a largely amoral, relentlessly violent world (though sometimes allowing moments of slapstick comedy). Often poorly dubbed, the Italian films nonetheless changed the sound of the western as well, largely through the unprecedented and distinctive soundtracks of Leone's prolific composer Ennio Morricone (b. 1928), who mixed trumpets, electric guitars, and bizarre sound effects to drastically challenge the folksy conventions of the traditional western soundtrack. At the very least, the Italian western successfully challenged the implicit notion that the genre could only be successful in the hands of American filmmakers.

At the same time, American westerns continued to anticipate the end of the genre's central role in American culture, albeit in a more nostalgic vein. Late John Wayne vehicles including *True Grit* (1969), *The Cowboys* (1972), and *The Shootist* (1976) conflated the star's own physical decline (the last two films depict his character's death) with the genre's slow demise. In retrospect, in the 1970s the genre was struggling to maintain its relevance through alternately nostalgic and harshly revisionist examples: the same period produced Hawks's traditional *Rio Lobo* (1970) and the audacious assault on heroism *Little Big Man* (Arthur Penn, 1970), as well as the downbeat *McCabe and Mrs. Miller* (Robert Altman, 1971) and the surrealist *El Topo* (*The Mole*, Alejandro Jodorowosky, 1971) Soon thereafter, the outrageous *Blazing Saddles*

Eli Wallacah, Clint Eastwood, and Lee Van Cleef in the operatic showdown of* Il buono, il brutto, il cattivo *(*The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly*, 1966). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

(Mel Brooks, 1974) took the long tradition of the western parody to gleefully vulgar extremes, perhaps inadvertently rendering the traditional western impossible for mass audiences ever to accept straightforwardly again. A few years later, the ambitious epic and commercial failure *Heaven's Gate* (Michael Cimino, 1980) made Hollywood itself wary of funding productions in the genre.

THE CONTEMPORARY WESTERN

Following the deaths of Peckinpah and Leone, the tradition of the film western has been maintained most consistently by Clint Eastwood, who as star and director has returned to the genre with some regularity. If Eastwood's first American westerns seemed like pale imitations of Leone, later works such as the gothic *High Plains Drifter* (1972) and the wistful *The Outlaw Josey Wales* (1976) were admired by fans and some critics before widespread acknowledgement of Eastwood's contribution to the genre came with *Unforgiven* (1992), created in some sense as the "last western" insofar as it functions as both apology and elegy for the genre. Kevin Costner's *Dances with Wolves* (1990) successfully revived the sympathetic Indian film: surprisingly, it and *Unforgiven* earned Oscars® for best picture, the first for the genre since *Cimmaron*. Recent attempts at politically correct revision such as the African American *Posse* (1993) and pseudo-feminist *Bad Girls* (1994) have seemed poor excuses as westerns. The successful *Tombstone* (1993) and flop *Wyatt Earp* (1994) both offered elaborately staged but insignificant returns to one of the key events and historical figures in the genre, and *All the Pretty Horses* (2000) was an ineffective attempt to adapt for the screen the award-winning 1996 novel by Cormac McCarthy, one of the genre's most prominent novelists. More successful recent revisions of the genre have come from independent cinema, including *The Ballad of Little Jo* (Maggie Greenwald, 1993), based on a true story of a cross-dressing woman who passed as a male sheep rancher in the West, and the surrealist *Dead Man* (Jim Jarmusch, 1996). Certainly the most daring and surprisingly successful contemporary western is *Brokeback Mountain* (Ang Lee, 2005),

SERGIO LEONE

b. Rome, Italy, 3 January 1929, d. 30 April 1989

The son of Italian film pioneer Vincinzo Leone and actress Bice Waleran, Sergio Leone rose to international prominence with a series of "spaghetti westerns" (or, more respectfully, "westerns all'italiana") produced in Italy during the 1960s and featuring the then relatively unknown American actor Clint Eastwood. Leone's westerns were preceded by other European (especially German) examples, but his were the first non-Hollywood westerns to gain international attention and to deeply influence the genre.

Leone's first major film, *Per un pugno di dollari* (*A Fistful of Dollars*, 1964), an unofficial remake of Akira Kurosawa's samurai film *Yojimbo* (1961), brought the western fully into the 1960s by featuring a coolly amoral, unshaven, poncho-draped antihero at its center: Eastwood's "man with no name" inherited some of the genre's conventions while subverting others, especially the conventional ethical stability of the cowboy hero. Similarly, Leone's celebrated "operatic" style served at once as a romantic homage to the classic western as well as a brutal parody of it. The director stretched the suspenseful moments before a shoot-out to nerve-wracking lengths with extreme close-ups of his characters perversely filling a widescreen frame, which typically would have contained sweeping landscapes rather than squinting eyes and twitching fingers waiting to draw a pistol. The worldwide success of the first film justified an even more audacious sequel, *Per qualche dollaro in più* (*For a Few Dollars More*, 1965), which featured drugs, sex, and sadism, all previously taboo in the genre. The last film in an unofficial trilogy, *Il Buono, il brutto, il cattivo* (*The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly*, 1966), centers on three greedy treasure seekers hunting for gold against the epic backdrop of the Civil War.

After Eastwood returned to Hollywood as an international star (whose subsequent westerns owed a clear debt to Leone), Leone's films became even more ambitious, but were often released in mutilated versions. *C'era una volta il west* (*Once Upon a Time in the West*, 1968), which boldly cast Hollywood legend Henry Fonda as a villain, was poorly received and badly cut upon its original release, but after restoration was commonly viewed as Leone's masterpiece, an epic tribute to and cinematic essay on the genre itself, as well as an elegy for its impending demise.

Leone's greatest impact on the western was stylistic: whereas nihilistic narratives and antiheroes would soon appear in US westerns, Leone's films audaciously asserted that the western, among the most formulaic and stable of genres, could drastically change its look, feel, and sound. Certainly the impact of Leone's films was immeasurably supported by their startlingly original scores written by Ennio Morricone, whose lush soundscapes countered Leone's sparse landscapes (with Spain standing in for Mexico and the US Southwest). Although they would quickly lend themselves to parody, Leone's westerns remain among the genre's most thorough revisions.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Per un pugno di dollari (*A Fistful of Dollars*, 1964), *Per qualche dollaro in più* (*For a Few Dollars More*, 1965), *Il Buono, il brutto, il cattivo* (*The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly*, 1966), *C'era una volta il west* (*Once Upon a Time in the West*, 1968), *Giù la testa* (*Duck You Sucker*, or *A Fistful of Dynamite*, 1971)

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Sergio Leone during the production of* Once Upon a Time in America *(1984). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

which sensitively depicts the tragic love affair of two cowboys. After decades of invisibility on television, the western has also enjoyed an unexpected revival through the relentlessly profane cable series *Deadwood* (beginning 2004).

THE WESTERN AND FILM STUDIES

Serious criticism of the western film began in the 1950s with appreciative essays by Robert Warshow and André Bazin, both of whom identified the genre as, in Bazin's phrase, "the American film *par excellence*." Although inattentive to cinema, Henry Nash Smith's groundbreaking study *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (1950) suggested that the emerging field of American studies and critical attention to the popular western were intertwined projects. By the next decade, studies in France by Jean-Louis Rieupeyrout and Henri Agel established what would become an ongoing exploration of the genre by the developing discipline of film studies. As more theoretical approaches to film developed, the western was often the principal example for critics attempting to refine the analysis of Hollywood genres and the *auteur*, with the early attention devoted to John Ford by critics such as Lindsay Anderson and Andrew Sarris evidence of what could be accomplished by an artist in an otherwise popular, commercial form. Drawing upon both Henry Nash Smith and French structuralism, Jim Kitses's influential *Horizons West* (1969) revealed the western to be organized by a series of "antinomies" that broadly contrasted the wilderness and civilization. Constructing an even more rigorous structural model, Will Wright's *Sixguns and Society* (1975) analyzed the most successful westerns in light of their social and political contexts. Although later critics would abandon structuralist methodology, the western's ideological significance in specific historical contexts would remain a focus for studies such as Richard Slotkin's ambitious series of books on the West and American culture (1973–1992).

Other studies of the western have sought to refine the analysis of Hollywood genres, as in the work of John Cawelti and Edward Buscombe, among others. Genre critics such as Steve Neale and Rick Altman have thus found the western a useful model for exploring the larger role of genres in film history. Ironically, the decline of the western has been offset by a steady rise in critical attention to the genre, which has included ongoing attention to the representation of Native Americans throughout the western's history, as well as innovative approaches to the roles of women in the genre. Influenced by feminist film theory as well as queer theory, recent critics have also turned their attention to one of the genre's more obvious but unexplored concerns, the representation of masculinity: thus scholars such as Jane Tompkins, Paul Willemen, and Lee Clark Mitchell have interrogated what for decades seemed to be a secure and unproblematic presentation of conventional gender norms. Such studies suggest, among other things, that the western's often exclusively male world allows for a veiled homoeroticism, and that the genre's essential violence betrays strains of masochism in both its characters and its fans.

More recently, criticism of the western has only begun to consider the impact of what has been called the "New Western History," represented by innovative historical reconsiderations such as Patricia Nelson Limerick's *The Legacy of Conquest* (1987), which argues that real-estate deals rather than thrilling shoot-outs may be at the heart of the winning of the West. Related work has greatly enriched historical understanding of the role women played in western expansion, as well as the complex psychological justification for the near extermination of Native Americans. The western has generally been successful at keeping the facts of history at bay, but "revisionist" westerns have often attempted to more closely align fantasies of the West with available facts. It remains to be seen whether or not the history of the West that is currently being revised by historians will provide a new source for stories for the near-dormant genre. In any case, the body of critical work on the western alone indicates the genre's significance in American culture

and cinema; however, it is telling that for audiences in the twenty-first century the western is less likely to be encountered at the local movie theater, where it was once a staple, than in a college classroom, as a relic and a representation of American cultural history.

SEE ALSO *Genre; Native Americans and Cinema; Race and Ethnicity; Violence*

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WOMAN'S PICTURES

The term ''woman's pictures'' potentially embraces all films—made anywhere in the world, and throughout the history of cinema—that are about, or are made by, or consumed by, women. In practice, however, in its most common usage, the meaning of the term is much narrower than this, referencing a subtype of the film melodrama whose plot is organized around the perspective of a female character and which addresses a female spectator through thematic concerns socially and culturally coded as ''feminine.'' A considerable and influential body of film history, theory, and criticism has grown up around a highly distinctive manifestation of this genre: a group of pictures produced in Hollywood during its ''classical'' era, the heyday of the studio system between the mid-1930s and the mid-1950s. In their time, these films were dubbed ''women's weepies'' and ''three-handkerchief movies,'' a not-very-subtle derogation of their tearjerking qualities and of the gender of their audiences.

DEFINITION AND HISTORY

In common with the Hollywood melodrama, the woman's picture's characteristic themes involve moral dilemmas and conflicts associated with sexuality, home, and family, commonly set in a middle-class milieu and played out in stories of the fates of individuals. However, the woman's picture departs from the melodrama in two key respects: in the focus and trajectory of its narrative concerns and in its rhetoric. Within the setting of the family, issues that may be seen as of particular concern to women are explored, while at the same time a typical plotline of the woman's picture carries the story from a woman's desire, through her transgression of ''appropriate'' codes of female behavior and consequent temporary happiness, through to retribution for her transgression and her renunciation of desire and final capitulation to dominant moral codes. A key point of distinction between the Hollywood melodrama and the woman's picture lies in the fact that in the latter the story is told from the perspective of the central female character, inviting identification with the dilemmas she faces and sympathy for her eventual fate—hence the woman's picture's notorious tearjerking propensities.

If the classic Hollywood woman's picture is a subgenre of the Hollywood melodrama, it also has subgenres of its own. According to Mary Ann Doane, they include the medical melodrama, in which a traumatized or disturbed female character tells her story to a sympathetic (male) doctor (for example, *Possessed*, 1947); the maternal melodrama, whose plot centers on a mother-daughter relationship and which is typically narrated from the mother's point of view (*Mildred Pierce*, 1945); the love story, which focuses on impossible choices, misunderstandings, and consequent loss endured by a woman in love (*Letter from an Unknown Woman*, 1948); and the paranoid gothic woman's picture, in which the central character is troubled by fear and suspicion of the motives and behavior of her husband (*Secret Beyond the Door*, 1947).

Defined thus as a particular set of themes and rhetorics, and comprising its various subtypes, the Hollywood woman's picture enjoyed its high point during a relatively limited period of time, mainly during the 1940s. The two film versions of *Imitation of Life*, Fannie Hurst's (1933) novel about a white woman, her black female friend, and their respective daughters neatly bookend the genre's

classic era. While the plot of John Stahl's (1886–1950) 1934 adaptation centers on the kinds of issues that were to become the hallmark of the classic maternal melodrama, narrative viewpoint in the film is relatively unfocused and no clear point of identification emerges. On the other hand, the plot of Douglas Sirk's (1897–1987) 1959 remake edges away from maternal issues and moves towards concerns that dominated the 1950s family melodrama, which typically centers on, and constructs points of identification with, wayward adolescents (as in Vicente Minnelli's [1903–1986] *Home From the Hill*, 1960).

For a while, then, the woman's picture enjoyed a high profile in Hollywood's output, and during this period a number of Hollywood's foremost directors made at least one "weepie." Some of these directors are not associated with melodrama, nor indeed with female-centered plots of any sort (for example, Alfred Hitchcock [1899–1980], whose paranoid gothic woman's picture, *Rebecca*, was released in 1940). Others include Sirk, whose key contribution as a Hollywood director was to the family melodrama rather than to the woman's picture, but whose *Sleep, My Love* (1948) is also very much in the paranoid gothic mould, and George Cukor (1899–1983), best-known for his strong female characters in musicals and romantic comedies, who directed the woman's pictures *Gaslight* (1944) and *A Woman's Face* (1941). No Hollywood director made a career or a reputation directing woman's pictures, though; this was a reflection, undoubtedly, of the low esteem in which "women's weepies" were held in their time.

If the lifespan of the woman's picture was short, the genre had its predecessors as well as its successors. The capacious genre of melodrama has been a staple of popular cinema from its beginnings, and many of the earliest films featured female-centered plots or dealt in some way with "women's issues": motherhood (in D. W. Griffith's *The Eternal Mother*, 1912), for example, and doomed romance (in Frank Borzage's celebrated 1927 tearjerker, *Seventh Heaven*). Moreover, into the 1920s, a number of female directors specialized in pictures of this sort, most famously, in Hollywood, Lois Weber (1881–1939), whose often controversial social problem melodramas tackled such "women's issues" as divorce, child abuse, and birth control (*Where Are My Children?*, 1916; *The Hand That Rocks the Cradle*, 1917). However, while the female desire-transgression-renunciation plot was already a feature of many such films, their viewpoints and identifications are diffuse by comparison with those of the 1940s woman's picture, and their attitudes towards female transgression more unremittingly punitive.

In the 1950s and later, by contrast, the intensely female-centered plots and rhetoric that distinguish the classic woman's picture disappear, giving way, in stories of familial relationships, to films about the "generation gap" (as in Nicholas Ray's *Rebel Without a Cause*, 1955), disturbances and dysfunctions within the family (for example, Ray's *Bigger than Life*, 1956), and plots centered on male characters (as in Sirk's *There's Always Tomorrow*, 1956), about rekindled love between a married man and an old flame, told from the man's point of view. At the same time, the themes and rhetoric associated with the woman's picture largely migrated from cinema to television, in particular to social problem dramas and the soap opera. Where woman's picture themes still figure on cinema screens, they increasingly surface in films that are generic hybrids, such as *Thelma and Louise* (1991), which constructs a female-centered narrative viewpoint but within the conventions of a characteristically male-centered genre, the buddy movie. And to the extent that the family melodrama survives on the cinema screen, it has tended not to be female-centered in terms of either plot or rhetoric. Examples include *Terms of Endearment* (1983), *Ordinary People* (1980), and *Kramer vs. Kramer* (1979).

Where the woman's picture endures, it does so in the shape of the maternal melodrama. But even here, in films about the eternally troubled relationship between mothers and daughters, the woman's picture's distinctive characteristics are diluted. Such films may seem uncertain in their address, as, for example, in *Divine Secrets of the Ya-Ya Sisterhood* (2002), whose narrative viewpoint alternates, at times vertiginously, not just between mother and daughter, but between other characters as well. Alternatively, their plots lack believability in a contemporary setting: in *Stella*, a 1990 remake of King Vidor's 1937 *Stella Dallas*, for example, the protagonist's self-sacrificial renunciation of her daughter seems unnecessary, even ludicrous. Perhaps because it explores new territory by placing black women at the center of both plot and narration, however, Steven Spielberg's *The Color Purple* (1985) revives and renews many of the features of the classic woman's picture.

FILM THEORY AND THE WOMAN'S PICTURE

It was not until several decades after its heyday that the classic Hollywood woman's picture at last began to attract serious critical and scholarly attention; in fact, this much-denigrated genre has inspired some of the most significant advances of the past twenty-five years in film history, theory, and criticism. In the 1970s and 1980s, film critics who were also feminists began to interest themselves in the place of women in cinema—at first looking at women as characters in films and as filmmakers and later at women as spectators of films.

GEORGE CUKOR

b. New York, New York, 7 July 1899, d. 24 January 1983

The son of Hungarian-Jewish immigrants, George Cukor began his career directing plays on Broadway. In 1929 he moved to Hollywood, embarking on a fifty-year career in the course of which he directed more than fifty films, from his debut picture at Paramount, *Grumpy* (1930), to *Rich and Famous* (1981). Reflecting his background in the theater, many of Cukor's best-known films are adaptations of stage plays (such as *The Philadelphia Story*, 1940, and *My Fair Lady*, 1964) or are set in the world of actors and acting (including *Sylvia Scarlett*, 1935, *A Star is Born*, 1954, and *Les Girls*, 1957).

However, while Cukor's cinema work embraces a variety of genres, he is probably best remembered for sophisticated comedies like *Adam's Rib* (1949) and *Born Yesterday* (1950), with their trademark quirky, and very modern, heroines. Cukor worked with many of Hollywood's finest actresses (among them, most memorably, Katharine Hepburn and Judy Holliday) and female scriptwriters. (Ruth Gordon co-scripted the enduring Katharine Hepburn-Spencer Tracy vehicles *Adam's Rib* [1949] and *Pat and Mike* [1952].) This earned him a reputation as a "women's director."

Cukor's independent, acerbic, intelligent heroines are never less than interesting, and his films characteristically proffer a kind of feminine angle on the world. Yet they rarely identify fully with the woman's point of view, nor as a rule do they address themselves exclusively to a female audience. In this regard, Cukor has been likened to the American novelist Henry James.

In the 1940s, however, like many other Hollywood directors of the time, Cukor ventured into directing "woman's pictures"—family melodramas with "female-centered" plots, closely addressed to female spectators and audiences. *A Woman's Face* (1941), made at MGM, stars Joan Crawford as a nursemaid with a hideously scarred face who is eventually redeemed from a life of bitterness. *Gaslight* (1944), another MGM film and an example of the paranoid gothic woman's picture, stars Ingrid Bergman as an upper-middle-class Victorian wife whose husband (Charles Boyer) is methodically driving her insane.

Released in 1981, Cukor's last film, *Rich and Famous*—he was over eighty when he directed it—is a story of female friendship, featuring Jacqueline Bisset and Candice Bergen as college acquaintances whose difficult relationship survives many years and divergent life choices. As a remake of the 1943 Bette Davis-Miriam Hopkins vehicle, *Old Acquaintance*, the swansong of this veteran "women's director" fittingly pays homage to, and updates, the classic Hollywood woman's picture of the 1940s.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Sylvia Scarlett (1935), *Philadelphia Story* (1940), *A Women's Face* (1941), *Gaslight* (1944), *Adam's Rib* (1949), *Born Yesterday* (1950), *Pat and Mike* (1952), *A Star Is Born* (1954), *My Fair Lady* (1964)

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Annette Kuhn

In contributions to analyzing the internal textual operations of films and to developing methods for interpreting films, some of these critics explored the potential for reading mainstream Hollywood films "against the grain," against the surface meanings they offered, producing interpretations that opened up a space for understanding women's engagements with films that, on the face of it, seemed to reinforce patriarchal attitudes towards women. Foremost among such films, of course, is the woman's picture, with its fictions of female desire, transgression, punishment, and loss. Could the female-centered narrative viewpoint that marks out the woman's picture, in eliciting identification with the protagonist and sympathy for her plight, undercut the characteristic storyline in which she is restored to her "proper" place? Could the text, at a subtextual or unconscious level,

George Cukor. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

generate contradictions that the film's eventual resolution could not contain?

In an essay on the relationship between melodrama and the woman's picture, Pam Cook has argued that, in exploring the conflicts faced by women in patriarchy, the woman's picture can never satisfactorily resolve these dilemmas, because it "must first posit the possibility of female desire, and a female point-of-view, thus posing problems for itself which it can scarcely contain" (p. 17). Thus, while the woman's picture brings to the fore the possibility of female desire, the conventions of the genre must at the same time seek to contain it. This conflict, it is then argued, disturbs the text of the woman's picture, which is marked by such "symptoms" as circular rather than linear narrative structure; "impossible" or implausible "resolutions"; multiple points of view; and themes of blindness, mental instability, and suchlike. In this sense, the woman's picture came to be considered the limit case of classical cinema under pressure, a point amply demonstrated in Cook's reading of the maternal melodrama *Mildred Pierce*, which tells the story of a troubled mother-daughter relationship and in whose closing scene the eponymous heroine (played by Joan Crawford) goes back to her less-than-satisfactory husband.

Alongside these advances in thinking on film's form and textual operations, film theorists began to consider what is distinctive about spectatorship in cinema. Following Christian Metz's exploration of the unconscious aspects of spectatorial engagements with films, Laura Mulvey advanced the concept of a gendered gaze and gendered spectatorship, thereby introducing the conundrum of the possibility of pleasure in cinema for the female spectator. In her 1987 study of "ideological stress" in the classic woman's picture, Doane takes up this idea, distinguishing between the woman's picture's subgenres on the basis of the kind of gaze, or mode of spectatorship, each elicits: in the medical melodrama, she argues, "the woman is most nearly the pure object of the gaze"; the maternal melodrama is marked by voyeurism; the love story by a narcissistic gaze; and the paranoid gothic by the "aggressivity . . . of the look . . . directed against" the woman (pp.178–179).

Doane shows that the woman's picture offers ample scope for drawing on concepts from psychoanalysis in analyzing classical cinema's rhetoric and modes of spectatorial engagement; and in relation more specifically to the woman's picture, her work raises a number of key questions. Does the woman's picture set up a specifically female, or feminine, position for the spectator? Does it provide some space for the free play of female desire, or does it simply document a troubling of patriarchally defined modes of subjectivity centered upon the figure of the woman? Questions about female spectatorship raised by the woman's picture have wide-ranging implications not only for film theory, but for the historical, social, and cultural study of the medium as well. Above all, they demand a distinction between, on the one hand, the idea of spectatorship as a description of the modes of (potentially gendered) subjectivity proposed by the operations of the film text—the "spectator-in-the-text"—and on the other, the idea of the social audience for films—the actual people, male and female, who go to the cinema.

It was a woman's picture that prompted a landmark exploration by feminist critics of all these issues: film texts, spectatorship, pleasure, genre, and gender. During the 1980s, the 1937 *Stella Dallas*, arguably the founding text of the classic maternal melodrama, was at the center of an extended debate in which it was suggested, among other things, that no identity can be assumed between a present-day feminist reading of *Stella Dallas* and the responses of female audiences in the 1930s. The debate foundered at the point at which this question of the social audience—and specifically the historical audience, the women who saw *Stella Dallas* in the 1930s—was raised, and this issue remained unresolved. The *Stella Dallas* debate thus prefigured a key problem facing film theory: the question of the function, and the address, of popular culture—specifically of genres within mainstream cinema—in relation to audiences, both past and present, male and female. What is the relationship

Ann Blyth, Zachary Scott, and Joan Crawford in the maternal melodrama,* Mildred Pierce *(Michael Curtiz, 1945).
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between the modes of subjectivity proposed by the woman's picture and the female audiences to which these films were marketed? How does the woman in the cinema audience, as a social subject, negotiate meanings proposed in the rhetoric of the film text?

GENRE, THE WOMAN'S PICTURE, AND THE FEMALE AUDIENCE

In its time, the Hollywood woman's picture was deliberately targeted at female audiences, and not just in terms of the films' "female-centered" subject matter and address. In fact, as Maria LaPlace contends, the textual attributes of the woman's picture draw on a wider women's culture, linking women's consumption of commodities with the commodification inherent in the star system. This, she argues, created a symbolic system in which women could try to make sense of their lives and perhaps even create imaginative space for resistance."

Thinking about the woman's picture as a genre, in other words, calls for conceptualizing films—texts—as nodes in a whole network of cultural phenomena that may include, for example, women's popular fiction, Hollywood studios' production practices (such as, say, scriptwriting), and the Hollywood star system, through to broader cultures of consumerism and femininity. The distinctive features of the woman's picture as a Hollywood genre of a certain period are shaped through its combination of historically-specific textual, intertextual and contextual attributes.

LaPlace tests this approach in a study of *Now, Voyager* (1942), a film based on the best-selling 1941 novel of the same name by Olive Higgins Prouty and

starring Bette Davis as an embittered, unattractive woman who eventually breaks free of the thrall of a domineering mother and finds a man she can love, settling finally for something less than the conventional happy ending. Drawing on a range of nonfilmic source materials, including studio pressbooks, fan magazines, film posters, and studio production files, LaPlace shows how, in the 1940s, this film participated in, and contributed to, cultures of femininity and consumerism. Through its particular intertexts of production and consumption, the woman's picture constructs cultures of femininity and consumerism.

This kind of study of the genre can be productively extended to take in the films' reception by real-life audiences as well—an approach that may demand attention to an even wider range of phenomena and source materials. A crude measure of a film's popularity can be readily obtained from box-office statistics, while the tone of critical and film industry responses can be gauged from contemporary reviews. So, for example, in a study of the production context and intertexts of *Mildred Pierce*, Albert LaValley notes that, while the film was a huge financial success on its release, it was far from being a hit with critics, who dubbed it a "tortured drama" and "another tear-sodden story of Mother Love" (pp. 50–51). The gulf between critics and box office neatly sums up the conundrum of the woman's picture: denigrated for its overemotional (that is, feminine) preoccupations and tone, it is also an immense draw for filmgoers.

How did contemporary audiences experience and relate to the woman's picture? The answer to this question remains something of an enigma. From the content and address of the films, from the ways they were marketed and promoted, from reviews, and even from box-office statistics, conjectures can readily be advanced. But even so, the actual experience of female audience members at the time is elusive. Sources of data are often patchy, inaccessible, difficult to interpret, unreliable, or simply nonexistent. Consequently, there are few in-depth accounts of historical audiences' responses to particular films or genres, while the creation of new data in this area is beset by numerous methodological, conceptual, and practical pitfalls.

Nonetheless, a few attempts in this direction have been made, including Jackie Stacey's *Star Gazing* (1994), a study conducted in the 1990s of British women's memories of cinemagoing in the 1940s and 1950s, and Helen Taylor's *Scarlett's Women* (1989), based on ethnographic research with fans of *Gone With the Wind*, in both novel (1936) and film (1939) forms. However, neither takes the woman's picture as its focus: Stacey is concerned more broadly with the female social audience, Taylor with a highly distinctive variant of audience involvement—fandom—and with a film that, by any version of the accepted definition, cannot be regarded as a woman's picture. Therefore, we know very little in any depth about the audience for woman's pictures at the time; consequently, there is ample scope for research in this area.

At the same time, however, social and cultural historians have achieved rather greater success in understanding the woman's picture as a form of popular culture and in assessing it in the context of women's history. The 1940s, the heyday of the woman's picture, was a crucial decade for women, in the United States as in many other parts of the world. In relation to the United States, for example, Andrea Walsh (1984) notes that in 1942 eleven million men left for war, the women they left behind took up new and challenging roles at home and at work. When they came back, the GIs found America was a transformed country. Its women had matured and expanded their horizons; and Hollywood was part of this female story of residual and emergent cultural currents.

Against this background, we can see how the 1940s woman's picture, in a key moment in women's twentieth-century history, enacts and constructs a struggle between female independence on the one hand and desire for security in home and family on the other. It is illuminating to note, for instance, that *Mildred Pierce* was released in the autumn of 1945, just as soldiers were returning home from war, at a time when a large number of working women felt guilty and confused regarding their new roles. As Walsh notes, Mildred's ambiguous reunion with her husband "might be seen as a parallel to that of the war wife and her GI mate" (p.131).

Studies in cultural history such as Walsh's aspire to be sensitive to the historical realities of the moment in which the woman's picture flourished as well as to the situation of its original audience, without lapsing into simplistic notions about films reflecting reality. In conjunction with work on texts, spectatorship, intertexts, and audiences, this sort of approach sheds light on the wider social and cultural factors involved in the rise of the woman's picture, and indeed in its demise, and lends depth to our understanding of the continuing transformation and hybridization of this important film genre.

SEE ALSO *Gender; Genre; Fans and Fandom; Feminism; Melodrama; Psychoanalysis; Reception Theory; Spectatorship and Audiences*

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WORLD WAR I

Although not the first conflict to touch cinema, the Great War, from August 1914 to November 1918, was unprecedented in scale. The visual power of film, combined with the aural suggestiveness of music, endowed cinema with a unique social function during the war. In both documentary and fiction, the war rallied the film industry to produce mass entertainment, education, and, of course, propaganda, as the industry fell under increasing government control. By the end of the war, cinema had achieved prestige as an art form appealing to the middle classes through the new picture palaces. In Europe, however, the conflict placed previously dominant national cinemas such as those of France and Italy in stasis, in some cases never to recover. Others, such as those of Germany, Denmark, Sweden, and Russia, found the blockade of foreign imports surprisingly fortuitous in fostering distinctive new cycles of production.

PEACE OR PREPAREDNESS?

In the period of early cinema, the United States was primarily concerned with its domestic market, but from 1909 the commercial advantage of exporting film overseas became clear. Although Hollywood had successfully exported before 1914, the dominance it achieved a few years later was made possible by the war. France had been the world leader in film export, with Italy and Denmark close behind; indeed, France had been at the forefront of cinema's development, with pioneering filmmakers such as Georges Méliès (1861–1938) and the Lumière brothers (Auguste Lumière [1862–1954] and Louis Lumière [1864–1948]) and the world's number one film producer, Pathé. But when Pathé made an ill-timed move to concentrate on US distribution rather than production, France's grip on its internal market slipped, allowing 50 percent of films shown in 1917 to be American. In addition, the French film industry, like that of Italy when it entered the war in 1917, suffered from the shutdown of all cinemas and productions during the first months of the war. Once Hollywood's international distribution moved from London to New York, US film companies began to gain control of foreign distribution to Latin America and the Far East. The dwindling supply of film stock exacerbated problems facing the European film industry and affected others as far away as China. Suddenly an enlarged export market granted Hollywood more reliable profit margins; hence film budgets increased, giving Hollywood's often powerfully escapist product added international appeal. With Europe distracted, Hollywood began to organize its various independent studios into the vertically integrated industry that emerged after the war. By 1919 five major studios were in place: Universal (1912), Warner Bros. (1913), Paramount (1914), Fox (1915), and United Artists (1919), as well as the three component companies of MGM (1914–1917).

With the declaration of war in Europe, US opinion was divided, not least because it had close ethnic ties with all the parties involved. Despite calls from the United Kingdom and France for support, President Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924) chose neutrality over intervention and continued trade with the belligerent powers against a rising tide of attacks on American shipping. The first propaganda film to call for US intervention was J. Stuart Blackton's (1875–1941) *The Battle Cry for Peace* (1915). The oxymoronically titled film warned against complacency by depicting the destruction of major

American cities after the lowering of national defenses. The film received silent backing from the arms manufacturer Hudson Maxim.

Films calling for "peace" included Herbert Brenon's *War Brides*, based on the emotive vaudeville "playlet" by Marion Craig Wentworth and released in November 1916. Although set in an imaginary kingdom, the film was pointedly contemporary in showing its heroine commit suicide rather than bear children to be sacrificed in future battles. As an answer to Blackton's film, Thomas Ince's (1882–1924) celebrated *Civilization* (1916), under the advertising slogan "PEACE—The Battle Cry of Civilization," was another allegorical narrative with a war-mongering king. The king directs the engineer Count Ferdinand to wage submarine war—plainly referencing the 1915 sinking of the *Lusitania*—before the count converts to pacifism and sacrifices himself and his ship. After the count's resurrection to spread the message of peace, the king witnesses a vision of Christ foretelling the horrors of war, an image that borrows from the semireligious postcards popular during the war. This spiritualist iconography was highly influential on film both during and after the war, as evident, for example, in *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* (1921), as the ghostly "resurrection" of Rudolph Valentino's soldier returns to his grieving wife.

"DO YOUR BIT FOR AMERICA"

The United States entered the war on 5 April 1917. President Wilson called on everyone to "Do Your Bit for America," and this included the film industry. At every level—helping with recruitment and fund-raising, making training films as well as inspirational fiction features featuring charismatic movie stars—cinema worked to align the nation to the political and social needs of the day. Producers, distributors, and exhibitors developed an approach of "practical patriotism," finding that business and patriotism could be mutually beneficial. The public was encouraged to attend not only for entertainment, but to participate in sweepstakes to win Liberty Bonds, thus offering the incentive of indirectly lining the pockets of Uncle Sam. Although only a minority of features directly referenced the war itself, the number of war-themed films increased over the course of the war, from eight in May 1917, when public opinion was predominantly antiwar, to fifty-four (many of which were prestige productions) at the time of the Armistice in August 1918.

Cinemas were frequently decked out with bunting or portraits of President Wilson to spark patriotic interest, while the singing of the national anthem and other patriotic songs, slide shows of local enlisted men, public lectures on war topics, and even the raising of colossal flags at every show fostered feelings of collective identity. For the third Liberty Loan campaign, the National Association of the Motion Picture Industry (NAMPI) distributed a film by Douglas Fairbanks (1918, 'Sic 'Em Sam') and over 17,000 advertising trailers and posters. NAMPI, established in July 1916, regulated the various sectors of the film industry and in May 1917 formed a War Cooperation Committee to further the interests of both the industry and the government. The Committee was advised on the latest guidelines on matters such as food conservation, and produced campaigns and short propaganda films. The studios sent out stars such as Mary Pickford (1892–1979) and Charlie Chaplin (1889–1977) to address the public while its members were attached to key departments and divisions of government and the armed forces. On 28 April 1917 *Motion Picture News* proudly reported that the serial queen Pearl White (1889–1938) had ridden a steel beam to the twentieth story of a New York building, unfurled an American flag in the breeze, and called for all young men to enlist.

The Committee on Public Information (CPI) was formed in April 1917, with the journalist George Creel as chairman, and with the Secretaries of State, War, and Navy as members. It functioned to sustain voluntary censorship and oversee the making, distribution, and exhibition of propaganda films, particularly through its control of export licenses. Thus if an overseas territory were found to be exhibiting German material, the threat of withholding the more popular American films could be used to gain cooperation. Additionally, 20 percent of any shipment of entertainment film had to consist of "educational" material. Although the committee's remit included "motion picture films and photographs," a new Division of Films was created in September that year. The eminent American critic W. Stephen Bush wrote to the British trade journal *The Bioscope* on 19 May 1917, describing his efforts to organize motion picture exhibitors across the southern states into "keeping the flame of patriotism burning brightly." Adding to the motivation behind such efforts were fears that Texas would become a "second Belgium" if Germany executed plans to invade from Mexico, whose civil war until then had been competing with the European war for US headlines.

Although the Famous Players-Lasky Corporation would not permit Cecil B. DeMille to travel to Europe to visit the front lines, D. W. Griffith (1875–1948) was granted statesmanlike authority there to shoot *Hearts of the World* (1918). The film, partly financed by the British government, told the story of a small French village beset by war; the crew made much-publicized visits to the trenches in France to record real-life action scenes that would be intercut with reconstructions. Billed as "A Love Story of the Great War," it became one of biggest films

of the period. In April 1918, a month after the premiere of *Hearts of the World*, the historian Francis Trevelyan Miller wrote to Griffith, hailing him as "the Greatest of War Historians." On 5 April 1918 the *New York Times* reported that, when the film was shown to an invited Broadway audience of critics and servicemen, the pastoral scenes before the coming of the war registered the most profoundly: "the theatre broke into applause just at some particularly beautiful landscape of rural vista." Making the film's propaganda angle clear, at the end of the screening Griffith himself stood to give a short speech, broken with emotion. The crowd then cheered footage of British and French leaders, whereas a "representation of the Kaiser was eagerly hissed." The following month Griffith, as president of the new Motion Picture War Service Association, was charged with the task of boosting the US war effort through sales of war bonds. However, the film was not as big a success as the British government had hoped. Audiences had grown tired of war films of any kind and instead sought information from newsreels.*Hearts of the World* was rereleased with a revised ending as a "peace edition" in 1919.

BRITAIN PREPARED

In the United Kingdom the need to continue with everyday life resulted in a business-as-usual approach by cinema managers, echoing the practical patriotism of the United States. In British theaters during the winter of 1915, audiences of uniformed men laughed at the broad comedy of pantomime one moment and sang melancholy war anthems, such as "Keep the Home Fires Burning," the next; in similar fashion, cinema's blend of reality with escapism was readily accepted. Movie theaters accommodated audiences seeking refuge from cold homes, offering an evening's entertainment and of course information about the war. They also raised funds for the war effort, as on Cinema Day, 9 November 1915, when the day's box-office takings were presented to the king and used to purchase fifty ambulances. Like the slide shows in the United States, local theaters also screened "Roll of Honor" films, greeted with both cheers and tears for those lost or wounded "over there." Many local scenes were particularly poignant. One film shown at the Imperial War Museum, London, specially shot for locals at the Tivoli Cinema in Grimsby, featured the "chums" of the Tenth Battalion Lincolnshire Regiment in training. The patrons were most likely unaware, when the film was shown on 4 July 1916, that the battalion had been wiped out on the first day of the Battle of the Somme three days earlier.

After protracted negotiations with the War Office, the first official propaganda film, *Britain Prepared*, was shown on 29 December 1915, complete with sequences in Kinemacolor, the world's first "natural" color process. Despite support from former President Theodore Roosevelt (1858–1919) and US government officials along with the Patriotic Film Corporation, the director Charles Urban faced significant opposition in America when promoting the film there because of its preparedness message. The first two official cameramen were also dispatched to the front at this time, and their first footage, screened early the next year, complemented the domestic character of "Topical Budget" shorts until that point. Initial objections to filming the conflict were driven by a distaste for what some saw as the working-class nature of cinema—thus lacking the sophistication appropriate to the endeavor—and the belief that tight media control had aided the Japanese during the Russo-Japanese war of 1904–1905. In February 1918 *Pictorial News (Official)*, under the auspices of Lord Beaverbrook's (1879–1964) Ministry of Information (MOI), replaced the "Topical" shorts. During the war 240 films and 152 issues of the official newsreel were released.

Film screenings, often amid the ruins of barns and outbuildings, became an increasingly popular entertainment among both Allied and German forces toward the end of the war. The British Mobile Cinema Unit, headed by Major A. C. Bromhead, brought films to audiences of up to nine thousand servicemen and women, with screenings projected using searchlight dynamos onto mobile, two-sided screens that toured around the four fronts of the war during 1916 and 1917. Smaller gatherings took place at hospitals, and footage was recut for different local audiences. Beaverbrook appeared in one edition of the newsreel *Pictorial News* (April 1918) inspecting a fleet of ten "Cine Motor-Cars," which were to be dispatched to "depict war truths in the villages." Under Beaverbrook, the style of *Pictorial News* films developed into a much more sophisticated and efficient narrative, with improved intertitles and more dynamic editing. Popular stars such as Ivy Close (1890–1968) were featured in shorts such as *Women's Land Army* (1917), calling for volunteers while declaring "weeds, like U-Boats, must be exterminated!" as female workers are superimposed on the cornfields before the image of Britannia appears at the end to pay tribute to her "toiling sisters." Films in other countries made use of similar tableaux, appropriating suitably iconic and relevant figures such as Joan of Arc. Cecil B. DeMille's (1881–1959) epic *Joan the Woman* (1917), for example, presented Joan as a transnational figure of unity and reconciliation for French, British, and American troops through a framing narrative set in a World War I trench.

The landmark British film of the period, however, was *The Battle of the Somme* (1916), the first and most successful of the three official "battle" features produced between summer 1916 and spring 1917 and one of the

KING VIDOR

b. King Wallis Vidor, Galveston, Texas, 8 February 1894, d. 1 November 1982

In a film career whose durability was unrivalled by almost any other director, by the early 1920s King Vidor had developed a reputation as a morally earnest director of meaningful, atmospheric pictures about ordinary people in extraordinary and often hostile environments.

Vidor's early years were steeped in the movies. As a teenager he filmed footage for the *Mutual Weekly* newsreels of US troops sent to the border during the Mexican civil war. He continued to sell material on a piecemeal basis while working as a clerk at Universal, submitting scripts under the pseudonym Charles Wallis. Vidor gained recognition writing and directing independent features with *The Turn in the Road* and *The Other Half* (both 1919), starring his wife, Florence. After short contracts with First National and building his own small studio, Vidor Village, which closed in 1922, Vidor worked separately with Louis B. Mayer and Samuel Goldwyn before working under the new Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer studio in 1924, a relationship that would last twenty years. By turning down *Ben-Hur* (1925), Vidor was able to direct the World War I epic *The Big Parade* (1925). With a budget of $245,000, it is estimated to have made over $15 million in a few years at a time when few films made over a tenth of that. The film consolidated his reputation for working to erode social barriers through powerful images of ordinary people, as with the character played by James Murray in *The Crowd* (1928), the film that earned the director the first of six Academy Award® nominations during his career.

Vidor's first sound film was the all-black musical drama, *Hallelujah* (1929). During the Depression, his socially aware film *Our Daily Bread* (1934) called for cooperative living. His "war, wheat, and steel" trilogy was completed with *An American Romance* (1944). After a few formula features Vidor was on form again, with the celebrated melodrama *Stella Dallas* (1937) and *The Citadel* (1938), a British film set in a Welsh mining town. In 1939 Vidor spent three weeks on the troubled shoot of *The Wizard of Oz*, notably directing the "Somewhere Over the Rainbow" sequence, one of cinema's most poignant expressions of personal isolation and the desire to escape. *Duel in the Sun* (1946), a huge hit, is a gloriously lurid western with an all-star cast.

In the 1950s he made fewer films; his epic Italian-American co-production *War and Peace* (1956) brought Oscar® recognition once again, but his directorial career ended with *Solomon and Sheba* (1959). In 1979 Vidor was recognized with an honorary Academy Award® for "incomparable achievements as a cinematic creator and innovator."

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

The Jack Knife Man (1920), *Peg o' My Heart* (1922), *The Big Parade* (1925), *The Crowd* (1928), *Hallelujah* (1929), *The Champ* (1931), *Our Daily Bread* (1934), *Stella Dallas* (1937), *Northwest Passage* (1940), *Duel in the Sun* (1946), *The Fountainhead* (1949), *Ruby Gentry* (1952), *Man Without a Star* (1955)

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most successful and influential British films ever made. An estimated twenty million people saw the film within six weeks of its August release and the majority of the population soon after. Having the biggest impact in 1916 were sequences (subsequently believed to have been simulated) of men forsaking safety by going over the top of the trenches to engage the enemy (the origin of the idiom "over the top") and lingering images of the British and German dead. Audiences were shocked by the film's uncompromising images of war. *The Battle of the Somme* was shown around the world; in Canada, where the Department of Militia and Defense had called for

King Vidor. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

certain images to be censored early in 1915, some scenes of warfare were cut.

After *The Battle of the Somme*, Griffith's *The Birth of a Nation* (1915) was the most significant film of the period for British audiences. The film was shown only in theaters and not cinemas, sparking debate among exhibitors, who felt they were being squeezed out because the theater showings attracted a middle-class clientele that did not normally frequent the cinema.

Both Allied and German governments had interests in influencing the populations of neutral countries through control of exhibition venues, particularly in Holland and Switzerland and also across Scandinavia. In February 1918 the Société Suisse d'Exploitation des Films, effectively a field outpost of the CPI, warned Washington that German agents were penetrating the best picture-houses in the larger cities of Switzerland and sent back black lists of firms trading with Germany. The Société attempted to screen war films on behalf of the Allies, with some success in that *The Battle of the Somme* was seen by some 75,000 Swiss. The American CPI and British MOI formed a joint company to ensure that a sympathetic cinema, exclusively showing American, British, and French films, could be established in each major city in the country. The two bodies discussed whether the company should attempt to block all German product but agreed on a ratio of one-third German to two-thirds Allied. At the same time, material exported to such sensitive destinations was to be carefully censored so as not to play into enemy hands. For example, a commissioner warned the War Trade Board that Spanish audiences had interpreted one Pathé film as an accurate picture of life in New York, inadvertently serving as propaganda for the Germans.

EUROPE

Given its supremacy before the war, French cinema was perhaps the hardest hit in Europe. After the initial closure, cinema-going actually boomed in France during the war, theaters and other entertainment venues having been closed for the duration. As there was insufficient French material to screen, Hollywood imports, particularly adventure serials, began to dominate, as did their European imitations. As in the United Kingdom, authorities were slow to produce war material for the screen. It was left to private producers to gather material until the beginning of 1915, when an agreement was reached with the War Ministry allowing them to continue filming under supervision, resulting in more than five hundred shorts, particularly the official newsreel *War Annals*; from 1917 this newsreel was also distributed in Britain with bilingual intertitles. From January 1917 an Army Cinema Section produced all footage, which all cinemas were obliged to screen. A new generation of French directors emerged in August 1918, among them Abel Gance (1889–1981), who was granted permission to shoot footage of battle scenes for his acclaimed antiwar feature *J'accuse!* (1919). Billed as "the most romantic tragedy of modern times," the film tells the story of a soldier, Jean Diaz, driven to the brink of insanity by the memory of his comrades being slaughtered needlessly on the eve of the Armistice. Gance powerfully conveys his indignation at the loss of a generation that fell in battle by showing the war dead rising from their graves to bear witness to the living. Scenes of the real-life war injured parading past the camera (Gance was supported by various veterans' organizations), presenting their disfigured bodies and faces in stark close-up, are among the most powerful images to come from the war.

Having led the way in screen epics just before the war with films such as the internationally successful *Cabiria* (Giovanni Pastrone, 1914), Italy set the standard for fully realizing cinema's potential for visual spectacle and technical virtuosity, matched only by Griffith's *Intolerance* (1916). Only three months after Italy entered the war in 1915, the release of *Sempre nel cor la Patria!*

ABEL GANCE

b. Paris, France, 25 October 1889, d. 10 November 1981

Abel Gance was a pioneering and influential French writer, director, and producer known for his visual experimentation.

He made his screen debut in *Molière* in 1909, at the same time reluctantly accepting a job in a law office and hoping to make his mark on the stage. Struggling through poverty and illness, Gance set up a production company in 1911, and that year directed his first film, *La Digue*. Kept out of the war by continued illness, Gance achieved renown for his innovative optical effects (it is said that he introduced the close-up to French cinema) and mobile camera work as a director for the Film d'Art company with *Mater dolorosa* (*The Torture of Silence*, 1917) and *La Dixième symphonie* (*The Tenth Symphony*, 1918). These films were commercial and artistic successes, despite the concerns of his management that his visionary camera techniques were outlandish.

The most celebrated period of Gance's career began with his acclaimed antiwar feature *J'accuse!* (*I Accuse*, 1919), which was a hit across Europe and in the United States. After the death of his wife from influenza, Gance traveled to the United States to recover from his loss while also promoting *J'accuse!* across the nation. Despite the admiration of D. W. Griffith and the offer of a contract from Metro, Gance returned to France. His next film, *La Roue* (*The Wheel*, 1923), the story of a railway mechanic, won acclaim and would later be cited as an influence by both Jean Cocteau and Akira Kurosawa.

The six-hour *Napoléon* (1927), displaying technical virtuosity, is Gance's masterpiece. The film mustered a cast of thousands, choreographed across a panoramic screen. Gance's Polyvision triptych process involved the simultaneous projection of three adjacent cameras to produce often startling montage effects when presented in suitably equipped theaters. As with *J'accuse!*, which Gance reworked into a new sound version in 1938, the director obsessively revisited *Napoléon* throughout his lifetime, first adding stereo sound effects in 1934. The director's belief in the Polyvision format remained undiminished into the 1950s, its effect akin to the counterpoint of Greek tragedy, the emotional shock involving the spectator in the film experience.

Gance founded Les Films Abel Gance in 1933 but achieved little autonomy in his work and relied on international backing. Gance's early sound work affected his later reputation, not least because French critics were largely unsympathetic to silent directors who attempted to make the transition into sound. However, in 1979 *Napoléon* was meticulously restored and screened in London and then New York in its original format and with a new score. Living just long enough to witness the critical acclaim that ensued, Gance could be satisfied that his reputation, particularly in France, was finally being restored.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

As Director: *Mater Dolorosa* (1917), *La Dixième symphonie* (1918), *J'accuse!* (1919), *La Roue* (1923), *Napoléon* (1927), *Le Fin du monde* (*End of the World*, 1931), *Un grand amour de Beethoven* (*The Life and Loves of Beethoven*, 1936), *J'accuse!* (1938), *Cyrano et d'Artagnan* (1963); As Writer: *La Reine Margot* (*Queen Margot*, 1954)

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(*My Country is Always in my Heart*, Carmine Gallone, 1915) marked the beginnings of the popular patriotic genre. Depicting an Italian woman's heroic self-sacrifice, the film gained a realistic sense of destruction from being filmed amid the recently earthquake devastated region of Abruzzo. Increased censorship of the harsher images of the war facilitated the blending of patriotic with fantastical elements and collectivity being individualised into the heroic struggle of enduring popular heroes and warrior imagery that would be appropriated by the Fascist party after the war. *Machiste alpino* (1916) brought the superhuman Machiste of *Cabiria* returned to the screen to join the war effort. Comedies and epics were produced alongside more overtly propagandistic features such as

Abel Gance. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

La guerra e il sogno di Momi (*Momi's Dream and the War*, Segundo De Chomon, 1917), in which a young boy, after reading letters from the front, dreams of a war fought by puppets and of saving his father, whom he finds has returned upon waking. Another propaganda tale, *Come mori Miss Cavell*, related the cause célèbre of Germany's execution of English nurse Edith Cavell in 1915. The emotive theme was also exploited by other nations, such as the British *Nurse and Martyr* (Percy Moran, 1915) and US *The Woman the Germans Shot* (John G. Adolfi, 1918), while the death of a Belgian nurse, Gabrielle Petit, was depicted for the first Belgian war film to be made after the war, *La Belgique martyre* (*The Martyrdom of Belgium*, Charles Tutelier, 1919). At the end of the war, despite strong production and the foundation of the Unione Cinematographica Italiana, Italian film was now behind changed international tastes.

In Germany the cinema initially was deemed to be a lower form of art than theater, and thus the export market was undeveloped. However, the industry was expanding as the war began, not least because of the huge popularity of stars such as Henny Porten and the Danish Asta Nielsen. Indeed, there was a strong link between those two countries. Before the outbreak of the war, neutral Denmark's Nordisk was the world's second-largest producer of films, with distribution networks spanning the globe from Russia across Europe to the United States. However, as the company owned profitable first-run theaters within Germany—of which the German government would soon seize control, buying out its German subsidiary, Nordische Film GmbH, to set up Universum Film Aktiengesellschaft (Ufa)—its exports were deemed part-German and banned from many markets, from November 1915 including the United Kingdom, soon joined by France and Italy. The October Revolution in Russia in 1917 blocked further trade, leaving Scandinavia as the main remaining market. Denmark's increasing isolation prevented contact with developments elsewhere in film art, while dwindling production left only two of six film companies at the end of the war.

The private German firms Eiko and Messter-Film had produced newsreels from the start of the war, partly working as a consortium with other German companies. These were subsumed within the civilian Deulig (Deutsche Lichtbild Gessellschaft) company in 1916, promoting German culture and economic interests around the world. It was not until January 1917 that the German government established the military-controlled Bild-und Film-Amt (BUFA), charged with oversight of propaganda matters. Germany's isolation during the war resulted in increased domestic production, and the next step in the consolidation of production and state interest was to subsume BUFA into Ufa (Universum Film Aktiengesellschaft) in December 1917 with 25 million marks of state capital, with the aim of deploying film to facilitate German success in the war. Ufa was built up from smaller companies, with production based at Babelsberg. This move anticipated that, at the end of the war, as a private enterprise Ufa would adopt a strategy of vertical integration under the leadership of Erich Pommer (1889–1966) and thus achieve dominance over the market. During the Weimar Republic (1919–1933), the company would benefit from an influx of talented artists from the former Austro-Hungarian empire and Russia, producing one of the most artistically dynamic, and internationally influential, cinemas in film history.

In Russia the borders closed to imports as the country entered the war. As elsewhere, the imperial government prohibited cameras from filming the actual conflict until late in 1916. However, cinema became the most popular form of entertainment, with 150 million movie tickets sold in 1916 alone. Despite a shortage of raw stock for filmmaking, it could be said that World War I saved Russia's indigenous film industry, as it did Germany's. Whereas once screens had been dominated by the French Pathé and Gaumont companies, from 1913 to 1916 the number of Russian firms making films rose from eighteen to forty-seven. Russia's isolation enabled a distinctive national style to emerge, particularly in melodrama. Stars such as Ivan Mozzhukhin

Battle scene in King Vidor's **The Big Parade** ***(1925).*** EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

(1889–1939) and Nathalie Lissenko (1886–1969) became hugely popular, and directors such as Yevgeni Bauer (1865–1917) produced work of world-class artistic quality. The Bolshevik Revolution changed everything as many personnel, including Mozzhukhin, fled the country. By 1919 the Russian industry was once again dominated by imports from Europe and the United States, with stars such as Charlie Chaplin becoming particularly popular. In the 1920s Vladimir Lenin's belief in cinema's primary importance for agitation and propaganda (''agit-prop''), as well as for entertainment, fostered an influential and politically engaged generation of filmmakers, including Sergei Eisenstein (1898–1948), Dziga Vertov (1896–1954), and V. I. Pudovkin (1893–1953).

AFTERMATH

With the 1920s came the jazz age, providing distractions from events that for many were far from resolved. In Germany the social and psychological trauma caused by the war inspired the Expressionist movement. Contemporary anxieties were played out in the distorted, fantastical settings of films such as *Das Kabinett des Doktor Caligari* (*The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*, Robert Wiene, 1920) and *Nosferatu* (F. W. Murnau, 1922). Although this style gave German films a distinctive national aesthetic, their imagery haunted other films, as in the labyrinthine sets of Universal's *The Phantom of the Opera* (1925) and, as portrayed by the British star Ivor Novello (1893–1951) (also the composer of the patriotic war song ''Keep the Homes Fires Burning''), the ''horror-haunted'' protagonist of Alfred Hitchcock's *The Lodger* (1927).

More explicit touches of the war came in King Vidor's (1894–1982) landmark 1925 epic *The Big Parade*. One of the film's most haunting sequences shows a group of men slowly being picked off by German rifles

as they march through a French forest. Instructing a drummer to create a metronomic beat, the men pace in a "ballet of death," an effect Vidor requested that cinema managers reproduce during screenings. Although acclaimed internationally for its visual virtuosity, some British critics attacked the apparent unilateralism of the film in excluding the British "Tommy"; however, its commercial success was unprecedented. Paramount's *Wings* (1927) also made a big impact on audiences, who were by captivated by its realism, enhanced by sound effects blasting from behind the screen and extensive use of Magnascope. Paramount's Magnascope projection process, which effectively tripled the size of the screen at key moments, was used for other war films, including *Wings*, *Old Ironsides* (1926), the British drama *The Guns of Loos* (1928) and *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1930). The latter, Universal's adaptation of the best-selling 1929 German novel by Erich Maria Remarque (1898–1970), was part of a wave of antiwar narratives that appeared beginning in the late 1920s, including two of Britain's most powerful and underrated films of the early sound period, *Tell England* (1931) and *Journey's End* (1930). A war veteran himself, James Whale (1889–1957) directed the latter, both the original stage play and the film based on it, establishing what has been claimed as the missing link between the war and Universal's horror pictures. Whale made *Frankenstein* a year later, with its bleak landscape and the seemingly shell-shocked gait of the monster, clearly influenced by the war.

Cinema emerged from the war a mass cultural phenomenon. The studio system was consolidated in Hollywood and strengthened its grasp on world markets, war conditions having precipitated the end of French cinema's dominance and the rise of German cinema. Although stars in each country had embedded themselves as home-front personalities, an exodus of talent streamed toward America, not least from France; the French comedian Max Linder (1883–1925) left for a $5,000 weekly salary in Hollywood. Chaplin, whose comic *Shoulder Arms* (1918), released shortly after the Armistice, was now earning cinema's first million-dollar salary, a sign of how times had changed. Whereas isolation had supported the independence of cinema in Sweden during the war, the loss of directors Mauritz Stiller (1883–1928) and Victor Sjöström (1879–1960) to Hollywood afterward contributed to a fall in fortunes for Svenska, the leading company. War narratives would resonate during the interwar years on both an implicit and explicit level in all forms of cultural production, particularly in the 1920s, when the images of the war continued to shape cultural memory.

SEE ALSO *Propaganda; War Films*

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WORLD WAR II

World War II began in 1939 and lasted until 1945. Dividing the world between the Axis Powers—Germany, Italy and Japan—and the Allies, led by the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union, it was fought over numerous theaters in Western and Eastern Europe, the Mediterranean Sea, Africa and the Middle East, and the South Pacific and Southeast Asia. The war ended in Europe with the surrender of Germany on 8 May 1945 and in Asia when Japan surrendered on 15 August of the same year. More than fifty million people died during World War II as the consequence of genocidal acts such as the Holocaust, the US bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the war's many military confrontations—the bloodiest taking place on the Pacific and European fronts.

The new technologies of war—atomic weaponry, jet aircraft, radar—contributed to World War II's effects on both military and civilian populations. Film technologies and film cultures likewise played significant roles. Although films were made during World War I, for both the Axis and Allied nations World War II was the first truly cinematic war: lightweight 16mm equipment was developed that gave unprecedented access to images of combat; world leaders Winston Churchill, Franklin Roosevelt, Joseph Stalin, Benito Mussolini, and Adolf Hitler all had personal projectionists who screened newsreels and documentaries as well as fiction films. And for both civilian and military populations on both sides of the conflict, film educated and entertained, communicated the progress of the war, and mobilized national feeling, as both Allied and Axis nations embraced cinema as a war industry.

FILM INDUSTRIES AND CULTURES OF THE AXIS NATIONS

The Nazis took control of the German government in 1933. After their defeat in World War I and years of economic depression, Germans were vulnerable to Hitler's rhetoric of nationalism and racial purity, which blamed Communists and Jews for Germany's social and economic problems. Joseph Goebbels, Hitler's minister of propaganda, was keenly interested in cinema. He oversaw the nationalization of the film industry, achieved over the next decade by acquiring controlling interests of German companies; in 1942 these holdings, as well as those of the Austrian and Czechoslovakian national industries, were consolidated in the Nazi-owned and -directed film company Ufa.

From 1933 onward, Goebbels took a personal interest in film production and previewed every film released. He consolidated governmental control further in 1936 by limiting film imports and banning all film criticism. Film criticism was replaced by *Filmbeobachtung* (film observation), wherein writers merely described content without comment on the quality. In addition, Goebbels endeavored to remove all Jews from the industry, as well as others with lives or beliefs unacceptable to Nazi ideology. Both Jews and non-Jews fled the German film industry in the 1930s.

Among those who sought refuge in Hollywood were directors Fritz Lang, Max Ophuls, Robert Siodmak, Billy Wilder, and Douglas Sirk and actor Conrad Veidt. Their influence on Hollywood film was as varied as their individual talents. But collectively, their impact was most notable in the translation of German expressionist

John Wayne in* Back to Bataan *(Edward Dmytryk, 1945). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

aesthetics to the American screen, particularly in those adult thrillers that postwar French film critics would dub films noirs for their characteristically dark worldview and shadowy urban milieu. Billy Wilder directed one of the first noirs, *Double Indemnity* (1944), whose charismatic criminal couple, snappy dialogue, and stark visual style were highly influential.

Despite Goebbels's fascination with and control over film as a tool of indoctrination, most Nazi-produced films were anodyne entertainment. They were so free of overt political bias, in fact, that captured German films were screened in the postwar Soviet Union as trophies of victory, despite the sharp repression of most aspects of public culture during the final years of Stalin's leadership. But while screens were largely filled with the same comedies and musicals popular before the war, Germany also produced propaganda films for domestic and international distribution. In the early 1930s a number of fiction films focused on the opposition of Nazis and Communists, characterizing it as a generational struggle in order to appeal to younger audiences. In *Hitlerjunge Quex* (*Hitler Youth Quex*, 1933), for example, a boy joins the Hitler youth despite the objections of his drunken Communist father; when his unsavory family life is replaced by the wholesome discipline of the Nazis, he gains a new identity and a new focus for his loyalty.

German also produced propagandist documentaries. Leni Riefenstahl directed the most famous of these, *Triumph des Willens* (*Triumph of the Will*, 1935) and *Olympia* (*The Olympiad*, 1936). Made to commemorate the Nazi Party congress in Nuremberg in 1934, *Triumph of the Will* was a major production, with sixteen camera crews and sets designed to highlight Nazi power. It celebrated Nazi iconography and rituals in sequences marked by geometric precision and grandeur, its modernist aesthetic used to imagine the Nazi state as a beautiful and powerful mechanism for war. Widely distributed in Europe, *Triumph of the Will* was never

shown in the United States, although a copy was held at the Museum of Modern Art. Americans first saw excerpts of Riefenstahl's film as sequences intercut into Frank Capra's documentary series, *Why We Fight* (1942–1944). Documenting the Olympic games in Berlin in 1936, Riefenstahl's *Olympia* was meant to demonstrate both Germany's cooperation with—and its superiority over—competing nations. However, stellar performances by non-Aryans, such as the African American runner Jesse Owens, qualified its ability to validate Nazi ideology.

Shortly before Hitler announced publicly what he termed the "final solution" to Germany's "Jewish problem" in 1941, Germany distributed some explicitly anti-Semitic films. One of the most popular was the historical epic, *Jud Süß* (*Jew Süess*, 1940). Its titular villain is a Jewish businessman who corrupts and destroys all who know him; in its climax he rapes the film's heroine and tortures both her father and lover. After the war, its director, Veit Harlan, would be the only Nazi filmmaker charged and tried for war crimes. He was not convicted, despite substantial evidence that the film was used to undermine popular opposition to the Holocaust. Made with the same purpose but with less box office success, *Der Ewige Jew* (*The Eternal Jew*, 1940) was a pseudo-documentary account of Jewish corruption and conspiracy throughout history. Alongside films that portrayed Germany's enemies as worthy of complete annihilation were those that promoted nationalism and militarism: *blut und boden* (blood and soil) dramas. The most lavish of these was the historical reconstruction, *Kolberg* (1945). Also directed by Harlan, it was an epic account of Prussian resistance to the French during the Napoleonic Wars; Goebbels was especially interested in the project and diverted Nazi troops from battle to work as extras in the film. It was released in 1945, but Allied bombing of Berlin prevented its being widely seen by German audiences.

After Germany surrendered it was occupied by the Four Powers—the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, and France. They confiscated film holdings and decentralized the industry. Likewise, thanks to extensive lobbying on the part of the Motion Picture Association of America, the Occupation Statute of 1949 that created the Federal Republic of Germany also specified that no import quotas would protect its cinema from foreign—Hollywood—competition. Although there is some debate over just how much of the West German market Hollywood controlled after the war, it is clear that Hollywood took the opportunity to continue those distribution strategies declared illegal within the United States by the US Supreme Court's Paramount Decree of 1948, making West Germany a significant source of revenue. West German production was itself healthy but somewhat lackluster until the 1960s, when a new generation of young filmmakers rejected the generic entertainments of the past and called for a new German auteurist cinema.

Unlike the German film industry, Italian cinema during World War II remained for the most part privately funded. But Mussolini, like Hitler and Goebbels, recognized the significance of cinema to his political aims. His government provided support for production, and he kept close watch on all films produced. The majority of these, as in Germany, were pure entertainment: romances, melodramas, and comedies. The values of fascism were communicated primarily in historical epics, such as *1860* (*Gesuzza the Garibaldian Wife*, 1934) and *Scipione l'Africano* (*Scipio the African*, 1937), which provided opportunity to celebrate Italy's national pride and military prowess; overtly political films, however, were rare. Two exceptions were films made in honor of the Fascist Party's tenth anniversary: *Camicia Nera (The black shirt*, 1933), which dramatized the rise of fascism, and *Vecchia Guardia* (*The Old Guard*, 1934), which recounts a violent confrontation between fascists and socialists in 1922.

For the most part, mainstream Italian production favored screen fantasies with glamorous settings and situations, including romantic comedies and so-called "white phone" melodramas. The *La Canzone dell'amore* (The song of love, 1930) is characteristic of those films that set contemporary stories of emotional upheaval, love, and loss in brightly lit modernist interiors. Critics writing in journals such as *Bianco e nero* (*White and Black*) called for more realistic films to be made; in the early 1940s the aesthetic direction of Italian cinema began to shift. For example, Roberto Rossellini's documentary-influenced *La Nave Bianca* (*The White Ship*, 1942) anticipated neorealist cinema in its use of a hospital ship as its setting and medical corps staff and on-duty naval officers as actors. Likewise, Luchino Visconti's adaptation of James M. Cain's novel, *The Postman Always Rings Twice* (1934), titled *Ossessione* (1943), utilized regional settings and dialogue for its story of ill-fated love.

In addition to such aesthetic innovations, developments in Italy's film industry during the war would contribute to its postwar status in international film culture. The Venice Film Festival, which was inaugurated under Mussolini's leadership in 1932, became annual in 1935, was discontinued in 1942, and then revived in 1948 (it was interrupted by student protests in 1968; and, between 1969 and 1979, editions were non-competitive), would become a model for festivals begun in Cannes and Edinburgh in 1946 as well as those established during the 1950s in Berlin, Melbourne, Sydney, San Francisco,

London, Moscow, and Barcelona. These festivals showcased postwar European cinema and were vital to the development of an international art cinema. Also important to Italy's postwar role in international film culture was the development of Cinecittà. Located in the southern part of Rome and designed to house all aspects of filmmaking, it was officially opened by Mussolini in April 1937. During the war it was the hub of Italian production. After the war, when Hollywood sought means to profit abroad despite protective legislation that froze a percentage of its assets, Italy's "Hollywood on the Tiber" became a key site for international co–productions and runaway productions.

On the Pacific front, World War II was shaped by Japan's imperialist ambitions. First signaled by Japan's invasion of Manchuria in 1932 and confirmed by its invasion of China in 1937, those ambitions widened following the attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941 to include the entire Pacific as well as Southeast Asia.

With Japan's changing role on the world stage came significant changes in its film culture. Its film industry was one of the world's most successful and fully developed, largely consolidated in three vertically integrated companies that collaborated with one another to keep out competitors, including Hollywood. Yet despite the fact that the Japanese industry was unusually successful at competing with Hollywood, Hollywood film and film culture, along with Western fashions, jazz music, and modern dance styles, were important to the urban Japanese of the 1930s. All of this changed, however, when Japan joined the Axis Powers. Taking its cue from the Nazi use of cinema as part of Germany's plan for total war, Japan tightened its control over film content. American music, dancing, and fashions were banned from the screen; nationalist aims were given priority, and a censorship office was created to ensure adherence to new laws governing film content. Film's purpose was no longer simply to entertain, but to accurately represent Japanese national identity, values, and beliefs. In pursuing this goal, censors were alert to any omission or misrepresentation of Japanese culture. For instance, Yasujiro Ozu was the highly successful director of *shomin-geki*, stories of the everyday life of the lower classes. But his script for *Ochazuke no aji* (*Flavor of Green Tea Over Rice*, 1952) was rejected when he failed to include the traditional meal of red rice that wives fed to husbands departing for battle.

Japanese popular cinema of the 1930s included action-packed historical films (the *jidai-geki*) as well as a variety of genre films devoted to depicting contemporary life (the *gendai-geki*). These continued to be made but were increasingly directed toward the wartime goal of heightening national pride. During the early war years, the *jidai-geki* became less of an action genre and directed more toward depicting the power and grandeur of abstract values associated with military action, such as honor, duty, and self-sacrifice, as in *Abe ichizoku* (*The Abe Clan*, 1938). In the wartime epic *Genroku Chushingura* (*The 47 Ronin*), released in two parts in 1941, Kenji Mizoguchi recasts the familiar story in such a way that it focuses entirely on the nobility of sacrifice rather than on violence. The *jidai-geki* only recovered its fast-paced action orientation when young director Akira Kurosawa made *Sugata Sanshiro* (*Judo Saga*) in 1943.

An important extension of the contemporary focus of the *gendai-geki* came in the form of battle and home-front films. Early war films such as *Five Scouts* (*Gonin no sekkohei*, 1939) and *Tsuchi to heitai* (*Mud and Soldiers*, 1939) focused less on violence than on the more routine aspects of battle, less on individual heroism than the work of the collective, with a style reminiscent of newsreel footage. But, significantly, representations of battle changed as Japan's global role changed, and films became more jingoistic after Pearl Harbor. Thus, the post-1941 films *Mother of the Sea* (1942) and *Rikugun* (*The Army*, 1944) are marked by overt signs of national and militarist pride—displays of armaments as well as literal and figurative flag waving of various kinds. In these terms, the bravura displays of nineteenth-century martial arts in *Sugata Sanshiro* might be read as not only the result of Kurosawa's auteurist tendencies—of which more would be seen in the decades to follow—but also as a sign of changing attitudes toward combat during the 1940s.

While war films depicted the changing attitude toward militarism, home-front films consistently celebrated small victories of ordinary people who bear their burdens with good cheer and unquenched patriotism, as in *Hideko no shasho-san* (*Hideko the Bus Conductress*, 1941). As in the wartime cinemas of the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union, home-front films are often a site for female heroism. However, distinct from those home-front films that focus on romance or maternal affection as an adjunct to or even a source of patriotic fervor for women, Japanese home-front films tended to downplay all relationships in favor of that between the individual and the nation. The exceptions were interethnic romance films, such as the hugely popular *China Nights* (*Shino no yoru*, 1940), which used heterosexual desire as a figure of Japan's imperialist ambitions: against the backdrop of war-torn Shanghai, a Chinese girl is rescued from squalor by a handsome Japanese officer and transformed from a headstrong and willful orphan to a dutiful—and typically Japanese—wife.

Following the US bombing of Japan and its consequent surrender in 1945, American forces occupied the

devastated country under the command of General Douglas MacArthur and his retinue, known as SCAP—the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers. With the goal of remaking Japan in such a way that it would cease to be a threat to Western democracies, SCAP was especially interested in the film industry as a purveyor of cultural identity and as a potential tool for cultural change. In addition to censoring what it considered dangerous topics of militarism and nationalism in prewar and wartime film, SCAP encouraged film content that it considered useful to the cause of democracy, including screenplays supporting women's rights and opposing militarism. Considered a significant aspect of Japan's transformation, the film industry was supported by the United States, although steps were taken to break down its centralized character. A time of rapid change and expansion, the decade of the 1950s is commonly considered one of Japanese cinema's most successful, a time when the domestic industry prospered despite the hundreds of American films that flooded the marketplace. Certainly, it was an era when auteurs such as Kurosawa, Ozu, and Mizoguchi took their place as part of an international art cinema.

FILM INDUSTRIES AND CULTURES OF THE ALLIES: GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND THE USSR

Although the initial response to the outbreak of war in Britain in 1939 was to close all cinemas, they soon reopened and film attendance grew steadily throughout the war years. In spite of shortages, the reduction of studio space available for feature film production, and increased taxation and the consequent increases in ticket prices, World War II was a prosperous time for British cinema.

General trends in film attendance were recorded in a survey undertaken for the Ministry of Information called *The Cinema Audience*, which showed that film outstripped newspapers and books in its ability to reach large segments of the population. Thus, the ministry's Films Division organized a program of both theatrical and nontheatrical exhibition, utilizing commercial cinema circuits as well as such other venues as churches, canteens, and even railway stations.

Given that the ministry's purpose was propaganda and information, most of the films commissioned by the Films Division were documentaries, and its "five minute films" were designed to fit easily into a program of feature-film viewing. Their content varied from news to practical information, as in *When the Pie Was Opened* (1941), which used a variety of animation techniques to illustrate a recipe for making vegetable pie. But the Films Division also produced longer documentaries, such as what many consider the definitive document of the blitz, the Crown Film Unit's *Fires Were Started* (1943), directed by Humphrey Jennings. In some cases, it even funded commercial projects, such as Michael Powell's *49th Parallel* (1941), a film that explained "why we fight." Scripted by Emeric Pressburger, it also explained—by bringing the war to America's doorstep—why Americans, too, should fight: a small band of Nazis stranded in Canada have a series of ideologically charged encounters with a French-Canadian trapper, an ethnically-German religious community, and an English intellectual who studies Native American cultures. In each encounter the opposition between democracy and Nazi ideology is made clear. Featuring two bankable British stars, Leslie Howard and Laurence Olivier, as well as a strong dose of adventure, it made top box office in Britain and abroad.

Following the bombing of British cities in 1940 and 1941, filmmakers called for fewer war films because they believed that an exhausted public needed escape from battle. In 1942 the Films Division issued a statement regarding its willingness to balance production between war films and other types of propaganda, provided that the films produced were of a high quality and positively represented the British identity and the democratic way of life. Depictions of a popular war ensued, a war fought on a variety of fronts by a variety of ordinary British people. For example, *The Foreman Went to France* (1942) and *Millions Like Us* (1943) depicted the wartime experiences and contributions of factory workers.

The successes of wartime British cinema would carry over into the early 1950s. After Powell and Pressburger's success with *49th Parallel*, they continued to work together; one of their most popular wartime films was the portrait of military heroism, *The Life and Death of Colonel Blimp* (*The Adventures of Colonel Blimp*, 1943). Still making films together in the 1950s, they constituted one of the most important creative collaborations in British cinema.

France was invaded by Germany in June 1940. The Nazis occupied Paris while a right-wing French government was established in Vichy. At the beginning of the Occupation, all films screened for French audiences were German productions. Some proved popular, including the anti-Semitic *Jud Süß*, but French audiences preferred French films, so domestic production was resumed in 1941. The Germans invested heavily in France's film industry, considering it both good diplomacy—to demonstrate the benefits of cooperation—and an investment in the future of a German-controlled European film industry. In the absence of films from its main competitor, Hollywood, French film enjoyed greater profits in the Occupation era than it had garnered before the invasion. Meanwhile, in the unoccupied zone, the Vichy government formed the Comité d'Organisation

FRANK CAPRA

b. Bisacquino, Sicily, Italy, 18 May 1897, d. 3 September 1991

One of the most famous directors of the studio era—and one of the very few to have his name above the title—Frank Capra is best remembered today for a series of populist comedies he made in the 1930s, most notably *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town* (1936), *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* (1939), and *Meet John Doe* (1941). Although his career before that was both prolific and varied, the comedies that pitted the little guy against corrupt institutions struck a responsive chord with Depression-era audiences.

Capra began his career in 1922, directing the independent short *Fultah Fisher's Boarding House*. Working his way into the industry, Capra became a comedy writer for both Hal Roach, for some of his *Our Gang* comedy shorts, and Mack Sennett, the recognized master of slapstick comedy. Capra then worked on three popular comedies starring the comedian Harold Lloyd, including *Tramp, Tramp, Tramp* (1926) and *The Strong Man* (1926). But the pair parted ways when Lloyd decided to direct his own films. In 1928 Harry Cohn, president of Columbia Pictures, then a struggling studio, hired Capra as a house director. Directing twenty-five films for the studio over the next ten years, nine of which were made in the first year alone, Capra rose to preeminence at Columbia.

The early Columbia films were in a variety of genres, but the perky comedy *Platinum Blonde* (1931), starring Jean Harlow, was a defining point in Capra's career. The film marked the first of eight collaborations with the writer Robert Riskin. One of their collaborations, *It Happened One Night* (1934), starring Clark Gable as a working class journalist and Claudette Colbert as a spoiled socialist who find themselves thrown together on a road trip adventure, swept the Oscars® and is recognized as one of the prototypes of the screwball comedy genre.

When the United States entered World War II, Capra joined the Army and produced a series of training films, the most important of which are seven collectively known as *Why We Fight* (1943–1945). Because Capra's Hollywood comedies were on one level entertaining pro-American propaganda, he proved adept at more overt political propaganda, bringing together a variety of cinematic techniques, clever editing, and a sure-handed manipulation of cultural iconography to sway Americans from their earlier isolationist stance and to motivate soldiers for battle.

After the war Capra's vision just as quickly seemed out of date, and he lost step with audiences. His later films failed to capture the success of his prewar work. Capra's major postwar film, *It's a Wonderful Life* (1946), reveals the director's loss of idealism and faith in the common man, as it requires the divine intervention of an angel to restore the hero's faith in American tradition and the masses.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Platinum Blonde (1931), *American Madness* (1932), *The Bitter Tea of General Yen* (1933), *It Happened One Night* (1934), *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town* (1936), *Lost Horizon* (1937), *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* (1939), *Meet John Doe* (1941), *Why We Fight, 1: Prelude to War* (1943), *Why We Fight, 2: The Nazis Strike* (1943), *Why We Fight, 3: Divide and Conquer* (1943), *Arsenic and Old Lace* (1944), *Know Your Enemy: Japan* (1945), *It's a Wonderful Life* (1946)

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Barry Keith Grant

de l'Industrie Cinématographique (COIC) in 1940 to control film production. Both the scope of the COIC's distribution and its funding were limited, although it received support from the United States and Italy.

In both the Vichy and German zones during the Occupation, censorship of film content strictly forbade any mention of the war; furthermore, laws were passed in both regions to prevent the employment of Jews in the

Frank Capra. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

industry as well as the screening of pre-war films with Jewish actors. In both zones the dominant genres were comedies and melodramas designed to avoid all references to contentious political topics. The departure or imprisonment of French film talent meant that a new generation of French filmmakers emerged during the Occupation, including Jacques Becker, who was active in the resistance movement; Henri-George Clouzot; Claude Autant-Lara; Jean Delannoy; and others. The most significant of these new directors was Robert Bresson, who made his first film, *Les Anges du péché* (*Angels of the Streets*), in 1943.

Marcel Carné's *Les Enfants du paradis* (*Children of Paradise*, 1945) is undoubtedly the most famous film made during the Occupation. Like the "prestige" films made during the war, it was a costume drama with extraordinarily detailed settings and a multilayered narrative that created a densely textured world of nineteenth-century Parisian theaters and nightclubs. It shared with other productions of the Occupation, such as Jean Delannoy's *L'Eternal retour* (*The Eternal Return*, 1943), a sense of fatalism that scholars have read as a veiled response to the social and cultural changes brought by the Occupation.

After the Liberation ended the Nazi Occupation, numerous small production companies competed for France's market. In 1946 the prime minister signed an agreement with the United States to do away with prewar quotas, freeing up the market for competition among French producers—and from Hollywood. Within the year it became clear that French cinema needed support and protection. The government created the Centre National de la Cinématographie to regulate production, promote French film internationally, and organize festival entries. France established new quotas for American films in 1948 and made new development funds for film available in 1953. Altogether, these responses to Hollywood's overseas expansion set the stage for a revival of the French film industry, the economic context in which the French New Wave emerged.

While the film industries of most combatant nations made significant aesthetic and industrial changes to meet the needs of war information and propaganda, Soviet cinema was already committed to the cause of indoctrination. Governed by the policy of Socialist Realism, its cinema from 1935 onward was entirely dominated by the needs and requirements of the Communist Party: formal experimentation was banned and films were designed to educate and to provide role models appropriate to Communist ideology. World War II did nothing to change this, although historian Peter Kenez has observed that the opportunities afforded by the war—to depict some of the real suffering of Soviet peoples as evidence of Nazi treachery and the need for vengeance—offered a degree of representational freedom not otherwise associated with Stalinist film.

Prior to entry into the war, the Soviets made a number of anti-Nazi films, including *Professor Mamlock* (1938), in which the life of a Jewish surgeon is destroyed by the Nazis. Despite ideological opposition to the Nazis, Stalin signed a nonaggression pact with Germany in August 1939 in an attempt to avoid invasion. The pact held Germany at bay until June 1941; by early 1942 areas west of Moscow were under Nazi occupation. The abuses suffered by those in this area would fuel much of the war-era film that followed, in which vengeance was a dominant theme.

The majority of these films were documentary accounts—or fiction films with strong documentary tendencies. The first newsreel appeared three days after the war began, and newsreels continued to be released every three days throughout the war, despite limited resources. The first documentary made from this newsreel material was *Nasha Moskva* (*Our Moscow*, 1941), which depicted the home-front preparation for siege undertaken by soldiers and civilians. Perhaps the most important documentary of the war was the one that followed, *Razgrom*

nemetskikh voysk pod Moskvoy (1942), which focused on German losses—its prisoners of war, its weaponry destroyed and discarded in the snow. Released in the United Kingdom and the United States under the title *Moscow Fights Back*, it won a New York Film Critics' award. In the documentaries that followed, Soviet filmmakers demonstrated a willingness to depict the pain and injuries of war unusual in World War II cinemas: its purpose was to stoke up Russian hatred of its enemy. For instance, in Alexander Dovzhenko's *Bitva za nashu Sovetskuyu Ukrainu* (*Ukraine in Flames*, 1943), he heightened the effect by intercutting captured Nazi footage—of smiling Germans—with images of suffering in the Ukraine.

Shortages plagued Soviet film production during the war and major studios were lost early on; when films could no longer be produced in Moscow and Leningrad, Mosfilm and Lenfilm moved to cities in Central Asia. In order to keep village soviets supplied with film during a time of limited resources, production shifted from full length to short films from 1941 to 1942; these were released in groups called the Fighting Film Collections. The shorts varied from documentaries to short dramas; the best known is called *Pir v Girmunka* (*Feast in Zhirmunka* 1941), directed by Vsevolod Pudovkin, in which a Soviet woman feeds a poisoned meal to the occupying army. In order to assure the Germans that the food is wholesome, she eats with them and dies; her body is discovered along with the enemy corpses.

From 1942 onward, feature-length production was again possible; the majority of these were war films, including a number that dealt with partisan warfare. The key themes in these films were the happiness of Soviet life before invasion, the brutality of the Nazis, and the consequent necessity for courage and vengeance on the part of both men and women. A number of films showed graphic violence against women and children, including *Raduga* (*The Rainbow*, 1944), in which a newly delivered mother is tortured, a newborn baby is killed, and a young boy who tries to bring food to a prisoner is executed. Home-front films, like partisan war films, often featured female heroes, but instead of directly fighting the evil Nazis, they struggled as civilians to support the war effort.

After the war's end, Soviet film production dropped precipitously; by the 1950s, only four or five feature films were released each year. The reason for this appears to be that under Stalin the political demands upon scripts were so strict that few could be completed.

HOLLYWOOD GOES TO WAR

Following World War I, Americans entered into a period of profound isolationism. The US government, despite the escalation of what Americans called the European War, would remain neutral until 1941. But with the founding of the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League in 1936, the Hollywood community politicized itself in advance of the government, a stance strengthened by the nearly complete elimination of the German market for its films. Without the worry of losing overseas profits, Hollywood from 1939 to 1941 released a number of anti-Nazi films, such as Warner Bros.' *Confessions of a Nazi Spy* (1939) and MGM's *The Mortal Storm* (1940). As a result, Hollywood drew fire from isolationist groups in the United States. This culminated in a congressional investigation led by an anti-Semitic Republican. senator from North Dakota, Gerald Nye; his accusation of "fifth column" or Communist sympathies in Hollywood would be resurrected after the war, during the House Un-American Activities Committee investigations between 1947 and 1954.

The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor ended US neutrality—and the Nye investigation. The alliance forged between Washington and Hollywood as a result of World War II was unprecedented, as Hollywood had functioned from the 1930s onward as a voluntarily self-regulated industry under the aegis of the Production Code Administration (PCA), whose standards for morality were designed to allow the Hollywood film industry to avoid costly interventions by state censors. Immediately after Pearl Harbor, President Roosevelt made film into a war industry with the creation of the Office of the Coordinator of Government Films; additionally, in 1942 he formed the Office of War Information (OWI) to oversee all government press and information services, including motion pictures. Its domestic arm, the Bureau of Motion Pictures, was a liaison between the government and Hollywood. Through an often complex process of negotiation between Hollywood and these government bodies, the ideals meant to be incorporated into the war film—abstract values such as heroism, selflessness, and the need for cooperation, as well as the more specific concerns of the OWI such as the desirability of purchasing war bonds—were added to the values and beliefs already promoted by Hollywood. Endeavoring to follow the guidelines provided in numerous memos and booklets, Hollywood studios still made comedies, musicals, dramas, romances, and action-packed adventure films, but they did so on behalf of the war effort.

Combat films such as *Guadalcanal Diary* (1943), *Air Force*, (1943) and *Objective Burma* (1945) were based on real events insofar as they concerned themselves with actual places and combat initiatives, but their purpose was to engage and inspire their audience as much as to inform. In doing so, they characteristically depicted an ethnically mixed group of US soldiers, metonymic of

BETTY GRABLE

b. Ruth Elizabeth Grable, St. Louis, Missouri, 18 December 1916, d. 3 July 1973

Betty Grable sang and danced her way through Hollywood movies from the age of fourteen. After signing with RKO in 1932, her most memorable roles were as the perky co-ed in films like *Collegiate* (1936), *Pigskin Parade* (1936), *Campus Confessions* (1938), and *College Swing* (1938). Her career took off in the 1940s, when she signed with Twentieth Century Fox and starred in the Technicolor musical *Down Argentine Way* (1940). A series of colorful, light-hearted star vehicles followed, each the definitive escapist entertainment for American civilian and military audiences during World War II: *Moon Over Miami* (1941); *Footlight Serenade*, *Song of the Islands*, and *Springtime in the Rockies* (all 1942); *Sweet Rosie O'Grady* and *Coney Island* (both 1943); *Pin Up Girl* (1944); and *The Dolly Sisters* and *Billy Rose's Diamond Horseshoe* (both 1945).

The US Treasury Department noted that she was the highest-paid woman in America, having made $300,000 for the year 1946–1947. This was not too surprising, given that she was the star for whose legs Fox purchased an insurance policy for a million dollars with Lloyds of London in 1940. This was most certainly a publicity stunt to launch its newest star, but it forecast what was to be Grable's best-known role during World War II—that of a pin-up girl.

Pinups, which featured idealized photos or illustrations of beautiful young women, revealingly dressed or (occasionally) nude, shown in a full-body pose, were ubiquitous in World War II visual culture. Featured on playing cards, greeting cards, calendars, matchbooks, tacked up to the walls of barracks, even hand-painted on flight jackets and the noses of planes, they formed a persistent visual presence in the lives of American soldiers. A number of Hollywood stars—like Gene Tierney, Ava Gardner, and Veronica Lake—were popular pin-ups, but the most famous and the most reproduced pin-up image was undoubtedly Grable's 1943 bathing suit photo, showing off her legendary legs. Unlike many pinups, such as the well-known photos of Rita Hayworth in a negligee kneeling in bed or that of Jane Russell reclining against a haystack, the Grable pinup did little to signify a narrative or prompt a particular fantasy. Petite in her high heels, with an almost too-large cluster of blond curls on top of her head, Grable appeared inviting and yet wholesome, sexy but not overly glamorous. With good reason, she called herself "the enlisted man's girl." Grable's pin-up image was designed to accommodate the viewer's need to dream and escape. A pocket Venus and all-American everygirl, Grable's pinup was an accessible, and portable, piece of Hollywood fantasy.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Collegiate (1936), *Pigskin Parade* (1936), *Campus Confessions* (1938), *College Swing* (1938), *Down Argentine Way* (1940), *Footlight Serenade* (1942), *Sweet Rosie O'Grady* (1943), *Pin Up Girl* (1944), *The Dolly Sisters* (1945), *Billy Rose's Diamond Horseshoe* (1945)

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Amanda Howell

America's diversity, drawn together despite their differences by their patriotism—and by their hatred of a common enemy. In order to properly direct American hatred of its enemies, US combat films depicted Nazis as cold and efficient killers but tended to imagine the Japanese as bestial, subhuman—worthy of annihilation. Such simple representations of America's role in the war gave way, by its end, to more complex depictions of heroism, such as John Ford's *They Were Expendable* (1945), which withheld victory and emphasized values of tenacity and devotion to duty rather than unreflective assumptions of racial or national superiority.

Tenacity and devotion to duty were likewise central to homefront dramas. Generally speaking, these films constructed their representations of a cohesive nation—a homeland—around images of family and tended to identify the home front with the "good mother" who loves and protects. *Since You Went Away* (1944), an award-winning home-front drama, explored the life of a family that experiences the full range of privations and losses

Betty Grable in the 1940s. EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

associated with the war; at the hub of the household, the wife and mother dispensed good sense and affection to both her children and others. The film was an epic-length, studio-era film at three hours, and the extended family and its friends, like the combat group, appeared as a microcosm of America, bound by a common cause—and by maternal affection.

Whereas combat films and home-front dramas leavened propaganda with entertainment, other features retooled the pleasures of musical and comic entertainment for the purposes of patriotism. Important to World War II musicals was the way that popular songs linked musical fantasy worlds to everyday life during wartime—an effect heightened in films about "putting on a show," such as *This Is the Army* (1943). This film is structured around Irving Berlin's compositions, including "God Bless America"—a patriotic song so popular that it became the alternative US national anthem.

Comedies allowed both military and civilian audiences to laugh at the strictures of wartime. When popular entertainers donned uniforms, the resultant fish-out-of-water comedies like Abbott and Costello's *Buck Privates* (1941) and Bob Hope's *Caught in the Draft* (1941) poked fun at military discipline—and those incapable of embracing it. Home-front comedies offered the opportunity to make jokes about shared experiences—such as housing shortages, the comic premise for *The More the Merrier* (1943).

In addition to the role played by studios, some of Hollywood's best directors took their talents to the military, including John Ford, who was the chief of the Field Photographic Branch of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS); John Huston, who was in the US Army Signal Corps; and William Wyler, who served as an Air Force officer. In their productions, they brought Hollywood storytelling techniques to bear on representations of key battles. One of the most effective was Ford's documentary, *The Battle of Midway* (1942), which offered an elegiac vision of America designed, like the combat film, to inspire as well as inform. Ford's remarkable technicolor combat footage, including the dramatic image of the US flag being raised in the midst of aerial bombardment, is accompanied by snippets of traditional folk music, intercut with narration meant to reflect the views of ordinary Americans.

Wartime cinema was not only accountable to the OWI's requirement to educate, inform, and inspire; it was also subject to the oversight of the Office of Censorship, whose responsibility was to clear foreign films for import and US films for export. While the OWI concerned itself with whether or not Hollywood's productions would help to win the war, the Office of Censorship was concerned with whether or not a film might benefit the enemy, either through breaches of national security or through impolitic representations of the US or Allied nations. Alert to any curtailment of already reduced overseas markets, Hollywood soon learned to avoid its once-commonplace comic ethnic types—at least of Allied nationals—and likewise to tread a fine line in representations of the US military in its service comedies, lest its films be blocked from foreign distribution for offering representations thought to endanger—or belittle—the war effort.

The work of the Production Code Administration was entirely separate from that of the OWI and Office of Censorship. However, when there was a clash between the goal of the OWI to inform the public regarding the purpose and progress of the war and that of the PCA to protect American audiences from representations it deemed immoral, the PCA moderated its stance, particularly in regard to screen depictions of violence. Prior to the war, the Production Code had required that combat be bloodless; but as other media such as photojournalism and radio delivered more graphic information to Americans than the Code allowed on screen, motion pictures came under pressure from their audiences and from the government to likewise provide more explicit

Frank Capra's wartime documentary* Why We Fight 1: Prelude to War *(1943) made effective use of cultural iconography.
EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

representations. In 1943 Roosevelt, in response to advice from the OWI, urged the military to cease its policy of withholding the most brutal images of war from newsreel coverage, including images of both enemy and American dead. John Huston tested the limits of documentary reportage in his film *The Battle of San Pietro* (1945) and made what is perhaps the most moving of the US war-era documentaries, a graphic representation of the battle for a small Italian village in which over one thousand US soldiers were killed. After the war, explicit newsreel footage of Germany's concentration camps was shown nationwide at the request of President Dwight Eisenhower, despite the fact that its horrific images of the Holocaust violated the Code.

In qualifying the moral authority exerted by the PCA, the government tacitly acknowledged the existence of an audience rather different from the one specified by the Code, an audience to be brought into full partnership with the war effort—and the war's losses—rather than one to be protected from images that might inflame or disturb. In the late 1940s and through the 1950s and 1960s, Hollywood's relationship with its audience—newly prosperous and becoming rapidly more educated and suburbanized—would continue to change, one of many challenges the industry encountered in the postwar period.

SEE ALSO *Censorship; Documentary; France; Great Britain; Holocaust; Italy; Japan; Propaganda; Russia and the Soviet Union; Ufa (Universum Film Aktiengesellschaft); Violence; War Films*

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Amanda Howell

YIDDISH CINEMA

Yiddish cinema must be unique in the annals of world film history as the only manifestation of a major film-making enterprise not primarily associated with a "national" entity. We might say, at the very least, that Yiddish cinema was the first truly transnational cinema, but one which ironically and perhaps ultimately tragically lacked a foundation in a national setting, that is, in a nation or a unique, sovereign state. A transnational cinema without the national, Yiddish cinema represents the cinematic flowering of a people living in far-flung places on the globe, but who shared a culture that crossed boundaries of space and, as the years have gone by, of time. A true Yiddish cinema awaited the coming of sound, for its distinctive and defining characteristic seems intuitively to be the use of the Yiddish language. Nevertheless, as an expression of Yiddish culture (*Yiddishkeit*), one sees a burgeoning Yiddish cinema in the silent era, although it was indeed the sound cinema that created the masterpieces of this unique cultural and cinematic form.

THE ROOTS OF YIDDISH CINEMA

Yiddish was the primary language of the Jews living in the Pale of Settlement in the contested territory on the border between Poland and Russia before World War II. While Jews all over eastern Europe typically spoke the language of the "host" country in which they lived, Yiddish was the connecting current of Jewish secular life, the *mamaloshen* (mother tongue) of the people. But it was more than a language, it was a thriving culture that produced a body of literature—novels, short stories, poetry, plays—and a veritable way of being in the world—a world marked by anti-Semitism, poverty, and hardship. As Jews emigrated in unprecedented numbers from eastern Europe beginning in the 1880s—primarily to the United States, but also to Canada, the United Kingdom, Mexico, Brazil, and South Africa—they naturally took with them this culture of Yiddishkeit.

Primarily, the silent Yiddish cinema was concerned with documenting Jewish life in the *shtetlach* (small Jewish towns), and it was largely the product of Soviet and Polish Jews rather than US producers. The screenwriter Henryk Bojm created such films as *Tkies Kaf* (*The Vow* or *The Handshake*, 1924), *Der Lamedvovnik* (*One of the Thirty-Six Just Men*, 1925), and *In Poylishe Velder* (*In Polish Woods*, 1928) that were set almost wholly in the Jewish villages in the Pale of Settlement and dealt variously with aspects of anti-Semitism, Jewish mysticism, and fading tradition. In the new Soviet Union after the Russian Civil War, things seemed very promising for Jews, and in this atmosphere the works of the gentle ironist Sholem Aleichem proved particularly popular for Yiddishkeit cinema in films like *Der Mabul* (*The Deluge*, 1925) and the masterpiece of Soviet Yiddish cinema, *Yidishe Glikn* (*Jewish Luck*, 1925), which brought to life the author's beloved Everyman, Menachem Mendl. "Jewish Luck" is an ironic title, for everything this hapless but good-hearted man tries ends in failure. J. Hoberman compares the character, as embodied by star Solomon Mikhoels (c. 1890–1948), to Charlie Chaplin's lovable Tramp figure—an interesting comparison considering how often through the years Chaplin himself was claimed as Jewish. Many more films would be made in the Soviet Union throughout the silent era and into the sound era before the iron curtain of Stalinism fell on the region.

MAURICE SCHWARTZ

b. Sedikov, Russia (later Ukraine), 18 June 1890, d. 10 May 1960

If Edgar G. Ulmer is today the best-known of the Yiddish filmmakers, he notoriously did not speak Yiddish and his approach to the Yiddish cinema, polished and insightful though it is, lacks the raw power that one sees in the true masterpieces of Yiddish cinema, including Maurice Schwartz's *Tevye der Milkhiker* (*Tevye the Milkman*, 1939). One of many adaptations of Sholem Aleichem's beloved novel of the bedraggled dairyman and his attempts to marry off his numerous daughters, Schwartz's version is regarded by many as superior even to the blockbuster Broadway musical adaptation and subsequent film version, *Fiddler on the Roof* (1971).

Schwartz was a major star of the Yiddish theater long before the Yiddish sound film appeared. A founder of New York City's Yiddish Art Theatre in 1918, he always managed to combine commercial appeal with artistic pretensions. Schwartz brought major works of theatrical art to the Yiddish stage, from *The Dybbuk* to an adaptation of Chekhov's *Uncle Vanya*. While on tour in Austria, Schwartz appeared in the film *Yisker* (*Remembrance*, 1925), which was a flop. Despite his inexperience as a film actor, he took to both starring in and directing *Tsekbrokhene Hertser* (*Broken Hearts*, 1926). An adaptation of a play already over twenty years old, *Broken Hearts* attempted to be both melodrama and social criticism. Perhaps it was too old-fashioned, despite its melting-pot ideology. When it was re-released with a dubbed Yiddish soundtrack some years later, the ending was changed to reflect a more downbeat and old-fashioned value system.

With *Uncle Moses* (1932), a film version of a novel by Sholem Asch, Schwartz helped usher in the prestigious Yiddish talkie. Updated from Asch's immigrant tale to a contemporary Depression-era setting, the film found Schwartz concentrating solely on his acting, bringing to life an anti-hero who is redeemed by love. If not a triumph, the film accomplished what its directors (Sidney Goldin and Aubrey Scotto) and star had intended. With his directing and starring role in *Tevye*, Schwartz found his greatest triumph, one for the ages. With a liberal use of location shooting on Long Island and a minimalist *mise-en-scène* for the interiors, Schwartz accomplished something akin to the finest films of Oscar Micheaux—a film style that pays little heed to Hollywood norms, instead creating an approach that serves the material well on its own terms. A more downbeat (and scaled-back) version than the better-known *Fiddler on the Roof* the film holds on to its Yiddish roots with a passion that seems to foretell the events of the Holocaust.

In only its third year of existence, the National Film Registry in 1991 inducted Schwartz's *Tevye*. It was one of the very few non-English language films to be recognized by this Library of Congress board, which was established to preserve films deemed "culturally, historically, or aesthetically important."

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Tsekbrokhene Hertser (*Broken Hearts*, 1926), *Uncle Moses* (1932), *Tevye der Milkhiker* (*Tevye the Milkman*, 1939)

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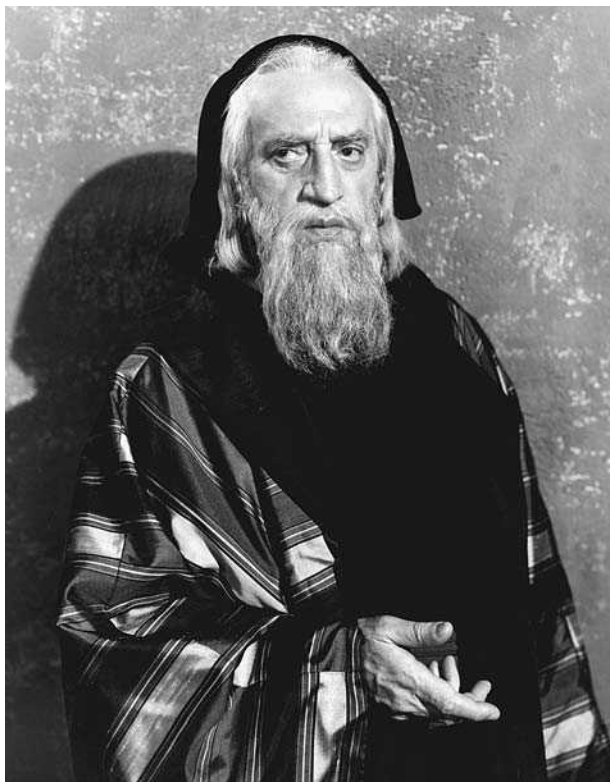
David Desser

THE GOLDEN AGE OF YIDDISH CINEMA IN THE UNITED STATES

The rich Yiddish cinematic culture of the United States owes part of its success to the work of Edgar G. Ulmer (1904–1972), whose four Yiddish films—*Grine Felder* (*Green Fields*, 1937); *Yankl der Shmid* (*The Singing Blacksmith*, 1938); *Di Klyatshe*, also called *Fishke der Krumer* (*The Light Ahead*, 1939); and *Amerikaner Shadkhn* (*American Matchmaker*, 1940)—are reckoned among the classics in the canon. Ulmer's status is partly owed to the fact that he also worked in Hollywood and that his Yiddish films betray, despite their low budgets, the Hollywood style and technical stamp of approval. With their shtetl settings, the films had an ambivalent relationship to their New World origins. Considering the overwhelmingly urban nature of immigrant American Jewry, *Green Fields*'s pastoral setting and homage to a life on the land speaks to just one of the ambivalences



Maurice Schwartz as Ezra, Herod's advisor, in* Salome *(William Dieterle, 1953). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

that American Jewry was experiencing. Alternately, Ulmer's *The Light Ahead* critiques, through its expressionist settings and the prejudice meted out to its handicapped protagonists, some of the stifling attitude and backwardness of the shtetls that so many American Jews had happily abandoned. Ulmer's final Yiddish picture, *American Matchmaker*, may also show some ambivalence about being in America, but its humorous confrontation with many issues facing ever-assimilating American Jewry reveals a now-happy accommodation with life in the New World.

The bias in favor of auteur directors should not repress the importance of stars to the transnational Yiddish cinema. The superstar of the Yiddish stage, Maurice Schwartz (1890–1960), made his Yiddish film directing debut with *Tsekbrokhene Hertser* (*Broken Hearts*, 1926), but it was his importance as an actor that carried this film as well as *Uncle Moses* (1932), important films about ghetto life. Another superstar was Moishe Oysher (1907–1958), whose own life as a cantor and singing star was a rags-to-riches, Old World-New World drama in itself, cinematically retold in *Dem Khazns Zundl* (*The Cantor's Son*, 1927). The famous sound smash *The Jazz Singer* of 1927 might also have been called "The Cantor's Son," and it, too, wrapped itself around the Old World-New World dichotomy. But the very differences between these two films might be said to encapsulate the distinctions between mainstream cinema about Jews and the Yiddish cinema addressed solely to Jews. For in the Al Jolson film, the battle between Old World and New, between liturgical music and jazz (popular music), firmly comes down on the side of the New World jazz-singing career. Jakie Rabinowitz may sing the "Kol Nidre" on Yom Kippur, but he then leaves behind this heartfelt tribute to the old ways for the resolutely New World rendition of "My Mammy," trading his Jewish costume for blackface. Not so in the Yiddish film. Not only does the cantor's son cling to the religious music of his training, but by film's end he not only rejects jazz singing, but the New World as well, returning to live in the Old Country. Since the vast majority of immigrant Jews remained in America, this film, one of the most expensive Yiddish productions to date, clearly spoke to a rising dissatisfaction with America, but one which played out only on screen.

Clearly, as American Jewry became ever more successful, and the most cinematically minded turned not to the Yiddish cinema, but to Hollywood, the lure of the shtetl proved irresistible to an ever-decreasing Yiddish-speaking American Jewish audience, leading to Maurice Schwartz's bittersweet masterpiece, *Tevye* (1939). Driven out of his home in the Pale of Settlement and rejecting his daughter who has married a Russian, Tevye leaves, not for the United States, as in *Fiddler on the Roof* (1971), but for Palestine.

Less star-driven, though often featuring well-known players of the Yiddish stage, were those examples of popular theatrical melodramas transferred, usually with little money and less artistry, to the screen, but the kind of films the film industry needs to keep cash flowing into production and out of exhibitors' turnstiles. Generational potboilers like *Der Yidisher Kenig Lir* (*The Yiddish King Lear*, 1936), *Vu Iz Mayn Kind* (*Where is My Child?*, 1937), and *Motl der Operator* (*Motl the Operator*, 1939), although they may be read as fears of economic uncertainty in the New World or the shame of one's Old World roots, have more in common with the overheated Hollywood maternal and family melodramas of the same period. And although there are a number of films set squarely in the tenements of the immigrant generation, such a film was already old-fashioned by the 1930s. And so, unlike the powerful American Jewish literature and Yiddish theater of the turn of the century and into the 1920s, the Yiddish cinema in America tended more to the nostalgic, the melodramatic, or the sometimes surprisingly bitter.

Rebecca Weintraub and Maurice Schwartz in* Tevya *(Schwartz, 1939), the film that inspired* Fiddler on the Roof *(Norman Jewison, 1971). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

THE GOLDEN AGE OF YIDDISH CINEMA IN POLAND

The ever-precarious situation of the Jews in Poland perhaps unsurprisingly led to the production of what is unquestionably the most artistically important of all Yiddish films: *The Dybbuk* (1937). The number of Jews in Poland was approximately equal to the number in the United States, and although less prosperous, they remained closer to their Yiddish roots. Thus, the number of Yiddish films produced in Poland almost equaled those produced in the United States, and it might be argued that artistically, films like *Yidl mitn Fidl* (*Yiddle with a Fiddle*, 1936), *A Brivele der Mamen* (*A Letter to Mother*, 1938), and *Mamele* (*Little Mother*, 1938), certainly were the equal of anything the better-funded American Jews could produce. With charming star Molly Picon appearing in *Yidl* and *Mamele*, Poland had an international Yiddish star to compete with the likes of Maurice Schwartz and Moishe Oysher. But it was the no-star *Dybbuk* that gave Yiddish cinema one of its major contributions to world film. Based on the best-known of Yiddish dramas, the film attempts in every way to become its cinematic equivalent—the most artistic and prestigious of all Yiddish films. And it largely succeeds. Its expressionistic sets built in Warsaw combine nicely with location shooting in Old World Kazimierz (which had become something of the preferred locale for the European Yiddish cinema, the archetypal shtetl), and the acting was appropriately theatrical for this story of other-worldly possession and Jewish mysticism. A marriage arranged between friends for their children as yet unborn takes a tragic turn through the intervention of a cruel fate and the young man's unforgiving nature. When the girl's father rejects the young man, whom he does not know is the promised groom, the young man turns to the mysteries of the Cabala to seek redress. Dying amidst his attempts to conjure dark forces to come to his aid, instead his tormented spirit takes over the about-to-be-wed bride.

Exorcism and death climax this dark, stylish, Yiddish version of the expressionistic nightmares that haunted the German cinema a decade earlier.

But it was not all doom-and-gloom in the Polish Yiddish cinema. Joseph Green's (1900–1996) *Yiddle with a Fiddle* was as charming a film as could be with its story of wandering klezmer musicians. Boyish Molly Picon (1898–1992) indeed plays a young woman who disguises herself as a boy as father and daughter become part of a troupe of entertainers. Acknowledged as a star vehicle for the thirty-seven-year-old superstar, the film was reckoned little more than a collection of favorite theatrical pieces fleshing out its episodic plot. The film's hugely optimistic ending seems to ignore rising anti-Semitic tensions in Poland, but its commercial success in Poland and across the globe bespeaks of an audience interested not in contemplating an ambiguous future, but in reveling in a nostalgic past.

Producer-director Green followed this smash success with *Der Purimshpiler* (*The Purim Player*, 1937), another story of wandering Jews, this time circus entertainers and jesters. Obviously little more than a reworking of *Yidl*, the film was a commercial disappointment. One theory brought up by J. Hoberman is that, besides the absence of Molly Picon, the film attempted to be too much of a crossover, removing some of the cultural specificity in its quest for a greater universality. A Yiddish film without Yiddishkeit seemed hardly the way to continue to produce a truly Yiddish cinema.

By the time a true Yiddish cinema appeared in the 1930s, many of the Jewish entrepreneurs of the cinema had already come, seen, and conquered the wider world of American film. For Hollywood—ruled by the likes of Louis B. Mayer, Harry Cohn, Jack Warner, Carl Laemmle, and Irving Thalberg—was already Jewish, but with Jews whose interest in Yiddish and a Yiddish cinema was nil. In this respect the Hollywood moguls are typical of much of assimilating American Jewry. The sad fact of the matter is that Yiddish cinema declined due to the elimination of its primary audience. In the United States, Yiddish theater and cinema did not extend its audience beyond the immigrant generation. In eastern Europe the thriving Jewish communities and the culture of Yiddishkeit came to a different end in the unprecedented mass murder of six million Jews, including 90 percent of Polish Jewry. Though the occasional Yiddish film appeared after the war, including Israeli productions, Yiddish cinema disappeared with the destruction of the audience that gave rise to it.

SEE ALSO *Diasporic Cinema; Poland*

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YUGOSLAVIA

A cinematic tradition in the lands inhabited by Southern Slavs has evolved under various political divisions, of which Yugoslavia covers the longest time span. The film legacy of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is also crucial to the formation of national cinemas of several states, such as Serbia and Montenegro, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Slovenia, and Macedonia. The term "Yugoslavia," which came into use in 1929, designates here a territorial, linguistic, and cultural entity rather than a country.

Indigenous filmmaking in Yugoslavia emerged in the first two decades of the twentieth century, producing shorts, scenics, and documentaries often ethnographic in nature. Local pioneers included Karol Grosmann and Metod Badjura (1896–1971) in Slovenia, the Manaki brothers (Yanaki and Milton) in Macedonia, and Josip Karaman, and Josip Halla in Croatia. In Serbia, Svetozar Botorić (1857–1916), in collaboration with the French company Pathé, produced the first feature-length film, *Život i dela besmrtnog vožda Karadjordja* (*The Life and Work of the Immortal Leader Karadjordje*, 1911). Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, the establishment of several production companies—specializing mainly in documentaries and sporadic feature films—was not enough to create a film industry. Among the notable films of that period are the Serbian *Sa verom u Boga* (*In God We Trust*, Mihajlo Al. Popović, 1932), the Slovenian *V kraljestvu zlatoroga* (*In the Kingdom of the Goldhorn*, Janko Ravnik, 1931), and films by the Croat, Oktavijan Miletić (1902–1987), and the Macedonian, Blagoja Drnkov. A film industry in Yugoslavia emerged only after the World War II.

NATIONALIZATION OF THE FILM INDUSTRY

The formal beginning of state cinema in socialist Yugoslavia is dated 13 December 1944, when the Communist leader, Josip Broz Tito (1892–1980), established a film section in the state administration. The cultural significance of film was elevated through the centralization of the film industry which was governed by a number of federal committees between 1945 and 1951. Consequently, each republic was granted a film company (Jadran Film in Zagreb, Aval Film and Zvezda Film in Belgrade, Triglav Film in Ljubljana), and a film archive (Kinoteka, established 1949) and film school (Film Academy, established 1950) were opened in Belgrade. Films depicting the battles of Tito's partisans characterized the early films produced by the new regime. *Slavica* (Vjekoslav Afrić, 1947) is the first Yugoslav feature film and quite predictably deals with the conquests of the resistance. The glorification of the partisans gave way to films portraying the postwar reconstruction and the building of a new socialist state. *Živjeće ovaj narod* (*The Unconquered People*, Nikola Popović, 1947) and *Na svoji zemlji* (*On Our Own Land*, France Štiglic, 1948) on the one hand exemplify this period of state propaganda, but on the other reflect the innocent postwar enthusiasm of the nation. The Soviet-style socialist realism of the 1940s gave way, beginning in the 1950s, to more critical views of the socialist reality that reflected Yugoslavia's new political position in Eastern Europe.

A subgenre of Yugoslav partisan films emerged in the 1960s and enjoyed its highest popularity during the 1970s. Although films that glorified Tito's partisans, combining the pathos of the officially sanctioned war films with emotionally charged stories, had been made

since the end of the war, with time they acquired the attributes of a commercial genre. They began to emulate American Westerns in their emphasis on action and clearly defined forces of good Yugoslav partisans and evil Nazi soldiers. The portrayal of major battles of Yugoslavia's World War II served as excuses for making such films, including Veljko Bulajić's (b. 1928) *Kozara* (1962) and *Bitka na Neretvi* (*Battle of the River Neretva*, 1969). Predictable endings and stylistic simplicity made partisan films very popular with audiences, and some of them, such as *Otpisani* (*Written Off*, Aleksandar Djordjević, 1974), turned into television series. Tito's death in 1980 brought an end to this subgenre.

Yugoslav cinema received international recognition in the late 1950s through the work of a group of animators collectively known as the Zagreb School of Animation. They viewed animation as a form of abstract visual expression. Their experimental films were recognized for their humorous look at the paradoxes of modern life and parodies of other art forms while providing a profound look at the dehumanization, alienation, and other anxieties of contemporary society. The films relied on formal simplicity to convey intricate ideas. The school's achievements were crowned by an Oscar® awarded for *Surogat* (*Ersatz*, Dušan Vukotić, 1961). Writer-director Vatroslav Mimica (b. 1923), who made both animated and live-action films, received international acclaim for *Samac* (*The Loner*, 1958), *Kod fotografa* (*At the Photographer's*, 1959), and *Jaje* (*The Egg*, 1959). Other Zagreb animators of note are Nedeljko Dragić, Vladimir Kristl, Borivoj Dovniković, Pavao Štalter, Zdenko Gašparović, Joško Marušić, and Aleksandar Marks. Many films of the Zagreb school became classics of animated film and a major international festival of animation, held in the Croatian capital since 1970, established the city as a major force in world animation.

NOVI FILM

A tendency—rather than a film movement—called *novi film* emerged in the wake of the political and economic liberalization of Yugoslavia in the 1960s and 70s. While lacking a program or coherent aesthetics, *novi film* sought to free Yugoslav cinema from bureaucratic dogmatism and promote free expression and experimentation. Inspired by Italian Neorealism and various new waves in European cinema, the filmmakers rejected the dominant style of socialist realism, with its officially sanctioned optimism and patriotic education of the masses, opting instead for exposing the darker side of the socialist state with its corruption and hypocrisy. More radical filmmakers voiced open criticism of the Communist regime. They were called "Black Wave" by the censors, but later the name began to denote nonconformist film culture. Živojin Pavlović's (1933–1998) *Budjenje pacova* (*The Rats Woke Up*, 1967) and *Kad budem mrtav i beo* (*When I Am Dead and Gone*, 1967) exemplify the Black Wave together with films by Želimir Žilnik (b. 1942) and Bata Čengić (b. 1933).

The best internationally known of all Yugoslav directors is Dušan Makavejev (b. 1932). His early films—*Čovek nije tica* (*Man Is Not a Bird*, 1965), *Ljubavni slučaj ili tragedija službenice PTT* (*Love Affair; or the Case of the Missing Switchboard Operator*, 1967), and *W.R.—Misterije organizma* (*W.R.—Mysteries of the Organism*, 1971)—reflect both the thematic tendencies of the Black Wave as well as the modernist styles of the *novi film*. Forced to leave Yugoslavia, Makavejev worked abroad for nearly two decades but returned to Belgrade to shoot his *Gorila se kupa u podne* (*Gorilla Bathes at Noon*, 1993). Aleksandar Petrović (1929–1994) is another Yugoslav director who established an international reputation. His intimate *Dvoje* (*And Love Has Vanished*, 1961) and the partisan genre *Tri* (*Three*, 1965) established him as a leading voice of the *novi film*. Petrović's ethnographic *Skupljači perja* (*I Even Met Happy Gypsies*, 1967) was a great international critical and commercial success, and the politically charged *Majstor i Margarita* (*The Master and Margaret*, 1972) won top awards at the Venice Film Festival.

A noteworthy mark on Yugoslav cinema was left by a group of filmmakers who graduated from the Film and TV School of the Academy of Performing Arts (FAMU) in the Czech Republic. They became known as the Yugoslav Prague Group, with works characterized by meticulous attention to cinematic style and plots that combined drama and subtle humor. The most celebrated works of the group are *Samo jednom se ljubi* (*The Melody Haunts My Memory*, Rajko Grlić, 1981), *Okupacija u 26 slika* (*Occupation in 26 Pictures*, Lordan Zafranović, 1978), *Virdzina* (*Virginia*, Srdjan Karanović, 1991) and *Petrijin Venac* (*Petria's Wreath*, Karanović, 1980), *Tito i ja* (*Tito and I*, Goran Marković, 1992), and *Čuvar plaže u zimskom periodu* (*Beach Guard in Winter*, Goran Paskaljević, 1976) and *Bure baruta* (*Cabaret Balkan*, Paskaljević, 1998), along with *Otac na službenom putu* (*When Father Was Away on Business*, Emir Kusturica [b. 1954], 1985) and *Bila jednom jedna zemlja* (*Underground*, Emir Kusturica, 1995).

The Balkan conflict and breakup of Yugoslavia became the subject of some 250 documentary and feature films made by Yugoslav and international directors and was unprecedented in post-communist Eastern Europe. Theo Angelopoulos's *To vlemma tou Odyssea* (*Ulysses' Gaze*, 1995), Kusturica's *Underground*), and Michael Winterbottom's *Welcome to Sarajevo* (1997) were the most representative examples. The political changes and

DUŠAN MAKAVEJEV

b. Belgrade, Yugoslavia (now Serbia), 13 October 1932

Dušan Makavejev is one of the most controversial directors and screenwriters to emerge from the former Yugoslavia. Trained in both psychology and film, Makavejev began his career writing film criticism and directing shorts and documentaries. From the beginning, his films posed a challenge to the values of the socialist state. Openly provocative in his approach, Makavejev established himself as the most original member of the Yugoslav oppositional "Black Wave."

His first feature, *Čovek nije tica* (*Man Is Not a Bird*, 1965), is set in a small industrial town and depicts the affair of a visiting industrial specialist and a local hairdresser, while at the same time targeting the very fabric of socialist society, namely, its "shock workers," lack of individual freedom, social control, ritualistic propaganda, and hypocrisy. *Ljubavni slučaj ili tragedija službenice PTT* (*Love Affair; or the Case of the Missing Switchboard Operator*, 1967) has a similar thematic preoccupation but also foreshadows Makavejev's future films by foregrounding the sexual side of the affair between a switchboard operator and a rat exterminator. Stylistically, the film bears Makavejev's trademarks: nonlinear narrative, collage of associative images, documentary and pseudo-documentary footage, and "scientific" lectures by a sexologist and a criminologist.

Makavejev's breakthrough and international recognition came with *W.R.—Misterije organizma* (*W.R.—Mysteries of the Organism*, 1971), a film that he described as "a fantasy on the fascism and communism of human bodies, the political life of human genitals, a proclamation of the pornographic essence of any system of authority and power over others." Shot in the United States and Yugoslavia, the film juxtaposed a documentary on the life of Wilhelm Reich, including his theories of sexual repression and liberation, with a story of a young woman who tries to introduce "free love" in socialist Yugoslavia. Followed by controversy, the film was withdrawn from domestic distribution and shelved for sixteen years; also, Makavejev was forced to work abroad because of political pressures.

His next film, the international co-production *Sweet Movie* (1974), proved even more controversial because of its biting double critique of Western consumerist values and of the degeneration of Eastern European communism. The film's sexually explicit nature offended Western audiences and was denounced by many critics. Thematically, *Sweet Movie* resembles *W.R.*, but stylistically it explores the possibilities of Eisensteinian montage in combination with Belgrade surrealism. The film received almost no distribution and failed to launch the director's career in the West. Two of his subsequent projects, *Montenegro eller Paerlor och Svin* (*Montenegro*, Sweden, 1981) and *The Coca-Cola Kid* (Australia, 1985), were moderate commercial successes but did not match the critical achievements of his Yugoslav productions.

RECOMMENDED VIEWING

Čovek nije tica (*Man Is Not a Bird*, 1965), *Ljubavni slučaj ili tragedija službenice PTT* (*Love Affair; or the Case of the Missing Switchboard Operator*, 1967), *Nevinost bez zaštite* (*Innocence Unprotected*, 1968), *W.R.—Misterije organizma* (*W.R.—Mysteries of the Organism*, 1971), *Sweet Movie* (1974), *Montenegro eller Paerlor och Svin* (*Montenegro*, 1981), *The Coca-Cola Kid* (1985), *Manifesto* (1988), *Gorila se kupa u podne* (*Gorilla Bathes at Noon*, Germany, 1993), *Rupa u dusi* (*A Hole in the Soul*, 1994)

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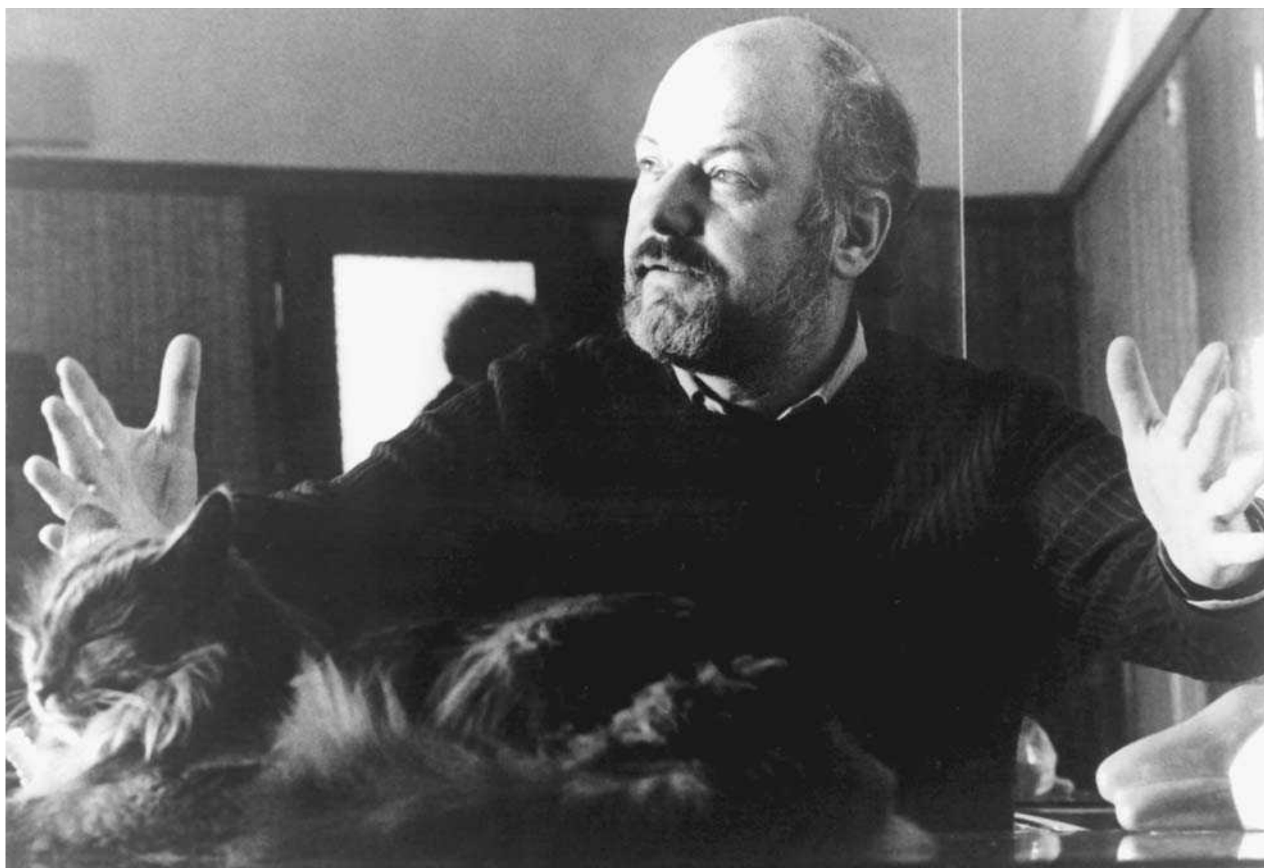

Dušan Makavejev during production of* Montenegro *(1981). EVERETT COLLECTION. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

the emergence of independent countries were followed by the development of separate film industries, each with its own systems of film financing and distribution. Each country also became responsible for its film education and national film festivals and for the creation of film culture reflecting its national traditions.

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

Bosnian feature film production began after World War II, and Sarajevo became a vital center of its film culture. Toma Janić (1922–1984) and Hajrudin Krvavac (1926–1992) were the most prolific directors throughout the 1950s and 1960s. In the late 1960s, former documentary filmmakers took the lead by contributing features in the *novi film* vein. Bata Čengić's (b. 1933) highly provocative, sarcastic look at Yugoslav society brought him to prominence but also earned official disapproval for his *Uloga moje porodice u svetskoj revoluciji* (*The Role of My Family in the World Revolution*, 1971) and *Slike iz života udarnika* (*Scenes from the Life of a Shockworker*, 1972). Boro Drašković (b. 1935) impressed critics with his debut, *Horoskop* (*Horoscope*, 1969), a small-town drama. Undoubtedly, the most acclaimed among Bosnian directors has been Emir Kusturica, who, ironically, distanced himself from Bosnia by maintaining a Yugoslav identity. Kusturica emerged during the 1980s in his native Sarajevo with coming-of-age films *Sjećas li se, Dolly Bell?* (*Do You Remember Dolly Bell?*, 1981) and the Cannes winner, *When Father Was Away on Business* (1985), as well as the critically acclaimed *Dom za vešanje* (*Time of the Gypsies*, 1989). In his early projects Kusturica collaborated closely with the Sarajevan poet and screenwriter Abdullah Sidran (b. 1944), who later wrote *Savršeni krug* (*The Perfect Circle*, 1996). Directed by Ademir Kenović, it was the first feature film produced in independent Bosnia. The Sarajevo Group of Authors (SaGA), formed during the siege of Sarajevo, chronicled the day-to-day life of the city and became the leading voice of Bosnian film when the conflict was over.

CROATIA

Although best-known internationally for its animation and documentaries, Croatia was also an important center of feature film production. Branko Marijanović (b. 1923)

and Fedor Hanzeković (1913–1997) were among the directors of the first Croatian films after World War II, most often war films or historical adaptations of literary classics. Beginning in the 1950s, Croatian film production came mostly from Jadran Film Studio in Zagreb. Branko Bauer (1921–2002), best known for his *Ne okreci se sine* (*My Son Don't Turn Round*, 1956), and Krsto Papić (b. 1933), the director of *Lisice* (*Handcuffs*, 1970), were the most prolific directors at the time. One of the best-known Croatian animators, Vatroslav Mimica (b. 1923), also became a successful director of live-action films. Veljko Bulajić (b. 1928), who was one of the favorite directors of the Communist regime, directed many films in Croatia, including the historical epic *Sarajevski Atentat* (*The Day That Shook the World*, 1975). History and ethics were the main preoccupations of the two Croatian members of the Yugoslav Prague Group, Rajko Grlić (b. 1947) and Lordan Zafranović (b. 1944), who received international recognition for visually striking dramas. However, after the war they continued their careers abroad. Branko Schmidt, Davor Zmegac, and Jakov Sedlar belong to the youngest generation of Croatian filmmakers, as does Vinko Brešan (b. 1964), whose satirical look at the ethnic conflict in *Kako je počeo rat na mom otoku* (*How the War Started on My Island*, 1996) and *Maršal* (*Marshal Tito's Spirit*, 1999) brought him immediate domestic and international recognition.

MACEDONIA

Macedonian film production since World War II has been centered around Vardar Films in Skopje. Although most of its output has consisted of documentaries and shorts, the studio has managed to release some forty feature films since 1947. *Frosina* (Vojislav Nanović, 1952) is considered to be the first Macedonian postwar feature. Many Macedonian films dealt with the nation's complex history. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, Žika Mitrović (1921–2005) and Trajče Popov (b. 1923) made a number of films based on historical events. Local legends and rich folk traditions were also often used as sources of original stories. Ljubisa Georgijevski's (b. 1937) *Cenata na gradot* (*Price of the Town*, 1970) and *Planinata na gnevot* (*The Mountain of Wrath*, 1968) are good examples of this tendency. Other Macedonian directors of note prior to independence were Dimitrije Osmanli (1927–2006) and Kiril Cenevski (b. 1943). The most active during the 1980s and 1990s was Stole Popov (b. 1950), who came to prominence with documentaries about the Roma and several critically acclaimed features such as *Srećna nova, '49* (Happy New Year, 1949, 1986) and, more recently, *Gypsy Magic* (1997). Antonio Mitrikeski's debut, *Preku ezeroto* (*Across the Lake*, 1997), an interethnic love story, deserves a mention among a handful of films produced in the last decade. Milcho Manchevski (b. 1960) is the best known Macedonian director in the West, whose drama on ethnic rivalries, *Pred dozhdot* (*Before the Rain*, 1994), received worldwide distribution after winning the Venice Film Festival.

SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO

The largest and most politically influential republic of the former Yugoslavia, Serbia has had a well-developed film culture centered in Belgrade, including several production companies as well as national educational, archival, and publishing institutions. While films by Dušan Makavejev and Aleksandar Petrović are well-regarded in the West, Serbia has been home to many auteurs. Surrealist-inspired Puriša Đorlević was a very prolific director, with some fifty features to his credit, and a major contributor to *novi film*, a tendency in filmmaking with its center in Belgrade. The directors representing the so-called Black Wave, Živojin Pavlović and Želimir Žilnik, were based there, as well as several members of the Prague Group who established themselves in the 1980s: Goran Marković, Srdjan Karanović, and Goran Paskaljević. Other directors of this generation particularly active during the 1980s were Miloš Radivojević, Jovan Aćin (*Bal na vodi* [*Hey, Babu Riba*, 1986]), Slobodan Šijan, Branko Baletić and Boro Drašković (*Vukovar—jedna priča* [*Vukovar—poste restante*, 1994]).

Film production as well as film culture in Serbia begun to flourish in the 1990s despite enduring periods of war and considerable destruction to its infrastructure. Many established directors returned to Belgrade to complete their projects, and a new generation of filmmakers began to emerge. They initially focused on documenting the interethnic conflict and the war but soon turned to fictional works concerned with the trauma of the Yugoslav breakup and the social and economic decline of Serbia. Srdjan Dragojević belongs to the youngest generation of Serbian directors who attracted critical attention. His *Lepa sela lepo gore* (*Pretty Village, Pretty Flame*, 1996) is a witty antiwar film. Other directors of note who successfully launched their careers during this period include Oleg Novković, Gorčin Stojanović, and Mirjana Vukomanović with her *Tri letnja dana* (*Three Summer Days*, 1997). In Montenegro, Levćen Film was responsible for most of the film production. Its first film, *Zle pare* (*Cursed Money*, 1956), was directed by Velimir-Velja Stojanović. Zdravko Velimirović directed *Dan četrnaesti* (*The Fourteenth Day*, 1960) and *Derviš i smrt* (*The Dervish and the Death*, 1974). Other noted Montenegrin directors are Boško Bosković, Milo Djukanović, and Živko Nikolić.

SLOVENIA

Despite its relatively small size, and with a population of less than two million, Slovenia developed a distinctive film culture within Yugoslavia and after gaining independence. Building on its strong cinematic tradition going back to the turn of the twentieth century, post-World War II Slovene cinema brought international recognition for Yugoslavia. In the 1940s and 1950s France Štiglic (1919–1993) won numerous awards at film festivals and Jože Gale (1913–2004) was recognized for his feature-length children's films. The "new wave" tendencies were best represented by Boštjan Hladnik (b. 1929) and Matjaž Klopčič (b. 1934), whose films rejuvenated Slovene cinema with new themes and interesting visual styles. Karpo Aćimović-Godina (b. 1943) is often considered the most original Slovenian director, with a number of masterpieces that include the avant-garde *Splav meduze* (*The Medusa Raft*, 1980). Throughout the Yugoslav period, Slovenian cinema maintained stability, producing from four to five feature films per year. Since gaining independence, Slovenian film production has centered around the Slovenian Film Fund. At least three films made in the 1990s deserve mentioning: *Felix* (Božo Šprajc, 1996), *Outsider* (Andrej Košak, 1997), and *Ekspres, Ekspres* (*Gone with the Train*, Igor Šterk, 1996). *Nikogaršnja zemlja* (*No Man's Land*, 2001), a Slovenian co-production dealing with the Bosnian war and directed by Bosnian director Danis Tanović, was awarded the 2002 Academy Award® for best foreign film.

SEE ALSO *Animation; National Cinema*

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Glossary

This glossary contains terms that appear in the *Schirmer Encyclopedia of Film* but are not necessarily defined on every occasion, as well as basic terms required for an informed discussion of cinema.

Above-the-line. Costs involved in the making of a film during the pre-production stage. These costs include the purchase of the property (literary source novel or play or original screenplay) as well as salaries for the director, producers, actors, and screenwriters, among others. See also **Below-the-line**.

Actualité, actuality. Phrase used by the Lumière Brothers to describe their first short films in the second half of the 1890s, comprising glimpses of daily life and famous events that mark the beginning of film history.

Aerial shot. A shot taken from an airplane or helicopter. Typically such shots function as sweeping establishing shots or detached perspective.

Anamorphic lens. A lens on a camera that compresses the width of an image to fit into the film's frame, and a lens on the projector that restores the image to its original width and normal appearance when projected onto the screen. The various widescreen systems such as CinemaScope, Warnerscope, and Panascope were all attained through the anamorphic system. See also **Aspect ratio, Widescreen.**

Anime. Japanese animation. Broad term referring to animation from Japan. Anime has distinctive graphic features that are different from other animation traditions, and often focus on the heroic, science fiction-tinged exploits of young people. Anime entered the mainstream of Japanese popular culture and achieved international popularity in the 1980s.

Aspect ratio. The ratio of the width to the height of the image, whether on screen or on the film strip. The standard aspect ratio is 1.33:1, which is referred to as the Academy ratio because it was officially adopted by the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, although it has become the global norm. Anamorphic widescreen systems have used aspects ratios ranging from 2:1 to 2.7:1. 70mm films are projected with an aspect ratio of 2:2.1. See also **Anamorphic lens, Widescreen.**

Asynchronous sound. Sound that either anticipates or follows the action seen on the screen rather than being synchronous with it, or sound different from the action seen on the screen but related to it in another way, possibly thematic or metaphoric.

Available light. Light for a scene that exists without the addition of any artificially generated light: sunlight in exterior locations, or normal household or office lighting for interiors.

Back light. A light placed behind a subject, usually above, and in line with the camera. Backlighting provides a dramatic visual effect by giving a sharp outline or aura around the subject.

Back projection. See **Rear projection.**

Barney, sound barney. See **Blimp.**

Below-the-line. The expenses in a film's budget that accrue after shooting has begun and including post-production. These expenses include salaries for the various members of the crew, editing, lab work, and location costs such as equipment rental and catering.

Big close-up (BCU). See **Extreme close-up (ECU).**

Binary opposition. Term initially used in structuralist criticism to describe two conflicting aspects of a culture as expressed in cultural myths and texts. The concept is often used in analyses of genre films, which are frequently regarded as the contemporary version of cultural myth.

Bird's-eye shot, bird's eye view. See **Overhead shot.**

Blaxploitation. Term coined by the American trade paper *Variety* to refer to a cycle of feature films made from the late 1960s through the mid-1970s that were targeted specifically for black audiences. Blaxploitation movies tended to be action films with stereotyped characters and sensationalist plots featuring stories of crime and violence in the inner city. Although some blaxploitation films were made by black filmmakers, many had white producers and directors and imposed stereotypes on black representations.

Blimp. A soundproof camera housing or cover that muffles the noise of the camera's motor so it is not picked up by a microphone on the set. In the early sound period blimps were used because microphones were omnidirectional and could pick up the sound of the camera operating; this resulted in making cameras relatively immobile compared to the later silent period. Also called **barney** or **sound barney.**

Blind bidding. A practice employed by distributors to force an exhibitor to rent a film without it having been seen by the exhibitor. See **Block booking**.

Block booking. Distribution practice that forced exhibitors to rent groups of films, sometimes unseen, in order to get particularly desirable titles as part of a package. Block booking was discontinued in the US after the Supreme Court handed down its anti-trust Paramount Decision in 1948.

Blockbuster. A term referring to either a film that is particularly lavish or expensive to produce, or one that becomes extremely successful at the box office. The blockbuster as a concept began to emerge in the 1950s and 60s as a way for the film industry to compete with the more intimate style of television.

Boom. A lightweight pole for attaching a microphone to suspend above the scene and out of frame for sound recording, and which is used to change the microphone's position as the action moves. Also known as **crane**. A sturdier camera boom is used for a camera, mounted to a moving vehicle, that allows the camera operator to shoot from different heights and angles.

Boom shot. A shot made using a boom or crane. Also known as **crane shot**.

Box office. The actual financial returns generated by a given film, or more generally, the degree of financial success achieved by a film. Box office refers to money generated through ticket sales at cinemas as well as other ancillary markets such as DVD and video sales and rentals and television rentals.

Canted angle, canting. See **Dutch angle**.

Cel. A process of animation in which images are painted on thin sheets of cellulose acetate or other clear plastic. A series of such cels, each with slight differences in the image, is superimposed on a painted background and photographed one at a time to achieve the effect of motion. This technique is most commonly used in animated cartoons.

Cinéma vérité. A style of observational documentary that uses available lighting, fast film stock, and a minimum of unobtrusive equipment, especially the hand-held camera and portable sound recording equipment, to record profilmic events as they unfold. But rather than the fly-on-the-wall approach of unobtrusive observation, as in American direct cinema, vérité filmmakers both provoke and participate with the subjects they film.

Cinematic. Term to describe texts that have qualities associated with film or are unique to cinema as a medium. Some films are more cinematic than others because of their noteworthy use of editing or camera work, and the term can also apply to works in other media, such as novels, that have stylistic similarities to film.

Classic cinema, classic narrative cinema. The dominant style of mainstream feature filmmaking. The classic style employs continuity editing to advance the story and also to encourage identification with characters. Because the style is characteristic of Hollywood movies, and because Hollywood dominates the world's film markets, it is sometimes called classic Hollywood cinema.

Click track. A sound track on which a series of clicks have been recorded, used to get the exact tempo for the post-recording of music to accompany a film. The click track is usually listened to with earphones by the musical conductor.

Close-up (CU). An image in which an object or one part of the human body, usually the face or hands, fills most of the frame. Close-ups are often used to isolate details from the surrounding environment for emphasis and to direct the viewer's attention to a particular detail or an actor's expression.

Closure. In the context of a film's narrative, the extent to which a story's ending reveals the consequences of the major action and resolves its various dramatic conflicts. A film with closure leaves viewers with no unanswered questions about the fate of the major characters or the consequences of their actions. Closure, usually in the form of an upbeat or happy ending, is considered a convention of Hollywood or mainstream cinema.

Continuity, continuity editing. Film editing that maintains a sense of uninterrupted and continuous narrative

action within each scene, maintaining the illusion of reality for the spectator. Because it seeks to be seamless, continuity editing is often referred to as **invisible editing**.

Convention. In any art form, a frequently used technique or content that audiences accept as standard or typical in that tradition or genre. Conventions are an essential part of any genre, from the gunfighter who dresses in black in the classic western to the femme fatale of film noir, from the excessive stylistics of melodrama to the dark shadows and tight framing of the horror film.

Cookie. A sheet of some opaque material that either has holes or patterns cut out so that light will shine through forming patterns of shadows when held in front of it.

Counter-cinema. A term that refers to films that somehow challenge or subvert the codes, conventions and/or ideology of mainstream cinema. Films considered to be works of counter-cinema often engage in distanciation and deconstruction. In the 1970s feminist theory took a particular interest in the idea of counter-cinema, arguing that mainstream film is a patriarchally constructed way of seeing and that a feminist counter-cinema thus has the potential to dismantle a masculine gaze.

Cover shot. See **Establishing shot.**

Crab dolly. See **Dolly.**

Crane. A mechanical arm-like trolley used to move a camera through space above the ground or to position it at a place in the air. A shot taken from a crane allows the camera to vary distance, angle, and height during the shot. Also known as **boom**.

Crane shot. A shot made using a crane or boom. Also known as **boom shot**.

Crawl, crawling title. A type of film title, credits or written text, as at the beginning of *Star Wars* (George Lucas, 1977) that looks as if it were moving slowly across the screen either vertically or horizontally. Also called **creeper title**.

Creeper title. See **Crawl, crawling title.**

Crosscutting. In editing, the alternation of shots from at least two different scenes, usually implying that the multiple events are occurring in different spaces but transpiring simultaneously. As well as temporal simultaneity, crosscutting can also imply thematic comparison or contrast. Also called **intercutting** or **parallel editing.**

Cut. The most common type of film editing, which is a direct change from one image to another. As a verb, the word means to eliminate footage or scenes in the process of editing, or the director's signal for stopping the camera during a take.

Cutaway. A shot that briefly interrupts the main narrative or temporal flow of events to show something else. They are used to reveal what characters are thinking or to show what they see, as in a reaction shot, to provide a transition between sequences, to comment on action, or to avoid showing something that may be considered objectionable, such as sex or violence. Cutaways are commonly used in observational documentary to hide jump cuts that eliminate parts of profilmic events.

Cycle. A brief but relatively intense period of production within a particular genre in which the individual films share a particular approach, as in the spectacular disaster films of the 1970s.

Dailies. See **Rushes**.

Deep focus. A style of cinematography that has great depth of field, keeping the foreground, middle ground, and background planes in focus simultaneously. In standard motion picture photography, shallow focus emphasizes one plane of depth in the shot, which is generally the plane where the action occurs. Deep focus is often associated with realism as it preserves spatial relations among actors and objects and requires less manipulation of time and space through editing.

Depth of field. The area or plane that is in focus in any given shot. Lenses of different lengths have different depths of field; greater depth of field is obtainable with wide-angle lenses.

Detail shot. See **Big close-up (BCU), extreme close-up (ECU).**

Dialectical montage. Soviet filmmaker Sergei Eisenstein's term for his approach to thematic montage, which was based on Karl Marx's theory of history and class struggle. Eisenstein argues that montage arises from the collision of independent shots rather than their continuity, creating new ideas not contained in any of the individual shots alone. Dialectical montage tends to interrupt the seamless flow of narrative continuity. Also called **intellectual montage**.

Diegesis, diegetic. Term referring to the fictional world created by a narrative in any text, including film. Useful for distinguishing between textual elements that belong to that fictional world, and those non-diegetic elements that exist outside it, such as a musical score.

Direct cinema. Type of observational documentary practice developed in the United States during the 1960s in which events are recorded as they happen, without rehearsal or reconstruction. Unlike cinéma vérité, direct cinema sought to be as unobtrusive as possible, employing long takes and minimal editing. Direct cinema films also eschew a Voice-of-God narration, a technique associated with the more explicit rhetorical manipulation of the earlier Griersonian style of documentary.

Dissolve. A transitional device in which one shot appears to fade out as the next shot fades in over the first, eventually replacing it altogether. Dissolves are commonly used to suggest change of setting or a longer lapse of time than typically implied by a straight cut. For this reason they are often used to begin and end flashbacks. Also called **lap dissolve**.

Dolly. A platform on wheels most often used to move the camera and camera operator around while filming to allow for smooth motion of the camera. In a tracking shot, the dolly is mounted on rails to allow for smooth changes in the distance of the camera to the subject within the same shot. As a verb, the word describes the action of moving the camera on such a platform while filming. Also called **crab dolly**. See also **Tracking shot**.

Dolly shot. A shot made using a dolly. There are both forward dolly shots and reverse dolly shots. See also **Tracking shot**.

Dominant cinema. See **Mainstream film**.

Double bill, double feature. A screening of two feature films for a single admission price. The double feature began during the Great Depression to maintain audiences, and by the 1940s had become standard practice. The rise of the double feature spurred the development of B movies, which were made quickly and had relatively short running times, to fill out the bill with more desirable A features.

Dutch angle. A tilted shot, making the vertical and horizontal lines within the image appear at an angle in relation to the film frame. Also called **canting** or **canted angle**.

Establishing shot. A shot, usually at the beginning of a scene, that situates where and sometimes when the action that is to follow takes place before it is broken up through editing. Establishing shots make clear the spatial relations among characters and the space they inhabit. Establishing shots are usually long shots (LS) or extreme long shots (ELS), although not necessarily so. Also known as **cover shot**.

Ethnographic film. Anthropological documentary that seeks to present and describe other cultures with a minimum of interpretation. The use of cinema for purposes of explicit cultural investigation was pioneered by anthropologists Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson in New Guinea and Jean Rouch in Africa.

Extreme close-up (ECU). More selective framing than a close-up, showing only part of an object filling the frame. In terms of the human figure, a big close-up would isolate part of the face such as an eye, the nose or the mouth. Also called **big close-up (BCU)**.

Extreme long shot (ELS). A panoramic exterior view from a distance even greater than that of the long shot or establishing shot. Unlike these shots, the great distance of the extreme long shot often dwarfs human figures rather than situates them for the viewer.

Eye-level shot. A shot in which the camera is positioned 5-6 feet above ground level, representing the point of view of an observer of average height.

Eyeline match, eyeline cut. A standard technique of continuity editing in which one shot appears motivated by a preceding shot of someone looking out of frame, as if to imply that the second shot is what the character is looking at. Also known as **match cut**. See also **Point-of-view shot**.

Fade, fade-in, fade-out. The gradual disclosure or obscuring of an image as the screen becomes progressively illuminated (fade-in) or darkened (fade-out). Fade-ins are usually preceded by a moment of darkness with no discernible image, fade-outs followed by darkness. They are most often used to indicate the passage of time or change of location within a narrative, as in the transition between scenes. Fades are also used in relation to sound, as volume is audibly raised (fade-in) or lowered (fade-out).

Fast film. The faster the film stock, the more sensitive it is to light. Fast film is thus especially useful for shooting in conditions of low light or natural light. Faster film tends to be grainer than slower speed film.

Fast motion. Action filmed at a rate less than normal, through undercranking of the camera, so that when projected at normal speed it seems accelerated. Fast motion is often used for comic effect or to enhance the kinetics of action sequences.

Feature film. In the silent era a term referring to the featured attraction in a program of films, usually for its relative length. It has since come to mean any film generally longer than half an hour. More commonly today, any mainstream film an hour or longer that is the main or the only film on the program at a commercial venue.

Fill light. A soft light, often positioned near the camera on the side opposite the key light, so named because it fills in areas left unlit and softens shadows produced by the key light, reducing contrast and providing more even lighting. Also known as filler light, fill-in light, filler, fill. See also **Key light**.

Film speed. A term for measuring the light sensitivity of the emulsion of film stock. Faster film is more sensitive to light and has higher exposure index numbers; slower film is less sensitive and has lower exposure index ratings. See also **Fast film.**

Film stock, unexposed film. Film stocks are differentiated according to film speed, gauge, and black-and-white as opposed to color. See also **Film speed, Gauge**.

Filter. Whether attached to the camera lens or placed in front of it, filters alter the light traveling through the

lens and consequently exposed on the film stock. There are many kinds of filters, including diffusion filters for soft focus, color filters, and day-for-night filters that simulate nighttime lighting while shooting in daylight.

Final cut. The final, finished version of a film. Some directors have the right to approve or oversee the final cut of a film written into their contract.

First-person camera. See **Subjective camera**.

Flashback. The representation of some action or scene transpiring in the plot previous to the "present" time of a film's narrative or sequence within a film that frames the flashback. Flashbacks are used to show the cause of events and to provide necessary exposition. A flashback can be either an instance of a subjective camera, as when a character remembers something from the past, or an example of omniscient narration.

Flashforward. The representation of some action or scene transpiring at some point in the future of the "present" time of a film's narrative or sequence within that film which frames the flashforward. Much less common than the flashback, the flashforward tends to call attention to the process of narrative construction since it is often not understandable until the end of the film when narrative time catches up to it.

Focal length. Lenses are differentiated by their focal length, which is measured in millimeters. Focal length is the distance from the optical center of a lens to the point at which an object comes into focus. Longer focal lengths produce a narrower angle of view, as with a telephoto lens, while shorter focal lengths offer a wider angle of view, as with wide angle lenses.

Focus. The point from the lens to where objects come clearly into view; the degree of sharpness in an image.

Foley work, Foley art. Term for the production of special audio effects for a film, named after Jack Foley, a pioneer in the field. Sound effects include any sounds other than dialogue, voice-over narration, and music. Done by Foley artists, such effects are added in post-production.

Formalism. An expressionist style of filmmaking or any art form in which aesthetic considerations take precedence over content. Formalist films are often lyrical, self-conscious, deliberate calling attention to the images for their own sake.

Format. Term referring to the size of a film determined in millimeters (a film's gauge) or its aspect ratio. See **Aspect ratio, Gauge**.

Frame. The individual images on motion picture films. Also, the border of the image in terms of its formal composition or mise-en-scène, or the entire image or border of the image projected on the screen. As a verb, to adjust the position of the camera so as to keep centered or within the shot moving subjects.

Freeze frame. A frame of film that is repeated numerous times, making it appear as if the movement in the shot has stopped although the film is still in the process of projection. Freeze frames are often used at the end of a film to suggest a lack of closure or as if to pause for rhetorical emphasis.

Full shot (FS). See **Long shot (LS)**.

Gauge. The width of a film strip, measured in millimeters. Popular gauges have included 8mm, super-8mm, and 16mm. Most commercial feature films are screened in 35mm format, although some special productions are produced in 70mm.

Gaze. In film theory, a term referring to the ideological perspective informing the act of film viewing. The gaze of the camera is seen as expressing the literal gaze of a character or, more abstractly, an ideological perspective informing a specific film or even cinema as a cultural institution. In this larger sense, the camera's gaze embodies values about gender, sexuality, race, class, and other aspects of ideology.

Hand-held, hand-held camera. The use of the camera by the camera operator without the support of a tripod, dolly, or crane for stability during shooting. The hand-held camera provides greater mobility than the predetermined unilateral direction offered by dollying, craning, or tracking. However, the images produced in this manner, if not stabilized by a steadicam, are inevitably shaky. Because the hand-held camera is commonly used in cinéma vérité and direct cinema filmmaking in order to follow events as they unfold, the hand-held approach is generally associated with documentary authenticity, even when used in fiction films.

High angle shot. A shot taken from above the subject, so that the camera is tilted down on its horizontal axis. High angle shots tend to reduce the height and presence of characters, and for this reason are often used to suggest vulnerability or powerlessness.

High-key lighting. Style of lighting that provides bright, even illumination, with few shadows and strong contrasts. Key lights near the camera provide the main source of light, accompanied by fill lights to soften shadows. See also **Key light, Fill light**.

Iconography. Familiar symbols in works of art that have cultural meaning beyond the context of the individual movie, painting, or performance in which they appear. The term was adapted to film studies from the work of art historian Irwin Panofsky to refer to particular objects, stars, archetypal characters, specific actors, and even the more general look of a particular genre, involving lighting,

sets, props, and so on. Iconography provides genres with a visual shorthand for conveying information and meaning succinctly.

Identification. That aspect of the experience of a narrative film whereby the spectator becomes involved with a character or characters. In the medium of film, there are numerous techniques such as the subjective camera and voice-over narration for heightening the viewer's sense of being in the shoes of a character.

Image. The pictorial reproduction of a photographed shot on the film strip. In an aesthetic sense, an individual frame from a film, considering all its constituent elements such as the mise-en-scène, camera angle, and lighting.

Insert title. See **Intertitle**.

Intellectual montage. See **Dialectical montage**.

Intercut, intercutting. See **Crosscutting, Parallel editing**.

Intertitle. Printed words inserted somewhere within a film rather than in the opening or closing credits. Intertitles were more common in silent film to provide narrative information about a story or scene, and were largely replaced in sound film by the ability of dialogue to convey such information, although on occasion they are used in contemporary films.

Invisible editing. See **Continuity, continuity editing**.

Iris, iris-in, iris-out. A shot that shows the gradual appearance of an image through an expanding circular mask (iris-in) or the gradual disappearance of the image through a contracting mask (iris-out) either placed in front of the lens or made with an adjustable diaphragm in the lens barrel. Irises are usually used as a transitional device to begin or end a scene, although it also may focus attention on a particular detail according to its placement in the frame or through a pause in its contracting or expanding mask. More common in the silent era, irises tend to be used today to evoke nostalgia for the period when it was in vogue.

Jump cut. A break or jump in the continuity of a shot or between two shots caused by removing a section of a shot and then splicing together what remains of it. The term also refers to the cutting from one shot to another in such a way as to abruptly change the spatial length between shots. Because of their sense of discontinuity, jump cuts are commonly used to disorient the viewer by creating a sudden, illogical, or mismatched transition.

Kammerspielfilm. Literally "chamber talk," a type of German expressionist film influenced by the intimate theatre style of Max Reinhardt, which concentrated on psychological drama. Kammerspielefilms sought to eliminate intertitles as much as possible in an effort to convey emotion and character through close-ups and an intimate visual style.

Key light. The main source of illumination in the lighting of a scene. The key light is usually placed in front of, to the side, and slightly above the camera.

Lap dissolve. See **Dissolve**.

Long shot (LS). A shot in which the camera is at a great distance from the object(s) being photographed, or a shot in which the subject is seen in its entirety or in small scale, including some surroundings. The long shot may also be conceived in terms of a view that would roughly correspond to an audience's view of the stage within the proscenium arch in live theatre. In the context of the human figure, a long shot frames a standing person. Also called **full shot (FS)**.

Long take. A shot of long duration or one that is relatively so in context. The long take invites a contemplative view, preserves time and, along with camera movement, space as well. For this reason long takes are associated with a realist aesthetic.

Loop, looping. A loop is a strip of film or tape joined at both ends, enabling it to be repeated continuously. This repetition allows for dubbing of dialogue and sound effects in postproduction. Called looping, the process is also known as **postdubbing** and **postsyncing**.

Low angle. A shot in which the camera is positioned below the object(s) being photographed or below eye level. Because this angle makes the action seem to come toward the camera more quickly and actors appear to loom above the viewers, low angle shots tend to convey connotations of power, strength, and control.

Low-key lighting. A style of lighting that avoids the even illumination of the key light, appearing more dimly lit or even under lit. Low-key lighting is often used in thrillers and horror films and is especially associated with film noir.

Mainstream film. A commercially-oriented movie, typically boasting big stars, high production values, and other features designed to attract audiences at the box office including high concept marketing and wide distribution. Mainstream films are usually constructed according to the principles of classic narrative film and are commonly associated with Hollywood.

Mask, masking. An opaque shield placed in front of the projector lens that blocks out part of the image to change the aspect ratio of the screen or one placed over the camera lens to change the shape of the image. In silent cinema, masks were frequently used to enhance pictorial composition and focus viewer attention but now are generally reserved for point of view shots of characters looking through keyholes or binoculars.

Master shot. A shot, usually a long shot (LS), that covers all the action taking place in a scene. In continuity editing, the master shot is edited together with other shots such as close-ups (CU), medium shots (MS), and point-of-view shots to create a seamless flow of action.

Match cut. See **Eyeline match, eyeline cut**.

Matte shot. A particular visual effect achieved by masking part of the frame when the shot is taken so that something else can be added later in the unexposed area. The combination of images into one shot is done through an optical printer or with a computer by a matte artist.

Medium close-up (MCU). A shot somewhere between a close-up and a medium shot, usually showing a character from the chest to the head.

Medium long shot (MLS). A shot somewhere between a medium shot and a long shot, usually showing one or more characters from approximately the knees to the head and including some background space.

Medium shot (MS). Somewhere between a close-up and a long shot, a shot in which the camera is relatively near to the subject or the scale of the object shown is of moderate size. In the context of the human figure, the body is usually shown from the knees or waist up and fills most of the screen. Sometimes the term is used to refer to a shot in which subject and surroundings are given equal importance visually. Also called **midshot**.

Midshot. See **Medium shot** (MS).

Mix, mixing. The process of combining the various elements involved in a film's final soundtrack, including dialogue, music and foley work. As a noun, the soundtrack that is the end product of the mixing process.

Montage. From the French word *monter*, meaning "to assemble," the term is a synonym for editing, particularly European cinema where the emphasis on the designed building of a film contrasts with the trimming for narrative efficiency suggested by the American term "cutting." Secondly, in Hollywood cinema it refers specifically to a concentrated sequence using short shots or such techniques as superimpositions, cuts, jump cuts, wipes, and dissolves in order to create a kaleidoscopic effect to summarize a particular experience or transition in time, space, or situation.

Myth. Traditionally the term refers to a society's shared stories, normally involving Gods and heroes, that explain the nature of the universe and the relation of the individual to it, and that account for a society's rituals, institutions, and values. In ancient civilizations myths were transmitted orally and later in writing. However, in the 20th century myths have been increasingly disseminated through the mass media. In the context of film, genres are often referred to as cultural myths because of their reliance on formulae, conventions, and stereotypes.

Newsreel. A form of documentary that combines news footage, interviews, and dramatic reconstructions. Newsreels typically appeared in regular (weekly or biweekly) installments of approximately ten minutes in theaters preceding feature films. Featuring rapid editing, a Voice-of-God narration, and music, newsreels were comprised of a string of discrete stories that tended to focus on the spectacular, often with a blatant editorial bias.

Observational cinema. Term used to describe kinds of documentary film making in which the camera follows profilmic events as they are happening and seeks to reveal truths about them. Ethnographic film, direct cinema, and cinéma vérité are all forms of observational cinema.

One-reeler. A short film—named in reference to the length of a standard reel of 35mm film—that was approximately 1,000 ft., or about 15 min. for silent film and 10 min. for sound film. Before the rise of the feature film, shorts had grown from one-reelers to two-reelers (20 min.).

Optical effects, opticals. Created with an optical printer, a special effect that is produced when images are duplicated and then something new is added. Optical effects are used for such transitional devices as wipes, dissolves, and fades, as well as to achieve such effects as combining live action and animation. Today many of these effects are done digitally.

Optical printer. A device for reprinting images from film onto unexposed stock. Essentially a projector and camera facing each other with a light source behind the film in the projector casting the image onto a lens and in turn onto the raw stock in the camera. Many effects achieved with the optical printer are now done digitally.

Other. Any person or group different from the social norm. The other can be an individual or a group defined by such factors as race, ethnicity, sexual orientation and is typically depicted as unknowable, strange, and threatening.

Out-take, outtake. A shot that is deleted from the final cut of a film during editing.

Overhead shot. A shot taken from directly above the action. This camera position is often used to imply a fate or entrapment, although it is also associated with the spectacular musical sequences choreographed by Busby Berkeley. Also called **bird's-eye shot**.

Over-the-shoulder shot (OSS). A shot taken from over the shoulder of a character, with some part of the back of the head and shoulder visible at the side of the frame for

orientation. The camera focuses on some point beyond the character, whether another character or object. Commonly used in dialogue scenes, switching back and forth between characters from complementary angles.

Pan. The movement of the camera on its vertical axis or horizontal plane (from left to right or vice-versa) with the body turning to the right or left on a stationary tripod. A swish pan is when the camera pans so rapidly that the action becomes blurred.

Pan and scan. The process of formatting widescreen images for television broadcast or video release by cropping or panning across the screen. Panning and scanning is done because the television screen has a smaller aspect ratio (1.33:1) than the cinema screen. As a consequence, some parts of the images are eliminated and cuts and/or camera movements added—all distortions of the original text. For films shot in widescreen, a more acceptable alternative is letterboxing.

Pan shot. A shot made with a panning movement of the camera.

Parallel editing. See **Crosscutting**.

Pastiche. Unlike a parody or satire, a pastiche is a work that borrows conventions and specific textual references from other works. Pastiched works are considered representative of postmodernism because as texts they are concerned with surface recombination at the expense of generating a meaningful theme themselves.

Peplum film. Term to describe epic films set in ancient Roman or Biblical times produced in Italy. The word comes from the Greek "peplos," which was a loose-fitting overskirt or outer tunic, also worn by Romans.

Plan sequence. See **Sequence shot.**

Poetic realism. A term describing the style of a group of French films of the 1930s that combined elements of realism and lyrical expressionism. These films' stories often focused on common people and everyday life but were rendered with an atmospheric mise-en-scène.

Point-of-view shot. A subjective shot that shows a scene from the physical perspective of a character.

Postdubbing, postsyncing. See **Loop, looping.**

Process shot. General term for any matte shot or shot employing rear projection.

Profilmic, profilmic event. Theoretical term referring to the physical reality that is in front of the camera and which is photographed by it. Direct cinema and Italian neorealist films seek to preserve the spatial and temporal integrity of profilmic events as much as possible.

Pull focus. See **Rack focus**.

Race film. American films from the late silent era through the 1940s made by African American film makers specifically for African American audiences. Many of these films were distributed and exhibited in areas with large black populations, and they often were imitations of mainstream genre movies with poor production values since they were made on low budgets.

Rack focus. A change in the depth of field during a shot from either foreground to background or vice-versa. Shallow focus is used to draw attention to one focal plane, which is then altered. Usually a camera operator will employ rack focus simply to keep a main character or the main element of the shot in focus. Also known as **pull focus** or **shift focus.**

Rear projection. A special effects process achieved by projecting (usually moving) images in a studio on a screen behind actors seen in the foreground to simulate location photography. During the studio era, the technique was often used to create the illusion of characters engaged in motion, such as skiing, driving, or horseback riding. Also referred to as **back projection.**

Reel. The reel on which film of any gauge is wound. Also, the measurement of the length or approximate running time of a film, as in **one-reeler**.

Retake. See **Take**.

Reverse angle, reverse shot. A shot in which the position of the camera is the reverse of what it was in the preceding shot. Such shots are commonly used in dialogue scenes. See also **Over-the-shoulder shot (OSS).**

Road show, roadshow. A form of film exhibition in which certain major films are released to a few select theaters, typically in major cities, with separate (rather than continuous) showtimes, with higher ticket prices, and occasionally reserved seating.

Runaway production. A Hollywood film made outside the US, usually to take advantage of lower production costs.

Rushes. The unedited shots that have been made for a film. During production, footage shot during the day is printed and synchronized for sound, and then projected for the director, actors, and others to examine later. In the studio era this practice was done on a daily basis, hence the rushes were referred to as "dailies." Today the video assist system allows for instantaneous playback.

Scene. An imprecise term referring to a dramatic unit in a narrative film that takes place in continuous space and time. Scenes are typically composed of multiple shots, except in the case of the **sequence shot**. See also **Sequence**.

Screen direction. The direction of movement in the image on the projected film on the screen. Through a variety of editing techniques, continuity editing seeks to establish and maintain a sense of consistent space and movement within it.

Sequence. A shot or series of shots or scenes in a narrative film, not necessarily depicting action in one space and continuous time but constituting a clearly defined segment of the film's overall structure.

Sequence shot. A long take that contains action and/or dialogue that normally would be composed of several shots in a scene or sequence. In film criticism, a sequence shot is sometimes referred to as **plan sequence**.

Set. A space constructed for the purpose of shooting a scene or scenes in a film, as opposed to a location, which is a pre-existent or "found" space. However, this distinction is not absolute, as locations more often than not are manipulated in some way for filming.

Shift focus. See **Rack focus**.

Short, short subject. A film of relatively short length, often defined as less than half an hour. Cartoons, newsreels, and travelogues are examples of short films.

Shot/reverse shot. See **Reverse angle, reverse shot**.

Slow film. See **Fast film**.

Slow motion. Action filmed at a rate faster than the normal 24 frames per section (fps), so that when projected at normal speed it seems slower. Slow motion is often used for lyrical effect, to evoke dreams or memory, or to reveal the details of movement.

Socialist realism. A style of art, including film, that was officially sanctioned by the Soviet government from the early 1930s until after Stalin's death in 1953. Avoiding formal experimentation, Socialist realism sought to idealize ordinary people as heroic within the context of Communist ideology.

Soft focus. Either by error or deliberate, the lack of sharp focus in any plane of depth. Especially in the studio era, soft focus was used to provide a sense of romance or dreaminess and for close-ups of female stars.

Sound barney. See **Blimp**.

Sound effects (SFX). See **Foley work, Foley art**.

Soundtrack, sound track. The combination of all the sounds in a film. In a technical sense, the physical optical track on the strip of celluloid. Also, a commercially-released recording of the music in a film.

Speed. See **Fast film, film speed**.

Split screen. Use of the film frame to contain two or more images at the same time. Filmmakers have used this device to manipulate the aspect ratio of the cinema screen, to provide multiple perspectives simultaneously, and to show temporal simultaneity in a narrative.

Steadicam. A device that keeps the camera steady when shooting with a hand-held camera. The steadicam is strapped to the body of the camera operator, with a spring mechanism that compensates for shaky camera movement, allowing for smooth shots in spaces where dollies are impractical.

Stereotype. A characterization that reduces the complexity of any group or type to a few traits. Stereotypes are not always deliberate, but because they are reductive, they are often negative in representations of gender, race, and class.

Stock shot, stock footage. Shots or footage of everyday activities, natural disasters, exotic scenes, typically filmed originally for documentaries or newsreels, available for purchase or rental for insertion into other films.

Stop-motion photography, stop-action. A special effect achieved by stopping the camera during a shot, adding or removing something in its view, and continuing shooting again. When the footage is projected, objects or actors seem to appear or disappear within the frame. When a lengthy process is filmed in this manner requiring many such stops at regular intervals, the technique is called time-lapse photography; when applied to single-frame photography to create the illusion of animation, the process is called pixillation.

Structural film. Form of experimental or avant-garde film that makes the physical nature of the medium of cinema its primary subject matter.

Studio era. The period of the height of the studio system, approximately from the 1920s to the 1950s.

Subgenre. A smaller but distinct division within a genre: for example, the backstage musical or the vampire film.

Subjective camera, subjective shot. The use of the camera to give the impression that the images represent the field of vision or imagination of one of the characters, or possibly of the director providing editorial comment. In classic narrative cinema the subjective camera is usually clearly marked as such, either through such editing constructions as the eyeline match or voice-over narration, while in art cinema the distinction between subjectivity and the real world is often ambiguous.

Subjective sound. The use of sound to give the impression of what a character is hearing or imagining hearing. In classic narrative cinema subjective sound is often marked by an echo effect.

Superimposition. The simultaneous appearance of two or more images on the screen. The effect can be achieved either by reexposing film in the camera or with an optical printer.

Swish pan. Effect achieved when the camera is pivoted on its vertical axis on the tripod during filming so quickly that the image appears blurred. This transitional device is often used to suggest simultaneity or a rapid passage of time. Also called **zip pan** or **whip pan**.

Take. A single run of film through the camera as it records a shot. Both the process of recording the shot and the resulting images are referred to as a take. Shots that are repeated in production are called **retakes**. See also **Long take**.

Telephoto. See **Focal length**.

Tentpole. Industry term for a film that is such a box-office success that it sustains a studio or company over a series of commercial failures, or a film that has such hopes pinned on it.

Thematic montage. See **Dialectical montage**.

Tilt, tilt shot. A shot in which the camera moves up or down along its vertical axis. Also known as a **vertical pan**.

Tracking shot. Technically, a shot in which the camera moves while mounted on a dolly running on specially laid tracks. More generally, any shot in which the camera moves on wheels, whether on tracks or not. There are forward and reverse tracking shots, as well as lateral tracking shots that move parallel to the action. Shots from an automobile or truck are called **trucking shots**.

Traveling shot. See **Tracking shot**.

Travelogue. A form of documentary, usually a short film, that shows scenes from unfamiliar, distant or "exotic" places. Travelogues are usually produced by tourist boards or governments to promote tourism and often present a bland, predictably upbeat view of the place in question. During the studio era travelogues were sometimes shown along with cartoons and newsreels before the featured double bill.

Tripod. A three-legged supporting stand for a camera. The tripod's legs are adjustable to allow for a change of height or to balance the camera, and a mounting plate permits the camera to pan or tilt. But the tripod also makes the camera immobile; although it can pivot on its axes, it must remain in a fixed position. By 1960, a number of lightweight 16mm cameras were developed that could be used with portable tape recorders, and documentaries began to abandon the tripod in order to follow profilmic events as they occurred.

Trucking shot. See **Tracking shot**.

Varifocal lens. See **Zoom lens.**

Vertical integration. Business term describing the organization of the US movie industry during the studio era. The major studios each sought to establish control of the three different aspects of commercial cinema—production, distribution, and exhibition. This monopolistic practice changed with the anti-trust decisions against the major studios in 1948. By the late 1950s, the major studios had divested themselves of their exhibition arms, but some reacquired them in the conglomerate era of the 1980s and 1990s.

Vertical pan. See **Tilt, tiltshot.**

Voice-of-God narration. The use of a voice-over in a documentary film that explains and interprets information. The term refers to the typical voice-over used in Griersonian-style documentary because it is usually male, disembodied, and omniscient. More recently some filmmakers have rejected the voice-of-God narrator as patriarchal, ethnocentric, and manipulative, opting instead for a personal voice-over.

Voice-over (VO). Non-synchronous commentary from an off-screen source. The voice may be that of a disembodied narrator, in either a narrative film or documentary, or of a character, either in the form of an interior monologue or addressing the spectator directly. The term also refers to a voice on a soundtrack preceding the appearance on the screen of the scene in which the character to whom the voice belongs is speaking the words heard.

Whip pan. See **Swish pan**.

Wide angle. See **Focal length**.

Widescreen. An aspect ratio for a projected film that is wider than the norm, which is the Academy ratio of 1.33:1. Most widescreen formats such as CinemaScope are based on the anamorphic system, which is simpler and less expensive to achieve than systems like Cinerama that require multiple cameras or projectors. See also **Anamorphic lens, Aspect ratio**.

Wipe. A transitional device, usually a line—but can be any geometrical figure—that travels across the screen, seeming to "push off" one image and replace it with another. Popular during the 1930s and 1940s, it is less common in films today, in which directors prefer the greater immediacy implied by the straight cut.

Zip pan. See **Swish pan**.

Zoom lens. A lens capable of shifting from short (wide-angle) to long (telephoto) focal lengths. Also known as **varifocal lens**.

Zoom, zoom shot, zoom-in, zoom-out. A shot made with the aid of a zoom lens, giving the effect of camera movement without the use of a dolly or crane and with the camera itself remaining stationary. The subject of the image increases in size (zoom-in) or decreases in size (zoom-out).

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