

Screening the Museum Aesthetic: Auteurs in Transnational Heritage Film

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Abstract

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This dissertation interrogates the relationship between heritage visual culture and its ability to present an alternative individual and collective past. Expanding on Gavriel D. Rosenfeld's concept of an alternate history, this dissertation suggests that a nation's citizens can appropriate identities from other cultures to attempt to avoid or work through their own national past. It uses the categories of the museum, transnationalism, and authenticity as points of departure. The dissertation is divided into four chapters based on the works of a primary auteur. The first chapter, "Film on Museum, Museum on Film: Reexamining the Heritage 'Museum Aesthetic,'" examines the representation of Andrew Higson's "museum aesthetic" through films set in museums. It focuses primarily on the museum films of Alexander Sokurov, and his desire to portray European sites of memory, often with a measure of historical erasure. The second chapter, "The Alternative *Heimat*: Herzog and Reitz's Representations of the *Indianer*," examines Herzog's and his films' participation in the *Indianerkultur* present in Germany since the nineteenth century. The chapter uses the case study of the media controversy surrounding the production of Herzog's *Fitzcarraldo* (1982)

as a lost moment of reflexivity in Germany's appropriation of indigenous identities through film and print culture over the past two centuries.

The second half of the dissertation then gradually shifts from an emphasis on appropriated visual culture to a focus on auteur authenticity, authorship, and adaptation. "An American in Paris, London, and Barcelona: Woody Allen's Take on European Heritage" examines Allen's latest series of films set in Europe in terms of an outsider identification with the American tourist living abroad. His desire to produce a cosmopolitan pastness in his artistry results in the reinforcement of racialized and gendered stereotypes. The second chapter in this section and final in this dissertation, titled "My Wuthering Heights:" Jane Campion and Immersive Heritage," examines Campion's adaptation of nineteenth century novels, and how they influence the imagery and narrative structures of her films. Moreover, it interrogates how she negotiates her own status as an auteur and the appropriation of canonical heritage texts. Focusing primarily on transatlantic movements (German, British, French, and American) across a variety of media, this dissertation draws on a variety of texts from the nineteenth century novel to the contemporary heritage serial. Its framing of the intersections of continuous pasts and the dynamic exchange of transnational identities emphasizes the importance of heritage studies in a globalized world.

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Introduction:

Screening the Museum Aesthetic: Auteurs in Transnational Heritage Film



Heimat meets the ashes of the past in Lore

In an interview at the Australian Film Festival, director Cate Shortland explained what drew her to a project on the German experience of World War II, her 2012 film *Lore*: “I was interested as an Australian in terms of our history and how it is not dealt with.”¹ Throughout press for the film, Shortland drew comparisons with the brutal European colonization of indigenous peoples in Australia to the horrors of the Holocaust in Europe. Representing a convergence of both auteur cinema and heritage film, her second feature navigates the genres of literary adaptation and historical drama. Like the director’s last feature film, *Somersault* (2004), *Lore* tells the coming-of-age story of a young girl. Taking place in immediate post-World War II Germany, the film makes the controversial move of using the children of Nazis as its protagonists. Past attempts to convey the experience of non-Jewish Germans during World War II have led to accusations of forgetting or diminishing the suffering of Holocaust victims. Furthermore, the mise-en-scène of *Lore* draws on a German/Austrian heritage film

¹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mIqV6DksOgw>

tradition criticized for its erasure of the Nazi past, the *Heimatfilm*. This particular genre often features countryside settings notably absent of any historical trauma. In *Lore*, these traumatic events enter into the idyllic everyday, beginning when the title character sees photographs of the massacres in Belarus taken by her father. Shortland's desire to work through her own nation's history, as well as her family's Jewish-German background, led her to apply her distinct understated filmmaking style to the historical drama. *Lore* illustrates how the heritage film, defined as strongly associated with a specific representation of the nation, can also have dynamic transnational and personal applications. Shortland succeeds in her correlation of the psyche of a young girl to that of a nation facing defeat and disillusionment. Hence, a concern of German historical cinema, namely the depiction of the German perpetrator in World War II, has been taken on through transnational production efforts, based on a strong national genre, using a distinctive auteur style. Adapted from *The Dark Room*, a novel by British author Rachel Seiffert, and funded through British, German, and Australian resources, the film is a German language production featuring an all-German cast. *Lore* demonstrates that heritage and auteur cinema have points of intersection that prove useful in interrogating heritage culture.

This dissertation focuses on transnational trends where directors draw on others' national histories to create their own visual and literary heritage. These "alternative heritages" then permeate everyday life, and, in turn, project themselves back onto visual/literary culture. The term "alternative heritage" is used in a much different sense than previous critics, such as Phil Powrie, as I shall illustrate shortly. Alternative heritages make reference to the pluralistic and imaginative nature of heritage culture. The original idea for this study came from the French heritage film *Le Retour de Martin Guerre* (1981). Arriving at the first wave of European heritage films in the 1980's, the film starred Gérard Depardieu and was a hit with international audiences. The story, based on a historical event, takes place in a sixteenth

century French village where a young man, Martin, returns from the war. Soon, doubts arise as to the true identity of the returned man, and he is taken to regional court. Those marginalized in the village, his wife and other women included, continue to defend him. This Martin, regardless of his contested authenticity, holds much more appeal than the sullen and brutish Martin (the true Martin) who had left. Thus, the family and villagers embrace and incorporate an alternative history/identity (in the form of the imposter Martin) into their everyday lives. This dissertation then expands the microcosm of the French Languedoc village to that of the transnational. How then, could this appropriation of an alternate history be assimilated into the literary and film culture of another nation, particularly as the nation works through its own “real” past?

This work differentiates itself from previous writing on the heritage film in three different ways. First, it places emphasis on the transnational relevance of the heritage film, a move that acknowledges the genre as connected to national identity, but the transposition and movement of these imagined identities, as well. The Ur-text for contemporary discussions on the national remains Benedict Anderson’s 1983 book *Imagined Communities*. Here he suggests that the modern nation-state emerged from the cessation of the monarchy and religion parallel with the appearance of print language (39). While many case studies have surfaced on the reception of a particular nation’s heritage films in other countries, very little research has been done on the transnational identity of the heritage film.² Second, the chapters focus on directors who, on some level, engage with transnational movements related to representations of the past. The notion of an auteur influence in the heritage genre, thus, connects to an individually aestheticized construction of the past. Using the categories of nostalgia, authenticity, and authorship, this dissertation interrogates how these directors’ respective films address issues of transnationalism and claims to authenticity in the heritage

genre. Here, directors revisit some of the transnational heritage movements they have engaged with in the past, and participate in a nostalgic “restoration” of these representations of the nation and self.

This dissertation will contextualize and deconstruct the transnational appeal of the heritage film as a method of appropriation to work through or reconstruct one’s national identity and past. The heritage film often addresses the interests and history associated with a specific nation. However, I argue that transnational exchanges, both in terms of reception and appropriation, tend to define the genre in equal measure. The transnational approach addresses the heritage film’s reception in other nations, as well as the transnational nature of the funding/production. This work examines the dynamic exchanges of those who adhere to a particular national identity and who appropriate a history of another nation to create a new, alternative film heritage for the nation. This work will focus primarily on the countries where heritage films remain the most popular, but continually controversial in the academic heritage film debate: United States, Great Britain, France, and Germany. The majority of films used within this dissertation will fall within the time span from the late 1970’s to the present day, although reference to earlier film movements will help contextualize the respective films. A special emphasis will be placed on films produced from the early 2000’s until the present, focusing on what this dissertation suggests is a current resurgence in the heritage movement. Though the primary focal point of the dissertation remains contemporary film, it will also make reference to the theatrical and literary traditions that contextualize the heritage film. (Television also remains on the periphery, particularly as many art house directors seem to gravitate towards it for the funding and creative opportunities offered compared to film production.) Intertextual and interdisciplinary references indicate then why the term “heritage” rather than that of the “historical film” proves a more useful term for this work. Rosalind Galt states the following in her monograph on the re-drawing of cinema and

European imaginative spaces in post-World War II Europe, *The New German Cinema*: “By popularizing the historical in terms of nostalgia and mise-en-scène, the heritage film has opened up a space within European film culture not only for increased American and domestic box office, but also for a renewed circulation of national identities” (7). Not only does the heritage film bring the past into the present, but it also transposes the present onto the past.

In order to understand the worldwide impact of the heritage film, this dissertation must first define what it means by the term “heritage,” and then historicize the industry to which this film genre responds and in turn promotes. Critics trace the emergence of heritage culture to the nineteenth century, corresponding to the rise of nationalism and museum culture in primarily Western Europe. Hence, not only does heritage work in a temporal dialectic (the present and past) but a spatial one as well (monuments, objects, national borders). Pierre Nora, in his seminal text *Lieux de Memoire (Realms of Memory)*, traces the emergence of physical, such as the Louvre palace and later museum, as well as imaginative sites of collective memory, such as figures of myth, for communities. Nora examines the reference points specifically in the French national context, but the translated term “sites of memory” has been embraced on an international level, as well. Critics working in the genre then consider heritage films themselves representative sites of memory, though their nature as an ephemeral, non-haptic medium complicates this designation. German critics, such as Aleida Assmann, expand on Nora’s sites of memory, tracing the emergence of *Erinnerungsorte* (memory places). In her work on cultural memory in post-World War II Germany, she suggests the act of forgetting remain just as integral to the construction of collective memory and identity as remembering (10).³ Whether non-representation indicates forgetting has

³ From Assmann, Aleida. *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization: Functions, Media, Archives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011. Print. The German language also has several different words for memory with different temporal/spatial connotations. Assmann goes into more detail on these different terms in this text and other writings, as well.

developed into a point of contention in the heritage genre, particularly in the German context. Do both filmmakers and viewers show a lack of respect towards the individuals who suffered the Holocaust by attempting to “authentically” portray the experience? The French or British heritage film traditions also lacks in terms of the representation of French/British colonization and the French complicity in the Holocaust.

The heritage industry’s success originates in its ability to encourage the audience’s identification with the nation and its history. It in turn arises from and at the same time cultivates nostalgia, which continues to remain a key word in the heritage debate. Svetlana Boym traces the dialectical emergence of heritage alongside nostalgia in the nineteenth century in her influential monograph *The Future of Nostalgia*. The “nostalgic” individual, according to Boym desires “to revisit time like space...” (xv). In addition to film, literature, and other forms of art, nostalgia also feeds the heritage tourism industry, where visitors flock to the monuments/sites they see within the films. This desire manifests itself in a longing for one’s own country or even a country one has never visited. A surrogate form of a time travel then occurred through the movement towards restoring objects and collective sites of memory to what they “should have looked like” at the particular projected point in time:

In the mid-nineteenth century, nostalgia became institutionalized in national and provincial museums and urban memorials. The past was no longer unknown or unknowable. The past becomes ‘heritage.’ In the nineteenth century, for the first time in history, old monuments were restored in their original image. (Boym 15)

A tension occurs between the representations of the duration of time versus the desire to relive the monument as it was (imagined to have been) experienced. Nostalgia suggests a longing both temporal and spatial, illustrating the two movements at work in these transnational exchanges. It relies on a longing for a past and/or space projected onto the

future. The post-post heritage argument suggests a trend of nostalgic critical rehabilitation of the first wave of heritage films coming from Germany, Great Britain, and France.

The term heritage itself encompasses several dialectical trends on inquiry: the national versus transnational; preservation versus restoration; individual versus collective identity. In her monograph *The Rise of Heritage*, Astrid Swenson also traces the emphasis on monuments and museums addressed in Boym's work on nostalgia, as well as these further nodes of dialectical tension. Swenson expands on Boym's work on nostalgia as an international phenomenon, and argues that the transnational interactions, political, cultural, economic, etc, among Great Britain, Germany, and France remain just as important in the rise of the heritage movement in the nineteenth century. She identifies the stereotypes of the countries' respective national movements:

French heritage is often perceived as the creation of the state, in order to rally the citizens; German heritage as having been developed by the bourgeoisie as a means of self-representation, and English heritage as having been imposed by a threatened ruling class for its own protection. (7)

Indeed, Swenson suggests contemporary academic work on cultural memory may have led in turn to narrowing the emphasis on the national through its own "patriotic agenda" (for example, Nora's *Lieux*) (7). The nineteenth century already saw transnational actors in the heritage movements and these funding/production actors become replicated in the heritage movements into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Swenson points out that the term heritage itself, is not only subject to an expansion of subject matter (past and present, national and international), but also the evolution of the term itself experiences a degree of anachronistic projection.

Following Swenson's argument, heritage cinema has always had transnational elements and the national argument is an ahistorical projection. Though filmed and viewed in

the near “present,” heritage films attempt to “restore” the viewer to the past. To address the faulty nature of the claim towards authenticity in the national heritage movements, Eric Hobsbawm coined the concept “invented tradition,” a term that “includes both ‘traditions’ actually invented, constructed and formally instituted, and those which have “established themselves with greater rapidity” (1). Though one could view the difference between the actual long-standing tradition and the one less grounded in history as a slippage in terminology, it depicts instead the imaginative construction of heritage culture. Hobsbawm goes on to point out that invented traditions attempt to “establish continuity with a suitable historic past” (10). The authenticity found in an alternative heritage tries to make the connection with the “suitable historic past” of another nation/culture. As Galt points out, this “whitewashing of a past” also works on a “guilible foreign market” (7). Oftentimes, it does through a claim to indexicality in the mise-en-scène, whether through devotion to historical detail in costume or household objects. At times, the human body is exploited for authenticity in the heritage film, such as Herzog’s representation of indigenous labor. Post-heritage films attempted to move away from this claim to authenticity through eccentric or even macabre mise-en-scène, but post-post heritage films signal an attempt to reclaim this authenticity, whether through a hyperrealism or an attempt at a “haptic quality” (Vidal 164).⁴

The heritage film has a dialectic relationship with heritage museum culture, an industry that celebrated “the commodification of the past,” which reemerged in Great Britain during the 1980’s (Wright 11). Thirty years after the first round of UK Heritage Acts in the 1980’s and the corresponding wave of heritage films in Great Britain, heritage still remains a large part of national identity. Robert Hewison suggests in *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline* that the nominal industry of the 1980’s promoted a cheapening, leveling of culture by promoting consumption. Patrick Wright echoes and expands on Hewison’s

⁴ Belén Vidal in her book *Figuring the Past: The Period Film and The Mannerist Aesthetic* suggests Champion’s films, in particular, embody a “haptic quality” (164).

concerns about the division between the past and everyday life. Wright describes his own return to England after time spent abroad as “an uncanny of both the ‘familiar’ and the ‘strange’” (3). As a British citizen who had lived away from the country during the initial implantation of the Heritage Acts of the 1980’s, his experience of being “outside” the nation allows him to recognize the changes. In stating that “he had inadvertently stumbled into some sort of anthropological museum,” Wright evokes the obsession with the archive and museum (1). He describes what he views as the conflicted and hypocritical actions of the Thatcher government: “The question of national identity had also been cast into sharp relief by the recent election of Margaret Thatcher, who promised a radical break with the past, while simultaneously invoking a traditional idea of British identity and even destiny to be restored” (ix). The “break with the past” represents the division that Hewison abhorred, rendered even more concerning with the emphasis on a future based on unquestioned traditions. As these acts suggested a division between past and present, both spatially and temporally, Hewison and Wright feared that people would view themselves as residing outside of history, and thus immune to its effects.

The term heritage film, like heritage culture, has experienced expansion in subject matter. The number of films that fall under the term have greatly expanded in scope, as well as its global reach. (Indeed, one could argue that all films are heritage films, as they all capture a past for viewing in the present.) This expansion occurs in terms of directors’ own desire to “mark” the heritage genre, as well as critics’ acknowledgement of growing generic tropes. Higson first applied the phrase almost ten years into the first wave of heritage films in Great Britain. He used the term “heritage film ” specifically for the “cycle of high quality costume dramas” emerging from Britain from the early 1980’s onward (91). He adopts the phrase from Charles Barr, who first coined it in reference to British costume dramas from the early twentieth century: “Charles Barr coined the term ‘heritage film in respect to ‘British

understatement and the rich British heritage' in wartime films such as Laurence Olivier's Henry V" (cf. Barr 1986: 12 Voigts 14). Barr infers that the rich British tradition was meant to drum up wartime support, thus creating the association with the political and the heritage film. Though the term appeared in the 1930's, the heritage film nearly harkens back to the late nineteenth century. In Great Britain, silent film adaptations of scenes from Dickens's literary works surfaced as early as 1897, the death of Nancy gave birth to a genre known for its female characters.⁵ D. W. Griffith exploited racist stereotypes to reconstruct the American Civil War in *The Birth of Nation* (1915). Abel Gance's epic *Napoléan* (1927) depicts the life of one of France's most mythological historical figures. Cinema, then, like the other arts preceding it, represents a desire to project a certain vision of the national to an international audience.

The heritage film then defines itself through transnational interactions. Films such as *Chariots of Fire* and the Merchant-Ivory productions like *A Room with a View* attracted worldwide critical and audience attention for their appeal of "Englishness" (1). Higson suggests the films represented a specific British national identity, and, indeed, the national has and continues to be depicted is a point of crisis in the heritage film debate. Other nations joined this critically and monetarily successful film movement in the late twentieth century. France experienced a similar heritage film tradition in the early 1980's, though it did not experience international popularity at the British level until the mid 1980's. Cementing film stars like Gerard Depardieu and Isabelle Adjani with international renown, films such as *Le Retour de Martin Guerre* (1981) and *La Reine Margot* (1994) garnered critical attention abroad. On the opposite side of the Atlantic, the United States somewhat belatedly contributed a handful of heritage films, including Martin Scorsese's adaptation of Edith Wharton's turn-of-the century novel *The Age of Innocence* (1999).

⁵ Here, I refer the silent film *The Death of Nancy Sykes* (1897), an adaptation of Nancy's death in *Oliver Twist*.

This dissertation suggests that the current wave of heritage film captures the dialectical forces of a post-post heritage movement, as well a renewed aesthetic interest in the wave of heritage films from the 1980's. In *Heritage Film: Nation, Film, Genre, and Representation*, Belén Vidal defines the heritage film as defined by “a powerful undercurrent of nostalgia for the past conveyed by historical dramas, romantic costume films, and literary adaptations” (1). As the years progressed, the term heritage film has begun incorporate a wider array of films than the archetypal Merchant-Ivory costume dramas in its evolution into what Vidal have deemed a “hybrid genre” (4). Vidal goes on to suggest that heritage film functions as “a critical umbrella term for almost any type of costume film that subscribes to styles of picturesque realism,” deemphasizing the nationalist elements (51). This generic definition of the heritage film expands most on Claire Monk's expanded definition of the term, which she deems the “post-heritage film” (178). These films from the mid 1990's onwards, according to Monk, focus more so on depictions of gender and sexuality than a particular portrayal of the nation (178). The heritage films and the demographic of their viewers were much more nuanced than originally suggested. She accuses Higson of employing a “negative binary approach” to the heritage film that limits his critical interpretation (178).⁶ His take on the heritage genre simplistically reads the films as privileging the high class over the lower class or the national or the everyday. Defining the heritage film strictly by what they are not leads to a reductive and limiting reading of the films. Furthermore, Monk criticizes the “monolithic nature” of the heritage discourse, the “passive portrayal” of the audience, and the “top-down” approach to the study of the films' reception (183). They subvert the heritage films of the 1980's by “display neither the self-effacing craftsmanship nor the belief in the codes of realism that make for the quality connotations of the heritage style” (27). The argument over the existence of an actual historical divide rather than a continuous thread of subversive gender representation remains a point of contention in heritage film debate.

This dissertation will then build on Gavriel D. Rosenfeld's term alternate history and focus on films that enter into and promote a tradition of alternative heritages. Nostalgia for both a different time and space results in what Rosenfeld calls an "alternate history." According to Rosenfeld's definition, an alternate history is one that never took place, but is rather imagined to have taken place based on the different outcome of a specific event. As demonstrated in his book *The World Hitler Never Made: Alternate History and the Memory of Nazism*, alternate World War II scenarios continue to be a profitable enterprise in Germany, Great Britain, and the United States. Focusing on primarily, "what if Hitler had won the war" stories, these alternate histories also speak to the respective nations' crisis of identity. Hence, alternate histories evoke nostalgia for a past that never existed but holds a particular resonance for those who imagine them. Contemporary examples include Amazon's streaming series *Man in the High Castle* (2015), which takes place in a post World War II States if "Hitler had won the war." Here is where the complications of sites of reception and production come into play, and where the term alternative heritage develops. Powrie has used the term "alternate heritage film" to designate a work that undermines the traditional heritage film's homogenous portrayal of the rich, upper-class nation through elaborate mise-en-scène. Instead, these films focus on the everyday lives of working class characters in post World War II Europe, such as *Billy Elliot* (2000) or *The Full Monty* (1997) (Monk 17). "Alternative heritage films" in the context of this dissertation tell a fictional subaltern story, but fundamental historical events have not changed. They may not be true stories, but it is feasible that they could have taken place at some point in history. The alternative heritage film draws on the heritage film tradition but also calls into question its status as a nostalgic representation of the nation, instead focusing on the act of this appropriation.

This dissertation combines Powrie and Rosenfeld's respective definitions of the alternative heritage and alternative histories and use this combination as a lens to examine the transatlantic exchange of heritage filmic traditions. While previous studies have focused on the one-way reception of a heritage film tradition, this dissertation suggests a dynamic exchange challenges constructions of nationality on both sides. Moreover, one particular flow of images has the potential to influence or intercede in the transnational exchange of another. The film has often been defined through its success abroad rather than the production itself. For example, the popularity of *Chariots of Fire* (1981) and the Merchant-Ivory dramas in the United States led many critics to draw the conclusion that the films were made to cater to the American idea of Englishness. The heritage film as a representation of individualized national identity has been complicated not only by the images on-screen, but also the transnational nature of the productions and their financing (Vidal 4). Thomas Elsaesser in his book *European Cinema: Face to Face with Hollywood* (2003) promotes the concept of the national as always having been "hybrid" in nature. The nation is multi-faced in nature, identifying itself through "exclusion or othering, even within itself" (39). National elements continue to remain relevant in the heritage film tradition, as they to expose not only domestic histories but also their relations with other countries. Each nation faces particular problems with the representation of their respective national past, but transnational juxtapositions tend to further highlight these issues.

In the German context, critics remain reluctant to use the term heritage film as a result of the genre's association with the national. In *Hitler to Heimat*, Anton Kaes describes the struggle of German filmmakers to portray history and the nation: "For more than a decade and with growing intensity, attempts have been made to rewrite German history to fit the atrocities of the Hitler period into a tolerable master narrative" (ix). As the reunification of Germany takes place partway through the time frame I am looking at in the Herzog/Reitz

chapter, spanning a divided to reunified Germany. West Germany chose to ignore the Holocaust and World War II for the most part, instead focusing on the *Heimatfilm*, which nostalgically portrayed a rustic Germany devoid of reference to Nazism. DEFA films from the former East Germany concentrated on moving forward in the after-math of the war, and largely avoided any explicit Holocaust reference.⁷ It was not until the 1970's New German Cinema that German film acknowledged a connection with the Nazi past in the films of Fassbinder and Kluge (9). However, even the contemporary German film industry has continued to struggle with *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* as defined by Eric L. Santner in his book *Stranded Objects* as a “confrontation with the past” (xi).⁸ A continued mistrust of “national identity and collective memory” haunts German film and its depiction of the past (xi). In turn, other nations’ depictions of World War II and the Holocaust tend to have been the catalyst for discussions of the depiction of history and collective memory. Kaes, cites, for example, how the television series *Holocaust* (1979), produced by the United States, incited a national debate in West Germany (x). I have heard conflicting information as to what extent Holocaust history was addressed in West German versus East German schools, further conflicted by the fact West German/East German identity seems more of an imagined heritage at this point. When I attended a seminar at the Humboldt in Berlin on the depiction of Nazism in film and television, several students spoke of having grown up in a different country, though the majority had just been born when the wall fell. This identity became a point of contention among the students. These divides have very led to the establishment of former East German feelings of victimization with that of those who experienced the Holocaust. One of the most notable examples includes Sabine Rennefanz’s 2013 memoir, *Eisenkinder (Iron Children)*.

Can a nation “borrow” a heritage film from another tradition to process its own history? Several critics have already tried to map traditions of appropriated heritage films, particularly in the German and American context. Critical material, as hinted at in Rosenfeld’s monograph, often tends to focus on obsession with “authentically” representing the Holocaust in the United States (and to some extent Great Britain). Eckart Virchow-Voigts, instead, focuses on the German desire to find an alternative history. In his article “Heritage and literature on screen: *Heimat* and heritage,” he suggests Germans attempt to forget their national past through their avid consumption of British heritage films and television series. According to Virchow-Voigts, “nineteenth-century heritage was broken,” rendered inaccessible by the horrors of World War II and the Holocaust, and, hence, an “*Ersatz*-heritage” needed to be created in the German context (123). The term “*Ersatz*” means replacement, a heritage that fills a historical or a cultural void. Germany has long been reluctant to represent the Holocaust on film—claims to authenticity seem exploitative. Furthermore, several critical works have focused on the transatlantic reception of the British heritage film. Sarah Street’s *Transatlantic Crossings* examines the American reception of British films from the 1930’s to the present. Street suggests heritage films offer Americans a “sanitized, guilt-free nostalgia” away from stressed economic conditions (196).⁹ While Virchow-Voigts and Street’s writings may appear at first glance as overly simplistic, these representations then indicate a larger trend of historical erasure through the lack of representation or misrepresentation.

“Going Merchant-Ivory”: Heritage, Auteur

The auteur’s contribution to the heritage film, then, indicates an individually self-referential aestheticization of the past. Many auteurs, particularly later in their careers, whether through increased financial resources or a sense of nostalgia, direct at least one

⁹Quoting Martin A. Hipsky

historical film. The first line for a review of David Cronenberg's *A Dangerous Method* (2011) states, "David Cronenberg goes Merchant-Ivory."¹⁰ In the context of this review, the comparison remains pejorative, and, in general critical history, the films of Merchant-Ivory have been considered unprovocative and middlebrow. Aside from the "branding" of the Merchant-Ivory production identity, the presence of the auteur in the heritage film remains sidelined in this particular generic discourse (Vidal 180). However, the willingness to acknowledge the possibility of an auteur approach to a heritage film remains limited if not viscerally opposed up until the past few years. Vidal suggests that the heritage drama "stands alongside auteur cinema as the most exportable European drama," yet the two film movements are often viewed as antagonistic to one another, ones that rarely intersect (4).

From a historical viewpoint, film theorists place the emergence of auteur tradition in 1960's France as a reaction to the elaborate *mis-en-scene* and conservative narratives of the *cinema de qualité* in the 1950's, seen as precursors to the current heritage film. In his 1954 "A Certain Tendency of French Cinema," director Francois Truffaut "demolished the script-driven literary adaptations of the cinema of quality and championed instead a cinema of auteurs" (59) As Vidal suggests, "his intervention posits a significant precedent to the split between heritage and auteur cinema" (59). In 1962, Germany's *Oberhausen Manifesto* further emphasized the divide between the film auteur and a similar conservative filmmaking. The New German Cinema rejected the *Heimatfilm* in favor of more provocative confrontations with the German past. Though Great Britain does not carry an auteur tradition as distinct as in France or even Germany, a few directors have emerged as synonymous with the heritage film (Vidal 27). Films such as *The Draughtman's Contract* (1982) prove that a distinct authorial style can exist within the traditional paradigms of a heritage film (27). Andrea Arnold applies miserablism and the surveillance state to *Wuthering Heights* (2011). Michael Haneke portrays

¹⁰ <http://www.metrotimes.com/detroit/a-dangerous-method/Content?oid=2149939>

the brutality of life pre-world War II small town Germany in *The White Ribbon* (2009). Though historical in nature, the antagonism between the two generically seems at odds considering many auteurs have crossed over into the genre.

A retrospective re-screening of *Howard's End* (1992) at the 2016 Cannes, indicates that auteur and heritage cinema may not have been as critically antagonistic as viewed in retrospect. If auteur cinema then becomes a brand name, one could make the argument for Merchant-Ivory films as the foundations for an auteur heritage cinema. The arguable equivalent of the authorial signature at the height of the heritage drama movement comes in the form of the famed director-producer team Merchant-Ivory. Described as a “heritage industry onto themselves,” these filmmakers had an important effect on the development of European/American art house cinema. Though focused primarily on “British period pieces” the team reflected the transnational nature of funding/production: “Producer Ismail Merchant, director James Ivory and their frequent screenwriter collaborator Ruth Prawer Jhabvala, an Indian Muslim, a Protestant American and a German Jew respectively” (Mitchell).¹¹ Merchant-Ivory films then have undergone a degree of rehabilitation in the last few years. Michael Koresky in a recent retrospective for *Film Comment* suggests Merchant-Ivory use of elaborate and claustrophobic settings paralleled Douglas Sirk’s use of the home to critique constrictive social structures: Merchant-Ivory’s golden bowl is then Sirk’s television (17). Moreover, fidelity to the text, according to Koresky, does not then become a liability in adaptation, as has been the general trend in recent academic criticism. Rather, in the case of Merchant-Ivory’s adaptation of *Howard's End*, it provides an avenue for mediation on the “incongruity” of the two mediums—a “transmutation” rather than “translation” of the source material (17). Heritage culture and the directors in the genre also navigate between an identity of the preservation of “fine art” and perpetuation of mass culture. This issue stems in part

¹¹ http://www.bfi.org.uk/news-opinion/news-bfi/lists/10-great-british-films-directed-americans?utm_content=buffer5af06&utm_medium=social&utm_source=facebookbfi&utm_campaign=buffer

from the historical trend, which associates film with the masses. Naomi Greene in her book *Landscapes of Loss* situates film as the medium most apt to reflect current cultural trends: It “is more sensitive” to “changing moods and attitudes” than literature or academy; “it is a medium that speaks more so to the mass public” (3). Heritage films then, may have as much influence over heritage culture as heritage culture has over them.

This dissertation divides itself into the work of four primary auteurs, Jane Campion, Woody Allen, Werner Herzog, and Alexander Sokurov, who often work in a transnational context and engage with a post-post heritage film. The staying power and the reason for some directors turning to the genre (unacknowledged or not) lies in a nostalgic desire for both their personal and a desire to explore a transnational past. In the first chapter, I will examine the most recent film of Sokurov, *Francofonia* (2015), a literal manifestation of the “museum aesthetic” on film. Though all of the directors in the film make reference to the museum, Sokurov has devoted the most of his work to a meditation the institution. A Francophile, as evidenced through the title and his reverence for French culture, the director interrogates the spaces of Europe throughout his films juxtaposed against his native Russia. *Francofonia* arrived in France at a time when national political rhetoric has increasingly turned towards a defense of “French values,” often achieved through the othering as what are viewed as antagonistic cultures (namely Islam) both within and outside of the nation. Sokurov’s othering of Islamic art in the film, silencing of the French Vichy regime’s complicity in the Holocaust, and his own history of suspected anti-Semitism contribute to a conflicted representation of the Louvre as French Nation.

The second chapter discusses Woody Allen’s recent string of films set in Europe, representative of a form of Grand Tour search for artistic authenticity. In a poster advertisement for his film *Sleeper*, the by-line states, “Woody Allen takes a nostalgic look at

the future” (96).¹² Nostalgia has long been an integral part of Allen’s’ films, but the last decade saw an added transnational component to his works. Critical literature tends to focus on the migration of European art cinema directors migration to Hollywood, whether political (Billy Wilder) or through the allure of money (Ridley Scott). In contrast, the mythic concept of the artist fleeing the confines of Hollywood to find artistic authenticity in auteur-friendly Europe emerges with Orson Welles and in the past few years, Allen. By focusing on institutions of culture, the Allen’s conflicted relation to high and mass culture, dialectic debated in the heritage context.

The third chapter focuses primarily on Werner Herzog’s connections to the German *Indianerkultur*, as well as its association with the *Heimat* genre through the films of Edgar Reitz. The first case study on German portrayal and identification with indigenous “realities” will focus on Werner Herzog’s film *Fitzcarraldo* (1981). As part of the first German film generation to confront German history, Herzog implicitly and sometimes very explicitly forges a strong connection between the *Indianerkultur* and the German past. *Fitzcarraldo* depicts a rubber baron’s journey to bring opera to a South American town, one that involves the movement of a ship over a mountain. Despite the grandiose set piece, the film remains more so remembered for the tumultuous preproduction. Rumors of mistreatment and exploitation of the indigenous extras plagued Herzog during the production phase. This chapter will focus on the German media reaction to the controversy surrounding the filming of *Fitzcarraldo*, in particular, Herzog’s professed identification with the indigenous peoples. In a desire to create a political Other, the filmic portrayal already become complicit in an inaccurate representation. *Heimat*, German director Edgar Reitz’s mini-series response to the US television series *Holocaust*, focuses on life in a small village in Germany from the 1930’s until the 1960’s/70s. Mention of the Holocaust was controversially eliminated from the series,

¹² *Film Comment*, Sep-Oct. 2016.

but the series remained successful in Germany and known in the United States. Herzog makes a cameo in Reitz's prequel, *Die Andere Heimat* (2013), which takes place in the same village in the nineteenth century. This appearance draws connections to Herzog's own experience as a German "returning" to his home country, as well as his participation in German *Indianerkultur*.

In the final chapter, I examine the films of Jane Campion, in particular, the double standard levied at female auteurs in literary adaptation, as well as her own contribution to the aesthetic of the heritage genre. In an interview at the Cannes film festival for the showing of her first film, director Cate Shortland stated, "Growing up in Australia, it wasn't unusual to want to be a director because we had Gillian Armstrong and Jane Campion" (4).¹³ Campion's work had influence on a following generation of female filmmakers from Australia and New Zealand, and world cinema, on a whole. Campion's heritage films focus on the interaction of the "Old World" and the "New World," often embodied through the female protagonist as marginalized outsider. A theme first touched on in the main character's journey to Europe in *An Angel at My Table* (1990), she brings Europe to New Zealand in her first feature film, *The Piano* (1993). Like Herzog, Campion's films also have their own relation to the representation of indigeneity, particularly in the representation of the appropriation indigenous culture.¹⁴ Campion's latest feature length film, *Bright Star* (2009), focuses on the story of a British female artistic genius, Fanny Brawne, the long unknown muse of John Keats. In *Bright Star*, Campion as Vidal writes, emphasizes the "haptic" quality of objects on film (165). This emphasis on the haptic nature of the representation of the past onscreen extends throughout Campion's heritage films.

The rise of right wing extremism with the election of Trump in the United States, turmoil in post-Brexit Great Britain, the continued popularity of France's Le Pen and the

¹³ As quoted by Deb Verhoeven.

expansion of the German AfD all indicate polarization and exclusion both inside and outside the physical borders of the nation. Galt asserts, “the heritage film is a critical and contentious notion that gets to the heart of contemporary discourses on European culture, identity, and film production policy” (7). The rise of populism and neo-nationalism in the early twenty-first century has spurred a renewed interest in heritage culture and claims to “authenticity.” In turn, these movements find representation in heritage on film, and this dissertation will interrogate as to what extent the films critique these very claims.

Chapter One

Film on Museum, Museum on Film: Reexamining the Heritage “Museum Aesthetic”

“Who needs France without the Louvre? Or Russia without The Hermitage?”

from *Francofonia* (2015)

This chapter takes its name from Robert A. Rosenstone’s seminal text, *History on Film/Film on History*, which examines historical film and its relationship to the collective interpretation of history itself. In this monograph, Rosenstone argues the dialectic influence of what he terms history films on the construction and interpretations of historical narratives. The claim to historical realism in film rivals the claim to authenticity in the study of history itself. In turn, these historical films can also influence collective and individual interpretation of history through its visual representation onscreen (1). This dialectic reading of representation and interpretation also proves useful in a discussion on museum and heritage culture on film in the transnational European context. Connected through an overarching heritage culture, museums like historical films, are a mediatized embodiment of the past. These portrayals reveal the culture of the present when portraying past events or everyday life. These two forms of representation already intersect, as film and video have long been incorporated into museum exhibits. Films furthermore continue to be the subject of exhibits and museums, as well.¹⁵ This interaction of film and the museum functions as a two-fold response to both the acceptance of cinema as an art form and educational tool, and as an attempt to attract museum viewers inundated by and attracted to the moving image. In turn, the museum has made appearances throughout the cinema as a background setting for critical scenes, from the climax at the British Museum in Hitchcock’s *Blackmail* (1929) to the run through the Louvre in Godard’s French New Wave classic *Bande à part* (1964). In addition to

¹⁵ Moreover, as this dissertation will later illustrate in the chapter on Germany and *Indianerkultur*, filmic images also heavily influence representation in the space of the museum itself, even if the museum itself is not specifically devoted to the study of film.

its use as a background for action sequences, recent years have seen an increasing number of films dedicated to portraying the museum onscreen in a way that critically examines the space's status as a place for public access to "high art" and representations of (trans)national and (re)appropriated histories. Beginning with Alexander Sokurov's *Russian Ark* (2002), the last decade and a half has seen an expansion into the museum as a subject of documentary and onscreen narrativization. These examples include, but are not limited to, the following films: Jem Cohen's *Museum Hours* (2012); Oeke Hoogendijk's *The New Rijksmuseum* (2013); Johannes Holzhausen's *The Great Museum* (2014); Frederick Wiseman's *National Gallery* (2014). Sokurov has then returned again to the subject in his latest film, *Francofonia* (2015).¹⁶ This chapter suggests that the recent trend in narrative and documentary films dedicated to the production of the "museum aesthetic" indicates a renewed contemplation on the narrativization, nationalization, and historicization of the museum industry, as well as the heritage industry itself on film. These museum films function as a response to the heritage culture of the 1980's/1990's, where the "museum aesthetic" represented onscreen in the heritage film has now become a reflective (if not entirely critical) focus of the film itself. *The Guardian* critic Peter Bradshaw makes a similar claim in his review of *Francofonia* that Sokurov inspired the trend of museum films over the last decade, but I expand on this insight by suggesting that this particular wave of museum films reflect on a current trend of a look back at heritage visual and literary culture and the representation of its filmic "museum aesthetic."¹⁷

How then, does this cinematic gaze access these heritage spaces, representing both the historical and contemporary experience of attending the museum, as well as the representation

¹⁶ Author's Note: In the translation from the Russian Cyrillic script into the Latin, alternative spellings surface. (For example, French critics tend to favor Sokourov, while British and American take on the spelling of Sokurov.) For the purposes of this chapter, I will use the American spelling of his name (Alexander Sokurov), but use alternate spellings when quoting directly from other sources.

¹⁷ Bradshaw also makes mention of the *Cathedrals of Culture* series, but this chapter will focus on film rather than television. The review can be found through the following review link: <http://www.theguardian.com/film/2015/sep/04/francofonia-review-venice-film-festival>

of time present and past in these spaces? The first section will look at variety of heritage films from the last decade focusing on the museum from both the documentary and narrative film traditions, with many examples self-reflexively overlapping the two genres. Moreover, these films make intertextual references to other museums, including the administrators as well as the artworks. This chapter will provide a brief overview of a recent set of documentary and narrative films set in national museums, all observing the “behind the scenes” work of a museum. It measures daily life in a site devoted to a (dis)continuous re(living) of the past. The space of the museum itself allows a construction of a historical narrative, as well as the ability to deconstruct the narrative itself. In many cases, rather than the museum objects, the humans interacting with these objects become the subjects of case studies. While American Wiseman remains the most prolific filmmaker of the three directors in this particular section, US filmmaker Jem Cohen and Austrian director Johannes Holzhausen also touch on several parallel themes addressed in the former’s work, including the following: issues of national identity, mass versus high culture, and the tension among representation, restoration, and conservation.

The second section of this chapter will then shift to focus on the works of Russian director, Alexander Sokurov. It situates him as the foremost director devoted to an interrogation of the museum as a site of heritage onscreen, and the instigator of the current trend of museum films (as suggested by Bradshaw).¹⁸ Though it will briefly exam his most well known museum film, *Russian Ark*, set in The Hermitage in St. Petersburg, the section will also look at *Elegy of a Voyage* (2001), a short film set partly in Rotterdam’s Boijmans Museum. (Sokurov’s second to last film, *Faust* (2011), an adaptation of the German national literary work also functions as a heritage film and contains elements of a national museum aesthetic.) Sokurov’s most recent film *Francophonía* uses archival photographs, documentary

footage, and narrative film to assemble a reenactment of the occupation of the Louvre and of Paris during World War II. These cinematographic choices subvert the “real-time” long-take aesthetic of *Russian Ark*. The film walks a fine line between critique and uncritical glorification of Western European culture, often delving into the latter. Later in this chapter, I shall examine the director’s silencing of World War II history, such as the Holocaust or the French Vichy regime’s complicity with the Nazi government. Furthermore, through his establishing of a “European identity” he also blatantly others non-European cultures. Moreover, celebratory reviews of the film, like Sokurov, tend to participate in and, therefore, reinforce the valorization of this specific representation of Louvre and these “gaps” in history. Finally, in a brief coda, the chapter will then move on to the use of interactive screens to create a historical avatar experience within the museum space, and how this then relates to a personal negotiation of history and memory.

“The Museum Aesthetic:” The Self-Reflexivity of Heritage on Film

I will investigate briefly the term “museum aesthetic” in the context of heritage film, and how the “museum film” hence fits into the category of the heritage film genre. The use of the term “museum aesthetic” within heritage film discourse refers to the *mise-en-scène*’s emphasis on the elaborate furnishings and costuming in a film that takes place in the past. Critics of the heritage film genre, such as Richard Dyer, initially used “museum aesthetic” to highlight the films’ considered lack of cinematic value (Monk 17).¹⁹ In his opinion, the indulgent focus on the representation of the past stalls the narrative. In contrast, earlier historical costume dramas, such as the Gainsborough costume dramas from the mid-twentieth century, have elicited an evolutionary debate on the heritage film as stemming from melodramatic narratives. Rather than cinematic in nature, these heritage productions, such as *Room With a View* (1985) or *Chariots of Fire* (1981), were accused of focusing on “quality”

¹⁹ As cited in Monk’s *Heritage Film Audiences*

and uncritical representation of the past. Thus, these films fell in line with conservative portrayal of British history, valuing representations of the elite or a narrow historic vision of Great Britain. For example, the camera gazes lovingly over the museum-like antiquity of the rooms and elaborate Edwardian costumes in *Room with a View*. The films then sacrifice a dynamic narrative or deeper ideological positions. Higson agrees that the heritage film “foregoes narrative” for the visual spectacle, namely the focus on the elaborate furnishings and houses featured within the films (38).²⁰ However, contrary to a static, uncritical narrative, Higson suggests the “museum aesthetic” held a purpose through the promotion of a distinctly “ideological agenda” (Monk 17).²¹ Monk takes issue with Higson’s positioning of the spectator as passive in her latest monograph, which this chapter shall touch on briefly in its coda, as well as at the conclusion of the dissertation itself (17). I would suggest the museum film, whether as documentary or narrative film, uses the museum aesthetic to promote an ideological perspective. It engages with a critical viewer, as Monk argues in her latest study on heritage audiences, already immersed in the historicity of the heritage film.²² While heritage is not a term released from controversy, it is not necessarily anti-cinematic.

Historically, the rise of the heritage film genre owes itself, in part, to the re-emergence of and renewed interest in the study of museum culture, particularly in Great Britain and France in the 1980’s. In turn, the initial rise of the museum itself was also connected with nationalism and the birth of heritage culture during nineteenth century. As discussed in the introduction, the British heritage debate came to the forefront in the 1980’s during the implementation of the National Heritage Acts of 1980 and 1983. The 1980 Heritage Act provided “tax breaks in the conversion from private property to the state, indemnity to museums, and established the National Heritage Memorial Fund,” and the 1983 act further defined its legacy (Wright 37). Many saw these acts as an extension of Margaret Thatcher’s

²¹ as cited in Monk’s *Heritage Film Audiences* (2011)

²² Monk, Claire. *Heritage Film Audiences* (2011)

harsh economic policies of the time, and the legacy of the heritage acts has continued up through the early twenty-first century. The acts themselves signaled a return to a fixation on what many saw as a conservative vision of the past, evoking the nineteenth century obsession with the museum and archive. Wright and other critics, such as Kevin Walsh, feared that the past then became a form of commodity as a result of its objectification and exploitation, furthered through such acts.²³ At the same time, they also evoked the relation of heritage between the private and the public, as museums evolved in the nineteenth century, in part, from the public acquisition of private art/ethnographic collections. Museums also found their birth through shifting politics, exemplified through the display of empire through the London Crystal Palace and Paris exhibitions. Events meant to signal a break from the past, such as the French Revolution, also ironically promoted heritage and the monument of the museum, such as the transformation of the Louvre from a private into a public space.

As the primary analysis of the chapter focuses on a film set in the Louvre, a brief focus on the evolution of the concept of heritage film/culture in France, particularly parallel to Great Britain in the 1980's/1990's, is required. Greene suggests the French heritage film draws heavily on the French *cinema de qualité* of post World War II, which emphasized “authenticated spectacle” and “the privileging of the visual arts as a subject” (142).²⁴ Like Germany and its tradition of the World War II *Heimat* film, French film also embraced escapism from recent history present in *cinema de qualité* films. (The films are representative of and contributed to general cultural amnesia surrounding the Vichy regime complicity in World War II.) I would argue France's wave of heritage films pick up momentum in the early 1990's, with international hits, such as *La Reine Margot* (1993) and *Germinal* (1984), becoming what Powrie describes as the “hegemonic French cinema of the 1990's” (479).²⁵

²³ In his monograph, *The Representation of the Past* (1992)

²⁴ Guy, Austin. *Contemporary French Cinema*, 1996.

²⁵ Powrie, Phil. “Heritage, history and ‘new realism’: French cinema in the 1990s.” *Modern and Contemporary France* (1998), 479-491.

However, the 1980's was also a decade in France focused heavily on heritage in its national context both onscreen and in general culture circles.

While the National Heritage Acts in Great Britain negotiated the private and public sites of national heritage, France also underwent its own academic reflection on its history of cultural identity. Nora focuses on the representation of France through monuments and "sites of memory." A few years after the publication of *Realms of Memory* in the United States, he wrote a meditative piece on France's place in the heritage movement in a UNESCO magazine. This particular issue, released in the late 1990's, focuses on the "State of the World Heritage." I would suggest that this article corresponded with a point when critics began looking back at the wave of heritage films in the 1980's. (For example, Higson's monograph on the English heritage film, *English Heritage, English Cinema* first appeared in 2003). Suggesting an "expansion" and thus "transformation" in the "concept of heritage," particularly in the French national context, he cites the definition of heritage as "the evidence of the past...considered collectively as the inheritance of present-day society" (14).²⁶ Note the emphasis on "evidence" in the definition. This evidence of the past appears in the presence of material objects and monuments as sites of collective memory, as well as placing an emphasis on the past having a *presence* in the present. He traces a shift from a focus on history in French culture to that of collective memory, hence mirrored in this chapter's shift from the historical film to that of heritage (14). Nora further connects the development of the "historic monument" as an effect of the "French Revolution," as well as the founding of the modern concept of the Louvre as a site for public access to works of art (14). (Incidentally, Sokurov has openly expressed his dislike of the French Revolution and its effects [Beghin and Tessé 26-29]). With the end of peasant culture and the rise of industrialization in France in the late eighteenth/early nineteenth century, corresponding, as well, with an interest in

²⁶ from "An Idea Whose Time Has Come" in *The Unesco Courier : The State of the World's Heritage*, September 1997 by Pierre Nora

museology, Nora suggests that “*lieux de memoire* exist because there are no longer any *milieux de memoire*, settings in which memory is a real part of everyday experience” (2). He proposes that everyday life has become separated from memory and history, and, thus, these sites of memory have been created to fulfill these symbolic purposes.

Indeed, the word for the French genre of heritage film itself, *films de patrimoine*, (as opposed to the word *heritage*), suggests an emphasis on the representation of physical objects and monuments, rather than to the holistic concept of lineage, material objects, and identity. Nora points out that *patrimoine* “contains the word *patrie*-which means homeland,” signifying an inherited nationalization of these objects represented on screen as well as its subsequent representation of the nation itself [15]).²⁷ The Louvre then surfaces time and again in both the films of French auteurs and other international directors as an investigation of the temporal spatial nature of heritage identity in France and Europe at large. One could draw parallels with the National Heritage Acts’ creation of museums or national historic sites as symbolic entities of national unity and preservation, a construction of sites of memory. Museums then act as a place for visitors to engage in a semi-ritualized collective form of memory sharing. In *Francofonia*, Sokurov identifies the Louvre as the definitive *lieu de memoire* for France, as well as for his vision of the concept of a European culture, on a whole (ix).

The heritage film also functions as a site of memory for Europe as a concept. Rosenstone suggests that films remain a dynamic site of history, memory, and representation, which then also greatly influence the creation of national and transnational narratives. Eric Santner and Kaes examine films as sites of memory in the German national context, and as I shall more fully explore in the following chapter on Herzog and Reitz, films allow nations to work through or avoid their pasts. As museums and the objects contained within function as

national *lieux de memoires*, then the museum film acts as a doubled site of memory through its cinematic representation of a material space. Furthermore, it spans both individual and collective memory through the ritual of cinema going versus the individual interpretation of the film by each viewer (further mediated through the vision of the director of the film). Moreover, these museum films are quite popular in the cinemas of museums themselves, such as the Louvre, which has shown Wiseman's *Gallery* in its movie theater. The museum then also appropriates the cinematic space.

The museum as both a source and product of ritualization appears often in museum/heritage studies. Bradshaw writes in his review for Wiseman's film *National Gallery* that Wiseman "makes [the National Gallery] look like a secular cathedral, full of hushed grandeur." (Ironically, many of the featured paintings in *National Gallery* contain religious subjects and focus on the paintings' connection to religious experience). A recent article from the BBC not only pinpoints the shift from the church to the museum as the "pinnacle of architectural ambition," but also as a site of collective weekend gathering: "We make 'pilgrimages' to museums or to landmarks of public art in far-off locales. We experience 'transcendence' before major paintings or large-scale installations" (Farago).²⁸ Bradshaw refers to the visitors in the film as sorts of "pilgrims," which the large groups of visitors often resemble as they follow the guide along the floors of the museum. In one of the museum tour group sequences in Wiseman's *National Gallery*, a guide explains how medieval church-goers would have interpreted a piece of iconography. For her, the piece of art exemplifies the dialectic between "representation and the thing itself." The sequence functions as a meta-narrative for both sites of memory and museum film experience, wherein the meaning lies in the act of representation itself.

²⁸ <http://www.bbc.com/culture/story/20150716-why-museums-are-the-new-churches>
Farago, John. "Why Museums are the New Churches." *BBC Culture*. 16 July 2015.

Films set in a museum film, like the heritage film, thrive on a great degree of intermediality and intertextuality.²⁹ The latter often relies on adaptations of “canonical literary works” and a veritable repertory group of actors (Higson 1).³⁰ The recent string of museum films could also be viewed as a response to the trend of theater, ballet, and opera companies, such as the National Theater and the Met, which bring both live and recorded screenings to international cinematic audiences, another attempt to recreate a material experience.³¹ The ephemeral spectacle of the theater, opera, concert, etc. then becomes a cinematic attraction itself in the way the “event” of the museum film does, as well. Intertextual references to this trend present themselves throughout these films: Anne in *Museum Hours* is a folk singer and the museum guard is a former rock tour manager. One narrative thread in *National Gallery* focuses on the conversion of a gallery into a dance space. The opening sequence of *Gallery* features a montage of different paintings from the gallery filling up the entirety of the screen. It then opens to an empty room with paintings on the far wall. A man enters from the left side of the screen and moves slowly across, using a floor polisher. This image later mirrors the final sequences where dancers move across the floor in the same manner. Indeed, a differentiation is not really made between either as a “higher” form of art. What then designates this particular movement art, and the other a function of everyday life and consumption? This question surfaces time and again, most often in the administrative meetings featured heavily throughout the film.

A key dialectic to heritage culture, the tensions between preservation and restoration resurfaces throughout the films. In the introductory voiceover in *Museum Hours*, Johann, the museum security guard asks, “Can a painting be timeless? It carries the time along with it. Much of it falls off along the way.” Restoration signifies both the “taking away of time,” by

³⁰ from *English Heritage, English Cinema*

³¹ Though the onstage actors are unable to have the direct interaction of the cinematic audiences, I do find it interesting that some recorded stage productions are available only via cinematic screening, as per the wishes of director/actors. (For example, The Royal National Theater’s production of *Frankenstein* [2011]).

removing evidence of wear and tear of time, as well as the “adding of time” by restoring the painting to its “original” form. Indeed, sometimes, the restoration work of previous museum workers, with the ebb and flow of trends, as well as the improvement of technology, is undone. In *The Great Museum* and *National Gallery*, restoration artists use the latest technology to remove vermin eating away at a frame, determine the “original” sketchings on a painted over portrait, or map the progressive stages of a tableau. Like the event of the addition of the glass pyramid at the Louvre, *The Great Museum* also centers on the event of the reopening of the *Kunstkammer* at the *Kunsthistorisches Art Museum* in Vienna. The first images of *The Great Museum* depict a tearing apart of the museum, and a restoration to then what it would have “felt like” at the time when museum was first founded. Indeed, the painting on the wall is not actually a restoration to the building’s previous state, but instead an implicit representation of what it “should have looked like.” This deconstruction of the museum in Holzhausen’s film then plays with the concept of accumulated time and its status, yet does not quite extend, unfortunately, to an institutional critique of the museum itself.³²

La Ville Museum The City, the Nation and the Museum

Francofonia is one of many feature length films that focus on the Louvre or use it as a background set piece. Though Sokurov’s *Russian Ark* arguably provided the catalyst for the cycle of museum films in the last decade, many of these films owe their aesthetic to a French film that came out at the height of the French heritage movement in 1990, namely *The City Louvre (La Ville Louvre)*. In contrast to the latter film’s depiction of an innocuous site of everyday life, *The City Louvre* is advertised on the official Louvre museum website as the “first time a grand museum has given a behind the scenes look on film.”³³ The film depicts

³² Numerous exhibits have critiqued the institutional structures of the museum itself. For example, Fred Wilson’s “Mining the Museum” displayed objects from museum storage. Through juxtaposition of these “omitted” pieces, the exhibit called attention to the institutionalized racism and sexism of the display.

³³ Translated by author from the French on the following Louvre promotional website: <http://films.louvre.fr/les-films/le-louvre-reel/du-palais-au-musee/la-ville-louvre.html>
Pour la première fois, un grand musée révèle ses coulisses au cinéma

the city of employees at work arranging paintings, moving statues, and putting the finishing touches to the space before the opening of the new glass pyramid at the Louvre in 1989.³⁴ Unlike Sokurov's film, *City* does not focus on a historical event in the history of the Louvre, but rather on one to occur in the future. Furthermore, *City* does not use a voiceover to examine a museum's place in a national tradition or even art in general. (However, I would argue that there are some scenes that subtly illustrate the intersections of the French class and racial divides.) Rather, *City* places an emphasis on a "behind the scenes" documentary "fly on the wall" approach to the museum. It follows the building's everyday life in anticipation of the opening, from administration to restoration, a similar tactic used in Wiseman's *National Gallery*, Holzhausen's *The Great Museum*, and Cohen's *Museum Hours*.³⁵ The mise-en-scène in the museum not only showcases the museum aesthetic itself onscreen, but the film documents the production that goes into this curated aesthetic.

The museum film, then, through the use of the moving image brings the objects found within the museum into motion. Walsh sees the promotion of a commodified nationalist history in museum culture. A "conundrum of the museum" arises from its attempt to "display the movement of history through non-moving objects (18). This critique lies in direct contrast to the appeal of the museum lying in the materiality (and implicit stasis) of the objects; the observer may experience the "presence" of the pastness of the objects. For Walsh, the stasis then further emphasizes the museum's decontextualization of the past and inability to accurately portray its complexity. *City*'s aesthetic also expresses a meditation on the nature of the moving image and mobility in the museum, which all of the aforementioned films touch on at some point. In several sequences in the film, Philibert attaches a camera to a cart

³⁴ Information also from the following source: <http://films.louvre.fr/les-films/le-louvre-reel/du-palais-au-musee/la-ville-louvre.html>. The film does not explicitly give the exact time-frame of the film within the documentary itself.

³⁵ The use of the definite article in the title for Holzhausen's film suggests a sort of nationalistic hierarchy, as well.

wheeling a statue (featured in the foreground of the shot) to a new location within the museum, as evidenced in the still below. Not only a documentation of the statue's journey on the grounds of the museum from Point A to Point B, the film comments on the mobility of the object as comparative with the onscreen images of daily life in the museum itself. The sculptures, shaped after a human being in mid-motion, remain static, but transcend space at the same time. Like the staff members the camera follows around the museum on their scooters in *The Great Museum* in their daily activities of administration and restoration, the statues also move: a torso is moved upstairs in an elevator; a bronze sculpture swings from a forklift; a large tableau is slid into one of the galleries.



A torso moves through the museum in *The City Louvre*

Curation shifts them to different contexts to their juxtapositions against other objects. Moreover, the bringing of these objects to cinematic audiences through their representation on screen could further be seen as a decommodification of the museum pieces in an effort to render them accessible to a larger group of people.

The viewer then experiences a representation of an already curated representation of objects and space meant to convey a narrativized history. These sequences recall both the virtual and mobile gaze in Anne Friedberg's monograph *Window Shopping*, which chronicles the emergence of the "mobilized gaze" in the nineteenth century. The museum film represents Friedberg's "mobilized virtual gaze," which she traces through the emergence of cinema in the late nineteenth century. This gaze is "not a direct perception but a *received* perception mediated through representation" (2). The focus on the gaze itself remains emphasized throughout the museum films. Images of the patrons are juxtaposed with the images of the figures in the paintings, oftentimes featured in a reversal of the normal Hollywood sequence of subject reaction and then reveal of the object of the gaze. The museum sequences first feature a shot of the piece, and then one of the human subject gazing at the particular artwork. Therefore, through this reversal, the faces themselves then become the portraiture. The spectators in the museum, as they gaze at the works, then in turn become the object of the gaze of the viewer. These onscreen spectators function as a sort of avatar for those in the audience, which may desire to visit the particular museums featured within these films, or nostalgically remember a previous visit.

The museum film then also expands on the representation of history and memory in a way that the museum cannot. As viewers, the audience has access to all levels of the museum normally restricted from the public. These include the filing cabinets containing employee case files to drawers containing objects waiting for restoration. The retiring director of the museum in *The Great Museum* himself becomes "archived" on his retirement, his work documents placed in a non-descript storage space. Moreover, the film provides mobility to the viewer to access objects they might not have the opportunity of viewing, whether through the inability to travel to the museum or even approach the objects more closely. Indeed, in contrast to the emphasis on materiality as part of the nature of the museum experience, though

the observer does remain in the presence of the object, very rarely does the interaction amount to more than the gaze with objects framed or encased in glass. By calling attention to the representation itself of these museum objects onscreen (and the museums themselves), the museum films “decenter” the museum and emphasize the subjectivity of the viewer (Friedberg 2). The museum film parallels the ritual of museum and cinema going, designed to give an international public access to sites of memory, otherwise prohibited through time, distance, or cost. As Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett suggests in *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*, the museum becomes a sort of tourist destination, as well as an alternative to heritage destination travel (151). In turn, the museum films could incite visitor traffic through the viewers’ aspiration to directly experience the objects.

Moreover, the museum is a part of the city and a city in and of itself. Museum films transcend the boundaries of the museum building and examine the museum as both informed by and representative of the city. One particular scene in *City* represents the permeability of the museum when a section of the stones of the Louvre literally swing out to receive a painting arriving from the outside. Oftentimes, the city functions as an avatar for a highly centralized nation, particularly in the case of Paris and London (though the argument could also be made for Vienna). Kirshenblatt-Gimblett suggests, “not only do ordinary things become special when placed in museum settings, but the museum experience itself becomes a model for experiencing life outside its walls” (51). She describes one nineteenth century Londoner, impressed by his visit to the recent exhibitions as seeing the city as a “vast museum of all objects” (51). Though Kirshenblatt-Gimblett’s source posits the museum experience as one of enlightenment, she, like Walsh, suggests that nationalist categorizations and narratives then also extend to the outside environment and vice versa.³⁶ The representation of the city in these films does then take on a museum-like quality or

³⁶ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett’s text focuses for the most part on ethnographic displays, but her arguments on the museum and the production of heritage remains relevant to this particular set of films, as well.

musealization. If Wright refers to the musealization of his native country of Great Britain through the heritage movement, the musealization of the city also contains a pejorative connotation. The city itself then becomes entrapped in the demands of tourism, entombed as a site of for the commodification of heritage rather than a space of everyday life (as I shall explore more fully in the section on Woody Allen's films in Europe).

Ironically, Cohen's *Museum Hours*, contrary to its title, focuses its narrative primarily on what happens outside the temporal spatial confines of museum hours. Though a narrative feature, *Museum Hours* has a decidedly documentary feel similar to that of *The Great Museum*, both set in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in contemporary Vienna.³⁷ The former film focuses on the story of a friendship between one of the museum's guards and a Canadian woman there to visit a dying cousin. In the two primary narrative threads, the (seemingly) eternal presence of the museum, designed to preserve and restore artifacts into cultural memory, is juxtaposed against the death of the woman's distant cousin. The film initially focuses on the museum musings on the paintings, as well as the guard's observations of the visitor's reception and interpretation of the pieces. As the friendship between the singer and museum guard grows, they spend less time in the museum itself. The film shows how the "museum aesthetic" permeates outside the museum building itself through a gradual encounter with life outside of the museum. *Museum Hours* contrasts the bleak greyness of a wintered Vienna and its surrounding suburbs with the warm, gilded interiors of the Kunsthistorisches Art Museum, vibrant with artistic discussion and the lively scenes of the pieces. (In contrast, *The Great Museum* never leaves the museum save for a few exterior long shots.) The museum is rendered more appealing in the context of the unappealing aesthetic of the outside city. At the same time, the film gradually shifts focus to sites around the city, exposing alternative "sites of memory" outside of the space of the Kunsthistorisches Museum.

³⁷ In general, *Museum Hours* was better received than *The Museum*, which was seen as not taking a critical enough stance of the museum hierarchy and politics.

The camera pans through hospital where Canadian visitor Anne's cousin lies in a coma, the Naschmarkt flea market where visitors search for "treasures," and the touristic kitsch of the salt mines in the surrounding countryside. The museum also finds ways to transcend its boundaries into the city outside, as well. In one particular sequence, Anne describes a painting at the Kunsthistorisches Museum to Johann. Rather than showing the image of the painting itself, an image of an anti-septic modern building appears onscreen juxtaposed against buildings of the grey skyline, which accompany the voiceover of Anne's description. The musealization of the city, rather than portrayed as negative experience through the eyewitness, becomes a positive one where the city then becomes alive when the observer has museum eyes-- juxtaposed against the objects found in the museum.

Like the preservation/restoration of houses associated with the British Heritage Acts and the home emphasis of the German *Heimat*, the Louvre figures as a former home (to French royalty) turned public museum. Some scholars argue these museums have become metaphorical home for national identity. In his essay for Nora's work, "The Louvre: Royal Residence and Temple of the Arts," Jean-Pierre Babelon states, "In the case of the Louvre it was a royal home that was turned into a museum, but the transformation was so gradual that the domestic terminology of the original building has made its way into the lexicon of the museum: thus the Louvre's rooms are known as salons, galleries, and cabinets" (274).

Inversely, these films examine the extent to which the museum wishes to decontextualize itself from the city (and implicitly the nation and international public). In *National Gallery*, the focus seems to be alternately on how to include and also exclude the city. One sequence focusing on the administrative duties of the National Gallery features a long, drawn-out board meeting on how the London Marathon would end in front of museum, and to what extent this outside event should be acknowledged by the institution. The tension between the museum and the gaze of the public both in terms of the exterior and interior of the museum runs as a

theme throughout these films. “What does the Louvre look like when the public isn’t there?” asks the promotional material for Philibert’s film on the Louvre museum website. The viewer of the film then has privilege the museum going public does not, simultaneously working to break down, as well as promote the aura of heritage. The implication from this quotation remains that the Louvre is more genuine or “authentic” without the gaze of the public. Babelon explores this heritage of elitism and the public in the history of the Louvre: “Ultimately, it was the Louvre of the academies and salons that established the building’s palace in collective memory as a palace of the arts, a palace that is now daily invaded by crowds of tourists from the four corners of the world” (253). Babelon’s use of the word “invasion” suggests a non-flattering portrayal of those visiting the Louvre, and emphasizes an exclusionary and nationalistic (namely, non-French visitors) tone throughout the rest of the essay. On the other hand, *Francofonia* will address what the Louvre looks like when the artworks themselves are not present, and are, instead, decentralized and dispersed among the public long denied access.

National Gallery further addresses this tension of workplace hierarchy through the documented staff meetings, an orchestration of elitist rhetoric and administrative concerns. In the first meeting featured, the National Gallery’s status as a tourist destination is met with tentative acknowledgement by the head of the museum. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett describes how the museum replaces the need for tourism where the museum itself becomes the “tourist destination,” able to recreate the experience of travelling (59). The museum remains a “public” institution, particularly in the desire to maintain a certain aesthetic of “higher art.” This tension between the private and the public occupies many of the meetings documented within the films, a simultaneous desire to include yet also exclude. (This exclusion is also documented in the hierarchy evident in the staff. In a memorable scene from *The Great Museum*, a museum assistant whose first language is not German chastizes the administration

for its lack of inclusion, hinting at xenophobia in a nationally “unified” museum. The discussion on the use of a font for an advertisement for patrons takes up almost as much cinematic time as the focus on the restoration of each of the respective *Kunstkammer* objects. Multiple sequences in Wiseman’s *National Gallery* include community outreach focus groups, such as a story time for local schoolchildren. In one sequence, patrons with visual impairments touch texturized graphs of Van Gogh paintings. Both *Museum Hours* and the *National Gallery* open with a member of the custodial staff cleaning the floors of the exhibit halls. The care given to the shining of the plain wooden flooring, attempting to erase the dirt and scuff marks of thousands of visitors compares with the conservation/restoration practiced by the art historians for the paintings that hang on the walls in the museum. Babelon suggests, “When we look at the Louvre, we therefore see two images side by side, but as in a stereoscopic view, the two [high art and tourist destination] must coalesce if we are to see the palace in proper perspective” (253-254). Rather, I would suggest that the tension between “high art” and “tourism,” creates the appeal of the museum as a cinematic site. Moreover, the museum film tries to resolve this tension. Sokurov examines this dialectic throughout his career in his films on the museum, but, in particular, his most recent film, *Francofonia*.

Francofonia

“Who would we be without the museums?” asks Sokurov near the beginning of his 2015 documentary/narrative film *Francofonia*. The camera zooms in on a painted photographic image of the Louvre circa World War II.³⁸ This enigmatic voiceover poses several problems. First, Sokurov never clarifies to whom the “we” refers: Are they the individual characters in the three narrative strands that run through this film (Napoleon, Marianne, etc.); the nation (France) under occupation, or rather its occupiers (Germany); an international community (Europe or the rest of the world)? Furthermore, Sokurov does not

define the space of the museum itself. He oscillates throughout the film as to what extent the interests of the individual, the state, and the museum intersect. The “we” inevitably creates an exclusive and othering division of national identity. Secondly, the use of the subjunctive mood for the verb “would be” suggests the imagined possibility of an alternative history or future. Sokurov embraces the slippages in such terminology throughout the film to create the structure of *Francofonia*. As Jeremi Szaniawski argues in his monograph on Sokurov, there exists in his films an “interstitial dialectic play between memory and history, one substitutable for the other as a world of imagination, of nostalgia for an impossible space” (179). Sokurov remains one of the most prolific directors interested in exploring in the concept of the museum onscreen through its representation of history and memory. He does so in a manner that exposes the historical politicization of the museum, aesthetic even if he refuses to acknowledge the result.



The Germans invade the Louvre

When describing Count Franz Wolff-Metternich’s attempt to prevent French artworks from being shipped into Germany by higher Nazi officials (Goebbels, Hitler, etc.) with what the director describes as “amateur” art interests, Sokurov states, “The goals of states and that of art seldom coincide.” This attempt at depoliticizing art in highly politicized contexts runs

as a common theme throughout Sokurov's films. Ironically, Sokurov likes to position himself in interviews as decidedly anti-cinematic and apolitical. For a director adored by cinephiles and lauded as an auteur at European film festivals, including Venice or Cannes, Sokurov regularly lambasts cinema in regards to its ability to represent, favoring instead a materialist presence (like the museum): "I never especially liked cinema, and I don't particularly like it any more now.... No aspect of my films, visual or otherwise, come from cinematic influences; they come instead through the influence of [painting and symphonic music]" (Szaniawski 289).³⁹ Sokurov's past as a university history major manifests itself in meditations on historical figures (Hitler, Stalin, Hirohito), as well as texts of European national heritage (*Madame Bovary*, *Faust*) (Szaniawski 27). Moreover, several of his films have also focus on the sites of historical representations, namely the museum. Perhaps his most well known (and many argue, his most accessible) work remains *Russian Ark* (2002), over a century of Russian history condensed into roughly ninety minutes. At the same time, Sokurov has occupied a curious political (though he may argue apolitical) position in his native Russia, as well as maintained a mutual adoration of European culture (Szaniawski 10). Though the film itself focuses primarily on the "Louvre Under the Occupation" (as the French title states), Sokurov seems more interested in disassociating himself from a historical political narrative.

Francophonie opened at the Venice film festival to acclaim. His previous film, *Faust* (2011), had won the top prize several years previously.⁴⁰ The film had an overall successful reception with film critics at Cannes, in part due to the reinforced if not renewed pride in the French *valeurs* and *culture française* in response to the January "Charlie Hebdo" attacks and the film's overall laudation of French national culture. The film then saw its release in cinemas in France in early November 2015, only a few days before the November 13th attacks

³⁹ "Interview with Alexander Sokurov" from *The Cinema of Alexander Sokurov: Figures of Paradox*.

⁴⁰ <http://variety.com/2015/film/festivals/francofonie-review-alexander-sokurov-venice-film-festival-1201585728/>

in Paris. As many people avoided public places in the weekend following the attacks, the theater was nearly empty when I saw the film, despite Sokurov's comparative popularity with French audiences. The film's production had begun several years ago before the renewed wave of French nationalism and exceptionalism in response to the Charlie Hebdo attacks and the wave of Euro-anxiety in response to the refugee crisis. The film engages in the representation of Paris as a site of memory and history in a way that draws attention to these current events. The nation, city, and museum all intersect in *Francofonia* in a sweeping examination of both individual and transnational identity and appropriation.

Russian Ark's cinematic gaze does not extend beyond the boundaries of the museum into the streets of St. Petersburg, save for the final fade-out shot of the sea through the window. *Francofonia* explores the influence of the city on the museum and vice versa. An uncanny moment occurs near the beginning of *Francofonia* when a tracking shot appears, a microcosmic example of the one used by Sokurov in *Ark*. In this case, the camera hovers at rooftop level, gradually rising, through the streets of a contemporary Paris rather than the interior of the Russian Hermitage. In a voiceover, Sokurov states, "I've been thinking about this city a lot lately. The Louvre is here somewhere." As the camera pans down to the city below, he states, "I don't see it." Ironically, the Louvre appears outside the frame of the camera's gaze (as it turns downward), but *Francofonia* focuses entirely on the "looking at" of the Louvre. In many ways, Sokurov's film functions as a decentering or deconstruction of the continuous gaze of the long take of *Russian Ark*. In a twist of temporality, a recent interview with *Cahiers du Cinema* reveals that Sokurov came up with the idea to film inside the Louvre "around the time of *Russian Ark*" (Beghin and Tessé 26-29). In a nod most likely to his previous film and his own national roots, Sokurov turns back, again, in the last twenty minutes of the film, to an examination of the Russian Hermitage during World War II. Over two-thirds of the way through the film, Sokurov adds another spatial/temporal dimension to

the narrative by drawing a comparative portrait of the Hermitage during World War II. It not only circles back to Sokurov's initial fascination with the museum in *Russian Ark*, but juxtaposes it to the life of the Louvre itself: "The Louvre, the Louvre. Might it be that this museum is worth more than all of France?" asks Sokurov. The juxtaposition of the sequence focusing on the Hermitage affirms Sokurov's belief in this rhetorical question; he suggests protection of the Louvre merited Vichy complicity.

If the emphasis in *Russian Ark* lay on the continuity of the shot (aka the progression of history), *Francofonia* focuses on the juxtaposition of cuts. The film combines archival footage, historical re-enactments (made to resemble archival footage), stills of historical figures, paintings, contemporary film sequences, and digitized Skype conversations. Sokurov plays with representation, history, and memory through three storylines, often entangling like the "knot" of history Sokurov identifies in his film: The first film narrative is set during World War II and the Nazi invasion of Paris. Count Wolf-Metternich, the Nazi officer in charge of *Kunstschutz* (literally translated as protection of art) forms a friendship with Jacques Jaujard, the director of the Louvre and the national museums of France. Their cooperation, often at times at odds with the demands of the Nazi supervisors, ensured the protection of countless artifacts from the Louvre. In another storyline set in contemporary times, Sokurov conducts a Skype conference with a captain whose ship is transporting valuable artistic artifacts from Rotterdam during a violent storm at sea. The third narrative thread focuses on representations of Napoleon and Marianne, who wander through the hallways of the contemporary Louvre, spouting French nationalistic rhetoric to the (sometimes also present onscreen) cameraperson. Finally, like several sequences in Wiseman's *National Gallery*, *Francofonia* also dedicates reflection to some of the paintings found in the Louvre itself, and their simultaneous reflection of and reimagining of the history of the museum.

Fourteen years prior to the release of *Francofonia* and a year before the release of *Russian Ark*, Sokurov engaged with the interplay of memory and the museum in the European context in his *Elegy of a Voyage* (2001). The film was a commission of the Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum's exhibition *Unpacking Europe*. (Sokurov worked with both the Louvre and the Hermitage with varying degrees of success for his two full-length narrative features.) The museum film, and the museum itself then becomes part of the exhibit. Sokurov joins a line of directors hired as part of a commission by museums to film in part or entirely within the institution itself. As a celebration of its twenty-year anniversary, Musée d'Orsay commissioned several renowned directors to create a series of omnibus films that would celebrate the museum and its artworks. The project itself ultimately fell through, but directors Olivier Assayas, Tsai-Ming-liang, Hong Sangsoo, and Hou Hsiao-Hsien created films, which all contain reference to the museum.⁴¹ In *Summer Hours* (2008), Assayas inserts pieces of art pieces from D'Orsay into a narrative of family, the household, and inheritance. He directly links the house with the French national, as it is eventually sold out of the family, as two of the children have expatriated. Much of the press centers on how the museum loaned authentic artworks rather replicas to the film set, and it is startling to see the pieces amid the intimacy of everyday life.⁴² Characters scrutinize, pick up, and even break objects. "That was such a huge drama," the oldest son replies when confronted with the Degas plaster he destroyed as a youngster. When the matriarch of the family dies, the children must decide where to see the artwork, the buyers including D'Orsay. Though a preserver of national culture, the rise of the museum parallels the fall of everyday family life.

In *Elegy*, Sokurov playfully challenges representation and memory, which manifest itself later in the multiple narrative layers of *Francofonia*. As the frame fills with a medium

⁴¹ Conflicting information exists as to what extent the Musée d'Orsay was involved financially in project. Source: <http://filmmakermagazine.com/archives/issues/spring2009/summer-hours.php#.V7peKz6LRGK>

shot of one of the paintings, Sokurov states the following: “I don’t remember this window being open? I don’t remember there being so many children in this painting?”⁴³ Sokurov ironically appears to doubt the visual reference before him, as well as its representation onscreen. In this way, Sokurov mourns for false or distorted memories, calling into question the “authenticity” of memory. The museum film, and the museum itself then becomes part of the exhibit. As in *Francofonia*, Sokurov also makes an appearance in the film, but, in this case, he attempts to capture the materialist and tactile nature of the museum onscreen. A medium shot of his holding out his hand as if to touch and enter into the painting mimics a similar medium shot shown where his hand caresses the texturized stone walls of the house. The outdoor landscapes and moonlight in the paintings become replicated in the shadows of the house museum featured within *Elegy*, as the camera glides up staircases or on the edges of door frames. The museum space then becomes represented as a painting itself, framed by the camera. The *OED* defines elegy as “a piece of writing... imbued with a sense of mourning for something.” José Alaniz, in his essay on the use of crowds in *Russian Ark*, identifies “elegy as a common theme throughout Sokurov’s works” (155). In contrast to the French subtitle, translated as the *Louvre Under Occupation*, the English subtitle for Sokurov’s work on its release in Great Britain reads *Francofonia: An Elegy for Europe*. Its subtitle in the months leading up to Brexit referendum set the tone for Europe as a figure of the past. This subtitle creates a decided shift in temporality: Does Sokurov refer to the Europe of World War II or contemporary Europe? I would suggest the film reads as the latter. Sokurov explicitly mourns what he reads as the endangerment of a European culture, one best represented by the museum itself.

Sokurov’s film then inserts itself amid a debate of rising neo-nationalism and European identity. The museum, as Timothy Mitchell suggests in his essay, “The World as

⁴³ Author translation from the French.

Exhibition,” represents a specifically European desire to “look” at the past and “order the world,” as a particular narrativized (and for the most part Eurocentric) representation of the past (218). Sokurov, as pastiche as his films may sometimes appear, obsesses over an “ordering of the world,” whether through the control of the continuous one shot of *Ark* or meticulous production design of *Faust*. *Francofonia* narrates a series of historical events in the past (namely, the invasion of the Louvre and both administrators attempts to protect the artworks). However, it also contains reflections of the nature of European identity towards art itself. In a sequence towards the beginning of the film, Sokurov’s muses on the frequency of the portrait in the “European tradition.” I wonder what would have become of European culture if portraiture had not emerged. For some reason, Europeans developed the wish, the necessity of painting people’s faces....Why is this study so important to the Europeans while other people, such as the Muslims, don’t have it all?” Oddly enough, this specific line has not surfaced in reviews from French, British, or German sources, though Sokurov has been criticized for other ambiguous political positions. The film entered into an already present climate of Islamophobia in France. Not only does Sokurov create an erasure of the past through the complete focus on only the fate of works of the Louvre in World War II and ironic approach to Vichy complicity, but he also others Islamic art and denies subjectivity.

Moreover, Sokurov’s simultaneous embrace and removal of historical context outside the frame of narrative further problematizes his claims to a depoliticization of art. *Cahiers* readily points out *Francofonia*’s glossing over of history, an accusation also leveraged at him in regards to the depiction of history in *Russian Ark* and to a lesser extent in *Faust*, as well. It remains difficult to tell whether the voiceover itself employs a detached irony when discussing the Vichy regime’s compliancy with the Nazi invaders. He states simply that the French government “moved south.” In interviews with *Cahiers* and in the sequence showing the devastation of Leningrad during World War II in the last twenty minutes of the film,

Sokurov leans towards a defense of the Vichy government, suggesting that the compliance was necessary move to protect French culture.⁴⁴ Though referring to the protection of the paintings and sculptures at the Louvre, the insinuation lies that the sacrifice of French Jewish citizens and other “undesirables” was also a necessary effect of this preservation of high culture. Moreover, several critics, including *Cahiers* in its review, pointed out that no reference to the Holocaust was made within the film. Rather, the people most mourned are Jaujard and Metternich, whose respective funeral procession photos surface at the end of the film. Their deaths, years after the events portrayed in the film are mourned while others who died during the Occupation are not. Past accusations of anti-Semitism against Sokurov, perhaps, most disturbingly illustrated in the portrayal of the money-handler in *Faust*, further indicate a purposeful disinterest in these “gaps” in history. At one point in the film, Sokurov in voiceover states, “It sometimes seems museums don’t care about what happens around them as long as they’re left in peace,” and it parallels his political position as a director, as well.

Ironically, the most thorough narrative within *Francofonia*, one specifically designed to fulfill a historical “gap,” details the little known friendship of two administrators, Louvre director Jacques Jaujard and Nazi *Kunstschutz* officer Wolff-Metternich. Sokurov points out in a voiceover/dialogue with the characters at the end of the film that Jacques Jaujard was largely forgotten in French post World War II memory. Sokurov’s valorization of Jacques Jaujard becomes apparent through his critique of the current director of the Louvre, stating that the director of the museum at the time was “unappreciative of other forms of culture” (Beghin and Tessé 26-29).⁴⁵ In interactions between Jaujard and Wolff-Metternich, the former appears resentful of the Nazi occupiers, but, at the same time, complies with the officials. On

⁴⁴ from “Le cinéma est un couteau rouillé,” an interview with Sokurov in *Cahiers du Cinéma*. Nov. 2015 No. 716

⁴⁵ from the interview, “Le cinéma est un couteau rouillé” from *Cahiers du Cinéma*

their first meeting, Wolff-Metternich remarks that he seems to “be the only French state employee still at his post,” a reference to the Vichy government’s Southern retreat. In the final sequence, Sokurov, again, breaks the fourth wall of the camera between himself Jaujard/Wolff-Metternich. (The two characters had briefly had a conversation with the camera beforehand, but, in both cases, they camera appeared as a confidante rather than an unexpected intruder. Napoleon also interacts with a POV camera in the parallel narrative thread throughout the film.) Sokurov problematizes the connection with the gaze, power, and subjectivity in portraiture in *Francofonia*. The two characters then sit down in a medium shot in front of the camera, where the narrator reveals the respective future of both historical figures, presenting photographs of their funerals as evidence. Jacques Jaujard reacts in disbelief and defies the information given to him from behind the camera, but Wolff-Metternich stares at his feet through most of the voiceover, unresponsive. Wolff-Metternich occupies an ambiguous position as a representative of the German *Kunstschutz*, a program meant to “protect” works of art during wartime, but only ones that aligned with the specific interests of the German state. As the voice-over states, “The interests of state and art seldom collide.” Oddly, the final interaction seems designed to elicit sympathy from the viewer, though both held positions as representatives of and collaborators with the Nazi government. In the *Cahiers* interview, in particular, Sokurov seems quite defensive of the Vichy compliance with the Nazis, refusing to condemn their actions (Beghin and Tessé 26-29). As Szaniawski points out, Sokurov’s often hypocritical (a)politics provide a source of angst for many of his critics: “Rancière tries to come to terms with the tension between Sokurov’s progressive experiments in the artistic domain and his backward ideological declarations” (20).



Confronting the future in *Francofonia*

As illustrated by the previous example, in his retelling of the history of the Louvre, Sokurov also likes to take historical detours through “imagine if” scenarios interspersed throughout the film. A later sequence in the film focuses on the depiction of the history of the Louvre, as well as a hypothetical future or alternative histories of the museum: The Louvre is shown in its earlier fortress stages, its transition from private residence to public museum, and finally as a waste of collapsing ruins. If *Russian Ark* focuses on “real time” in the past, *Francofonia* embraces the use of archival footage and photography.⁴⁶ The first shot of the Hermitage in *Francofonia* is that of a photograph, rather than the moving image presented in *Russian Ark*. He further illustrates the subjective nature of authenticity not only through the decontextualization of photographs of the dead (claiming that they are sleeping), but also the dubbing over of historical footage by the director himself. Sokurov does so in his voiceover of archival footage of one of Hitler’s tours of Paris: The archival image of Hitler poses Sokurov’s question of the location of the Louvre and then answers, “There is the Louvre!”

⁴⁶ Though, ironically, Birgit Beumers in her essay, “And the Ark Sails On,” points out that “the technical feat—the take in one breath—that so many reviewers have commented upon, is fragmented during the projection” (176). Thus, the production historical “event” through the filming that José Alaniz addresses in his essay “Crowd Control: Anxiety of Effluence in Sokurov’s *Russian Ark*” finds erasure [156].)

Moreover, in contrast to the use of archival footage and photographs, Sokurov's incorporation of new media in this particular film sets it apart from his previous works, showing the historical "gaps" of time delay, faulty connection, etc., even in a supposedly instantaneous connection.

Conclusion

Does the growing popularity of the museum film indicate museums will lessen in their popularity as a tourist attraction? A 2015 special exhibition, titled "Obedience," at the Jewish Museum in Berlin featured the work of film director Peter Greenaway and visual artist Saskia Boddeke. The installation relayed the story of Abraham's sacrificial offering of his son through the three different monotheistic religions: Christianity; Judaism; Islam. Greenaway is best known for his postmodern heritage film staples, such as the *Draughtsman's Contract* (1982). A large part of the exhibit was dedicated to the memory of those who died in the Holocaust, as well as hinted at the increasing Islamophobia in Europe. At the entrance to the exhibit stood a computer where one could sit and "explore" the museum exhibition as a virtual avatar. Rather than moving through the exhibition itself, visitors could instead move through a virtual visit onscreen. In the time it took for me to walk through the exhibit, one patron had spent that time walking through the virtual exhibit at the computer. He had not left the station for the entirety of my time in the exhibit. The museum does, indeed, as Friedberg suggests, create a space of virtual reality, where the visitor participates in an imagined past, to which, I suggest such stations call attention. The museum film also performs the same function, though grounding itself in materiality through the indexical reference of the onscreen image. As Nora wrote in his reflection on heritage culture in 1997, "This exponential growth in the area covered by the concept of the heritage clearly reflects a thoroughgoing democratizing process and a constant proliferation of the forms in which it finds expression" (15). Museums and their visitors (potential and present) will continue to

engage in new forms of representation of temporality and physical space. The museum film itself then could become the new museum destination.

Chapter Two:

The Alternative *Heimat*: Herzog and Reitz's Representations of the *Indianer*

In the introduction to its thirty-first issue, the German film criticism magazine *Revolver* asks the following: question “How can one make the past contemporary? That is one of cinema’s basic questions (4).” Though *Revolver* poses this question in the context of cinema in general, I would argue that the poignancy of this particular question lies in the journal’s focus on German cinema. Unlike the United States, France, or Great Britain, German filmmakers have been reluctant to revisit its national past in search for an “authentic” representation, or, “make its past contemporary.” Indeed, as Rosenfeld writes, other nations, rather than Germany itself, have produced the largest number of films devoted to the Holocaust and World War II (15). Furthermore, the reluctance to represent any form of the national past extends beyond that of the tumultuous twentieth-century. Aside from a relative handful of works in the former GDR and the odd film over the years (for example, *Goethe!* [2010]) or *The Beloved Sisters* [2014]), the British nineteenth century costume film and television series, wildly popular in Germany, are rarely found on its own production slates. The lack of German produced films set in the nineteenth stems from an anxiety of being perceived as looking past the Holocaust and World War II history (Virchow-Voigts 123). The absence of representation of these events would signify complicity in ignoring them. On the other hand, when Germany has attempted to make films about the Holocaust and World War II, such as in the case of *Downfall*, reaction in Germany itself had been polemical (Hake 3).⁴⁷ The question arises whether attempts to visually represent the Holocaust and World War II exploit the victims and provide a “safe” pleasure for the viewer. Instead, over the years, in order to side-step these concerns, German heritage literary and visual cultures have sought other methods to bring the past into the present in a search for historical authenticity through

alternative heritages. The first alternate heritage occurs in the form of the *Heimat* film, a specifically German film genre associated with what Kaes describes as representative of all that is “not distant and foreign” (165). The second heritage genre occurs through an equally idealized identification with indigenous peoples in visual and literary culture, namely *Indianerkultur*.⁴⁸ It manifests itself in the form of an alternative heritage through which Germans try to work through the past, as well as its continuation into the present. This chapter is not the first to address Herzog’s films in the context of the indigenous tradition, though it is the first to use them as a critical lens for the use of German culture’s “alternative history” in the appropriation of indigenous culture.

Indianerkultur signifies a desire of German culture to return to its imagined roots, an act that erases or changes the past like the *Heimat* tradition itself. Or, to use the title of Edgar Reitz’s latest contribution to his *Heimat* series, *Fernweh* becomes *Die Andere Heimat (Home Away From Home)* [2013]. Johannes von Moltke in his monograph *No Place Like Home: Locations of Heimat in German Cinema*, navigates the “spatial dialectic” of the *Heimat*, as both “coming to” and “leaving from” [*Fernweh*] (215). If one looks at Moltke’s and Kaes’s respective definitions, both terms develop from loss and/or exclusion. I am interested in how this inversion of the *Heimat* through *Fernweh* leads to an appropriation of *Indianerkultur* in German film and literary culture. In order to do so, I will interrogate the works of two German film directors, Werner Herzog and Edgar Reitz. Both of these directors are members of the New German Cinema (or at least contemporaries of the New German Cinema movement, in response to Herzog’s protests).⁴⁹ According to many critics, including Santner and Kaes in their seminal monographs on the German filmic relation to its past, the New German Cinema was a response to the idealistic *Heimat* cinema of the 1950’s, and was the

⁴⁸ With my use of the terms *Indianer*, I will follow the lead of previous critics, such as Susanne Zantop or Hartmut Lutz, in that the term *Indianer* refers to the representation or concept of indigeneity in German culture.

⁴⁹ In *Werner Herzog--A Guide for the Perplexed: Conversations with Paul Cronin*, Herzog insists that it “was a myth that [those who signed the Oberhausen Manifesto] were a coherent group” (Cronin 46).

first German cinema movement to explicitly acknowledge the Holocaust/World War II.⁵⁰ However, despite Herzog's claims that the New German Cinema was "a myth," these directors have returned in the past five years to fairly controversial works that had brought them to international attention, as well as created polemical responses and a certain degree of mythologization in their country of origin (Cronin 46). This chapter will first give a brief introduction to the portrayal of American indigenous peoples in specifically German literary and later cinematic traditions. Second, it will then move on to a reading of Herzog's *Fitzcarraldo*, namely how the film and its controversial production provides a useful lens for examining the German appropriation of American indigenous identity. Third, it will examine Herzog's cameo in Reitz's *Die Andere Heimat* as representative of a meeting of the two alternative heritage traditions, wherein the German director returns as the "Other" to the *Heimat*. I argue in this chapter, that the works of Edgar Reitz and Werner Herzog interrogate alternative heritages located in the *Heimat* and *Indianerfilm* genres in Germany, namely the displacement or dislocation of *Heimat* into an *Ersatz-heritage* through *Fernweh*.⁵¹ Despite the conflicting reports and polemicized reviews of the film, Herzog's *Fitzcarraldo* provides a useful lens for the examination of this tradition of *Indianerkultur* on film. This reading of Herzog's film distinguishes itself from previous literature on indigenous and post-colonial images in the director's works through its situation of the filmic texts as representative of an exchange of alternate histories

***"Ich bin wirklich Old Shatterhand:"* Alternative Representations of the Past**

The German Ministry of Education created the above advertisement to promote reading among young children: "David, 6, is going on a travel adventure."

⁵⁰ Though, as Lutz Koepnick states in his article on the German heritage film and the Holocaust, there were rarely any attempts to directly represent the experience of the victims [54].

⁵¹ Eckart Virchow-Voigts writes in his article, "Heritage and literature on screen: *Heimat* and heritage" on the appeal of British/French/American heritage films in Germany as an *Ersatz-Heritage* (replacement heritage), which I reference in the introduction.



Indianer spielen in the Berlin U-Bahn

Dressed in the *Indianerfederschmuck* (the Native American feather headdress present in most representations of North American Indigeneity in Germany), the children in this advertisement perform indigeneity under the auspices of a German national cultural movement (the German initiative for culture). Found amid the Berlin U-Bahn, the poster reminds commuters of the presence of Indianerkultur in German everyday lives. Though seen throughout Middle and some parts of Western Europe (France and the Czech Republic being examples), Germans, in particular, exhibit a strong “*Indianthusiasm*,” which Hartmut Lutz labels as “a strong identification with and love for Native American culture” (169).

As a German director, Herzog certainly had a long history of indigenous representation to draw from in his own imaginative framing, stemming all the way back to the nineteenth century. If one could trace the nineteenth century German literary figure that has had the greatest pop culture presence throughout the twentieth and into the twenty-first century, it would not be the characters of Faust or Effie Briest who have captured the popular imagination in Germany, but rather the indigenous character of Winnetou. Karl May, the creator of the character Winnetou and his German “blood-brother,” Old Shatterhand, is

considered “one of the most popular authors in German literature” and many of his stories “featured German heroes in the American West and Orient alongside exoticized non-German characters” (Weber 164). His novels and their onscreen adaptations have been the greatest influence on the representation of indigenous peoples in German literary and visual culture through the twentieth century. From carpet advertisements to Wild West towns, the presence of the American indigenous representations in Germany remains astounding in contemporary German life. The prolific identification with specifically American indigenous peoples can seem perplexing to those outside of German culture. The appeal of Karl May has seemed to hold little traction within the United States itself. In turn, the German fascination with North American indigenous cultures, in particular, has become a source of fascination for Americans. Almost always appropriated for entertainment and commercial advertising purposes, this identification with the image of the *Indianer* opens up conflicted modes of representation. I would argue the media controversy surrounding Herzog’s production of *Fitzcarraldo* exposed some of these conflicts in the tradition of the representation of *Indianerkultur* in Germany, even if it did not lead to a necessarily self-reflexive moment on the part of Herzog or the German public/media.

In general, the *Indianerkultur* in Germany has long experienced, indeed, in many ways embraced, a lack of self-reflexivity. The specific representation of indigeneity (headdress, return to nature, etc.) has been assimilated into everyday life to the point where it signifies a level of normality. Karl May had never met a Native American nor travelled to the United States until he had completed his novels (Feest 25). Aside from a small note referencing the date of his first American visit, the exhibit at the official Karl May museum near Dresden does not advertise that the author had no direct experience with indigenous cultures whereupon to base his writings. (Indeed, it takes some quick mathematics on the part of the visitor, and I would argue the museum actually does its best to hide this detail.) Though,

perhaps, meant to provide a sympathetic portrayal of the Native American, the stories themselves are told through the lens of the white settler for non-indigenous consumers. In his historical monograph on German Indianerkultur, *Kindred by Choice: Germans and Indians since 1800*, H. Glenn Penny reasons why Karl May, in particular, has held such a long appeal with the masses in Germany:

What May did do was mine the literature produced by the writers who came before him and simplify Germans' efforts to engage it. ...These scholars have generally agree that part of his success was due to his use of these already extant stories for their historical and factual backdrop of his adventures. That made them both familiar and authentic for his readers. (67)

Hence, May's ability to narrativize history cultivated his success. At the same time, May sustained a myth of personal familiarity with indigenous peoples, whereas the Karl May exhibition quotes him as saying, "Ich bin wirklich Old Shatterhand/I really am Old Shatterhand" (the white man who befriends and lives with the Native Americans in his stories). May's depiction of the Native American has culturally determined how Germans perceive American indigenous people from the nineteenth century onwards, namely as mirrors for white, colonialist anxieties. Penny suggests, "Ideologues in every German regime, in fact, were able to harness American Indians for their own purposes, and they continued to do so across a strikingly *longue durée* and through a series of radical political ruptures" (163). Indeed, in many ways, Penny mirrors May in that he associates the "fractured" nature of the German state throughout the nineteenth century with an "indigenous connection," claiming a "central point of affinity" as a result of this lack of nationhood (15). He furthermore goes on to claim a "core set of values" between German and indigenous peoples, which remain largely undefined within the text (164). The rhetoric of affinities between Germans and indigenous

peoples has not been uncommon in criticism, and surfaced throughout the *Fitzcarraldo* pre-production controversy.

The identification with the *Indianer* started integrating into everyday German life through role-playing and hobbyists. Critics trace the emergence of the Karl May novels as strongly related to constructing a German national character, arriving “at a time when German nationalism searched for ‘authentic’ national traditions and aimed to define itself against others” in the nineteenth century (Lutz 179). During World War II, Lutz argues that the identification with the *Indianer* was seen as a form of “compensatory self-aggrandizement,” portraying the Native American as a sort of simultaneous party-loyal Übermensch (179). (He and numerous other critics have commented on the irony of the Nazi party choosing the figure of the indigenous Native American to represent their racially purist ideologies.) While silent film adaptations of the Karl May films surfaced in the 1920’s, it was not until the post-war era that the novel adaptations exploded in popularity. Post World War II saw the adaptation of many of Karl May’s novel in West Germany, an alternative to the regional *Heimatfilme*. DEFA capitalized off of the success by creating its own Karl May films, the more generically named *Indianerfilme*. These were embraced by the former GDR as an anti-American critique, though these representations also played off of Hollywood stereotypes. Both the Karl May films and the *Indianerfilme* have become ingrained in the German national consciousness, from the well-known Winnetou theme music played in the background of game shows to the *Indianerfederschmuck* worn at concert outings, and they continue to affect the conflicted representations of indigeneity to this day (180). As numerous critics have pointed out, it is interesting that a nation with arguably no indigenous population and lacking the colonialism of France or Great Britain should identify so strongly with indigenous peoples. Indeed, the *representation of* the tradition of German indigenous representation has been privileged over other representations, which comes from a privileged position in and of itself.

If, as has been suggested by some critics, such as Eckart Voigts-Virchow, the filmic connection to the nineteenth century-German past has been severed, the construction of indigeneity provides an appealing imaginative framework strongly associated with the nation and an alternate pre-World War II past. The “*Ersatz-Heritage*” Voigts-Virchow describes in his essay consists of British heritage texts that provide an escapist alternative to the horrors of World War II and the Holocaust (9). The representation of the *Indianer* has then provided a much longer tradition of an alternative imageric past than the British heritage film or television series. However, in the efforts to create a desirable national filmic identity, the representations become complicit in distortion. As mentioned beforehand, Karl May had no interactions with indigenous peoples before writing his novels, outside of the numerous Wild West productions touring through Europe at that time. Though they may have touted (and continue to do so) their sympathetic portrayal of the Native Americans, both the West German Karl May and DEFA *Indianerfilme* engage the same stereotypes and performance of indigeneity perpetuated in Hollywood films. Susanne Zantop’s introduction to the anthology *Visual Representations of Native Americans* places emphasis on the transnational dialogue between German depictions of Native Americans and the Hollywoodized standard. The acknowledgement of said dialogues rarely takes place. Instead, representations continue to distort themselves: “These European fantasies of the Native American, in turn, influenced American perceptions and stereotypes constituting a dialogue across the Atlantic” (Fitz 15). Hence, European representations become complicit in the American representations they intend to defy. Moreover, these representations often take on abstract value judgments. As Alina Diane Weber, in an essay on the theatrical staging of Native Americans in the Karl May festivals found throughout Germany during the summer, comments on the value dichotomies that these representations set up:

[*Indianer* representations] are always found wanting as they reduce themselves to a dichotomy of simplified good or bad stereotypes and never allow the Native American to simply be a “fellow man” or woman (Fontane 178). The same can be said about most popular German representations of Native Americans. (163).

Reduction of stereotypes can be seen in the media representations themselves through the positioning of “good” and “bad,” whereas the German representations tend to identify themselves as the sympathetic and then implicitly (and sometimes explicitly) more accurate portrayals of the indigenous peoples. A 2012 exhibition on DEFA film at the Potsdam film included a section devoted to the *Indianer* films. A photo of the famous Hungarian film star, Gojko Mitic, wearing red face, contained a caption below stating that the DEFA *Indianer* was considered “more accurate than Hollywood stereotypes.” Though the *Indianer* may have been portrayed more sympathetically (and this point itself oftentimes seems arguable), “accuracy” does not seem quite appropriate in this context. Herzog’s position as a German filmmaker, one certainly exposed to the May and DEFA representations of the *Indianer*, means that the production found itself in the midst of the transatlantic flow of indigenous representation, inadvertently bringing attention to it.

The startling intimacy of German culture with this indigenous othering in the midst of controversy is perhaps best exemplified by the Karl May Museum in the sleepy suburb of Radebuel, Dresden. In this location, a simultaneous desire to appropriate indigenous culture and maintain a familiarized *Heimat* exists. The slogan for the museum found on the ticket stub states the following: “Two Worlds, one experience.” Indigenous artifacts, from clothing to artwork, are brought into the former home of Karl May, and then decontextualized and assembled into a narrative that fits a commercialized tourist experience. The museum acts as a microcosm for a larger *Indianer* movement in Germany, wherein indigeneity has become a

commodity in Germany. On the museum grounds, the *Heimat* and the *unheimlich* meet. The unusual sight of a plastic statue of a Native American in full warrior headdress welcomes visitors to the Karl May Museum, the former house of the author now converted into a visitor center. One portion of the museum dedicates itself to indigenous clothes and materials, the other to Karl May's autobiography. However, the latter often overshadows the former. The path to the main exhibition hall features a playground for families with colourfully painted totem poles and standees of the filmic Winnetou and Old Shatterhand. When I visited the museum in January 2013, "real Indian scalps" were still tacked to the wall as pre-recorded presentation emphasizes the quality and authenticity of the exhibits. It cited praise "actual" Native American visitors have lavished on the authenticity of the exhibit materials. Almost immediately outside the door to the room where the scalps were once displayed, stands an *Indianerfilm* cutout where children can take a picture of themselves as the filmic Winnetou and Old Shatterhand. To end the visit, one walks through a gift store laden with May's full collection of works and the filmic adaptations of the novels. Herein lies an instance of *Ersatz*-heritage brought into the home or the *Heimat*. This museum exemplifies the German national appropriation of American indigenous identity through film, literature, and museum to form its own alternative heritage culture: *Fernweh* thus makes itself accessible in the safety of the *Heimat*.

The site dedicates itself to the memory of the author whom many view as the catalyst for *Indianerkultur* in contemporary Germany. At the same time, the voice-over introduction in the museum also claims an "accurate representation" of indigenous North American cultures. A 2014 article in *New York Times* detailed the conflict between American and indigenous groups and German museum administration over the presence of actual Native American scalps in the Karl May museum. In recent years, representatives of the Chippewa tribe have requested that the scalps be returned to the United States for a ceremonial burial.

Though a meeting between representatives resulted in the scalps being recently taken down from display, the museum has made no move to return the scalps to the tribe. The curators and directors of the museum made the argument that the scalps themselves evoke a “memorial character to the past when white settlers and trappers did not think anything of human rights” (Eddy A5). Hence, there remains a strange divide in the logic, wherein the museum administration wishes to remember past injustices, but then privileges memory of the white settler over that of the indigenous person. Instead, the scalps lie “preserved” in the German collection, which the curator Mr. Grunert claims has the “obligation to protect. We don’t know what will happen in 100 years” (Eddy A5). This obscure reference to fears about the future absolved through a reactionary desire to preserve the past defines in many ways the fascinating duplicity of the *Indianerkultur* in Germany, namely a postcolonial (re)appropriation of indigenous cultures. Not only does the Karl May museum claim to celebrate representation of the Native American, but also promotes a fantasy of authentic empathy. The museum functions as a microcosmic example of the representation of indigenous peoples in German culture.

The reluctance of the museum to return them could result in what the prominent German newsmagazine *Der Spiegel* referred to as a “transatlantic conflict” between Germany and indigenous peoples in the Americas. In an interview with *Spiegel*, museum curator Hans Grunert suggests a sense of ownership on the behalf of the museum. In both the American and German news, the rhetoric in his quoted responses to the appeals from tribe members comes off as quite harsh: “On the other hand, a museum is responsible for treasuring and protecting objects of cultural history, We cannot simply annihilate any such cultural historical materials (Pitzke).”⁵² His use of a “vernichten” in the original German quote (annihilate) proves an extremely poor choice of words in view of the genocide suffered by indigenous peoples at the

⁵²Pitzke, Marc. “Karl-May-Museum gegen Ureinwohner: Der Streit um die Skälpe von Radebuel.” *Der Spiegel Online*. 18.08.2014. Translation from the German by author.

hands of white settlers in North America, as well as Germany's own history of genocide with the Holocaust.



Fernweh across the suburb outside the Karl May Museum

His reaction to the appeals made by the tribe also gives insight into long held attitudes towards representations of indigeneity in Germany--a simultaneous appropriation and "othering." Therein lies a suggestion that the Germans are better able to represent indigeneity than the indigenous groups themselves. The *New York Times* article expands on *Spiegel's* description of a transatlantic "conflict" through comparison of transatlantic attitudes towards indigenous representation in museums.

Though public sentiment in the United States has slowly shifted since the 1960s toward supporting the right of indigenous peoples, especially the American Indians, to reclaim and define their own cultures from museums and institutions, no such transformation has taken place in Germany. (Eddy A5)

Though the quotation itself focuses on the museum, I would suggest that this mentality in German museum culture could expand to literary and visual culture attitudes towards indigeneity in Germany on a whole. A refusal to acknowledge neo-colonial culpability in this act of identification characterizes German cinema and literary culture's use of indigeneity as an alternate history.

From Heimat to Hitler: Irony as Defense

The past few years have seen an increased number of productions from Werner Herzog's current country of residence: the ruins of post-Katrina New Orleans; the suburbs of Los Angeles; the deathrow prisons of Texas and Florida. Yet, at the same time, the German director still identifies himself nationality-wise as German, identifying his films themselves as German in nature (Steinborn and von Naso 60). In one of his most recent productions, *On Death Row*, he draws parallels with an inmate's experiences with border conflicts in Ecuador with his own pre-production difficulties for *Fitzcarraldo*: "I had built a camp for 1,100 people in the middle of the jungle, and it was attacked, burnt to the ground. It was the same border war. And we were probably only miles apart." He further moves from the personal to the national, protesting against the death penalty as "a German, coming from a different historical background." With this positioning of himself as an outsider in US culture, he makes implicit reference to Germany's role in the Holocaust/World War II. Like any director, Herzog contradicts himself, but he still does identify with German culture when placed in a transnational context. His latest film, *Queen of the Desert* (2015), a historical travel romance starring major Hollywood stars, screened in competition at the Berlinale. A 2012 celebration of his works in Berlin followed on the heels of his position as chair of the Berlin Film Festival in 2011.⁵³ Herzog's return to *Fitzcarraldo* in Germany itself appears odd in light of the fact

⁵³ Indeed, when I attempted in 2012 to attend a screening and question and answer session with the director at a screening of his latest television documentary series, *On Death Row* (2012), at the Kino Arsenal in Potsdamer Platz, I operated under the assumption that no one in Germany liked Herzog's films. When I arrived at the screening, to my surprise I learned it had been sold out days in advance and still commanded a long line of

that the controversy prompted his permanent move to the United States at its subsequent rejection by German film critics and audiences. Herzog, in some ways, appears to be experiencing a Renaissance with the German media and public at large. What arguably defines his oeuvre and crafted authorial personality is a deep sense of irony, one that makes a reading of his films both compelling and frustrating in circularity. However, in recent years irony has emerged as a mechanism for not only coping with World War II and the Holocaust, but also the history of alternative heritage representation through the appropriation of indigenous identity. Therein lies the gradual acceptance and appeal of Herzog's narrativization of the history of the Fitzcarraldo pre-production/production.

This Herzog narrative also parallels a gradual shift in the transatlantic production-reception exchange of World War II and Holocaust narratives. In his most recent monograph *Hi Hitler* Rosenfeld tracks a “normalization” of the Nazi past in post-unified Germany. Satirical works from other nations, such as *Hipster Hitler*, have become more widely accepted in Germany. In a very marked shift, the nation has already begun producing some of its own satirical work, such as the alternate historical novel and its film adaptation, *Er ist Wieder Da* (2015). Kaes, whose monograph *Hitler to Heimat* provides the ironic inversion for this section's subtitle, argues that the American mini-series Holocaust ‘opened’ the discussion of the Nazi past in West German. What changes is that German culture now not only consumes, but also produces these ironized accounts of history. In recent years, the intersections of ironic (or at the claim thereof) representation and indigenous appropriation have returned in Germany, whereas to confront an alternate history. Though Kaes may argue that in lieu of a “master narrative,” film has opened up a plurality of memory and voices, a silencing of others

German Herzog-fan hopefuls—hardly the reception one would expect from a national audience that had booed him twenty years earlier.)

occurs.⁵⁴ In the same way, the rhetoric surrounding the pre-production and production of *Fitzcarraldo* has experienced a degree of normalization in Germany.

The gradual acceptance of irony to work through pasts has led to Herzog's reacceptance into German film culture, and, perhaps, celebrated for the same images for which he was criticized many years ago.⁵⁵ Recent years have seen a renewed focus on Herzog's earlier works from the 1970's and the 1980's, both in the United States and in Germany. 2013 saw the re-release of a retrospective on the filming of *Heart of Glass* (1976), a film also set in the past, like *Fitzcarraldo*. In his monograph, *Every Night the Trees Disappear*, which describes the making of the film, the author and screenwriter Alan Greenberg recalls an encounter with Werner Herzog towards the beginning of the film's production. The director instructs the film's screenwriter to keep an accurate account of what goes on in the production: "We are within a historical context here. You, too, will be held accountable" (Greenberg 13). Defenders of Herzog would point out that the quote was most likely said in irony, the stakes of the accurate account of a film production versus the historical events themselves seem trivial. However, in the case of *Fitzcarraldo*, the historical context of the production comes to the forefront.

Though he may state otherwise, Herzog is obsessed with the "authenticity" of the historical context, but only to the point of it suiting his purposes. Herzog always seems to have held a great appreciation for what he considers the historic. During the period of time in the 1970s to 1980s, Herzog made several films set in the nineteenth century and earlier. At the same time, the settings of these films differed greatly in location, simultaneously emphasizing

⁵⁴ From the "Preface" of *From Hitler to Heimat*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989.

⁵⁵ Though it focuses primarily on the filmic texts themselves and makes little to no attempt to place Herzog's indigenous representations within the German *Indianer* tradition, Swati Acharya, in *Film als Text: Untersuchung der Kolonialthematik und Alteritatesfrage in ausgewählten Filmen von Werner Herzog* has one of the most prolific descriptions of the controversy written in an academic context. The dissertation outlines a triumvirate of conflict among Herzog, "representatives of the indigenous peoples" (European and "non-European"), as well as the European media. Acharya demonstrates how anti-Herzog activists actively connected Germany's problematic past and the indigenous controversy.

the *Heimat* locale of village Germany and the exotic landscapes of Latin and South America. These films then function at the intersection of two strains of German historical film, the *Heimatfilm* and the *Indianerfilm*. Though the director himself argues against the use of the term in reference to his films, Herzog's *The Enigma of Kasper Hauser* (1975) and *Heart of Glass* both fit neatly into the *Heimat* genre through the intense focus on regionalism rather than the national and the focus on the tenuous position of the home.⁵⁶ In Paul Cronin's interview compilation *Herzog on Herzog*, the director makes the two distinct claims that he neither understands irony nor are any of his films nostalgic. Yet, Herzog calls on two strains of "alternative" nostalgic film histories in German film culture, namely that of the *Heimatfilm* and the *Indianerfilm*. Hence, in German film tradition *Indianerfilm* positions itself as a simultaneous reversal and remake of the *Heimatfilm*, wherein the silencing of the regional and national history meets globalization and colonization. The "othering" of those existing outside of the safety of the *Heimat* is then performed and assimilated into an accessible form. If the silencing of the past occurs in the *Heimatfilm*, the same takes place with the *Indianerfilm*. It not only provides a form of alternate history, but also "silences" indigeneity in its ironic representation.

Fitzcarraldo's plot centers itself in some part on the construction of an alternative cultural *Heimat*—an opera house in Iquitos.⁵⁷ By focusing almost solely on Fitzcarraldo, a colonist and exploiter of indigenous peoples in the nineteenth century, Herzog was accused of celebrating exploitation through re-enactment (*Spiegel* 238). Based on an actual historical figure from the nineteenth century, *Fitzcarraldo* depicts a rubber baron's journey to bring civilization in the form of opera to a South American town, Iquitos. (Though the historical

⁵⁶ Herzog has contested in numerous interviews (including Cronin's *Herzog versus Herzog*) the labeling of any of his films as *Heimatfilme*, suggesting that their focus on regionalism exempt them from the genre. However, I see this protest as indicative as a larger issue with the use of the term *Heimat*. To what extent does regionalism act as a microcosm for the national, and does regionalism automatically act as a silencing of more problematic national issues?

figure was a rubber baron, his end goal was not to bring opera to the jungle, but rather to earn money.) In order to harvest enough rubber to raise funds for the venture, Fitzcarraldo must somehow traverse a mountain to transport the trees and avoid impassable rapids. This set piece of the film involves the movement of the ship over a mountain. Without any machinery available, Fitzcarraldo relies on the labor of local indigenous peoples who drag the ship up the mountain using a pulley system. After some mechanical setbacks and deaths, they successfully reach the top of the mountain, and roll the ship down to the other branch of the river. A night of celebration and seeming affinity between the white colonialists and the indigenous peoples takes place. However, during the night, the indigenous peoples unmoor the boat, believing it could enable them to conquer the evil spirits of the rapids. The boat crashes in the rapids, rendering the possibility of transporting rubber trees obsolete. Fitzcarraldo's dream of harvesting enough resources to make a small fortune is then ruined. Instead, he is forced to reconcile his "dream" of building a theater and locate the opera performance to his boat, wherein it then becomes a stage. The indigenous peoples not only thwart an attempt at the influence of European culture through opera in the jungle, but they suffer from distorted representation throughout the film. They appear rarely onscreen or are largely portrayed as silly or manipulative, abused and used by the white colonialists around them, and often used for moments of comic relief. The focus and sympathy within the plot lies solely with the figure of Fitzcarraldo, who, as many critics have pointed out, functions as an onscreen *Ersatz*-Herzog. The film is a microcosmic example of the media performance of the production of *Fitzcarraldo* for the past thirty years: colonial motifs narrativized and disassembled, supposedly rendered non-threatening, through a distanced irony, most notably characterized by the silencing of the indigenous peoples involved.



Indigenous labor for the image in *Fitzcarraldo*

Herzog has both a self-proclaimed and critical history of not being generally well accepted and recognized in his native Germany throughout his career, establishing himself early on as a global auteur: “No other living German director is so well regarded internationally -- except for in Germany itself” (Beier).⁵⁸ Embittered by the experience of the German media reaction to *Fitzcarraldo*, Herzog relocated to the United States, and he has yet to make a film in his home country since then. He has returned to screen films, such as the disastrous screening of *Lessons of Darkness* at the 1992 Berlinale, which ended with accusations of “applying aesthetics to horror (Beier). Given Germany’s relationship to on-screen depictions of the Holocaust and the reluctance to narrativize or represent the trauma, one can easily imagine that the screening of *Lessons* could have a conflicted reception in Germany.⁵⁹ However, in recent years, there appears a move to rehabilitate Herzog in Germany, with his appearance as head of the Berlinale and a recent festival held to honor his

⁵⁸ Beier, Lars-Oliv. “Werner Herzog’s German Comeback: Cinema Legend Heads Berlinale Jury.” *Spiegel Online International*. 11 Feb 2010.

work. As Ames states, “most of [the renewed interest in *Fitzcarraldo*] is prompted by Herzog himself” (147).⁶⁰ A resurgence of critical and audience fascination with *Fitzcarraldo* in particular has taken place with Herzog’s publishing of his diary during the production, *Conquest of the Useless*, in 2004 (though the diary itself contains only oblique references to the accusations of human rights violations). Herzog’s return to *Fitzcarraldo* in Germany itself appears odd in light of the fact that the controversy prompted his permanent move to the United States and purported rejection by German film critics and audiences.

At the same time, a number of transnational intertextual connections, do, however, complicate a reading of the film as a German text. Indeed, the Les Blank documentary of the production, *Burden of Dreams* (1982), remains arguably better known and critically acclaimed than the film itself. The primary focus of Ames’s argument lies on modes of “re-enactment” in Herzog’s documentaries. However, his essay, like many other readings of *Fitzcarraldo*, bypasses any lengthy analysis of the media reaction to the production itself. Ames rightly points out that there exist many conflicting reports and Herzog was “absolved” of any human rights violations by Amnesty International. In response, I argue that the nature of whether or not these statements are true, and Amnesty International’s statement gives a false sense of resolution to the conflict. When using Ames’s article as an example, I realize the allegations themselves are not the focus of Ames’s modes of inquiry, but I do see it as a “missing” component of Herzog scholarship in general. (Ames does not argue in defense of either party, making the particular point that he does not wish to denigrate the gravity of the accusations, but his material simply does not engage in-depth with the media discourse.) Rather, what remains of importance are the modes of representation employed in the rhetoric of both Herzog’s European supporters and critics. These points of intersection provide interesting departures to examine the German fixation on a historical indigeneity as well as

⁶⁰ Eric Ames also points this correlation out in his essay, “The Case of Herzog: Re-opened” in Brad Prager’s *A Companion to Werner Herzog*, 2012.

the simultaneous identification of both the director and human rights accusers with the indigenous peoples. The German media's representation of the controversy veered between sensationalism and detached irony. Contrary to the overarching narrative, German film critics lauded the film, making only passing reference to the controversies.

Herzog's *Fitzcarraldo* brings to attention a problem that has plagued the tradition of the Karl May *Indianerfilme* and the German heritage film on the whole--- simultaneous distortion and exploitation through a desire to capture an "indigenous reality," and a refusal to acknowledge complicity in representation not based on reality. In his recent essay on the portrayal of indigenous peoples in Herzog's films, "A March into Nothingness," Will Lehmann claims that Herzog's films "[have] more to do with Western notions of time, history, and the individual greatness of the author/auteur than with Native Americans or their culture" (390). He quotes indigenous council leaders as saying that they were not as concerned with the movement of the ship with Herzog (and potential danger to the extras), but rather with the re-enactment of the historical event itself, when indigenous peoples did indeed die at the hands of Fitzcarraldo. The division between the image and the production, as well as Herzog's refusal to acknowledge his complicity in representation, is what makes the film and its production most disturbing (390). (In numerous interviews, Herzog also denies Fitzcarraldo's status as a colonizer, which contradicts most criticism and media news reports.) Yet, Lehman's argument falters in particular with his close readings of *Aguirre* and *Fitzcarraldo*, where Lehman's labelling of Herzog's indigenous representation as progressive (in more succinct terms), fails in several ways. Firstly, he divorces the final on-screen image from the production of the image, a move, which, in the case of *Fitzcarraldo* in particular fails due to the intertextuality of the documentation of production (Les Blank's *Burden of Dreams* [1982]) and sheer press coverage of the event). Second, Lehman, in his evidence for the Herzog's subversion of the stereotypical representation of the indigenous subject relies on

the same ironic racist and misogynist contemporary rhetoric often used when discussing the controversy. For example, he suggests, “Herzog’s native female body does not project strength, pride or defiance. Nor does it conform to Western notions of female beauty” (374). His description of the female indigenous body onscreen already ascribes an “otherness” in his attempt to refute the tactic, and also introduces the privileging of an unreflective white male gaze. Third, this search for a “greater truth” does not limit itself to the projection of Western ideals/auteur identification on the indigenous subject through the texts of Herzog and Karl May, but rather the silencing of the indigenous subject itself, as evidenced through the “resolution” of the Herzog controversy and the continuous return to it in German culture. Lehman’s argument is caught up in the commonly held belief in the progressive history of indigenous representation in German culture, as though representation itself has achieved greater authenticity with the passage of time. Indeed, Lehman’s close readings also participate in an “othering” of the indigenous individual that Herzog confirms with his onscreen images in *Fitzcarraldo*.

The Fall and Rise of Herzog

Werner Herzog’s *Fitzcarraldo* (1982), as a situational case study, exposed this German identification with indigenous cultures, and, in many ways, continues to haunt German film and *Indianerkultur* in contemporary Germany. As a member of the New German Cinema, Herzog embodies “the quest for alternative images and counter representations” that Rentschler claims defines the particular group of directors (46).⁶¹ Following the lines of Eric Ames in his chapter on *Fitzcarraldo* in *Ferocious Reality*, I argue that the “Case of Herzog” remains unresolved as this quest for alternative imagery still continues. The media focus on the production reinforced colonial stereotypes remains understudied. This is evident in more sensational German publications, such as *Stern*. More centrist news sources, such as *Spiegel*,

⁶¹ As quoted by Julia Knight in her monograph *New German Cinema: Images of a Generation*.

embraced the film once it entered theaters. Furthermore, I would suggest that instead of being further problematized, the “Case” has instead become nostalgically and ironically embraced in Germany visual and literary culture in recent years.⁶² One could read the media reaction to *Fitzcarraldo* as a lost moment of self-reflexivity in the German national media consciousness, indicative of the larger general transatlantic flow of indigenous images, wherein its desire to appropriate indigenous identity through literature and film exposed an alternate silencing of the past through the formation of the subject.⁶³

In the hundreds of articles in Werner Herzog’s bequest at the Deutsche Kinemathek, the number of conflicting accounts made even a basic timeline difficult. Furthermore, there were very few statements by the indigenous peoples, and the rare quotes made by their spokespeople were then filtered through European news sources. Instead, my focus soon turned to not whether or not these events took place, but instead how the controversy and its supposed resolution were discussed in German media, and its subsequent relation to representations of indigeneity. I became curious as to what the rhetoric used in these primarily German news sources could be connected with the language surrounding the *Indianer* film and literary tradition in Germany. According to a December 10th, 1979 article in *Spiegel*, “[the pre-production for *Fitzcarraldo*] had produced a jumble of rumors, suspicions, and slanders” (Spiegel 238). The sensationalism present in all the imagery and descriptions in German media further perpetuated representations, particularly in the case of *Stern*.

Regardless of the difficulty of assembling an overall timeline/narrative of events, in German media, three major trends surfaced. First of all, a high level of sensationalism existed in the materials, particularly in the case of *Stern*, which drew on both written and visual racist

⁶² Eric Ames’s book *Ferocious Reality: Documentary According to Werner Herzog* also details the case, but his focus of the chapter remains on documentary films.

⁶³ I allude specifically to Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak’s seminal essay “Can the Subaltern Speak?” Eds. Cary Nelson & Lawrence Grossberg. *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*. Chicago : [University of Illinois Press](#), 1988. Print.

caricatures of the indigenous peoples. Many of these images were drawings based on production stills from *Fitzcarraldo*. Second, there were marked differences in the reporting styles of major magazines. *Der Spiegel* contained some of the most incriminating reports and excerpts from interviews with Herzog during the late 1970's and early 1980's. On Herzog's side, a conflicted neo-colonialist search emerged: With alleged casting calls for "indios with long, black hair" it was evident that Herzog had a very specific aesthetic of indigeneity he wished to display onscreen (*Spiegel* 238). At the same time, he often attempts to remove himself and his films from historical context through the use of irony and situating himself in another *Spiegel* article as a "friend of the Indios" (238). Herzog claims he responded to these rumors through creation of even wilder rumors, so as to put a stop to them (179). Or, he situated himself as a benevolent provider to the indigenous peoples, creating "development programs" for them (238). In addition to the fact he would most likely avoid admitting that would implicate him in the human rights accusations, by making this response even in irony, he remains complicit in the act itself.⁶⁴ However, the critical stance towards Herzog, in particular *Spiegel*, often fell back on the same distanced irony in the reporting, which often reiterate similar racially charged rhetoric.⁶⁵ It draws a connection between Herzog's own "search for self fulfilment through film" and the Aguaruna "search for a national identity" (238). Third, after the findings of Amnesty International that no human rights violations were taking place, German media interest on the welfare of the indigenous peoples waned. Thus, a Western institution was seen as the final authority on the matter, rather than a focus on any continuing concerns of the indigenous peoples. Fourth, film reviews lack of any critique of the neo-colonial imagery, in particular in the case of *Spiegel*. Critics lauded the filmmaker's

⁶⁴ (This interview book itself, presented as unfiltered is, indeed, a composite of several years' worth of interviews oftentimes taken from other sources.) Many thanks to Eric Ames for pointing this fact out to me in our conversations. Cronin, also implicitly takes a very specific stance in the controversy, portraying the book as a way to clear up numerous rumors surrounding the director.

⁶⁵ General sentiment in Germany suggests *Spiegel* has become increasingly sensationalized in recent years, in particular, in their reporting of the refugee crisis in Germany.

efforts, and little to no mention was made of its controversial originations. Representation, then, was normalized, a trend I find continues throughout Herzog's films and the German *Indianerkultur* tradition.

Whereas Herzog's preproduction and production defines itself through authenticity—this dedication to authenticity does not always remain consistent. He asserts that the indigenous participation in American pop culture leads to a subsequent loss of genuineness, which renders the indigenous person ironically then useless to Herzog for the purposes of the image production. He also drew on their own exploitation to justify his own practice of it, designating an acceptable form of indigeneity, one that does not exist outside of interactions with the colonizer (Koeppnick 158). In an interview with *Spiegel*, he responded to accusations that he forced labor on indigenous extras with the argument that they had already been assimilated into Western culture: “It's simply not true they were forced to do it. Whenever you come across an Indian wearing a T-shirt with John Travolta and Disco Fever written on it, then he is not forced to do this—he wants it, he wants to listen to this music” (238). At the same time, he claimed the “spirit of the film would be on the side of the Aguarunas” and that it would “take them back to the time before John Travolta” (238). The director sidesteps accusations of maltreatment by suggestions of complicity on behalf of the indigenous peoples by emphasizing globalization.

I found an explicit connection in one of the most dramatic moments from the controversy wherein a group of indigenous peoples attacked the production camp. After several months of meetings with local councils and allegations of injuries suffered by indigenous extras, tensions between Herzog's team and the indigenous peoples reached its peak when a group of indigenous peoples set fire to the production camp at Waiwam. The event was a culmination of long-held conflict among Herzog's production team, the Peruvian government, and the indigenous people living in the area. *Spiegel* portrayed the camp's

destruction as indicative of the indigenous people's dissatisfaction with the inevitable social and economic disruption Herzog's film production had brought to their communities. *Stern*, described the indigenous peoples, the Aguarunas, "as half-naked wildmen," further evidence of the media's participation in a distortion of indigenous representation (*Spiegel* 238). In a quote from the German cinema magazine *Filmkritik*, dated May 1980 (some time after the event itself), author Jean Monod includes a quote attributed to *Fitzcarraldo* production manager and long-time Herzog collaborator Walter Saxer. Here, Saxer describes the attack of the first production camp by the Aguarunas:

With screams they approached us. From everywhere and nowhere. They shot into the air, surrounded the camp, danced and sang. One would think we were in a film, when the Apaches surround the camp of the poor immigrants. Would they scalp and torture us? Anything seemed possible. (Monod 227)

Strikingly, Saxer draws on filmic portrayals of Native American indigenous peoples to describe an event he experiences. Furthermore, he mentions the Apaches, the North American indigenous group featured in many Karl May adaptations. Most media reports indicate that the crew members themselves were not in danger, and, at first glance, Saxer's description of the attack appears exaggerated and theatrical. (He very well could have been making this statement in irony. Screenwriter Greenberg certainly paints a less than flattering portrayal of him in his recently publication on the making of the film, *Heart of Glass*.) In the quotation, Saxer draws on filmic representations of indigenous North Americans to describe his experience, as he states in the same excerpt: "You would have thought we were in a movie." In this case indigenous representation in German film and indigenous representation in the documentation of the event itself coincide. Though Herzog has long characterized the media as antagonistic to his project and the media itself was not an official vehicle for them to state

their opinions, in many ways the reactions of the production team and the media's reaction were parallel.



Reconstructing the past in Berlin⁶⁶

It appeared that the production of the image, indeed, had become divorced from the final product, the image onscreen divorced from the labor of indigenous production. Thirty years later, the same magazine (sans intentional irony) proclaimed the image of the boat being moved over the mountain by the indigenous peoples as one of the most memorable in German cinema. *Der Spiegel* writer quotes Herzog at recent film festival in Greece on his presentation of the film: "Viewers recognize [the hauling of the ship] like a friend they have been longing to see. It was an image that belongs to the fixed, secret catalogue of our dreams, and I was the one who brought it to life and gave it a name" (Beier). In a way, it appears German culture has returned to this boat image and reclaimed it as part of German cinema. Almost thirty years beforehand, this same newsmagazine had chronicled the controversial production of this image. Beier refers to it as "one of the most condemned images in German film," but *Spiegel*

⁶⁶ Herzog giving his reading at the Volksbuehne. Aurin, Thomas, "Eroberung des Nutzlosen/Werner Herzog." *Hauptstadt Kulturfonds*.

itself had lauded the film on its first release. It seems then that the interests of the indigenous peoples who had attempted to form their own “national identity” had been ignored (*Spiegel* 248). This divorce between the production of the image and the image itself defines reception of the film, particularly in Germany, both on its initial release in cinemas and several decades later.⁶⁷

Not only has Herzog revisited the imagery from *Fitzcarraldo* in Germany through interviews and film festivals over the past few years, but he has also re-enacted the production itself. Roughly thirty years after the first screening of *Fitzcarraldo*, in October 2012, the city of Berlin held a series of events to celebrate Werner Herzog’s 70th birthday, including an academic conference and a retrospective of his films. The director himself also participated in the spectacle. Over the course of two nights at the Berlin Volksbühne, Herzog conducted an improvised reading of his diary from the infamous pre-production and production of *Fitzcarraldo*. The advertisement for the event on the Volksbühne website clearly positioned Herzog as an outsider in German cinematic culture, citing that, at that time, “only three of his films had been played in German cinemas in the past 25 years,” but Herzog had long been “considered a visionary of the cinema in the United States.”⁶⁸ (In the same advertising, Herzog, in character, remarks that the reception of his films in Germany remain irrelevant.) Based on his 2004 published diary *Conquest of the Useless*, the theatrical performance reenacted *Fitzcarraldo*’s controversial production. Shown in the below image, an “array of postcolonial images” (rainforests, butterflies, “Kinski in a designer tropical suit”) surfaced on a background screen (Busche). As he read from his diary, an international cast of musical performers featured in his films accompanied Herzog. Similar to the diary on which the

⁶⁷ I did not look extensively into American news media reaction during the production, but there were some protests from critics. In particular, Pauline Kael made an explicit connection between the indigenous labor and the image produced onscreen in her review for *The New Yorker*: “*Fitzcarraldo* is embarrassingly-infuriatingly—real; the Indians tugging at Herzog’s steamboat are workers trapped inside his misconception of a movie....But we always seem them as exactly what they are: labors undertaken to be photographed.”

⁶⁸ http://www.volksbuehne-berlin.de/praxis/eroberung_des_nutzlosen/

production was based, the theatre piece made little mention of the *Fitzcarraldo* production itself. Yet, Herzog made reference to the event-image that simultaneously created shock and renown: the movement of the boat over the mountain. Instead, a review for the theatrical production pointedly remarked that his only statement made about his role in creating the iconic cinematic image was as follows: Ich war dabei.”⁶⁹ Herzog’s statement made at the very end of the production has two connotations in German: “I was there” or “I was supportive/complicit (in an act).” Hence, through the ambiguous admission of complicity in the image production, Herzog positioned himself as both an ironic witness and participant in history through the film production itself and the resultant onscreen images in the background. Through this performance, the production itself had then become aestheticized and became itself part of a historical imagery, and reproduced onstage. (Aside from a audio recording, no filmic recordings remain available to public audiences.) I would hence suggest that, evidenced in part by this production, the controversy surrounding pre-production of *Fitzcarraldo* has then become normalized in German collective memory, wherein the production of postcolonial imagery becomes celebrated.

Die Andere Heimat: Imagining Indigeneity

In 2013, Herzog shifted from the stage and documentary to a symbolic return to Germany through a narrative film, one that encompasses the generic traits of both the *Heimat* and *Indianerfilm*. In this case, Herzog appears onscreen, as Alexander von Humboldt in director Edgar Reitz’s latest contribution to his internationally renowned *Heimat* series, the prequel *Die Andere Heimat* (2013).⁷⁰ In interviews, Herzog describes Reitz as a sort of mentor figure in his early years of filmmaking, oftentimes, to the denigration of other

⁶⁹ Description of the theatrical production based on a review by Busche, Andreas. “In der Haengematte.” *TAZ.DE*. Unfortunately, Herzog’s producer refused my requests to view the video at the production company archives in Vienna.

⁷⁰ The English title, most likely for marketing purposes is *Home Away from Home*, but I would translate it directly as “*The Other Home*.”

filmmakers from that particular era (62).⁷¹ The original *Heimat* focuses on the members of the Simon family in the small fictional German village of Shabbach during the two world Wars and their aftermath, while *Die Andere Heimat (The Other Home)* focuses on their nineteenth century ancestors. The *Heimat* films (broadcast originally as television series) have been both domestic and international hits with “25 million viewers in Germany” alone and “broadcasts in over 30 countries” (Beyer 132). Though, as previously mentioned) the general trend exists for British and American heritage films to be consumed in Germany, the *Heimat* series became quite a cult-hit in both countries. Furthermore, diegetically, *Die Andere Heimat* resides in both an unusual spatial and temporal reversal. Rather than moving forward in time, Reitz decided to move backwards to the nineteenth century for his (supposedly) final contribution to the series. Though the *Heimat* films had gradually increased in spatial distance to include areas outside the village (following some of the characters’ immigration to the United States and the offspring to larger German cities, such as Munich), he chose to return back to the village of Shabbach. Hence, the spatial and temporal imagination of the film alternatively expanded and contracted. As *Spiegel* points out its review for the film, *Die Andere Heimat* differs from previous contributions to the saga, as it is the first film that “takes place in a time period that no living person can remember,” taking it further out of time and immediate cultural memory (Beyer 132).

If the original *Heimat* is the ‘Chronicle of Germany,’ then *The Other Heimat* “chronicles the longing” for an alternative *Heimat*. Though the film takes place in the *Heimat* and does not leave the radius of a day’s journey, Reitz chose to focus on the wave of immigration from Germany to Brazil during the mid-nineteenth century.⁷² The main character of the story, Jakob, is a young man who spends his time reading and writing about

⁷¹ from *Werner Herzog-A Guide for the Perplexed*

⁷² The entirety of the film takes place in the village of Schabbach in Hunsrueck, Germany, a region in the Rhineland and near Mainz/Frankfurt. (The nineteenth-century Schabbach had been constructed specifically for this film shoot. Curious tourists can take *Heimat* tours in the Hunsrueck region even today.)

the languages of the *Indianer* of Brazil. He dreams of leaving the “faithless Heimat” for the “dreamland, written about in travel books.” There remains little comforting about this particular *Heimat*: Shabbach appears incredibly bleak, defined through treacherous winters, strife-filled family relations, and numerous deaths. Tensions arise in his family, as his unwillingness to work in the family smithy frustrates the father, who sees no point in his son’s imaginative pursuits. Jakob dreams of leaving the village and travelling to settle in Brazil (in another transnational twist, prompted by the Portuguese king), along with countless others who wish to escape the harshness and economic despair of Prussian rule. (Jakob’s voiceover at the beginning of the film sets up the triumvirate drudgery of everyday life with political repression, and his subsequent fascination with indigeneity.) At times, the world present in the scenes within the books he reads interpose themselves into everyday life: the text of the language of the *Indianer* transposes itself on screen; a feather, representative of the *Indianerfederschmuck*, falls from a bird in a tree; the image of a young indigenous girl appears to him on a dusty farm road. In part, due to his own paralysis in navigating everyday life in the village, these dreams fail to concretize and obstacles present themselves: family illness and death; Jakob’s own imprisonment at the hands of local aristocrats; his own brother’s immigration to Brazil with his wife. Jakob, instead, finds himself trapped in the village, continuing the family smithy and integrating himself into the everyday frameworks of the village. Years later, a letter from his brother reveals that the pair has not yet met any indigenous peoples. It seems that Jakob remains better suited to construct another imaginary *Heimat* through his own writings and research on the *Indianer* in Brazil.

As von Moltke points out in his chapter on the original *Heimat*, it is of interest that the first chapter is titled “Fernweh,” signifying a desire to leave the *Heimat*, and, perhaps, construct another one. Through the comparison with the “Fremde,” the foreign with which Shabbach juxtaposes itself, an imaginative *Heimat* then emerges in this new take on the genre

that von Moltke argues appeared during the rise of the New German Cinema: “Die Fremde, traditionally the negative of the homeliness and security of Heimat, becomes revalorized in these films a safe haven, its indeterminacy vastly preferable to the known oppression back home” (206). Von Moltke reads the original *Heimat* as an anti-Heimat film, based in part through this interest in the world outside the village of Shabbach, as well as its reflexive deconstruction of the villagers’ *Heimat*-centric construction of space (208). Von Moltke uses an example from the second chapter of the original *Heimat*, where the village mayor draws a picture of *Heimat* in relation to the rest of the world in order to prove to the villagers that Shabbach lies at the center. Von Moltke argues that this scene confirms, “the spaces of Heimat need to be defined relationally” (208). In *Die Andere Heimat*, Reitz mirrors this scene from the original series. Jakob draws a picture of the world and the planned journey away from the *Heimat* on a family table.



Mapping *Die Andere Heimat* from the Kitchen Table

Here, Jakob draws the planned *Auswanderung* (immigration) for the former fellow former political prisoner and his family. In this drawing, the world no longer revolves around Shabbach, but, instead around the planned journey to Brazil. At the same time, the drawing

still must limit and miniaturize itself within the confines of the table in the home. Though I disagree with his reading of the original film as subversive of the generic tropes (instead following Kaes's line of argument that the film also engages in a silencing of the past through the lack of acknowledgement to the Holocaust), I think *Die Andere Heimat* does provide an interesting case study of the parallels of the *Indianer* and *Heimat* film genres as examples of forms of alternative heritages.

Years prior to Herzog's cameo, Lutz Koepnick deftly drew a parallel between Humboldt and Herzog in his article on "Colonial Forestry: Sylvan Politics in Werner Herzog's *Aguirre* and *Fitzcarraldo*." In this article, he suggests that the filmic narratives themselves depict the deconstructive efforts of the colonial enterprise due to the "heroes' inability to escape the Western Imagination," yet, at the same time, Herzog remains unable to escape his own Westernized point of view towards the production of the film, hence, rendering the product non-subversive (135). He argues that Herzog's "critical distancing" does not allow him to recognize that he falls prey to the same colonialist narrative (137). Koepnick draws parallels between Herzog's views of the South American jungles and those of von Humboldt's:

The writings of Alexander von Humboldt in particular rejuvenated and codified for the industrial world the image of South America as primordial nature and reinscribed the absence of indigenous history, culture, and identity in the European maps of Peru, Venezuela, or Brazil. (138)

Herzog plays a historical figure that had perpetuated the absence of indigenous voices in European cartography. I would suggest that the appearance of Herzog in the film makes reference to his time spent in South America, perpetuating an imaginary of the indigenous peoples based on Westernized frameworks. In *Die Andere Heimat*, von Humboldt stops in the

village of Shabbach on his way from Paris to Berlin, in the hopes of meeting with Jakob, with whom he has begun a correspondence.



Through the *Fernglas* in *Die Andere Heimat*

In order to illustrate the engagement of the *Heimat* and *Fernweh* through the performance in this film, I will engage in a close reading of Herzog's cameo in *Die Andere Heimat*. The first scene establishes von Humboldt as an alien explorer in his own country. He and his assistant, Benjamin, ride up along the hillside outside of Shabbach in a carriage. In a comical sequence, von Humboldt has his assistant set up a telescope and then run over with a marker behind a villager working at the side of the road. Von Humboldt looks at the man through the telescope, as the camera pans in a point of view shot from Benjamin to the villager. These measured observations, once reserved for the jungles of South America, now applies to the village of Shabbach, which von Humboldt renders as foreign. The director then embodies the explorers he features on-screen, observing the *Heimat* with a "foreign" eye. After observing the villager, von Humboldt then cautiously approaches him to inquire if the

village in the distance is, indeed Shabbach. The German director perhaps best known for his films made outside his home country, hence returns to the *Heimat*, himself an outsider. Reitz draws comparison in an interview on the “different paths” he and Herzog had taken: “[Herzog] was always travelling to the rainforests of South America, the north pole or the highest mountains. I, meanwhile, only moved within a small rural parameter. But at the end of the day, Shabbach and El Dorado are the same” (Oltermann). The meeting of the famous explorer and Jakob does not quite go as planned—Jakob flees at the sight of von Humboldt, leaving him alone with the distrustful villagers. “Ich bin sprachlos/I am speechless,” von Humboldt states. (Most likely, a line said in irony, as Herzog himself rarely seems at a loss for words.) Herzog’s appearance in the film, signals the end of Jakob’s dreams of immigrating to Brazil and meeting the indigenous peoples. This cameo exemplifies the “centripetal” and “centrifugal” forces von Moltke discusses in *Fernweh* and *Heimat*: the exiled German director returns to his *Heimat* under the direction of the German-celebrated Reitz.⁷³

⁷³ As noted in interviews with *Der Spiegel* and *The Guardian*, Reitz bases his materials also on his own personal history. In particular, shortly after his brother’s death, Reitz discovered that he had amassed a great deal of writings on languages.

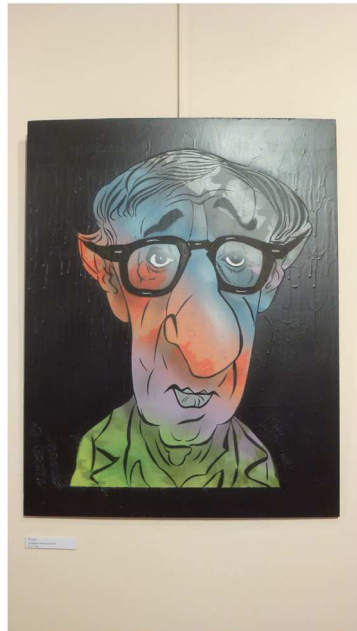
Chapter Three

An American in Paris, London, and Barcelona: Woody Allen's Take on European

Heritage

“[Allen] made me see London differently.”

-Jim Clay, British production designer for *Match Point* (2005)⁷⁴



Woody Allen in French everyday life⁷⁵

On a dreary night in October, I went to see Woody Allen's film *An Irrational Man* (2015) in the French city of Montpellier where I was living at the time. Expecting the usual dozen of Woody Allen diehards dispersed throughout a small theater, I was surprised when I walked into a large, nearly packed house. Clearly engaged in the film, the audience laughed at Allen's clumsily set-up jokes and even the awkward staging of the final elevator scene. In particular, a line that mocked "French, post-war philosophy" elicited a great deal of delighted laughter from the crowd. Instead of the usual quiet exit from the theater, I could hear excited

⁷⁴ Quote from the *Guardian* article "Match Point: The Woody Allen Guide to London."

⁷⁵ Photo by author.

groups of friends and family, dissecting the plot and retelling the jokes to each other. The general atmosphere was convivial, one of a cinematic event. I was reminded of a scene from Barbara Kopple's 1997 documentary on Woody Allen's jazz band tour of Europe, *Wild Man Blues*. In the film, Allen muses on his elevated status in Europe compared to the United States, "[The films] definitely gained something in the translation; I don't know what it was." The American director's films have long enjoyed great commercial and critical success in Europe. Indeed, he and his critics, as well, have attributed his survival in the film industry to his enthusiastic reception on the European continent.¹ This group of critics includes Florence Colombani, who identifies the Fellini-ode *Stardust Memories* (1980) as this turning point in Allen's career when Europeans became his major audience (51).⁷⁶ Not only has this adoration manifested itself in the form of box office receipts and critical laudations, but Allen also has been the subject of several European cinematic tributes. These range from appearances in the Godard's cinephilic interviews/ documentaries (*Histoires du Cinema* [1987] and *Meetin' WA* [1986]) to a recent cameo in the French pop romantic comedy *Paris-Manhattan* (2012). Europeans have been arguably constant in their consumption and appreciation for his films, particularly in France, where the population tends to view him as representative of an American auteur due to the recurring tropes present in his films and the popular nature of his oeuvre: "He is also celebrated for his creative autonomy and independence from the Hollywood machine" (Menegaldo 71). The margin between Hollywood and the European art cinema further widens itself through Allen's vocal distaste for Hollywood, which includes avoiding award ceremonies and other industry-related events (Lax 116). (On the other hand, many of his films do premiere at the Cannes Film Festival, which many argue has become increasingly banalized and irrelevant in its catering to industry tastes). After a critical career

⁷⁶ Colombani elaborates that a Belgian director, André Delvaux, made a documentary of *Stardust Memories* production, titled *To Woody Allen, From Europe* (1980), which may likely have also influenced his popularity in Europe. I have not read any reports that confirmed this theory, but I also suspect the title of *To Rome, With Love* (2013) refers to Delvaux's film.

slump in the United States in the 1990s and early 2000s, Allen has instead focused the last ten years of his films on writing cinematic devotions to many major cosmopolitan centers of Europe.⁷⁷

Hence, Allen has tried to translate this popularity back to the United States by moving the means of production and representation to the places of consumption in Europe. He searches for an alternative artistic heritage, in this case, representations of European cinematic, literary, and visual culture versus what he views as Hollywood-dominated American culture. What results is what many view as a tourist vision of the respective cities and Europe as a whole. The cinematic tour of major European cities appears on-screen through controversial and conflicted representations of the nation through a bourgeois lens, and also draws attention to movements of heritage and nostalgia in his previous works. At the same time, his presence has not been limited in Europe to cinematic representation, but also physical sites of memory, as well—from a statue of his likeness in the city of Oviedo to caricatures of his likeness hanging in art galleries in France. Allen’s ubiquity throughout Europe functions then both through spatial and temporal inspiration, which further manifests itself through his new cinematic “sites of memory.”⁷⁸

This chapter focuses on the most critically polemical of Allen’s European-set films and explores connections among them. The first section looks at Allen’s *Match Point* (2005), and its depiction of the national as tourist destination. Second, it examines the use of the museum as an intersection of mass and high culture in Allen’s wildly successful *Midnight in Paris* (2011). The third section uses *Vicky Cristina Barcelona* to establish Allen’s move to Europe in an artistic tradition that emphasizes a search for an appropriated heritage: the American artist going abroad to Europe. References to his films from the 1970’s and 1980’s, as well as his less popular European films, will also be used to establish these points of

⁷⁸ Term in reference to Pierre Nora’s *Realms of Memory*.

departure as common threads throughout his oeuvre. Allen employs tools of national storytelling, such as tourist sites, museums, nostalgia, and photography that may not tell the respective nation's history as intended, but give the film a transnational appeal through the experience of the self-described outsider looking in.

This chapter engages in a recent wave of criticism on Allen's European films, yet instead of focusing solely on how Allen views Europe, I suggest the films also engage in European modes of self-representation. Or, why did the French laugh at such a bad joke? Like the identity crisis Allen undergoes, European audiences find in Allen's film a representation of the way they would *like* to view themselves as Europeans. However, the embrace of a cultivated nostalgia does not provide immunity to exclusionary representations of the national. This chapter differentiates itself from previous work on Allen's European spaces through the emphasis on his representation of the institutions of culture and the nation through the "foreign" artist. The recent group of European films function as a Grand Tour of twenty-first century Europe *à la* Allen. Moreover, these films contribute to debates on Europeanness and nationality--namely, the fear of a "Euro-pudding" cinema, one that functions on the perceived banality of Hollywood productions.⁷⁹

"A Change in Politans"

Allen then re-imposes what Jonathan Rosenbaum calls the "New York milieu" of his appropriated European style onto the cinematic spaces of Europe in an attempt at an "authentic" representation of the respective cities (247).⁸⁰ In many ways, the films continue the "provincial narcissism" Rosenbaum identified with American culture and implicitly American cinema twenty years earlier (247). A doubled transposition takes place, wherein the "indigenous" cinemas of Europe are then filtered through an American auteur. This chapter

⁷⁹ A pejorative term in film criticism to describe a European film made through transnational coproduction with high production values, and often starring "big name" European actors. They are usually considered overdramatic and mediocre in artistic merit. (Vidal 79)

⁸⁰ from his monograph *Placing Movies: The Practice of Film Criticism*

claims this dynamic feeds into economic and cultural identity anxieties of national space and cinematic heritages. Allen's appropriation of "indigenous" European cinema in the spaces of New York is then re-placed in turn on the spaces of Europe. This chapter suggests that something is indeed gained in not only the "translation" of Allen's films from the United States to Europe, but also the transposition of Allen's aesthetic onto European spaces. By reading Allen's European works through the lens of the museum and artistic space, a motif present in many of his earlier films, one can interrogate the doubled transposition that takes place through the European films. This "change in politans," as described by biographer F.X. Feeney allows Woody Allen's films to touch on the intersections of several sources of anxiety in Europe.⁸¹ These concerns include national versus a European (globalized) identity through a transatlantic context.

Much in the same way, and much to his protest, Allen does seek validation for his vision of "authenticity" and interpretation of each respective city. This emphasis on authenticity plays into the cultivation of an "outsider" or a "fish out of water" persona. In the majority of the films featuring Allen himself, this persona manifests itself in the character of the neurotic Jewish New Yorker. He finds himself simultaneously drawn to and horrified by the world of the New York WASP elite. (Critics like Rosenbaum contest this persona, insisting that Allen valorizes the very social structures he feigns to criticize through his narrow depiction of only this particular social stratum within his films.)⁸² In *Annie Hall* (1977) and later in *Café Society* (2016), he geographically expands on this persona by placing the "Allen" character on the West Coast, namely among Hollywood elite. Allen identifies himself not only as an exile in Europe, but also one in his nation and city of origin. Many critics have drawn connections with Allen's persona as representative of the Wandering Jew,

⁸¹ The quote comes from an interview with Feeney in Robert Weide's recent documentary on Allen (2012).

a figure, which does not possess a specific place of belonging (Girgus 559).⁸³ As his films progress in the European phase, this particular ethnic and religious identity begins to feature less prominently. Many of the Woody Allen characters, such as Gil in *Midnight* and Vicky in *Barcelona* certainly retain aspects of neuroticism and a certain skepticism regarding the elite WASP lifestyle. However, the European films themselves contain scarce references to “Jewishness.” Menachem Feuer argues that the figure of the schlemiel in Allen’s later films increasingly interiorizes itself, rather than critiquing larger social structures (420). Herein, the internalization becomes a key point of critique in his claims towards individual authenticity in representation of the city and the nation within his European films.

“At the Tourist Level:” Authenticity and the City/Nation

BBC funding for *Match Point* derived from a “tradition UK financial support for American auteurs” (Roberts and Wallis 22).⁸⁴ In an interview with biographer Lax, Allen makes the following claim in regards to the creation and production of *Match Point*: “I wasn’t making an American picture in London, I was making a British picture, it was a British story” (Lax 164). From early on, Allen hence tried to establish a level of authenticity with his new geographical location. Yet, in other interviews, Allen attempts to write off the move to Europe as one based purely on chance and financial incentive: “I had written the picture for New York City, but I got the money from London. It was an offer I couldn’t refuse. They said if I would shoot it there, they would pay for the whole film, so I did it” (*Variety*).⁸⁵ Though the Windsor text font of the opening credits suggested otherwise, cold glass and modern architecture of a contemporary London replace Allen’s familiar New York streets in his first full film set in Europe. A suave, cunning social climber played by Jonathan Rhys-Meyers replaces Allen’s bumbling, neurotic outsider to the elitist New York WASP crowd. (Though,

⁸³ Girgus also makes specific reference to this figure in his *Afterward*, “The Abyss: Woody Allen on Love, Death, and God” from *A Companion to Woody Allen*

⁸⁴ The authors quote directly from the BBC Films website.

⁸⁵ In an interview for “*Variety* Screening Series.” https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_W347csm4DI

one could, perhaps read Rhys-Meyer's character, Chris Wilton as an "outsider" through his Irish and working class individual identity.) *Match Point* thus provides a useful meditation on the nature of authenticity in art, class, and identity through the depiction of appropriated spaces and culture.

Indeed, the contemporary plot could have very well translated into a BBC historical mini-series or a Merchant-Ivory adaptation of a Victorian novel. The narrative weaves together social class and heritage: a working-class Irishman, Chris, gives up his unstable career as a professional tennis player to climb the social ladder of the London elite. He begins dating Chloe, a woman who belongs to an extremely rich family, and he enters the family business. (As in many of Allen's films, the characters' sources of wealth often remain obscure and apparently endless.) Unfortunately, he finds himself attracted to his brother-in-law's fiancée Nola Rice, an American actor "mingling amongst the British upper class." Identifying as outsiders in the circle, the two start an affair, but Nola breaks it off in the face of their impending marriages. After marrying Chloe, Chris pursues Nola and rekindles the affair. When Chris murders a pregnant Nola to maintain his newly found privileged lifestyle, police arrive to investigate and suspect him of the murder based on Nola's diary. He soon finds the compartmentalized boundaries between his past and present, public and private life threatened. However, through "luck" as Chris describes it, a homeless man is instead arrested for the murders, and Chris continues his elite lifestyle without threat.

British reaction did not seem as concerned with the plot twist as with the depiction of the nation itself. Allen does not feel he made a tourist film of London, stating that in *Match Point*, he couldn't "exploit the city as much as [he] wanted" (Lax 99). The scenario superseded for Allen the *mise-en-scène*: "But here there was a real narrative story to tell and I couldn't indulge myself very much on sightseeing" (Lax 99). Though *Match Point* received overall critical acclaim in the United States and Europe, Allen's move of production to the

United Kingdom incited the most vehement condemnation from the British press. In particular critics seemed focused on reports of the “Anglicization” of an American script. Invited through British funding, the British press felt overall that the Allen’s inaccurately portrayed contemporary Great Britain (albeit a centralized London). Philip French, from *The Observer* claims Allen turned London into “clichés,” citing the inclusion of numerous tourist attractions in the mise-en-scène: a date at The London Eye; a chance encounter at the Tate Modern Art Gallery; a bourgeois office in the 30 St Mary Axe.⁸⁶ *The Guardian*’s Peter Bradshaw referred to Allen’s cinematic portrayal of London as “at the tourist level,” drawing a clear transatlantic line between favorable and unfavorable reception of the film:

The buzz from the American press about *Match Point* is almost intoxicating. Can it really be true that our country, our capital city, and the film production company created by our national broadcaster has revitalized the career of one of America’s greatest film-makers? In a word, no.⁸⁷

Bradshaw’s review remains striking, as it suggests that there are essential characteristics of British culture, ones not easily appropriated by an American outsider. He gives further advice for Allen’s stay in Great Britain, “[Allen] really is going to have to learn to speak British at something better than tourist level.”⁸⁸ Throughout his review, Bradshaw emphasizes a certain “authenticity” of Great Britain, a term that resurfaces throughout the heritage genre debate. Though he does not give the exact definition what he considers authentic characteristics of the British nation, he does rely on an example of another American director’s attempt to portray British culture. As Adam Nayman points out in his review of *Irrational Man*, “The twin rituals of critics reading Allen’s films as personal testaments and the director denying it are

⁸⁶ <http://www.theguardian.com/film/2006/jan/08/review.features7>

⁸⁷ Bradshaw, Peter. “Woody lost in translation.” *The Guardian*.
<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2005/may/13/film.cannes2005>

⁸⁸ Allen’s following films made in Great Britain, *Scoop* (2006), *Cassandra’s Dream* (2007), and *You Will Meet a Tall, Dark Stranger* (2010) did not see anywhere near the success of *Match Point* in terms of box office receipts or critical reaction.

ancient stuff...These frissons exist in the film, but they're heightened by what viewers are bringing with them to the cinema" (66).

Though British critics accused Allen of a narrow representation of the British nation, their reactions also revealed important insight into the imaginative construction of the nation. Bradshaw compares Allen's film with what he deems a "successful" portrayal of British culture, namely American Robert Altman's heritage film on the workings of the upper and lower classes in a country estate, *Gosford Park* (2001). Bradshaw thus suggested that an accurate representation of contemporary Britain remains in the past, moreover, at a countryside estate populated by a cast of British stage actors rather than central London. He further cites British screenwriter Julien Fellowes as key to Altman's interpretation of British culture. Ironically, Bradshaw ignores the fact that Fellowes (also the creator of the highly popular transatlantic export *Downton Abbey* [2010-2016]) has been criticized for his narrow and conservative vision of the British nation (rich, white, and upper-class), as well as his hierarchal vision of cultural interpretation.⁸⁹ This narrative of an 'inauthentic' portrayal of the city (as a centralized representation of the nation) by Allen continues to surface throughout the European series of films, one where critics often characterized the director as a tourist outsider. At the same time, it also exposed how the respective nations viewed themselves, or wished to be viewed by other nations.

Though not set in the past, *Match Point* illustrates the British heritage debate through its historical position in debates of national identity and class: The upper-class, Belgravia-born Hewitts refer to Chris as "Irish" or "working class."⁹⁰ The depiction of a narrow breadth of society already appeared limited in Allen's earlier films. Though many of his films take place among the elite and artistic of New York, there are some exceptions, such as *The Purple Rose of Cairo* (1985), which focuses on small town life in Depression-era New Jersey, or the

⁸⁹ As I will detail later in my chapter on heritage fan fiction

⁹⁰ Belgravia is one of the richest areas of London.

working-class cockney drama, *Cassandra's Dream* (2007). The continued success of Woody Allen in Europe, as well as his renewed popularity as a result of these recent European films in the States points to a perceived heritage of intellectual liberalism that, in fact, perpetuates racial, class, and gender stereotypes: "Allen's view of the city is carefully selective one—a world where social pain and threat never intrude on the private lives and agonies of his characters" (Quart 16).⁹¹ Their crises involve failed marriages or professional validation, problems created through their own neuroses and narcissist desires. If the stories do happen to intersect with larger social issues, for example, the financially double-dealing husband in *Blue Jasmine* (2013), the films critique the individual actions of characters rather than the mechanisms of power, which perpetuate these conflicts.

The complex nature of British in Allen's film then finds its representation. in the interiors and their objects in the mise-en-scène: "From the intimate, velvety darkness of a box at the Royal Opera House to a shot of the Hewetts' cavernous library of leather-bound editions, Allen's depiction of this (very English) privilege is as luxuriant and seductive as that of his fellow American James Ivory" (Lawrenson).⁹² The still below emphasizes the interior of the Hewitt's country estate. Invited there for the first time by his wealthy tennis client (and future brother-in-law), Chris wanders the house in search of familiar faces before a party. Lost in the gigantic space, he enters the library. The camera shifts from a focus on Chris to a wide shot of expensive furnishings and thousands of books meticulously arranged. The camera then switches to a reverse shot of Chris framed by the objects. The objects indicate increasing influence material goods will place in his life. Allen juxtaposes this scene with Chris's sparse, downtrodden flat in London with the "wok thrown in for free." The focus on the aesthetic of the apartment and the house remains unusual, as Allen films tend to rely heavily on the

⁹¹ The threat of poverty, such as in *Blue Jasmine* (2013) remains always at the individual level and not necessarily indicative of larger, societal woes.

⁹² <http://old.bfi.org.uk/sightandsound/review/3093>: In an intertextual twist, cinematographer Remi Adefarasin won the Academy Award for best cinematography for the film *Elizabeth* (1999), which Higson addresses as one of the seminal heritage texts in his monograph

dialogue or voiceover. This particular scene relies on no music nor dialogue, and features, instead a sweeping shot of the living room.



House as Museum in *Match Point*

Like Hitchcock, Allen in this scene uses the heritage aesthetic to reach “pure cinema,” relying on objects to narrate his story. Higson further suggests that the objects in the mise-en-scene of the heritage film could be seen as a subversive critique of social pressure and representative of the character’s psychological interiorization rather than a slowing of the narrative (Vidal 19).⁹³ Like the material goods at the country estate, the identification with objects increases in frequency throughout the film: Characters exit designer stores carrying bags; they dine on caviar blinis at gourmet restaurants; their parents front them money for apartments with impossible views of the Thames. Money is explicitly associated with “pleasure,” and the mise-en-scene certainly valorizes wealth (This tactic remains at odds, perhaps, with the narrative itself, which portrays the corruption of the pursuit of wealth.). Chris’s social ascendancy and the depiction of material goods hence then become synonymous within the film. Nola functions as something to be acquired (more on this, otherwise remove it). Allen uses the tourist site and the British household through a form of Brechtian othering that

⁹³ from *Heritage Film: Nation, Genre Representation*

interrogates the intersection of mass and high culture, which he then expands into the spaces of the museum and art gallery in his following films.

Allen at the Museum

In summer 2015, several news media sources announced that Mediapro, a Spanish production company that had already funded several of Woody Allen's European-set films, would be opening a museum dedicated to the director, "The Woody Allen Center," in Barcelona.⁹⁴ The city had been the setting of one of Allen's more critically and financially successful films in recent years, *Vicky Cristina Barcelona* (2008). The overwhelming focus on the aesthetic of the city tends to critically overshadow the use of museum and art gallery space. This lack of mention in scholarship seems odd as some of the most key and memorable sequences from his films take place in museums. Indeed, if the tangible representation of Allen through sculpture and painting results from Allen's filmic oeuvre, how does he then treat the representations of these objects onscreen? William Brigham in his essay "Woody Allen as Flaneur" suggests that setting scenes in the museum illustrates the "value placed on art by Allen's protagonists" (330). Yet, the attitude towards art, in particular, in terms of "mass" and "higher" culture remains conflicted in the European films. Characters in his films are often drawn to these spaces, but also tend to undermine them as institutions of higher art. They move through the space as figures more prominent than the artistic pieces themselves. The intricacies of interpersonal relationships, often imagined and contrived, take precedence over any observations/reflections on the artwork on display.

Allen then uses museums as the setting to form and also expose relationships. In Allen's films, what takes place outside the frame or "how" the artwork is framed oftentimes remains more important than the piece itself. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett touches on the production of meaning through decontextualization:

⁹⁴ <https://news.artnet.com/in-brief/woody-allen-museum-to-open-in-barcelona-289709>

Posited meaning derives not from the original context of the fragments but from their juxtaposition in a new context. As a space of abstraction exhibitions do for the life world what the life world cannot do for itself. They bring together specimens and artifacts never found in the same place at the same time and show relationships that cannot otherwise be seen. (3)

In the particular context of the quote, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett refers to the objects within the museum, and the establishment of new relationships. However, in the case of Allen's films, the "specimens and artifacts" are the human subjects themselves within the museum. In *Play It Again, Sam* (1972), the women in the museum become the objects of the gaze. Alan (Allen's character in the film), reeling from a recent break-up, goes to the art museum to pick up women.⁹⁵ His friend Linda, played by Diane Keaton, observes the artwork surrounding them: "We're in a room that has some of the highest achievements of Western Civilization." Alan scans the room, ignores the artwork, and replies, "There's no girls." This scene plays into Allen's simultaneous valorization and disdain for the higher arts. He includes them as background and points of discussion within his film (opera, literature, etc.), but rejects, at the same time, their cultural status: When Alan tries to pick up a fellow visitor by asking her opinion on a Jackson Pollock painting, she replies, "It restates the negativeness of the universe. The hideous, lonely emptiness of existence. Nothingness..." Her opinion, of course, reflects general themes in Allen's films regarding the ultimate futility of life. Yet, not to be dissuaded Alan asks, "What are you doing Friday night?" Instead, Alan (and implicitly Allen) engages in objectification of the female characters present in the room.⁹⁶

The dynamic of the much older man "instructing" the younger female in culture, art, and literature, surfaces in *Manhattan* (1979), *Hannah and Her Sisters* (1986), *Annie Hall*, etc., and reaches its peak in *Magic in the Moonlight*. This interaction foreshadows a common

⁹⁵ It should be noted that *Play It Again Sam*, though based on a play written by Allen and starring the actor, was actually directed by Herbert Ross.

dynamic that takes place, particularly in earlier films, with the female intellectual, as represented by the unnamed art patron, many of Diane Keaton's characters, the sisters in *Interiors* (1978), etc. In the last case, the lead remains quite antagonistic to his (much younger) female co-star, and Allen celebrates this particular dynamic without any critical distance. (Some critics have argued that Allen critiques this trope in *An Irrational Man* [2015] through Jill's infatuation with her alcoholic professor, but I disagree with this particular reading.) This interaction is certainly representative of the problematic portrayal of gender in Allen's films. On one hand, Allen writes an exceedingly large number of roles for women in an industry where women see little representation. On the other hand, these roles have been accused of sexist caricature: the young girl who learns from the much older, experienced man; the hysteric, shallow intellectual. In the case of Penelope Cruz's character in *Vicky Cristina Barcelona*, the intersection of gendered and racialized caricature comes into play.

Several years after *Play It Again, Sam*, Allen revisited (if not interrogated) these themes in *Manhattan*. In addition to the skyline, Allen made extensive use of New York's museumscape, including the Guggenheim, MOMA, and the American Museum of Natural History. The film contains one of the infamous scenes where Allen ridicules pompous elitism found in New York's intellectual groups. Isaac, played by Allen, and his much younger girlfriend, Tracey (Mariel Hemingway), give their opinion of how they "liked" an art exhibit. Mary (again played by Diane Keaton), an intellectual acquaintance, negates their opinions with a scathing critique filled with elitist jargon: "To me it was very textual, you know what I mean? It was perfectly integrated, and it had a marvelous kind of negative capability." The monologue parallels the one of the young woman in *Play It Again, Sam* in its use of jargon and ultimate meaningless-ness. Yet, the rhetoric, again, simultaneously repels and attracts Isaac, and Allen later juxtaposes this scene with a sequence in the American Museum of Natural History. Here, Isaac and Mary have escaped to the museum after a sudden rainstorm

in Central Park. In this case, Allen uses the aesthetic of the exhibit to highlight the burgeoning connection between the two characters: Isaac and Mary discuss their personality ticks and neuroses (still full of pseudo-intellectual jargon) while outlined against a backdrop of the moon and outer space in the Hayden Planetarium. Through the use of the black and white cinematography, highlighting their outlines against “outer space,” Isaac and Mary thus become figures of observation within the museum space itself. A relationship that would have otherwise not have existed outside of the conversation in this shared space begins to form. As the European films tend to focus on the narrative of American abroad as tourist or outsider (save for the underrated *Cassandra’s Dream*), the museum space as a tourist site begins to appear more prominently throughout his oeuvre. They increase focus on the museum space’s ability to highlight new relationships through historical/cultural decontextualization of the objects, including the characters themselves.

The framing of the museum artwork and the use of the gaze (both literal and figurative) as representative of power come into play in an important narrative turning point in *Match Point*. Months after his initial affair with Nola, Chris has married Chloe and is resigned to his life as a businessman in the ranks of one of his father-in-law’s companies. Yet, shortly after his own marriage, Chris learns to his disappointment that his brother-in-law has broken up with Nola to marry another woman. Months pass, then by chance Chris sights Nola at the Tate Modern London, where Chris is supposed to meet up with Chloe and a friend to observe a new exhibition. The characters and observations on the art correspond to their own interior narratives. Chloe and a girlfriend look at the newest exhibit, yet their conversation revolves around fertility treatments and her inability to become pregnant. In one case, Chloe looks at a painting commenting on the brush strokes, and exclaims, “I don’t like it.” The scene between the two women in the abstract space of the museum parallels Chris’s increasing panic with his new bourgeois lifestyle at his job in the glass and metal confines of

the 30 St Mary Axe. On his later arrival at the Tate, Chris has a “chance” sighting (feeding into the theme of luck in *Match Point*) of Nola as she moves towards a lower floor on the escalator, framed behind an inaccessible plastic see-through wall. Avoiding his wife, Chris goes in search of Nola, and soon finds her in a lower level of the museum. Framed in the doorway with his back to the camera, Chris sees Nola staring at the painting and takes a moment to look at her. Ironically, on the right side of the doorframe, it states the following: “Please do not touch the artworks.” Ignoring the warning, Chris exits the doorframe and moves towards Nola, the object of his gaze. (The symbolism of the artwork in the background juxtaposed against Chris’s pursuit of Nola does become a bit heavy handed as the painting in front of which Nola stands has the large words “ACHE” written at the top.) At the same time, one could read the small “no photography” at the right side of the doorframe as a nod to the attempt of film to capture its historic artistic predecessor, as well as Allen’s attempt to capture the culture of the city onscreen.



“Please do not touch the artworks:” The object of the gaze in *Match Point*

If the Tate Modern acts as the catalyst site for the affair between Chris and Nola, another parallel sequence in an art gallery indicates the end of the affair. As he visits his wife at her newly opened art gallery, Chris learns that their anticipated vacation to the Greek

islands has been called off unexpectedly. Robbed of his ruse to buy time in his decision whether or not to leave Chloe, Chris goes into the showroom to make a phone call to Nola. Chris and his wife have their first date at the Saatchi Gallery, and his calling of his mistress in the middle of his wife's art gallery signifies the increasing blurring of his life between the affair and the marriage. In the last minute, Chris decides to not to tell Nola of the vacation, setting off the chain of events that end with her murder. As he stands in silence, staring at the cell phone, two paintings featuring *doppelgänger* –like subjects frame him on either side. The respective paintings feature men “duplicated” with blank figures, paralleling Chris's double-life and opaque interiority. (Indeed, his lack of expression or motivation was an element critiqued within the film.) The painting on the right, in particular, parallels the image of Chris's silhouette when he approaches Nola at the Tate Modern. In this case, the shot is the opposite of the one at the Tate with Nola standing with her back to the camera, facing the paintings. Here, Chris ignores the paintings, and becomes the object of the gaze of the figures in the artwork and the viewer.



Making a phone call while the double looks on in *Match Point*

The division of the figures in the paintings represents his inability to reconcile these two different lifestyles within the film, made definitive in his decision not to inform Nola that the trip has been cancelled nor tell his wife about the affair. The hide-and-seek movements

through the museum and the art gallery illustrate the illusion of an escape from bourgeois monotony. Instead, the pursuit ends in clichés and the valorization of the status-quo through the maintenance of his lifestyle without consequence.

An American in Paris: Allenophilia and France

In *Midnight in Paris*, Gil states, “No work of art can compare to a city.” Critics most often compare *Midnight* with *Manhattan* as a cinematographic ode to the beauty of the city. Paris’s museums also play a prominent role in the mise-en-scène. An American tourist (versus native New Yorker) interprets works of art seen representative of French heritage, including pieces from Rodin and Monet. *Midnight* follows a young Hollywood writer named Gil who visits Paris with his fiancée, Inez, and her parents. By chance, they meet up with two acquaintances of Inez from her college years, the esoteric academic, Paul, and his wife, Carol. While touring Versailles with this group of elitist American bourgeois acquaintances, Inez reveals to her friends that Gil wishes to move to Paris, and makes the callous observation, “These days, there are so many Americans who feel the need to move here.” Her emphasis on, “these days,” rings painfully shallow in the context of the long history of tourists and artists travelling abroad to France and Europe at large. For example, a 1865 article written for *The New York Times* proclaimed, “According to all reports, the continent of Europe is just now flooded with American tourists.”⁹⁷ The irony of Inez’s statement is further emphasized a few scenes later when Gil meets artists of 1920s “The Lost Generation” during his midnight wanderings in the streets of Paris. Gil’s new potential love-interest, Adriana, makes the same statement when he introduces himself as an American. At the same time, Allen does strike a nostalgic difference between the statement made by both Inez and Adriana. Inez refers to what Allen depicts as American bourgeois tourists wandering Versailles. Adriana means

⁹⁷ <http://www.nytimes.com/1865/10/15/news/american-travelers-and-american-artists-in-europe.html?pagewanted=1>

American artists, such as the Fitzgeralds and Ernest Hemingway, and Allen readily draws the distinction.

If the heritage film channels a desire to encounter the past, then Allen's films *Midnight in Paris* realizes this fantasy on-screen. An aspiring novelist, Gil simultaneously longs for the Paris of a bygone era and wishes to give up his comfortable and secure lifestyle in Los Angeles. Indeed, in a metanarrative twist, he is writing a book is about a man who works in a nostalgia shop--objects as connections between past and the present emerge as important within this film. Gil's longing to live in the past is fulfilled when, during a solitary nighttime stroll, an old car picks him and transports him to 1920's Paris. Like other examples of the fantastic in Woody Allen films, such as the on-screen character come to life in *The Purple Rose of Cairo* or the Greek chorus of *Might Aphrodite* (1995), no explanation is given for the occurrence. The focus remains on the internal and external personal conflicts that emerge from these time-travels. In Gil's ventures, he meets and seeks advice from largely expatriate writers and artists living in Paris in the 1920's. He parties with the Fitzgeralds, drinks with Hemingway, and asks Gertrude Stein to read his manuscript. While these midnight excursions appear that they might lead to a professional breakthrough for Gil, his travels also soon lead him to question the viability of his relationship with his fiancée. He falls in love with a woman named Adriana, a mistress of Picasso, who also shares a penchant for the romantic and nostalgic with her fixation on the Belle Époque. (Adriana is played by Marion Cotillard, a French actor, familiar with Americans as the film was released only a few years after her Academy Award win.) Inevitably, Gil's experience of the past has a dramatic impact on his present life, and his time travels into the past begin affect the trajectory of his future. Nostalgia features strongly in all of Allen's works. Indeed, the receptive tradition of the Woody Allen film has become nostalgic in the embedded ritual itself, a yearly film with Windsor font opening credits. Furthermore, as Britta Feyerband in her book *Seems Like Old*

Times: Postmodern Nostalgia in Woody Allen's Work points out, the narratives and characters of the films have always been heavily based in forms of nostalgia: "It is striking how Allen's characters-whether in his prose, drama, or film-never truly live in the present and, instead, always carry some 'burden' of the past around with them. . . ." (22). In Allen's world, nostalgia occurs on a deeply personal level, but taints the individual's interactions with the society around him. Indeed, the majority of Allen's films focus on characters' second-guessing of their actions in an attempt to control a universe largely outside of their influence. Rosenthal regrets his decision to have his mistress killed in *Crimes and Misdemeanors* (1988). In *Mighty Aphrodite* (1995), Allen's character goes in search of the biological parents of the son he has adopted to remedy the conflicts in his own family. Elliot decides he still loves his wife after an affair with her sister in *Hannah and Her Sisters* (1986). Characters attempt to control these outbursts of nostalgia through the mediation outer world grounded in an escapist past: "All in all, they feel safer in the world of the past and in the world of time-proven gadgets and ideas than in the present, which seem laden with corruption, crime, and insurmountable problems" (22). For example, Allen depicts the ritualistic comforts of movie going against economic and emotional despair during The Great Depression in *The Purple Rose of Cairo*. In addition, there exists Allen's well-documented technological phobias include his insistence on writing his scripts with a typewriter. Hence, Allen, both through his persona and films cultivates a very demonstrative nostalgia for his audiences.

Allen parallels *Midnight* with this "absent" portrayal of the nostalgia shop. (The story itself is always only related through second hand accounts of supporting characters. Hence, like the time-travelling, the narrative appears disjointed.) Over the course of the film, the boundaries between the periods of the early twentieth and twenty-first centuries began to dissolve through the simultaneous juxtaposition of objects inside and outside of the museum. The connection between heritage-industry tools of nostalgia and the on-screen visualization of

the term come in the form of various objects from the past that begin to surface. These objects function not only as reminders of the past, but often serve as hints about events in the future time travels to come. While at a 1920s dance party at Musée des Arts Forains (Museum of Carnival Arts), Adriana excitedly points out a carousel from the Belle Époque to Gil. The carnival during the Belle Époque gave visitors at that time not only an access to the past but also the illusion of experiencing the travel or possessions of the rich (bikes, gondola rides in Venice, horse-racing, etc.).⁹⁸ In *The Birth of the Museum*, Bennett supports this view, suggesting the amusement park possessed “an ethos of modernity and a commitment, like the museum, to an accumulating time, to the unstoppable moment of progress which, in its characteristic forms of ‘hailing’ (accenting the ‘new’ and ‘the latest’)” (4). This set piece was filmed in a private museum devoted to the preservation of objects originally valued for their representation of the future (rather than the past). Not only does the presence of this object hint at the further time travel to be undertaken by Gil and Adriana to that time period, it indicates their valorization of the past and of a privileged lifestyle. It further highlights the faulty nostalgia of the characters, one based in anticipation of the future, as well as a longing for the past.

Like other heritage films, Allen relies on casting, as well as objects onscreen, to further ground his film in the aura of authenticity. The Cole Porter record playing at the antique market connects Gil to the party he attends the night before during his time travels. At the same, it draws Gil to a later redeeming connection young shop girl in the future. They meet, again, by chance at the Pont Alexandre III at the end of *Midnight*. French cinema heir Léa Seydoux plays the shop assistant. Gil as a person placed in the past, tends to create little more than puzzlement amongst the artistic elite, played in cameos by well-known actors: Adrien Brody as Dali; Tom Hiddleston as F. Scott Fitzgerald; Kathy Bates as Gertrude Stein;

⁹⁸ Source: Tour of Musée des Arts Forains

etc. Then French first lady, Italian singer/model Carla Bruni plays the tour guide. She represents an administration (of her husband Sarkozy) interested in cultivating a specific “idea” of “old French” through exclusion and othering. (Ironically, she herself is Italian.) At the same time, her career as a singer is seen as representing to the banal mass media, catering to the French bourgeois.

Allen interrogates “high” versus “low” culture through the focus on alternative spaces for the housing of historical objects. He highlights the porous difference between the museum and “nostalgia shop” and suggests there might not be such a large gap between the valorization of high art and nostalgia. The Forains’ party setting (approximately midway through the film) indicates the accumulation of object value through time, what was once considered something reserved for the masses now remains a privatized museum, reserved for only private tours and upper-class parties. Instead of being preserved/kept at a distance from the public, the carousel carries drink-spilling bohemian artist guests at a private party. In the present day, Inez and her mother browse, look over, and criticize antique chairs, rings, etc, with the same critical eye and investment as they observe the works of Rodin, Monet, and Picasso. The mother associates the “value” of the art exclusively with monetary worth (or, at least, what other people tell her is the monetary value of the objects): “You get what you pay for.” Later, as Gil, Inez, and her mother roam through the flea market, the mother praises the latest “moronic” Hollywood film they had just seen the previous night. Inez interrupts Gil’s discussion of Cole Porter’s music with a young shop girl, informing him that they must go to the Monet museum on which Paul “is an expert.” Not without some further irony, Gil responds, “Let’s go get some culture!” Fusco argues in her article on modernism and *Midnight in Paris*, one of the flaws of American films, and in the case of this particular film, American culture on a whole, remains the “lack of historical perspective” (300). The value of the object is likened with its instant-gratification use value at the moment. However, the

films' (and Fusco's) argumentative flaws lie in their inability to acknowledge the "lack of historical perspective" in the European context, as well.

The presentation of history through narrative or its interpretation through specific, privileged audiences also questions access to the past. Adriana's diary, an object written by an invented "historical" figure that interacted with real historical figures, such as Picasso, Hemingway, and Stein, lies in a flea market rather than in archives or an art museum. The object confirms the "authenticity" of Gil's time travels and Adriana's feelings for him. Yet, on the other hand, objects from the present taken into the past or vice versa tend to create discord. On reading Adriana's diary, Gil attempts to take Inez's earrings as a gift to her, and a chaotic scene ensues amongst Inez's family where they accuse "the help" of theft. Finally, through the displacement of objects into the past and future, the dysfunctional nature of his present renders itself evident. Later, Gil takes his book manuscript to Gertrude Stein for review, and after the second reading, she responds, "I don't see how he can't see his fiancée is having an affair." Through *Midnight in Paris*, Allen breaks down this nostalgia through a physical integration of the present into the past and vice versa. Moreover, Gil's ability to navigate these spaces connects the personal everyday with the historical even in the film. Even the high-art status of museums themselves within the film are undermined to a certain extent; pieces of art found in other museums within France itself are placed into different contexts to fit *Midnight's* narrative. Hence, the filming of the museum itself decontextualizes the pieces of art, and brings them into dialogue with one another in a narrative most likely unavailable to them outside the context of the film. Like the artworks found at the country house in Assayas's *Summer Hours*, mentioned in the chapter on the museum film, *Midnight* calls attention to these artworks through their decontextualization away from the museum context.

As if in anticipation to several critics' dubious response to the depiction of French culture and nostalgia in *Midnight*, Allen personifies them with his portrayal of the "pedantic" academic, Paul. Inez's old acquaintance from her university days, Paul quickly establishes himself as an expert on everything, from French wine to dancing. Gil appears the only one in his immediate circle annoyed with his condescension, often placed in the *mise-en-scène* as hanging back from the group. When Inez divulges the nostalgia-shop setting of Gil's novel, Paul goes into a rant against the term while, ironically, walking across the grounds of Versailles as a tourist drawn to the past:

Nostalgia is denial - denial of the painful present... the name for this denial is golden age thinking - the erroneous notion that a different time period is better than the one ones living in - its a flaw in the romantic imagination of those people who find it difficult to cope with the present. What was prosaic and even vulgar to one generation had been transmuted by the passing of years from a status now musical and almost camp.

The monologue sums up what many critics, particularly Rosenbaum, have accused Allen of exploiting in his European films—living in the past success of his previous films in the denial of his present lack of artistic inspiration. The onscreen personification of his critics enables Allen to exact revenge. For Paul, nostalgia is a sign of weakness, which he exploits through his pedantic rants at the cost of befuddled, demure Gil. The interactions between the two take place at places of cultural heritage: historical sites and galleries. Here, Paul tries to flex his knowledge capital in bouts of pseudo-intellectualism, and often historically incorrect information. For example, at the Rodin Museum, he argues with the tour guide played by Bruni. As Bruni's character explains the history of a particular Rodin sculpture, Paul commandeers the tour guide's lecture, and the proceeds to argue with her over the name of Rodin's mistress. Gil interrupts Paul to support the curator's information, stating, "I recently

read a two volume biography on the wife, and Rose was definitely the wife and Camille the mistress.” Cowed for a moment, Paul moves on, but when pressed by his fiancée as to where he obtained that information, Gil replies, “Me, why would I read a biography on Rodin?” Gil remains inadvertently factually correct in his support of the tour guide’s information, but his success results from pure chance. Here Gil exposes Paul’s faux- or pseudo-intellectualism, a feat Allen’s characters had difficulty accomplishing in previous films. In *Midnight*, Gil undermines Paul through time travel, and, hence, the lived experience of everyday life and events in the historical past, an autodidactic heritage.

However, at the same time, as Rosenbaum points out in his reaction to *Midnight*, Allen himself valorizes pseudo-intellectualism within his films, often through the appearance of the “Woody Allen” character.⁹⁹ The American tourists’ visit to Musée de l’Orangerie illustrates this dynamic. The group views Monet’s waterlily paintings in the main exhibition hall of the museum, (which is oddly devoid of the crowd of tourists normally filling the room). The panoramic nature of the room mimics the opening scene at the gardens of Giverny. Gil attempts to interrupt Paul to make a comment on Monet. At this point in the film, Gil has not yet travelled back in time to the Belle Époque to meet the artist, as he will do later in the film with Adriana. Chastised into silence, Gil follows along, often pictured in wide shots as sulking behind the group. As they continue in the museum, they see the “The Bather,” the same painting by Picasso, which Gil had seen the night before/in the 1920’s at Gertrude Stein’s house.¹⁰⁰ Repeating the words of Gertrude Stein, he gives her critical reading of the piece guised as his own: “This portrait doesn’t capture Adriana. It has a universality, but no objectivity.” He ends with her insult to artistic aesthetic with the comparison of the painting to a “petit-bourgeois statement.” At the same time, Allen certainly valorizes the

⁹⁹ from his article "Albert Brooks, Woody Allen, and Money."

¹⁰⁰ Though the editing in the film makes it seem like they are in the same museum, this particular Picasso painting is not located in the permanent collection of the Musée de l’Orangerie. The title of the painting is also not revealed in the film, but it is referred to as “The Bather.”

historical figures and their opinions within the film. Again, this scene illustrates a case of Allen’s simultaneous valorization of “high” and “mass” culture. Paul might actually have the correct interpretation of the work, but in the time-travel fantasy, historical veracity becomes further undermined by the privileging of the narrative over historical accuracy. Gil, privileged to have witnessed the events outside of the frame of the painting, revels in his new-found cultural capital. He uses Picasso’s first name and switching his verb tenses from “sees” to “saw.”



A figure from the past or last night in *Midnight in Paris*

Yet, as the day progresses, these wide location shots are replaced with the darkening, winding streets of the city. As Allen critic Annette Insdorf suggests, “It’s the nocturnal city that animates the character Gil but also the imagination of director Woody Allen; geographical/spatial dislocation” caused by the streets of Paris, that creates the time-warp.”¹⁰¹ If he has hit on “every street corner and sign in” New York City, then he evokes the history of these street corners and signs in Paris.¹⁰² Symbols of urban banality, such as a laundromat, are turned back into the bars where the artists imbibed. Hence, Gil experience nostalgia fulfilled—his mundane, urban existence transformed into the excitement of 1920’s Paris. Yet, one cannot satiate nostalgia for long. On one hand, contemporary life encroaches on the scene

¹⁰¹ Annette Insdorf in Weide’s documentary.

¹⁰² Biographer Lax in Weide’s documentary

with the arrival of dawn, and Gil finds himself faced again with the laundromats of modern-day Paris. As much as he enjoys the midnight meanderings, Gil soon realizes that he must choose between his life and the present and that of 1920's; the two worlds cannot co-exist. Though his time travels appear the ultimate fulfillment of nostalgia, Gil realizes that his yearning for a past age in Paris would continue to haunt him, regardless of his ability to stay back in time. During his last time travel episode to 1920's Paris, Gil considers staying with Adriana in the past, rather than returning to the present as a hack-Hollywood screenwriter and his failed relationship with Inez. As they wander through the streets of 1920's Paris, he and Adriana happen on a coach that transports them to the fin-de-siècle, much like the coach from the beginning of the film. When he hears the painters at the table discussing how great it would be to live in the Renaissance, Gil realizes that nostalgia can never be fulfilled. Adriana then expresses her desire to remain in that time period, but Gil tries to convince her that the dissatisfaction with the present remains unending: "That's what the present is. It's a little unsatisfying because life is unsatisfying." While Adriana remains in the past, Gil chooses instead to return to modern day Paris. Though Allen espouses a bleak existentialist philosophy, he does allow Gil to find a form of contentment where Allen's characters have found solace in most of his films, continued refuge in a nostalgic albeit slightly unsatisfying ending. A potential future presents itself with the same French woman who shared Gil's love for Cole Porter music and Paris in the rain.

The success of *Midnight* reflects the strength of Allen's relationship with France. Perhaps the international relation most written about in connection to the reception of Allen's films would be the French. The permeation of Allen's films into and affection for his persona French culture remains quite astonishing. In his essay "Woody Allen and France," Gilles Menegaldo details what he refers to as a "privileged relationship" between Allen and the nation, not only through appreciative filmmakers, such as Godard, but one that has entered

into the everyday life of the nation as a “cultural icon” (2126). Menegaldo then characterizes *Midnight in Paris* as an ode to this relationship:

Midnight in Paris is the acme of Allen’s celebration of French history and culture. Allen may never provide a truly documentary account of Paris and Parisian life. His interest lies elsewhere, in the creation of a magnified, romanticized, selected, and stylized image, disregarding any realistic approach.

(71)

Midnight in Paris is, hence, a genuine representation of the city through the lens of Woody Allen, and centralization of French culture in Paris. In effect, Allen tells the story of the American in Paris. He makes the claim that the images onscreen are manifestations of his interpretation of the city, one heavily influenced by American films of the city: “I got the clichéd vibration I got from growing up on American movies about Paris.... I think of romance.”¹⁰³ Yet, the personalization of authenticity does not render that representation exempt from criticism. Indeed, as Rosenbaum points out in his essay on the film, identification plays a large role in the consumption of Allen’s artistic product.

The question remains as to what point the self-reflexivity and criticalness these visual depictions of nostalgia extend. In his review for *Midnight*, Rosenbaum makes the claim that Gil’s longing to experience the Parisian past is “mis-labeled” by his fellow characters; rather, “nostalgia,” according to Rosenbaum is “an ideal based in a reality of home.” Instead, he suggests Allen functions in a hypocritical and shallow unreality: “[*Midnight in Paris* is] “about all the upper-crust parties Hemingway went to and the cabs he took to get to them.”¹⁰⁴ Allen’s nostalgia roots itself in hypocritical blinders that undermine any contemporary social criticisms his works may contain. For example, Gil openly criticizes Inez’s Tea Party parents, but seems more concerned with the anti-intellectualist slant of the movement rather than a

¹⁰³ From a *MakingOf* interview.

¹⁰⁴ Quotes taken from from <http://www.jonathanrosenbaum.net/2011/05/albert-brooks-woody-allen-and-money/>

valid concern for those excluded from the world of privilege featured in almost the entirety of his films. In that way, Allen's rose-tinted glasses use of nostalgia could escape critique, yet, at the same time, it gives a problematic representation of an idealized present.



Woody Allen with his likeness in Oviedo, Spain¹⁰⁵

The Expatriate Fantasy: *Vicky Cristina Barcelona*

The figure of the American abroad in *Vicky Cristina Barcelona* exposes another imaginary based in an unreality. Though not set in the past, *Barcelona* quickly historicizes itself in a specific depiction of the American artist abroad in Europe and the attempt to escape the “banality” and lack of perceived historicity of American mass culture. It also further centers itself in a very specific depiction of the Spanish nation. Ironically, as the title indicates, most of this film takes place in Catalonia, an area with a strong sense of regional identity and desire for independence from the Spanish nation. In Allen's films, the American tourists tend not to think of his or herself as a tourist, instead as an artist trying escape mass American culture. Gil Pender rejects the comforts of his fellow tourists, insisting on walking

¹⁰⁵ Allen and statue in Oviedo, Spain. Photo taken from the following source:
http://www.redjuderias.org/google/google_maps_print/cronologia-oviedo-en.html

through Paris “in the rain.” In *Vicky Cristina Barcelona*, self-perceived failed filmmaker Cristina finds artistic rebirth in an older technology, photography, capturing the ancient buildings and monuments of Spain. As she bicycles through the idyllic Spanish countryside with Juan Antonio and Maria Elena, the voiceover states the following:

[Cristina] was already thinking of herself as a kind of expatriate...not smothered by what she believed to be America's puritanical and materialistic culture, which she had little patience for. She saw herself more a European soul, in tune with the thinkers and artists she felt expressed her tragic, romantic, freethinking view of life.

Here, Cristina shifts away from thinking of herself as a tourist and towards thinking of herself as part of the culture. She also falls into the same privileged identity that Rosenbaum criticizes in *Midnight*. Her use of the term “expatriate” also indicates the valorization of the WASP experience. The voiceover in *Vicky Cristina Barcelona* has been criticized as heavy-handed storytelling. Other critics suggest the voiceover and other elements in the film (such as the use of split-screen) highlight both the narcissism of an aesthetic approach towards art, which, the film, certainly does engage in to some extent (King 193). Certainly, when compared to the recent use of voiceover in *An Irrational Man*, it functions as more satirical rather than a heavy-handed plot device.

Though she strives to escape consumer culture, at the same time, Cristina's documentation represents “Othering” in search of an “authentic” Spain. In the montage where Cristina and Maria Elena wander the city in search of photographic subjects, the voice-over states the following: “They photographed everything from silly-looking dogs to grim-faced children....” Cristina's photographs, as suggested through her posing of the subjects and the photographs hanging in the dark room, certainly engage in an “othering” of the city of Barcelona and its populace. As King suggests, Allen also promotes an “othering,” particularly

through the characters of Juan Pablo and Marie-Elena, who seem to function more on the level of caricatures rather than foils to the two main characters (5519).¹⁰⁶ The characters' purpose in the film serves the self-actualization of the two white characters within the film. Cristina's newfound fascination with photography echoes Frederic Jameson's critique of tourist commodification: "the American tourist no longer lets the landscape "be in its being" as Heidegger would have said, but takes a snapshot of it, thereby graphically transforming space into its own material image" (14). The spaces of Barcelona and their inhabitants then become objects of consumption by Cristina, reduced to the nameless stereotypes in the aforementioned voice-overs. Moreover, as the voiceover continues, "But the most interesting subject proved to be Maria Elena herself."



The city through the American lens in *Vicky Cristina Barcelona*

As King points out, though Penelope Cruz received critical acclaim her performance, her character was heavily criticized as a "Latin caricature" (196). At the end of Cristina's second photography montage, where Cristina gives her instructions, Allen conflates the body of Maria-Elena with the spaces of Barcelona, literally captured through the lens of the white American. Though Cristina emphasizes at the beginning of the film that the images are for her

alone, not to be seen by others, she ultimately does seek validation through the consumption of the images. These consumers include the crowd of WASP expats at the gallery where she first meets Juan Antonio. Some critics, such as Renée R. Curry in “Woody Allen’s Grand Scheme: The Whitening of Manhattan, London, and Barcelona” argues that Allen “frames Barcelona through the lens of white privilege and lodges whiteness as the centrality and authority of Barcelona” (281). One could argue that the cultural insensitivity and shallow ethnographical interest of characters are mocked within the film, much like Cristina’s naïve sense of expatriate superiority. As Curry points out, Vicky barely, completing a Master’s in Catalan culture, speaks little Spanish or Catalanian and has general lack of knowledge about the area (281). Allen’s Othering of the culture is not critiqued, but rather validated within the film itself.

Conclusion

“This city is so beautifully European,” Jasmine (Cate Blanchett) states to her sister, Ginger (Sally Hawkins) as she sits with her at an oyster bar in San Francisco. Allen returned to the United States with *Blue Jasmine* in 2013 his first film set outside of Europe in nearly a decade. In Allen’s European films, the expat often expresses reluctance to return to the United States country seeing it as a sign of defeat: The college student Sandra in *Scoop* does not want to leave England without succeeding as a journalist, finding her first big story. Nola in *Match Point* confesses her reluctance to return to Boulder, Colorado and be seen as a failure by her family and friends, yet she continues to unsuccessfully audition in the London theater scene. Although he has yet to establish himself as an acclaimed novelist, Gil in *Midnight in Paris* expresses his desire to “give up the house and pool in Beverly Hills” supported by his Hollywood hack screenwriter job for a writer’s garret in Paris. These artistic insecurities certainly parallel Allen’s own career. *Blue Jasmine* certainly has a reversed anachronistic tone, wherein nostalgia has taken over the present, a narrative that follows a woman who must

rebuild her life after her con-artist husband is arrested for fraud. Even when compared to his previous films, *Jasmine* appears full of outdated references, and it remains difficult to tell how many of them are calculated. An embarrassingly bad (even in cinemas) CGI shot of a plane opens up the film. Jasmine attends a “computer class” (as many critics have almost gleefully pointed out in reviews for the film). The neighborhoods themselves, like the Mission, are populated by the alternate world of the elite, upper class with occasional vestiges of the working-class thrown into the film for atmospheric purposes. This sense of detachment from everyday life continues with *An Irrational Man*, a continuation of the Dostoyevskian *Crime and Punishment* theme that runs through *Crimes and Misdemeanors* and *Match Point*. (Indeed, in order to make sure the audience realizes the connection, Allen includes a copy of *Crime and Punishment* with the name of the intended murder victim penciled into the margins) Like *Jasmine*, Allen feels a little lost on his return to the United States. Somehow, the geographical shift abroad gave the problems of the privileged individuals escapist element, one that does not translate well when transposed back onto the United States. At the same time, Allen has his own critical self-effacing mechanisms, a critic-proof move that surfaces throughout many of his films. In the final scenes of one of his most uneven European films, *To Rome With Love*, a family celebrates the engagement of their daughter on a Roman rooftop with an impossibly spectacular view of city. Allen plays a music producer on the verge of retirement who has just staged an opera featuring a man singing in the shower. He tells his wife about the reaction of the Italian press: “The reviews were so great! They called me not a Maestro, but an *imbecile!*” Completely clueless as to what the word means, his wife translates it for him in nicer terms, “You’re beyond your time,” meaning he is no longer relevant. His character, on the other hand, takes it to mean he is a visionary. Yet, similar to his move abroad to Europe, Allen has found other ways to try to rekindle his critical success. Like *Blue Jasmine*, he has expanded to other geographical areas of the United States

outside of New York City. His most recent film, *Irrational Man*, takes place in a New England college town, and received slightly better reviews than *Magic in the Moonlight*. His latest film, *Café Society* (2015), focuses on the nostalgia of an Old Hollywood (returning to the site of earlier films such as *Annie Hall*). Europe still remains for Allen a source of escapism and a philosophical oasis, quite literally embodied in Abe's plans to escape to Europe with his fellow professor after the murder he commits in *Irrational Man*. For a man famous for insisting on writing on a typewriter rather than a computer, Allen also has begun to expand to other modes of technology and distribution. He recently directed a series, *Crisis in Six Scenes* (2016), through Amazon's streaming services. This marks a shift from his traditional format of a ninety-minute film to individual episodes. He had written for television when first starting off as a stand-up comedian, but this deal marks the first time he will turn to directing a television series (Shoard). However, he characteristically claims in all interviews that he had never heard of a streaming service before the deal, and continues to not own a computer "I don't own a computer. ...I've never seen anything online at all – nothing. I don't own a word processor. I have none of that stuff. It's not an act of rebellion. I'm just not a gadget person" (Shoard).¹⁰⁷ For a Europe already resentful of Amazon's presence in their film markets, as well as the streaming services' threat to national film industries, it will be interesting whether this particular change in distribution mode will threaten his status as an American auteur. For the moment, though his upcoming series takes place in the past, it seems he has no future films planned in Europe.

¹⁰⁷ <http://www.theguardian.com/film/2015/may/15/woody-allen-agreeing-to-make-amazon-tv-series-was-a-catastrophic-mistake>

Chapter Four:

“My Wuthering Heights:” Jane Campion and Immersive Heritage



Immersed in a letter in *Bright Star* (2009)

Introduction

At the 2013 Berlin Film Festival, while promoting her latest project, the New Zealand series *Top of the Lake* (2013), Jane Campion gave a director’s workshop on her filmic oeuvre to a group of filmmakers. When asked about her inspiration for a previous work *The Piano* (1993), she referred to the film as “[her] *Wuthering Heights*,” but an adaptation that “had to be made in the bush of New Zealand and not the moors of England.”¹⁰⁸ In interviews for her films, Campion has long cited the Brontë sisters’ novels, and *Wuthering Heights*, in particular, as catalysts for her work.¹⁰⁹ Campion’s use of the possessive adjective “my” suggested a personal appropriation of the British nineteenth century narrative. In turn, the national concerns within the text are shifted onto an Antipodean identity.¹¹⁰ This chapter argues that Campion translates her subversive contemporary work into an “immersive

¹⁰⁸ Campion was at the Berlinale to promote her HBO series *Top of the Lake*, and a public Q&A session was held with Campion, who created, co-wrote, and co-directed the series. One of her most constant collaborators, Gerard Lee, co-screenwriter for *Sweetie* and *Top of the Lake* also took part in the Q&A.

¹⁰⁹ In his essay “The New Zealand Influence in Jane Campion’s Thematic Imaginary” from the anthology *Jane Campion: Cinema, Nation, Identity*, Alistair Fox draws connections between Emily Brontë herself and the character of Ada in addition to an authorial parallel between Campion and Brontë.

¹¹⁰ Referring to Australia/New Zealand

heritage cinema,” a reflexive critical representation of the production of heritage on-screen hinted at in *The Piano* and *The Portrait of a Lady* (1996), and then later fully explored in *Bright Star* (2009). It poses the following questions: First, how does Campion bring a distinct authorial vision to her heritage films post-*Piano*, namely through her other heritage films, the *Portrait of a Lady* and *Bright Star*? Second, how does the influence of Campion’s work intersect with other exchanges of transnational heritage, including Australian-European exchanges? Third, how does the emphasis on personal identity and experience (like Herzog or Allen) also negate experiences outside of white European identity, namely those of indigenous peoples? Campion has made an auteur mark on heritage film (often dismissed due to underlying misogyny), because of her transference of European/Antipodean narratives and her onscreen portrayal the immersive experience of heritage culture.

Campion essentializes the landscape of New Zealand in *The Piano* for her own retention of the atmospheric vision of *Wuthering Heights*.¹¹¹ Charlotte Brontë’s *Wuthering Heights* remains arguably the urtext for nineteenth British heritage. The Gothic multiple-framed novel centers around the veritable decay of a household and destruction of a family lineage on the moors of Northern England—metaphorical fears of the national imagination at a microcosmic and claustrophobic regional level. Campion enacted her own form of immersive heritage tourism, namely experiencing the pastness of a different country, while preparing to adapt and direct the film, visiting the site of the seminal novel: “I went to the village where Emily Brontë was brought up, I walked on the moor and I tried to retain the atmosphere.” (Bourguignon and Ciment 105)¹¹² Hence, in addition to the source text itself, she transposes the historical site and the author it produced onto the filmic image, and this retention of atmosphere then transmutes onto film. In *The Piano*, Campion incorporates the

¹¹¹ In recent years, Campion has begun to acknowledge Jane Mander’s novel, *The Story of a New Zealand River*, as another catalyst for the film. The plots parallel each other greatly, and Alistair Fox has an interesting analysis of their points of intersection in his essay “Puritanism and the Erotics of Transgression: The New Zealand Influence in Jane Campion’s Thematic Imagery” from *Jane Campion: Cinema, Nation, Identity*.

¹¹² from *Jane Campion: Interviews*

Gothic melodrama of the Olivier *Wuthering Heights* (1939) to a hyper-realistic realism pre-emptive to Andrea Arnold's adaptation.

If Campion's films then reproduce some of the characteristics of one of the most celebrated literary texts of the nineteenth-century, it seems ironic that Brontë originally published under a male pseudonym in fear that her works would not be accepted as a female writer. In her recent monograph on Campion's relationship to adaptation, Estella Ticknell charts the reception of female film directors' works as characterized by a "pattern of initial recognition and celebration, followed by challenges to originality, critical devaluing and then a long process of 'organized forgetting' followed by rediscovery" (1). As Ticknell points out, Campion's career follows this same trajectory with the massive success of *The Piano*, followed by several years of critical malaise with the costume-drama *Portrait*, the parody *Holy Smoke* (1998), and the neo-noir *In the Cut* (2003). The release of *Bright Star* signaled a restoration among many critics of Campion's status as an acclaimed director. Campion herself dislikes the label of "female filmmaker" or being asked questioned about her experience as a female director in a male-dominated field, as she would rather focus on the work itself (Verhoeven 7). At the same time, she acknowledges the gender disparity and difficulties she has experienced as a result thereof. Production-wise, Campion works with a large number of women, from screenwriters to constant producer Jan Chapman (Ciment 9). Furthermore, her films focus on the experiences of female leads (and oftentimes, female-dominated casts), a rarity in even non-Hollywood cinema and even the heritage genre itself, though the genre certainly features a greater number of narratives focused on female leads.¹¹³

Yet, even critics who claim to promote and celebrate Campion's works, in particular, its promotion of female character-centered and feminist narratives, tend to engage in problematic critical double standards. Like Woody Allen, Campion also continues to remain a

critical darling of Cannes Film Festival. One could certainly argue, however, that Campion's works have been far better received in the United States. French critics taking credit for discovering her and promoting her identity as a auteur filmmaker: "The French discovery of Jane Campion was confirmed subsequently when she gained the distinction of being the first women director to receive the Palme D'Or at Cannes" (Fox and Radner xi). In contrast, directors like Allen have not experienced by any means the intensity of backlash from French critics that Campion has received. The press characterizes Allen often as unacknowledged talent who occasionally makes a subpar film. Indeed, his films that failed critically within the States still tend to receive a warm reception at the festival. As evidence by the phrase "French discovery," the rise to directorial stardom has the connotation of being "not-earned," but rather bestowed on Campion by critics. In addition to the connotation of cinematic national superiority, the rhetoric than indicates that she was "chosen" for auteur status rather than it resulting from her own creative talent or efforts. An oft-cited telling indicator of the double-standards of the Cannes festival lies in a famed picture of Campion alone in a crowd of Palme D'Or winners—all male directors (Ciment 8).¹¹⁴ In recent years, Cannes has received quite a bit of criticism for the lack of films directed by women running in competition (or at the festival on a whole). Particularly, 2012 stood out as low point, as no female directors were in competition for the Palme D'Or. Indeed, Andrea Arnold, the aforementioned director of a *Wuthering Heights* adaptation, who participated in the jury that year, voiced her disappointment with the lack of female directors in competition. French feminist groups and French female directors also openly protested the event.¹¹⁵ Campion has appeared throughout the festival over the years, even appearing as the jury president in 2014, but has never ceased to criticize what she views as its discriminatory practices, whether in interviews or her own

¹¹⁵ <http://www.theguardian.com/film/2012/may/20/cannes-women-andrea-arnold-row> This article also touches on the very problematic racial discrimination that takes place at Cannes. White French critics have very problematically accused the festival of "favoring" cinemas from developing nations, an accusation that Arnold vehemently protested against.

creative projects that not so subtly criticized the “lack of female representation” (Verhoeven 15). Cannes then acts both as a microcosmic and perpetuating example of the orchestrated forgetting and rediscovery described by Ticknell.¹¹⁶

Reinventing the Heritage Genre

In her essay titled “Authority and Adaptation,” Shelley Cobb addresses what she sees as a gendered double standard in the critical reception of Campion’s adaptation of *The Portrait of a Lady*. The section devoted to Campion in Cobb’s article consists of no more than a few paragraphs, but these critical accusations are simultaneously indicative of the treatment of female auteurs, particularly in relation to adaptation and prescriptive for the further critical treatment of Campion’s oeuvre, as well as the heritage genre itself. At the same time, as Cobb points out, the debate on the different reactions to heritage films directed by men or women cannot be reduced to an essentialist male versus female dynamic. Instead, it must be acknowledged as a sign of the very few successful female directors as a result of the institutional structures that exclude them: “Male auteurs are allowed a discourse of authority that is largely kept from women or only allowed them in tangential, tenuous, and temporary ways” (116).¹¹⁷ Cobb uses the example of Martin Scorsese’s adaptation Edith Wharton’s novel *The Age of Innocence* (1993) as a comparative example in critical reception. Critics lauded the film as a departure from his violent signature style exemplified in *Taxi Driver* (1976) and *Raging Bull* (1980). Through his translation of his interiorized violence of 1970s New York to the drawing rooms of the *fin-de-siècle*, critics viewed *Innocence* as a reinvention of the heritage film genre itself. Rather than the use of Wharton’s source text as a silencing of Scorsese’s own artistic intent, it was viewed as an enhancement of her authorial voice. Hence,

¹¹⁶ Industry critics have judged the festival’s response to these criticisms as extremely weak. In years following, Cannes chose female-directed based on their star/marketing power (primarily Hollywood stars), reinforcing of the industry status quo rather than what was flaunted as a legitimate attempt to promote the artistic talent of female directors.

a film adaptation by a male auteur based on a source text by a female author received great praise, wherein the male auteur's voice was seen as adding on that of the female author's. An added flashback elicited the following response from a *Guardian* critic: "That scene is Scorsese's great gift to Wharton, a writer who punishes her characters for not following their hearts, letting the color bleed out of their lives."¹¹⁸ In stark contrast, critics accused Campion her independent cinematic roots and giving into the mainstream popularity of heritage films in the mid-1990's.¹¹⁹ Therein lies the additional standard of a female director being inspired by a source text by a female author without issue, but receiving criticism when she adapts the text of a male author.¹²⁰ *The Portrait of a Lady* was hence seen as a betrayal of her own distinct authorial vision found rather in her smaller, contemporary, Australia based films, such as *Sweetie* (1989) or *Peel* (1982).

Despite the critical and commercial backlash, *Portrait* remains an important piece in not only the Campion canon, but also cinema as a whole, as it interrogates the complex intersections of adaptation, heritage, gender, and national identity. This complexity remains unattained in what one could view as a comparatively more conservative approach to Wharton's source text in Scorsese's film. *Age of Innocence* critiques the New York social milieu juxtaposed against what Newland Archer perceives as the promise of freedom from social restrictions in Europe. In *Portrait*, Campion exemplifies how these social restrictions become more pronounced for the female character. (Scorsese's film includes a brief interlude of a European Tour, as well the coda in Paris at the very end.) Contrary to critical opinion that

¹¹⁸ Gilchrist, Andrew. "My Favourite Film: *The Age of Innocence*." *The Guardian* 23 Dec 2011. *The Guardian Online* 18 Sep 2016. Web.

¹²⁰ Campion also received a great deal of criticism for what was seen as a lack of acknowledgement of the similarities between *The Piano* and the novel *The Story of a New Zealand River* by Jane Mander; a fellow Zealander. (This criticism heightened, in particular, after she received the Academy Award for Best Original Screenplay, which excludes adaptations.) Campion originally disputed any inspiration from the novel and even disputed an academic entry that had suggested *The Piano* was an adaptation of the novel. However, as years have passed, she gradually admitted to having read the novel and having been inspired by the general storyline. From footnotes for "Puritanism and the Erotics of Transgression: The New Zealand Influence in Jane Campion's Thematic Imagery" by Alistair Fox (120).

Scorsese had brought an *auteur* (implicitly subversive) perspective to the genre of the heritage film, Vidal suggests rather that it falls into a trap of literary fidelity that fails in a radical reading of the text itself: “However, whereas Scorsese’s film reads its intertext with the grain, searching for a synthesis between literary and filmic forms, Campion’s film underscores the impossibility of such synthesis from the viewpoint of sexual difference” (130).¹²¹ Through his incorporation of visual references to the written word of the source text and a voiceover narration, Scorsese draws consistent attention to its literary background. This act in and of itself does not necessarily devalue the film adaptation, but, in the case of *Age of Innocence*, it produces a pedestrian reworking of the text, particularly in the second half of the film. Furthermore, as famed period drama critic Pam Cook points out in her review for the film, Scorsese resorts to the one-dimensional female characters that populate his oeuvre—though Michelle Pfeiffer and Winona Ryder both give wonderful performances—and the focus of the story remains solely on the anxieties of Newland—hardly an improvement on Edith Wharton’s nuanced and powerful female characters (163).¹²² However, Vidal points out that many critics still held Campion to an “essentialist” vision of the relation between novel and film perpetuated by what Robert Stam describes in his seminal essay as the tired emphasis on fidelity in adaptation (57).¹²³

Drawing on Monk’s previous work on *The Piano*, Vidal identifies *Portrait* as an example of “post-heritage” cinema, as exemplified through its critical focus shift from to the national to power of gender dynamics. A champion of the ideological and aesthetic complexity of the heritage genre, Monk coined the term “post-heritage” for a new wave of heritage films in the 1990’s she claims focused on gender and sexuality, rather than representations of the national: “The transgressive politics of the post-heritage film places it in genuine opposition to a 1990’s Hollywood-defined mainstream” (7). As Monk points out in

¹²² from *Film/Literature/Heritage*

¹²³ from Stam’s essay “Beyond Fidelity: The Dialogics of Adaptation”

her writings on the post-heritage film, the genre shifted towards a renewed focus on exploration on gender and sexuality in the 1990s (such as *The Piano* or *Orlando*) versus earlier films focused on a specific (conservative and male-centered) portrayal of the nation, such as *Chariots of Fire*, which was seen as ushering in the age of heritage films (7).¹²⁴ Particularly in the 1980's, heritage films depict gendered social restrictions, but, in turn, they do reinforce them to a specific extent through the ultimate conformation to them in the end. This adherence signals itself through a resolution of the traditional Victorian marriage plot, such as the marriage between Lucy and George in Merchant-Ivory's *A Room with a View*. (Monk does argue that some heritage films, such as *Room with a View*, do place an emphasis on the female gaze [186]). However, Monk's assessment that *Room* does not engage with any of the ideologies of the British nation of the time falls short, in particular in the context of the transnational representations of the "Continent" (Italy).¹²⁵

The unwillingness to recognize female authorship in this case stems from the heritage film's generic associations with a mass-market largely female audience. Monk's landmark empirical research in *Heritage Audiences* on the audience reception of heritage cinema in the 1990's indicates that the demographic make-up of the film audience varies with each film. This finding hence indicates that the heritage film appealed to a much more diverse market than originally thought. Moreover, Monk suggests that the general critical discourse itself surrounding the heritage film portrays the texts as both promoting and appealing to "staggeringly passive, textually determined spectator," uncritically consuming the mise-en-scène, hence then "positioned as feminized" (21). Instead, Monk argues that the heritage film text itself does indeed promote active engagement with the audience through many of the films' self-reflexive critique of the genre and interrogation of transnational elements and sexuality. Furthermore, she suggests heritage film audiences, rather than passively viewing

¹²⁴ from "Sexuality and Heritage in *Film/Literature/Heritage*

¹²⁵ from "The British heritage-film debate revisited" in *British Historical Cinema*

the films, engage and criticize the texts in a discerning manner. (In her later research, she focuses on the “rewatching” of the films and discussions via online fan forums. I will expand on the actively engaged heritage audience member through fan fiction writing and online fan forums in the conclusion to this dissertation).¹²⁶ Campion’s historical films, *The Piano*, *Portrait*, and *Bright Star*, through their subversive use of the heritage tropes negate the notion of both appealing to and promoting a passive spectator. Campion’s films indicate that the genre can engage with the past critically, as well as the heritage culture and film genre of the present. Ticknell refers to *Portrait* as “offering a radical realignment of the conventions of heritage cinema” through both its use of narrative and mise-en-scène (13). Also including elements of female gaze and meditation on sexuality, Campion’s vision for James’s novel allowed for an interrogation of the transnational elements found in the source text.

In turn, *Portrait* reverses the transposition of the national that takes place in Campion’s *The Piano* where a British colonialist, Ada, arrives in the “New World” of New Zealand. Ada remains an outcast in British society as a result of her illegitimate child, and her father forces her into an arranged marriage on the edges of the British Empire. In the case of James’s novel, rather than a voyage to the colony (New Zealand), the inhabitant of the “New World” (specifically, the United States) returns to the “Old World” of Europe.¹²⁷ The reversal obviously does not contain the same problematic racial dynamics of the colonial in New Zealand and Australia. “Post-heritage” exposes the framework of the heritage film to new debates in a heavily monolithic discourse, radicalizing discussions of gender and sexualities, as well as notions of class. Yet, many intersectional areas continue to remain relatively ignored or unexplored in the debate. Most noticeably of all, the topic of filmic portrayal of British imperialism, the British attempt to subjugate and enforce its national identity on others, remains a disturbingly problematic or absent. Higson makes brief mention of the

¹²⁶ From “Heritage Audiences 2.0”

privileging of the white, British upper class in his monograph, *English Heritage, English Cinema*. In her study of heritage film audiences, Monk makes brief reference to the nationally and culturally diverse team behind Merchant-Ivory productions. While the productions behind the films may be diverse in some cases, this alternative to homogenous, white British-ness rarely translates to the screen. Exemplified in the “brown-face”-ing of Alec Guinness in David Lean’s *Passage to India*, the presentation of those who reside outside of “white Britishness” continues to remain problematic. Indeed, the narrative of *Passage* is meant to highlight the unfair treatment of Indian peoples at the hands of the white British colonialist, but it itself engages in continued stereotypes and caricatures. Unfortunately, though she acknowledges the specific representation of a “white Britishness” Monk also tends not to focus on issues of race and imperialism present in many of the heritage films.

If post-heritage film calls attention to gendered struggles, both in terms of the production and narrative, it also emphasizes the nation’s role in the global context in emphasizing the power struggles that enforce these limitations. In Monk’s historicization of the heritage film debate, she quotes Higson: “Thus, two of the central strategies of heritage films are named as ‘the reproduction of literary texts, artefacts, and landscapes which already have a privileged status within the accepted definition of the national heritage’ (185).¹²⁸ Higson associates adaptation (through reproduction) within a nationalized context as an integral component of heritage culture debate. In turn Monk, with her term post-heritage culture, emphasizes a certain decentering, which highlights the transposition of the national, takes place. Hence, the conflict between the two theorists arises more so out of their historical focus (Higson on the 1980’s and Monk on the 1990’s.). The mise-en-scène both contrasts and corresponds with the implicit repression and power struggles in the drawing rooms of the Merchant-Ivory films of the previous decade. *Campion’s Piano* violently plays out in the

New Zealand frontier A common topic in Campion scholarship, one that reportedly incites ire from the director, is the extent as to which she considers herself as either a New Zealand or an Australian director. Arguably, she favors the latter identity, and often evokes a certain degree of valiative “Old World” rhetoric when describing her country of birth versus the country where she first began filmmaking, often contrasting the “Puritan work ethic” of New Zealand with a “warm and relaxed” Australia (Cooper 292).¹²⁹ Ciment refers to her as a “cineaste of two countries,” though critics, such as Cooper, indicate that Campion tends to identify with the latter nationality (299). However, Cooper further argues that Campion’s approach to colonial representation “marks her as out of step with racial politics in New Zealand” and, ultimately, “an outsider” (299).

As Monk argues, the heritage film has “come to be perceived by many in the unavoidably globalized image market...as *particularly* ‘British,’” and in *The Piano* Campion’s shifted her focus from contemporary Australia with her heritage as a British colonial identity in New Zealand (176).¹³⁰ In interviews, Campion has framed *The Piano* as an interrogation of her own heritage as a European colonialist: “*The Piano* is me trying to come to terms with the fact that I’m a colonial” (Wexman vii).¹³¹ However, like in the example of Herzog’s *Fitzcarraldo*, *The Piano* problematically tries to align the experiences of the colonists with those of indigenous peoples. As Herzog tries to draw parallel with his sense of victimization as an artist and also largely excludes the indigenous peoples from the film itself (aside from stereotypical ceremonial displays), the narrative in *The Piano* also tends to emphasize a dehistoricized and excluded representation of Indigeniety. Her representation of the Maori was heavily criticized, many of them seeing the indigenous peoples used as a form of “exotic background” to the narrative's focus on the lives of the white colonialists. The story

¹²⁹ from “On Viewing Jane Campion as an Antipodean” by Annabel Cooper in *Jane Campion: Cinema, Nation, Identity*

¹³⁰ from “The British heritage-film debate revisited”

¹³¹ As quoted from the “Introduction” to *Jane Campion: Interviews*

frames itself through the experience of the white settler. The few scenes where they were featured in the film usually consisted of engaging in racial stereotypes. As characters, the Maori function often as a point of reference to magnify the Puritanism or the emotional conflict of the white settlers: A group of Maori meet Ada and Flora on the beach to transport their luggage to the farm, already setting up a dynamic of “othering” and subservience. The Maori attack the stage play of the “Bluebeard” fairytale, a comical moment played at their expense rather than as critical of the colonialists (contrary to what Vidal argues) (94). Rather than her farmer husband, Ada falls in love with Baines, who has appropriated elements of the indigenous, or as Vidal most rightly points out, follows the trope of the colonialist gone “native” (94). Much of the defense surrounding Campion’s portrayal of the Maori in *The Piano* also engages in a problematic second wave feminist conflation of the claimed body of Ada with the colonization of the indigenous peoples within the film. (Many critics, including McHugh, Ticknell, and even Vidal, to some extent, engage in this problematic second wave feminist discourse. For example, Ticknell in her introduction draws parallel with Ada and the Maori [65].)¹³² Cooper quotes Bridget Orr who argues, “Gender is not available as an alibi for participation in colonial history” (298). Indeed, the colonial act does not seem at all critiqued in the film itself. According to Campion, Maori advisors for the script and production were also not pleased with at least the initial draft of the script, and it remains unclear as to what extent the advisors approved of the script (Cooper 298). Echoing Herzog, Campion claims to desire to represent the Maori in an “authentic” way without “politicization” (298).

¹³³However, as in the case of Herzog, to authenticity through representation inevitably politicizes (298). The conflation of the white settler’s experience ignores the historical specificity of the exploitation of the indigenous peoples (298).¹³⁴

¹³³ from Cooper, Annabel. “Jane Campion as an Antipodean.” *Jane Campion: Cinema, Nation, Identity*.

Not only does Campion's move to Europe mimic the transnational literary heritage of James, but it also parallels in some ways that of Woody Allen's, whose production shift occurred roughly ten years after that of Campion's. Both occupy a presence as representatives of art cinema (and veritable Cannes darlings) in contrast to the commercial dominance of Hollywood. Unlike the majority of Allen's American characters who exist in a fantasy class of Americans without work commitments and unending bank accounts, Campion's characters do not exist in a vacuum of privilege. Campion's biopic of famed New Zealand author Janet Frame immediately dismantled this fantasy element. After narrowly escaping a lobotomy in a hospital in New Zealand, Frame goes to Europe as a form of renewal after her harrowing experience, financed through the attainment of a fellowship. A brief respite during a sunny summer stay in Ibiza ends with a lover who abandons her and an eventual miscarriage in a low-income London housing. These particular sequences in the film certainly echo Campion's sense of alienation during her time spent in Europe. If they do encounter wealth, such as in *Portrait*, it subjects the character to greater social restriction. Certainly, the autobiographical/biographical experiences of the European cities differ greatly, calling again on Allen's insistence on representing his own "authentic" vision of the city: Allen's depiction of upper-class Thames apartments and country estates London in *Match Point* certainly differs from the low-income tenement housing featured in *An Angel at My Table* or the sleepy suburbs of Hampstead featured in *Bright Star*. Furthermore, her films, as McHugh suggests, refrain from a moralist framing, when, though Allen claims to hold an existentialist view towards life, his films do, indeed, attempt to create a moral meaning (49). This construction of meaning occurs through the ghosts of murdered victims, the decision to remain a married couple, the death of a murderer (in *An Irrational Man*), etc. Campion does not juxtapose her films against Hollywood or mass culture (particularly through self-reflexive references in the narrative). Campion appears less concerned with this juxtaposition, and her work benefits

from it where she can better critique the problematic escape element of the American in Europe.

Though the genre certainly focuses on more female centered narratives, and film criticism certainly views it as appealing to a primarily female audience (which, as Monk points out has an unjust “disparaging” association), it still has relatively few female directors (180). The Merchant-Ivory constant collaborator, a German female screenwriter, Ruth Praver Jhabvala, remains largely absent from the “branding“ of the pair to loyal heritage audiences (15).¹ Notable exceptions within the past few years include (of course) Campion and her Australian predecessor, Gillian Armstrong, known for the period drama *My Brilliant Career*.¹³⁵ Jhabvala penned some of the Merchant-Ivory’s most successful adaptations, such as *Room With a View* (1985), *Howards End* (1992), *Remains of the Day* (1993), and *The Golden Bowl* (2000) (179). Though she herself did not herself direct the films, the transference of the imagery of the words book onto the imagery and dialogue on-screen, excluded as if her authorship remains of less importance than the work of the producer. Moreover, the primary authorship of the source (E.L. Forster and Henry James) text remains emphasized in discussion around the adaptations, though one could argue that Jhabavala’s authorship remains just as important in regards to the filmic product. Indeed, the script itself provides the key to the final images produced on-screen, and suggests an expansion of the director-centered approach to the auteur identity of the film, one that would more aptly acknowledge the collaborative approach involved.

“Genteel Misery”: Beneath The Veneer in the *The Portrait of a Lady*



The possession of the body in *The Portrait of a Lady*

Earlier in this same interview at the Berlinale, Campion had cited her identification with another nineteenth century author, the United States born turned European Henry James, as an inspiration for several of her films. The Brontë works certainly contain some elements of transnationalism, particularly with the Gothic elements of the Continent versus Great Britain, but it functions as the arguable central motif for James’s works. In contrast to *The Piano*, a reverse transnational move took place in the case of *Portrait of a Lady*, wherein the protagonist moved from the “New World” (i.e. the United States, New Zealand) to the “Old World” (Europe). Campion paralleled James’s novels with her own experience as a young New Zealander travelling to Europe to study the visual arts after finishing college. (James himself had occupied a tenuous position in the canon as both an American and British author.)¹³⁶ In addition to this interview, Campion has spoken about her identification with Isabel Archer, having first read the book at approximately the same age of the character, as well as her own time spent abroad (Bessière 126).¹³⁷ As a young adult, like many young Australians and New Zealanders, Campion had travelled to Europe after university in New Zealand in order to attend art school in Great Britain and Italy.¹³⁸ “So I decided to go to

¹³⁷ from “Portraits of a Woman: Jane Campion and Henry James” in *Jane Campion: Cinema, Nation, Identity*

¹³⁸ from Kathleen McHugh’s monograph *Jane Campion*

Europe. It's there my heritage was located, the history I had learned in school" (McHugh 32).¹³⁹ Not at all nostalgic during the interview about her time abroad, she characterized the experience as one of deep unhappiness and loneliness, but described her simultaneous "attraction" to European culture as an art student (architecture, painting, sculpture, etc.). Though the interview had not yet approached the film at that point in time in the overview of her works, Campion was most likely aware that *The Portrait of Lady* was going to be discussed during this particular retrospective of her work. Yet, Campion's mentioning of her adaptation anticipated a critical response that has had haunted her works since the release of *Portrait of a Lady*. Her first film after the massive critical and audience success of *The Piano*, critics accused Campion of sacrificing her own unique auteur vision for the film in submission to James's authorial voice found in the source text. The difference in the critical reception of the two works opens up a variety of points of interrogation regarding Campion's work and female narrative voice in the heritage film.

Though the title of novel itself suggests a connection to the visual arts (*Portrait*) and the Victorian novel remains a popular source of literary adaptation, James's arguably most famous and sophisticated novel had long been considered "unfilmable." Campion's films base themselves within a strong literary and visual arts tradition through Campion's experience as a painter, as well as her later entry into writing with the novelization of *The Piano* (McHugh 12). Indeed, Campion's 1993 version remains the only cinematic version to date (McHugh 142). (At one point, a Merchant-Ivory version of *The Portrait of a Lady* was planned, but Campion then began her production [Vidal 81]).¹⁴⁰ In an interview, Campion discusses her hesitancy at approaching the novel that had been avoided by filmmakers for so long: "I realized while rereading the novel that we weren't going to shoot *Portrait of a Lady*, but simply the story of *Portrait of a Lady*, interpreted by me, with some of the original dialogue"

¹³⁹ Campion's statements from the director's workshop at the Berlinale on Feb. 11th, 2013.

¹⁴⁰ from *Figuring the Past*

(Ciment 178).¹⁴¹Herein, Campion places emphasis on the primacy of her authorship as a director in the interpretation, rather than emphasis on a fidelity to the original. As Stam has suggested in his writing on adaptation, Campion identified a core essence of the novel, returning to the source text to find her own authorial voice with its emphasis on striking imagery and female sexuality. In turn, this approach to adapting James's source text releases her from the devotion to authenticity (both historical—in terms of the opening sequence--and in terms of the source text) that allows her to explore the artistic possibilities of the core essence through both temporal shifts and the emphasis on subversive sexuality.

Henry James's story follows a young American heiress, Isabel, who falls prey to fortune seekers in Europe. Like *The Piano*, *The Portrait of a Lady* also focuses on a young woman feeling the increasing constrictions of social taboo, but her story takes a more self-destructive turn. Travelling to Great Britain through the sponsorship of an aunt, American Isabel Archer attempts to navigate the social milieu of European society. To the shock of her family and peers, she rejects a very promising marriage proposal from the wealthy Lord Warburton, vaguely explaining to her uncle that "there's a light that has to dawn." She finds herself unexpectedly bestowed by her uncle with an inheritance when her sickly cousin, Ralph, intervenes on her behalf as a sort of social "experiment." Having established her independence by rejecting the advances of two suitors, she leaves Great Britain for the European Continent to tour the historic monuments and experience adventure. In the nineteenth-century Victorian text, a great divide between the United Kingdom and "The Continent" remains. From Dickens's *Tale of Two Cities* to Charlotte Brontë's *Villette* or *Jane Eyre*, the Continent is often seen as the simultaneous expression deep, repressed desires, left unfulfilled on "the island." Gothic elements, already present in *The Piano* also find expression in *Portrait* when Isabel chooses to embark on her Grand Tour to "get a general impression of

¹⁴¹ from Wexman's anthology *Jane Campion: Interviews*

life.” There, she meets a fellow American, Madame Merle, who introduces her to Gilbert Osmond, whom Isabel marries. Here, Italy represents imaginative terrors and repressed desires of the psyche, as exemplified through her attraction to Osmond and the suffocation of the resulting marriage. Fast-forward several years later, and the marriage, as well as Isabel’s spirit remains in a state of decay. She defies her husbands’ wishes and attempts to help her stepdaughter, Pansy, make a happier match and avoid her own fate. Isabel then discovers she plays in Madame Merle and Osmond’s plan to further their daughter’s (Pansy) interests. Isabel flees Osmond in Italy to return to England to comfort her dying cousin, and though James’s text indicates her return to Osmond at the end, Campion’s film remains unclear as to the fate of the protagonist. The open ending certainly takes a more radical feminist approach to Isabel’s character rather than her return to Italy and her marriage at the end of the novel.

Campion includes many counter-generic elements within the film, both in terms of realism and the heritage genre itself. As she has suggested in interviews, some of the appeal and difficulty in adapting James to the screen lies in his devotion to realism (Ciment 105). Indeed, she tends to embrace the suffocating miserablism featured in so many of the Brontës’ texts. One of the greatest breaks with the source text, and, arguably, a source of outrage among critics was the concept that a heritage film (much less an adaptation of a canonical novel) would open in the present. The opening, wherein Campion features a group of young Australian women has gained the most attention from critics as a radical departure from the source text. Unlike in Scorsese’s adaptation of *Innocence*, the viewer does not hear James’s narrative, but rather young women’s voices talking about their own personal experiences with sexuality: At first set in black-and-white, Campion then interjects the sequence with a color, tripled image of a woman. The contemporary sequence in black and white, then followed by the nineteenth narrative reverses the bringing the “past into the present.” Instead, it brings the “present into the past, one that “critically rewrites” James’s novel: “The opening minutes in

the film establish a dialectical relation between the master text and the adaptation based on the filmmaker's explicit self-inscription in James's monumental work" (Vidal 132).¹⁴² The contemporary black-and-white sequence, as well as the surrealist certainly function, as Vidal suggests, function as the greatest breaks with James's source text. In turn, though Scorsese used Hitchcock graphic artist favorites, Saul and Elaine Bass, to illustrate the opening credit sequence for *The Age of Innocence*, the emphasis still remains within the credits and the film itself in the establishment of a "pastness."¹⁴³ The superimposition of Wharton's text on the time-lapse imagery of the blooming flower, a motif used throughout the film, certainly suggests a dialectical relationship between the filmmaker and original source text. However, this imagery dialectic does not indicate the creation of a radical new and self-reflexive heritage text, such as in the case of *Campion's* opening sequence. The use of the voiceover further emphasizes events as taking place in the past, an omniscient narration of characters feelings and intentions related in the past tense. Wharton's voice, literally, remains dominant within the film, oftentimes competing with the image.

Vidal suggests that *Portrait* "adapts its dense literary intertext through James's 'landscapes', mainly the views of moneyed Americans luxuriously living in Europe" (85). Allen in his European films uses a similar motif of independently (and often inexplicably) wealthy individuals strolling, biking, and flying throughout Europe, but in a ways that (as critics like J. Rosenbaum have pointed out) reinforces, rather than criticizes, the hypocritical glamour of this staged *vie bohème*.¹⁴⁴ Echoing the "genteel fiction" of Dickens's novels, *Campion's* portrait then portrays what Osmond refers to as "genteel misery."¹⁴⁵ Rather than a pleasurable venture done for the sake of education and self-actualization, the Grand Tour in *Campion's Portrait* instead ends in self-destruction and increasing alienation. The Americans within the

¹⁴² from *Figuring the Past*

¹⁴³ from Scorsese exhibit at La Cinémathèque française

¹⁴⁵ from *Little Dorrit*

film consistently mark themselves as separate or removed from the European society where they function. Oftentimes, they mark themselves from the surroundings through eccentric personalities: Henrietta talks loudly throughout their visit to the Victoria and Albert Museum; Osmond's sister's garish appearance and mannerisms mirror the trinkets he collects; Caspar Goodwood follows Isabel across the Atlantic. When first introducing himself to Isabel, Osmond apologizes for the gregarious nature of his sister, "Sometimes I think we've gotten into a bad turn, living among people and things not our own." In his manipulation and seduction of Isabel, Osmond relies on a sense of pity and kinship through expatriate identity: "That's what it means to live in a country that people come to." Ironically, contrary to Henrietta's fears expressed in London that Isabel would marry "one of those Europeans," an American expatriate then emerges as Isabel's undoing, limiting the own freedom she seeks. Like *The Age of Innocence*, *The Portrait of a Lady* expands on the narrative of the protagonist as tourist, and like Allen's European films, Campion also likes to use the "frame of the museum" (Ciment 184).¹⁴⁶ Shifting from the "ruins of the countryside" featured in James's source text, Campion's Europe defines itself often through vestiges of the past ordered in the museum—often "broken" sites of memory (184). The imagery of the past in the present in *Portrait* contrasts sharply with the cinematography of *Room With a View*, which also spans Great Britain and Italy. The latter focus remains on sun-dappled monuments and picnics in the surrounding Tuscan countryside, while the former takes place oftentimes in dark, labyrinthian monuments and buildings. (Indeed, Osmond's initial marriage proposal to Isabel takes place in a sort of crypt, the two lone figures moving in and out of the shadows.) In contrast to the warm colors of the monuments in other heritage film, the sites chosen in this adaptation often employ a subterranean or dark tone. (Indeed, in many ways, the cinematography used in *Portrait* mirrors the desired underwater filter for the cinematography

¹⁴⁶ from *Jane Campion: Interviews*

in *The Piano* [Carr 149]).¹⁴⁷ The imagery seems indicative of the rupture of two contrasting modes of temporality appearing on screen. Here, *Portrait* shows characters trying to engage with a past in a self-reflexive diegetic “past being made present,” as Vidal states, for the viewer. In the case of films such as *Room With a View*, the film also encourages what Vidal describes as a “present in the past,” which does engage with issues of gender but tends to maintain a non-critical approach to the heritage industry (132). (As Higson suggests, the Merchant-Ivory films tend to criticize yet also valorize the “museum aesthetic” through their representation of the settings [102]).¹⁴⁸ Aside from the minor crisis of a stolen kiss in *Room*, the trip revolves around polite conversation and references to sensational fiction. In contrast, the tourism in *Portrait* could easily be connected with the miserablism present in the suffocating regionalism of the Brontë sisters’ novels where characters disappear to the continent outside the boundaries of the house or the moors.

Her decision to use settings characterized as “morbid and fantastical” suggests that Campion remains interested in the imaginative possibility of heritage in addition to its connection to the “emotional state” (184). In a critique of the emphasis placed on the mise-en-scène, Alan Parker described the heritage film as the “Laura Ashley School of filmmaking,” suggesting that the devotion to mise-en-scène remains no more than a superficial aesthetic (Monk 2).¹⁴⁹ Instead, I would expand on Verhoeven’s argument that the mise-en-scène rather represents the psychological interiority of the characters suffering under increasing restraint (9).¹⁵⁰ I would expand on Vidal’s argument and suggest the interiors and objects represent a form of effigy of Isabel’s ideal self. (Effigies appear twice within the film—the tombs of royalty at the Victoria and Albert Museum and the marble arm of Isabel’s deceased infant.) Instead of a superficial representation of a static heritage culture, the ornate furnishings and

¹⁴⁷ from *Jane Campion: Interviews*

¹⁴⁸ from “Re-Presenting the National Past: Nostalgia and Pastiche in the Heritage Film” in *Fires Were Started*

¹⁴⁹ from *Heritage Film Audiences*

¹⁵⁰ Here Verhoeven’s cites “Gledhill 23”

costumes then signify a dynamic interaction of power and its produced atemporality. *Portrait's* and *Bright Star's* strength as films lie in their ability to highlight the struggles underneath the veneer of the heritage style of filmmaking, exposing the violence of the dialectical desire to both erase and recreate personal and national pasts. As Ticknell suggests in her comparison of Campion's works with those of most of the Merchant-Ivory films, "Campion avoids any such celebration of upper class life and taste in the *Portrait of a Lady*" (65). The accumulation and display of privilege in Campion's *Portrait* does not only recreate the past, but instead creates an oppressive sense of psychological claustrophobia and suffering.

Portrait acts as an important catalyst in the post-heritage debate, influencing future heritage films through its depiction of what Ticknell characterizes as an "eruption of violence" in Campion's films (44). Epitomized in the scene where Alisdair chops off Ada's finger and continued in a more subtle but not less horrifying form in *Portrait*, the ruptures of violence in the heritage film do not read against the heritage film, but rather expose the tensions of the personal and collective memory already present in the nineteenth century text. Though violence occurs in earlier heritage films, it always remains removed, mannerized, and ridiculed to some extent. In *Room With a View*, when Lucy dramatically faints at the sight of a dramatic murder in Italy, she replies to an inquiry after her health "perfectly well, absolutely well." Her remark, though made seriously, rings quite ironic in light of the previous bloody imagery. One of the most complexly choreographed crowd sequences in *Portrait* takes place in a ballroom, oftentimes the space of important turn of events in heritage films. Here, Isabel attempts to discuss with Lord Waburton his desire to marry Pansy, and assuage Pansy's much younger suitor Edward Rosier, whom Osmond has deemed not rich enough to marry his daughter. Campion creates a sequence of grotesque melodrama to juxtapose the restrained tension of Isabel's futile attempt to save Pansy from her own fate in an unhappy marriage. A

high overhead shot features perfectly choreographed couples moving in unison. Then, a group of men carry out a limp woman who has fainted from the heat and exhaustion of the dance floor. The camera then later pans across a group of young women whose chaperones all attempt to revive them from the induced stupor. Like the choreographed chaos dances that surround them, all attempt to maneuver around Osmond's machinations.

A scene used to introduce *The Portrait of the Lady* in the directors' interview represents one of these "eruptions of violence" found in Campion's films (44). On their initial meeting, Osmond's sister warns Isabel that there are "horrors" in the house, but Isabel naively responds that everything seems "beautiful and precious." Though Osmond's sister refers to the grotesque nature of many objects in the house, she very well could mean Osmond's own abusive temperament and treatment of his sister, daughter, and Madame Merle. As the film progresses, Osmond and Isabel's interactions become increasingly defined through objects, property, and inheritance, exemplified through Osmond's fixation on "objects" throughout these scenes. One of the most violent scenes in Campion's adaptation features a confrontation between Osmond and Isabel several years into their marriage, illustrating the decaying state of their union, as well as Osmond's mounting psychological and physical abuse of Isabel. As Isabel struggles with her gloves, he grabs them and uses them to slap Isabel across the face in a series of quickly edited close-up shots. As she walks away, the camera switches to a canted overhead shot. Osmond steps down on Isabel's dress train, causing her to fall to the floor. Osmond then uses the objects of the heritage film (ornate objects of everyday life, costumes, etc.) to physically and psychologically abuse Isabel. Later on, when Miss Merle, revealed to be his former mistress and a form of foil character to Isabel, confronts Osmond for his treatment Isabel, he picks up a teacup. Merle tells him to "Please be careful with that precious object," referring instead to Isabel. Osmond, examining the object with critical disdain replies, "It already has a wee tiny bit of a crack." He hence then devalues Isabel, and reinforces his

capitalization of her wealth and body. Finally, even art and its reproduction becomes a sort of violence—Osmond turns to his art with renewed focus as he entraps Isabel. These sequences not only reflect the decaying nature of the relationship and the false façade of their identity as a married couple, but the line also acts as a self-reflexive commentary on the nature of the *mise-en-scène* in the heritage film, one that simultaneously restores and erases the duration of time.

In the second sequence of *Portrait*, Lord Waburton follows his initial (unseen) marriage proposal with the lines, “I have plenty of houses you know.” A last, desperate attempt to persuade Isabel, the figure of the house superimposes any other financial, emotional incentive to marry. (Campion also juxtaposes the property-focused rhetoric of the proposal with the opening sequence with contemporary women discussing sexuality.) In her writing on mannerist cinema, which, in many ways, seems to parallel her previous monograph on the heritage film as genre, Vidal identifies a particular trope in the genre, namely the representation of “the house museum,” and its “fetishism of objects and space,” one which displays a “hybrid temporality” (85). In her discussion of the Merchant Ivory films, Vidal identifies the image of the museum-house, exemplified through the “presentation of houses through static painterly frames” (83). This particular aesthetic figures in what she suggests functions as a “search for ways of figuring the past as ‘home’” (88). In *Portrait*, Campion seeks out to decenter the household, i.e. home, in her films, thereby rendering the past uncanny, unfamiliar, and yet accessible. One can enjoy the image, particularly the decorated household, in Campion films, but she does not allow the viewer to allow itself into complacency. Focused on the narrative of The Grand Tour and making great use of the British and Italian settings, the images are filled with monuments, but negate “these painterly scenes” (177). The film uses tilted frames, extreme close-ups, and overhead shots to negate the tableau images. This disruption of the tableau portrait through the use of canted framed

shots calls a self-reflexive attention to the (re)creation of a pastness in the film, which creates an atemporal space. Furthermore, it calls attention to imagery and narrative outside the frame. These particular choices were in some cases utilitarian. Campion admits to using a canted frame in the film not only for cinematographic impact, but also to avoid the appearance of “modern cars” and other contemporary objects within the film set in 1872 (184). Though practical, as Vidal points out, it also suggests that the canted frame functions as a “deframing” device by “undoing the classical portrait” (134). These deframing devices Campion uses in *Portrait* find further expression in *Bright Star*, which immerses the viewer in a Romantic vision of everyday life.

Immersive Heritage: Bright Star

In his review, J. Hoberman suggests *Bright Star* “might have been adapted from the Jane Austen novel that Emily Brontë never wrote, creating its own hermetic world.”¹⁵¹ Over a decade after the release of *Portrait of Lady*, Campion turned back to nineteenth-century Europe with her film *Bright Star* (2009). In this instance, rather than the adaptation of a novel, Campion instead expands on Andrew Motion’s extremely popular biography of Keats, expanding on a “fringe” character from the source text, both in terms of the historical and the literary. Though oftentimes framed in reviews as a biopic of Keats, the film focuses almost entirely on the perspective of his fiancée, Fanny Brawne. Ticknell suggests that the focus on a “marginal historical figure...shows how the past may be re-imagined and thus presents ‘history’ as a set of competing textual constructs rather than a form of absolute truth” (112). The daughter of Keats’s landlady, Fanny became Keats’s muse during his last few years of life, the inspiration for his poem, “Bright Star,” from which the film derives its name. The relationship between the two remained unknown until a series of letters between herself and Keats were discovered at the time of her death in the late nineteenth century.¹⁵² The young

¹⁵¹ <http://www.villagevoice.com/film/bright-star-an-ode-to-john-keatss-great-love-6391874>

¹⁵² Biographical information on Keats/ Brawne from Andrew Motion’s biography on Keats.

couple's poverty and Keats's consumption kept the romance unrequited. In a last attempt to treat the illness, Keats left for Italy, where he later died penniless in Rome in the company of a friend. Fanny went into mourning and did not marry until several years later, keeping the romance with Keats a secret.



The haptic house in *Bright Star*

The Romantic verse as represented through Keats's poetry, spoken and written throughout the film, juxtaposes itself against a life framed by routine and (more often than not) disappointment. Campion suggests, "We wanted a sense of just the being of the people and a real intimacy, and I think you have to do something different to get that."¹⁵³ Unlike the opening sequence of *Portrait*, *Bright Star* does not contain a contemporary introduction to immediately render a direct connection between the present and the past. Instead, the film arguably functions as Campion's most "haptic" portrayal of the past, primarily through her focus on the conventions of the heritage genre: the house, the costume, and daily life (Vidal 164). Campion's contribution to the heritage genre lies in the emphasis on the "production" of the heritage museum aesthetic. Hinted at in *The Piano* and *Portrait*, *Bright Star* predicts a new trend in the heritage/post-heritage film genealogy through its concentration on an "immersive" heritage cinema. In a description of the period look for the film, Campion described the atemporality present within the piece: "The world is 1820s, but these are human

¹⁵³ ¹⁵³ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2V0wgADFRvY>

beings apparently happening now.” The film hence functions as much of the documentation of the historical reenactment as a historical representation in and of itself. *Bright Star* encompasses a dialectical interaction between the “familiar and the sublime” in its depiction of artistic inspiration amid everyday life (Ciment 165). Set in Hampstead, a suburb of London, the setting certainly lacks the Gothic dramatic of the waves and New Zealand bush of the opening sequence of *The Piano*. Lacking the stylized canted frames of *Portrait*, Campion instead chose what she labeled a Bressonian approach to the still, tableau shots featured within the film, one that emphasizes the duration of everyday life against the “event.”¹⁵⁴

Contrary to Higson’s aforementioned critique of heritage film’s celebration of the static mise-en-scène, Campion suggests that the representation of the past within *Bright Star* does not encourage “not looking at it from a distant, beautiful world way.”¹⁵⁵ Instead, the viewer becomes immersed in a dynamic setting through extreme close-ups (the thread being inserted in the needle at the beginning), observational tableau shots (Toots searching for her sister in the woods), and minimalist editing (one of the final scenes where Fanny sobs to her mother). The result confirms Monk’s aforementioned suggestion that the heritage film both appeals to and encourages an engaged spectator. Campion invokes a form of immersive heritage in *Bright Star*, one designed to impart the “lived experience” of the past to the viewer. In many ways, the film suggests that Fanny possess her own instinct for poetry both through her recitation of Keats’s works and her own interest in learning the “craft of poetry.” She gives a stinging critique of “Endymion” to Keats on one of their first meetings. Aside from the final credits, which contain a voiceover of Ben Wishaw reading the poem “Bright Star”, Fanny, rather than Keats himself, remains the final person to recite his verses within the film. Moreover, Fanny finds expression in a different artistic medium in the film—through the design and production of her own clothes. The meticulous focus on the production of the

¹⁵⁴ Quotes in the paragraph taken from an interview at the Toronto International Film Festival: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2V0wgADFRvY>

¹⁵⁵ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2V0wgADFRvY>

costume carries throughout the film signs itself in the opening extreme close-up of the thread entering the needle. Costumes are not only displayed, but also simultaneously produced and destroyed throughout the film. Oftentimes, these costumes set her apart from the rest of village life. The second sequence with Fanny features her moving through a long shot in a bright red coat among mud and laundry. Sometimes, these projects result from a personal crisis. Fanny cuts a ribbon off of her young sister's dress to decorate a basket for Tom Keats. Furthermore, they illustrate familial connections and other forms of "inheritance." Toots wears dresses most likely cut-down from her older sister's wardrobe. Hence, one of the facets of the heritage drama, the meticulous focus on the costume, instead becomes a means of self-expression in a society where she has limited means to do so: "Its non-hierarchical valuing of active hands (sewing, writing, handling books, cooking or caressing) weaves a sophisticated 'memory of touch' alluded to by the poet himself. In *Bright Star*, the haptic and the optical thus keep sliding under each other" (Vidal 164). Fanny's artistry remains just as important (if not more) than Keats's writing (164). Indeed, he often mentions to Browne how she inspires him to write, again. Fanny's projects throughout the film mirror Keats's attempts to write poetry, as well as engage with the world outside of "daily life." Though seen as a means of self-expression in the Austenian-circle of Hampstead, society dictates that, unlike Keats's poetry, her artistic works cannot expand beyond the village.

If the heritage film (as Vidal suggests) turns the past into a home, then the home in and of itself in *Bright Star* remains constantly divided, combined, empty, and full. The (house)holds featured are in a state constant flux due to the precarious financial situations of all parties: Keats lives off of the charity of his supporter and fellow-poet Brown, who undergoes further financial duress when he impregnates one of the servants of the house; the Dilkes rent their family home as part of their living; Fanny's mother, a longtime widow with three children to support, rents the house from family friends during the summer as a source

of “great economy.” These economies express themselves in the movement and exchange of objects among the houses. Highlighting the Romantic celebration of nature, the house turns into a butterfly garden in response to Keats’s line to Fanny in a love letter: “I almost wish we were butterflies and liv’d but three summer days - three such days with you I could fill with more delight than fifty common years could ever contain.” Though they live in essentially the same house and the film only once leaves the confines of the village, the division of the interior and the exchange of these objects make it seem as if the distances are much greater, as Roger Ebert suggests in his review for the film: “In *Bright Star* John and Fanny court and flirt as if they live in neighboring counties.”¹⁵⁶ Few scenes hint at the world outside of the almost Austenian small circle of families and houses, but as Fanny states to her mother: “I know our world is real. It’s the one I care for.”

Aside from a few super-imposed images of the Scottish countryside, the only scene set outside of this small circle of homes place in Rome at the steps of the Spanish piazza, the house where Keats died in the left corner of the frame. The image acknowledges the museum at his death site today, tucked away in the corner of a massive tourist attraction. The most memorable visual representation of Keats until the release of this film (and, perhaps, continues to be) is his death mask, of which numerous copies and sketches have been made. Campion makes numerous references to the most famous visual representations of Keats’s death, the most powerful in the sequence where he calms his dying brother, Tom, which resembles sketches done by his friend Severn. In many ways, Campion emphasizes the senselessness of Keats’s death through the observational structure of her Bressonian tableaux. As Peter Bradshaw writes in his review for the film, “Their love is murdered by the false choice between love and art, and sacrificed to a petty tangle of money worries, social scruples and irrelevant male loyalties.”¹⁵⁷ Indeed, Campion decenters the traditional biopic, where the

¹⁵⁶ <http://www.rogerebert.com/reviews/bright-star-2009>

¹⁵⁷<http://www.theguardian.com/film/2009/nov/05/bright-star-review>

audience does not witness a “traditional deathbed scene” (Ticknell 68). As Ciment points out, there arises no gratuitous deathbed scene; rather a letter arrives in the care of Mr. Brown who reads Keats’s final words out-loud. Once Keats leaves for the (supposedly) life-saving trip to Italy, the film continues to rest with the point of Fanny, only receiving information written in letters to her mother. Though Bradshaw describes this final shot of Keats as a “flourish,” the wide shot, mirroring the one of Hampstead Heath at the beginning of the film, indeed, signifies restraint. His simple coffin is loaded non-descriptly into a black carriage. The shot more so resembles the ghostly streets Rome and Florence featured in *The Portrait of a Lady* or the greyish-blue filter of *The Piano*. Keats’s last words related only through his friend Severn in a letter to Browne. The shot contains a voiceover of Fanny telling Browne to stop reading, at which point the image of the coffin disappears. When questioned about the unusual nature of the shot in the context of the rest of the film, she replies “I could never rationally explain it...I suppose I could say it was a figure in the imagination of the young woman” (Ciment 179). This “imagination” became a point of criticism for Keats purists. Though Campion professes a fascination with the narrative structures of the nineteenth-century novel (as evidenced in *The Piano* and *Portrait*), she has suggested that she modeled the world of the film itself in the form of ballad. Time seems circular within the film, governed by the circular interchange of the seasons, overshadowed by Keats’s death.

Conclusion

Campion’s works then contribute the alternative heritage film through the emphasis on the immersive experience of the heritage film, as well as her representation of Antipodean/European exchanges of identity. From *Piano* to *Portrait of a Lady* to *Bright Star*, Campion aptly presents the lived of experience of everyday life, but with an aesthetic not exempt from political ramifications. Further areas of research could include her connection to

other transnational heritage exchanges, particularly through the influence on her films of sculptor Joseph Beuys, who focused on guilt and trauma in post-World War II/Holocaust Germany (McHugh 5). Her contribution to this exchange remains evident, however, in her influence on filmmakers who interrogate these transnational exchanges, such as Shortland in *Lore*.

Conclusion

This dissertation has focused primarily on the representation of heritage on film rather than other forms of media, though the latter have been mentioned peripherally. As funding and general audience interests gravitate toward television and/or the Internet streaming format, heritage culture has continued to expand in these areas, as well. All four of the auteurs focused on in this dissertation have directed projects for television format or streaming. Since the 1970's, Herzog has directed numerous pieces for both West German and American television companies, including *On Death Row* (2012), a look at capital punishment in the United States. Jane Campion in her interview at the Berlinale cited readily available funding and creative license as reasons for directing *Top of the Lake* (2012) for HBO. She is currently filming a second season for the show in Australia. Sokurov has directed numerous narrative shorts and documentaries for television channels in Europe, such as the French/German arts and education channel *Arte*. A former writer for television, Woody Allen just directed his first television format project, *Crisis in Six Scenes* (2016), a look back at 1960's Americana. The series attempts to dissect the problematic nostalgia that has defined his previous works. Incorporating documentary footage, it is the first time Allen has made reference to the legacy of racism in the United States, though the narrative itself remains heavily WASP-focused. *Crisis* was released via Amazon Streaming Services in late September 2016. As Campion further stated in her interview at the film festival, not only is funding now more readily available in television than films at this point, but directors see it as a medium of distribution more supportive of innovative work.

In compliance with this trend, there have been a number of heritage television series in the last few years. British television continues its hold in the United States through programs such as *Masterpiece Theater*, marketed as catering to Anglophiles. *Downton Abbey* (2010-2016) followed the trajectory of class serial *Upstairs, Downstairs* (1971), becoming a

massive and long-running international hit. The show follows a British noble family, which struggles to maintain the estate of Downton Abbey through World War I and into the 1920's. The series juxtaposes the life of the rich, upper-class family with the trials of the servants who live downstairs. Other British series have followed to find considerable success in the United States within the past few years, including the BBC's *Poldark*, (2015). A recent blog post by television critic Mark Lawson in *The Guardian* asked, "Do readers really need more period dramas?"¹⁵⁸ Viewed in the context of American reception, the answer would be "yes." While Street's book on transatlantic film movements focuses on British film reception in the United States from 1920 to the early 2000's, I would expand on Street's research and examine contemporary trends in the American-British heritage film culture, particularly in the last seven years. The topics would include the marketing of the British television series in the United States, and then also the production/reception of American-produced imitations of the BBC television costume drama.¹⁵⁹

British television series, such as *Downton* have been noted and even parodied for their lack of recognition of gender oppression, class tensions, heritage culture, etc. *Downton*, in particular, unapologetically depicts a small segment of the British upper class and those who serve them, with the occasional outside character added to sustain narrative interest. (For example, one daughter marries an Irish revolutionary.) Unlike Merchant-Ivory, the *mise-en-scène* in *Downton* does not engage with the melodramatic narratives in a critique of the status quo. Its unapologetic representation and sympathy with the upper classes mirror the aforementioned *Guardian* blogger's criticism of the current crop of heritage films and television. This research would moreover examine the American response to this new cycle of heritage films, through both pastiche and parody, including *Saturday Night Live* and *Monty*

¹⁵⁸ Lawson, Mark, "The Paradise: Do Viewers Really Need More Period Drama?" TV and Radio Blog. Tuesday 25 September, 2012. Guardian.co.uk.

¹⁵⁹It may appear as sliding definition of the term heritage film, but, as critics like Vidal have pointed out the television series are very filmic in their execution (29).

Python adaptations of Victorian texts, such as *Wuthering Heights* and *Jane Eyre*. These parodies expose the problematic racialization and gendered treatments of previous British heritage film adaptations of the novel. Moreover, the American BBC attempted to break into the heritage film market through its first advertised “originally scripted” series, *Copper* (2012). The series features the character of an Irish-American detective at work on the streets of New York. Its focus on lower classes differentiates it from many British serial productions, but it continues to rely on British stage and television actors. Furthermore, potential research could examine the reception within the United States of a new group of films that focus on the Thatcher era. The *Iron Lady* (2011) stars American actor Meryl Streep in a role that attempts to elicit sympathy on a personal level rather than any critical deconstruction of the political figure. The research would suggest an increase in heritage films that engage more conservatively than critically with the British past.

One of the research areas of heritage culture in general has gravitated towards the potential of interactivity, the dynamic relationship between the artist and the consumer. Heritage film and television criticism has largely ignored fanfiction and vice versa. “Modern” fanfiction has been traditionally viewed as stemming from the science fiction genre, in particular the original *Star Trek* series (1966-1969) (Jenkins xxii). Meanwhile, heritage criticism tends to focus on established and meticulously produced film and television serials, such as the texts of Merchant-Ivory or Julian Fellowes (Monk 450).¹⁶⁰ Yet the explosion of fanfiction based on heritage texts since the late 1990s, as demonstrated by the numerous *Pride and Prejudice* sequels that surfaced soon after the 1995 Andrew Davies mini-series, indicates the clear commonalities between fan writing and heritage texts. Furthermore, as Suzanne Scott and Jenkins both touch on in the introduction to the rerelease of Jenkins’s *Textual Poachers*, critics have begun expanding the historical understanding of fanfiction by tracing it

¹⁶⁰ from “Heritage Film Audiences 2.0”

back to the “participatory” fan culture present in the eighteenth century (118). The heritage film and television genre lends itself well to the “poaching” Jenkins suggests fanfiction promotes (xxii). In a critical piece that supplements her 2011 monograph on heritage film reception, *Heritage Film Audiences*, Monk demonstrates that many heritage productions, such as Merchant-Ivory’s *Maurice* (1987), have experienced a critical rebirth in diverse online fan communities through the advent of DVD and YouTube (450-452).

As the appeal of the heritage text already lies in a certain degree of “textual poaching,” it is of no surprise that fans would do the same to their beloved heritage serials. Monk defines fan writings as “stories inspired by a specific text, and hybrid or crossover fictions meshing together characters, narrative events and/or settings drawn from more than one source text or franchise” [450-452]. As Higson suggests, the “heritage” film and television serial itself is one that thrives off of intertextual references whether through literary adaptation or the use of stock actors. In doing so, the fans challenge the problematic depictions of gender roles, the nation, and class in ways that have gone untested in the politically conservative narratives of recent revivals of the heritage serial genre, as exemplified in series, such as *Poldark* or *Downton Abbey*. From YouTube threads to message boards to *Downton* creator and screenwriter Julian Fellowes’s Facebook page, fans voiced their frustration with the television program, and many of them turned to fanfiction as a critical and creative form of expression. As Jenkins argues, writing and reading fanfiction provides an outlet for fans to establish a sense of “control” over their version of the show (27]. I expand on Jenkins’s argument and suggest that *Downton Abbey* fanfiction challenges the idea of a hierarchical creative process and its implicit claims to authenticity in its representation of a heritage past. *Downton*’s appeal lies as a foundational catalyst from which fans can “poach” to create their own meaningful representations of the series. The appeal of *Downton Abbey* fanfiction itself lies in

the “imaginative framework” constituted by the serial, outside of its conservative narratives and paralyzing devotion to “authenticity.”

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