

University of Warwick institutional repository: <http://go.warwick.ac.uk/wrap>

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD at the University of Warwick

<http://go.warwick.ac.uk/wrap/4124>

This thesis is made available online and is protected by original copyright.

Please scroll down to view the document itself.

Please refer to the repository record for this item for information to help you to cite it. Our policy information is available from the repository home page.

55

The *Doppelgänger*
in Wilhelmine Cinema (1895 – 1914):

Modernity, Audiences and Identity
in Turn-of-the-Century Germany

Volume One
(of two volumes)

Robert James Kiss

Thesis Submitted for the Qualification of
Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

The University of Warwick
Department of German Studies

June 2000

Table of Contents

Volume One

TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	2
LIST OF FIGURES	4
LIST OF PLATES	12
LIST OF TABLES	12
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	13
SUMMARY	16
NOTES ON LANGUAGE AND TERMINOLOGY	17
CHAPTER ONE. LOCATING THE <i>DOPPELGÄNGER</i> IN WILHELMINE CINEMA ..	20
EARLY GERMAN CINEMA AS THE ‘DOMAIN OF THE <i>DOPPELGÄNGER</i> ’.....	20
CONTEXTUALISING THE WILHELMINE <i>DOPPELGÄNGER</i> FILM	24
THE QUEST FOR THE MISSING <i>DOPPELGÄNGERS</i>	34
REDEFINING THE ‘DOMAIN OF THE <i>DOPPELGÄNGER</i> ’	41
THEORIES OF THE <i>DOPPELGÄNGER</i>	57
THEORIES OF EARLY CINEMA (I): TRADITIONAL ACCOUNTS.....	71
THEORIES OF EARLY CINEMA (II): THE NEW HISTORICISM	81
CHAPTER TWO. MODERNITY, ENTERTAINMENT AND THE <i>DOPPELGÄNGER</i>	
FILM.....	91
MODERNITY AND THE MODERN SUBJECT IN WILHELMINE GERMANY	91
WILHELMINE ENTERTAINMENTS AND MODERNITY	104

'NATURAL' VERSUS MECHANICAL REPRODUCTION	117
CHAPTER THREE. CLASS STRUGGLES, THE <i>DOPPELGÄNGER</i> AND THE DETECTIVE FILM	134
THE DETECTIVE FILM AUDIENCE: ENGAGED PROLETARIAT OR MODERN WORKING-CLASS? ..	134
THE MODERNITY OF THE DETECTIVE FILM	138
BETWEEN THE UPPER AND THE LOWER CLASSES: REPRESENTING SOCIAL MOBILITY IN THE DETECTIVE FILM.....	141
A BRIEF NEWS ITEM: THE CAPTAIN OF KÖPENICK (1906)	157
<i>DIE VERRÄTERISCHE ZIGARETTE</i> (<i>THE DOUBLE</i> , NORDISK , 1910)	165
<i>DER MANN IM KELLER</i> ('THE MAN IN THE CELLAR', CONTINENTAL-KUNSTFILM, 1914).....	173
CHAPTER FOUR. "GIVE ME YOUR TROUSERS OR I'LL SHOOT!": FEMALE GENDER AND THE <i>HOSENROLLE</i>	180
SEX/GENDER/SEXUALITY.....	180
THE 'WOMEN QUESTION' IN WILHELMINE SOCIETY.....	182
CLOTHING THE NEW WOMAN	191
WOMEN AND FEMINISM IN WILHELMINE CINEMA.....	196
FEMINIST ROLE-CHANGING COMEDIES	205
THE CULOTTES COMEDIES OF 1911	208
ADVERTISING ASTA NIELSEN IN TROUSERS: <i>JUGEND UND TOLLHEIT</i> (<i>YOUTH AND FOLLY</i> , DEUTSCHE BIOSCOP, 1913) AND <i>ZAPATAS BANDE</i> ('ZAPATA'S GANG', PAGU, 1914)	217
CHAPTER FIVE. <i>FROM A MAN'S TIME AS A GIRL</i>: MALE SEXUALITY AND THE <i>ROCKROLLE</i>.....	231
A RESEARCHER'S EXPERIENCE 'BETWEEN THE SEXES'	231
MEDICO-LEGAL DEFINITIONS OF SEXUAL INTERMEDIACY	233
THE MODERNITY OF SEXUAL INTERMEDIACY.....	241
SEXUAL INTERMEDIATE OPPORTUNITIES IN THE METROPOLIS	243
CHARLEY AND HIS MANY AUNTS ON THE WILHELMINE STAGE.....	248
CHARLEY AND HIS MANY AUNTS ON THE EARLY GERMAN SCREEN.....	258
SOME CAMPER MOMENTS IN WILHELMINE <i>ROCKROLLE</i> FILMS	262

<i>WO IST COLETTI? (WHERE IS COLLETTI?, VITASCOPE, 1913)</i>	267
<i>AUS EINES MANNES MÄDCHENZEIT ('FROM A MAN'S TIME AS A GIRL', MEISTER-FILM, 1913)</i> ...	272
CHAPTER SIX. BLACK AND WHITE SUBJECTS: ETHNICITY AND THE COMEDY	
SHORT	278
COLONIALISM AND BLACK STEREOTYPES.....	279
WHERE WHITE AND BLACK MEET (I): BEHAVIOURS AND BODIES	283
WHEN WHITE AND BLACK MEET (II): COMMODITIES AND ENTERTAINMENTS.....	292
DARWINIAN <i>DOPPELGÄNGER</i> FILMS.....	301
TRANSFORMATIONS OF SKIN COLOUR IN WILHELMINE COMEDY FILMS.....	305
<i>SCHWARZ UND WEIß, ODER, DER NARREN-OMNIBUS (OFF TO BEDLAM, STAR-FILM, 1902)</i>	308
<i>WIRKUNG DER SCHWARZEN MILCH ('THE EFFECTS OF BLACK MILK', PATHÉ, 1906)</i>	311
<i>LUNY ALS CHINESE ('LUNY AS A CHINAMAN', LUNA-FILM, 1914)</i>	317
CHAPTER SEVEN. BETWEEN ENTERTAINMENT AND HIGH CULTURE: THE	
STRANGE CASE OF THE <i>AUTORENFILM</i> AND THE <i>DOPPELGÄNGER</i>	323
“EYES HERE, EYES HERE!”	323
REDEFINING HIGH CULTURE WITHIN MODERNITY	326
‘QUALITY’ PRODUCTIONS PRIOR TO THE <i>AUTORENFILM</i>	335
THE <i>AUTORENFILM</i> AS <i>DOPPELGÄNGER</i>	341
<i>DER ANDERE ('THE OTHER', VITASCOPE, 1913)</i>	352
<i>DER STUDENT VON PRAG (THE STUDENT OF PRAGUE, DEUTSCHE BIOSCOP, 1913)</i>	362
CHAPTER EIGHT. CONCLUSION	371
NOTES	374

Volume Two

TABLE OF CONTENTS (VOLUME TWO)	429
FILMOGRAPHY A: WILHELMINE <i>DOPPELGÄNGER</i> FILMS	430

FILMOGRAPHY B: FURTHER WILHELMINE FILMS CITED.....476
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....496

List of Figures

FIGURE 1 BREAKDOWN OF WILHELMINE <i>DOPPELGÄNGER</i> FILMS BY YEAR OF RELEASE	45
FIGURE 2 BREAKDOWN OF WILHELMINE <i>DOPPELGÄNGER</i> FILMS BY NATION OF ORIGIN	46
FIGURE 3 BREAKDOWN OF FILMS IN CIRCULATION IN WILHELMINE GERMANY BY NATION OF ORIGIN	47
FIGURE 4 CONSTRUCTION OF THE <i>DOPPELGÄNGER</i> IN WILHELMINE CINEMA AND SOCIETY	92
FIGURE 5 <i>DAS ELEKTRISCHE BERLIN</i> ("THE ELECTRIC BERLIN"). IN <i>DER KLADDERADATSCH</i> 17.3.1889, SUPPLEMENT 1:1.	100
FIGURE 6 ADVERTISEMENT FOR SIAMESE TWINS RADICA AND DOODICA. IN SIGNOR SALTARINO, <i>ARTISTEN-LEXICON</i> (DÜSSELDORF: ED. LINTZ, 1895, 2 ND ED.), 311.	111
FIGURE 7 OBVERSE (LEFT) AND REVERSE (RIGHT) OF A PHOTOGRAPH OF A MIDDLE-CLASS BERLINER, HERR SCHROEDER (1888). COLLECTION OF THE AUTHOR.	119
FIGURE 8 MAX AND EMIL SKLADANOWSKY (RIGHT TO LEFT) IN THE WINTERGARTEN FILM-PROGRAMME (1895). IN GUIDO SEEBER, <i>ARBEITS-GERÄT UND ARBEITS-STÄTTEN DES KAMERAMANNES</i> (BERLIN: LICHT-BILD-BÜHNE, 1927), 25.	124
FIGURE 9 MAX AND EMIL SKLADANOWSKY (LEFT TO RIGHT) AT THE TIME OF THE WINTERGARTEN FILM-PROGRAMME (1895). IN <i>IBID.</i> , 16.	124
FIGURE 10 POSTCARD OF THE COTTRELLY SISTERS (FRIEDA AND ELISA, LEFT TO RIGHT). IN SALTARINO, <i>OP. CIT.</i> , 43.	126
FIGURE 11 <i>CARTE-DE-VISITE</i> SHOWING THE FIVE BARRISON SISTERS (GERTRUD, INGER, LONA, SOPHIE AND OLGA, LEFT TO RIGHT) AT THE WINTERGARTEN IN 1896. COLLECTION OF THE AUTHOR.	126
FIGURE 12 ROSA AND JOSEFA BLAŽEK (LEFT TO RIGHT). IN SALTARINO, <i>OP. CIT.</i> , 25.	129
FIGURE 13 OSKAR FUCHS (LEFT AND RIGHT) IN A PROMOTIONAL STILL FOR <i>DER DOPPELGÄNGER</i> ("THE <i>DOPPELGÄNGER</i> ", KARL WERNER, 1913). IN <i>DIE LICHT-BILD-BÜHNE</i> 6.3 (1913): 43.	144
FIGURE 14 PROMOTIONAL STILL FOR <i>DER AMERIKANER</i> (<i>A YANKEE CATCH</i> , NORDISK, 1913). COURTESY OF DET DANSKE FILMMUSEUM.	144

FIGURE 15 CONSTRUCTION OF THE 'DOPPELGÄNGER OF CLASS' IN WILHELMINE SOCIETY AND THE DETECTIVE FILM	146
FIGURE 16 PORTRAIT (LEFT) AND STAR POSTCARD (RIGHT) OF ERNST REICHER (BOTH 1915). COLLECTION OF THE AUTHOR.	153
FIGURE 17 ERNST REICHER (RIGHT) IN A FRAME ENLARGEMENT FROM <i>DER MANN IM KELLER</i> ('THE MAN IN THE CELLAR', CONTINENTAL-KUNSTFILM, 1914). COURTESY OF THE BUNDESARCHIV- FILMARCHIV.	154
FIGURE 18 PROMOTIONAL STILL FOR <i>EIN MEISTERSTÜCK VON SHERLOCK HOLMES</i> (<i>THE STOLEN LEGACY</i> , NORDISK, 1911). COLLECTION OF THE AUTHOR.	156
FIGURE 19 SOUVENIR POSTCARDS (1906) SHOWING WILHELM VOIGT IN HIS REGULAR ATTIRE (LEFT) AND AS THE CAPTAIN OF KÖPENICK (RIGHT). COLLECTION OF THE AUTHOR.	160
FIGURE 20 POSTCARD (CA. 1908) ENTITLED "WILHELM VOIGT (CAPTAIN OF KÖPENICK) LEAVES HIS FLAT IN KOPFSTRASSE, RIXDORF." COLLECTION OF THE AUTHOR.	162
FIGURE 21 SKETCH SHOWING THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TRISECTED SPLIT-SCREEN TELEPHONE CALL IN <i>DIE VERRÄTERISCHE ZIGARETTE</i> (<i>THE DOUBLE</i> , NORDISK, 1910).	168
FIGURE 22 AAGE HERTEL (CENTRE) AND OTTO LAGONI (LEFT, AT WINDOW) IN A PROMOTIONAL STILL FOR <i>DIE VERRÄTERISCHE ZIGARETTE</i> (<i>THE DOUBLE</i> , NORDISK, 1910). COURTESY OF DET DANSKE FILMMUSEUM.	170
FIGURE 23 OTTO LAGONI (CENTRE, IN SUIT) AND AAGE HERTEL (FAR LEFT) IN A PROMOTIONAL STILL FOR <i>DIE VERRÄTERISCHE ZIGARETTE</i> (<i>THE DOUBLE</i> , NORDISK, 1910). COURTESY OF DET DANSKE FILMMUSEUM.	170
FIGURE 24 "HEALTHY LIVER" (ABOVE) AND "STUNTED FEMALE LIVER" (BELOW). IN <i>DIE GARTENLAUBE</i> 1855: 213.	194
FIGURE 25 TRADE ADVERTISEMENT FOR FILMS AVAILABLE THROUGH BERLIN DISTRIBUTORS WILHELM FEINDT AND WILHELM GÜNTHER. IN <i>DIE LICHT-BILD-BÜHNE</i> 7.20 (1914): 42.	198
FIGURE 26 TRADE ADVERTISEMENT FOR <i>DAS WEIBER-REGIMENT</i> (<i>VOTES FOR WOMEN</i> , NORDISK, 1914). IN <i>DIE LICHT-BILD-BÜHNE</i> 7.32 (1914): 35.	203
FIGURE 27 HARRY LONSDALE AND MYRTLE STEDMAN (STANDING, LEFT TO RIGHT) IN A PUBLICITY STILL FOR <i>WENN FRAUEN DIE HERRSCHAFT FÜHREN</i> (<i>WHEN WOMEN RULE</i> , SELIG, 1912). COLLECTION OF THE AUTHOR.	206

- FIGURE 28 SOUVENIR POSTCARD OF ASTA NIELSEN (IN BARBER'S CHAIR) IN *JUGEND UND TOLLHEIT* (*YOUTH AND FOLLY*, DEUTSCHE BIOSCOP, 1913). COURTESY OF THE BUNDESARCHIV-FILMARCHIV. 221
- FIGURE 29 SOUVENIR POSTCARD OF ASTA NIELSEN (LEFT) IN *JUGEND UND TOLLHEIT* (*YOUTH AND FOLLY*, DEUTSCHE BIOSCOP, 1913). COLLECTION OF THE AUTHOR. 221
- FIGURE 30 FRITZ WEIDEMANN (LEFT) AND ASTA NIELSEN (CENTRE) IN A PUBLICITY STILL FOR *JUGEND UND TOLLHEIT* (*YOUTH AND FOLLY*, DEUTSCHE BIOSCOP, 1913). COURTESY OF THE STIFTUNG DEUTSCHE KINEMATHEK. 223
- FIGURE 31 NEWSPAPER INSERT FOR *JUGEND UND TOLLHEIT* (*YOUTH AND FOLLY*, DEUTSCHE BIOSCOP, 1913). IN *DIE LICHT-BILD-BÜHNE* 6.1 (1913): 9. 224
- FIGURE 32 ASTA NIELSEN (CENTRE, WITH TROUSERS) IN A PUBLICITY STILL FROM *ZAPATAS BANDE* ('ZAPATA'S GANG', PAGU, 1914). COURTESY OF THE BUNDESARCHIV-FILMARCHIV. 227
- FIGURE 33 ASTA NIELSEN (CENTRE, WITH PISTOL) IN A PUBLICITY STILL FOR *ZAPATAS BANDE* ('ZAPATA'S GANG', PAGU, 1914). COURTESY OF THE STIFTUNG DEUTSCHE KINEMATHEK. 228
- FIGURE 34 SENTA EICHSTAEDT AND ASTA NIELSEN (LEFT TO RIGHT) IN A PUBLICITY STILL FOR *ZAPATAS BANDE* ('ZAPATA'S GANG', PAGU, 1914). COURTESY OF THE STIFTUNG DEUTSCHE KINEMATHEK. 229
- FIGURE 35 MAGNUS HIRSCHFELD'S ILLUSTRATIONS OF 'THE FEMALE TYPE,' 'THE MALE TYPE,' AND 'THE INTERMEDIATE TYPE' (LEFT TO RIGHT). IN "URSACHEN UND WESEN DES URANISMUS," *JAHRBUCH FÜR SEXUELLE ZWISCHENSTUFEN* 5 (1903): 1-193. 236
- FIGURE 36 SOUVENIR POSTCARD OF NIJINSKY IN *SCHEHERAZADE* AT THE DEUTSCHES THEATER IN BERLIN, 1910. COLLECTION OF THE AUTHOR. 247
- FIGURE 37 PROMOTIONAL STILL OF PETER FJELSTRUP AS CHARLEY'S AUNT AT COPENHAGEN'S KASINO-TEATRET, 1894. IN *KØBENHAVERLIV* 14.2.1894: NO PAG. 250
- FIGURE 38 PHOTOGRAPH OF BRUNIN. IN ARTHUR MOELLER-BRUCK, *DAS VARIÉTÉ* (BERLIN: JULIUS BARD, 1902), 219. 254
- FIGURE 39 ADVERTISEMENT FOR *WO IST COLETTI?* (*WHERE IS COLLETTI?*, VITASCOPE, 1913). IN *DIE LICHT-BILD-BÜHNE* 6.13 (1913): 32. 268
- FIGURE 40 MADGE LESSING AND HANS JUNKERMANN (IN BOX, LEFT TO RIGHT) WITH OTHER CROSS-DRESSED MALE CINEMA SPECTATORS IN A FRAME ENLARGEMENT FROM *WO IST COLETTI?* (*WHERE IS COLLETTI?*, VITASCOPE, 1913). COURTESY OF THE BUNDESARCHIV-FILMARCHIV. 271

- FIGURE 41 FRAME ENLARGEMENT OF WILHELM BENDOW IN THE OPENING EMBLEMATIC SHOT OF *AUS EINES MANNES MÄDCHENZEIT* ('FROM A MAN'S TIME AS A GIRL', MESTER-FILM, 1913). COURTESY OF THE STIFTUNG DEUTSCHE KINEMATHEK. 273
- FIGURE 42 *SCHWARZE COURTOISIE* ('BLACK GENTRY'). IN *DER KLADDERADATSCH* 15 (1852): NO PAG. 289
- FIGURE 43 ABORIGINAL 'CANNIBALS' DILLAROA, TAGARA AND GANGORA (LEFT TO RIGHT). IN *POLITIKEN* 26.4.1897: NO PAG. 293
- FIGURE 44 *DER CIVILISIRTE KANNIBALE* ('THE CIVILISED CANNIBAL') – "SIDESHOW-OWNER: '..THIS MAN-EATER, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, WOULD DEVOUR YOU IN AN INSTANT, WERE IT NOT PROHIBITED BY THE CIVIL CODE!'" IN *DIE FLIEGENDEN BLÄTTER* 119.3042 (1903): NO PAG. 295
- FIGURE 45 MEGH GEHRTS AND KONKOMBWA SUBJECTS IN A FRAME ENLARGEMENT FROM *DIE WEISSE GÖTTIN DER WANGORA* (*THE WHITE GODDESS OF THE WANGORA*, SCHOMBURGK-FILM, 1913). IN MEGH GEHRTS, *A CAMERA ACTRESS IN THE WILDS OF TOGOLAND* (LONDON: SEELEY, SERVICE & CO., 1915), 88. 299
- FIGURE 46 PORTRAIT BY ERNST VOLLBEHR, OF MEGH GEHRTS AND A KONKOMBWA 'WARRIOR' IN *DIE WEISSE GÖTTIN DER WANGORA* (*THE WHITE GODDESS OF THE WANGORA*, SCHOMBURGK-FILM, 1913). IN *IBID.*, 32. 300
- FIGURE 47 AMERICAN TRADE POSTER FOR *BALAOO* (*BALAOO, THE DEMON BABOON*, ÉCLAIR, 1913). IN *THE MOVING PICTURE WORLD* 1913: 507. 303
- FIGURE 48 PROMOTIONAL STILL FOR *SCHWARZ UND WEIß, ODER, DER NARREN-OMNIBUS* (*OFF TO BEDLAM*, STAR-FILM, 1902). COLLECTION OF THE AUTHOR. 309
- FIGURE 49 THE 'DOPPELGÄNGER FORMULA' FROM *EIN SELTSAMER FALL* (*DR. JEKYLL AND MR. HYDE*, VITASCOPE, 1914). IN G—R, *SEIN EIGENER MÖRDER: PHANTASTISCHES FILMSCHAUSPIEL* (BERLIN: MAX GOTTLIEB, 1914), 2. COURTESY OF THE STIFTUNG DEUTSCHE KINEMATHEK. 343
- FIGURE 50 ALWIN NEUSS IN A PRODUCTION STILL FROM *EIN SELTSAMER FALL* (*DR. JEKYLL AND MR. HYDE*, VITASCOPE, 1914). IN *IBID.*, 7. COURTESY OF THE STIFTUNG DEUTSCHE KINEMATHEK. 345

- FIGURE 51 HANNI WEISSE AND ALWIN NEUSS (LEFT TO RIGHT) IN A PRODUCTION STILL FROM *EIN SELTSAMER FALL (DR. JEKYLL AND MR. HYDE)*, VITASCOPE, 1914). IN *IBID.*, 10. COURTESY OF THE STIFTUNG DEUTSCHE KINEMATHEK. 345
- FIGURE 52 EVA SPEYER IN A FRAME ENLARGEMENT FROM *ZWEIMAL GELEBT* ('A SECOND LIFE', CONTINENTAL-KUNSTFILM, 1912). COURTESY OF THE STIFTUNG DEUTSCHE KINEMATHEK. 347
- FIGURE 53 PAUL WEGENER IN A FRAME ENLARGEMENT FROM *DER STUDENT VON PRAG* (*THE STUDENT OF PRAGUE*, DEUTSCHE BIOSCOP, 1913). COURTESY OF THE STIFTUNG DEUTSCHE KINEMATHEK. 350
- FIGURE 54 [HUGO FLINK ?] IN A PROMOTIONAL STILL FOR *DER PRINZENRAUB* ('THE PRINCE'S ABDUCTION', DEUTSCHE BIOSCOP, 1914). COURTESY OF THE STIFTUNG DEUTSCHE KINEMATHEK. 350
- FIGURE 55 'REMBRANDT LIGHTING' IN A FRAME ENLARGEMENT FROM *DER STUDENT VON PRAG* (*THE STUDENT OF PRAGUE*, DEUTSCHE BIOSCOP, 1913). COURTESY OF THE STIFTUNG DEUTSCHE KINEMATHEK. 351
- FIGURE 56 'REMBRANDT LIGHTING' IN A PROMOTIONAL STILL FOR *DER PRINZENRAUB* ('THE PRINCE'S ABDUCTION', DEUTSCHE BIOSCOP, 1914). COURTESY OF THE STIFTUNG DEUTSCHE KINEMATHEK. 351
- FIGURE 57 ALBERT BASSERMANN AND HANNI WEISSE (LEFT TO RIGHT) IN A PRODUCTION STILL FROM *DER ANDERE* ('THE OTHER', VITASCOPE, 1913). COURTESY OF THE STIFTUNG DEUTSCHE KINEMATHEK. 353
- FIGURE 58 ALWIN NEUSS AND HANNI WEISSE (LEFT TO RIGHT) IN A PRODUCTION STILL FROM *EIN SELTSAMER FALL (DR. JEKYLL AND MR. HYDE)*, VITASCOPE, 1914). IN G——R, *OP. CIT.*, 12. COURTESY OF THE STIFTUNG DEUTSCHE KINEMATHEK. 353
- FIGURE 59 THE INN 'ZUR LAHMEN ENTE' IN A PROMOTIONAL STILL FOR *DER ANDERE* ('THE OTHER', VITASCOPE, 1913). COURTESY OF THE STIFTUNG DEUTSCHE KINEMATHEK. 359
- FIGURE 60 RELY RIDON, EMERICH HANUS, ALBERT BASSERMANN, OTTO COLLOT AND HANNI WEISSE (LEFT TO RIGHT) IN A PROMOTIONAL STILL FOR *DER ANDERE* ('THE OTHER', VITASCOPE, 1913). COURTESY OF THE STIFTUNG DEUTSCHE KINEMATHEK. 360
- FIGURE 61 ALBERT BASSERMANN IN THREE PRODUCTION STILLS FROM *DER ANDERE* ('THE OTHER', VITASCOPE, 1913). COURTESY OF THE STIFTUNG DEUTSCHE KINEMATHEK. 361

FIGURE 62 PAUL WEGENER (FOREGROUND, RIGHT) AND LYDA SALMONOVA (BACKGROUND, RIGHT)
IN A FRAME ENLARGEMENT FROM *DER STUDENT VON PRAG* (*THE STUDENT OF PRAGUE*,
DEUTSCHE BIOSCOP, 1913). COURTESY OF THE STIFTUNG DEUTSCHE KINEMATHEK. 363

FIGURE 63 (LEFT) PHOTOGRAPH OF HANNS HEINZ EWERS AS BALDUIN DURING THE ORIGINAL
RELEASE OF *DER STUDENT VON PRAG* (*THE STUDENT OF PRAGUE*, DEUTSCHE BIOSCOP,
1913). COURTESY OF THE STIFTUNG DEUTSCHE KINEMATHEK. (RIGHT) PORTRAIT, BY ILNA
EWERS-WUNDERWALD, OF HANNS HEINZ EWERS AS FRANK BRAUN FROM *ALRAUNE* (AND
OTHER NOVELS), 1910. IN ALBERT SOERGEL, *DICHTUNG UND DICHTER DER ZEIT* (LEIPZIG: A.
VOIGTLÄNDERS VERLAG, 1911), 818. 370

List of Plates

PLATE 1 LYCHNOGRAPH POSTCARD OF BOBBY WALDEN, 1906. COLLECTION OF THE AUTHOR..... 253

List of Tables

TABLE 1 BREAKDOWN OF WILHELMINE *DOPPELGÄNGER* FILMS BY GENRE 49

TABLE 2 BREAKDOWN OF WILHELMINE *DOPPELGÄNGER* FILMS (FEATURING DOUBLES) BY THEME 50

TABLE 3 BREAKDOWN OF WILHELMINE *DOPPELGÄNGER* FILMS (FEATURING LOOKALIKES) BY
THEME..... 51

TABLE 4 BREAKDOWN OF PREVALENT TYPES OF WILHELMINE *DOPPELGÄNGER* FILMS (FEATURING
DOUBLES) BY THEME AND GENRE..... 52

TABLE 5 TYPOLOGY OF BLACK REPRESENTATION IN WILHELMINE CINEMA..... 297

TABLE 6 TYPOLOGY OF 'YELLOW' REPRESENTATION IN WILHELMINE CINEMA 321

Acknowledgements

Without the resources of a number of film and print archives and the knowledge and helpfulness of their staff this project would have come to nought. In this regard, I should like to extend my thanks to Kathleen Dickson of the National Film and Television Archive (London); Madeleine Schlawitz of Det danske Filmmuseum (Copenhagen); and Peter Westervoorde of the Nederlands Filmmuseum (Overveen). The majority of my primary research was conducted, however, over the course of three research trips to Berlin, where I was aided in particular by the following individuals and institutions: Frau Jensky and Frau Lorenz of the Deutsche Film- und Fernsehakademie-Bibliothek; Regina Hoffmann, Frau Schmidt, Werner Sudendorf, Gerrit Thies, and Rosemarie van der Zee of the Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek; Julika Kuschke, Frau Kiel and Herr Freund of the Bundesarchiv-Filmarchiv; the Schwules Museum; and the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

Ideas, discussion, examples and encouragement were provided by a large number of friends and colleagues at the University of Warwick, especially within the Department of German Studies, where I completed this thesis, but also in the Department of Film and Television Studies and the Department of Italian Studies. These included (although this list can not hope to be exhaustive, since so many pieces of advice came from so many sources at different times): José Arroyo, Rob Burns, Richard Dyer, Danielle Hipkins, Steve Lamb, Teresa Ludden, John Osborne, Georgina Paul, Julianne Pidduck, Helmut Schmitz and Ginette Vincendeau. In

particular, I wish to acknowledge my gratitude to my supervisor, Erica Carter, whose many suggestions and continual support were of enormous assistance throughout this research undertaking.

I should also like to extend my gratitude to the Humanities Research Board of the British Academy, from whom financial support was received over a period of two years, facilitating the completion of this research.

Several parts of this thesis have been presented in different forms over the course of my research. The central ideas of Chapter 2 were articulated in my contribution to the NBC news feature *The First Titanic Film*, produced at NBC's London studios on 4th March 1998, and concerning the recent rediscovery of a print of *In Nacht und Eis* ('Night-time and Ice', Continental-Kunstfilm, 1912) in Berlin. These comments were subsequently expanded and presented as the inaugural paper of the Arts Faculty Language Research Group at the University of Warwick on 29th October 1998, which was likewise entitled *The First Titanic Film*. A short version of Chapter 5 was presented under the title *'Nobody's Perfect': Men Who Wore Dresses in Early Film Comedies (1906 – 1914)* at the 4th Annual Lesbian and Gay Studies Conference, held on 23rd May 1998 at the University of Warwick. A short version of Chapter 6 was presented under the title *The Strange Case of Dr. Black and Mr. White: Transformations of Skin Colour in Early Film Comedies (1895 – 1914)* at the Warwick Workshop for Interdisciplinary German Studies on 25th January 1999, and in the same forum, an earlier version of Chapter 7 was presented as *Doubles in German Films of 1913 and 1914 or, the Repression of Modernity in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* on 2nd June 1997.

Finally, I should like to thank all those institutions which gave permission for the reproduction of images in their care within this thesis and whose names appear beneath those illustrations. Every attempt has been made to obtain permission to reproduce copyright material. If any proper acknowledgement has not been made, copyright-holders are invited to inform the author of the oversight.

Summary

The *Doppelgänger* is a celebrated motif of German silent cinema that has been seen by art and literary historians as a filmic descendant of German Romanticism, and by psychoanalysts as a concretisation of human beings' fears regarding their own potentially fragmentary nature and mortality. This research builds on such interpretations by suggesting that – in the case of German cinema before World War One, at least – the *Doppelgänger* can be read as a signifier of modernity as it was experienced by members of various social groupings.

Returning to primary sources, some 203 films are identified that featured a *Doppelgänger* and were released in Germany between 1895 and 1914. This corpus is broken down both by genre (into detective films, comedies and art films), and in terms of the polarities of identity about which the figure of the *Doppelgänger* is constructed (high versus low class, female versus male, and black versus white). From here, individual chapters address the *Doppelgänger* as a fantastic representation of shifting class, gender, sexual and ethnic identities in Wilhelmine society. Each chapter draws in particular on contemporary sources relating to the various frames of identity under discussion, and suggests possible readings available to Wilhelmine spectators of the *Doppelgänger* in individual films and genres. In this way, meaning is located at the intersection of the filmic text and contemporary discourse, and the 'Doppelgänger film' can be regarded as a conduit for exploring issues of shifting identity within modernity, with particular regard to perceived new identities constructed 'between' supposedly stable binary oppositions of class, gender, and so on. These include the 'new woman' (perceived as a female incursion into the male sphere), the *nouveau riche* (moving between low and high class identity), the 'sexual intermediate' (constructed between male and female sexuality), and so forth.

Notes on Language and Terminology

Quotations from foreign-language sources have been translated into English by the author throughout this research, a decision that was motivated by four factors. Firstly, this research is located within a tradition of British and American cultural studies, and therefore may be said to be aimed primarily at an English-speaking readership. Secondly, much of the literature pertaining to early German cinema has been published only in German, so that this field – despite its great upsurge over the past decade – remains relatively unfamiliar to a wider, English-speaking readership. In this sense, the use of English here is bound up with a conscious desire to render this cinema more accessible to this audience. Thirdly, quotations drawn from sources written in a range of Germanic and Romance languages are employed, and if these had all been retained in untranslated form, then this research would rather unreasonably demand of the reader not only a knowledge of German, but of Danish, Dutch, French, Italian and Swedish as well.

Fourthly, specific difficulties exist relating to cinematic terminology in German from the period 1895 to 1914, which might make the retention of the original German here confusing even for native speakers. The German cinematic terminology of this period was derived directly from the French, so that – to cite only the most rudimentary examples – the masculine noun '*le cinéma*' was rendered likewise in German as '*der Kino*' (with the irregular genitive form '*des Kino*'), the singular and plural forms '*le film*' / '*les films*' as '*der Film*' / '*die Films*,' and the everyday phrase meaning 'to go to the cinema' in the form of a literal translation of '*aller au*

cinéma,’ as ‘*nach dem Kino gehen*.’ As part of a wide-ranging drive to ‘purge’ perceived ‘French-origin’ words from the language during World War One, these terms were all significantly modified (in such a way that they became ostensibly ‘more German’), resulting in the forms with which we are familiar today. Thus, the masculine ‘*der Kino*’ became the neuter ‘*das Kino*’ (with the regularised genitive form ‘*des Kinos*’) on the basis of existing Bavarian colloquial usage, the plural ‘*die Films*’ became ‘*die Filme*’ – thereby corresponding to grammatical rules for forming regular plurals in German, and ‘*nach dem Kino gehen*’ was replaced with ‘*ins Kino gehen*’ (literally, ‘to go into the cinema’) on the basis of another supposed Bavarian colloquial usage (although this latter is debatable, since the formulation has yet to be attested in any pre-World War One source): and so on throughout the field of cinema-related terminology.¹ The use of English throughout of course avoids any possible confusion in this regard.

One further linguistic obstacle is overcome within this research through the coining of a neologistic plural form of the term ‘*Doppelgänger*’ – namely, ‘*Doppelgängers*.’ In German, the singular and plural forms of the word alike are ‘*Doppelgänger*.’ However, this usage could prove problematic here, since the English language does not employ cases, as German does, whereby the quantity of the noun is made clear through its grammatical context. Consider, for example, the potentially misleading ambiguity of the title of one subsection of Chapter 1 – “The Quest for the Missing *Doppelgängers*,” which is concerned with some 203 different *Doppelgänger* figures in films of the Wilhelmine period – if this had instead been entitled “The Quest for the Missing *Doppelgänger*.” (The case-determined distinction in German here would be between “*Auf der Suche nach dem verlorenen Doppelgänger*” (singular) and “*Auf der Suche nach den verlorenen Doppelgängern*” (plural)).

A similar Anglicised plural form – ‘doppelgangers’ – is already attested by *The Oxford English Dictionary*, and has even served as the title of a science-fiction novel by Gerald Heard.² However, I have chosen to retain both the German capitalisation of the word and its *Umlaut* as visual markers of the distinct German context under discussion here. The resulting coinage, ‘*Doppelgängers*’ – whose German capital letter and *Umlaut* are fused with the English-language regular plural ending ‘-s’ – can perhaps be seen as a kind of metaphor for this research project as a whole, which draws together a German subject matter and a British-American cultural studies approach, thereby manifesting its own intercultural ‘*Doppelgänger* condition.’

Finally, it should be noted that the years attributed to films cited refer throughout to the date of release. Within these citations, production companies – rather than directors – are given, since these former held far greater currency during the early period, as is discussed in Chapter 1.

Chapter One. Locating the *Doppelgänger* in Wilhelmine Cinema

Early German Cinema as the ‘Domain of the *Doppelgänger*’

From the dualistic character of Dr. Caligari, who is either a murderous madman or merely a maligned medic, via the pantomime of conscious versus unconscious Selves in *Schatten* (*Warning Shadows*, Pan-Film, 1923), through to the opposing incarnations of Maria – one a beneficent holy virgin, the other a sensuous, destructive robotrix – in *Metropolis* (Ufa, 1927), the figure of the *Doppelgänger* seems like one of the most familiar signifiers of the German silent screen. Indeed, this figure’s Jekyll-and-Hyde nature appears to be echoed throughout this cinema’s so-called ‘expressionist’ screen style of stark chiaroscuro contrasts.

As the director of the Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek, Werner Sudendorf, observed at the Manchester Festival of Expressionism in 1992, the German silent cinema has been “analysed and examined primarily through its recurrent [visual and narrative] motifs.”³ This certainly applies to Siegfried Kracauer’s enormously influential 1947 study *From Caligari to Hitler*, in which the author states explicitly that his “history of the German screen is a history of motifs,” arguing that the “[p]ersistent reiteration of these motifs marks them as outward projections of [the] inner urges” of Germans during the pre-Nazi period.⁴ Lotte Eisner, in her similarly influential *The Haunted Screen*, which first appeared in French in 1952, likewise focuses

on motifs shared by selected groups of films, although this time the author's perspective is an art historical one.⁵ Thus, as Sudendorf continues, the German silent cinema has typically been constituted as – or at worst, inflexibly reduced to – a shadowy province inhabited by the recurrent motifs identified by these writers, a realm of “*Doppelgänger*s and mystics, nubile virgins and monsters.”⁶

Of course, what these film historians are referring to is not the German silent cinema *in toto*, but rather the celebrated Weimar expressionist canon, which is seen to have been inaugurated with *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari* (*The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*, Decla-Film, 1920). The boundaries of this German silent cinema are stated clearly enough in the *recto* and *verso* of Kracauer's title: from Caligari (in 1920) to Hitler (in 1933). The quarter-century of German cinematic production that had preceded during the Wilhelmine period goes virtually undiscussed by Kracauer and Eisner, dismissed out-of-hand (for reasons explored in greater depth later in this chapter) as the culturally unworthy “junk heap of archaic films.”⁷

Despite this, Kracauer and Eisner draw attention to two art films produced prior to the First World War, which stand alone in their accounts as representatives of this earlier period: *Der Andere* (“The Other”, Vitascope) and *Der Student von Prag* (*The Student of Prague*, Deutsche Bioscop, both 1913). These works are cited as early masterpieces not on account of their intrinsic qualities, however, but rather through contextualisation as, to quote Eisner, “pre-Caligari” works of German expressionism, apparently foreshadowing the chiaroscuro lighting and sombre fantastic themes and motifs for which this latter-day movement would become renowned.⁸ More specifically, both films of course feature a pre-Caligari *Doppelgänger*, meaning that this

particular motif has become inextricably linked with the pre-World War One cinema as indeed its only recognisable signifier.

The recent upsurge of research into the Wilhelmine cinema, spurred on especially by the 1990 Pordenone silent film festival, *Before Caligari: German Cinema, 1895 – 1920*, has to some extent reinforced the notion of this cinema as the ‘domain of the *Doppelgänger*.’ The Pordenone festival certainly proved instructive in revealing that well over 500 pre-1920 German films had been preserved in archives. From these, it became clear that this period was far richer than previously believed, comprising a diversity of comedies, dramas, cartoons, films for women and works of other genres.⁹ However, it could scarcely be overlooked that a significant number of *Doppelgänger* films were to be counted among the rediscovered treasures: *Zweimal gelebt* (‘A Second Life’, Continental-Kunstfilm, 1912), in which amnesia quite literally causes a woman to commence a second life; *Wo ist Coletti?* (*Where is Colletti?*, Vitascope, 1913), a detective film in which, to quote Thomas Brandlmeier, “everyone appears as an imitation of his or her true self”; *Die schwarze Kugel* (‘The Black Bullet’, Luna-Film, 1913), featuring mysterious sisters who masquerade in identical garb; *Der Mann im Keller* (‘The Man in the Cellar’, Continental-Kunstfilm, 1914), a detective film in which a criminal usurps an aristocrat’s appearance and identity; and so on.¹⁰

In light of these rediscoveries, Thomas Elsaesser has written that “even the early German cinema appears not to escape the doubling and mirroring effects, the *mises-en-abyme*, repetitions and returns we now associate with the ‘expressionist’ cinema.” Focusing attention on “[t]he presence of motifs of the double and structures of sometimes vertiginous symmetry,” Elsaesser goes on to suggest that “so many films from the early period [...] contain so many references to the cinematic

situation as one of ‘doubleness’ that one is tempted to make ‘*zweimal gelebt*’ the motto of Wilhelmine cinema itself.”¹¹ Thomas Brandlmeier is equally direct, citing *Wo ist Coletti?* as new evidence of “German cinema’s obsession with the *Doppelgänger*.”¹²

These rediscoveries can also be seen to have added new weight to ideas put forward by Leon Hunt in his examination of the celebrated *Der Student von Prag*, written prior to the Pordenone festival. Hunt suggests that the narrative structure, use of special effects and particularly the codification of screen space in the film are complex to the degree that it becomes impossible to accept the film as a *creation ex nihilo*, as it is presented in standard histories of the German silent screen.¹³ Hunt instead argues that it might be more profitable to think of *Der Student von Prag* as the product of a heritage of now forgotten *Doppelgänger* films that had preceded and influenced it. Drawing on Denis Gifford’s wide-ranging survey *A Pictorial History of Horror Movies*, Hunt puts forward five titles that might tentatively be included in such a heritage: *Frankenstein* (Edison, 1910); three versions of *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (Selig, 1908; Nordisk, 1910; and Thanhouser, 1912); and one German-made film produced by Duskes and released in Great Britain in 1909 as *The Haunted Man*. The synopsis of this latter film, as given by Gifford, makes it sound like a veritable ‘dry-run’ of *Der Student von Prag*: “Wherever he goes the same ghostly figure (apparent to none but himself) rises up with horrid imitations of his own actions.”¹⁴

It was from here that my own research project took its cue. Was there really any validity in portraying the Wilhelmine cinema as a ‘domain of the *Doppelgänger*’ on the strength of what, even after Pordenone, amounted to less than ten films? Could the existence of a body of *Doppelgänger* films prior to *Der Andere* and *Der Student von Prag*, such as Hunt had suggested, be attested other than on the highly speculative

basis of a few titles culled from an overview survey? How many of these films might still exist, and how many were now lost?

Contextualising the Wilhelmine *Doppelgänger* Film

The above – purely quantitative – questions aimed at establishing the extent of the territory under investigation, and thus at providing a starting point for this research, by identifying a new and more comprehensive corpus of Wilhelmine *Doppelgänger* films with which to work. The findings of my quantitative research are discussed later in this chapter, and serve as a basis for the more substantial and productive project of attempting a *qualitative* analysis of the Wilhelmine *Doppelgänger* film. This qualitative analysis considers what implications the existence of a far greater body of *Doppelgänger* films in the Wilhelmine cinema than hitherto imagined might have for our understanding of this period. In this regard, I focus attention especially on those areas that seem most notably lacking (from the viewpoint of film studies at the current time) within existing analyses of the *Doppelgänger* in *Der Andere* and *Der Student von Prag*: namely, the significance of the figure to contemporary audiences and the meanings they may have attributed to it, as well as the original historical context of each film.

For example, although Kracauer and Eisner demonstrate an interest in the audience, their construction of this latter tends to take the form of an unwieldy monolith possessing a fixed national character, and shaped by these writers' beliefs and prejudices relating to what it means to 'be German.' As Andrew Tudor puts it:

They both try to probe the mass of relations between national cinema, historic event, and cinematic style. Both are in some ways peculiarly mystic about the links; the one in psychoanalytic vein, the other rather more traditional. Both persistently refer to the German soul and its alleged propensities. Eisner develops implausible ‘explanations’ in terms like ‘[...] the German soul instinctively prefers twilight to daylight!’ Kracauer is less flowery though more tortured: ‘the masses are irresistibly attracted by the spectacle of torture and humiliation’ or ‘the German soul [...] tossed about in gloomy space like the phantom ship in *Nosferatu*.’¹⁵

Although, as Tudor observes, these works (and particularly Kracauer’s) have endured as seminal studies of cinema’s relation to society, this configuration of the audience as an inflexible homogeneous entity (let alone a metaphysical one) stands wholly at odds with the approaches advanced within reception theory over the past twenty years. These approaches (which are discussed at length below) have stressed that ‘the cinema audience’ should no more be thought of as a uniform mass than should society at large, with both ‘communities’ comprising members of varied and various sociological groupings who have their own distinct views and occupy distinct reading positions.

Furthermore, the monolithic readings put forward by Kracauer and Eisner tend to be bound by teleology, that philosophy of evaluating historical events which has been described by Robert Allen and Douglas Gomery as “the *post hoc ergo propter hoc* fallacy of historical reasoning: the idea that because event *B* happened after event *A*, the former occurred as a result of the latter.”¹⁶ Within teleology, the historian typically sets out with a naturalised assumption of what constitutes the conclusion to his or her historical narrative. In the case of Kracauer and Eisner, this foreknown conclusion – stated quite unambiguously in Kracauer’s title – is the rise of National

Socialism. From here, the historian selects and contextualises any past phenomena which are to be included within that history primarily on the basis of whether some causal link – established through hindsight – might be forged between these phenomena and the ‘predecided’ conclusion of the narrative. Within such histories, then, the past ceases to be the past and instead becomes the ‘pre-present,’ gaining meaning not through its own intrinsic qualities or contemporary historical context, but rather through a backwards-working relation to subsequent happenings. Thus, Kracauer and Eisner reveal little of what the Weimar cinema may have signified during the Weimar period, and instead focus on what it means to them in the wake of National Socialism. Accordingly, the Weimar cinema becomes, in Kracauer’s own words, “the pre-Hitler screen,” whose *Doppelgängers* and vampires are transformed into precursory *Führer*-figures, and whose monumental crowd scenes become prototypes for the pageantry of the Nuremberg rallies.¹⁷

The pre-World War One cinema, as reduced to *Der Andere* and *Der Student von Prag*, in turn suffers under the hegemony of (if you will excuse the pun) a *double* teleology. These films are contextualised firstly as constituting part of the ‘pre-Hitler screen’: *Der Student von Prag* is always written about with the caveat that its scriptwriter, Hanns Heinz Ewers, would go on to be an “ally for the Nazis, for whom he was to write, in 1933, the official screenplay on Horst Wessel.”¹⁸ Secondly, however, as noted above, these films are also marked as ‘pre-Caligari’ works, contextualised through reference to this latter-day stylistic form. The issues of contemporary context and reception with regard to the Wilhelmine cinema long seemed, then, to have been effectively stifled under this ‘double bind.’

The desire to break free of such “Kracauerian/Eisnerian dogma,” and to investigate instead the contemporary context of the Wilhelmine cinema, was central to the 1990 Pordenone festival, and has continued to inform the substantial body of research that has grown up in its wake.¹⁹ As the festival’s organisers, Paolo Cherchi Usai and Lorenzo Codelli, asked at the time:

is it really true that history of the German cinema of the 1910s makes sense only in function of what was to come later, or does it have an intrinsic sense of its own, not to be reduced retrospectively to a nucleus contained in a particular drama of predestination and mental illness?²⁰

More recently, Elsaesser has warned in like terms against framing the rediscovered Wilhelmine *Doppelgänger* films within the Kracauerian/Eisnerian model and thereby stunting their potential significance by “invok[ing] a genealogy” wherein “the cinema of the teens ‘prepared’ the more illustrious twenties.”²¹

Elsaesser seems especially well-qualified to make such a remark, since his essay “Social Mobility and the Fantastic German Silent Cinema” may be regarded as one of the earliest practical examples of an attempt to reengage with the contemporary context of the German silent screen. Taking several of the best-known of the ‘expressionist’ films, including *Der Student von Prag*, *Caligari* and *Nosferatu* (Prana-Film, 1922), Elsaesser considers how each deals with the shared theme of economic success and social mobility. Undertaking close readings of the filmic texts in order to establish how this theme is represented and worked through, Elsaesser seeks to determine both *why* these films may have taken a fantastic, rather than a

realist, approach to this subject matter, and also *whose* view of social mobility in 1910s and 1920s Germany they depict.

Elsaesser draws on psychoanalytic theory to conclude that the couching of social mobility in fantasy suggests there may have been few openings for social mobility in contemporary German society: thus, that which proves unattainable – and indeed unspeakable – in a realistic setting becomes repressed, and is displaced into a mystical province where it can once again be realised. Specifically, he observes that the characters who desire social mobility in these films – “‘students,’ clerks, young men with frustrated ambitions and vague resentments” – are consistently members of the petite bourgeoisie. Arguing that members of this class occupied a “precarious” social position in Germany throughout this period, living with little opportunity for social elevation and a fear of proletarianisation, Elsaesser goes on to suggest that it is the social experience of this sociological grouping in the ‘real’ world which has been encoded in the fantastic scenarios of these films.²²

What is most significant about Elsaesser’s intervention, from my perspective, is the way that he reframes these films within contemporary social experience, and specifically, within matters of class. In this way, he successfully removes the films from the bind of teleology by opening up the possibility of addressing their content within the framework of discourses that held currency for contemporary German spectators, and particularly that segment of the audience who may have identified with and seen its position represented through the heroes of these films.

A further three book-length studies that have appeared since Elsaesser’s essay have also proven instructive to my project of reframing the *Doppelgänger* in its

contemporary context and exploring what the figure may have meant to contemporary audiences. The first is Heide Schlüpmann's sociological study, *Unheimlichkeit des Blicks*, in which she undertakes close readings of a large number of extant German film-dramas of the Wilhelmine period with specific reference to female spectatorship at this time. The starting point for Schlüpmann's study is Emilie Altenloh's 1913 doctoral thesis (published in 1914), *Zur Soziologie des Kino*, which constitutes practically the only ethnographic research into cinema undertaken during this period, and which Schlüpmann justly lauds as "a singular lucky break" for the researcher of early German cinema.²³ For her thesis, Altenloh distributed an eleven-point questionnaire among cinema-goers in the city of Mannheim, asking them about their age, gender and social background, the frequency of their visits to the cinema, who they went with and what motivated them to go, as well as their 'likes and dislikes' with regard to films. From the 2400 completed questionnaires received, Altenloh was able to draw up a comprehensive taxonomy of cinema attendance in this city at this time, dividing the audience into various subgroupings differentiated in terms of class, age and gender, and exploring the cinema-going tendencies and preferences of each subgrouping.²⁴ This heterogeneous construction of the audience, which is very much in line with approaches espoused recently within reception theory, renders Altenloh's study particularly appealing and readily assimilable into the work of current researchers.

Altenloh found attendance to be widespread among lower- and middle-class women alike, with these women most often visiting the cinema alone in the afternoon as a break during a shopping trip or a respite from housework. From here, Schlüpmann argues that the cinema might therefore be regarded as an emancipatory vehicle for Wilhelmine women, opening up a whole new 'public space' to them.

Accordingly, Schlüpmann looks at extant examples of those types of film preferred by the women in Altenloh's survey – primarily two- and three-reel dramas – and considers what precisely in these films may have appealed to women, in which ways the films can be seen to address female spectators in particular, and how the films themselves may represent women in emancipatory ways. As Schlüpmann acknowledges, her study must be considered “speculative” on at least two counts: in the first place, there can be no certainty that Altenloh's results would hold true for cinema-going throughout Germany, since only Mannheim was surveyed; and in the second, it is difficult to assess whether the relatively small number of films that have survived in any way represent a typical sample of German output at this time.²⁵ Nevertheless, Schlüpmann makes a convincing case for reconsidering the Wilhelmine cinema from the viewpoint of a specific group of contemporary spectators, effectively reframing it “as something like a refuge for a different conception of the body and of femininity, one that offers especially the female spectator a novel form of visual pleasure.”²⁶

The second work that proved inspirational to my recasting of the *Doppelgänger* in its contemporary context was Deniz Göktürk's *Künstler, Cowboys, Ingenieure....* Göktürk's study may be referred to as ‘cross-cultural’ on a number of levels. Not only does she explore the representation of a foreign culture – America – in films released in Germany between 1912 and 1920, but she does so in films that are not all German productions. Thus, Göktürk is often considering the representation of an alien culture in films made by quite another alien culture: the mediating factor throughout is the distinct reception and significance of these representations within the context of these films' release *in Germany*. Göktürk's approach to establishing available contemporary meanings involves a consideration of those discourses

surrounding America and Americanism which were circulating in Wilhelmine Germany, and within which these films were embedded. In particular, this takes the form of a lengthy description and analysis of discourses of 'America' in contemporary literature, popular writing and other media. In this way, Göktürk is able to construct a panorama of discursive frames through which contemporary spectators' responses to and readings of these films could have been shaped. In short, then, Göktürk can be seen to locate meaning at the intersection of contemporary discourse and the individual filmic text.²⁷

A somewhat comparable project is undertaken in the third work that was of use in formulating my reframing of the Wilhelmine *Doppelgänger* film, William Uricchio and Roberta Pearson's *Reframing Culture*. This study is concerned not with early German, but early American cinema, and takes the form of an exploration of the contemporary frameworks for reading and responding to the so-called 'quality films' produced by the Vitagraph Company between 1908 and 1914 as part of the film industry's 'drive for respectability' through the perceived attainment of art in film. Specifically, Uricchio and Pearson address the recurrent use of literary, historical and biblical borrowings in these films, framing these within the existing discursive practices of both the middle-class audiences whose patronage was so desired by producers, and those working-class audiences who also frequented the movie-shows. The authors consider contemporary reception particularly in terms of audience members' 'horizons of expectation,' that is to say, for example, the ways in which educational, theatrical or popular discourses surrounding Shakespeare might inform their response to *A Comedy of Errors* (1908), or religious and pro- or anti-Semitic discourses their readings of *The Life of Moses* (1910). As Uricchio and Pearson put it, the questions underlying their study are:

In terms of conditions of reception, what pre-existing intertextual frames – based on their cultural experiences, through education, public libraries, free public lectures, and so on – could viewers have used to make sense of these texts? And were the meanings that viewers produced from the quality films always in the interests of the dominant social formations?²⁸

The approaches to reading films adopted in all these studies may be said to evoke Allen and Gomery's ironic adage that, for writing film history, "film viewing is really an inappropriate research method." In other words, for the researcher to isolate a film from the culture in which it appeared and from those contemporary discourses within which it was embedded is essentially to render film history ahistorical by denying the significance of these factors in generating the contemporary meanings of any film.²⁹ Therefore, in searching for the contemporary context, it becomes necessary for the researcher to look not only at films and film-related artefacts (such as publicity materials and other ephemera), but also a wide range of other contemporaneous sources including (but not limited to) the press, literature, the stage and so forth. Only through reference to such sources can the researcher seek to overcome the extreme paucity of ethnographic data that exists relating to specific films under discussion, by instead inferring an 'imaginary' audience for whom available readings and reading positions can be suggested by way of the researcher's own attempt at 'reconstructing' those frames through which historical audiences may originally have derived and constructed meaning.

It is tempting to think that such a methodology is singularly applicable to researching early cinema audiences, who seem somehow particularly lost on account of both their remoteness in time and our own unfamiliarity with the films they watched (which, unlike sound films made any time between the 1930s and

1990s, and the more celebrated ‘post-Caligari’ silents, seldom appear on television or video, or at retrospective cinemas). However, in a sustained way since the 1970s, reception theorists have questioned whether the ‘real’ audience can *ever* be reproduced in research. As Lola Young observes in her study of black images in (often very recent) British films, *Fear of the Dark*, even in those instances where empirical research has been undertaken, this generally indicates only audience members’ ‘likes and dislikes’ regarding certain kinds of film, individual films, or individual parts of films (with these responses dependent on both *how* the interviewer questioned respondents and *what* he or she asked them). This does not, however, offer an insight into the actual subjective experience of audience members watching a film on the screen, and negotiating their own meanings and readings. Therefore, any available ethnographic data may be useful only to a limited extent in supporting researchers’ suggested readings of films – for example, in attesting that a certain type of audience *did* watch or enjoy a specific film, or works of a specific genre under discussion. In addressing the subjective experience of reading a film, though, the researcher will be more or less bound to infer an ‘imaginary’ audience.³⁰ In this sense, the Wilhelmine audience may be no more lost to us than the audiences for *E. T.* (Universal, 1982) or *Friday the 13th* (Georgetown Productions, 1980).

Although readings suggested using the above approaches will necessarily be mediated through the individual researcher and his or her selection of primary artefacts, this at least provides a workable method for configuring otherwise ‘lost’ audience experience. Perhaps the researcher can here be likened most aptly to the speaker of a foreign language whose knowledge of the vocabulary, grammar and culture of the non-native subject facilitates a certain level of communication and understanding, but never to the extent of absolute transparency, free from any

interference or miscomprehension caused by gaps in knowledge and the presence of his or her own first language.

What all the above implied for my research was that, in order to seek to illuminate what the *Doppelgänger* may have ‘meant’ to Wilhelmine audiences, I would need to – continuing with the linguistic metaphor – ‘speak and interpret the language of Wilhelmine society,’ both uncovering and providing a commentary through those discursive frames through which turn-of-the-century Germans could have negotiated their readings of *Doppelgänger* films. I stood, then, before a quest to seek to ‘recover’ three distinct and interlinked ‘lost objects’: firstly, the almost El Dorado-like territory of *Doppelgänger* films, the full extent of which had hitherto only been guessed at; secondly, the historical audiences for these films, in the form of any empirical data that might exist; and thirdly, the discursive frames within which these films were embedded, reconstructed through extant primary sources as a means of suggesting available readings and reading positions for the ‘imaginary’ audience.

The Quest for the Missing *Doppelgängers*

In attempting to find out whether or not a substantial body of *Doppelgänger* films – that is to say, specifically, films in which the motif of the *Doppelgänger* featured centrally – had existed in the Wilhelmine cinema, it was initially necessary to establish criteria for deciding which films should be included in, and which excluded from, this corpus. Previous theorists of the *Doppelgänger*, from Wilhelmine Krauss in 1930 through to Andrew Webber in 1996, have most often taken recourse to Jean Paul

Richter, who in his 1796 novel *Siebenkäs* made ostensibly the first mention of the term in print (as ‘*Doppeltgänger*’). In a footnote to his text, Richter describes this as “referring to people who see themselves” (“*so heissen Leute, die sich selber sehen*”).³¹ Establishing this as a defining *terminus a quo*, these theorists therefore construct the *Doppelgänger* as a figure of which two simultaneously present and physically separated copies must exist: what Robert Rogers refers to as a “manifest double”; or, in Ralph Tymms’ terminology, a “double-by-duplication.”³²

However, such a definition would immediately exclude one of the two celebrated Wilhelmine *Doppelgänger* films, *Der Andere*, since its protagonist’s dualism is inscribed on his body as alternating states of being, in terms of what is generally conceptualised as a ‘split personality’ (or, in Tymms’ terminology, a “double-by-division”). Furthermore, despite citing Richter’s definition, the above theorists also regularly discuss Robert Louis Stevenson’s *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* within their accounts as a seminal narrative of the *Doppelgänger*, even though it too quite unreservedly falls into the latter category, of ‘split personality.’³³ Clearly, the term ‘*Doppelgänger*’ as it is used encompasses a somewhat broader spectrum of meaning than is accommodated within Richter’s rigid definition. As employed by most theorists, ‘*Doppelgänger*’ indeed seems to constitute a collective term for any kind of figure with dualistic traits, more or less equivalent then, to the English-language term ‘double.’³⁴

On the basis of the above, and in view of the centrality of the contemporary context to my research, I decided to delimit my corpus of *Doppelgänger* films in terms of whether or not individual films, or types of film, were referred to explicitly within Wilhelmine primary sources as featuring ‘a *Doppelgänger*.’ In this way, I could be

certain that my filmography was compiled in line with the term's contemporary usage, so that I was neither drawing up a body of *Doppelgänger* films that omitted all types of works that I did not consider to contain a *Doppelgänger*, but which contemporary audiences might have done, nor one that included all sorts of works imposed by myself that simply would not have been regarded as *Doppelgänger* films during the Wilhelmine period. Thus, if reference was made to a film (or type of film) as featuring a *Doppelgänger*, either in a film title or intertitles, within advertising materials or contemporary reviews and discussions, or within any other Wilhelmine source consulted – then it became included as a *Doppelgänger* film; otherwise it was excluded.

The relative scarcity of primary sources from the Wilhelmine cinema is well-known: as Martin Loiperdinger has concluded colourfully, these might best be considered the “insignificant relics” of a “[l]ost continent,” inviting the evaluation of early German cinema as a “subject for archeology.”³⁵ Consequently, a number of films ended up being accorded the status of *Doppelgänger* films here on the strength of only a single contemporary reference. Although this should scarcely be taken to imply that all audiences would have classified these films in the same way, it does indicate that – for some distributors and audiences at least (for instance, those who saw a particular promotional poster or a trade advertisement in which the word ‘*Doppelgänger*’ was employed) – the films thus referred to would have entered circulation as ‘discourses of the *Doppelgänger*,’ and have been responded to accordingly. Once again, this methodology must be seen as the product of necessity, constituting a workable means of configuring a corpus of *Doppelgänger* films within the boundaries of the term's contemporary usage. As such, this approach makes no claims to completeness. However, it *can* claim to include *only* works that are

definitively documented as having been constituted within one contemporary forum or another as discourses of the *Doppelgänger*.

The next factor to influence the selection of titles was whether to consider only German-made films, or all those films in circulation in Wilhelmine Germany, regardless of their nation of origin. Here, I referred to Andrew Higson's argument that "the parameters of a national cinema should be drawn as much at the site of consumption as at the site of production of films."³⁶ Higson observes that, since the individual films made in any given nation are neither produced, nor watched by audiences, in isolation from all other films in circulation, then so it must be seen as unsatisfactory – or indicative of a certain nationalist ideological position – when an attempt is made to isolate these films in research. As Higson puts it:

very often the concept of national cinema is used prescriptively rather than descriptively, citing what *ought* to be the national cinema, rather than describing the actual cinematic experience of popular audiences.³⁷

Of course, this is not to dismiss the existence of discourses of 'national cinema' circulating among both filmmakers and audiences within a given nation: it is rather to observe that such prescriptivist doctrines should not be treated as *all*-defining, but instead relativised as constituting only *one* of the factors that may inform production or reception within that nation. As Higson notes by way of an example, questions of 'national cinema' may become almost completely peripheralised within populist discourses that foreground 'good entertainment' as the primary function of films. Furthermore, Higson invokes the semiotic principle of meaning and identity through difference – the notion that one can define oneself

only through reference to that which one is *not* – in order to demonstrate the illusoriness of isolationist constructions of a ‘pure’ national cinema. Citing the example of Hollywood cinema, which has long occupied a hegemonic position in many nations, Higson argues that these nations can be seen to have in turn defined their own ‘national cinemas’ primarily in opposition to this ‘alien’ hegemony:

The discourses of ‘art,’ ‘culture’ and ‘quality,’ and of ‘national identity’ and ‘nationhood,’ have historically been mobilised against Hollywood’s mass entertainment film, and used to justify various nationally specific economic systems of support and protection.³⁸

Within such a theoretical framework, then, the defining constant of any national cinema becomes the site of consumption, and the way that films and their representations are responded to and read within one specific nation. A number of examples of this kind of approach can be identified within early cinema research. Göktürk’s *Künstler, Cowboys, Ingenieure...* considers representations of America within films produced in, particularly, Denmark and America, to have been equally significant within the context of their reception in Germany as were those in native productions.³⁹ Recently, Gunnar Iversen has demonstrated that the first decade of cinema in Norway can only be discussed in terms of Higson’s model, since although a sizeable cinematic culture existed throughout this period, with travelling shows traversing the nation and nickelodeons appearing in the larger cities, there were no Norwegian producers operating at this time: in the traditional sense of ‘national cinema,’ this whole period could simply be ignored.⁴⁰ It is noteworthy also that four of the five tentative titles cited by Leon Hunt in his discussion of *Der Student von Prag* are non-German productions, since this too acknowledges that *all* the films in

circulation within Wilhelmine Germany, rather than only the German-made ones, had the capacity to inform native production.

In view once again of the centrality to my research of questions concerning consumption, and in particular, the ways in which contemporary audiences may have made sense of and read the motif of the *Doppelgänger*, I also chose to employ Higson's conceptualisation of national cinema, so that my survey included potentially all those films that had circulated in Wilhelmine Germany. At the same time, I felt it was important not to lose sight of the issue of nationality with regard to the films under discussion, since doing so would suggest that discourses of 'national cinema' did not circulate in Wilhelmine Germany and inform responses to and readings of individual films (which, as will become clear later, would certainly have been an inappropriate assertion). Therefore, although all titles are considered, certain distinctions in terms of nationality are still maintained.

The final issue to influence my choice of titles was periodisation. Here the decision taken was determined chiefly in relation to established periodical divisions within existing histories of early German film. For whereas the period up to the First World War, as noted above, has traditionally been configured as a 'domain of the *Doppelgänger*,' the cinema of the final four war-torn years of the *Kaiserreich* has instead been represented – in traditional and post-Pordenone accounts alike – as a province of militarism and propaganda. In particular, these years have tended to be symbolised through the establishment in 1917 of the forerunner to the celebrated Ufa film company, known as Bufa (*Bild- und Filmamt*, or 'Photograph and Film Office'), "a government agency [that] supplied the troops at the front with movie theatres and

also assumed the task of providing those documentaries which recorded military activities.”⁴¹

The period of the First World War was therefore excluded, because this had simply never been conceptualised as part of the ‘domain of the *Doppelgänger*.’⁴² Thus, only the Wilhelmine cinema *prior to* World War One was to be considered. Within this purview, the question remained of how to deal with the ‘special year’ of 1914, which saw both peace and war. As contemporary sources seldom give exact release dates, other than in the case of major productions, it would be almost impossible to determine whether individual films from 1914 had been released before or after the beginning of the war. However, it seemed implausible to think that the whole character of Wilhelmine cinema would have been altered immediately with the outbreak of hostilities on 4th August, and as Gerhard Lamprecht’s survey of German productions of this year attests, the majority of films released in the latter part of the year were either ‘held over’ from before the start of the war, or otherwise scarcely distinguishable from pre-war productions. Only around late December did a few war-themed pictures and newsreels begin to appear.⁴³ Therefore, it seemed reasonable to count all those films released in 1914 as a whole as ‘pre-war’ films for the purposes of this research. Ultimately, then, all films released in Germany from the date of the Skladanowsky Brothers’ first film-show in the nation, held in Berlin on 1st November 1895, through to the end of 1914 were counted as ‘pre-World War One’ films and included in the sample.⁴⁴

As broad a range of sources as could be located was consulted from which to draw up the list of *Doppelgänger* films. Herbert Birett’s survey of films released in Germany between 1895 and 1911 proved a useful starting point. In this work, Birett

provides details relating to just under 17,000 different titles, citing a reference in the contemporary trade press for each film listed, and usually reproducing a brief description of each film as given in the trade press.⁴⁵ For the years 1912 to 1914, which fall outside Birett's scope, it was necessary to undertake my own survey of the trade press, and in particular the two journals with the largest circulation during these years – *Die Licht-Bild-Bühne* and *Der Kinematograph* – were consulted in their entirety.⁴⁶ Furthermore, the film holdings of all member archives of FIAF (the *Fédération internationale des archives du film*) were considered, as well as the extant German censor records for this period (held mainly by the Bundesarchiv-Filmarchiv). For the years commencing with 1911, Birett had once again already undertaken the groundwork in respect of this latter source, in his *Verzeichnis in Deutschland gelaufener Filme*.⁴⁷ Over and above this, the collections of printed materials dating from 1895 to 1914 held by the Bundesarchiv-Filmarchiv and the Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek – comprising primarily sales catalogues, press clippings, lobby cards, movie heralds, and so forth – were consulted, along with all published texts on the cinema from this period in the collections of the Deutsche Film- und Fernsehakademie-Bibliothek and the German national library, the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz. In total, then, approximately 35,000 individual titles were considered in drawing up the list of *Doppelgänger* films released during this period.⁴⁸

Redefining the 'Domain of the *Doppelgänger*'

The above survey facilitated the inclusion of a quantitative element within this otherwise hermeneutic project. This was felt necessary in that, before theorising

about audience members' possible readings of films and attempting to determine available meanings of the figure of the *Doppelgänger* in these films, it would be useful in the first place to outline just which films might be implicated within this discussion. Both Kracauer and Eisner expect us to take it on good faith that the motifs and individual works they cite are representative of general trends "pervading films of all levels" – and thus, as we have seen, we are presented with a Wilhelmine cinema constructed as a '*Doppelgänger* cinema' on the basis of just two textual examples.⁴⁹ Likewise, the ten or so rediscovered *Doppelgänger* films that have entered the canon of early German cinema since the 1990 Pordenone festival reveal nothing about the typicality or atypicality of this motif other than that it is present within these few titles which happen to have survived. By undertaking a survey of all Wilhelmine primary sources available to me, I endeavoured to establish a corpus of *Doppelgänger* films that was arrived at not through personal preference, subsequent reputation or chance, but as the result of a statistical sample. From here, it was hoped that some basic statistics could be drawn up, indicating whether the motif of the *Doppelgänger* was indeed widespread throughout the Wilhelmine cinema, what distinct forms it may have taken, and in which genres of film it was prevalent. These quantitative findings could then serve as a basis for the qualitative project of exploring the possible meanings and readings of the *Doppelgängers* identified within the different types of film attested here.

Of course, in presenting – and undertaking statistical breakdowns of – this new corpus of *Doppelgänger* films, I am neither trying to assert this as yet another monolithic canon (of which the German cinema seems to have more than its share), nor attempting to accord 'scientific status' to these findings. The quantitative analyses undertaken here are intended merely as a means of delineating and categorising the

predominant types of Wilhelmine *Doppelgänger* film evidenced, with the explicit purpose of providing a framework within which to organise my subsequent qualitative research.

The filmography drawn up in accordance with the above criteria – and reproduced as *Filmography 1-1* in Volume Two – enumerates some 203 Wilhelmine *Doppelgänger* films, a figure that makes the ‘domain of the *Doppelgänger*’ seem to represent both ‘more and less’ than it has ever done before. On the one hand, this figure multiplies the number of *Doppelgänger* films known by a factor of almost twentyfold; while on the other, this now seems but a drop in the ocean of 35,000 titles sampled, meaning that less than 0.6% of all films identified as having been released in Wilhelmine Germany (or roughly one film in every 170) were *Doppelgänger* films. This is already instructive, and helps to position my research.

Certainly, my aim had never been to concur with Kracauer and Eisner’s reductive assessment of the Wilhelmine screen as a ‘*Doppelgänger* cinema’: although, of course, the danger always existed that an intervention such as this study – simply on account of its subject matter – might be seen to reinforce this notion. Rather, my tactics are akin to those employed by Elsaesser in his “Social Mobility” essay – not to simply refute such ‘received wisdoms’ (as Cherchi Usai and Codelli note, “challenging Kracauer is like pushing at an open door”), but moreover to demonstrate how the overexalted canons drawn up in Kracauer and Eisner’s accounts might be readdressed and their significance redefined.⁵⁰ In other words, this study sets out less to ‘prove’ that the motif of the *Doppelgänger* was not *all*-defining for the Wilhelmine cinema (which is obvious enough from the above percentage) than it does to indicate how restricted our knowledge of this seemingly overfamiliar motif

has been. By illustrating the diversity within the couple of hundred films that feature this one motif, I hope especially to imply that such *richesse* and multiformity might be considered to resonate throughout the Wilhelmine cinema as a whole, in films of all types and featuring all sorts of themes and motifs as yet unexplored.

Of the 203 films identified, extant copies (or partial copies) of forty-four could be located in FIAF member archives, or in other accessible collections (these are printed in **bold** type in *Filmography A*). These of necessity came to serve as the central cases for my qualitative research, although reference to the lost films is maintained throughout in an attempt to indicate the possible typicality or atypicality of individual texts under discussion. Although the number of films to have survived destruction or nitrate decomposition may seem rather small, this figure (representing about 22% of the 203 films) is actually more in line with estimates of the percentage of films to have survived from the silent era as a whole: a figure nearer 10% – at best – would be more usual for the pre-World War One years.⁵¹ The inflation of this figure here may be attributed to the use of extant print collections as a source for identifying *Doppelgänger* films. This may be regarded as a reminder that the sample of 35,000 titles considered is just that – a sample and no more – of the total number of films released within the Wilhelmine cinema, traces of many of which have disappeared even more completely.

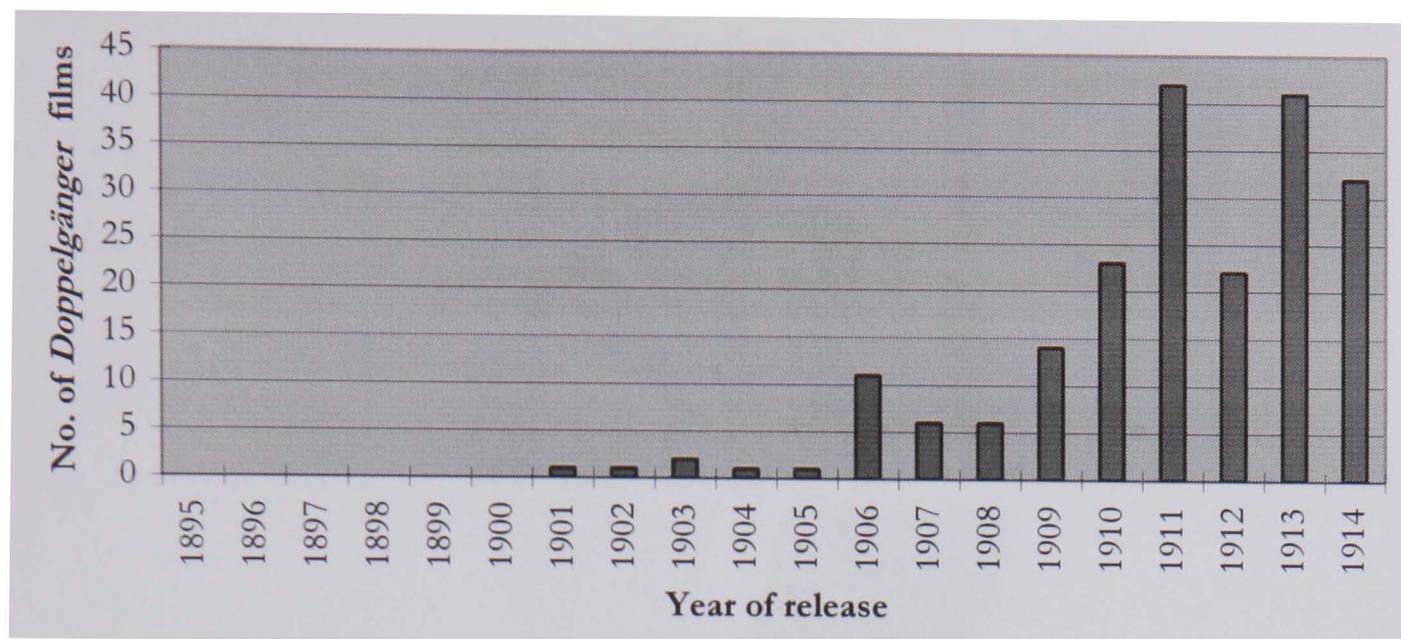


Figure 1 Breakdown of Wilhelmine *Doppelgänger* films by year of release

A breakdown of the 203 *Doppelgänger* films in terms of their year of release, as shown in *Figure 1* (above), underlines further the partiality of the sample. 186 of the films (or an enormous 92%) were released between 1907 and 1914; just seventeen (or 8%) between 1901 and 1906; and none whatsoever between 1895 and 1900. Accordingly, the *Doppelgänger* may seem like a motif of only the latter years of the pre-World War One cinema. However, the figures have here again been influenced by various particularities of the sources employed. As Frank Kessler and Sabine Lenk observe, the years prior to 1907 can be assessed only in a very limited way “due to incomplete runs of trade journals, like *Der Komet* (the paper of the fairground operators), or because dedicated cinema trade journals, such as *Der Kinematograph* only started being published in 1907.”⁵² Therefore, although this study (along with the majority of post-Pordenone research into early German cinema) focuses most strongly on the period after 1907, this is again out of necessity, and should not be taken to imply that the earlier years were necessarily less significant.

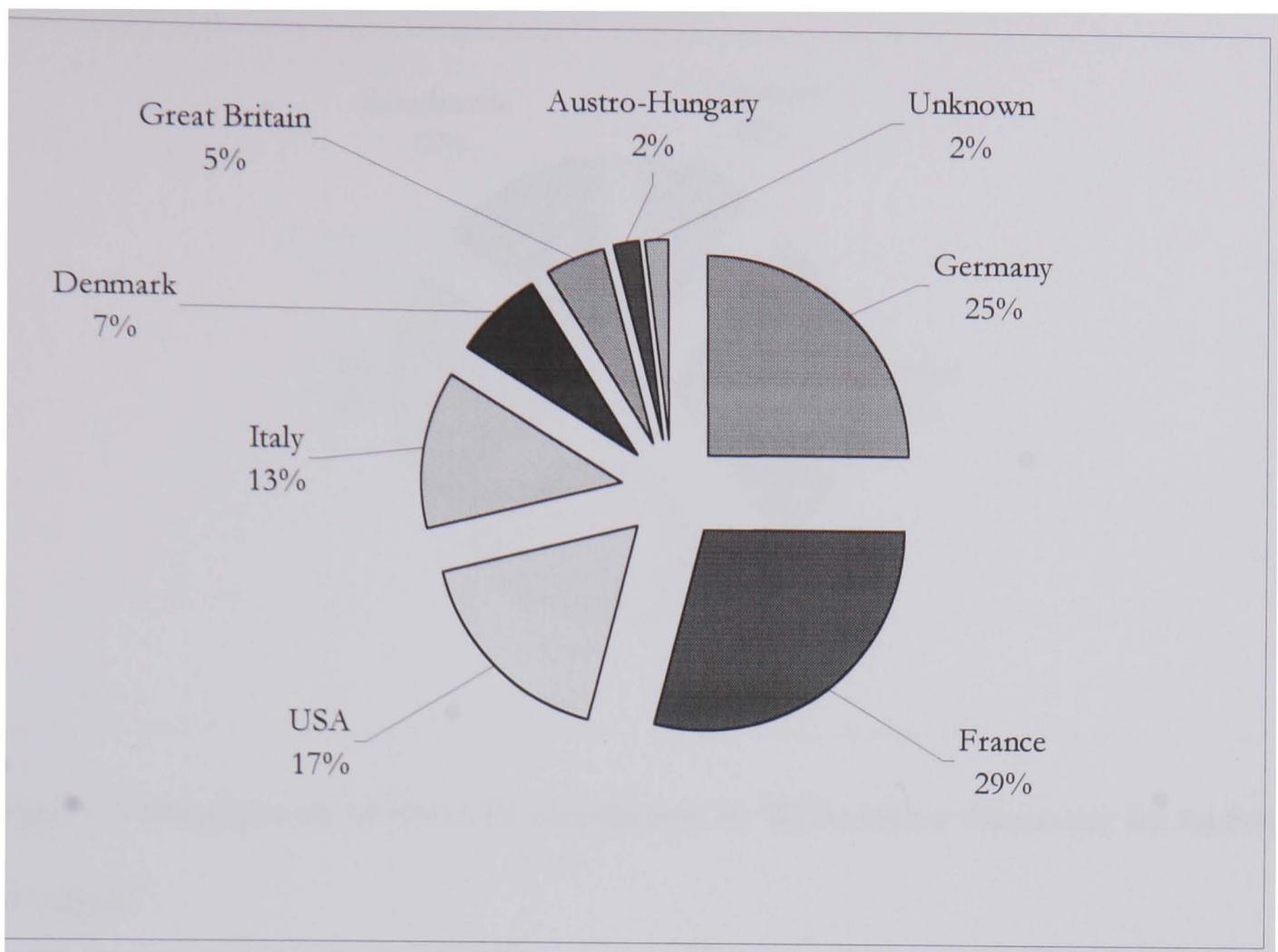


Figure 2 Breakdown of Wilhelmine *Doppelgänger* films by nation of origin

Interestingly, a breakdown of the corpus of *Doppelgänger* films in terms of nation of origin shows the sample to correspond more or less to the averages for this period cited in the contemporary trade press and, as Elsaesser notes, “roughly confirm[ed]” by Birett’s surveys of this period (compare *Figure 2* above and *Figure 3* overleaf).⁵³ Certainly, all the ‘major players’ are represented with approximately the same percentages that are attributed to them in the Wilhelmine cinema as a whole: in this sense, then, the *Doppelgänger* film might be considered as something of a ‘standard product’ within the output of all the significant film-producing nations. The one noticeable exception in this respect is Germany, which, while normally providing just 10% of the titles playing in German cinemas, can here be seen to have produced 25% of all the *Doppelgänger* films. It would be tempting to propose that, as a result of this statistic, perhaps it is not – after all! – so misguided to regard the *Doppelgänger* as a ‘particularly German’ motif. Once again, however, it is best to urge caution: most

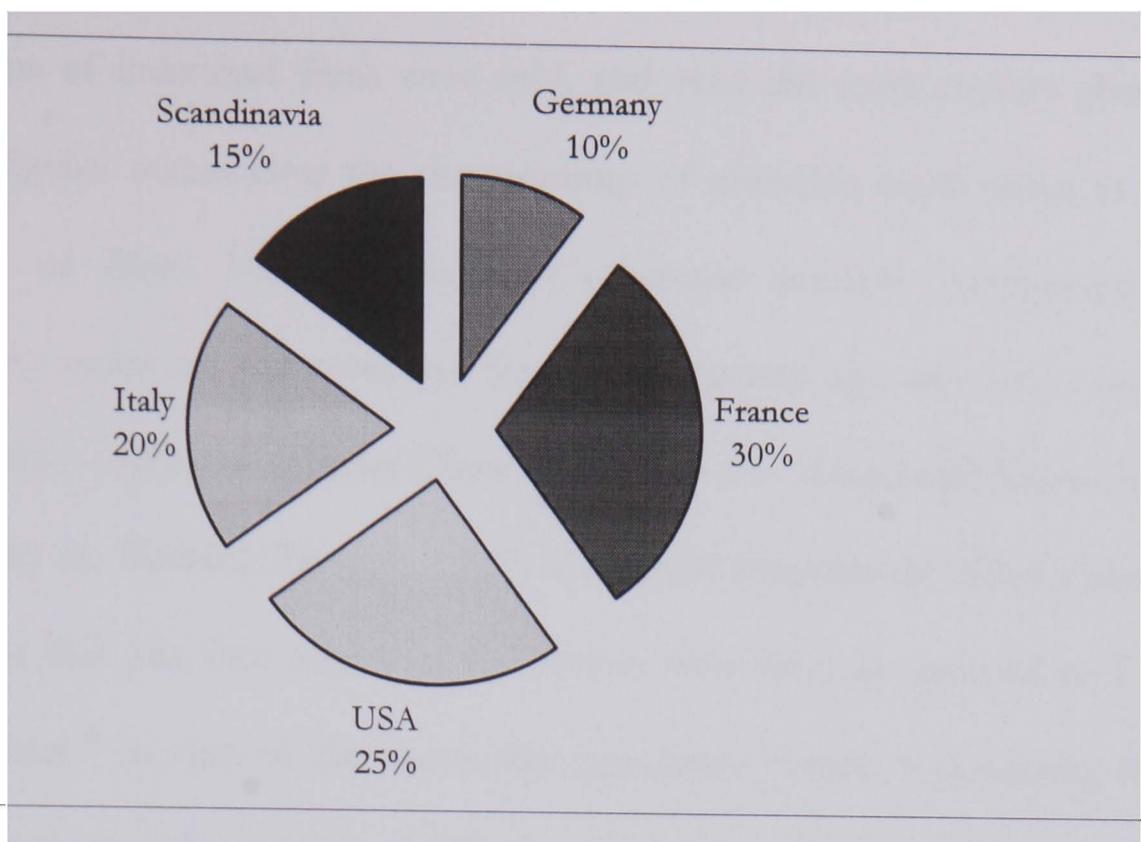


Figure 3 Breakdown of films in circulation in Wilhelmine Germany by nation of origin⁵⁴

likely, this figure has been artificially exaggerated due to the fact that the German trade press, sales catalogues and other primary documents which were so central in determining the sample all placed a special emphasis on German productions, but did not necessarily mention all foreign-made films in circulation. Furthermore, the archival collections referred to in Berlin likewise stress national production.

Of course, what is absent from all the above statistics – which are based only on the number of titles in circulation – is some relativisation in terms of how many prints of each title were distributed, and where and for how long these were shown. Such information – which is simply not available – would provide a means of establishing the degree of market penetration made by films of different nations and production companies, and, more particularly for the purposes of this research, the relative popularity of individual titles.⁵⁵ Only the records of the Danish production company Nordisk which have survived seem consistently to contain information on

how many prints of individual films were sold, and even the most cursory glance through these figures makes clear the shortcomings of affording equal status to all titles in a list of films. For example, two otherwise scarcely distinguishable *Doppelgänger* films made by the company featuring a trained ape that takes on a human dimension – *Affendiner* (*Monkey-Dinner*, 1908) and *Der Menschenaffe Konsul Peter* (*The Human Ape, or, Darwin's Triumph*, 1909) – become immediately differentiated when one learns that just four copies of the former were sold, as opposed to 173 copies of the latter.⁵⁶ In view of the above, the speculative nature of discussing the contemporary context and reception of different *Doppelgänger* films as if these had all enjoyed uniform popularity must clearly be acknowledged.

Dividing up the 203 *Doppelgänger* films identified by genre, as in *Table 1* (overleaf), simultaneously reveals the presence of a wide diversity of types of film in the Wilhelmine cinema and underscores the shift in focus that this corpus brings to the ‘domain of the *Doppelgänger*’ as constructed in Kracauer and Eisner’s accounts. This move is from a prescriptivist ‘national cinema’ defined through its relation to ‘art’ and ‘high culture,’ to a popular cinema that deals first and foremost in ‘entertainment’: a departure from the sombre fantasies of the pre-Caligari ‘expressionist’ dramas to the more fun-filled fancies of a body of films of which nearly half (or 46%) are comedies. Indeed, just twenty-one of the films in this new corpus were advertised as ‘art films’ (or in the contemporary vernacular, *Kunstfilms* and *Autorenfilms*), meaning that this symptomatic representative of traditional ‘national cinemas’ must itself be viewed as but one of many subgenres (none of which is irrelevant, but none of which occupies a hegemonic position) within the cinema of the nation.

Genre	No. of Films
Comedy	94
Drama	64
Detective Film	20
Performance Film	11
Trick Film	7
Re-enacted Actuality	5
Chase Film	2

Table 1 Breakdown of Wilhelmine *Doppelgänger* films by genre

The final statistical division of the 203 *Doppelgänger* films that I wish to undertake here is in terms of the thematic type of *Doppelgänger* evidenced. Broadly, two distinct types of *Doppelgänger* film can be identified: those in which a single character undergoes a transformation between Self and Other (or between a ‘Jekyll state’ and a ‘Hyde state’) and thereafter vacillates between these two positions – either in terms of ‘split personality’ or ‘manifest doubling’ (see *Table 2*, overleaf); and those in which two separate but identical-looking characters are portrayed as opposites (see *Table 3* on p.51).⁵⁷ The former type is by far the more prevalent, and therefore becomes the central object of my qualitative research. In categorising the films of this type, Elsaesser’s analysis of *Der Student von Prag* in his “Social Mobility” essay served as an inspirational model for classifying the *Doppelgängers* in these films within the frame of identity. For just as Elsaesser observes that the duality of Balduin, the hero of *Der Student von Prag*, is predicated on the axes of *class identity*, as he vacillates between his Jekyll state of penniless student and his Hyde state of gold-laden initiate to aristocratic society, so the *Doppelgängers* in the other films of this type can be seen also to be constructed within various frames of identity, such as class, gender, ethnicity and so forth, as outlined in *Table 2*.

Theme	Total no. films of this type	Jekyll state	Hyde state	No. films of this subtype
Class	65	Low class	High class	49
		High class	Low class	16
Gender/ Sexuality	50	Male	Female	33
		Female	Male	17
Race/ Ethnicity	18	White	Black	12
		Black	White	3
		White	Oriental	1
		White	Gypsy	1
		Old World	New World	1
Species	16	Simian	Human	9
		Human	Simian	7
Authenticity	16	Human	Mechanical reproduction	14
		Human	Promethean creation	1
		Human	Supernatural copy	1
Mortality	4	Alive	Dead	4

Table 2 Breakdown of Wilhelmine *Doppelgänger* films (featuring doubles) by theme

From here, an initial rubric could be established under which to examine the films qualitatively, in terms of the distinct frames of identity thematised. In other words, those specific frames of identity most widely attested in *Table 2* could each be discussed separately within this research: so that Chapter 3 is concerned with class – and particularly, social elevation from lower to upper class; Chapter 4 with female gender; Chapter 5 with male sexuality; Chapter 6 with white ethnicity; and Chapter 7 again with class – this time, primarily in terms of social descent from upper to lower class. Meanwhile, the second general type of *Doppelgänger* film, identified in *Table 3* (overleaf), is addressed in Chapter 2 with regard to the centrality of ‘doubleness’ as an intended source of visual pleasure within these films. Clearly, this visual aspect is a

Theme	Total no. films of this type	Description	No. films of this subtype
Mistaken identity	16	Lookalikes portrayed as opposites	16
Twins	16	Identical twins portrayed as opposites	11
		Siamese twins as spectacle	3
		Identical twins as spectacle	2
Dual/ multiple role	10	Multiple starkly differentiated roles played by one actor	10

Table 3 Breakdown of Wilhelmine Doppelgänger films (featuring lookalikes) by theme

characteristic of the *Doppelgänger* film in general, and in these particular films, the main *raison d'être* is indeed often to present their *Doppelgänger* figures quite self-consciously as spectacle.

In order to sharpen further the focus of the chapters in which the *Doppelgänger* would be considered with reference to a distinct frame of identity, the figures for the number of films of each of the five types selected were broken down also in terms of genre. As a result, it proved possible to identify certain genres within which each type of *Doppelgänger* had been especially prevalent, as shown in *Table 4* (overleaf). From here, the type of film discussed within each chapter becomes delimited both in terms of frame of identity thematised *and* genre (as represented by those figures in **bold** type in *Table 4*): so that Chapter 3 is now concerned with class and social elevation in the detective film (although more dramas featured this type of *Doppelgänger*, only one such film remained extant, meaning that the slightly less

Frame of identity	Total no. films of this type	No. of comedies	No. of dramas	No. of detective films	No. of trick films	No. of re-enacted actualities	No. of these sold as art films
Class (social elevation)	49	3	27	14	0	5	4
Female gender	17	13	4	0	0	0	0
Male sexuality	33	28	2	3	0	0	1
White ethnicity	18	15	2	0	1	0	0
Class (social descent)	16	4	10	2	0	0	10

Table 4 Breakdown of prevalent types of Wilhelmine *Doppelgänger* films (featuring doubles) by theme and genre

prevalent detective genre was chosen instead); Chapter 4 with female gender in the *Hosenrolle* (or female-to-male drag) comedy; Chapter 5 with male sexuality in the *Rockrolle* (or male-to-female drag) comedy; Chapter 6 with white ethnicity in skin-colour transformation comedies; and Chapter 7 with class and social descent in the art film.

As a means of moving away from the monolithic construction of the audience found in Kracauer and Eisner's accounts, each chapter furthermore seeks to investigate the question of reception by considering each type of *Doppelgänger* film under discussion from the theoretical viewpoint of its distinct reception by members of one specific social grouping within Wilhelmine society. Specifically, this means that each genre of *Doppelgänger* film is addressed in terms of how its works might have been read by members of those groupings whose social experiences are implicated in these films' fantasies. In this way, just as Elsaesser reads *Der Student von Prag* with reference to the social experience of the petite bourgeoisie, so the films concerning class and social elevation are considered in Chapter 3 in terms of their

significance for lower class audiences with aspirations of social ascent; the films concerning female gender in Chapter 4 are addressed in terms of their reception by female spectators who were indeed being afforded access to a hitherto ‘male world’ through the efforts of the turn-of-the-century women’s movement; and so forth. In other words, then, the possible significance of these films’ fantastic scenarios is explored throughout from the reading position of an ‘imaginary’ audience that occupied a comparable position within Wilhelmine society to the *Doppelgänger* figures in these films. Obviously, the implication here is that these audiences would have associated most strongly with the scenarios and *Doppelgänger* figures of these films, since these fantastic representations corresponded to a greater or lesser degree with their own social realities, aspirations and fantasies.

Thus, this research engages with those reception theory approaches that stress the heterogeneous construction of the audience, within which members of different groupings are seen to produce their own distinct readings of filmic texts. These distinct readings have been conceptualised most commonly in terms of the paradigms of polysemy, and more recently, polyvalence. Theories of polysemy – which, as Jackie Stacey has noted, often tend to be polemical with revisionist intent – maintain that any number of meanings might be attributable to any given text, since each individual reader or spectator approaches it as what Ian Breakwell and Paul Hammond term a “subjective experience” bound up in the “idiosyncratic detail” and “personal dreamworld” of that unique individual.⁵⁸ For example, as Dorothy Hobson concludes in her 1982 television study, *Crossroads: The Drama of a Soap Opera*:

To try to say what *Crossroads* says to its audience is impossible for there is no single *Crossroads*, there are as many different *Crossroads* as there are viewers. Tonight twelve million, tomorrow thirteen million: with thirteen million possible understandings of the programme.⁵⁹

While interventions of this type were instructive in highlighting and dislocating the way in which many writers on film had hitherto attributed only a single meaning to any text, such a conceptualisation would evidently prove largely unworkable in academic practice due to the potentially infinite fragmentation of any results. It is from this starting point that theorists such as David Morley and Celeste Condit have suggested the concept of polyvalence as part of a combined semiotic-sociological approach to classifying audience interpretation and reception.

These theorists have criticised the notion of infinite textual polysemy by pointing out that this effectively transforms readers into writers, who are able to interpret texts in any way they choose. Morley argues:

Audiences do not see only what they want to see, since a message [...] is not simply a window on the world, but a construction. While the message is not an object with one real meaning, there are within it signifying mechanisms which promote certain meanings [...] and suppress others: these are the directive closures encoded in the message.⁶⁰

The available parameters for reading are not, then, undefined and therefore potentially infinite, but rather delimited within the text. As Condit observes, “it is not a multiplicity or instability of textual meanings, but rather a difference in audience evaluations of shared denotations, that best account[s] for [...] viewers’ discrepant interpretations.”⁶¹

How audience members occupy different reading positions can be considered sociologically. In order to avoid conceptualising the audience as either a monolith or the product of infinite fragmentation, Morley advises that “[i]t might be better to think of the audience less as a mass of individuals than as a complicated pattern of overlapping subgroups and subcultures, within which individuals are situated.”⁶² The boundaries of these subgroups and subcultures can usefully be defined in terms of certain commonly accepted constructs of identity, such as age, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, religion or class. After all, individuals usually locate themselves within such groupings in ‘real life,’ and thereby acknowledge the similarity of their socio-culturally differentiated position and world-view to those of other members of that grouping. Thus, the researcher can establish the heterogeneity of audience reading positions in more workable terms of larger social groupings, although at the same time necessarily observing that these categories are employed as socially constructed shorthand, and not as some monolithic stereotype.

From here, an attempt can be made to identify the discursive agencies through which members of these groupings establish meaning, in order to try to ‘reconstruct’ their reading positions and possible readings, as outlined earlier in this chapter. In particular, this might involve a consideration of those discourses circulating among members of these groupings that help to define how membership and exclusion are effected within the grouping, and how its members might perceive or relate to given signifiers under discussion.⁶³

For my research, this meant that a wide-ranging survey was undertaken of Wilhelmine primary sources relating to the distinct categories of identity considered within individual chapters: class, gender, sexuality and ethnicity. This took the form

of a broad sampling of texts addressing and discussing these frames of identity held in the collections of the various archives and libraries visited, and in particular the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, whose holdings of printed material from this period are by far the most extensive in Germany. Works of all types were drawn on, so that the sample included mass-distribution newspapers and magazines, popular fiction and textbooks, cabaret and variety sketches, literary and theatrical works, as well as contemporary specialist and academic publications. Special attention was paid to the ways in which the idealised 'Jekyll and Hyde states' of these identities (such as 'white and black' in the case of ethnicity, or 'upper and lower' in the case of class) were constructed and represented within these texts. More particularly, the significance attributed to occupying an 'intermediate' position between these two polarities was examined, since this would correspond to the space inhabited by the various *Doppelgänger* figures as they vacillated between two such ideals within the fantasies of the *Doppelgänger* films. By analysing and citing from these selected examples of contemporary discourse surrounding identity, it becomes possible to suggest readings of these films that may have been available to members of those social groupings who were implicated within their fantasies. Of course, both their own identities and their readings of these films – which latter, it might be argued, could have approximated a kind of (conscious or unconscious) self-analysis of their own social experience and fantasies – would have been embedded within such discourse. Ultimately, then, although this is intended first and foremost as a study of the *Doppelgänger*, it may be regarded also as an investigation into the construction of social identities within Wilhelmine Germany.

Theories of the *Doppelgänger*

Examples of this type of approach, which consists in drawing connections between the fantastic fictions of the *Doppelgänger* and contemporary social experience, can be evidenced in some previous work undertaken into the *Doppelgänger*. Obviously, there is Elsaesser's reading of *Der Student von Prag* in his "Social Mobility" essay, which served as the initial inspiration for my research. However, we also find Schlüpmann reading the 'split personality' of the lawyer Hallers in *Der Andere* as a representation of the fears of a conservative bourgeoisie that perceived itself to be losing its power to define contemporary cultural and social mores (its 'Jekyll state'), and which felt that it was being drawn against its will into acknowledging various oppositional (or 'Hyde state') 'countercultures' that had gained a foothold in Wilhelmine society. Furthermore, it was finding itself obliged to reach compromises with these countercultures merely in order to maintain any kind of role for itself within that society (the '*Doppelgänger* condition' of being simultaneously Jekyll *and* Hyde). Specifically, this included having to 'share' the public sphere with perceived 'lower' forms of cultural and social expression, rubbing shoulders on a daily basis within the new urban landscape with members of the working classes or emancipated, working women. This is epitomised in the film by the scenes at the pub '*Zur lahmen Ente*,' which becomes the central location for the machinations of the 'other' Hallers, as he mingles with both the lower classes and free-willed women. Such a reading can be related also to the state of the German cinema at this time, Schlüpmann argues further, as *Der Andere* was itself produced in late 1912 by representatives of bourgeois interests and marketed as an *Autorenfilm* that promised to bring high cultural values to the 'countercultural' (i.e. perceived 'unworthy') cinema, thereby purporting to knit together the seemingly oppositional discourses of

'art' and 'entertainment' by producing a neoteric compromise with its own 'Doppelgänger condition.'⁶⁴

More surprisingly, Kracauer also momentarily breaks free from teleology within his reading of *Der Student von Prag* in *From Caligari to Hitler*, and considers the position of its *Doppelgänger* protagonist in relation to issues of class in Wilhelmine society (albeit in an emotive, somewhat Romanticised fashion):

[The *Doppelgänger*] was an old motif surrounded by a halo of meanings, but was it not also a dreamlike transcription of what the German middle class actually experienced in its relation to the feudal caste running Germany? [...] The current phrase, 'the two Germanys,' applied in particular to the differences between the ruling set and the middle class – differences deeply resented by the latter. Yet notwithstanding this dualism the Imperial government stood for economic and political principles which even the liberals were not unwilling to accept. Face to face with their conscience they had to admit that they identified themselves with the very ruling class they opposed. They represented both Germanys.⁶⁵

In a more sustained way, Ralph Tymms in his 1949 study *Doubles in Literary Psychology* and Andrew Webber in his 1996 work *The 'Doppelgänger': Double Visions in German Literature*, connect the *Doppelgänger* in Romantic literature to changing human experience "in and around the nineteenth century," by framing it within shifting notions of subjectivity and identity within modernity.⁶⁶ Both portray the recurrent motif of the *Doppelgänger* as a predominantly German phenomenon, delimiting their canons of *Doppelgänger* literature in terms of the works of selected celebrated writers: in particular, Jean Paul Richter, E. T. A. Hoffmann and Heinrich von Kleist. However, both notably admit a limited amount of non-German Romantic fiction into their discussions as well – such as Stevenson's ubiquitous *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*

and the writings of Edgar Allan Poe – so that it is never represented as an *exclusively* German motif.

Tymms and Webber's observations connecting the *Doppelgänger* to contemporary human and social experience can be divided broadly into three categories. Firstly, they note how new possibilities of mechanical reproduction following the Industrial Revolution – in particular, automation and, in the latter part of the century, photography and phonography – accentuated questions of 'original versus copy,' disrupting perceptions of 'the original' as something stable and unique by seemingly rendering it both infinitely reproducible and therefore replaceable. The *Doppelgänger*, it is suggested, may be regarded as a representation of this potential translated onto the human body, which in many of these tales becomes reproduced by means of modern technologies to create the *Doppelgänger* that thereafter threatens to replace the human original outright. For example, in Hoffmann's *Der Sandmann* (*The Sandman*) from 1816, the female automaton Olimpia for a long time replaces biological woman – as represented through the character of Clara – in the romantic life of the story's protagonist, Nathanael; while in Stevenson's seminal narrative, Dr. Jekyll employs the paraphernalia of the modern scientific laboratory in order to produce his own oppositionally defined 'copy' in the form of Mr. Hyde, which latter effectively comes to replace Dr. Jekyll by gaining the autonomic ability to appear and to assert himself whenever he chooses.⁶⁷

As Webber notes, the *Doppelgänger* in this context "at once threatens and underpins the objective claims of realism; it has something of the effect of a photographic negative."⁶⁸ That is to say, as a representation of mechanical reproduction, it destabilises contemporary perceptions by on the one hand seeming

to reinforce the stability of the 'original' by opening up the possibility of recording its existence – while on the other, conversely appearing to dilute the power of this original by transforming it into a commonplace, everyday, replaceable item. Thus, the *Doppelgänger* (and, by analogy, mechanical reproduction) can be seen as the subject of ambivalence – a sentiment that Robert Young has defined as “simultaneous attraction toward and repulsion from an object, person or action.”⁶⁹ This ambivalence resonates not only through the construction of the *Doppelgänger* within these narratives – for example, Olympia is at once the object of scopophilic desire, as a showman's exhibit, and of disgust, as a perceived mockery of biological humanity – but also through the very selection of this motif on the part of these Romantic writers, who return to it with repeated fascination, only to treat it consistently as a monstrous harbinger of doom. As Dieter Wuckel and Bruce Cassiday write in their overview of *Der Sandmann*:

Such tales bear witness, on the one hand, to interest in mechanical works of art, and on the other, to a repugnance for distorted images of the human spirit and human creativity.⁷⁰

The second general observation made by Tymms and Webber is that the *Doppelgänger* in Romantic literature can be related to the appearance of so-called 'modern consciousness' around this time. Just as the copies generated by mechanical reproduction are seen to disrupt the status of 'the original' as a unique, defining foundation, so the emanation of oppositional Others from within the body of the Self destabilises this latter in its function as the supposedly fixed and defining centre of identity. As Hugh Silverman notes, the construction of the Self as fixed foundation of identity gives way within modernity to a more fragmentary conceptualisation, as indicated by the new philosophical doctrines such as empiricism

– which sought to record human experience by tabulating its many *different* articulations – and psychology (and later, psychotherapy and psychoanalysis), which constructed the individual as a dichotomic subject possessing both an inner and an outer Self. Tymms and Webber suggest that it is this unsettling shift in consciousness – on the abstract level – that is given concrete form in the figure of the *Doppelgänger* within Romantic literature. Once again, ambivalence is a part of this configuration, as the destabilising of identity within the two abovementioned doctrines, for example, is counterpointed by their converse attempts to redetermine its fixity: empiricism is typically employed to reaffirm the presumed centrality of Western socio-cultural ‘norms’ within the world order; while psychology seeks to centre the individual subject about the constant of the ego.⁷¹

The third observation by Tymms and Webber that I wish to mention here is bound up in the *Doppelgänger*'s function as a representation of shifts in both modern consciousness and modernity in general – namely, “the challenge of the *Doppelgänger* to received ideas of identity.”⁷² Specifically, this relates to what Webber terms the “subversive” qualities of the *Doppelgänger*, in that – like modernity – it tears at the heart of conservative values and establishes *its own new ones*, constructed through the fusion of these pre-existing values with countercultural ones that seem to emancipate all that has hitherto been suppressed, treated with disdain, and regarded as oppositional.⁷³ This is very much the argument propounded by Schlüpmann in her reading of the character Hallers in *Der Andere*. In short, this subversiveness lies in the creation of distinct new identities – one might say ‘*Doppelgänger* identities’ – located *between* the oppositional poles of ‘Jekyll state’ and ‘Hyde state.’ Some obvious ‘real world’ examples here might include the new possibilities for identity opened up by feminist and socialist discourses in Germany (and elsewhere) from the late

nineteenth century: with the former now constructing female subjects between traditional female identity and the hitherto male provinces of freedom of action, entrance into the workplace, financial independence, and so on; and the latter seeking to bring equality to all by breaking down traditional notions of upper and lower class within a single, shared, classless position. It is such new possibilities of identity that the figure of the *Doppelgänger* can be seen to represent.

All the above themes – of mechanical reproduction, modern consciousness and shifts in identity – recur in my own research into the *Doppelgänger*. However, my work is distinct from that of Tymms and Webber in significant ways. Most obviously, I consider the motif in the cinematic, rather than the literary, context. Furthermore, I address the *Doppelgänger* in terms of its various distinct manifestations (as enumerated in *Tables 2, 3 and 4*, above), as opposed to grouping together these quite disparate taxa within author-centred canons. As will be seen, the notion of films possessing an author (either in terms of a director or scriptwriter) enjoyed little currency in the early cinema until around 1913 anyway, so that an *auteurist* approach would be inappropriate. Over and above this, my research focuses on the use and possible meanings of the *Doppelgänger* within a specific twenty-year period in Wilhelmine Germany, rather than seeking to account for its possible significance throughout the rather expansive – not to mention vague and abstracted – period described as “in and around the nineteenth century.”⁷⁴ Most importantly of all, however, both Tymms and Webber adopt a psychoanalytic approach, so that neither of them looks in any substantial detail at the contemporary discourses within which individual texts were embedded – instead treating these narratives as “psychoanalytic case-histories” of their protagonists.⁷⁵ Neither, accordingly, includes in this context

the kind of ‘real world’ examples, such as feminism and socialism, that I mention above.

As Clifford Hallam noted in 1981, “the *Doppelgänger* motif in recent decades is almost invariably informed by psychoanalytic theory.”⁷⁶ Those writers who have addressed the *Doppelgänger* in Romantic literature from a psychoanalytic perspective – including not just Tymm and Webber, but also Wilhelmine Krauss in 1930 and Robert Rogers and Carl Keppler in the 1970s, among many others – have drawn most often on Freud’s celebrated essay “*Das Unheimliche*” (“The ‘Uncanny’”), first published in 1919.⁷⁷ Although representing an exploration of ‘the uncanny’ in general, Freud focuses special attention on the *Doppelgänger* (which becomes more or less synonymous with the term ‘the uncanny’ in the latter part of the essay), particularly in the writings of Hoffmann. Freud makes broadly the same three points relating to modernity and modern consciousness that are outlined above, and furthermore undertakes to examine these (historical) examples – as indeed do all the subsequent writers – in terms of their ostensible significance within the (ahistorical) domain of the psyche.

Freud argues that the *Doppelgänger* – as the oppositional, ‘other’ Self – constitutes an embodiment of all that has been repressed; of what have been described by Jean Laplanche and Jean-Bertrand Pontalis as “those endogenous excitations whose intensity makes them too unpleasurable.”⁷⁸ Thus, the *Doppelgänger* can be seen as a kind of ‘return of the repressed,’ as a constituent part of the Self that has not been dealt with comprehensively (‘surmounted’ in Freud’s terminology), but merely placed to one side, therefore still endowed with the potential to be revived at any moment. Or, Freud argues further, the uncanny (as exemplified through the

Doppelgänger) can arise when “primitive beliefs which have been surmounted seem once more to be confirmed.”⁷⁹ Obviously, it is possible to suggest that such a psychoanalytic perspective runs parallel to the third point made above from a sociological standpoint, wherein minorities – who are either actively suppressed by the dominant order, or simply ignored by it if they are believed to have been ‘placed under control’ already – reassert themselves in a challenge to this established hegemonic order.

Freud notes also that, inasmuch as the *Doppelgänger* represents a revival of “infantile complexes which have been repressed,” it can be seen to effect simultaneously both a loss and the attainment of psychological ‘wholeness.’⁸⁰ This loss is conceptualised with reference to the castration complex, the anxiety that the Self can be ‘mutilated’ – stripped of its phallic power and assumed supremacy – and thus transformed into the Other (as represented by the *Doppelgänger*), which is constructed in terms of this very lack. As David Lloyd has put it:

it is the sense given to the visual as a mark of identity and of difference reinterpreted as the mutilation of identity that structures the Subject in its very identity as always subject to the ineradicable threat of a difference upon which it depends.⁸¹

In this context, Freud makes particular reference to Hoffmann, in whose tales the uncanny (or the *Doppelgänger*) appears, he suggests, as a “disturber of love,” thereby rendering the protagonist effectively impotent (and thus symbolically castrated, and incomplete) – and therefore synonymous with the Other, defined also in terms of its lack, since it represents only a partial Self.⁸²

Meanwhile, an idealised ‘wholeness’ is seen to be attained through the *Doppelgänger* condition of being both Self and Other (or Jekyll and Hyde), as this double presence represents a ‘bringing together’ of both repressed and unrepressed elements to create a new and complete subject who is consequently free from repression (since he or she has become one with his or her ‘other’ Self). This point is expounded especially by Krauss, who takes this as the central focus for the readings in her *Das Doppelgängermotiv in der Romantik*.⁸³ Of course, these psychoanalytic conceptualisations of the *Doppelgänger* as simultaneously eliciting loss and the attainment of psychological wholeness again establish the theme of ambivalence as a central characteristic of the *Doppelgänger* condition.

Although the adoption of a psychoanalytic approach (which has a strong tendency towards ahistoricism and non-individuation of members of different social groupings) within my research would run contrary to the project of constructing a history of discourses and contemporary reception, I am however interested in psychoanalysis insofar as psychoanalytic discourse may have had the potential to inform contemporary audience members’ readings of *Doppelgänger* films during the *Wilhelmine period*. Therefore, my interest in Freud’s “*Das Unheimliche*” lies more in his acknowledgement that he has taken the argument concerning the *Doppelgänger* as mechanical reproduction from a 1906 essay by E. Jentsch, “*Zur Psychologie des Unheimlichen*,” and the conceptualisation of the *Doppelgänger* as a castrative ‘disturber of love’ from Otto Rank’s 1914 study “*Der Doppelgänger*.”⁸⁴ Indeed, Rank for me comes to serve, in Chapter 7, as a central case underlining the potential of psychoanalytic discourse to inform contemporary readings, since his observation that “the eerie *Doppelgänger* must disturb only ‘all hours of sweet company’” refers specifically to Balduin’s interrupted trysts with the Countess in *Der Student von Prag*: a

film which Rank states he had watched in the cinema only a short while ago, and which motivated him to undertake his study.⁸⁵

Likewise, my interest in Webber lies in particular in his tracing of the idea of the *Doppelgänger* as idealised wholeness to a 1905 article by Emil Lucka, “*Verdoppelung des Ich*,” or in his observation that significant elements of Rank’s 1914 study in which he relates the *Doppelgänger* to narcissism, can be identified in his earlier 1911 article, “*Ein Beitrag zum Narzissismus*.” The former article, significantly, did not appear in a specialist publication, but in the widely-read non-specialist annual *Preußische Jahrbücher* (somewhat akin to *Chambers’s Journal of Popular Literature, Science and Art* in Britain at this time).⁸⁶

Lucka, in his 1905 article, also emphasises “the distinction between good and bad selves which underlies all allegorical conceptions of the theme.”⁸⁷ This construction of the *Doppelgänger* on the basis of oppositional terms has been addressed throughout the literature, and in recent years has been conceptualised primarily in terms of the semiotic principle of meaning and identity through difference – the notion that one defines oneself (or an object) through reference to that which one (or it) is not. Thus, ‘good’ gains meaning only when contrasted with ‘evil,’ and ‘sour’ only through relation to ‘sweet’: or, put another way, ‘Jekyll-ness’ can be defined only in counterpoint to ‘Hyde-ness.’ Accordingly, oppositional terms are definitionally interdependent – and whatever mutual resistance or friction may exist between them is in fact necessary to their continued existence. As Peter Stallybrass and Allon White put it:

the 'top' attempts to reject and eliminate the 'bottom' for reasons of prestige and status, only to discover, not only that it is in some way frequently dependent upon the low-Other [...] but also that the top *includes* that low symbolically, as a primary eroticized constituent of its own fantasy life. The result is a mobile, conflictual fusion of power, fear, and desire in the construction of subjectivity: a psychological dependence upon precisely those Others which are being rigorously opposed and excluded at the social level.⁸⁸

Webber has summed up colourfully what this means for the *Doppelgänger*, as a fusion of oppositional terms:

The *Doppelgänger* and his abused or evicted host are radically at odds: the presence of the one is the absence of the other, the desire of the one displaces that of the other, and their dialogue can only take the form of a life-and-death agon of claims to the spoken 'I' – that is, of definitive contra-diction.⁸⁹

As Andrew Gibson has pointed out, there is of course more to 'Jekyll and Hyde' than simply 'Jekyll/Hyde' – there is also the 'and' that joins them. It is this *connection* between the oppositional terms that needs to be addressed in the greatest detail in research into the *Doppelgänger*, Gibson suggests, since this is what, after all, constitutes the '*Doppelgänger* condition.' Gibson puts forward the concept of 'hymen,' drawn from feminist studies, as a means for conceptualising this connection:

Jekyll and Hyde are not held in equilibrium. They may appear almost as much as each other, but the book itself is dominated by Jekyll-consciousness rather than Hyde-consciousness, by Utterson, Enfield, Lanyon and Guest as by Jekyll himself. [...] What has power everywhere, freezing Utterson's blood 'in his veins,' inflicting 'horror' on both Utterson and Enfield, 'submerging' Lanyon's mind in the most abject 'terror,' is the apprehension of the link, the connection, the hymen; the fact that the Jekyll the others know singly is also Hyde, and that the Hyde they know separately is also Jekyll. The terror is not so much of the other as of the

connection with the other. The shock for Utterson and Lanyon is that Jekyll and Hyde are neither distinct nor the same.⁹⁰

Of course, the concept of ‘hymen’ has been shown already to inform my research, as I consider not only the construction of the idealised ‘good’ and ‘bad’ states of various social identities in contemporary discourse, but more especially the construction and representation of ‘intermediate’ identities located between these ideals, in a position that is neither one thing nor the other – and nor indeed both, and which corresponds to that occupied by the *Doppelgänger* figures in the filmic texts under discussion.

Striking throughout the literature is the way in which the numerous theorists of the *Doppelgänger* treat its various distinct manifestations – such as, most obviously, ‘split personality’ and ‘manifest doubling’ – as though these are all absolutely synonymous. Even in those instances where writers like Tymms initially draw up a typology of the *Doppelgänger* – coining terms, as we have seen, like ‘double-by-division’ and ‘double-by-duplication’ – they collapse these distinctions within their case-studies, arguing that these different manifestations “constantly mingle.”⁹¹ Only Kracauer seems to question this, once again in his discussion of *Der Student von Prag* and *Der Andere* in *From Caligari to Hitler*. In the first film – a case of manifest doubling – Kracauer suggests that the “specific kind” of *Doppelgänger* attested indicates that, “[i]nstead of being unaware of his own duality, the panic-stricken Bald[u]in realizes that he is in the grip of an antagonist who is nobody but himself.” In the second case, however – of ‘split personality’ – such self-awareness is absent, so that the protagonist is instead “the victim of a compulsory sleep from which he emerges as ‘the other’” – implying, perhaps more sinisterly, that such dualism may be widespread, yet its sufferers oblivious to its effects (in a subplot of the film, Hallers’

maid, Amalie, is likewise shown to be an unwitting victim of this ‘compulsory sleep’).⁹²

Arguably, such distinctions may have been more apparent to Kracauer, writing on film, than to other theorists of the *Doppelgänger*, who were concerned with literature. When rendered as visual or cinematic representations, these two manifestations of the *Doppelgänger* differ in quite pronounced ways: with ‘manifest doubling’ predicated on the simultaneous appearance on the screen of two representations of the lead character, and on the use of split-screen special effects; while ‘split personality’ involves only a single representation of the character on the screen, relying less on special effects than on a bravura performance on the part of the actor. Indeed, the issue of form needs to be considered throughout this research, and can not be dismissed as irrelevant, as it was in Eisner’s *The Haunted Screen*, following her assertion “that the German cinema is a development of German Romanticism, and that modern technique (i.e. cinematography) merely lends a visible form to Romantic fancies.”⁹³

Webber, for instance, remarks upon “the characteristic visuality of *Doppelgänger* texts” in Romantic literature – which are consistently concerned with perceptions and misperceptions, patterns of symmetry, and exhibition and scopophilia – suggesting that this imbued them with a certain ‘potential’ to be rendered in visual terms that the silent cinema was able to exploit, offering “new fantasy scenes for the *Doppelgänger* to haunt, and in particular, a new potential for the special effects of double vision.”⁹⁴ In the pre-cinematic period, this potential for visuality had also been realised, as can be seen, for instance, in the use of George Cruikshank’s plates to illustrate practically every German, French, English and Italian

edition of Adelbert von Chamisso's 1814 short story of a man and his shadow Self, *Peter Schlemihls wundersame Geschichte* (*Peter Schlemihl's Wondrous Story*), following their initial inclusion in the English-language edition of 1824. This was attested in 1839 by Chamisso's publisher, Julius Hitzig, in his survey of the work's various editions. Likewise, Les Daniels notes that *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* was adapted for the stage only one year after its publication in 1886, and enjoyed the most illustrious career in Victorian and Edwardian theatre.⁹⁵

The distinctness of cinematic representations of the *Doppelgänger* has been noted, however, only rarely. For example, Frederick Palmer, writing in 1922 about John Barrymore's appearance in and as *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (Famous Players-Lasky, 1920), indicated the significance of formal issues by suggesting that the translation of the narrative from the written word to the screen rendered it in many ways more immediate and striking, since it now confronted the audience directly with representations of the protagonist's dualism. Furthermore, Palmer added, this sense of immediacy was intensified by the use of special effects which opened up quite new avenues for a literal representation of the *Doppelgänger* condition:

The novel use that is made of the dual role is interesting from the dramatic standpoint, and, furthermore, it seems to emphasize the allegorical meaning of the story in a vivid, unmistakable way. Through the miraculous feats of photography, the hideous, crouching Hyde seems actually to *fade into* the dignified Jekyll, and vice versa.⁹⁶

Perhaps even more interesting is Otto Rank's description, within his 1914 study, of the representation of the *Doppelgänger* in *Der Student von Prag* as "shadowy, fleeting, but impressive." The 'impressive' here seems to coincide with Palmer's suggestion that cinematic form renders the *Doppelgänger* narrative more direct and

intense. If we return from here, as Webber has done, to the arguments that the *Doppelgänger* can be seen as a representation of mechanical reproduction and of the fragmentation of the individual within modernity, then cinematic form – itself ‘shadowy,’ ‘fleeting’ and fragmentary, and a product of modernity and mechanical reproduction – can be seen to possess a special connection to that which it is representing.⁹⁷ Thus, one might suggest that the cinema – born of and into the same historical circumstances as the fictional *Doppelgänger* – constitutes a particularly apt means for representing the *Doppelgänger*: an argument that was put forward repeatedly, as we shall see later, within the contemporary advertising campaigns of certain Wilhelmine *Doppelgänger* films.

Theories of Early Cinema (I): Traditional Accounts

In focusing on the contemporary context and significance of the Wilhelmine *Doppelgänger* film, my research allies itself both to the substantial body of work on early German cinema that has grown up since the 1990 Pordenone festival, and in broader terms, to the body of research into early cinema in general that has appeared following the 1978 FIAF conference held in Brighton, *Cinema 1900 – 1906*. The Brighton conference is generally seen to mark a paradigmatic shift in the study of early cinema, heralding what Elsaesser has termed “a new historicism,” within which early film is considered with regard to its use by contemporary audiences and its place within the entertainment sector of the period.⁹⁸ This new historicism displaces a traditional paradigm that had held currency throughout the previous half-century, in which the history of early cinema was presented as a culturally unworthy locus of

presumed technological and artistic primitivism – and therefore as something fit only to be disdained and dismissed. Traditional histories were informed by a belief in the linear progress of modern industry, according to which the latest products of any industry must be evaluated as better and more advanced than all that has preceded them.⁹⁹ The early cinema – as the first chronological stage in the history of the film industry – therefore became regarded as the least advanced form, referred to throughout the overview histories by writers ranging from Terry Ramsaye and Paul Rotha in the 1920s and 1930s through to Léon Barsacq and David Robinson in the 1970s and 1980s as, variously, “primitive cinema,” the medium’s “first childish steps,” or simply “embryonic.”¹⁰⁰ Within this context of presumed artistic, technological and industrial primitivism, early cinema audiences also are scorned for having been uncivilised – after all, it is maintained, they were willing to tolerate such primitivism. Termed “primitive audiences,” “unsophisticated people,” or even “uneducated and ignorant,” they are conceptualised (with no reference to empirical data) in terms of bourgeois society’s undesired ‘others’ – as immigrants and the lower echelons of the proletariat.¹⁰¹

Such a linear construction of film history, in which each historical phenomenon constitutes a step forward, is necessarily selective and bound by teleology. This type of historicism is unable to accommodate notions of alterity, and presents change always in terms of progress that renders all previous forms obsolete: thus, for example, post-1927 sound cinema is portrayed not as a different form from silent cinema, but as something destined to ‘surpass’ and supersede silent film, while colour film, the use of which became widespread especially from the late 1930s, is depicted as an advance from – rather than an alternative to – black-and-white. Obviously, only examples that can be mobilised to support this linear evolution are

cited, while all other historical phenomena are written out of these histories. With regard to early cinema, this means that only those platforms of departure are included that can be contextualised as having led ultimately to the form of film production that was considered pre-eminent (i.e. as ‘the way the cinema *should* be’) at the time when these histories were written – namely, Hollywood feature-length narrative cinema.

Accordingly, traditional histories privilege narrative, feature-length and American movie-making to the exclusion of other possibilities, establishing a three-stage ‘natural ascent’ of these perceived ‘defining components’ of ‘the cinema as it was destined to be.’ These three chronological stages – between each of which a direct causal link can be posited – are (i) the technological invention of the medium in the 1890s; (ii) the appearance of narrative films from around 1903; and (iii) the attainment of art in feature-length films of the 1910s.¹⁰² In the first stage, film is portrayed as, to quote Richard Koszarski, “an engineer’s plaything.”¹⁰³ The main players here include Eadweard Muybridge, whose studies of movement in the 1870s and 1880s, achieved by photographing the same object in motion at intervals of 1/24th of a second or less, are regarded as the direct technological precursors to moving film. Muybridge is followed firstly by William Friese-Greene, who in 1889 undertook such studies on strips of celluloid, and then by Thomas Alva Edison, who in 1894 made a commercial enterprise of the Kinetoscope, a peep-show device allowing individual viewing of pictures on celluloid reels that appeared to move as these reels passed through a series of rollers. Finally, the film-show by the brothers Louis and Auguste Lumière at the Grand Café in Paris on 28th December 1895 is cited as the climax of this technological stage. Here, films were projected before a paying audience, and thus, as F. Maurice Speed puts it, “the movie as public

entertainment was born.”¹⁰⁴ The films selected to represent the Lumières, and seen to epitomise the technological cachet of the cinema in the 1890s as a scientific machine for the objective recording of images of everyday life, invariably include *La sortie des usines* (*Employees Leaving the Lumière Factory*) and *Arrivée d’un train à La Ciotat* (*The Arrival of a Train at La Ciotat Station*, both 1895).¹⁰⁵

The second stage – that of filmic narrativisation – is presented in terms of (r)evolutionary transformation, displacing the centrality of the Lumière-type films’ documentary images, of which audiences were, by the early 1900s, apparently wearying. As Edward Wagenknecht writes in *The Movies in the Age of Innocence*: “[the story-film] gave the movies a new lease of life just as the first novelty was wearing out, and revealed fascinating new glimpses of new, unexplored possibilities.”¹⁰⁶ This stage is exemplified through the lone figure of Edwin S. Porter of the Edison Company, whose films *The Life of an American Fireman* (1902) and, particularly, *The Great Train Robbery* (1904) are identified as ‘the first story-films’ *per se*. David Levy notes that Porter’s contribution, as conceptualised within the standard histories, was to determine that “the single shot, recording an incomplete piece of action, is the unit of which films must be constructed.”¹⁰⁷ In this way, Porter is shown to have overcome – single-handedly – the apparent shortcomings of the earlier ‘pre-montage’ stage, and at the same time to have paved the way for further ‘refinements’ of the medium by establishing this basic building-block for future filmmaking.¹⁰⁸

Such ‘refinements’ distinguish the third stage in early film’s ‘evolution,’ the establishment of the medium as an art form through feature-length narrative productions. This stage is characterised by what Terry Ramsaye, in *A Million and One Nights*, portrays as an increasing mastery over the building-blocks first identified by

Porter and the elaboration of these, through ever more involved editing and montage techniques, into a complex “syntax” or “grammar” of the film.¹⁰⁹ Such editing complexity is shown to have made possible the construction of ever longer and more intricate narrative films, until these finally attained feature-length. These ‘refinements’ in turn drew actors, designers and others from the so-called ‘legitimate’ stage to the screen, rendering it at last worthy of consideration as an art form, and of attendance by the middle classes. Although it is noted that this third stage commenced in France around 1908 with the so-called *films d’art* (‘art film’) movement, producing works such as *L’Assassinat du duc de Guise* (*The Assassination of the Duc de Guise*, S.C.A.G.L., 1908) and *La reine Elisabeth* (*Queen Elizabeth*, S.C.A.G.L., 1912), the apex of this stage is shown to have been attained by an “American film master,” David Wark Griffith, in particular in his *The Birth of a Nation* (Epoch Film Corp., 1915) and *Intolerance* (Wark Production Co., 1916).¹¹⁰

As should be clear, this linear history is constructed in the form of a narrative peopled by only a few ‘exemplary figures’ or ‘pioneering geniuses’ (primarily Americans such as Edison, Porter and Griffith) and their quintessential ‘masterpieces.’ This characteristic of narrative historiography is indeed referred to by Allen and Gomery as “the genius and masterpiece approach,” which – as Linda Schulte-Sasse has observed – “personali[s]es historical conflicts as interaction among individuals, thus precluding counterhegemonic histories and allowing ‘great’ men to stand in for broad structural factors.”¹¹¹ The reduction of the historical *dramatis personæ* and list of scenes to only a few ‘key’ figures and events also serves to simplify the narrative, enhancing its naturalising effect by making the evolutionary journey towards the present state of events appear yet more uncomplicated and, therefore, inevitable. Ultimately, then, this history is scarcely a record of historical events and

their contemporary significance, but rather a ‘founding myth’ of Hollywood cinema *qua* ‘the cinema,’ seeking to assert – through a reductive selection and contextualisation of historical phenomena – that the Hollywood classical narrative film should be regarded as cinema’s kismet and terminus.

However, this palimpsest history appears a precarious structure indeed that threatens to collapse whenever any attempt is made to introduce new material about the early period drawn from contemporary sources. This has given rise to the recurrent phenomenon within these standard histories of what could be termed the ‘stranded paragraph syndrome,’ wherein potentially disruptive material becomes relegated to a paragraph of its own that stands uncomfortably alone in the midst of the ‘accepted’ historical narrative. For instance, in Gilbert Seldes’ *Movies for the Millions* from 1937, we find the following:

It is worth recalling that as early as 1906 colour was used in the films, and pictures with synchronized sound – virtually talking pictures – were known almost from the beginning. By 1911 photography of sound had actually been recorded on the same film with a picture.¹¹²

Almost identical allusions to early sound and colour practices gain momentary access to the majority of standard accounts, including Wagenknecht’s *Movies in the Age of Innocence* or Liam O’Leary’s *The Silent Cinema*.¹¹³ Wagenknecht draws momentarily on his own experiences as a movie-going child in early 1910s Chicago to recall that film shorts of the ‘pre-narrative’ type were commonly exhibited alongside both short ‘story-films’ and feature-length art productions.¹¹⁴ He is unable to elaborate on this observation, since this would undermine the narrative of continual evolution, within which films of different ‘stages’ can not exist concurrently. Elsewhere, equally brief

incursions are made by all sorts of ‘stranded’ comments which, if expanded, could threaten to disrupt notions of early American cinema *qua* Hollywood cinema *qua* ‘the cinema.’ William Everson, for example, notes that no film industry existed in Hollywood prior to around 1910. Considering in particular Porter’s *The Great Train Robbery* – filmed around Delaware – Everson finds himself obliged, then, to coin the paradoxical term “Eastern Western,” revealing the inappropriateness of viewing Porter as a *Hollywood* pioneer.¹¹⁵ Meanwhile, both Wagenknecht and David Robinson remark further – despite the Hollywood-centricity of their histories – that it was *French* producers who enjoyed “almost total domination of world cinema in the years before the [First World War].”¹¹⁶ It is, as I have indicated, unsurprising that Wagenknecht and the others do not expand on these comments, since this might dislocate the very notion of early cinema as a locus of primitivism by breaking down certain axial dichotomies of ‘development’ such as colour versus black-and-white or sound versus silent.

Similar constructions of the early period as ‘founding myth’ can be found throughout histories of individual genres, movements and national cinemas. These accounts make no attempt to displace Hollywood-centric history, but rather complement it by establishing movements and national cinemas as *lesser alternatives* to Hollywood (because, ostensibly, they can never hope to challenge its industrial-symbolic hegemony), while genres are typically regarded as ‘merely’ subsets of the Hollywood cinema.

Accordingly, when the French avant-gardists ‘rediscovered’ the trick films of Georges Méliès in the late 1920s and proclaimed these “the only films of interest made prior to the Great War,” this estimation was bound up in their perception of

Méliès as a deployer of exclusively cinematic effects, such as jump cuts, double exposures and substitutions. In this way, he could be contextualised as a precursory exponent of the so-called ‘pure cinema’ practices prescribed by members of this later movement, delimiting their own notion of what the cinema *should* be in terms of the Laocoönian principle that what the medium alone can do, it *must* do. The issue of nationality seems relevant here as well, with a predominantly French movement enshrining an early French filmmaker as its pioneering genius.¹¹⁷

These same Méliès films have, meanwhile, become lionised elsewhere as the first representatives of the horror and science fiction genres: in this instance, the focus is on their ‘pre-generic’ subject matter, which might typically comprise Mephistophelian transformations, diabolism and interplanetary voyages aboard dirigibles. Similarly, Porter’s *The Great Train Robbery* has tended, within the phylogeny of the western, to be seen less as the first story-film than as ‘the first western’ on account of its subject matter. Relatively recently, early Japanese *jidai-geki* films (cinematic versions of celebrated kabuki plays) have also been subjected to a teleological historicism in the writings of certain Western researchers hunting for the antecedents of the *kaidan eiga* (or ‘ghost story’) genre for which the Japanese cinema would later gain international celebrity, through such films as *Kwaidan* (Ninjin Club/Bungei) and *Onibaba* (Kindai Eiga Kyokai/Tokyo Eiga, both 1964).¹¹⁸

Histories of the German cinema, with which I am centrally interested here, have likewise tended to construct the early period as a chimerical amalgam of the standard and the stranded. As we have seen already, writers such as Kracauer and Eisner dismiss the years prior to 1919 as – to quote Kracauer – “an archaic period insignificant in itself,” whose output can be disregarded as “the junk heap of early

films.”¹¹⁹ Kracauer clearly equates these ‘primitive films’ with ‘primitive audiences,’ describing this period as one during which “film had the traits of a young street arab; it was an uneducated creature running wild among the lower strata of society.”¹²⁰ Only those feature-length art films such as *Der Andere* and *Der Student von Prag* are deemed worthy of mention, contextualised as ‘pre-Caligari’ works of German expressionism – and thereby reinforcing the notion that this latter-day movement was destined to come to represent – in Kracauer’s words again – “the German film proper.”¹²¹

The same three-stage ‘evolution’ evidenced in the Hollywood histories – comprising technological invention, narrativisation and the attainment of art – is attested here also. In the German case, the first stage is exemplified by Max and Emil Skladanowsky, two itinerant showmen who – quite independently of Edison, the Lumières and others – devised a rather complex projector called the Bioskop, described as “a device derived from dissolving magic lantern practice using two loops of 54mm-wide film, and comprising two lenses and electrical arc lamps and a worm-gear intermittent that projected alternate frames from each band.”¹²² Significantly, the Bioskop was demonstrated publicly for the first time in Berlin on 1st November 1895, some eight weeks prior to the Lumières’ celebrated film-show at the Grand Café. The Skladanowskys are generally discounted as the originators of projected cinema as public entertainment, however, on account of their non-standard film and projection equipment.¹²³ This leaves the way open for Oskar Meißter, who is seen as Germany’s genius of the second stage, since it was he who introduced 35mm film and Lumière-type projectors to Germany – thereby bringing the technology into line with that used in other nations – and who started producing short ‘story-films.’¹²⁴

The third stage, with which we are familiar, is represented by *Der Andere* and *Der Student von Prag*, ushering in the Weimar expressionist cinema.

Notably, the Skladanowskys and Meßter tend to be afforded only the scantest attention throughout the Weimar-centric histories of German film, since these primarily ‘technological’ beginnings are deemed to have been without direct influence on such later works of high culture. In *From Caligari to Hitler*, for example, Kracauer dismisses the Skladanowskys in a single sentence, and dedicates just one paragraph to Meßter.¹²⁵ The ‘stranded paragraph syndrome’ is again in evidence throughout. For example, within his short section on Oskar Meßter, Kracauer comments that between 1903 and 1914, Meßter-Film was a major producer of *Tonbilder*, or sound-on-disc films (the ‘virtually talking pictures’ of Seldes’ account). Later, Kracauer makes the *non sequitur* observation that “big film studios” were built at Tempelhof and Neubabelsberg in Berlin during “the last four prewar years.” This is at odds with his assertion of the inconsequentiality of the German industry (under foreign domination) prior to the appearance of *Der Andere* and *Der Student von Prag* in 1913.¹²⁶

In histories undertaken during the Third Reich, however, more attention began to be shifted onto the first stages of early film in Germany. This was to some extent inevitable because, following the Nazis’ defamation of the Weimar cinema – and especially such films as *Caligari* and the whole expressionist canon – as ‘degenerate art’ (*entartete Kunst*), it became desirable to construct a new ‘founding myth’ that did not usher in these perceived “advocation[s] of subversive Jewish intellectualism,” but rather that German national cinema through which Goebbels now sought to attain new heights of technological and artistic excellence.¹²⁷ The Skladanowskys and Meßter were now portrayed as the precursory geniuses in the

field of German cinematic technology, with their achievements extolled in fervently nationalistic language, such as that employed by Oskar Kalbus in 1935:

it can not be stressed either strongly or often enough that the Skladanowskys came as quite ordinary folk from among the German people (*aus dem deutschen Volk*) who – off their own bat – devised an invention that remains worthy of unqualified recognition and respect.¹²⁸

Meßter also helped to maintain and aggrandise his own position as the veritable ‘father-figure of the German film industry’ through a mass of self-promotional activities: bequeathing all his films and equipment as a permanent exhibit to the Deutsches Museum in Munich in 1931; appearing as “the inventor of 35mm film in Germany” (“*der Erfinder des deutschen Normalfilms*”) in a 1934 documentary, *Als man anfing zu filmen* (‘When Film Began’, Ufa-Kulturfilm); and publishing his extensive memoirs, *Mein Weg mit dem Film* (‘My Path with Film’) in 1936.¹²⁹

Theories of Early Cinema (II): The New Historicism

It was the type of standard narrative histories outlined above that the 1978 Brighton conference sought to revise, by re-examining early cinema in its contemporary context. Obviously, the slate could not be wiped clean – the works of Porter, Griffith or Méliès were now well-established as representative of the early period – but these ‘geniuses’ and their ‘masterpieces’ could be reframed in terms of their significance at the time of these films’ release, and assessed in conjunction with *what else* was in circulation alongside them at this time. Thus, the early period could be freed from the paradigm of the ‘founding myth,’ which effectively transformed

contemporary spectators into fortune-tellers, who needed to be able to predict the future ascendancy of certain forms of cinema in order to recognise specific films before them as masterworks pushing forward the boundaries of cinema towards later apotheoses.

The Brighton conference drew together archivists and researchers from FIAF member archives and, more importantly, almost 700 extant prints dating from between 1900 and 1906 from these archives' collections. The screening of these prints *en masse* facilitated an initial drawing-up of typologies of films evidenced from these years in terms of attested presentational, technological and discursive traits. As the notes from the conference make clear, the paradigm of linear chronological development could be dispensed with immediately. Lumière-type documentary films clearly existed *alongside* so-called 'story-films,' and attempts at art could be found in the period up to 1906 also. Thus, the supposed existence of each of the 'three evolutionary stages' in temporal isolation was contradicted by the films sampled. Moreover, many types of film were evidenced that did not fit neatly into any of the three known categories of early film: for example, comedy sketches involving giant bed-bugs, that could be considered most readily in terms of contemporary discourses surrounding domestic hygiene; numerous 'piquant' films intended for exhibition at male-only gatherings; or a sizeable number of re-enactments of recent news items from the illustrated press.¹³⁰

David Levy made a significant contribution in reframing *The Great Train Robbery* within the context of this latter genre. Returning to the Edison sales catalogue of 1904, he found the film advertised as a "faithful duplication of the genuine 'Hold Ups' made famous by various outlaw bands of the Far West."¹³¹ In

other words, the film was promoted as a kind of animated counterpart to the pictorialisations of news events in popular illustrated journals. Furthermore, Levy (along with Noël Burch and others) observed that the label ‘narrative film’ was quite inappropriate when applied to *The Great Train Robbery*. Like many other films screened at the conference, its contiguous ‘scenes’ actually took the form of *a series of tableaux*, each of which constituted a self-contained re-enactment of an individual event. This, once again, was a presentational format attested throughout the illustrated press, and used also in variety and travelling shows. Indeed, the film was identified further as being based on a *tableau vivant* presentation performed by Buffalo Bill’s Wild West and Pioneer Exhibition, under the title *The Great Train Hold-Up and Bandit Hunters of the Union Pacific*.¹³²

Thus, it became clear that *The Great Train Robbery*, like all the other films screened, could be located most usefully within the larger network of entertainment media that existed at the turn-of-the-century. This, after all, was the framework within which contemporary audiences would have viewed and responded to the early cinema. As Noël Burch summed up, the content of early films could be considered to come:

from melodrama, vaudeville, pantomime (in England); conjuring, music hall and circus; from caricature, the ‘penny plain, tuppence coloured’ sheets, strip cartoons; from magic lantern shows in the home, the street and the theatre; from street entertainers, fairground acts [and] waxwork shows.¹³³

Subsequent studies, such as Robert Allen’s *Vaudeville and Film*, have considered such media interaction in more depth, revealing a bustling mass entertainment sector within which early cinema flourished and through which it was

shaped. In particular, it could be shown that early cinema functioned generally within the parameters of variety entertainment, whose format – of ten to fifteen acts on a single programme – it adopted outright. In other words, the variety programme as a whole, as opposed to individual films with specific stars or by specific *auteurs*, was the focus of early cinema exhibition.¹³⁴

One of the most significant interventions within the new historicism was Tom Gunning's coining of the term 'cinema of attractions,' as a means of describing films shown within the variety format in which the artists appealed frontally (i.e. facing the camera directly) to the putative audience, thereby acknowledging that they were 'putting on a performance.' This 'cinema of attractions' persisted well into the First World War, as attested by sales catalogues, extant prints, and censorship lists. The term itself has been embraced more or less universally by researchers, not least because it is one to which contemporary audiences would have been able to relate (unlike 'primitive cinema,' for example): after all, the expectation of attending a cinema-showing was to view a number of *attractions* on a larger bill.¹³⁵

Subsequent research has addressed the emergence of feature-length films alongside the continuing presence of the cinema of attractions, especially between 1908 and 1914. In the American context, Eileen Bowser, in particular, has returned to the contemporary trade press and presented the convincing case that the motivation behind ideas such as extending the length of individual films, striving to produce high art in the cinema, and introducing a star-system to the movies, was primarily commercial, bound up in a general tendency towards rationalisation within the industry. Thus, Bowser suggests that endeavours towards high culture were envisaged by producers above all as a means of attempting to secure patronage by

the more moneyed middle classes. The appearance of feature-length movies can be linked to this tendency also, representing an emulation of the 'legitimate' theatre's presentational format. At the same time, the production of longer films can be considered central to another process ongoing at this time, involving the securing of exclusive deals for screening rights. Whereas exhibitors had previously been able to 'mix and match' short film subjects from various production companies to assemble their variety-type programme, they became obliged under exclusive rights schemes to acquire the whole programme, centring around a feature-length work, from a single producer. The striking of such deals constituted an act of industrial consolidation intended to ensure the continued stability of both exhibitor and producer, with the former assured of a regular supply of new product, and the latter gaining the security of a definite purchaser for its products.

Bowser suggests further that the emergence of the star-system was bound up in this process of industrial sectorisation and vertical monopolisation. The star-system should be considered largely synonymous to the appearance of generic series of detective or adventure films at this time, Bowser maintains, since both the star name and the series title effectively represented commercial 'branding devices,' intended to render the products of individual companies more distinct and memorable in the mind of the consumer. From here, what would today be termed 'consumer loyalty' could be promoted among cinema-goers, whose return custom at specific cinemas to see 'tried and tested' types of product became all-important within the exclusive screening rights structure.¹³⁶

Other areas reassessed within the new historicism include the supposedly linear development of technology, lighting effects, set construction, montage and

editing techniques, and so on. Barry Salt, in his *Film Style and Technology*, posits many tens of discrete typologies, drawing on close viewings of several hundreds of extant films. Salt paints a vivid picture of the early period as a time of continual stylistic and technological experimentation and innovation, implying that contemporary audiences might have been confronted with a multifarious potpourri of stylistic effects and devices even during the course of a single attractions-based programme: in this regard also, then, *variety* can be seen as perhaps the defining characteristic of this cinema. However, in the period from 1908 to 1914, when industrial rationalisation was at its height, Salt does observe an increasing consolidation of certain stylistic approaches, such as a widespread tendency towards faster editing, a greater use of close-ups, and the codification of stylistic techniques within individual film genres – for example, the consistent use of chiaroscuro lighting during scenes depicting battles between good and evil in detective films.¹³⁷ Noël Burch has argued that these consolidatory tendencies may be interpreted as factors within the foundation of what he terms the ‘institutional mode of representation,’ the complex network of stylistic and editing devices that would later be afforded a defining position as the standard ‘grammar’ of film on account of their prevalence in mainstream, and especially Hollywood, filmmaking. Burch is swift to point out that this observation differs from the developmental model of standard histories in that both he and Salt present this consolidation not as a sudden redefining intervention on the part of some Griffithian master-figure, but as a gradual process that never attains absolute hegemony.¹³⁸

As indicated within this chapter already, a similar revisionism has been ongoing in the field of early German cinema, especially since the 1990 Pordenone festival. Corinna Müller, for example, has made use of the contemporary trade press and archival holdings of film and printed sources to produce a detailed analysis of the

formal, economic and cultural structures underpinning the Wilhelmine cinema. In Müller's work also, the notion of a tripartite linear evolution is collapsed under the evidence that actualities, story-films and feature-length narrative works coexisted within a 'cinema of attractions' that made use of the variety format. The idea of a 'well-balanced' programme comprising a sequence of differentiated "numbers" is again central to this conceptualisation.¹³⁹ As suggested in one much-cited set of guidelines for a "representative film-programme" contained in a 1910 issue of *Die Licht-Bild-Bühne*, each showing should take the following form:

1. A musical piece
2. An actuality
3. An amusing number
4. A drama
5. A comedy

INTERMISSION

6. Documentary of the natural world (*Naturaufnahme*)
7. A comedy
8. The main attraction
9. A scientific film
10. A broad comedy (*derbkomisch*).¹⁴⁰

From around 1908 in Germany also, a process of industrial rationalisation and commodification can be seen to commence, as deals were struck for exclusive exhibition rights – with films subject to such deals revealingly termed "*Monopolfilms*" ("monopoly films"). Accordingly, various 'branding devices' for individual companies' works started to appear around this time, including the creation and promotion of stars – such as Asta Nielsen at Deutsche Bioscop, Henny Porten at Meßter-Film, or Viggo Larsen and Wanda Treumann at Vitascope – and the

production of generic series of comedies and detective adventures, such as Meißner-Film's 'Bobby' series of comic shorts, or Continental-Kunstfilm's 'Preisrätsel' series, in which a 'cliff-hanger' mystery established in one film would be solved only in a follow-up release – while audience members had the chance to win cash prizes if they could solve the mystery correctly prior to the subsequent film's release.¹⁴¹

If this all seems analogous to the situation in American cinema as outlined by Bowser, then this is not the result of an early American hegemony, but of the internationality of the film-trade in general at this time. This meant that changes implemented by one producer in one nation – which might just as well be Denmark or Italy as America, and would altogether more likely be France, as the largest producer and exporter of films prior to World War One – could quickly be introduced elsewhere if they proved successful, as companies sought to maintain their market competitiveness by assimilating advantageous techniques and strategies. As Richard Abel notes, a more or less identical body of formal, economic and cultural factors informed the cinema industry and film production in France at this time, while Riccardo Redi draws similar conclusions in regard to the early Italian cinema.¹⁴²

In the German context, the myth of early audiences as 'primitive audiences' has been examined with particular reference to the *Kinodebatte* (or 'cinema debate') that raged from around 1907 in the daily newspapers, popular magazines, and specialist journals alike. Collections of representative articles from the *Kinodebatte* compiled by Anton Kaes and Jörg Schweinitz reveal the debate to have been an ongoing tirade by members of the educated bourgeoisie (*Bildungsbürgertum*) against the new medium's incursions into the cultural arena, which were regarded as an erosion

of this conservative class' traditional status as the definers of German national culture (*Kulturträger*) in terms of literature, the 'legitimate' stage, art and sculpture, and other high cultural practices. Cinema offended the sensibilities of members of this class (and threatened their social position) by not demanding extended contemplation of its spectators – and instead offering them regular bursts of sensorial stimulation; by replacing the linguistic imperative of literature and the 'legitimate' theatre with muteness; and by supposedly undermining the status of 'culture' as a national signifier through its internationality. These disdained characteristics were duly attributed to this class' oppositional 'others,' in a denial that members of the educated bourgeoisie had hitherto had any contact with the cinema, thereby enabling them to assume the stance of the new medium's untainted enemies. The myth of the ““working-class cinema”” lost in its ““rascal years”” was born.¹⁴³

However, as Schlüpmann, Miriam Hansen and Martin Loiperdinger have all argued, the results of Altenloh's empirical survey along with other contemporary documents bluntly contradict these assertions, finding middle-class attendance to have been widespread among both men and, more especially, women. Thus, these writers suggest that it was, at least in part, a middle-class counterculture to which members of the educated bourgeoisie took exception. They propose that this counterculture in specific terms opened up a new public sphere to women, and more generally, facilitated the articulation of modern and liberal (rather than conservative) viewpoints and values. From here, the educated bourgeoisie's response – sanctioning the production of so-called *Autorenfilme* (or 'authored films') from late 1912 onwards – can be seen as an attempt to bring the medium into line with its own conservative, patriarchal, high cultural precepts by employing an established author or playwright to write the script, by assigning the lead roles to (primarily male) stage luminaries –

such as Albert Bassermann and Paul Wegener in, respectively, *Der Andere* and *Der Student von Prag*, and by having each film run to feature-length and comprise several acts, like a ‘legitimate’ play. On account of these ‘acceptable’ high cultural facets, these films were deemed to have gained the specificity of *national* culture, so that they could be established within the *Kinodebatte* as ‘the first German films proper’ – a status they would retain throughout the art-centred accounts of Kracauer, Eisner, and their innumerable kin.¹⁴⁴

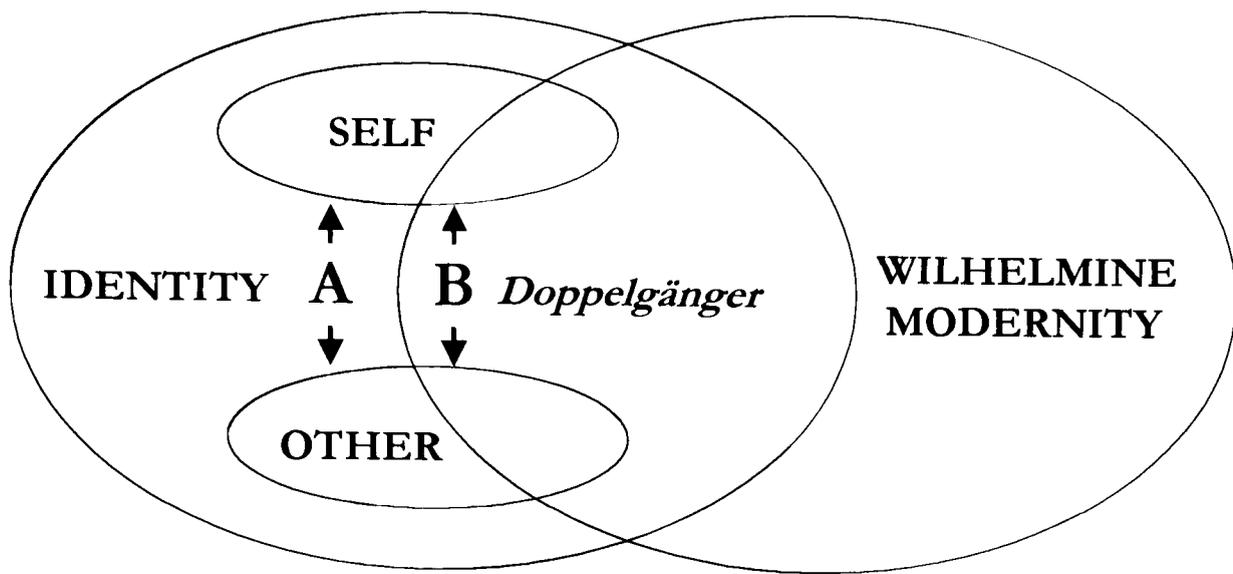
As should be obvious, my research into the *Doppelgänger* in Wilhelmine cinema represents part of the new historicism, as I readdress the ‘known’ works in terms of their contemporary significance for different audiences, and explore furthermore *what else* in terms of *Doppelgänger* films played along with these sanctioned works. The structure of the research is itself intended to be akin to a variety programme of the ‘cinema of attractions,’ comprising within its chapters firstly the detective film, then a selection of comedies, and finally the feature-length art film. Within this programme, re-enacted actualities appear alongside short ‘story-films,’ and single-reel variety performances alongside feature-length works.

Chapter Two. Modernity, Entertainment and the *Doppelgänger*

Film

Modernity and the Modern Subject in Wilhelmine Germany

In the previous chapter, I suggested that the *Doppelgänger* in Wilhelmine cinema can be located at the intersection of oppositional poles of identity with the contemporary experience of modernity. This configuration is represented in *Figure 4* (overleaf), wherein modernity can be seen to temper the idealised construction of identity in terms of binary oppositions by rendering the relationship between these polarities more fluid and the subject of ambivalence. Although portrayed as occupying an ‘intermediate’ position, the *Doppelgänger* can here be seen to function alongside existing idealised ‘good’ and ‘bad’ articulations of identity, comprising simultaneously elements of both these perceived positive and negative poles, but never wholly both at once. Thus, the *Doppelgänger* may constitute a break from traditional perceptions, as a distinct possibility of identity within the Wilhelmine context that can be regarded even as challenging or subversive. As I have also argued above – and as I shall seek to demonstrate in the subsequent chapters addressing individual frames of identity – such a construction of ‘*Doppelgänger* identity’ can be seen to extend outside the fantasy scenarios of the *Doppelgänger* films to the actual social experiences of those members of Wilhelmine society who were likewise considered to occupy seemingly paradoxical ‘intermediate’ positions, such as socially elevated members of the lower classes, so-called ‘half-castes,’ ‘manly women,’ ‘feminine men,’ and so on.



Key: A = opposition
B = ambivalence

Figure 4 Construction of the Doppelgänger in Wilhelmine Cinema and Society

In this chapter, I explore modernity as a factor in this construction of the *Doppelgänger*, looking firstly at the Wilhelmine experience of modernity in general, then at the relation between Wilhelmine entertainments – including in particular the cinema – and modernity, and ultimately at the ‘lookalike’ genre of *Doppelgänger* film identified in Chapter 1 (see p.51), as a symptomatic example showing the *Doppelgänger*, the cinema and contemporary society alike as being determined within modernity.

‘Modernity’ has been – and continues to be – employed, as Leo Charney and Vanessa Schwartz observe, “as an expression of changes in so-called subjective experience or as a shorthand for broad social, economic, and cultural transformations” bound up with the appearance of new technologies following the onset of the Industrial Revolution.¹⁴⁵ These technologies might be seen to include the

machinery of mass-production and mechanisation of the workplace, high-speed means of transportation such as the locomotive, the automobile and the aeroplane, or communications devices facilitating the instantaneous surmounting of long distances, such as the telegraph and the telephone. However, the concept of ‘modernity’ applies more especially to what Tom Gunning has referred to as “the perceptual and environmental changes” wrought by this increasing technologisation: the expansion of cities to furnish modern industries with a workforce, and the experience of mass-living; the consolidation of capitalism and consumerism to maintain mass-production; a new relation to time and space engendered by – amongst other things – swifter forms of transport, distance-swallowing telecommunications networks, and the formal temporal structuring of the working day (to optimise modern industrial production); new perceptions of the human body – either as something that could be ‘dissected’ and ‘reproduced’ by photography and x-rays – or as something at greater risk of damage or destruction as a consequence of modern life, whose potentially violent technologies, whether in the form of machines in the workplace or automobiles tearing along the streets, appeared suddenly omnipresent; and so on.¹⁴⁶ Thus, as Gunning continues, modernity refers “less to a demarcated historical period than to [such changes] in experience.” As he puts it:

While the nineteenth century witnessed the principal conjunction of these transformations in Europe and America, with a particular crisis coming towards the turn of the century, modernity has not yet exhausted its transformations and has a different pace in different areas of the globe.¹⁴⁷

With reference to the period immediately preceding World War One, modernity has been considered primarily in terms of its effects in three nations where particularly pronounced processes of change were seen to have been ongoing

since the mid-nineteenth century: France, America and Germany. In the case of France, modernity is addressed especially in the Parisian context with relation, firstly, to the so-called 'Haussmannisation' of the city from the 1850s – an extensive redevelopment programme that effected the expansion of the city's thoroughfares to accommodate greater volumes of traffic (both vehicular and pedestrian), as well as the construction of multi-storey buildings to house the new mass-population. Secondly, the gargantuan Paris World Fair of 1900 – symbolised by the Eiffel Tower – is considered as a eulogy to the technologies, structures and cultures of modernity, or, in the words of one contemporary German observer, Hermann Lotze, as a "veritable modern celebration."¹⁴⁸ America, meanwhile, is conceptualised in terms of its new skyscrapered, high-density metropolitan hubs – in particular New York and San Francisco – whose rapid pace and flow of modern life are depicted as a kind of social counterpart to the high-speed production lines of contemporaneous Fordist mass-manufacturing.¹⁴⁹

Modernity in Wilhelmine Germany is likewise addressed first and foremost in the urban setting, where its effects were most extreme following national unification in 1871. As Robin Lenman, John Osborne and Eda Sagarra have noted from contemporary statistical records, the population of Germany rose from 10,059,000 in 1871 to a staggering 64,926,000 in 1910 – and whereas just 12.5% (or 1.26 million) of the 1871 population had lived and worked in towns of 20,000 inhabitants or more, by 1910 this figure had risen to 34.7% (or 22.53 millions). Similarly, while only fourteen German cities had a population of over 100,000 in 1880, by 1913 this figure had risen to forty-eight. The population of the capital, Berlin, in particular – which had stood at just 172,000 in 1800 – doubled over the twenty-eight year period between 1877 and 1905 alone from one million to over two million inhabitants.¹⁵⁰

Carole Adams has observed that the ever vaster populations of these metropolises increasingly found employment with businesses and companies which had metamorphosed from small, family-run artisanal concerns at the time of unification into large, industrially rationalised firms employing sizeable numbers and the latest technology in order to mass-produce goods for both the domestic market and export.¹⁵¹ At the same time, the lives of city-dwellers were rapidly altered by the presence of new technologies in the home and on the street. Electric lighting, vacuum cleaners and gas stoves appeared from the 1890s. The company Siemens put electric trams into operation in Berlin as early as 1879, and the use of automobiles became ever more common during the first decade of the twentieth century, with probably over 100,000 on the roads by 1913. In April 1881, the first telephone exchange was opened in Berlin, serving just twenty customers: by 1906, according to contemporary statistics, around 100,000 Berliners would own a telephone (reportedly “the largest network in the world” at this time) – and by 1913, some 1,300,000 telephones would be in use nationwide.¹⁵²

As Stephen Kern and others have discussed, the sudden speed and monumental scale of the onset of modernity in Germany may perhaps be attributed, at least in part, to its late unification as a European nation. Accordingly, Germany was viewed – in particular by its leaders and political thinkers – as a ‘young nation’ that would need to undergo swift and forceful ‘development’ if its position as a power of consequence was to be established in the international arena. Thus, Kern argues, the new practices of modernity were embraced with a special fervour as a means of attaining this perceived ‘development’ and bringing the nation into line with its so-called ‘developed’ neighbours such as France and Britain. New technologies were implemented more quickly than elsewhere; the industrial sector –

especially as a force in exporting – was built up very swiftly, resulting in an equally rapid expansion of the cities and industrial areas like the Ruhrgebiet; and, from the 1880s, a ‘mad dash’ for colonies was entered into, since their acquisition was regarded, in theories propounded by geopolitical thinkers such as Karl Haushofer, as a means of ensuring the spatial growth of the ‘national body’ in a world perceived to have been rendered ever smaller by modern transportation and communications networks.¹⁵³

As a consequence of its extremeness and suddenness, the experience of modernity in Germany appears to have been responded to with a yet greater degree of shock, wonder, confusion and surprise than in other nations, as traditional ways of life, societal structures and perceptions of the world were transformed. The issue of modernity and its perceived benefits and ills seems to recur endlessly in late nineteenth and early twentieth century debates, not only in those essays that still serve as celebrated examples of Wilhelmine writing on modernity, such as Georg Simmel’s “*Die Großstädte und das Geistesleben*” (“The Metropolis and Mental Life”) from 1903 or Friedrich Naumann’s “*Die Kunst im Zeitalter der Maschine*” (“Art in the Machine Age”) from 1904, but also throughout the contemporary popular press (as Kirsten Belgum has demonstrated recently in the case of Germany’s most widely-read weekly magazine from this time, *Die Gartenlaube*), and on into the writings of Walter Benjamin and Siegfried Kracauer in the 1920s and 1930s. It is worth underlining here that the notion of ‘modernity’ is not therefore the construct of more recent social theorists and historians, but was the paradigm – referred to as *die Modernität* or *die Moderne* – for conceptualising the ‘new age’ and the ‘new world’ that this brought with it, in both popular and academic contemporary Wilhelmine and Weimar discourse.¹⁵⁴

Ben Singer has suggested that the debates on modernity can be divided broadly into four categories.¹⁵⁵ The first concerns what he terms “socioeconomic” modernity and addresses new technologies, inventions and industries in terms of their unique characteristics and direct effects on people’s lives – such as trains or automobiles which offer shorter journey times, or the telephone, which makes possible immediate contact over long distances. The examples may not always be so obviously ‘technological’: for instance, Marie-Louise von Plessen notes that a significant debate grew up about the cigarette at this time, which was regarded as a new mass-product offering a ‘quick fix’ to those – especially city-dwellers – who were in a rush (as opposed to hand-rolled cigars and pipes, which were seen as more traditional, time-consuming and contemplative forms of tobacco consumption).¹⁵⁶

The second debate identified by Singer concerns “cognitive” modernity, which he sees as centring about the “emergence of instrumental rationality as the intellectual framework through which the world is perceived and constructed.” This includes in particular the drive to measure, record and enumerate all phenomena, to dissect the world through scientific and quasi-scientific doctrine and methodology so that everything becomes ultimately ‘knowable’ and ‘quantifiable.’ Bound up with this is the establishment of myriad new disciplines – such as anthropogeography, seismology or anthropology, and so on – each introducing its own distinct terminology, which results in a kind of linguistic hypertrophy from this time.¹⁵⁷

Thirdly, Singer cites debates on “neurological” modernity, which he suggests have remained well-known due to the continued interest in the work of Simmel, Benjamin and Kracauer, whose discussions of modernity are couched primarily in such terms. These debates address the new register of experience on the part of

modern subjects, whose pace of life is seen to accelerate, and who need to be ever more agile, adaptive and vigilant as a result of their continual exposure to what Simmel describes as “the rapid crowding of changing images, the sharp discontinuity in the grasp of a single glance, and the unexpectedness of arresting impressions.”¹⁵⁸ Thus, the modern subject is seen to experience life always as a series of random shocks, always ‘living for the moment.’ This “overwhelming increase of normal mental processes” was believed also to be wearing away at the nerves of modern subjects, resulting in an urban epidemic of tension, stress, overexcitement and nervous disorder, as discussed for example by Willy Helpach in his popular 1902 medical tract, *Nervosität und Kultur* (‘Nervousness and Culture’).¹⁵⁹

Fourthly, Singer notes debates considering modernity as “ideological shelterlessness,” echoing Marx’s celebrated pronouncement of 1848 – recently taken up by Marshall Berman as the veritable ‘battle-cry’ of modernity – that “[a]ll that is solid melts into air.”¹⁶⁰ In other words, the constant changes wrought by modernity transform and destabilise norms and traditional structures that have been perceived hitherto as ‘given’ certainties, rendering them open to question or even replacing them outright. For instance, the stable individual who is known and recognised by all in his or her small local community becomes lost within the new mass-population – or, as Benjamin would put it, “obliterat[ed] [...] in the big city crowd” – and reconfigured in terms of a new kind of identity, as a member of a social grouping of like-minded types – such as, for example, proletarian socialists, independent women or homosexuals – for whom a sense of community could be effected only through their presence in sufficiently large numbers within the new urban agglomerations. These specifically ‘modern’ groupings can in turn unsettle established (i.e. traditional or conservative) orders – with the three groupings named above for example

appearing as challenges to, respectively, the empowered bourgeoisie, patriarchy, and the construct of compulsory heterosexuality – and thereby assail moral and socio-political values in quite revolutionary or subversive ways.¹⁶¹

Such ‘ideological shelterlessness’ can be seen to have exerted an influence also on traditional Wilhelmine notions of aesthetics and ideals of beauty – which typically dealt in pastoral scenes, religious imagery, individual portraiture or serene Hellenic nudes, and demanded extended contemplation of viewers – as these became challenged by the sudden ubiquity of new technologies, modern constructions, the hyperstimuli of the city, the facelessness of the urban crowd, and so forth. Naumann would in 1904, for example, eulogise “the new style” in “ships, bridges, gasworks, railway stations, market halls [and] exhibition rooms” before going on to assert that “[t]he new steel girder constructions constitute the greatest artistic achievement of our time.” Such an aestheticism of modernity – its technologies, constructs, pace and experiences – would of course find its conscious articulation especially within the *modernist* art movement that flourished during this period also.¹⁶²

Several of the notions of modernity outlined above can be identified in *Figure 5* (overleaf), a comic illustration from an 1889 edition of the popular satirical weekly *Der Kladderadatsch*, entitled *Das elektrische Berlin* (‘The Electric Berlin’). In terms of ‘socioeconomic’ modernity, we see electric lighting itself, bringing intense illumination to the city streets and private residences. The shocks of ‘neurological’



Figure 5 *Das elektrische Berlin* ('The Electric Berlin'). In *Der Kladderadatsch* 17.3.1889, supplement 1:1.

modernity are experienced here both by the thief as he jumps back upon discovering that the safe (itself a symbol of the consolidation of capitalism within modernity) into which he is trying to break has been modified through new technology, and also by the bourgeois gentleman to the lower right of the illustration, who draws his hand to

his heart as his eyes are met by the gaze of a woman on the street. The latter shock is bound up also in notions of ‘ideological shelterlessness,’ as it is induced by a challenge to traditional patriarchal proscriptions of feminine behaviour. In this regard, it furthermore seems significant that it is primarily traditionally empowered figures – members of the bourgeoisie in evening attire and the uniformed Prussian police officer – whose assumed status and sanctity are here brought into question, as they are rendered risible and renegotiated by the incursions of electricity, functioning as a representative of modernity in general. The omnipresence of emanations of electric light throughout the illustration is likewise noteworthy, with modernity seeming to be all-pervading and all-changing.

Although modernity may seem a uniquely urban phenomenon – as Charney and Schwartz put it, “modernity cannot be conceived outside the context of the city” – it is worth pointing out that contemporary Wilhelmine observers catalogued its effects on rural life also.¹⁶³ Telephone connections, roads carrying automobiles and train lines did not end at city boundaries, but extended across the countryside as well, as B. Mercator noted, for example, in the 1907 annual of the conservative weekly *Der Türmer*.

The Berlin—Cologne fast train thundered through a tiny area of Westphalia surrounded by woodlands and hidden away from the world, far from the smoking chimneys and slagheaps of industry, and far from the cities where life sparkled and was strangled.¹⁶⁴

Elsewhere in the same annual, Hans Dominik discusses the increased use of technology in rural agriculture – including steam-driven threshers, ploughs, reapers and sheaf-binders, while a Dr. Clausen observes that the need to supply ever greater

quantities of food for the ever-growing cities results in a speeding-up and intensification of farmers' lives also, since their "efforts are aimed constantly at achieving yet greater harvests."¹⁶⁵

As should be clear from all the above, attitudes towards modernity were generally ambivalent, as the phenomenon was regarded simultaneously as a creative and a destructive force, as a purveyor of both benefits and ills – bringing at once new technologies, a greater sense of vitality and new possibilities of self-expression and emancipation, but also feelings of uncertainty, perceived neurological damage and increased risk of sudden death, as well as an erosion of established socio-cultural mores. Modernity was, then, essentially bound by the contradictory discourses of 'progress' versus 'destruction,' as – to repeat Mercator's above choice of emotive terms – something that could make life 'sparkle,' but also 'strangle' it.¹⁶⁶

There was a significant reaction against modernity in Wilhelmine Germany, led in particular by those traditional holders of power who were seeing their long-established secure positions undermined, and who now sought to hold onto these by advocating a return to the supposed safety of the past, or through compromises with modernity.¹⁶⁷ Such anti-modern responses included the so-called *altddeutsch* (literally, 'old German') vogue in furniture and interior design that enjoyed popularity from the 1870s to the 1920s, of which Lenman, Osborne and Sagarra write:

Georg Hirth [...] spelled out the symbolism of the revival in his book *Das deutsche Zimmer der Renaissance* (1880) and published albums of sixteenth-century designs as a resource for craftsmen and manufacturers. Among other things Hirth enunciated a 'national' colour code, with browns, old golds and dark reds, reminiscent of forests, the wine-harvest, and autumn, identified as both fundamentally German and 'natural.' [...] With its dark panelling, opaque

windows, and *urgemütlich* bays and alcoves, the *Dürerzeit* interior was a kind of domestic stage set which transported its 'cast' to a period both rich in patriotic associations and remote from the modern 'struggle for existence.'¹⁶⁸

However, as these writers go on to note, this anti-modern intervention, aimed at preserving conservative patriotic and high cultural values, at the same time constituted a compromise with modernity:

although the term *altdeutsch* also implied solidity and traditional craftsmanship, nineteenth-century synthetic materials and devices such as collapsible panelling adapted it to the budget and living conditions of the modern urban apartment-dweller.¹⁶⁹

Likewise, another vociferous group propounding anti-modernity (and comprising primarily members of the bourgeoisie) sought to strike a compromise between its own conservatism and the modern transportation and communications links established with, especially, America and the newly acquired colonies. Lauding the perceived 'unspoiled' expanses of terrain in these distant yet, thanks to modern technologies, nearby territories – in particular the African savannah and the great American plains – it was suggested that they could be settled by Germans desiring a 'return' to a more secure, pre-modern way of life or, to quote Kirsten Belgum, "an idyllic refuge from the increasingly complex and potentially alienating industrialization of the West."¹⁷⁰

Wilhelmine Entertainments and Modernity

The entertainments sector in Wilhelmine Germany – like that in other Western nations including France, America and Britain at the turn of the century – can be seen as centrally located within modernity, growing up with the appearance of mass-populations desiring distraction from the pressures of the modern working day, taking advantage of the possibilities opened up by new technologies, and also drawing on the experiences and other phenomena of modern life for the subject matter of its sketches, illustrations, and so forth. Historians of individual entertainments – including Wolfgang Jansen and Ernst Günther in the case of variety, Rudolf Schenda and Ronald Fullerton with regard to popular literature, Dieter Barth and Kirsten Belgum looking at the illustrated press, and Lisa Kosok and Mathilde Jamin in consideration of travelling shows – have consistently plotted their rise alongside the sociocultural shifts of the nineteenth century, noting a particular consolidation following unification and around the *Jahrhundertwende* and framing these entertainments within the discourses of ‘modernity.’ As such, variety, mass-distribution literature, the popular press, magic lantern shows, fairground entertainments and so on are seen to have exhibited many characteristics associated with modernity, in particular a swift pace as they juxtaposed disparate novelties and attractions, and ‘neurological bombardment,’ as the audience was presented with a continual succession of sensorial stimuli. This in turn prompted a conservative backlash against these entertainments as they contradicted and undermined traditional concepts of high culture, which demanded extended contemplation and strove not to ‘entertain,’ but to ‘educate.’¹⁷¹

Mass-distribution literature, for example, obviously benefited from technologies of mass-reproduction, but also from other ‘modern’ factors such as the appearance of enlarged populations – meaning that sufficient numbers of potential purchasers existed to render the enterprise profitable, the consistent availability of disposable income to these populations as a consequence of the newly formalised employment sector, and the existence of widespread transportation networks to distribute the literary product cheaply and efficiently. Furthermore, the new possibilities for emancipation and equality within modernity resulted in increased literacy as schooling was made available to all. For instance, Rudolf Schenda notes that while only around 15% of Germans could read in 1770, this figure had risen by 1870 to 75%, and by the turn of the century to some 90%. The abolition of timeless copyright in 1867 – which had been used to maintain inflated book prices – likewise helped to bring literature into the realm of the lower classes, as Lenman, Osborne and Sagarra have observed.¹⁷²

The form of mass-distribution literature was also shaped by modernity. For example, so-called *Eisenbahnlektüre* (‘railway reading-matter’) – short, pacy novellas designed to fill the duration of a train-journey – became popular from the 1850s, as Ulrich Ott notes, selling in tremendous quantities from kiosks located at railway stations. From the 1880s especially, longer stories started to appear in serialised form over a number of editions of weekly or monthly magazines that could be purchased either as *Eisenbahnlektüre*, or from similar kiosks located throughout the cities, or in more rural areas by a system of ‘colportage,’ wherein travelling salesmen took advantage of new transportation networks, signing up subscribers and distributing the magazines on a door-to-door basis. As Ronald Fullerton remarks, each instalment ended with a cliff-hanger that was designed to ensure the reader’s return

custom for the subsequent issue – a commercial tactic that appears to have paid off for a vast number of publications during these years. From the 1890s, Fullerton notes that serialisation rapidly lost ground to sequelisation, which offered a complete short-story in one go, and eliminated the potential for readers to grow annoyed – and disloyal to the product – if they missed an individual issue and thereby lost track of a particular narrative that they might have been following for weeks or even months. In Germany, these sequelised stories most often took the form of 32-page pamphlets and focused on distinctly modern themes, including the exploits of detectives like Nick Carter or Sherlock Holmes in the new metropolises, or the battles against primitivism waged by quasi-colonialist adventurers like Old Shatterhand and Winnetou. As Fullerton observes, these sold in vast numbers:

During the half-decade before 1914 sales of pamphlet pulp were estimated to be between five and sixty million Marks a year – between 25 and 30 million pamphlets. Most contemporaries favoured the higher estimates.¹⁷³

This new form of literature furthermore sported garish and colourful illustrated covers, designed to stand out and attract attention at the kiosks. As early as 1877, the author Karl Gutzkow implored his publisher to:

Think about a *colour* book-jacket! With diagonal lettering. Red and yellow! Half our business comes from the railway stations, where the choice needs to be made quickly!¹⁷⁴

This visual imperative seems quintessentially ‘modern,’ appealing to the potential purchaser in terms of sudden sensorial stimulation by employing immediately understandable images or blatant telegraphic titles.

Such visuality of course asserted itself throughout the contemporary illustrated press. Making use of new reprographic technologies including the rotary press, low-cost lithography and, from 1880, half-tone printing – which made it possible to reproduce photographic images on the same page as typography, the illustrated press communicated ideas, trends and news events through the immediacy of the visual, which became an ever more significant component of the medium over the course of the Wilhelmine period. Belgium has written of *Die Gartenlaube*, which was founded in 1853 and by the 1870s and 1880s had attained a peak weekly circulation of 380,000 copies:

Whereas in the 1860s and 1870s the number of images in a sixteen- or twenty-page issue averaged between two and three, by the 1890s almost all pages in each issue bore some kind of illustration or decorative image. [...] This increase in visual material [...] aided the speed and ease with which the magazine could be consumed. Visual absorption increasingly replaced the more methodical involvement of the reader with a written text.¹⁷⁵

The illustrated weeklies and monthlies looked to the everyday modern world for their constant flow of subject matter – reports on new inventions and discoveries, accounts of railway and, later, automobile accidents as well as other tragedies involving new technologies, editorials considering the ‘advances’ of ‘civilising’ efforts in the colonies, and so forth – meaning that the new entertainment-cum-information medium can be seen to have juxtaposed endless sequences of random sensations, like modern life itself. As Vanessa Schwartz has put it, the new mass press “served as a printed digest of the *flâneur*’s roving eye.”¹⁷⁶

These literary forms of modernity incurred the wrath of conservatives, who vilified them all under the label of *Schundliteratur* (‘trashy literature’). In a vociferous

campaign, representatives of traditionally empowered culture like Ernst Schultze – whose publications *Fort mit der Schundliteratur* ('Away with Trashy Literature') and *Schundliteratur: Ihr Wesen – ihre Folgen – ihre Bekämpfung* ('Trashy Literature: its Substance – its Consequences – its Combat') of course termed it a '*Schundliteratur-Debatte*' – deemed the new forms to have contravened high cultural precepts on at least four counts. Firstly, the generic output of mass-reproduced titles 'ignored' the need for each work to be the unique creation of an individual artist. Secondly, the basis of address in terms of sensorial stimulation stood in opposition to the need for 'educative' extended contemplation. Thirdly, the use of a disjunctive structure involving disparate subject matter contradicted the ideal of a unified whole. And fourthly, the thematisation of the everyday – and particularly the *modern* everyday – challenged the classical diegetic world of the deiform and the idealised.¹⁷⁷

Attempts to combat so-called '*Schundliteratur*' involved a dual tactic of censorship and reformation. Although efforts to effect an outright ban enshrined in national law failed, representatives of the anti-*Schund* movement held sufficient sway in certain German states to implement localised censorship. For example, Karl Schmitt, the proprietor of a chain of railway station kiosks, would in 1909 receive the following notification from his contractor, the Grand Ducal Baden State Railway, which is indicative of the vigilance and firmness of beliefs displayed by the supporters of literary anti-modernity:

we hereby inform you that works of the type discussed, such as Nick Carter, Sherlock Holmes, etc. can not be considered as 'press publications of respectable content' under the terms of the existing contract. As we gladly infer from your letter [of two days ago], you have already discontinued sales of this literature and withdrawn any remainders. However, according to reports filed with us, a few volumes of Sherlock Holmes remain on display at

the station kiosks in Freiburg and Villingen. We implore you to undertake their immediate removal.¹⁷⁸

A 'reformation' of sorts was achieved, as Ott has documented, through collaboration with the Leipzig-based publisher Reclam, which from the turn of the century introduced its '*Universal-Bibliothek*' series of over 400 'worthy' titles in plainly decorated covers, penned by respected classical and contemporary writers ranging from Goethe and Grillparzer to Gerhart Hauptmann and Arthur Schnitzler. The titles sold at just 20 pfennigs apiece – the same price as a Nick Carter pamphlet – and actively replaced so-called *Schundliteratur* at kiosks. However, this must to some extent be seen not as a triumph over, but a compromise with modernity. Still only short works were chosen, which could function as *Eisenbahnlektüre*. The series as a whole, with its identical formatting and standardised cover-designs, was marketed as a generic product, whose widespread availability helped to consolidate Reclam's place in the mass-distribution publishing market. Furthermore, from 1912 especially the method of selling the books could scarcely be termed anything but 'modern': over 1600 automated vending-machines were installed at German railway stations, dispensing the works as a uniformly-priced disposable mass-product.¹⁷⁹

Contemporary variety entertainments were likewise bound by modernity and, as such, scorned by its conservative opponents. Lisa Kosok and Mathilde Jamin in particular, in their 1992 study *Viel Vergnügen*, consider turn-of-the-century German variety and travelling shows – especially with relation to the Ruhrgebiet – as entertainment media that were both reliant on and a product of the new transportation networks and the existence of a mass-population with disposable income and a desire for distraction at the end of the working day.¹⁸⁰ These media

were marked by their internationalism, as performers took advantage of increased possibilities for travel to take their acts and attractions to audiences in ever more distant locations. This new international trade was aided by the appearance of specialised journals such as *Der Komet* and *Der Artist*, which contained voluminous advertising sections offering information on how to get in touch with far-flung variety-hall and fairground operators, often by telegram or telephone. By 1895, the lexicon of *Der Artist* listed details not only of venues in over ninety German towns and cities, but also in Austro-Hungary, Belgium, Bohemia, Bulgaria, Denmark, France, Holland, Italy, Norway, Poland, Romania, Russia, Sweden, Switzerland and the United States.¹⁸¹

Figure 6 (overleaf), a contemporary trade advertisement for the Siamese twins Radica and Doodica, may be considered representative of the international character of the variety circuit. Although contained in a German publication, through which the twins' 'agent' (in this case actually their 'owner') could be contacted, the text is wholly in French (the twins' permanent base was in France) – with the exception of the name under which they appeared in English-speaking territories, 'The Orissa Twins.'¹⁸² The use of different names intended to appeal to different national audiences was fairly common practice – for example, when the Skladanowskys toured British and American variety-halls as exhibitors of magic lantern slides and shadowgraphs (*Nebelbilder*) during the 1880s and early 1890s, they abandoned their Germano-Slavic epithet for the more indigenous-sounding 'The Brothers Hamilton.'¹⁸³

La Merveille des Merveilles
The Orissa Twins
RADICA & DOODICA
les deux beautés Indiennes.

Pour conditions, date etc. Adresse:
Capitaine Colman, „Artist“, Düsseldorf.



Figure 6 Advertisement for Siamese twins Radica and Doodica. In Signor Saltarino, *Artisten-Lexicon* (Düsseldorf: Ed. Lintz, 1895, 2nd ed.), 311.

Another kind of internationality is referenced by the twins' advertisement also – that of the 'exotic.' Not only are the two vaunted as 'Indian beauties,' they are presented alongside unusual non-European flora and fauna and dressed in unfamiliar, colourful silks. Thus they serve as a spectacle of a distant world which had, thanks to the perceived shrinkage of the globe through modern technologies and colonisation, been rendered suddenly 'nearer.' In this sense, Radica and Doodica may be readily compared to the myriad of shows displaying foreign peoples (*Völkerschauen*) which Stephan Oettermann and Hilka Thode-Arora have identified as having toured Germany especially from the 1880s, including tens of Samoan and

Togolese ‘warriors’ shipped in from these newly acquired colonies, or a certain Dr. Hood’s travelling ‘West-African Negro-Caravan,’ which promised Liberian and Ashanti “men, women and girls – accompanied by elephants, camels, zebus, dwarf ponies, etc.”¹⁸⁴

Just as colonial spectacle constituted a distinctly ‘modern’ attraction, so variety entertainments in general tended to be based in modernity. Displays by trained chimpanzees like Grete, known as “*das Menschentier*” (‘the human beast’), and the freakshow exhibition of sufferers of hypertrichotic conditions, like Rham-a-Sama, the so-called “veritable connecting link,” purported to ‘prove’ Darwin’s newest evolutionary theories. Short dramatic sketches addressed ‘current’ topics – such as the exploits of suffragettes, and mishaps of new users of various technologies such as automatic vending-machines and the telephone. Indeed, new technologies were themselves presented as attractions – Van de Graaff generators (offering patrons a literal ‘shock’), anthropoid automata, x-ray machines and so on all appeared on the variety stage.¹⁸⁵ The variety format likewise seemed to echo the experience of modern life, as numerous disparate attractions of brief duration were presented one after another on a larger bill.

As discussed in Chapter 1, it was within this forum that the cinematic apparatus first flourished, initially as an item on the bill itself and, as separate cinema buildings and travelling shows were established, retaining the presentational format of variety and continuing to draw its subject matter from the fabric of modern life. The established international connections of the variety trade were employed as avenues for the distribution and exhibition of films around the world, so that the cinema too became a truly international institution. From around 1907, familiar

modern patterns of industrial rationalisation took force, as the cinema set up its own trade press; production, distribution and exhibition were sectorised; and individual companies established themselves as ‘brands’ through sequelisation, generic labelling and the construction of star names.

If, by way of example, we consider the 1895 film programme of the Skladanowskys, this was presented at Berlin’s leading variety venue (since the 1880s), the Wintergarten, as but one technological attraction – billed as “the most interesting invention of the modern age” – in a line-up of 17 acts that also featured Lona Barrison (singing on horseback), a display of eight Arabs under the name ‘The Sons of the Desert,’ Mlle. Gabriele Juniori (direct from the Empire Theatre, London) and other performers such as Valentine Petit, the so-called “kaleidoscopic *danseuse*,” and the Brothers Marko, described simply as “the odd ‘twins.’” In turn, the Skladanowskys’ demonstration of their ‘Bioscop’ itself comprised nine disparate films, each lasting under sixty seconds, and featuring international variety performers including Italian acrobats and child dancers, Mr. Delaware and his boxing kangaroo, the Russian Brothers Tschepanoff and, finally, Max and Emil Skladanowsky themselves.¹⁸⁶

Modern subject matter was omnipresent on the early screen. The new cities became spectacle in films such as *Der Alexanderplatz in Berlin* (‘The Alexanderplatz in Berlin’, Skladanowsky, 1896), *Straßengewimmel in London* (‘Thronging Streets in London’, Talbot, 1897) and *Brooklyn, das amerikanische Kiel* (‘Brooklyn, the American Kiel’, 1910). Modern technologies featured not only in documentary-type titles as diverse as *Ankunft einer Trambahn in Saigon* (‘Arrival of a Tram in Saigon’, Pathé, 1902), *Der Bau eines Automobils* (‘Construction of an Automobile’, Allgemeine

Kinotheater-Gesellschaft, 1908) and *Die Entstehung des Berliner Lokal-Anzeigers* ('Production of the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*', Deutsche Mutoskop- und Biograph-Gesellschaft, 1910) – but also in narrative works like *Das Drama auf dem Wolkenkratzer* ('Drama aloft a Skyscraper', Edison, 1907), *Das Drama im D-Zug* ('Drama on the Fast-Train', Éclair, 1911) or *Amerika—Europa im Luftschiff* ('America—Europe by Airship', Eiko, 1913). Films that panegyricised the benefits of modernity, such as *Der elektrische Apparat als Retter* ('The Electrical Apparatus as Saviour', Meßter-Film, 1910) and *Durch drahtlose Telegraphie gerettet* ('Saved by Wireless Telegraphy', Star-Film, 1912) – might easily appear on a programme alongside others berating its dangers, like *Vom Auto überfahren* ('Run Down by a Motor-Car', Gaumont, 1906) or *Katastrophe des Zeppelinschen Luftschiffes* ('Zeppelin Catastrophe', Duskes, 1910). The neurological consequences of modernity provided the theme for comedies such as *Ein Mustere exemplar aus dem nervösen Zeitalter* ('A Fine Specimen of the Nervous Age', Gaumont, 1909) or *Herr Riri ist nervenkrank* ('Mr. Riri has a Nervous Disease', Savoia, 1911). And manifestations of 'ideological shelterlessness' were apparent in documentaries like *Demonstration der Sozialisten in Budapest am 10.10.1907* ('Socialist Demonstration in Budapest on 10.10.1907', Projektograph, 1907) and dramas such as *Die moderne Suffragette* ('The Modern Suffragette', Svensk Biograf, 1913).¹⁸⁷

Along with its obvious sharing of many attributes of modern entertainments in general – a rapid alternation between ephemeral sensorial stimuli, a reliance on generic output, a telegraphic deployment of language (both in terms of individual film titles and the intertitles which appeared within films to 'explain' the on-screen action), and above all an overwhelming emphasis on the visual – early cinema furthermore contributed to the perceived collapse of time and space, as Stephen Kern and Thomas Kuchenbuch have discussed at length. Audiences were

‘transported’ from one distant location to another during the course of a film programme or, even more instantaneously, with every editing incursion in a single film. Time and space both seemed to have been ‘captured’ through their cinematographic recording, and could be reconstituted at will on the screen. Now under human ‘control,’ the usual flow of time could also be altered – compressed through editing, reversed through playing the film in the opposite direction to that in which it was recorded, as in *Ankunft eines Zuges vor- und rückwärts* (‘Arrival of a Train For- and Backwards’, Pathé, 1902), or drastically accelerated by use of time-lapse cinematography, as in certain extremely popular ‘nature films’ (*Naturaufnahmen*) of the early 1910s, such as *Die Entwicklung des Embryos in einem Hühnerei* (‘Development of the Embryo in a Chicken Egg’) and *Von der Knospe zur Blume* (‘From Bud to Bloom’, both Kineto Film, 1911). As Pastor Walther Conradt observed in his 1910 tract, *Kirche und Kinematograph*, such “absolutely new possibilities of seeing” included:

The filming of small living things and micro-organisms with the aid of microscopes and ultramicroscopes, and the presentation of movements ranging from the most vast (development of a battle) to hidden ones (x-ray images), to the slowest (blossoming of a flower), quickest (flight of a bullet), [and] most complicated [...].¹⁸⁸

The conservative reaction to this new entertainment medium, the so-called *Kinodebatte* discussed in Chapter 1, may be considered analogous to the contemporaneous *Schundliteratur-Debatte*. Indeed, all types of film considered objectionable were grouped under the comparable label ‘*Schundfilms*’ (‘trashy films’), and many of the same figures were engaged in and propounding similar courses of action within both ‘debates.’ For example, Ernst Schultze followed his two 1911 works on *Schundliteratur* with a third addressing the ‘problem’ of the cinema, while another of the most prolific writers on the ostensible ‘need’ for cinematic reform, the

Berlin barrister Albert Hellwig, simply modified the title of one of Schultze's abovementioned popular texts on *Schundliteratur* for his own account, *Schundfilme: Ihr Wesen – ihre Gefahren – und ihre Bekämpfung* ('Trashy Films: Their Substance – their Dangers – and their Combat').¹⁸⁹

The *Kinodebatte* comprised two distinct groups of campaigners. The first, the so-called *Kinoreformer* ('cinema reformists') advocated exclusively the production and exhibition of 'educational' films, such as documentaries and the types of 'nature films' described above by Conradt. The reformists' argument was essentially that the scientific recording of phenomena represented the 'legitimate' province of technological apparatus like the cinematograph, whereas incursions into the realm of culture did not. In general, the reformists achieved little change, other perhaps than an increased use of such films in schools. The second group, sometimes termed the *Kinodebattierer* ('cinema debaters') stood for high cultural principles, and were altogether more successful. From late 1912, as discussed previously, so-called *Autorenfilme* began to be produced, featuring prominent stage actors and a theatrical structure, and more importantly scripted as a unique creation by an established literary author. Thus it was hoped that cinema could be rendered 'art.' Again, however, the result can be seen as a *compromise* with modernity: the *Autorenfilm* was still a mass-reproduced and mass-distributed form; it still collapsed time and space in quite revolutionary ways; the cachet of 'art' could now be employed as a marketing and generic branding device for *Autorenfilme*; and these continued to be presented as only a single component of a disparate variety programme. As the reviewer in *Das kleine Journal* observed of the Berlin premiere of *Der Student von Prag*, for example, its screening was preceded by two 'nature films,' on sealife and a crater-lake in the South

Pacific, as well as a Max Linder comedy short and an actuality film of the Kaiser's trip to Northern Germany.¹⁹⁰

'Natural' versus Mechanical Reproduction

The perception of filmic images as (potentially infinite) reproductions of unique originals is of central significance when considering Wilhelmine *Doppelgänger* films, since this establishes *all* on-screen representations as the product of a kind of 'doubling' engendered by modernity (specifically, modern photographic technology). As mentioned previously, this can be seen to destabilise traditional notions of identity by rendering human originals seemingly endlessly 'copiable' and even potentially obsolete. In this regard, Tom Gunning cites Oliver Wendell Holmes Snr., who as early as 1859 in America noted that photography could be seen to 'dissolve' the power of its hitherto stable subjects:

Form is henceforth divorced from matter. In fact, matter as a visible object is of no great use any longer, except as the mould on which form is shaped. Give us a few negatives of a thing worth seeing, taken from different points of view, and that is all we want of it. Pull it down or burn it up, if you please. [...] There is only one Colosseum or Pantheon; but how many millions of potential negatives have they shed – representatives of billions of pictures – since they were erected.¹⁹¹

As Gunning observes, Holmes' ironic remarks are founded upon his recognition of what Peter Wollen and others have subsequently conceptualised as the 'three aspects of the photograph.' These are its 'indexicality' – in other words its

exposure to and evidencing of a “preexisting entity,” its ‘iconic’ aspect – or “direct resemblance to its object which allows immediate recognition,” and its ‘detachability’ – permitting it to “refer to an absent object separated from it in space and time.”¹⁹² These three aspects could be applied equally well to the *Doppelgänger*. It too is indexical, in the sense that it ‘proves’ (one is tempted to say ‘redoubles’) the existence of its original, even appearing to render this latter more ‘evident’ (and reinforcing it in terms of the semiotic principle of identity through difference). It is iconic, and often taken by others for the original, and also detachable – a perambulating Other that reproduces and threatens to replace that original, and yet can never be entirely its equivalent.

Holmes’ sentiments would scarcely have been lost on Wilhelmine Germans. *Figure 7* (overleaf), for example, shows a photograph of a middle-class Berliner, Herr Schroeder, taken at Paul Grundner’s studio in 1888.¹⁹³ As the legend on the reverse would have informed Schroeder:

The plate is retained for several years in case of repeat orders or enlargements. The latter are completed from the same plates as the originals.

Thus, one can argue not only that a detached ‘double’ of Schroeder would have manifested itself before his own eyes (in the form of this original photograph), but also that he had been made aware of the possibility of potentially infinite numbers of further reproductions that could be created at any time and possess any dimensions desired: whereas he, the source ‘matter,’ would remain but one. At the same time, however, these photographic ‘doubles’ had become distinct from their object, who could never again be the Schroeder of this moment in 1888, but was



Figure 7 Obverse (left) and reverse (right) of a photograph of a middle-class Berliner, Herr Schroeder (1888). Collection of the author.

rather a different Schroeder from later that year, or a Schroeder of 1893, and so on. Thus, two separate and differentiated Schroeders coexisted – the one, unfixed, as matter in day-to-day life, and the other merely as form, constant and stable, which was nevertheless accepted as ‘being’ Schroeder, in the family album of his nephew Max, whence *Figure 7* originates. From today’s standpoint, Schroeder’s *Doppelgänger* must be seen to have ‘triumphed’ – for whereas its auratic object is long since departed, so it lives on in the here and now as the *only* Schroeder available to us.

Such philosophical notions of – to quote J. Landau writing in 1912 – “mechanised immortality” through photography appear to have enjoyed widespread currency in Wilhelmine popular discourse, as modern subjects’ perceptions of time were altered further through this ability to reproduce a living person or instant in visible form both permanently and precisely.¹⁹⁴ In the illustrated press, for instance, ever greater use was made of photographs of the recently deceased in obituaries, rendering them – at least in some form – ‘still among the living,’ a practice that may

have reached a kind of *ne plus ultra* on the cover of the *Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung* of 12th February 1905, which delivered exactly what its headline promised: “The Final Photograph of Adolf von Menzel (†).” Likewise, Jürgen Kinter notes that from the 1890s especially, the assemblage of family photograph albums became widespread among all classes, functioning as monuments to their own existence that would, over time, transform into veritable living mausoleums where the ‘perfectly preserved’ dead could live on in visible form for future generations.¹⁹⁵ In this sense, the photographic ‘double’ – like the fictional *Doppelgänger* – takes on an almost ‘supernatural’ quality, although the ‘magic’ here is wrought not by other-worldly forces, but modern technology.

The indexical, iconic and detachable aspects of cinematic representations were recognised from the earliest film-shows in Germany. Bernd Poch, in his study of early cinema in East Friesland, cites a reviewer in the *Wilhelmshavener Tageblatt* of 10th December 1896, who writes that, “[a]s if by magic, the figures begin to move in the most natural way, and receive life just as in reality.”¹⁹⁶ In other words, cinematic reproductions both ‘are’ life, but are also something else (distinct from ‘reality’). Their detachability lends them a quasi-supernatural quality (they exist ‘as if by magic’), which may have been sensed even more greatly than in the case of photographs due to the impalpability and transiency of these projected images – a visual “kingdom of shadows,” as Maxim Gorky would famously put it in his July 1896 review of the Lumière Cinématographe.¹⁹⁷ Furthermore, these new reproductions moved – as photographs could not – and seemed therefore yet more life-like. As the reviewer of a demonstration of the Cinématographe in Stuttgart would write in *Der Filder-Bote* of 27th June 1896:

Everything that lives and moves in reality, the traffic streaming down the street, the ocean waves towering up and surging: we see all this before our very eyes, near enough to touch and inimitably natural. [...] A locomotive thunders into a station. [...] The image is so vivid that one believes one can hear the locomotive grind to a halt. Another image shows us two children at play, moving in such a natural way that one is driven almost to take them in one's arms.¹⁹⁸

Within modernity, then, there suddenly existed a potential 'doubling' of all life in terms of the 'real' and the 'virtual.' Everyone could have his or her own *Doppelgänger*, as would have been made abundantly clear through the so-called 'local actuality' films that enjoyed phenomenal popularity during the early period. These comprised shots of the streets and local area where a travelling-show was playing, shot on arrival in that locality and prepared for screening just one or two days later, so that the local population could 'see itself' on the screen. Clearly, the popularity of these films – which are attested in Germany from at least as early as November 1899 in Krefeld through to 1913 in Wilhelmshaven – implies a sense of modern marvel (rather than a horror of the supernatural) which can be identified even in the following tragic account from the British press in 1901:

Messrs. Edison were showing some scenes of the Whit Monday Sunday School processions in Manchester. Suddenly a woman's voice in the audience was heard to proclaim hysterically, "There's my Annie!" And it was, but alas! in the interval between the photograph being taken and the day on which the poor mother saw the picture the child had been killed. To the mother the illusion was too real but too transient, and for the time being she simply saw her little one walking serenely behind the banner of her Sunday School in the most natural way imaginable. After this incident hundreds of people from the neighbourhood [...] came to see the almost living image of their departed friend.¹⁹⁹

As Simon Popple observes, this perceived virtual ‘equivalence’ was attested also in the numerous fiction films concerning philandering husbands and wives who were caught *in flagrante* on the cinema-screen by their spouses, with the latter demonstrating no inability in recognising their virtual and real ‘other-halves’ as one and the same.²⁰⁰ Such films released in Germany include *Der Kinematograph als Verräter* (*The Tell-Tale Kinematograph*, Hepworth, 1908), *Indiskretion des Kinematographen* (‘The Cinematograph’s Indiscretion’, Théophile Pathé, 1908) and *Der verräterische Film* (‘The Tell-Tale Film’, Gaumont, 1913).

One final, astonishing, example that I wish to cite of this apparent equivalency was penned by Berthold Viertel in 1910, and concerns the screening of monarchical actuality films in Vienna before the German and Austro-Hungarian emperors:

They sat there, watching themselves. They saw faithful reproductions of themselves, which appeared to speak, to salute, and to laugh. And the crowds on the screen applauded. Then the crowd in the auditorium applauded too. And the monarchs on the screen signalled their thanks. Then the real monarchs signalled their thanks, in reality. But suddenly one of the films ripped and all was plunged into darkness. – At this point, a cold chill ran up my spine. Good grief, could it be that this split ran through the real ones as well? And horrified, I asked myself: just who are the real ones here, anyway?²⁰¹

Viertel’s comments are striking in part because of the clarity with which he communicates in written form the apparent univalence of those appearing on the screen and those in the auditorium, by alternating rapidly between elliptical sentences that echo one another. Likewise, the directness with which he poses the rhetorical question as to where ‘reality’ might now be located is startling. Furthermore, the fact

that Viertel's subjects are the emperors of Germany and Austro-Hungary – figure-heads symbolising the stability of the nation and traditional values – makes it appear that the sweeping effects of modernity are absolutely inescapable and all-consuming.

This specifically modern, specifically photo-cinematic duality is a recurrent theme within the Wilhelmine *Doppelgänger* film in general, as shall become clear in subsequent chapters. In many of the 'lookalike' films that I wish to address here, however, it is presented in terms of a kind of battle for dominance between 'natural' and 'mechanical' reproductions. This opposition had perhaps been enacted for the first time in the cinematic setting during the Skladanowskys' Wintergarten film-programme of November 1895. This concluded with the Skladanowskys' appearance on the screen taking a bow, followed by the appearance of the Skladanowskys on stage, likewise taking a bow (see *Figures 8 and 9*, overleaf). The 'doubling' here is twofold, involving not simply the 'real' versus the 'virtual,' but also Max and Emil Skladanowsky's familial resemblance, exaggerated by their identical dress and *coiffure*. In this way, they appear both as mechanical reproductions on the screen, and as the 'natural' biological reproductions of shared parentage. The issue is not simply one of questioning which pair of Skladanowskys is more authentic, but also which Skladanowsky is which.

The spectacle of family members dressed and made up identically was commonplace on the Wilhelmine variety stage. As contemporary advertisements attest, the majority of performing troupes were family-based concerns comprising parents with their children, or similarly-aged siblings. Identical garb, enhancing the physical likeness of family troupe members, may have been assumed partly as an intended source of visual pleasure (and as such, already a modern sensorial

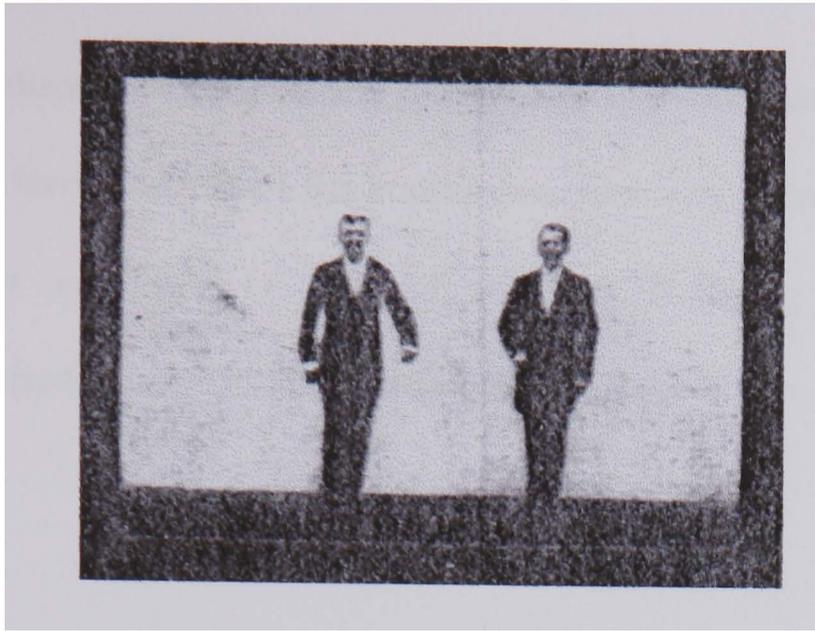


Figure 8 Max and Emil Skladanowsky (right to left) in the Wintergarten film-programme (1895). In Guido Seeber, *Arbeits-Gerät und Arbeits-Stätten des Kameramannes* (Berlin: Licht-Bild-Bühne, 1927), 25.



Figure 9 Max and Emil Skladanowsky (left to right) at the time of the Wintergarten film-programme (1895). In *ibid.*, 16.

stimulation) – so that the on-stage appearance of the group constituted a veritable ‘explosion’ of multi-patterned symmetries, and also as a means of emphasising visually that the group’s individual members formed a melodious *Gestalt*. For example, the co-ordination of gymnasts, dancers and acrobats, such as the Cottrelly Sisters (see *Figure 10*, on p.126), or – within the Skladanowskys’ Wintergarten films – the Brothers Milton, Grunato Family and Brothers Tschepanoff – could be



Figure 10 Postcard of The Cottrelly Sisters (Frieda and Elisa, left to right). In Saltarino, *op. cit.*, 43.



Figure 11 Carte-de-visite showing the Five Barrison Sisters (Gertrud, Inger, Lona, Sophie and Olga, left to right) at the Wintergarten in 1896. Collection of the author.

indicated also through their external uniformity. Likewise, such visual identicalness can be seen to have underlined the euphonious harmony of singing troupes like the Barrison Sisters (see *Figure 11*, overleaf), who, as Wolfgang Jansen has discussed, were headline performers at the Wintergarten alongside the Skladanowskys in the mid-1890s.²⁰²

This widespread presentation of familial resemblance as spectacle is subverted in the ‘lookalike’ *Doppelgänger* films featuring identical twins, such as *Die Zwillinge* (‘The Twins’, Vitascope, 1911), *Schwesterseelen* (‘Sisters’ Souls’, Cines, 1914) or any of the three dramas released as *Die Zwillingsbrüder* (‘The Twin Brothers’, Deutsche Bioscop, 1911; *The Twins*, Nordisk, 1912; and *The Twin Brothers*, Edison, 1913). These films’ titles and narratives clearly deal in notions of ‘natural’ reproduction, with their generic plot structure (which remains familiar to this day) consistently involving the external indistinguishability of a ‘good’ and a ‘bad’ twin and the near-punishment of the former for some heinous deed committed by the latter. Ultimately, the ‘bad’ twin is always revealed through a slip in behaviour that leads to a morally and legally ‘just’ conclusion. However, this narrative thematisation of biological doubling stands at odds with these films’ formal construction: both twins are played by a single actor who is duplicated through double exposure and split-screen techniques, inarguably the product of *mechanical* reproduction.²⁰³ In terms of visual pleasure, then, much of these films’ appeal may have laid in this demonstration of modern photo-technological capability, offering a seemingly even more precise reproduction (because the ‘twins’ here clearly were *one and the same*) than could be achieved in nature. As Eileen Bowser has noted with regard to these ‘twin’ films in America, one observer in the *New York Dramatic Mirror* of 24th January 1912 emphasised that the “distinctive point of this [trick of photography] is that it is so well done as not to be

apparent.”²⁰⁴ Indeed, the German trade advertisements for the abovementioned *Schwesterseelen* stressed in equal measure that “both the lead characters are played simultaneously by Madame Hesperia” and that “the photographic effects are absolutely top-notch.”²⁰⁵

These ‘twin’ films correspond, then, to the schema of the *Doppelgänger* suggested in *Figure 4*: their lead players are at once a fusion of the traditional (‘natural’ reproduction) and the modern (‘mechanical’ reproduction) that results in a wholly new and challenging construct – here a kind of ‘technologised biology’ – which traditional categories of identity can neither fix nor define. The contemporary evaluation of these works as ‘*Doppelgänger* films’ – one such drama of ‘twin brothers’ was even entitled simply *Der Doppelgänger* (‘The *Doppelgänger*’, Paulus & Unger, 1911) – may be considered, accordingly, in terms of this contradictory yet complementary combination of formal and narrative elements which presented spectators with one person – the lead actor, such as Madame Hesperia – who had fragmented into two characters as a consequence of exposure to modernity, simultaneously evoking notions of neurological and ideological disintegration and virtual replacement while offering visual pleasure and demonstrating the ability of modern technologies to ‘surpass’ the biological. Thus, as is typical of all products of modernity, these virtual ‘twins’ become marked by ambivalence.

The use of the cinematic medium may be seen to accentuate these issues, since the cinema itself constitutes one of those modern means of communication whose status as a source of information, understanding and ‘truth’ is absolutely dependent on the visual. Just like the characters in these films, the cinema audience relies first and foremost on the external as a marker of identity. When this is ‘played

around' with and dislocated, as in these films, the uncertainty and instability of perception within modernity becomes highlighted – confirming 'the *Doppelgänger* condition' as symptomatic (and symbolic) of modernity on at least three counts. Firstly, the *Doppelgänger* is visual, functioning as a sensorial stimulus whose on-screen appearance is immediately arresting. Secondly, it stresses notions of ideological shelterlessness, with these virtual twins recasting both biological reproduction and the traditional family (members of which they purport to represent) by serving as examples of mechanical reproduction's ability to generate precise copies that may render originals obsolete. Thirdly, these *Doppelgängers* are a celebration of modern potential, a demonstration of how modern (photographic) technology can be employed to enact the hitherto impossible and to bring pleasure – in this instance, through symmetrically-patterned visual spectacle.

Similarly, at least one of the 'lookalike' films featuring Siamese twins – in fact, the only one about which significant information appears to have survived, *Eine Amme wird gesucht* ('Wanted: A Wet-nurse', Bolten-Baeckers-Film, 1912) – seems to have represented modern technology's ability to 'improve' upon the perceived shortcomings of these biological reproductions. The film starred Rosa and Josefa Blažek (see *Figure 12*, overleaf) who hailed from Bohemia and were successful variety performers who toured Central Europe from the 1890s until the time of the First World War. Their act was mounted primarily in terms of visual spectacle, with the sisters dressing and behaving identically to underline their physical conjoinment, undertaking co-ordinated dance routines and – their *pièce de résistance* – playing a violin duet.²⁰⁶ The narrative of *Eine Amme wird gesucht* concerned their quest for a wet-nurse to look after their newborn son. As such, the film's content (like that of many touring freakshows) was sexually allusive, inviting the audience to contemplate not



Figure 12 Rosa and Josefa Blažek (left to right). In Saltarino, *op. cit.*, 25.

only whether the baby had been born to Rosa or Josefa (or indeed both?), but also, perhaps, what form intercourse might have taken. As the subsequent chapters on gender and sexuality will demonstrate, the exploration and redefining of sex was bound up in modernity also, with the construct of compulsory monogamous heterosexuality being subjected to the renegotiations of ideological shelterlessness. Indeed, two of the ‘lookalike’ films featuring identical twins – *Bolton und die Zwillingschwester* (‘Bolton and the Twin Sister’, Vitagraph, 1913) and *Die beiden Schwestern oder Teddy’s Verhältnis* (‘Both Sisters or Teddy’s Relationship’, Urbach, 1914) – are likewise sexually allusive, as their male protagonists ‘unwittingly’ enter into

romantic relationships with both parties in a pair of twins. Notably, both the Berlin and Munich censors demanded the excision of “bedroom scenes” involving the ‘wrong’ sister in the latter film, citing a depiction of Cupid closing the blinds as particularly inappropriate.²⁰⁷

The opening scenes of *Eine Amme wird gesucht*, however, would seem – from the existing description by the Berlin censor – to have been concerned more with maintaining, in a light-hearted way, that modern technology could ‘normalise’ the Blažek twins, as an ‘aberrant example’ of biological reproduction. Initially, the twins were introduced through an insert of a classified advertisement in a newspaper, which made them sound like any ‘ordinary’ mother in need of a wet-nurse. Next, each sister was introduced visually in a separate shot showing only her upper torso and the baby in her arms, so that each had effectively been ‘reframed’ by modern photographic technology to appear no longer as a ‘freak.’²⁰⁸ Of course, this ‘set up’ the revelation of the two as Siamese twins that inevitably followed, enhancing the visual shock of this latter. At the same time, though, these opening shots would have demonstrated anew modernity’s ability to cause everything ‘solid’ to ‘melt into air’: the conjunctive matter that hyphenated “Rosa—Josefa” (as the Blažeks were often billed) was here – however temporarily – destroyed and overcome.²⁰⁹

A comparable project was undertaken in another – albeit significantly different – film featuring the Siamese twins mentioned earlier, [*Radica & Doodica*] (Doyen, 1902). This was a medical film documenting the actual attempt by French surgeon Eugène-Louis Doyen to separate Radica and Doodica, which had originally been intended for scientific purposes but was, as Ian Christie writes, soon “found to be circulating among fairground freak-shows. Unknown to [Doyen], his assistant

cameraman had printed up dozens of copies of the film and was doing a brisk illicit trade.”²¹⁰ Whatever the exploitative circumstances through which the film reached a wide public across Europe (before Doyen successfully sued his cameraman, Monsieur Parnaland), it quite unambiguously asserted the power of modern science to ‘counteract’ perceived biological ‘mistakes.’

The final ‘lookalike’ films that I wish to consider here are those concerning ‘mistaken identity,’ such as *Meyers Doppelgänger* (*Mistaken Identity*, Cricks & Martin, 1910), *Moritz und sein Doppelgänger* (‘Moritz and his *Doppelgänger*’, S.C.A.G.L., 1910) or *Augustin gegen Augustin* (‘Augustin versus Augustin’, Gaumont, 1912). These are similar to the identical twin films, in that they feature the same actor playing the two lead characters through double exposure and split-screen techniques, establishing a virtual/real opposition. They differ, though, in their location of resemblance between *wholly unrelated persons* who have never previously met. The plot of *Herr Schulze und sein Doppelgänger* (‘Herr Schulze and his *Doppelgänger*’ Éclipse, 1911), as described in the trade journal *Der Kinematograph*, may be considered generally representative of the content of these works:

Herr Schulze has to make a business-trip and is taken to the station by his friend Müller. A handshake, a wave of the hat, and off Schulze steams into the world. On the way home, Müller meets his bootblack who is the spitting image of Schulze. Müller likes nothing better than a good joke, and has a plan in mind: the bootblack will get a generous tip for coming with Müller. [...] Frau Schulze [is sent] an anonymous letter revealing that her rogue of a husband is not on a trip at all, but has used this only as a pretext, so that he can spend the evening enjoying himself in ladies’ company. [...] At midnight, friend Müller and the pseudo-Schulze are supping wine amid very cheerful company — when the doors fly open and in rages Frau Schulze like a goddess of vengeance. All protests are immaterial — the pseudo-

Schulze must return home with her. Once there, he must go straight to bed while Frau Schulze sets about giving him a stern talking-to — when the doors fly open, revealing the real Schulze, who was able to complete his business more swiftly than expected, and has caught the night-train home. The astonishment is equally great on both sides: questions are asked, explanations given, and finally everything ends amicably.²¹¹

Again, a sexual component runs through these films, as seen in Schulze's finding of his wife addressing another man in bed. Similarly, in *Moritz und sein Doppelgänger*, a cobbler on his rounds is invited inside by Moritz's fiancée who takes him for her beloved. More particularly, however, these films focus on the city — reduced to certain axial signifiers such as the train station, the street (where the bootblack and the cobbler are encountered), commerce, or a hectic lifestyle. It is within this modern setting that the identical lookalike can flourish: a product of the new mass population whose concentration of hundreds of thousands in a small area makes the presence of such 'repetitions' seem statistically inevitable, with the facelessness of its crowds simultaneously making it plausible for these lookalikes to have remained unaware of one another hitherto, in a way that would not have been thinkable in a small rural community where everyone knew everybody else. The commonplace names ascribed to these films' protagonists — Schulze, Meyer, Moritz and so forth — likewise seem to point to the facelessness of the urban mass, while furthermore implying that such mistakes of identity might be everyday events that could befall absolutely all of us in the newly sprawling metropolises. These particular films also appear to touch on the kind of shifts in identity with which I am centrally interested in this research: both Schulze and Moritz are businessmen who suddenly become interchangeable with bootblacks and cobblers, indicating a new fluidity and breakdown in established class structures.

I hope to have established through the above brief exposition of the 'lookalike' *Doppelgänger* films identified – involving identical and Siamese twins and cases of mistaken identity – some of the reasons why these Wilhelmine releases might be considered as bound up in modernity, which serves as the defining context for my considerations of shifting identity within the *Doppelgänger* film and Wilhelmine society alike throughout the chapters that follow.

Chapter Three. Class Struggles, the *Doppelgänger* and the Detective Film

In this chapter, I consider the interplay of class identities as a frame for reading the Wilhelmine detective film, looking at which social class was creating the films, who the films' primary audience may have been, and how issues of class were represented and read between these two (as becomes clear, quite distinct) groups. In particular, I suggest that the figure of the *Doppelgänger* in these films can be seen as a fantastic representation of social mobility, as antagonists and protagonists alike assume and reproduce different class-related identities in order to gain entrance into sections of society traditionally closed to them. The latter argument is exemplified through analyses of two extant detective films featuring a *Doppelgänger* – *Die verräterische Zigarette* (*The Double*, Nordisk, 1910) and *Der Mann im Keller* ('The Man in the Cellar', Continental-Kunstfilm, 1914).

The Detective Film Audience: Engaged Proletariat or Modern Working-Class?

In her study of cinema-going in Mannheim during 1912, Emilie Altenloh found the detective film to be popular especially with what she termed "the most primitive type" of fourteen- to eighteen-year-old, constituted by labourers' children. At the same time she stressed that these "detective stories that preoccupy youthful

fantasy [...] scarcely arouse any interest in adult workers.”²¹² Altenloh’s findings are bolstered by the sneering remarks of various central figures in the *Kinodebatte* including Albert Hellwig, Ernst Schultze and Robert Gaupp for whom, as Sebastian Hesse has noted, “the detective film in particular represented a prime example of the detrimental consequences of so-called *Schundfilms*” on lower class (and by association – in the words of the Württemberg First Chamber in 1913, supposedly “insufficiently developed”) youth.²¹³

From here, it is tempting to define the Wilhelmine detective film as – to cite Hesse again – a “proletarian” genre, a kind of revolutionary vehicle challenging the values and precepts of the conservative bourgeoisie.²¹⁴ Such a definition seems especially enticing as a starting-point for considering those detective films featuring a *Doppelgänger* – such as *Die verräterische Zigarette*, *Der Mann im Keller*, or any of the three one-acters released as *Der falsche Graf* (‘The Fake Count’, Edison, 1912; Lubin, 1912; Fortuna, 1914) – whose generic plot might be reduced simply to ‘a lower class subject takes control by usurping and undermining an upper class position.’

However, as Miriam Hansen asks in her seminal “Early Silent Cinema: Whose Public Sphere?” with regard to the “reclamation of early silent cinema as a proletarian public sphere” in general:

are we dealing with yet another projection of leftist media theory in the tradition of Brecht and Benjamin, motivated by the desperate desire to redeem the cinema as a ‘good object’ in the face of so much evidence to the contrary?²¹⁵

Returning to contemporary sources, one certainly finds no espousal of detective films by socialist writers. Quite to the contrary, they appear as one with conservative critics in denouncing these as *Schundfilms*, as Walther Conradt observed in 1910: “above all among rational people – from extreme rightists through to the most fervent Social Democrats – the cry for censorship goes up.”²¹⁶ Likewise, Jürgen Kinter in his 1985 study of German cinema and the Labour Movement notes a “fundamental opposition” running throughout articles addressing the new medium that appeared in the Labour Movement press from 1908 onwards.²¹⁷ By way of example, Kinter cites a unanimous resolution passed by the various divisions of the *Freie Jugend Kölns* (Free Youth of Cologne) in September 1910, and publicised in the two Social Democrat newspapers, *Vorwärts* and *Arbeiter-Jugend*:

The showings offered in these cinemas, akin to dirty and trashy literature, mostly succeed only in awaking unhealthy and detrimental impressions within the easily excited fantasies of young persons – in some cases even offering direct instruction in criminal activity. [...] To best protect the Labour Youth from these detrimental influences, the assembly calls on all young male and female workers to avoid the cinemas and similar objectionable presentations.²¹⁸

Similarly, Victor Noack, in his 1913 tract *Der Kino: Etwas über sein Wesen und seine Bedeutung*, struggled to find a “proletarian” context for viewing the new medium, and came up only with the security afforded to proletarian performers through the efforts of their trade union, the *Genossenschaft deutscher Kinoschauspieler*, founded in 1902. In his identification of “political cinematography,” Noack also found no evidence of socialist activity, with the use of “cinema as an effective medium for propaganda” restricted to religious films sponsored by the Roman Catholic Church,

the Italian government's production of works promoting its military campaign in Libya, or the chauvinistic travelling shows put on by the German Naval League.²¹⁹

The few works in which socialism *was* thematised tended to represent it in negative terms and as a non-German 'problem.' In the fiction film *Sozialismus und Nihilismus* (*Socialism and Nihilism*, Pathé, 1906), for example, as Richard Abel has discussed, socialists are portrayed as vengeful assassins and the action is located not in France (where the film was produced) or Germany (where it was, on this occasion, shown) "but, more safely, in distant Russia," so that it seems entirely peripheral to these nations.²²⁰ In similar vein, P. Max Grempe remarked in the socialist-feminist journal *Die Gleichheit* in 1912:

some film-showings depict the class-conscious members of the proletariat who fight for the cause in such a way that they become mere caricatures [...] serving the purposes of imperial federalists and demagogues.²²¹

It is therefore apparent that the insistent modernity of early cinema should not necessarily be equated to 'revolutionary activity' in the socialist sense. However, it remains the case that some aspect of the detective film must have been perceived as a sufficiently 'revolutionary' challenge to accepted values and behaviour for the genre to incur the wrath of rightist and leftist writers alike.

The Modernity of the Detective Film

Certainly, both groups stated their objection to the films' vivid portrayals of criminality (the 'direct instruction in criminal activity' alluded to by the *Freie Jugend Kölns*), fearing that these could promote 'copycat' behaviour. The neurologist Robert Gaupp would, for example, argue in 1912 that:

Even if these criminal dramas generally end with a moralistic conclusion, in which the crime is expiated, it would be completely misguided to believe that such offerings are therefore without danger. The value of the moral conclusion as a means of deterrence is inconsequential in comparison to the profound effect exerted on the minds of young people by the representations of the bold criminal's heroic deeds.²²²

Likewise, the Württemberg First Chamber concluded the following year that, as a consequence of watching such films:

When the temptation arises in their own lives to commit morally reprehensible acts, the movie-goers' consciences and the lessons of their ethical upbringing will be so undermined that they will no longer hold them back. One must also consider the powerful suggestive influence that movies can exert upon the young mind: the cinema can push a child into actually imitating the crimes and misdeeds that he [or she] sees portrayed.²²³

According to Hellwig, Heinrich Stümcke and others, the simultaneous attraction and danger of the detective film laid, then, in the plasticity of its depictions of crime which were, in Schultze's words, "far more vivid than the printed word."²²⁴ Thus, these writers can be seen to object here to two particular modern aspects of the detective film: its formal presentation of a swift succession of immediately

understandable images of crime; and the subject matter of crime itself, which, as Vincent McHale and Eric Johnson have discussed at length, was regarded as one of the undesirable outgrowths of modern urban life.

The *per capita* crime rate in Germany rose by 20% between 1880 and 1914 – which equated to a huge increase in the actual number of recorded crimes, in view of the sixfold growth of the national population during these years. Formalised police forces were introduced and expanded in the big cities throughout the nineteenth century as a means of combating the perceived threat of the new modern icon of the criminal, whose existence and potency were seen to be attributable to the facelessness of the city crowd and the thronging street (which afforded immediate cover), the very size of the urban population (which rendered detection after the event more difficult), and from the *Jahrhundertwende* especially, the omnipresence of trains and automobiles (which could facilitate a ‘swift getaway’). All the time, the mass-distribution press overflowed with reports on this subject matter drawn from the modern everyday, both reinforcing city-dwellers’ fears of being robbed or otherwise assaulted, and making it appear – through the modern press’ ability to communicate ideas to an enormous readership simultaneously – as though these crimes were affecting *everybody* at once.²²⁵

The early detective film, as Richard Abel and Tom Gunning have made clear especially through the example of French productions, is consistently set in this urban environment.²²⁶ In terms of Wilhelmine releases, Nordisk’s Sherlock Holmes series, running from 1908, was set against studio reconstructions of modern-day London, and much of Pathé’s Nick Winter series, commenced in 1910, was shot on location on the streets of Paris, while the phenomenally popular home-grown Stuart

Webbs series, inaugurated in 1914, made substantial use of Berlin locations standing in for the London of the narrative.²²⁷

Criminal activities in these films are most often enacted in crowded modern settings such as hotel foyers, as in *Der Diebstahl im Grand-Hotel* ('Theft at the Grand-Hotel', Lux) and *Nick Winter und die Affäre des Celebric-Hotels* ('Nick Winter and the Celebric-Hotel Affair', Pathé, both 1911), or railway stations whence perpetrators can make a rapid exit by train, as in *Reise um die Welt des Detektivs* (*Detective's Tour of the World*, Pathé, 1907) and, as we shall see below, *Die verräterische Zigarette*. Alongside their reliance on trains and cars, the criminals in these films also employ other modern technologies to nefarious ends, such as new telecommunications networks, as in *Ein geheimnisvolles Telefongespräch* ('A Mysterious Telephone Conversation', Cines, 1912), or lithographic rotary-presses with which to mass-produce fake banknotes, as in *Die Falschmünzer* ('The Counterfeiters', Frontier) or *Das Panzergewölbe* ('The Armoured Vault', Stuart Webbs-Film-Co., both 1914). Furthermore, these films often drew on current events for their subject matter, so that their narratives seemed absolutely topical. For example, the theft of the Mona Lisa from the Louvre in August 1911 could within weeks be found re-presented in *Die gestohlene "Mona Lisa"* (*The Stolen Picture*, Nordisk), *Nick Winter und der Diebstahl der Mona Lisa* (*Nick Winter and the Theft of the Mona Lisa*, Pathé), *Die Trauer um Mona Lisa* ('Mourning the Mona Lisa', Éclair, all 1911) or *Mona Lisa* ('Mona Lisa', Continental-Kunstfilm, 1912).

Between the Upper and the Lower Classes: Representing Social Mobility in the Detective Film

The distinctly modern criminals of these films were consistently depicted as grubby, nameless subproletarian figures wearing shabby clothing and inhabiting squalid tenement digs, while the targets of their attacks were typically members of the titled upper classes – barons, counts, English lords, and so forth – or representatives of these classes’ values, such as the Mona Lisa, operating as a figure-head of high culture. These protagonists can be seen to constitute stereotyped exaggerations or idealised constructions of the perceived oppositional poles of class identity, that were however considered to have become destabilised in Wilhelmine Germany following the rise of the commercial-industrial sector within modernity, rendering the nation something of a ‘capitalist meritocracy.’ Simply put, this meant that whoever had enough money could climb the social ladder, rather than being fixed in the class position to which they were born. Accordingly, it was possible for a new “elite” of *nouveau riche* bourgeoisie to appear, who were conceptualised in Germany, as Dolores Augustine and Carl McClelland, for example, have discussed, as representatives of the *Besitzbürgertum* (‘propertied bourgeoisie’) that was consistently contrasted with the ostensibly more traditional *Bildungsbürgertum* (‘educated bourgeoisie’). The latter group stood for cultural conservatism, and disdained modern industry and technologisation on account of their perceived undermining of the nation’s ‘accepted’ socio-cultural construction (and, of course, their own position as *Kulturträger* (‘definers of national culture’)).²²⁸

Rather than assert themselves in a wholly revolutionary way, the *nouveaux riches* of Wilhelmine industry sought to legitimise their social ascent by adopting

numerous traits of the upper classes, thereby establishing themselves as a kind of fusion of the traditional and the modern. As Augustine observes with regard to the “luxurious homes of German businessmen in this period”:

The bourgeois castle, whether a modern imitation or – more rarely – an authentic medieval or Baroque structure, represented an attempt to outdo the aristocracy according to the latter’s standards. The wealthy, responding to the ‘stimulus of invidious comparison,’ incorporated into their mansions other elements of aristocratic architecture and lifestyle as well: the sheer size, the impressive façade and often monumental style, the park, luxurious furnishings, a large staff of servants. These ‘aristocratic’ forms, aimed at upper-class peers, had a certain legitimizing effect. In addition, the fortress-like appearance of these mansions, the turrets and parapets, were part of an almost crude demonstration of power. [...] The villa in neo-Classical or neo-Baroque style contributed to the businessman’s image as a cultivated person. Historicism was also an ‘architecture of domination.’ Renaissance copies of ancient villas advertised that their owners felt as mighty as the ruling class of ancient Rome and Greece; Wilhelmine copies of Renaissance villas had a similar function.²²⁹

Likewise, McClelland notes that the *nouveaux riches* began to send their children to university – not, supposedly, with the purpose of gaining knowledge of culture, but to obtain professional qualifications. This apparently led to their commonplace derisory description by academicians – members of the conservative *Bildungsbürgertum* – as “*Brotstudenten*” (‘bread students’ – implying that they were interested only in ‘dough’ and ‘making a crust’).²³⁰ Thus, the conservative bourgeoisie and upper classes may have perceived the *nouveaux riches* as a ‘cuckoo in the nest’ of high culture and high society, seemingly ‘usurping’ the socio-cultural forms and domains of these classes while relying on modern industry to support their social position. At the same time, socialists opposed the *nouveaux riches*’ replication of traditional bourgeois and aristocratic values and lifestyles as a means of self-

legitimation, since this ran contrary to their own aims of revolutionary social restructuring and the emancipation of the proletariat through the dissolution of established class hierarchies.²³¹

This simultaneous opposition by conservatives and socialists is significant in that it parallels their shared dislike of the detective film's representation of criminals. I wish to suggest that these latter – subproletarian 'types' who gain access to upper class spheres through the appropriation of capital (or culture) – may be seen as a kind of fantastic approximation of the *nouveaux riches*' attainment of social mobility, and that the films featuring a *Doppelgänger* convey this in a particularly graphic way, as the criminals become literally indistinguishable from the upper class figures whose identities and positions in the socio-cultural hierarchy they assume. For example, a crucial scene in the denouement of these *Doppelgänger* films involves the “comparison of the *Doppelgängers*” (as one company termed it in a contemporary advertisement), as depicted in *Figures 13* and *14* (overleaf), two promotional stills from *Der Doppelgänger* ('The *Doppelgänger*', Karl Werner) and *Der Amerikaner* (*A Yankee Catch*, Nordisk, both 1913).²³² The criminal double and aristocratic original are placed alongside one another, and thereby presented frontally to the audience, so that the fluid identity of these dual protagonists is demonstrated to the diegetic spectators and the cinema audience simultaneously: the original class affiliation of either party on the screen can no longer be determined by either group of onlookers. This uncertainty is underlined particularly during the version of this scene in *Der Mann im Keller*, in which Lady Grace looks from one incarnation of her husband to the other with an ever more pronounced expression of perturbation before finally throwing her hands in the air and exclaiming (by means of an intertitle): “For Heaven's sake, which of them is my bridegroom?”.

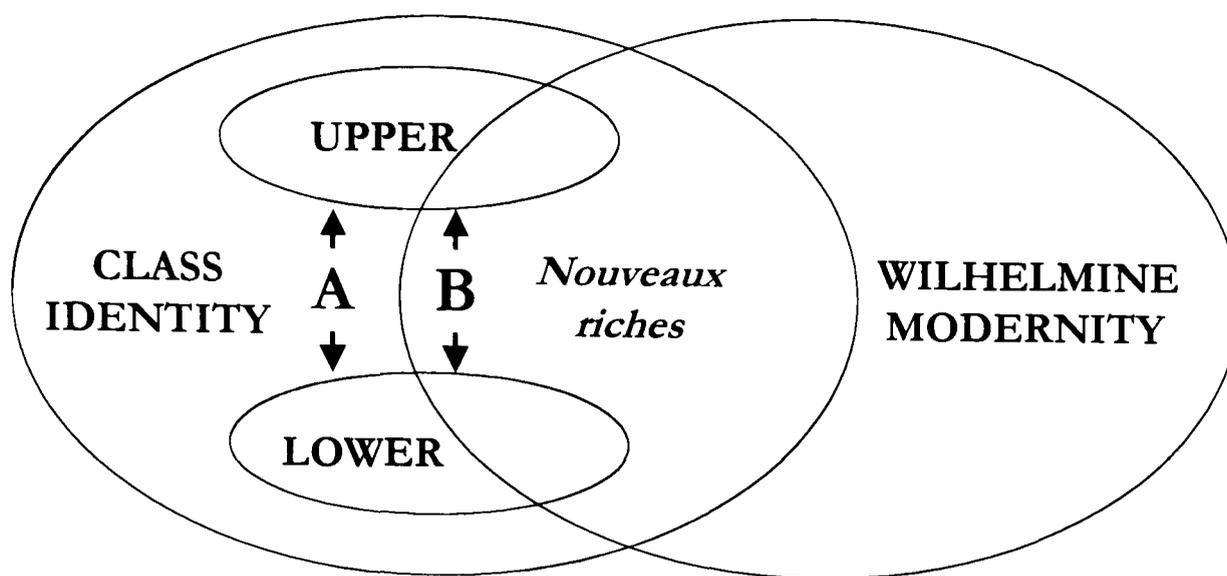


Figure 13 Oskar Fuchs (left and right) in a promotional still for *Der Doppelgänger* ('The *Doppelgänger*', Karl Werner, 1913). In *Die Licht-Bild-Bühne* 6.3 (1913): 43.²³³



Figure 14 Promotional still for *Der Amerikaner* (*A Yankee Catch*, Nordisk, 1913). Courtesy of Det danske Filmmuseum.

The Wilhelmine detective film, a sequelised product bound up in processes of industrial rationalisation, was typically produced by subjects who had themselves newly come to occupy *nouveau riche* positions as a consequence of their involvement in the cinema industry. Martin Koerber and Hans-Michael Bock, for example, in their biographical studies of, respectively, Oskar Meßter and Joe May (the originator and exclusive director of the Stuart Webbs series at this time), have documented the rise of these two major figures in early German film from petit bourgeois backgrounds to the absolute elite of wealthy businessmen as a result of their cinematic enterprises.²³⁴ Consequently, the representations of social mobility in these films may be seen to echo the often conflicting and contradictory sentiments of their *nouveau riche* creators, on the one hand vaunting the new possibilities for overcoming the constraints of fixed class identities – as these filmmakers had done – through the accumulation of capital, while on the other hand seeking to ‘cut off’ this option by criminalising it and thereby reaffirming the line between the classes (as these *nouveau riche* subjects now allied themselves to upper class identity – perceiving and representing the incursions of the lower classes as an affront to traditional values – and thus distanced themselves from their own lower class origins). In essence, then, I am suggesting that these *nouveaux riches* exhibited something akin to the ‘*Doppelgänger* identities’ of the criminals in these films, trying to obscure a lower class past by taking on various signifiers of high class identity while constantly running the risk of ‘exposure’ on account of their ‘difference,’ their reliance on modernity – whether in terms of the modern industrial sector or modern urban criminality – as the means of securing their social position.



Key: A = opposition
B = ambivalence

Figure 15 Construction of the ‘*Doppelgänger* of class’ in Wilhelmine society and the detective film

As the preceding discussion makes clear, any written attempt to elucidate the discordant particularities of *nouveau riche* identity – the product of continual uncertainty and redefinition within the maelstrom of modernity (which is in turn one of its very defining characteristics) – seems destined to collapse into tautology. However, when represented ideographically – as shown in *Figure 15* (above) – the ‘*Doppelgänger* of class’ in the detective film (and its counterpart in Wilhelmine society) can be rendered readily comprehensible. The figure of the *Doppelgänger* likewise functions as an ideograph, and is an immediately understandable shorthand for a myriad of vacillating sentiments and ambiguities: it simply thrusts these perceived opposites together and confronts the spectator as a perambulating embodiment of the resultant coalition. Accordingly, the *Doppelgänger* may be regarded here as a modern visual stimulus that, as such, appears best suited to representing its modern subject.²³⁵

Of course, although representations of social mobility in these films may have been produced by members of the *nouveaux riches*, their primary audience, as noted by Altenloh and other contemporary cultural critics, would have been working-class youth. How might they have responded to these representations? If they really did identify with the criminals, as conservative and socialist writers – whose claims were, of course, merely conjectural – feared, then this could have been due to their familiarity with the social hardships endured by these characters with their grubby clothing and distinctly unluxurious dwellings – as well as their desire for something better. Robert Gaupp would seem to have drawn this kind of conclusion, suggesting that:

[such d]epictions of misery and distress, poverty and sickness produce troubling thoughts about the world's inequalities, and generate a lack of respect for the law and state authority.²³⁶

The rapid juxtaposition of subproletarian depictions with scenes set in aristocratic environments, particularly in the opening sequences of many detective films as the crimes were enacted, would surely have underlined the gulf between the classes. Gaupp's comments are noteworthy also for his suggestion that resistance might be engendered *vis-à-vis* both 'the law' and 'state authority.' This distinction indicates that Gaupp perceived a twofold potential in these criminal representations, implying that they constituted a challenge not only as criminals to the administration of justice, but also, as lower class subjects, to the established hierarchies and distinctions of the classes.

As shall be made clear in the readings of extant detective films featuring *Doppelgängers* with which this chapter concludes, the criminals are most often configured as veritable anti-heroes of modernity – totally ‘streetwise,’ rapid in thought and deed, and completely *au fait* with modern technologies. Thus, if it is correct that the shared class-related attributes of the detective film’s criminals and working-class audiences engendered identification, then these criminal figures may be seen even as a kind of fantastic role model for these audiences, demonstrating the surmountability of modernity and its perceived complexities, and more especially, the surmountability of capitalism as a means of gaining social mobility, respect and a chance at happiness. Antithetical both to conservative hopes for a continuation of the ‘accepted’ class structure and socialist ideals of the dissolution of capitalism and hierarchies of class, this modern ‘get rich quick’ scenario may have been a potent fantasy of empowerment for spectators whose own class identity promoted feelings of social impotence. At the same time, of course, it was a fantasy that reaffirmed the supremacy of capitalism within modernity (and thereby arguably reinforced the position of the *nouveaux riches* – including the films’ makers – as the new wielders of power in Wilhelmine society).

As Altenloh and the contemporary cultural critics observed, however, enjoyment of the detective genre seemed to tail off at around age eighteen. Although accounts penned by Wilhelmine working-class ‘teenagers’ are probably non-existent, meaning that any suggestions as to why this may have been the case must be purely speculative, it is perhaps notable that this loss of interest corresponds broadly with the age at which most working-class subjects entered full-time employment. As Rosmarie Beier comments in her discussion of lower class employment in turn-of-the-century Berlin, the rewards of the workplace could be bleak indeed:

Their annual wage seldom exceeded 1000 Marks. The available income in workers' households was mostly swallowed by the running costs, the outgoings for rent, food and clothes. The rent for the typical workers' flat – the one-room-flat with kitchen but no bath – was around 250 Marks a year. More than half the income went on food. [...] Everything over the basic outgoings, such as more substantial purchases like household articles, furniture or even just a school-satchel for the children had to be paid for through additional work or saved for gradually by making economies with food and clothes.²³⁷

It might be that the impecunious rewards and other vicissitudes of working-life made the fantasy of capitalist emancipation less appealing, as it became clear to young workers that the realities of the capitalist system were scarcely liberating to all. From here, it could be argued that the abandonment of the detective film might indicate either a 'socialist awakening' on the part of Wilhelmine working-class youths as they turned to different ideologies of emancipation, or else a resignation to the seeming fixity of class identity and one's lot in life: either of which outcomes would have brought these subjects into line with the precepts of the detective film's most ardent opponents – respectively, socialists and conservatives.

However, all the above is based on the assumption of audience identification with the criminal characters. This rather forcibly disregards the possibility of identification not with these films' anti-heroes, but their intended hero – the detective. After all, he (or, more rarely, she) was the eponym of the genre, and it was about the exploits of individual detectives, rather than criminals, that the sequelised film (and book) series were constructed. The titles of separate instalments typically promised the *simultaneous* spectacle of the detective and a distinctive criminal act, as in *Nick Winter und die entführte Tochter* ('Nick Winter and the Kidnapped Daughter', Pathé, 1911), *Sherlock Holmes im Kampfe mit Falschmünzern* ('Sherlock Holmes Battles

Counterfeiters', Hepworth, 1912) and several others of the works mentioned already. Just as the criminals took centre-stage, and appeared empowered throughout the opening halves of these films, as they committed their crimes, so the detective, presented as a wholly positive and heroic figure, was shown to assume control – 'solving the case' – in the second half.²³⁸ Notably, a number of one-acters were released in the Wilhelmine cinema whose entire premise was that young boys identified with and idolised the literary or cinematic detective, and would therefore desire to emulate this hero, as in *Er will auch Detektiv werden* ('He Wants to be a Detective Too', Hepworth, 1912), *Bubi, der kleine Detektiv* ('Bubi, the Little Detective', Gaumont) or *Karlchens Traum als Sherlock-Holmes [sic]* ('Little Karl's Dream of Being Sherlock-Holmes', Lloyd-Film, both 1914).

Interestingly, any consideration of the detective reveals him (or her) to be far removed from the diametrical opposite to the criminal that might be supposed, so that the detective also is a champion of modernity and a role model for *nouveau riche* identity, as the criminal's 'above the law' counterpart. Indeed, Elsaesser has suggested that:

Henny Porten as much as Hanni Weisse, Ernst Reicher or Harry Piel provided the role models for an upwardly mobile audience, showing to perfection how to behave as governess, daughter, or unmarried mother, and sporting the clothes, the gestures and attitudes fitting the man about town, the gentleman or intrepid detective.²³⁹

Schlüpmann likewise has argued that the primarily male detectives of the Wilhelmine screen represent the emancipatory possibilities of social mobility: "By this, I mean [...] the general bourgeois emancipation from the shackles of tradition, from prejudice and the institutions of aristarchy."²⁴⁰ It is little wonder, then, that the

Wilhelmine conservative and socialist writers on the detective film often vilified the detective and the criminal in equal measure. For example, Schultze in 1911 denounced as one the genre's depictions of "the splendours of a criminal life and the magnificence of detective work (*Detektivtätigkeit*)."²⁴¹

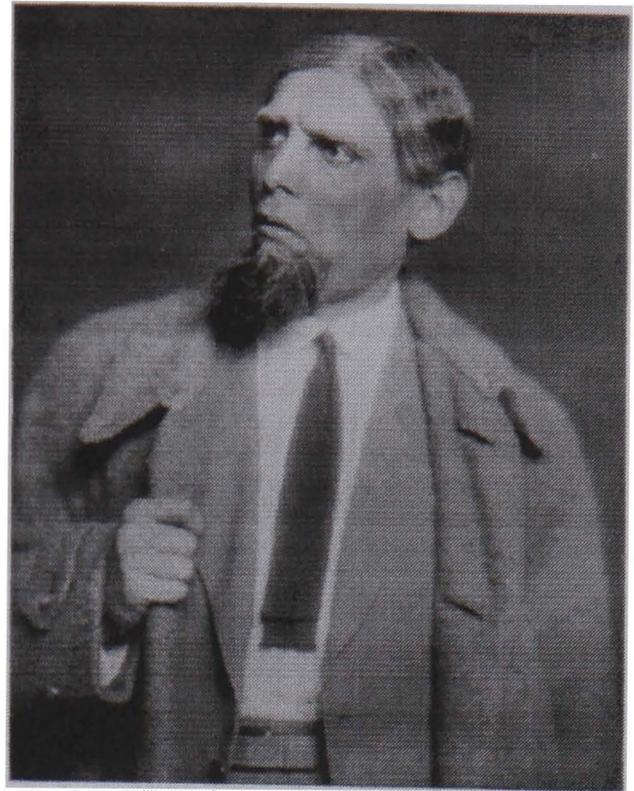
As Tilo Knops has noted with reference to the extant works of the Stuart Webbs series, the detective is consistently presented amidst a wealth of "symbolically overdetermined props [and] holy relic[s] of the middle class" including "medieval armour and carpets, bearskins and other animal rugs by the bed, statues and oriental tapestries" – and, in particular, the writing desk, as a shorthand for the social milieu of the modern businessman.²⁴² Dressing in dapper suits, meticulously mannered and deploying his education to practical ends through his reasoned deductions, the Wilhelmine film detective is the epitome of *nouveau riche* identity – and as such, strangely allied to the countercultural criminals he pursues.

Like them, he exhibits a pronounced intimacy with modernity, ultimately implementing his mastery of train timetables, telegraph and telephone communications, and other modern technologies to outsmart and overcome the criminals, so that the interaction between the two parties can be seen less as a battle between legality and criminality than as a contest to prove one's proficiency in the modern urban world. For example, in the third and fourth episodes of the Stuart Webbs series – *Der Geisterspuk im Hause des Professors* (*Trapped by Camera*, Continental-Kunstfilm, 1914) and *Das Panzergewölbe* – the detective outdoes the criminals' use of, respectively, a secret doorway opened only by making an electrical contact and a bomb wired to an electric timer, by setting up a movie-camera – likewise activated by an electric contact – to record the first criminal *in flagrante delicto*, and by getting a

telephone-call through to the electricity company to shut off the supply before the bomb explodes.²⁴³ As Schlüpmann has written, the female detective in works such as *Das Geheimnis von Chateau Richmond* ('The Mystery of Chateau Richmond', Karl Werner, 1913), the second episode of the Miss Nobody series, is likewise thoroughly modern – as a working woman who moves independently about the city streets – and uses this to her advantage by, for instance, observing the actions of male criminals who initially ignore her presence in the mistaken/traditional belief that the female look is not empowered.²⁴⁴

The film detective also shares the criminal's ability to alter his or her identity through disguise, with both parties using this as a means to gain access to spheres they otherwise could not enter, and thereby transcending traditional notions of social fixity. Ernst Reicher, who played Stuart Webbs, was indeed celebrated especially for his disguises, with contemporary star postcards of the actor, such as *Figure 16* (overleaf), presenting him in the various disguises he assumed during the series. On occasion, Webbs' disguises did not even serve any function in the narratives of these films, and rather took the form of spectacle, establishing the detective – as in the star postcard – as himself a source of modern visual pleasure. In the now lost *Der Geisterspuk im Hause des Professors*, for instance, he was introduced, according to the original programme, as follows:

An elegant study in the metropolis. There enters a hugely overweight fellow, wheezing asthmatically, who eases himself down into a chair and — removes two convex discs from his mouth, which had given shape to his fat cheeks. He places his wig down beside him and unfastens his imposing and portly stomach (an enormous cushion tied beneath his clothing). It is the slim and sinewy Webbs!²⁴⁵



ERNST REICHER

Figure 16 Portrait (left) and star postcard (right) of Ernst Reicher (both 1915).
Collection of the author.

In those works containing a *Doppelgänger*, there is often even a ‘mirroring’ of certain scenes depicting the criminal *Doppelgänger* through others showing the detective’s transformation into a *Doppelgänger* also, so that the latter is seen to possess the same modern abilities as the criminal to surmount traditional class boundaries. In *Der Mann im Keller*, for example, the scene representing Lady Grace’s consternation at being incapable of distinguishing between her husband and his *Doppelgänger* is complemented by another, identically constructed ‘comparison of the *Doppelgängers*’ (see *Figure 17*, overleaf) in which a London bobby looks repeatedly from left to right to see if he can spot any difference between the criminal that Webbs has apprehended and the disguised Webbs, who has taken on this latter’s identity in order to infiltrate a felonious gang.



Figure 17 Ernst Reicher (right) in a frame enlargement from *Der Mann im Keller* ('The Man in the Cellar', Continental-Kunstfilm, 1914). Courtesy of the Bundesarchiv-Filmarchiv.

Meanwhile, in *Wo ist Coletti?*, which Sabine Hake has identified as one of the 'self-referential' works of early German cinema, the structure of the battle between the criminal and the detective as a contest for modern supremacy is laid bare, as the master-detective Coletti responds in kind to a direct charge in the daily press that he has been lax in failing to locate a disguised criminal on the run in Berlin – by himself adopting a variety of disguises, and sending his hairdresser out onto the streets made up as his *Doppelgänger*, to prove that anyone can shift identity and pass undetected among the urban masses.²⁴⁶ In so doing, however, it becomes yet more difficult to determine precisely what distinguishes the detective from the criminal, since the two share so many characteristics and abilities. This was taken to an extreme in the now

lost *Doppelgänger* film *Die Papierspur* ('The Paper Clue', Deutsche Bioscop, 1913), in which Carl Beckersachs played a dual role – as both the treacherous criminal and the detective pursuing him.

Throughout the genre, the *nouveau riche* detective further resembles the criminal in that he or she overtly challenges traditionally empowered figures – in the detective's case, in the form of the police. In the majority of films, the detective's services are sought directly by the victims of crime – thereby bypassing the state authorities entirely. In the Sherlock Holmes and Stuart Webbs series, however, the police are shown handing the case over to the detective – thus acknowledging their own lack *vis-à-vis* the thoroughly modern detective. Accordingly, the police in the detective film seem rather redundant, and most often offer only 'comic relief,' as they and their shortcomings are lampooned. For instance, the London bobbies in Nordisk's Sherlock Holmes series – as can be seen in *Figure 18* (overleaf), a still from *Ein Meisterstück von Sherlock Holmes* (*The Stolen Legacy*, Nordisk, 1911) – are consistently presented as knockabout clowns: here, the wiry policeman makes a fool of himself through his hopeless attempts to carry his obese colleague up a ladder and through a narrow sky-light.

What, then, separates the detective from the criminals? Ultimately, I would argue, very little – since both are constructed as representations of *nouveau riche* identity created by, and shaped by the *Weltanschauung* of, this modern social class. As demonstrated above in *Figure 15*, *nouveau riche* identity can itself be seen as a 'Doppelgänger identity' marked by ambiguity and internal inconsistency and contradiction. Thus, one element of that identity is constantly offset to accommodate another seemingly oppositional one, in an illusory quest for stability within



Figure 18 Promotional still for *Ein Meisterstück von Sherlock Holmes* (*The Stolen Legacy*, Nordisk, 1911). Collection of the author.

modernity. Here, specifically, this means that the components of *nouveau riche* identity (represented by the criminal) relating to lower class origination and modern capitalistic want are counterpointed against the perceived membership of the upper classes (represented by the detective) and equivalence to the aristocracy (who are always portrayed as indeed reliant on the detective). The apparent opposites of the detective film – one forever heroic and most often illuminated on screen through frontal lighting, so that he or she appears literally as a ‘force of light,’ the other consistently villainous and typically back- and side-lit, so that he or she appears as an emanation from the shadows, as a ‘force of darkness’ – are actually complementary, the obverse and reverse of a single *nouveau riche* coin.²⁴⁷

Accordingly, for our purposes, it is largely irrelevant whether working-class youth audiences identified with the criminals on account of their shared lower class background, or the detective due to his or her heroic presentation, since both are complementary anyway, as contemporary cultural critics acknowledged through their simultaneous condemnation of both.²⁴⁸ While the former enacted the dream of social ascent, the latter was an embodiment of the rewards such social mobility could bring, so that the detective film was through and through a distinctly modern affirmation and advocacy of *nouveau riche* identity. The *Doppelgänger* in all this is a further visual/ideographic shorthand for the dream of social elevation through modern capitalism, as an unstable fusion of lower and upper class attributes – that is neither one thing nor the other, and nor indeed both – yet which is nevertheless insistently present and potent in the modern world of the detective film.

A Brief News Item: The Captain of Köpenick (1906)

In the manner of the early cinema programme, I now wish to break away briefly from these fiction films to present a ‘blast’ of Wilhelmine ‘reality,’ in the shape of a *bona fide* case of transcending social boundaries which made headlines across Germany: the masquerade of an unemployed Berlin cobbler’s assistant, Wilhelm Voigt, as a Prussian military officer in October 1906. The 57-year-old Voigt, previously convicted for falsification of post office documents and theft from a law-court, on this occasion donned an army captain’s uniform, marched up to a group of soldiers on parade in the Berlin district of Köpenick, and commandeered them to escort and guard him at two public offices. At these locations, civil servants – who

accepted his appearance and entourage as proof of identity – supplied Voigt with a new set of identity papers and a substantial sum in cash.

Once Voigt's caper was uncovered, it became a huge 'media event' – with the press dubbing him '*der Hauptmann von Köpenick*' ('The Captain of Köpenick') and his ruse the '*Köpenickiade*,' a neologism employed thereafter in German to describe any "hoax involving impersonation."²⁴⁹ Articles in the contemporary press seem to have stressed three elements of the case in particular which, I wish to suggest, establish Voigt's financially-motivated deception very much as a 'real world' counterpart to the criminal activities enacted in the detective film, so that he can be seen – both in terms of cause and effect – as something akin to a historically attested incarnation of the *Doppelgänger* engendered by dreams of social mobility.

Firstly, like the fictional *Doppelgänger*, Voigt's transcendence of social categories was seen to have rendered these traditional constructs no longer stable, so that they were now considered undependable. As the editor of the socialist journal *Hilfe*, Friedrich Naumann, ejaculated:

the reports from Köpenick [are] really a revelation: the power of the rulers can be gained from now on through imitation! [...] don't believe every order and every uniform! Beware of those who come to you with authority!²⁵⁰

Secondly, as the above quotation also makes clear, the *Köpenickiade* was perceived as a direct challenge to the traditional holders of power in the nation; or, as Robert Gaupp worded it above with relation to the detective film, a disrespecting of

‘the law and state authority.’ Naumann, in his 1906 article on the Captain of Köpenick, expounded:

[Voigt] is himself reported to have said that he wouldn’t take a pfennig from a private individual. [...] It is an interesting form of anti-social behaviour, being a thief of the state by profession. It is possible that this kind of thief follows a particular moral principle, comparable to that of the Romantic brigands of yore who translated the motto “peace to the huts, war on the palaces” into practice. He is an ‘anarchist of action’ who plunders the state coffers to his fullest ability and thereby mocks state authority.²⁵¹

Indeed, the Köpenick events to some extent inflamed a more widespread attack on Prussian bureaucrats and officials, as outmoded authority figures who blindly followed the rituals of pomp and ceremony, titles and uniforms, without ever questioning the validity (in the broadest sense) of these traditional forms. For example, a reader’s letter published in a Hannover newspaper on 26th October openly derided these traditional holders of power (as well as the police):

The Captain of Köpenick one and the same as the celebrated Captain of Capernaum! The identity of the Captain of Köpenick has finally been determined – although the police detectives in Berlin are, of course, still at a loose end. One simply needs to consult the Bible for evidence of this —

[Matthew ch.8, v.9] The Captain to the pilgrims’ leader: “Behold, I have mercenaries serving under me. For when I say to one of them: “Go thither!”, he goes; and when I say to another: “Come hither!”, then so he comes!”

[Matthew ch.8, v.10] The Captain (to himself): “Truly, I have never known such devotion!”²⁵²



Figure 19 Souvenir postcards (1906) showing Wilhelm Voigt in his regular attire (left) and as the Captain of Köpenick (right). Collection of the author.

Thirdly, the case was distinctly visual. Voigt's ruse constituted a triumph of appearance over substance, and was entirely dependent for its success upon an acceptance of the visual as *the* marker of identity. The media made much of this visual aspect, which seemed also to lend the case an immediately striking, modern cachet. *Figure 19* (above), for example, shows a pair of police mug-shots contrasting Voigt in his regular attire with his impersonation of the military officer. These were widely reprinted in the press, in the manner of the 'before and after' photographs already in use as a means of advertising diets and cosmetic procedures.²⁵³ Postcard reprints were also sold, specifically, as souvenirs of Berlin, underscoring the notion that this masquerade 'belonged' to modern city-life. Naumann indeed made Voigt's escapade sound like an organic outgrowth of this environment, suggesting that, as a

new metropolitan emblem, “Berlin has its Captain.”²⁵⁴ These mug-shots, in which Voigt is posed identically, bears the same mien and appears against a single backdrop, seem to constitute a veritable ‘*Doppelgänger* portrait’ of this antagonist, depicting him as a ‘blank sheet’ on which identity can be ‘written,’ a representative of potential mobility as signified by the – at once visual and identificatory – dualism of this resolutely singular subject.

The motivation underlying Voigt’s deception – like that of the detective film’s criminals, a desire for social amelioration, enacted in a literalised way – likewise facilitated a politicised reading of the *Köpenickiade*. Voigt’s ‘regular appearance,’ as represented in the mug-shot or other contemporary postcards, such as *Figure 20* (overleaf), consistently established him as rather drawn, downtrodden and stubble-chinned, appearing old before his 57 years and apparently in possession of only a single suit of clothes – the epitome of the proletarian ‘type’ ravaged by the vicissitudes of life and little-rewarded for his efforts.²⁵⁵ *Figure 20* furthermore mentions the address of his flat in Rixdorf, one of those Berlin districts which, as Gesine Asmus notes, were renowned for their over-inhabited workers’ digs and perceived lower-class character.²⁵⁶ Thus, Voigt could be seen not simply as an isolated case, but as the talisman of a whole sector of the population that was socially excluded. Naumann, for instance, regards Voigt as the rhetorical nexus for a series of socialist ‘what ifs’: what if he had been afforded an equal start in life; what if he had been given access to education, or ensured employment – how might his creative talents have developed then? Ultimately, Naumann – like the socialist opponents of the detective film – can not condone Voigt’s replication of an ‘accepted’ authority-figure to gain access to a decidedly capitalistic notion of mobility, although he does draw on this to attack the unquestioning allegiances to and acceptance of the



Wilhelm Voigt (Hauptmann von Zepentke) verläßt seine Wohnung Kopfstraße, Rixdorf

Figure 20 Postcard (ca. 1908) entitled “Wilhelm Voigt (Captain of Köpenick) leaves his flat in Kopfstraße, Rixdorf.” Collection of the author.

established social hierarchies that Voigt’s foray so graphically lays bare (and in so doing, subverts):

For a while, he fraudulently assumed a bit of sovereignty and exercised it in a manner contravening national law. Yet he was actively and passively supported in this by soldiers,

policemen and civil servants, because they all regarded such an exercising of sovereignty as quite plausible.²⁵⁷

The visuality of the *Köpenickiade* was exploited in a number of actuality films – including at least three German productions entitled *Der Hauptmann von Köpenick* (Buderus; Duskes; and Internationale Kinematographen- und Lichteffect-Gesellschaft) as well as a French-made work, *Der Schuster von Köpenick* ('The Cobbler of Köpenick', Pathé, all 1906) – that appeared in the days and weeks following the event, re-enacting its main points as a series of tableaux. The surviving film, the Buderus production – shot in Hannover for swift distribution throughout Western Germany while the news-item remained current – is known to have been phenomenally popular, with Paul Hofmann drawing on contemporary sources maintaining that some 10,000 spectators attended showings over a four-day period in the city of Essen alone.²⁵⁸

The film sets up a noteworthy dichotomy between its representations of traditional authority and of Voigt. The former move about slowly and robotically – as does Voigt while in the Captain's guise, thereby blending into their midst – and are arranged in regimented formations, whether as parading soldiers in the street or bureaucrats distributed evenly about their desks in the government offices. The 'real' Voigt, however, cuts an energetic figure throughout, most often running or walking briskly, and moving randomly about the screen. He seems, then, fully attuned to the modern pace of the city around him, whereas the conservative figures appear out-of-place, an attempt against the backdrop of urban confusion to enforce a stability that is thoroughly shaken by Voigt, as an embodiment (or apparent 'organic outgrowth') of the modern.

Voigt's dualism is first introduced in the film in what can be seen as a highly symbolic tableau depicting his 'transformation' behind a derelict hut in a field – a visually striking invention on the part of the film's makers – which parallels the practically omnipresent 'transformation sequence' of other *Doppelgänger* films (best-known in terms of Jekyll's transformation into Hyde in the laboratory), revealing both protagonist and antagonist to be one and the same, and yet distinct. Here, the hut appears in the centre of the frame, with Voigt, dressed as the Captain, entering to its right on the screen. He steps behind it and reappears on the other side in his regular attire, seemingly returned to his dynamic modern condition since he swiftly dashes out of the frame. Thus, the right and left of the screen have been employed to represent the different spheres that Voigt occupies, separated by the hut – here a literally crumbling structure that divides the image – symbolising the established, and seemingly outmoded, boundary that he has overstepped.

Inevitably, the film's final tableau represents Voigt's arrest, yet as Gaupp argued with regard to the criminal depictions of the detective genre, this moralistic, 'corrective' conclusion can scarcely be seen to outweigh the heroic presentation of countercultural activities that has preceded. Indeed, Voigt gets the last laugh, retaining some power even in this scene, as he forces the arresting officers to wait while he finishes his breakfast before hauling him away.

For my purposes, although the Voigt case is thematically close to the *Doppelgänger* scenarios of the detective film, and as such worthy of our attention, it nevertheless differs in terms of the simplicity with which it represents the conflict between tradition and modernity, as a head-on meeting of two oppositional spheres. These crime actuality films 'lack' an intermediary detective figure who helps to

‘muddy the waters,’ representing a further product of the maelstrom of modernity, at once an affiliate of the police and the aristocracy as well as an emancipated part of ‘criminal,’ lower-class identity. The presence of the ‘hymenal’ detective, surpassing both the authorities and the felons to fight another adventure, ensures that the issue of social mobility within modernity can never be ‘solved’ or stabilised in these works, since he or she will continue to manifest a ‘*Doppelgänger* condition’ – as an enduring, mobile fusion of the new and the old – that enshrines the constancy of uncertainty and paradoxism viz. the defining attributes of modern life, as the real champions of these films.

Die verräterische Zigarette (The Double, Nordisk , 1910)

Die verräterische Zigarette is in many ways a symptomatic example of the early detective film based in modernity – a one-acter offering a swift concatenation of rather arbitrarily linked thrills, visual surprises, location shots of thronging cityscapes, and deployments of new technologies during its scant ten-minute running-time. Readily comparable to the production company’s highly successful and equally pacy Sherlock Holmes series, with the exception that it makes no attempt to pass off its Copenhagen exteriors as London, *Die verräterische Zigarette* would seem to have enjoyed significant popularity, with Nordisk selling 59 prints during a year when 47 was the average, remaining in re-release in Munich as late as 1915, and being remade by the company as a comedy under the same Danish title, *Dobbeltgængereren*, in 1912, which latter was released in Germany as *Der Amerikaner (A Yankee Catch, Nordisk, 1913)*.²⁵⁹

Die verräterische Zigarette concerns two hoodlums, one of whom possesses a camera and goes to an upper-class district where he surreptitiously takes a snapshot of a Count (Aage Hertel with moustache and beard, and wearing top hat and tails) leaving his villa alongside his wife. The felonious photographer runs to the run-down tenement of his accomplice (Aage Hertel again, this time clean-shaven and sporting a dusty, ill-fitting suit), who sits before a mirror and scrutinises the photograph while making himself up to look like the aristocrat depicted therein. The two now return to the aristocrat's villa, where the butler unquestioningly permits them to enter, taking them to be his master accompanied by an acquaintance. Once inside, the two break into the safe, before making a quick departure.

When the Count and Countess return home, they are startled to discover the burglary, and suspicion falls on their butler, who maintains – in the face of all reason, they believe – that only the master with his friend had entered the villa that afternoon. In need of assistance, the aristocrat telephones a detective (Otto Lagoni), who rushes to the scene, interviews the butler, and proceeds to examine the living-room for clues: and there he discovers a cigarette-butt of a different brand to that smoked by the aristocrat.

There follows what a title-card heralds as “a happy coincidence” – the detective passes the two hoodlums on the street just as the one who had played ‘the *Doppelgänger*’ tosses a cigarette-butt to the ground: recognising the brand, the detective follows the pair to their downtown digs. Briefly he returns to his office to fetch his houseboy, who dresses up as a newspaper vendor and stands watch outside the criminal duo's tenement while the detective goes inside. As he enters their flat, the two jump him from behind, chloroform him, tie him up and seal him in a

wooden chest to which they attach a stick of lighted dynamite. The two exit through a secret opening in the wall-panelling and thus avoid passing the detective's disguised houseboy outside. "In the nick of time" (as the intertitle puts it), the houseboy goes inside regardless, and saves his master, who immediately happens on a map that the hoodlums have discarded on the floor, showing their escape route! The detective and his boy-servant speed to the railway station just as the train carrying the criminals is pulling away – and so the detective jumps into an automobile which, according to the title-card, "rushes at one hundred kilometres an hour" to the next station, where the police arrest the two ne'er-do-wells.²⁶⁰ The detective returns the loot to the Count and Countess, who embrace happily.

This may seem a rather lengthy description of the action in a ten-minute film, but it serves to make a point. Unlike a work of classical narrative cinema, the events of *Die verräterische Zigarette* are structured less as a series of closely-linked causes and effects than as a haphazard sequence of modern spectacles which are only loosely connected by the detective narrative. The film is already a condensation of the hyperactivity of modern life – encompassing the speed of trains and cars, the cigarette as ephemeral stimulant, snapshot photography as a means of instantaneous reproduction, the street as parade-ground of city-life, and so forth – which can therefore scarcely be reduced further here.

The status of all these representations of modernity as spectacle may be observed clearly through the scene in which the aristocrat telephones the detective. Rather than being incorporated simply as a functional device, the telephone's distance-swallowing abilities are 'shown off' through a likewise distinctly modern and distance-swallowing deployment of special effects, in the form of a trisected split-

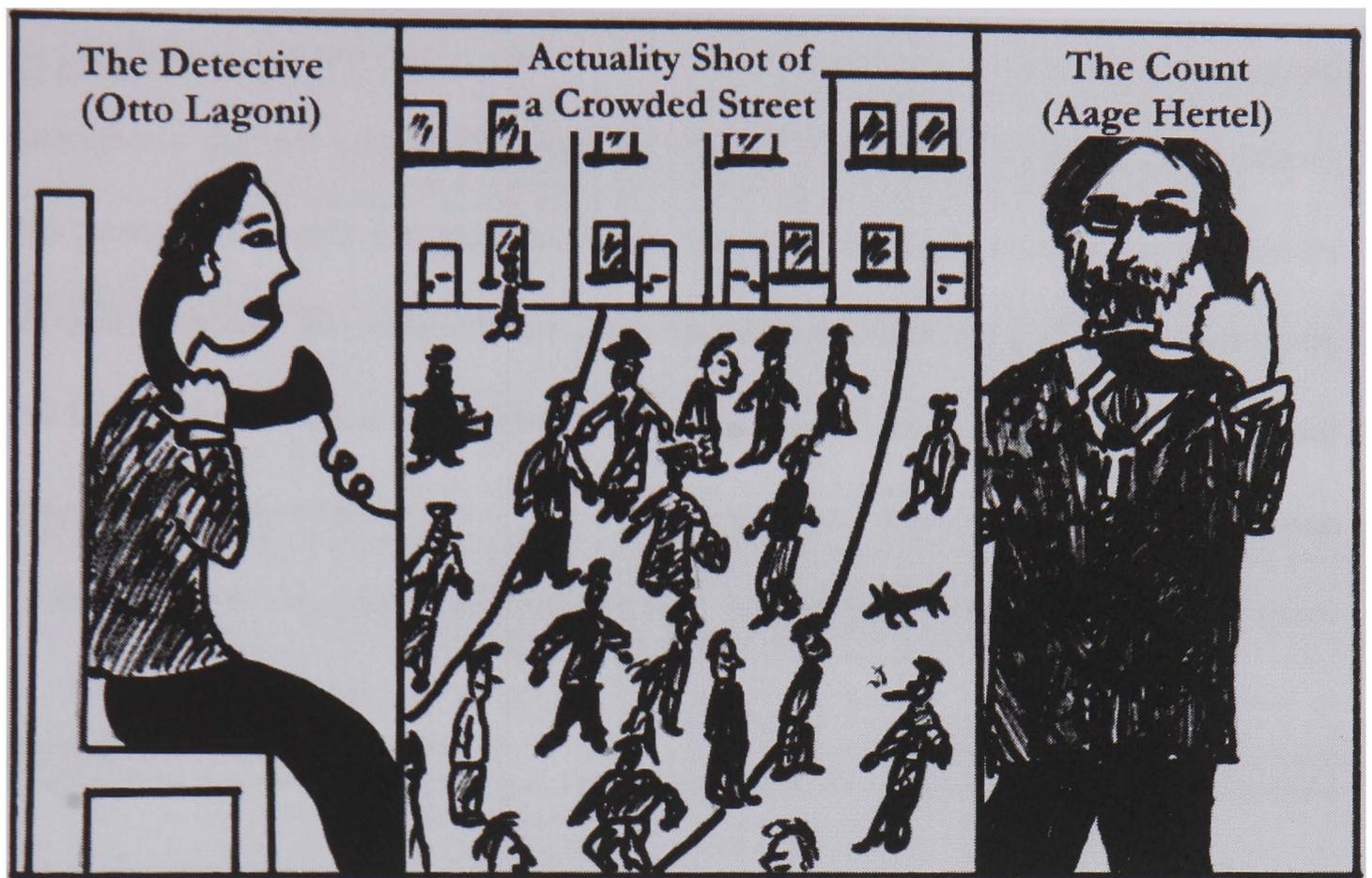


Figure 21 Sketch showing the construction of the trisected split-screen telephone call in *Die verräterische Zigarette (The Double, Nordisk, 1910)*.²⁶¹

screen shot, as depicted in *Figure 21* (above).²⁶² Occupying the space between the studio shots of the detective and the aristocrat we see actuality footage of a bustling market-street in central Copenhagen, representing the distance between the two speakers that is being surmounted – as the presence of the three images at once indicates, in an instant. At the same time, this can be read as a class-riven partitioning of the frame, as the confusion of ‘the street’ – with its masses of mooching men in ill-fitting suits and basket-carrying women in flannel dresses – is flanked by images of the static and serene interiors of the aristocrat and the detective. The latter are presented here as literally ‘beyond the reach’ of and distinct from the lower classes, whom their conversation bypasses entirely, and who are separated off by the sharp vertical divisions on the screen.

Indeed, the aristocrats and the lower class criminals remain firmly segregated throughout: the two sets of characters never meet; and as *Figures 22 and 23* (overleaf), two promotional stills for the film, show, the interiors of their respective domiciles are quite unequal. The villa with its plush furnishings and drapes, patterned parquet and fragile ornaments is contrasted with the tenement's cheap (and here disarranged) bits of furniture, well-worn rug and bare, dirty walls. Furthermore, the large open window affords the villa a light airiness that is distinct from the dull enclosed space of the tenement, with its single – constantly shuttered – pane. This effect is exaggerated in the film's exterior shots, in which the aristocrats and the detective move about in bright sunlight, while the criminals are forever cast in heavy shadow, so that the groups appear divided into literal 'bodies of light' and 'bodies of darkness.'

Yet this pronounced demarcation functions primarily to highlight the 'border crises' of class identity within the film, as these idealised divisions – involving characters who are indeed nameless, abstracted class 'types' rather than individuals – are transcended and disrupted. Most obviously, this is thematised through the figure of the *Doppelgänger* at the beginning of the film, with modern photographic technology lending a highly efficacious means for usurping aristocratic identity. Not only do we see the criminals inside the Count's villa, his sacred 'inner sanctum' within the film, but the boundaries are blurred also by the fact that Aage Hertel plays both the Count and the head-criminal. It is of course during the scenes involving the *Doppelgänger* – before the detective has even been introduced – that the criminals appear most empowered, and it seems noteworthy that the promotional still representing these events, *Figure 22*, seeks to dissipate the impression through the addition of the detective at the window, watching over the criminals' incursion into



Figure 22 Aage Hertel (centre) and Otto Lagoni (left, at window) in a promotional still for *Die verräterische Zigarette* (*The Double*, Nordisk, 1910).
Courtesy of Det danske Filmmuseum.



Figure 23 Otto Lagoni (centre, in suit) and Aage Hertel (far left) in a promotional still for *Die verräterische Zigarette* (*The Double*, Nordisk, 1910).
Courtesy of Det danske Filmmuseum.

upper-class territory. This alteration may have been made because the laws regarding advertising posters and photographs were generally far stricter than those governing film-content, due to the perception that, while the latter was restricted to the cinema auditorium, the former constituted an ‘invasion of the public sphere,’ as they appeared on the streets about local cinemas.²⁶³ Likewise, *Figure 23* makes it seem as though the detective is in no real danger, since his boy-servant is watching over him from the doorway, whereas in the film, he is outside and unaware of what has befallen his master.

The presence of the detective as a ‘middle-man’ between the upper and lower classes distinguishes *Die verräterische Zigarette* from the films about the Captain of Köpenick, which feature a head-to-head battle for supremacy between the oppositional classes. Here, this simplistic binarism is fogged by the detective, who constitutes an apparently already assimilated member of the *nouveaux riches*, sporting a dapper suit, smart haircut and impeccable manners, operating from an office containing voluminous bookcases and the ubiquitous overproportioned writing-desk, and employing his own servant. He is at once a figure accepted and relied upon by the aristocrats, who contact him at the first hint of trouble, and someone who is able to move freely between upper and lower spheres – thereby demonstrating his familiarity with both – appearing ultimately as a sanctioned counterpart to the criminal, a ‘*Doppelgänger* of class’ who has successfully ‘made the change.’ Through the aristocrats’ willing handing-over of social management to the detective, the film makes it appear that the upper classes have come to acknowledge their own inadequacy within modernity, and that their supersession by the representatives of a neoteric intermediary power is already well under way, an impression reinforced by

the almost total absence of the police as traditional authority-figures, appearing only as arresting officers – on screen for less than ten seconds at the very end.

Indeed, the diminution of the traditionally empowered, and in particular the upper classes – which I contend can be seen as perhaps the ‘central theme’ of *Die verräterische Zigarette* – is exemplified not simply through the incursions of the criminals and the detective, but also through those of other representative artefacts of modernity. For example, the cigarette – attributed great significance in the film, whose German title translates as ‘The Tell-Tale Cigarette’ – stands out in the aristocratic villa not because it is the remnant of a ‘quick fix’ to relieve the criminal’s nerves as he rifles through the safe, but on account of its different brand. Thus, the Count is established as a user of this modern sensorial stimulant also, already bound up in the excesses of hyperstimulation and therefore quite akin to the criminal. Furthermore, it is the Count who inaugurates the ‘business’ with the telephone, reaching for a solution to a manifestation of modern technology that has already been installed within his ostensibly ‘traditional’ domain: accordingly, one might argue that the trisected split-screen shot that follows can be read quite differently, as a simultaneous representation of all the classes alongside each other, that implies not their separation, but their confusion.

When the Count and Countess embrace at the end, then, their continued existence can no longer be seen to be defined on their own terms, but by modernity and its *nouveau riche* representative, which latter have risen triumphant and effectively subsumed tradition.

Der Mann im Keller ('The Man in the Cellar', Continental-Kunstfilm, 1914)

Der Mann im Keller was the second episode of the German-made Stuart Webbs series, which would become a staple of the Wilhelmine and Weimar cinema, with around fifty feature-length adventures produced between 1914 and 1926. Old episodes were in constant re-release alongside new ones, with at least three of the first four films produced in 1914 reissued in 1919.²⁶⁴ *Der Mann im Keller* is the only one of these pre-war titles known to have survived, and on account of this – as well as being the earliest surviving work of the celebrated director of Weimar adventure and monumental films, Joe May – it has been singled out repeatedly in post-Pordenone discussions to exemplify the popular early German detective film.

Heide Schlüpmann, Tilo Knops and Sebastian Hesse have all employed *Der Mann im Keller* to illustrate the 'conservatism' of the genre as a whole – meaning specifically, as noted above, its basis in the 'material world' of the *Besitzbürgertum* and its representation of this group's values, aspirations and apparent empowerment through the simultaneous mastery of modernity and assimilation of upper class 'mores' and lifestyles. These writers argue convincingly that the Webbs series can be seen as a response to the ongoing concerns being raised by members of the educated bourgeoisie in the *Kinodebatte*, with the socially aspiring *nouveau riche* filmmakers attempting to appease these opponents by bringing their works more into line with the precepts of high culture, regarded by these *nouveaux riches* as another signifier of upper class identity and therefore worthy of emulation here as part of a 'social elevation' of the cinema also.²⁶⁵

The resulting films accordingly seem to bear the marks of *nouveau riche* identity, as a distinct fusion of ‘traditional’ and ‘modern,’ ‘upper’ and ‘lower’: on the one hand, running to feature-length (*Der Mann im Keller* comprises five acts in seventy minutes), employing stage-trained actors – not least of whom is Ernst Reicher himself, playing Stuart Webbs, and publicised with promises of “psychological credibility” and “realistic, stirring performances,” while on the other hand, remaining a generic product with formulaic characters and situations, continuing to place visual spectacle – vaunted in advertising materials as “sensations” – above narrative cohesion, and, as the above indicates, filling the screen with characters who aspire to, or have already attained idealised modern (i.e. *nouveau riche*) lifestyles.²⁶⁶ Ultimately, then, despite its ‘respectable’ theatrical borrowings and flourishes, *Der Mann im Keller* may not be so distinct from ‘Schundfilms’ such as *Die verräterische Zigarette*: like the socially mobile subject it is neither a replication of upper class identity nor fully emancipated from its (perceived working class) origins. As Knops concludes: “Comparatively speaking, the German detective cinema may not be more narratively integrated than its foreign rivals, nor more of a ‘cinema of attraction.’”²⁶⁷

Hans-Michael Bock has made a valiant attempt to summarise the ‘plot’ of *Der Mann im Keller*:

When Webbs’ aid is sought because of a howling deerhound, he finds a man stashed in a chest in the cellar of a vacant house. After some time, this man [Lord Rawson] finally regains consciousness and informs the detective that he had been drawn to London by the contents of an anonymous letter he received in Cairo. Webbs determines that a *Doppelgänger* and his two accomplices have cleared the [colonial] officer out of the way in order to gain access both to his rich bride and to secret documents.²⁶⁸

Already, we can identify the now familiar division of the characters into: (i) lower class criminals (here operating from a dingy, semi-derelict outhouse) who ‘invade’ the upper class adytum; (ii) disempowered aristocratic victims; and (iii) the all-powerful detective, whose *nouveau riche* ‘savoir faire’ affords him access to all spheres. However, as Knops notes, any attempt to characterise the film through its narrative – in other words, to approach it as a work of classical narrative cinema – must flounder, since this is to disregard its most insistently modern quality, its ‘spectacular’ juxtaposition of immediately understandable images (themselves often depicting modern technologies and their effects) which transcend the narrative and may even strike today’s viewer of the film as an endless series of ‘implausibilities’ or ‘discontinuities’:

Why should the report by Baroness de Lille of a deerhound in a cellar cause police headquarters to engage a detective? [...] Why doesn’t the frightened Baroness know even the name of the inhabitant of the villa next door, the colonial officer Lord Rawson? And why must Webbs, commissioned by police headquarters and already at the scene of the crime, first ask permission belatedly via telegraph from the Lord before forcing an entry into the villa on a rescue mission? Or was it just necessary [...] to have an important telegraphic correspondence with Cairo? Why does the fiancée entertain the toupee-wearing double at home as her betrothed for a considerable length of time, and at the end require Webbs’ help to identify the correct one [...]?²⁶⁹

Of course, if accepted as visual spectacle, these ‘events’ can all be seen to serve as shorthand amplifying the ‘central theme’ of *Der Mann im Keller*, the redistribution of power and with it the destabilising of identity within modernity. The police – reduced to a series of medium close-ups of head-scratching and shoulder-shrugging – are indicative only of their own supersession within modernity, as they immediately hand over the scarcely perplexing case of the howling dog to Webbs.

The befuddlement of the Baroness – likewise ‘confused’ and ‘overpowered’ by modernity – serves to allow Webbs to demonstrate his dexterity with the voluminous London telephone and telegraph guides by cutting straight through the extraneous material to identify her neighbour’s name and telegraph-address. The howling dog, meanwhile, motivates Webbs’ entrance into the pitch-black cellar – wielding a battery-powered torch whose beam cuts through the darkness, establishing the detective as a literal ‘force of light.’ The ‘business’ with the telegraph, as Knops suggests, facilitates a demonstration of Webbs’ mastery of this distance-swallowing apparatus, configured also in terms of a lengthy sequence of colonial spectacle in (studio reconstructions of) Egypt, referencing the apparent ‘shrinkage’ of the globe within modernity.²⁷⁰ Lady Grace’s acceptance of the *Doppelgänger* makes possible Webbs’ response in like terms – revealing his own mobility by disguising himself as an electrician in order to gain entrance to her villa and investigate the *Doppelgänger*. In other words, if there are cause-effect relations in *Der Mann im Keller*, then these serve as much to link visual attractions as they do narrative events.²⁷¹

Schlüpmann has observed that the visual dichotomisation of the spheres in this film into realms of darkness and light has its basis in specific deployments of modern lighting technologies:

artificial lighting plays a greater role than any other signifier of modernity in *Der Mann im Keller*: the pocket torch becomes the eyes’ guiding star, its beam of light cutting across the darkness like the light from the lamp of the projector in the cinema auditorium; the sounds of the trapped animal are carried by the now redundant gas-pipes [originating from a previous lighting system]; and ultimately, the detective manages to enter a private residence inconspicuously by posing as the representative of an electricity company [who wishes to check the wiring of the chandeliers there].²⁷²

This stark delineation is forever under threat in the film, however, functioning as another visual pendant to the *Doppelgänger*, signifying that the ‘states of light and darkness,’ as represented in and through modernity, are in constant flux. Thus, the sanctity of the Baroness’ villa is impinged upon by darkness – as the pipes of the redundant lighting system provide her with a direct connection to the pitch-black cellar; the ‘authentic’ Lord is discovered trapped in the darkness of that cellar, and can be rescued only by the torch-wielding detective; and the criminal *Doppelgänger* of course moves freely within the electric illumination of Lady Grace’s villa. Accordingly, it might be argued that the notion of stability, particularly in terms of appearance and identity, is introduced in the film, and encoded here on the screen, only to be immediately deconstructed, serving in this way as a contrastive framework within which to assert ongoing change.

The slippage of identity is represented through the figure of the *Doppelgänger* in particular with reference once again to the impact of modern technology on humanity, with the use of disguise here equalling a kind of flesh-and-blood ‘playing out’ of mechanical reproduction, as Schlüpmann has argued:

The most significant role in ‘Stuart Webbs’ is played, however, by disguise, the faking of a person that one is not, a perfect reproduction of the original. [...] Initially, it is employed by criminals. But only as a means of fighting crime with its own weapons does this illusion, the reproduction of the original, find justification.²⁷³

Interestingly, mechanical reproduction played a major part in the other three works of the Stuart Webbs series produced in 1914: a snapshot of a kidnapping led to the capture of the ruthless gang in *Die geheimnisvolle Villa* (‘The Mysterious Villa’, Continental-Kunstfilm, 1914), and Webbs’ use of the cinematograph camera

triggered by an electrical contact made possible the identification of the criminal in *Der Geisterspuk im Hause des Professors*, while the counterfeiting of currency-notes by means of lithographic rotary-presses constituted the nefarious deed in *Das Panzer-gewölbe*. Here also, the perceived simultaneously positive and negative potential of all modern technologies is attested, depending on whether they are in the hands of criminals or the detective: like the ‘oppositional’ characters of these films, these technologies seem to displace the very issues of ‘good’ versus ‘bad’ within which they are framed, by being both at once and therefore overstepping such rigid boundaries.

In *Der Mann im Keller*, the initial appearance of the ‘authentic’ Lord Rawson is, significantly, a mechanical reproduction. In the film’s very first image, a large framed photograph of him stands – positioned frontally to be seen by the putative audience – on the knick-knack table in Lady Grace’s living-room. Thus, even before the *Doppelgänger* has been introduced, we see that Rawson has been reproduced already and therefore destabilised by modern technology, so that the whole process of slippage appears to extend beyond the single ‘criminal’ act of appropriating his appearance *qua* his identity that follows. Likewise, Lady Grace’s inability to distinguish her fiancé from the *Doppelgänger* (or ‘the original’ from ‘the copy’) in the final scene – with the ‘truth’ revealed by Webbs only in the final thirty seconds of this seventy-minute film – scarcely seems to constitute a satisfactory closure from the viewpoint of establishing shifting identity as a phenomenon that can be overcome. Indeed, at the denouement, only Webbs appears triumphant – a character whose identity is founded on fluidity and the ability to move unhindered with modernity and between and beyond traditional spheres. Ultimately, then, it seems that such modern ‘chameleonism’ (*Chamäleonartigkeit*) – constructed here in *nouveau riche* garb, as

an apparently new and empowered identity – is the only way to survive the class maelstrom, with stability firmly rejected as a thing of the past.

Chapter Four. “Give Me Your Trousers or I’ll Shoot!”: Female

Gender and the *Hosenrolle*

Sex/Gender/Sexuality

The *Doppelgänger*s in this and the following chapter are all located ‘between’ male and female identity as represented through gender-specific clothing. As such, the protagonists of the comedies discussed here, whether performing a female-to-male or male-to-female transformation – conceptualised in German specifically in terms of clothing as, respectively, the *Hosenrolle* (‘trousers role’) and the *Rockrolle* (‘skirt role’) – exhibit what the Berlin sexologist Magnus Hirschfeld referred to in 1910 as “*Doppelgeschlechtlichkeit*” (“double-sex-ness”), manifesting at once designated male and female attributes and thereby simultaneously challenging prescribed gender behaviours and presenting possibilities for same-sex relations.²⁷⁴ Issues of sexuality and gender are conflated within the category of ‘sex’ throughout the films, for as Bernice Hausman, Thomas Lasqueur, Robert Stoller and others have discussed at length, the distinction between gender and sexuality – within sexologised and popular discourses alike – has gained currency only since the 1950s.²⁷⁵ The separation here of the shifting identities of these Wilhelmine films’ protagonists under the more recently constructed labels of gender and sexuality may therefore be seen primarily in terms of my imposition of an organisational structure for analysis onto these texts, and should not be taken to imply that the *Hosenrolle* films are concerned only with gender, or the *Rockrolle* comedies solely with sexuality – since both genres are constructed

about the paradigm of male versus female 'sex,' which contemporary category by definition comprises yet can not differentiate between the two latter-day concepts.

The distinction that I employ does, however, correspond to a different comparative framework that would have held currency during the Wilhelmine period. Changing female identity, particularly in terms of perceived masculinisation, was primarily the subject of debates surrounding women's emancipation and the contemporary women's movement. Male sexual identity that challenged heterosexuality and was conceptualised in terms of feminisation, was generally discussed meanwhile within the context of the 'sexual intermediacy movement' (now often referred to – somewhat reductively, as will be shown in Chapter 5 – as the 'early gay movement') that sought to decriminalise male-male sexual activity and relationships.²⁷⁶ Accordingly, the distinction between masculinised female identity as conceptualised with relation to the women's movement, and feminised male identity in terms of debates about sexual intermediacy, can be regarded as discursive frameworks that would have been meaningful to Wilhelmine spectators. In both chapters, attention is focused in particular on how the '*Doppelgänger* identities' of so-called 'new women' and 'sexual intermediates' were constructed, and also on the significance attributed to clothing within these debates, which is then related to the performances of the *Hosenrolle* and *Rockrolle* in Wilhelmine comedy films.

The 'Women Question' in Wilhelmine Society

In her socio-historical study *Women in German History*, Ute Frevert notes that the changing position of women in Wilhelmine society was conceptualised at that time as *die Frauenfrage* ('the women question'), within which ongoing challenges by women to restrictive gender roles and presumed male supremacy were regarded as the product of modernity. The 1898 *Brockhaus* dictionary, for example, defined *die Frauenfrage* as:

the totality of problems and demands that have most recently been called forth by the transformation of society and of its ways of life, with respect to the position of the female sex among modern peoples.²⁷⁷

Researchers including Carole Adams, Kathleen Canning and Sabine Richebächer have observed that the presence of active, empowered women in the public sphere was often regarded during the Wilhelmine period as an outgrowth of increased industrialisation. As companies and individual industrial sectors expanded, so they required ever greater workforces, and took to employing large numbers of women to fill this demand. These historians have argued that this was largely an economic decision, since women could be paid substantially less to perform the same work as their male counterparts, on the ostensible grounds that women were merely dependants earning 'pin money,' whereas men – still conceived of as the masters of their households – were the 'breadwinners' whose wage had to support the family. Adams cites the example of women clerks, who in 1913 earned on average just 997 Marks a year, as opposed to 1941 Marks for male clerks. Furthermore, women's chances for promotion were extremely limited – with the majority restricted to posts

as factory workers, assistants in the new department stores or telephonists – so that men continued to occupy the more prestigious managerial and decision-making positions. Upon marriage or pregnancy also, most women were forced by their families or even contractual clauses to leave the workplace.²⁷⁸ Clearly, the emancipation from the prescribed domestic realm and accessing of the public sphere achieved in this way were partial at best, and certainly did not offer equality.

Nevertheless, this conditional emancipation was sufficient to have marked women as a distinct social grouping that was perceived to have gained the ability to actively assert its presence. In the introduction to her study of women clerks, Adams communicates something of the feelings of shock and novelty engendered by this new visibility, primarily as a further signifier of modern urban life:

A visitor to [...] any [...] large German commercial center at the turn of the century would have noticed a sight unfamiliar twenty years earlier. For each morning hundreds of neatly dressed young women appeared in the city center and entered offices, department stores, shops. They were ‘commercial assistants’ – office and sales clerks – hired when the service sector of the economy expanded in the late nineteenth century.²⁷⁹

As early as 1846, the satirical weekly *Die Fliegenden Blätter* suggested – albeit jokingly – that such “emancipated women” might ultimately be free to assert their gaze actively (moving about and looking at whatever they chose), to develop their mental abilities (perhaps becoming “university professoresses”), and to articulate and fulfil all their desires – even sexual ones, giving rise to “female Don Juans” and “patronesses” of young male artists.²⁸⁰ Although intended ironically, this ‘joke’ indicates that the notion of women’s changing status as a distinct social category and factor in modern

life already enjoyed currency, and was perceived as an encroachment into hitherto exclusively male domains.

‘The women question’ was formalised as a social issue through the formation and activities of the women’s movement that sought to foster unity between and to gain equality for women. As Frevert has documented, the first women’s groups in Germany flourished around 1848, amid the sentiments of libertine revolutionism that aimed (at least on a theoretical level) to dismantle social inequality in all forms. With the temporary suspension of press censorship and the ban on political parties and associations, many tens of groups – such as the *Frauenbildungsverein* (Women’s Educational Association) calling for equal provision of education, or the *Demokratischer Frauenverein* (Democratic Women’s Association) seeking equal working conditions – sprang up, each with a membership of at least a thousand women, whose various concerns and objectives were drawn together in the weekly publication *Die Frauen-Zeitung* (The Women’s Newspaper). Although these groups were dissolved during the counterrevolutionary clampdown that followed the events of 1848/49, women’s issues continued to be mentioned in the press, although – as we shall see below – these articles often focused on activism in London and Paris, presenting ‘the women question’ as a non-indigenous ‘problem.’²⁸¹

Subsequent to German unification, and particularly from the mid-1880s, greater political freedoms were instated, and an extremely vociferous and highly active women’s movement was able to assert its demands for equality in modern German society. By 1913, the *Bund Deutscher Frauenvereine* (Federation of German Women’s Associations) could boast a membership of 470,000 women.²⁸² As a consequence of the movement’s activism and petitioning, women became recognised

as legal persons for the first time in the late 1890s, as the new *Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch* (Civil Code) was introduced; they could continue their education at universities from the 1890s also, so that by the turn-of-the-century, about 1000 of the 14,000 students enrolled at Berlin universities were women (although not all institutions would yet bestow a degree upon female students); and from 1908, women were permitted to join political parties (although universal suffrage would not be introduced until 1918).²⁸³

As Frevert continues, it would however be mistaken to suggest that all German women suddenly considered themselves united within a univocal “sisterhood,” or indeed that there was a single women’s movement.²⁸⁴ Rather, the movement was criss-crossed with fractures deriving from disparate class and religious identities through which individual women also positioned themselves. While bourgeois women’s groups sought equal rights for women in middle-class professions such as clerking and secretarial positions, working-class women’s groups were united within the socialist women’s movement in opposition both to patriarchal oppression *and* the bourgeoisie – including the bourgeois women’s movement. As August Bebel, the politician dubbed “women’s Marx” during the Wilhelmine period, put it in his phenomenally influential *Die Frau und der Sozialismus (Woman under Socialism)* – which ran to some fifty editions between 1878 and 1913 – the central thesis driving the socialist women’s movement was that “women and workers are joined in oppression.”²⁸⁵ Accordingly, Frevert observes that:

As housemaids, seamstresses, tailoresses, washerwomen and launderers in middle-class households, [working-class women] regarded their mistresses not as sex comrades, as women

who were oppressed like themselves, but as their employers and 'masters' who seemed little inclined to pay them higher wages.²⁸⁶

Frevert notes that many women's groups were likewise defined on a religious basis, as Protestant, Catholic or Jewish organisations that maintained stark delineations between women of different denominations, both in terms of membership and whom their activism was intended to aid.²⁸⁷

Despite such factiousness, the different sections of the women's movement shared a largely homogenous ideal of emancipated female identity, constructed between traditional and neoteric roles. On the one hand, it was maintained that women's oppressive traditional roles were merely the product of cultural conditioning and that, if these shackles could be overcome, women and men could live and work as equals. Bebel, for example, offered the following 'demystification' of such conditioning:

Conditions that prevail over numerous generations ultimately become the norm, and [...] appear 'natural.' This is why, even today, woman in particular accepts her subordinate position as a matter of course – and it is not easy to make her realise that this is an unworthy state of affairs and that she should strive to become a member of society with identical rights to man, in every respect his equal.²⁸⁸

Through such deconstructions, all sections of the women's movement argued that women ought to enjoy identical opportunities to men, in particular with regard to access to jobs, being paid an equal wage for the same work, and receiving identical treatment within the law. On the other hand, however, it was suggested simultaneously that certain of women's traditional roles were not the result of

conditioning, but inborn. These traits – conceptualised as *‘weibliche Eigenart’* (‘female particularity’) – comprised in particular tending to the domestic sphere, and bearing and raising children as the defining apotheosis of female identity. The argument of the women’s movement, therefore, was not that men and women should be considered absolutely equal, but rather that both deserved equal recognition of their achievements within the ‘particularity’ of each gender.²⁸⁹ As cultural commentator Julius Bab summed up in 1915:

The more substantial point raised by the women’s movement lies in its calls for the recognition of the equal worth of specifically female creative and behavioural qualities, and in its demands that precisely this fundamentally different nature of women receive equal consideration to the male condition. [...] That the achievements of women, the deeds of wives, housewives and mothers be considered and valued *as achievements*, that they receive attention, protection and encouragement, and that they be treated as equal to the noblest deeds of men in the eyes of society and also the law – this is the profound point raised by the women’s movement.²⁹⁰

Even Bebel, as a fervent advocate of cultural conditioning theories, at the same time embraced the notion of *‘weibliche Eigenart.’* Drawing on Darwinian evolutionary theory, he argued that, when cultural conditioning continued over millennia, it could actually become part of the genetic make-up. Citing craniological studies by the British sexologist Havelock Ellis (whose works, like those of Darwin, were much in vogue in Wilhelmine Germany), Bebel sought to ‘prove’ that modern woman bore the effects of generations-long cultural conditioning as a biological legacy:

It seems apparent that today's woman is more starkly differentiated from man than was her prehistoric counterpart, or than women of more primitive peoples are. This is all too understandable in light of the social developments that have affected women in civilised peoples over the past 1000 to 1500 years. Havelock Ellis records the cranial capacity of women (taking that of men to be 1000) as: Negress – 984; Hottentot – 951; Hindu – 944; Eskimo – 931; Dutchwoman – 919 (or 909); Russian – 884; German – 838 to 897; Chinese – 870; Englishwoman – 860 to 862; *Parisienne* (19 years old) – 858.²⁹¹

Accordingly, Bebel feels justified in positing a distinct female 'nature' within his arguments for equality:

woman is by nature more impulsive than man, she reflects less and is more selfless and naïve. Therefore, she is governed by greater sensitivity, which finds its most resplendent articulation in the truly heroic self-sacrifice into which she is willing to enter for her child's sake, or in caring for relatives and tending to them at times of illness.²⁹²

Such views of emancipated women's identity as a mixture of nature and nurture are attested throughout contemporary writings, with Wilhelmine feminists at once demanding equal access to public and professional spheres along with the recognition of the worth of their '*weibliche Eigenart*.' In essence, then, the period's 'new women' were expected to fulfil two roles – both engaging with the new opportunities for women in the workplace and public sphere, and continuing to perform 'traditional' (perceived inborn) domestic, maternal and nurturing 'duties.' The resulting 'double lifestyle' can be found described (or rather, caricatured) in an 1890s article from *Die Gartenlaube*, which typically seeks to relocate the 'women question' outside German borders, as a British and French urban phenomenon:

women's reformation through the efforts of Englishwomen has also made great advances in altering customs and habits during recent years, and has created that type known in Paris as '*bons garçons*.' These are the women who no longer sleep until eleven, but are already taking their cold bath between seven and eight; those who do not care to don a negligé overtrimmed with floods of vintage lacework or send their breakfast untouched from their bedroom, but who are already out promenading at nine wearing a contoured and unrestricting English skirt and the gallant little felt hat, before returning satisfied and with a fresh healthy colour to take breakfast with their spouses and children.²⁹³

As the epithet '*bons garçons*' indicates, the new public roles and visibility of women were widely regarded as an encroachment into, or in the eyes of self-declared anti-feminists an invasion of, sacrosanct male realms. Fraught warnings were issued that such incursions into the male provinces of work, public life and decision-making were 'confusing' the established (perceived 'natural') gender binary. As one Berlin law professor, Otto Gierke, exclaimed in 1897:

Our main concern must be that our men remain men. It always was a sign that things were going downhill when masculinity began to desert men and seek refuge among women.²⁹⁴

From the 1840s and 1850s, all-male trade unions, such as the *Deutsche Arbeiterverbrüderung* (German Working Men's Brotherhood) and the *Allgemeiner Deutscher Schneiderverein* (General German Tailors' Association) had begun to appear, objecting to the perceived 'feminisation' (*Verweiblichung*) of the workplace and demanding the immediate cessation of female employment. Strikes by male employees, protesting at the ostensible destruction of 'masculine' professions including all types of mill- and factory-work, were commonplace well into the 1880s and 1890s.²⁹⁵ This "male gender crisis," as it has subsequently been termed by social historians including John Fout and George Chauncey Jr., gave rise to a flood of press articles, political

pamphlets and pseudo-scientific tracts berating this ‘confusion’ of the genders, and contributed to a redefining and overstatement of male identity in terms of a new “hypermasculine” ideal, in which muscularity, virility and brutishness (equated with a mythical prehistoric *Urmann* (or ‘original man’)) were seen to signify ‘real manhood.’ These idealised attributes were configured as ‘male particularity,’ ensuring that a sharpened distinction was seen to exist between men and the perceived masculinised ‘new woman,’ thereby ostensibly distancing the former from the threat of ‘feminisation.’²⁹⁶

The new possibilities for women in Wilhelmine society led, then, to a destabilising of traditional notions of both female and male identity, as the new woman was regarded as being constructed ‘between’ these two, constituting a further ‘*Doppelgänger* identity’ within Wilhelmine modernity. Drawing on the work of Georg Simmel and Magnus Hirschfeld, the cultural commentator Bab could observe in 1915 that men and women alike had become redrawn as inhabitants of this hitherto unthought-of realm crossing the binary opposition of the sexes:

The polar forces man and woman indeed resonate through every aspect of the human condition; yet ‘man’ and ‘woman’ no more exist in a pure form than do any other ‘concepts’ or elemental forces. Just as physics recognises neither absolutely motionless quiescence nor completely kinetic motion; just as there is no historical figure whose qualities can all be attributed to just a single one of the great epochs into which we divide world-history; and just as (to borrow an analogy from Georg Simmel) there is no point at which day and night can really be separated from one another (even though our whole life is ordered about this distinction and can scarcely be imagined otherwise!) – so the platitude that every person is born of a man and a woman contains a final truth. For each individual is made up from a randomly varied combination of sexual attributes, occupying a different place in the gamut

of identities that stretch out between the idealised pole ‘man’ and the idealised pole ‘woman.’²⁹⁷

Clothing the New Woman

Sara Maitland, in her study of Victorian/Edwardian male impersonator Vesta Tilley, speaks of “the superficiality of clothes, which are of course not superficial at all” in being readable as signifiers of gender, class, ethnic and other identities.²⁹⁸ The extent to which ‘gendered’ clothing – inornate, dark-coloured suitwear with rectilinear tailoring for men, and flowing, heavily embellished, colourful ensembles for women, ostensibly based on distinctions in the ‘natural world’ of birds and other species – was commonly regarded as almost a primary or secondary sex characteristic, may be inferred from the following Wilhelmine ‘urban legend’ reported by Magnus Hirschfeld in 1910, which was published in the press more than once as a supposedly ‘true’ set of circumstances:

A country minister on a walk discovered a five-year-old boy bathing in a brook with some small girls. After he was scolded, what did the candid toddler reply? “I did not know, sir, that they were girls. They did not have any clothes on.”²⁹⁹

Clothing occupied a central position in debates surrounding the new woman, often acting as an immediate visual shorthand for the notion of female masculinisation. If we look back, for example, to the quotation on ‘*bons garçons*’ above, we can see that the author is careful to stress the shift from “negligé[s] overtrimmed with floods of vintage lacework” to the “contoured, unrestricting

English skirt’ as marking these women’s masculinisation also. Likewise, Carole Adams, in her quotation about young women clerks who traversed city centre streets to get to work each morning, is keen to remark upon their “neat” attire, signalling that this may be regarded as a ‘new womanly’ uniform.

The women’s groups of the 1840s initially voiced calls for the reform of women’s clothing as part of the emancipation process, with debates and moves in this direction continuing throughout the Wilhelmine period. There were, the women’s movement argued, two main reasons why women’s clothing required reform. Firstly, flamboyant drapery, billowing dresses, hoop-skirts, picture hats and restrictive corsets would all impede movement and efficiency in the workplace, and could be hazardous in factories, laundries or mills. The same was true of long, flowing hair. Consequently, women entering employment required clothing that was more in the line of a uniform, and might ideally comprise a simple skirt and plain blouse. Many took up such clothes as a matter of practicality, without needing to hear these recommendations from the women’s movement. Many wore their hair up or had it cut shorter also.³⁰⁰ These changes in appearance were seen to have rendered these women simultaneously less feminine – because they had forsaken their colourful adornments – and also more masculine, since the drabness and functionality of this new garb were qualities associated with male *coiffure* and garb *qua* identity.

Secondly, it was argued that women’s clothing required reform on health grounds. Kirsten Belgum has noted that illustrated magazines such as *Die Gartenlaube* focused in particular on this aspect of clothing reform, employing sensationalistic – and frankly grisly – medical diagrams to ‘drive home’ the messages of the rather dry

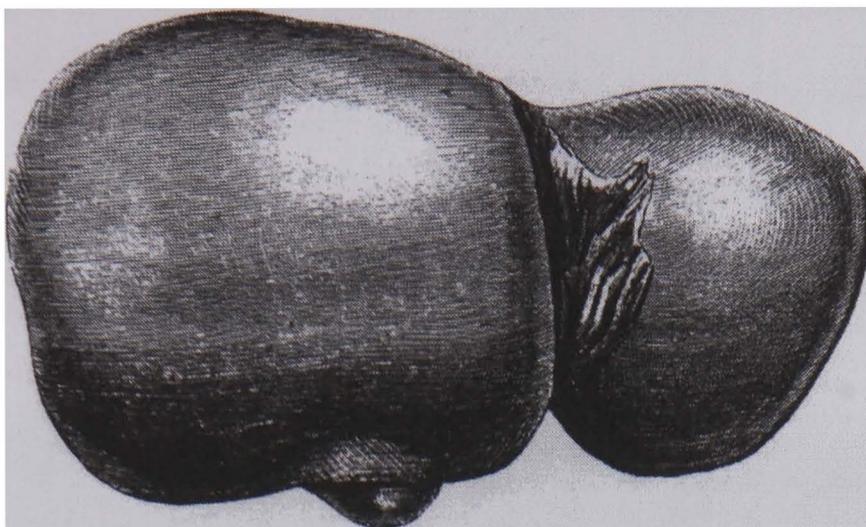
scientific text that usually accompanied them.³⁰¹ For example, one Dr. Bock extended the following warnings about corsets in an 1855 article:

The lace-up corset needs to be redesigned in order to afford space in which to move freely to the most vital area of the body – and that which fares worst of all due to the current design of most corsets – namely, the upper abdominal region directly above the navel. This region, which can be identified externally by the lower ribs on both sides and the pit of the stomach in the centre, contains the heart and lower portion of the lungs above the diaphragm and, below the diaphragm, the liver, stomach and spleen – in other words, those organs that are most vital to life. If this region is trussed up tightly, then the aforementioned organs become constricted and their functioning is impeded. Indeed, deep impressions made by the ribs and sharp end of the sternum can very often be located on the shrivelled, deformed liver, sometimes extending even to the spleen.³⁰²

However, it is only through the accompanying diagram – reproduced overleaf as *Figure 24* – that the full implications of Bock's observations are communicated effectively. Bock freely acknowledges this visual imperative:

The reader can see for himself [*sic*] just how such a stunted liver, traversed by indentations caused by corsetting, appears alongside a healthy liver, both drawn from nature.³⁰³

Corsets, along with garters and lace-up underskirts, were furthermore objected to on the grounds that they restricted the free movement of blood and lymphocyte formation, resulting in poor circulation, anæmia and chlorosis. At the same time, it was hinted strongly that the constrictions of these lace-up items could lead to menstrual dysfunction or hyster- and colpocachexia (collapse of the womb or vagina), meaning that women might lose the perceived defining 'female particularity' of being able to enter into motherhood:



Die gesunde Leber.



Die verküppelte Frauenleber.

Figure 24 “Healthy liver” (above) and “stunted female liver” (below). In *Die Gartenlaube* 1855: 213.

Only thoughtless women, unworthy of their calling, might embrace apparel that is not simply ruinous to their own bodies, but also lays the foundations for sapping their entire progeny.³⁰⁴

It was suggested that what was needed instead was, again, something more functional and less restricting – such as the plain blouses and simple skirts that were becoming common in the workplace. Instead of garters and petticoats, the wearing of trouser-like pantalets – a further step towards male clothing – was widely advocated also, to prevent both constrictive ailments and others such as chilblains and pyelitis which were exacerbated by the inefficiency of traditional female undergarments to keep the lower body warm.³⁰⁵

Within the women's movement, 'reformed' clothing was commonly adopted, especially from the 1890s, to indicate membership and solidarity, with the casting-off of traditional female garb conceptualised as an emancipatory gesture. As one bourgeois writer argued in *Die Gartenlaube*:

What a contribution to the peoples of Europe could be made by a princess willing to set a good example by going forth corsetless. She would be praised for posterity as cultured woman's saviour from disgraceful and harmful fetters!³⁰⁶

Often, when the emancipatory fashions taken up were considered too extreme in their diversion from established female norms or in their perceived encroachment on male ones, the women sporting them might face derision and belittlement, as from another quite different writer in *Die Gartenlaube* in the 1890s, discussing what he refers to as the "mutilated crowns" of women who have adopted short hair:

The waves of emancipatitits [*sic*] have robbed the little noggins of some of those filled with permissive ideas of their long hair, giving rise to the fashion of the pert 'mannish bob' (*Tituskopf*), as it is called, that has been adopted by so many.³⁰⁷

Undoubtedly the most contested item of reformist fashion during the Wilhelmine period was, however, culottes, known in German as the *Hosenrock* (literally, 'trouser-skirt'), whose head-on linguistic compounding of male and female legwear – like the item itself, a pair of trousers for women, shaped like a skirt – was seen to represent the apparent 'confusion' of the genders in an excessively direct form. The notion of trousers for women – which, supporters suggested, could assuage both health and workplace concerns by offering unhampered movement, warmth, and freedom from constrictive bindings – had enjoyed currency in feminist

debates since at least as early as the 1890s, when publicity was made for the “introduction of the form of attire worn by Ottoman ladies.” This latter was referred to variously as *shalwar* and *shintiyan* and was supposedly a pair of loose trousers, worn with “a small, short tunic.”³⁰⁸ It was not until the early 1910s though that culottes were introduced across Europe as a fashion item, fuelling the wrath of anti-feminists wherever they appeared and even, as Michael Hanisch has noted, eliciting an edict from the Pope.³⁰⁹ As I seek to demonstrate later in this chapter, ‘culottes films’ – in which female protagonists find themselves occupying a ‘*Doppelgänger* identity,’ vacillating between female and male behaviours and spheres after donning the new legwear – would become a significant, if short-lived, trope of Wilhelmine comedy cinema in 1911.

Women and Feminism in Wilhelmine Cinema

The widespread presence of women in Wilhelmine cinema – both as spectators and performers – has, as noted in Chapter 1, been expounded in particular by Heide Schlüpmann. Drawing on extant prints, along with contemporary studies and articles, Schlüpmann argues that cinema afforded emancipation from the domestic realm and daily routine to women of all classes, opening up a new public sphere to them, as well as providing positive representations of contemporary women’s lifestyles through the active, assertive – and above all, unrelentingly visible – performances of women protagonists on the screen:

For women, cinema as a rule constituted the sole amusement that they were able to attend and enjoy on their own outside the home. They brought with them the demand that was left

unsatisfied in the theatre – ‘to see themselves’: their wishes and opportunities, but also their everyday life and social milieu.³¹⁰

A glance through any Wilhelmine cinema programme or trade journal reveals something of the significance of women to the industry (and vice versa), especially in the early 1910s. For example, in *Figure 25* (overleaf) – a pair of 1914 trade advertisements from *Die Licht-Bild-Bühne* – some sixteen of the films available for distribution already mention women, from ‘ladies’ and ‘suffragettes’ to ‘*danseuses*’ and ‘film-divas,’ in their titles. While certain works are sold on the strength of female stars, including Asta Nielsen, Miss Florenze and Susanne Grandais, still others are vaunted specifically as narratives of female experience, as “the tragedy of a mother,” “one woman’s story,” “the tragedy of a beautiful woman,” and so on. Indeed, at least 31 of the 51 films named in these two advertisements centred about a female character.

In a popular 1912 Christmas book, a certain Nanny Lutze offers a vivid impression of the important place that cinema had come to occupy in women’s lives:

Quietly, but in a mood of festive anticipation [...], I enter the building above whose doors stands emblazoned in electric lights: »Movie-Theatre«. Beside me, before me, behind me a rustling and murmuring, a whispering and mumbling, a waft of perfume and powder – I feel at home! Every sense within me reverberates with the certainty: I am in the company of other worldly women! The show begins! [...] And in almost every picture, women play the lead role! Whether an Asta Nielsen or a Frau Saharet – or one of a hundred more besides – they are always worldly women; yet in a host of different guises. Behold the actresses – these actresses of life! And instinctively I sense – we all sense – that that which unfolds before us is a piece of life, a segment, an episode – perhaps!? – from our existences also! Our cheeks grow rosy and warm – heat, then cold, consumes us – we are startled, and tremble – we

Das Liebesbarometer Lustspiel in 3 Akten.	Die Tango-königin Interessant 3 Akte	Die verschlossene Tür Hauptrolle Miß Fiorenze Tragi-Komödie in 2 Akten	Die schwarze Pierette Bühnendrama aus d. Künstlerleben. 3 Akte. Monopol
<p>Vorzüglich zusammengesetzte Wochenprogramme in jeder gewünschten Preislage.</p> <p>Sofort frei: 1. Woche, 2. Woche, 5. Woche, 6. Woche, 8. Woche, 11. Woche.</p>			
Das zweite Gesicht Sensations-schlagler in 3 Akten	Paradies der Damen Tragische Komödie feinsten Art 3 Akte	Ehe auf Kündigung Heiterkeit erweckendes Lustspiel 3 Akte	Der Totenkopf-Musar ergreifendes Maskendrama 2 Akte
Weib gegen Weib Sensations-Schlagler in 3 Akten	    <p>Wilhelm Feindt Film-Verleih-Institut Berlin S.W. 48 Friedrichstr. 246 Telephon: Amt Lützow 6753 Telegramme: Kinofeindt.</p>    		Der tote Galf hervorragendes Detektiv-Drama 3 Akte
François Opfer reizendes Lustspiel 2 Akte			Angeline Geschichte einer Frau Berliner Sittendrama 3 Akte
Der Spruch der Karten spannend Sensations-erregend 3 Akte			Das rosa Pantöffelchen Lustspiel in 3 Akten
Pauline Drama a. der Gesellschaft 3 Akte	Ein Frauenherz Drama aus dem vornehmen Leben 3 Akte	Leopold Pikantes Lustspiel großer Lacherfolg 2 Akte	Verhängnisse Sensationelles Drama aus der Gesellschaft 3 Akte
<p>Monopol-Schlagler: Im Labyrinth der Liebe Pikantes Sittendrama, 3 Akte. Der Vampyr (3 Akte) Entzückendes Spiel, interessante Handlung, überall großer Erfolg. Die Schiffbrüchigen Sensationsschlagler in 2 Akten. Erstaufführungsrechte zu vergeben.</p>			
Reich mit des Geschicktes Nächtes Tragödie einer Mutter 3 Akte Monopol	Die Landkur beliebte Bumke-Komödie stürmischer Lacherfolg 2 Akte	Die eiserne Hand Hauptrolle Susanne Grandais 8 Akte	50 diverse ältere Schlagler, äußerst billige Leihpreise.
Der Staub um Mitternacht Die Geschichte eines geheimnisvollen Todesfalles. Spannd. 3 Akte.	Die Kino-Sensation Das Filmen im Film. Sehr Interess. 3 Abteilungen.	Wütke als Molligär Vorzügliche Humoreske zum Krankhaften. 2 Akte.	Rein-gefallen Erstklassiges Militär-Lustspiel. Sie staunen! 2 Akte
Asta Nielsen-Films Neue Kopien	<p>Der Lustspiel-Schlager der Saison ist und bleibt:</p> <p>Das Liebesbarometer</p>		Asta Nielsen-Films Neue Kopien
Totentanz Drama 4 Akte 1100 Meter.	3 Copien. — 3 Akte. — Sofort frei! Glänzend. Inszenierung. — Pikant, droll. Spiel — Herrl. Dekoration. Reichhaltige Reklame. — Enorme Kassen.		Tod in Sevilla Drama. 4 Akte. 1150 Meter.
ENGELIM! Gr. Lustspiel-Schlagler der A. N.-Serie. 5 Akte 3 Copien. 1700 Meter.	Monopol f. Brandenburg, Gr.-Berlin u. Schloßen Die Reise um die Erde od. die Jagd nach d. Mundart Pfund- etc. 7 Akte. Nos. 1. Brandenburg, Posen, Pommern, Ost- u. Westpreußen: Das Geheimnis v. Chateau Rich-mond. Span. Detektivroman. 4 Akte.		Zapatas Bande Vorzügliche A. N.-Komödie. Neue Copie. 2 Akte.
Film-prinzessina Tragi-Komödie 4 Akte. 1600 m	Im freien Verkehr erscheint am 1. Mal:		Komö-dianten Drama. 2 Akte. 950 Meter.
Suffragette Schauspiel. 5 Akte. 2200 Meter.	<p>Weib gegen Weib!</p> <p>Spannendes Sensationsdrama. 3 Akte. Reichhaltige Reklame-Material.</p>		Die arme Jenny Drama. 3 Akte. 1000 Meter.
Das Kind ruft! Entzückendes Drama. 4 Akte. 1600 m	Angebot vor der Zukunft! Für Kinder frei! Sensationelles Drama in 2 Abteilungen. Vorzügliche Copie. — Spannende Handlung. Filmmemorien des Kaisers und der kaiserlichen Familie. — Für Kinder frei! Reichhaltiges Material. — 2 Akte.		Jugend und Tugend Entzückendes Lustspiel. 3 Akte. 1200 Meter.
Mädchen ohne Vaterland Drama. 3 Akte. 1100 Meter.	<p>Schlager-Film-Verleih und Export-Haus</p> <p>Wilhelm Günther Berlin SW. 48 Friedrich-Str. 8 Tel.-Adr: Filmgünther Berlin Fernsprecher: Moritzpl. 4781</p>		Sünden der Väter Drama. 4 Akte. 1100 Meter.
Zu allen Asta Nielsen-Films reichhaltiges Reklamematerial.			Zu allen Asta Nielsen-Films reichhaltiges Reklamematerial.
Vorzügliche Bel-programme in jeder Preislage.	Die prakt. Spreewälderin 2 Akte. — Lustspiel. Für Kinder frei.		Zirka 100 div. ältere Schlagler vorzüglich erhalten. Billige Leihpreise.
Der erstklassige Lustspiel-Schlagler:	<p>Die lustige Witwe 3 Akte. Fein! Pikant!</p>		Die Dame v. Maxim. Lustspiel. Neue Copie. Großartiger Erfolg. 3 Akte. Erstklassige Darstellung.
	<p>Ein Baum ist in der kleinsten Hütte 3 Akte. Monopol für ganz Deutschland.</p>		
	<p>Eine Nacht in Berlin. I. Teil Hervorr. 3-Akter Bauera-Komödie Monopol für ganz Deutschland.</p>		
	<p>Eine Nacht in Berlin. II. Teil Sensations-Film der Gr. Lustspiel 3 Akte. Monopol für ganz Deutschl. NEU!!</p>		
Verlangen Sie umgehend Schlagerlisten!	Tadellose vorzügliche Kinder-, Jugend- sowie Schulprogramme.		Nur regen- und einwandfreie Bilder!

Figure 25 Trade advertisement for films available through Berlin distributors Wilhelm Feindt and Wilhelm Günther. In *Die Licht-Bild-Bühne* 7.20 (1914):

42.

quake in despair – we rejoice and cry along with the twitching, dancing and running of those on the screen, or their failed and calamitous exploits. In the depths of our souls, we – quite unconsciously, of course – draw our own lessons and conclusions from that pulsating, truest and most lifelike delusion, which is but a spectre of light. — During the brief pauses

[between films], I look surreptitiously about the auditorium, searching in the faces of my sisters for reflections of that which has just been seen. — And how revealing is each woman's face [...].³¹¹

Schlüpmann has demonstrated that the 'new woman-esque' visibility, physicality and conduct of women performers on the screen, figured as a major concern in the Wilhelmine *Kinodebatte*, with the institution of *Autorenfilme* conforming to more restrictive theatrical norms and foregrounding prominent *male* stage actors such as Albert Bassermann, Paul Wegener or Emanuel Reicher, constituting an attempt to 'rein in' the medium to patriarchal mores. Although certain contemporary commentators, including Julius Bab and Walter Turszinsky, praised actresses such as Asta Nielsen for their articulate and expressive "body-language" ("*Körpersprache*"), which they regarded as helping to liberate women from taboos concerning visibility and physicality (that had been equated hitherto with prostitution), many conservative writers launched vitriolic attacks on these actresses, condemning this very physicality and visibility in terms of the old taboos, as unfeminine and immoral.³¹² For example, the following extract appeared as part of a "protest against Asta Nielsen" that was published initially in the Danish press and swiftly reprinted in various German dailies, including the *Kölnische Volkszeitung*, and trade-journals including *Die Licht-Bild-Bühne*:

She is the high priestess of sensuality and mistress in her field. No other can equal the contortions of her barely covered limbs as she dances aloft the sharp knife-edge of indecency. For this she receives, we are told, 'a ministerial salary twice over.' She has become the 'in-thing,' and other actresses have discovered that they too can 'contort' their bodies, so that one constantly hears of new 'priestesses' *à la* Asta Nielsen.³¹³

Many commentators were similarly unprejudiced to the idea of positive portrayals of the women's movement, as a topical subject matter, in the cinema. For instance, when *Die Licht-Bild-Bühne* in 1912 reported that militant British feminists were planning to shoot and screen actuality films documenting their activities and the often draconian response of the authorities to these, it was in the following disapprobatory terms:

The suffragettes' fanaticism has dreamt up a new means for battling the deeply hated male sex, as well as the state government that hampers their efforts. At all future meetings and rallies, the suffragettes will be accompanied by female cinematographers, who can immediately record the police's 'attacks.' The films shall then be screened to women throughout the land, so that sex-comrades in the small towns may witness the difficulties against which the women's movement has to fight. This new propaganda device is intended – if we may speak bluntly – to stir up women in the provincial towns, who have so far been spared from the hideous movement, and to incite them to commit yet greater 'acts of heroism.' Naturally, the English police will fight this latest nonsense energetically and simply confiscate the suffragettes' movie-cameras. [...] The English police have a strong ally in the public as well, who, when the suffragettes once again overstep the mark, will willingly step in to assist.³¹⁴

The final sentence in particular seems to indicate – as was the case with clothing reform – that while a certain degree of emancipation might be considered acceptable, there were definitely limits to this. Just as simple, uniform-like attire was generally supported – or at least tolerated – in contemporary press articles (other than those advocating extreme conservative and anti-feminist positions), while culottes were deemed too extreme a breach of existing gender codes – so films in which women's experiences were enacted vividly by female performers could be tolerated (except,

again, by conservatives, here engaged in the *Kinodebatte*), in a way that explicitly feminist documentaries were not.

This does not mean that feminism was entirely absent from the Wilhelmine screen. Rather, it was restricted most often to what Thomas Brandlmeier has labelled “suffragette grotesques” – a prevalent type of early comedy film in which feminists are derided and ‘taught a lesson’ about ‘correct’ female behaviour.³¹⁵ These comedies range from very direct single-acters such as *Frauen-Emanzipation* (*Sweet Suffragettes*, Cricks & Sharp, 1906), in which suffragette speakers are pelted with eggs until they give up their soapbox stance, to two- and three-acters like *Nieder mit den Männern* (‘Down with Men,’ Kalem, 1912) and *Wenn Frauen studieren* (‘When Women Study’, Mortier-Film, 1914), in which the “over-emancipated” (as the advertising for the latter film put it) antics of female protagonists are gradually tempered by a young man with whom they fall in love, before marrying him in the final reel and ‘returning’ to ‘acceptable’ wifely and motherly conduct.³¹⁶ These films are interesting perhaps above all for their ‘reward, tolerate or punish’ approach towards the various behaviours of new women, which serves to underline the point raised above regarding the relative acceptability with which different aspects of the women’s movement and new woman’s identity were viewed. In *Wenn Frauen studieren*, for instance, the female protagonist, Immaculata Waldow, is variously *rewarded* – with a well-to-do lifestyle – for her submission during the final act to male authority, domesticity and marriage; *tolerated* in her pursuit of education – which is ultimately shown to bring greater understanding and communication between her and her lawyer husband; and *punished* for her feminist activities that impinge too directly on the adyta of maleness – and which include, significantly in the context of the *Hosenrolle*, donning the uniform of her university’s duelling fraternity.³¹⁷ Indeed,

clothing plays a central part in the majority of these grotesques, as an immediate visual signifier of female protagonists' masculinisation, that 'requires correction.' By way of example, *Figure 26* (overleaf) – an advertisement for *Das Weiber-Regiment* (*Votes for Women*, Nordisk, 1914) – can be seen to rely entirely on the stereotype of the make-up-less, suit-wearing man-hater for its visual impact. The film's stance towards the women's movement is indicated also in that – despite being a comedy 'about' women's issues – only the name of its male star, Carl Alstrup (billed in Germany as Aestrupp), is given, as the foregrounded figure with whose traditional views audiences were perhaps expected to associate.

Although clearly intended as anti-feminist interventions, these grotesques at least served to render the women's movement visible on the Wilhelmine screen – and there is no reason why certain audience members (and here I am thinking in particular of new women) should not have associated most strongly with these films' ridiculed female characters, whose experiences somewhat resembled their own, as they attempted to extend the movement's advances, and suffered setbacks in the face of patriarchy. Indeed, the structure of many of these films seems to invite revelling in the active, empowering actions of their feminist characters, which are showcased throughout and represent the driving-force of the narrative – a force that is overcome only during the restorative denouement of the final reel, but which theretofore enjoys more or less free reign on the screen. Also, the new possibilities to be explored by these female protagonists were usually vaunted in the films' titles, such as the aforementioned *Wenn Frauen studieren*, but also *Die Frau als Kutscher* ('Woman Driver', Éclipse, 1907) – which was even advertised as "the women's movement's most recent advance," – *Frau Rechtsanwalts erster Erfolg* ('A Lady



Figure 26 Trade advertisement for *Das Weiber-Regiment* (*Votes for Women*, Nordisk, 1914). In *Die Licht-Bild-Bühne* 7.32 (1914): 35.

Barrister's First Win', Meßter-Film, 1911), or *Fräulein Chef* ('Fräulein Boss', Duskes, 1912).³¹⁸

During the 1913 – 1914 Winter season, a number of more serious, tragicomic dramas of this type, such as *Die Suffragette* ('The Suffragette', Pagu, 1913), *Frauenpolitik* ('Women's Politics', Vitagraph, 1913) and *Die moderne Suffragette* ('The Modern Suffragette', Svenska Biografteatern, 1914), were released. These were significant, in that they contained particularly lengthy and graphic representations of militant feminism (albeit located 'safely' in London), enacted by female stars who were immensely popular with women audiences, as what Nanny Lutze above

referred to as “actresses of life,” including Asta Nielsen and Lili Ziedner. The motivation behind these feminist protagonists’ actions, which included participation in demonstrations, chaining themselves to railings, and engaging in terrorism, was made clear throughout. Accordingly, numerous reviewers – and in particular the few women critics who were active at this time – complained that the last-minute ‘restorative’ climaxes of these films, in which women renounced feminism for a life of domestic servitude, seemed out-of-place, forced and unsatisfactory in view of the convincing arguments that had preceded: in short, the ‘intolerable’ elements had managed to assert themselves over the ‘corrective’ ones in these critics’ readings. As Malwine Rennert wrote of *Die Suffragette* in the journal *Bild und Film*, for example:

Asta Nielsen appears in a photoplay that is a true mirror of our times and which, if the film should be preserved, could serve future generations as a cultural document. [...] As the drama is tailored to her unique personality, Asta Nielsen was able to show off all her excellent qualities. [...] But how monstrous to show her with four children in the conclusion. One would have been overly sufficient. The militant suffragette movement is quite new in origin, so that this film – apart from the monstrous ending – represents a slice of history.³¹⁹

The power of the earlier acts as a performative space in which to explore militant feminism, was evidently recognised by the Munich censor also, who, before passing *Die Suffragette – for adults only!* – demanded substantial excisions to tone down this aspect.³²⁰

Feminist Role-Changing Comedies

Numerous suffragette grotesques explored the altering relations between men and women in contemporary society, representing the binary genders as changing in inverse proportion to one another: as women were masculinised through access to employment and public life, men were shown to have become feminised to a corresponding degree through their perceived loss of the public sphere. The titles of these films – such as *Meine Frau verdient sich ihr Brot selber* ('My Wife Earns her own Bread', Lux, 1910) and *Wer ist der Mann im Hause* ('Who is the Man of the House?', Imp, 1912) – were quizzical interjections that proclaimed these shifting power relations. It was in certain of these films that the *Hosenrolle* could be found deployed in an explicitly feminist context, as a visual signifier of new woman's masculinisation. The women in men's clothing in these films – all of which now appear lost and can be considered only with reference to contemporary press and advertising materials – would seem to have been constructed as typical representatives of 'the space between' or '*Doppelgänger* identity,' as they manifested both female and male traits, yet satisfied expectations of neither gender, and accordingly became regarded in the films as something strange, new and challenging. The disruptions to gender identity effected by these feminist *Doppelgängers* were shown to renegotiate male identity in like form, with the men in these films appearing in dresses and skirts, signifying their inversely proportional feminisation.

Such vestimentary reversals could be found in *Wenn Frauen die Hosen an haben* ('When Women Wear the Trousers', Hepworth, 1908), *Vertauschte Rollen* ('Reversed Roles', Deutsche Bioscop, 1911) – which was indeed advertised as "a satire on modern female emancipation" – and *Wenn Frauen die Herrschaft führen* (*When Women*



Figure 27 Harry Lonsdale and Myrtle Stedman (standing, left to right) in a publicity still for *Wenn Frauen die Herrschaft führen* (*When Women Rule*, Selig, 1912). Collection of the author.

Rule, Selig, 1912), a publicity still for which is reproduced as *Figure 27* (above).³²¹ Myrtle Stedman, playing the lead feminist, epitomises the new woman who has adopted reformist clothing, as she sports a simple blouse, convenient ‘English’ skirt, and neck-tie. That this is conceptualised as having masculinised her appearance is indicated by the corresponding feminisation of her husband, played by Harry Lonsdale – who appears in a full-length checked pinafore. His look of exasperated resignation, as well as his submissive ‘hands up’ pose contrast with the women’s smiles and Stedman’s assured stance, holding one arm victoriously aloft as she toasts her sex-comrades. Or put another way, we see the restrained acting style of contemporary male screen-actors and the emotive style (often termed ‘histrionic’) of screen-actresses reversed before our eyes.

The new-found power of women and corresponding impotence of men is symbolised also in the still by the ‘business’ with the banana between the two children in the foreground. Here we see the simply-dressed girl (with ringleted hair) wielding the phallic banana at her be-bloused and be-skirted brother, stressing further the shift in power relations and gender identity. Although it may still have been somewhat early, in 1912, for explicitly Freudian readings to enjoy much currency, one should not think that contemporary spectators were incapable of associating phallus-shaped objects with male genitalia as a symbol of masculinity and power. For example, in the British context, George Speaight has demonstrated that, in Georgian and Victorian music hall songs, pot-handles, sausages and rolling-pins frequently assumed a (bawdy) symbolic function.³²² Peculiarly German variations – in particular, the *Bratwurst* and the gherkin – are attested in other Wilhelmine *Hosenrolle* and *Rockrolle* films, including *Aus eines Mannes Mädchenzeit* (‘From a Man’s Time as a Girl’, Meßter-Film) and *Bobby als Küchenfee* (‘Bobby as a Mrs. Beeton’, Alter Ego, both 1913). This is interesting because these phallus substitutes seem to indicate that the confusion of the genders was here being shown to disrupt the significance even of primary sex characteristics, revealing that this too – like clothing – appeared ‘natural’ only as a result of social construction that could be (and was being) broken down: in short, it is made clear that the changes wrought extend beyond the superficiality of gendered clothes, as demonstrated here through the example that the wielding of power is not contingent on possessing a penis.

That more than clothing is at stake is indicated also by the functional associations of each gender’s new attire: while Myrtle Stedman’s garb seems ‘suited’ (pun intended) to the workplace, Harry Lonsdale’s pinafore is a specifically domestic item, associated with cleaning and food-preparation ‘duties.’

One final element in the still to which I wish to draw attention is the kitschy Romantic portrait of a young woman, hanging behind Harry Lonsdale. This is the only figure in the still who fits traditional gender expectations, with her long hair, make-up and fragile, demure and virginal appearance, and it is worth noting that similar portraits can be found in practically all the *Hosenrolle* and *Rockrolle* films cited in this and the following chapter, functioning as a kind of unchanging yardstick against which the gender confusion of these films' protagonists might be measured. This clearly seems ironic, since it exposes 'normality' as a created ideal that conflicts with the realities of contemporary existence. It is furthermore noteworthy that this portrait is obscured in the background here, echoing the peripheralisation of such ideals of traditional identity within the main body of the filmic narrative.

The Culottes Comedies of 1911

If it is disappointing that none of the feminist role-changing comedies has survived, then one can be heartened that three of the eight culottes comedies known to have been released in Germany in 1911 are preserved in archives. This short-lived type of film was one of numerous reactions (as noted previously) to this newest and most contested item of reformist women's fashion, and all eight films included the word '*Hosenrock*' ('culottes') in their titles as a marker of their highly topical subject matter: *Der improvisierte Hosenrock* ('The Improvised Culottes', Éclipse), *Martha mit dem Hosenrock* ('Martha with the Culottes', Österreichisch-Ungarische Kino-Industrie), *Schreckliche Folgen des Hosenrockes* ('Terrible Consequences of Culottes', Meißter-Film), *Schwiegermama im Hosenrock* ('Step-Mother in Culottes', Lux), *Sieg des Hosenrocks* ('The

Culottes' Triumph', Deutsche Bioscop), *Teddy Holzbock und der Hosenrock* ('Teddy Holzbock and the Culottes', Aquila), *Die Töchter im Hosenrock* ('Daughters in Culottes', Pathé), and *Die Wirkungen des Hosenrockes* ('The Effects of Culottes', Ambrosio, all 1911).³²³ These titles appear rich with promises that the films are about more than simply a new fashion in clothing: they promise to explore the implications – the 'consequences' and 'effects' – for gender identity, and to present cases of individual women undergoing such shifts in identity. Some of these changes will strike the family – encompassing 'daughters' and the 'step-mother' – while others will have repercussions for men as well, such as the eponymous *Teddy Holzbock*.

Here, I want to consider two of the surviving culottes comedies – *Der improvisierte Hosenrock* and *Sieg des Hosenrockes* – in terms of the construction of their female protagonists as 'Doppelgängers of gender' vacillating between male and female positions. In particular, I wish to suggest that culottes – as a 'meeting' of male and female clothing – are established in the films as what might be termed 'Doppelgänger attire,' at once conflating and confusing male and female identities while furthermore standing for something quite new. In this way, culottes can be seen to function here in a comparable manner to the consciously challenging designs of the fashion-house *Comme des garçons* in the 1980s, which Dorinne Kondo, in her study of race and gender in fashion and theatre, *About Face*, has described as both "unexpected syntheses that subvert gender binaries" and "a unisex look, problematizing conventional notions of sexiness."³²⁴ In the case of *Comme des garçons* and the 1911 culottes comedies alike, male and female 'sex' – comprising both gender and sexuality – becomes challenged, explored, and redefined. Although the focus in this chapter is primarily on gender, issues of sexuality accordingly abound in the films as well, and should not be overlooked: in *Sieg des Hosenrockes* in particular, male sexuality

becomes 'confused' as the lead male character grows fixated on the legs of women clad in the new – perceived *masculine* – hosiery.

In both *Der improvisierte Hosenrock* and *Sieg des Hosenrocks*, the action is fixed squarely in the big city through a profusion of frequently bustling street scenes shot on location in, respectively, Paris and Berlin. This establishes culottes – like the new woman in general – as a distinctly urban phenomenon. Furthermore, both films focus on the effects of culottes within a middle-class heterosexual relationship, indicating that reformist fashion may be seen as a bourgeois pursuit and of little concern to the working classes, male and female representatives of whom are shown scoffing at the wearers of culottes in both films. Aside, however, from these similarities in situating their subject matter – which would appear to have been shared by the other culottes comedies also – these two films differ significantly, not least in that the heroine of *Sieg des Hosenrocks* is permitted to triumph in her culottes, while the female protagonist in *Der improvisierte Hosenrock* experiences little but suffering following her embracing of the new legwear.

Der improvisierte Hosenrock opens on the veranda of a well-appointed villa, where a wife points out an advertisement for culottes in the newspaper to her husband, and pleads to be allowed to buy a pair – a request that he refuses out-of-hand. Immediately thereafter, the wife catches her cook – a rather elderly and plump white woman – canoodling in the kitchen with the family's Arab man-servant, played in blackface by an actor wearing a fez, *galabia* robe and baggy *sarawil* trousers. The wife hurries to fetch a pistol from elsewhere in the house and then, threatening to expose the interracial relationship and pointing the gun at the man-servant, utters the memorable line (via the only intertitle in the film): "Give me your trousers or I'll

shoot!”³²⁵ This sequence is of interest for various reasons. Firstly, it alludes to the supposed origins of culottes as an apparently unisex item of ‘Ottoman attire.’ Secondly, it serves to demonstrate how the modern media – represented by the press – disseminate ideas and opportunities (concerning identity) by communicating these simultaneously to a broad readership, such as, in this instance, any women who might have an interest in reformist fashion. In this regard, it is of course noteworthy that the ‘culottes phenomenon’ spread rapidly *across Europe* in 1911, as attested, for example, by the presence in Germany of culottes comedies from France, Austro-Hungary and Italy alongside domestic productions. Thirdly, this sequence makes it clear that gender is but one of the frames – none of which is all-defining or operates in isolation – through which identity may be constructed. Although the wife is anxious to obtain culottes in order to gain access to a new world of ‘masculine,’ ‘new womanly’ power and possibilities, she evidently wields considerable power already, both as a member of the middle-classes and a white woman, and is shown employing her advantageous position in the hierarchies of class and race against the servants in order to fulfil her bourgeois feminist goals.

Once the wife has been kitted out with the ‘improvised culottes’ of the film’s title, the action shifts swiftly from the domestic to the public sphere – that is to say, from studio sets to Parisian street locations – signalling graphically the freedom of action and movement that has been afforded by reformist clothing *qua* masculinised gender identity. However, it is made evident from the off that the transition to the traditionally male sphere will not be easy. For as the wife steps out onto the street, her culottes slip down, and when she bends over to hitch them up, she is promptly set upon from behind by two soldiers out for a laugh who – taking her for a man – firmly wallop her rear end. While the soldiers are visibly shocked after discovering

that the butt of their prank was a woman, they are not however apologetic towards her, since, they intimate, it was her 'inappropriate' appearance that was to blame for their blunder. This establishes the public sphere as doubly uninviting to women – on the one hand, marked by a boisterous physicality that may enact an unfamiliar violence, and on the other, inflexibly patriarchal and disapproving of feminist change. It seems a positively heroic gesture (itself a quality associated traditionally with men) when the wife resolutely dusts herself down and proceeds along the street in order to assert further her presence as a woman in culottes.

The action now passes through a succession of cityscapes – long shots of boulevards teeming with columns of traffic and bustling crowds – through which the wife valiantly strides, progressing from the extreme left of the screen to exit screen-right from each shot. On the one hand, this seems indicative of the increased mobility that the unrestrictive legwear permits, as huge distances are covered apace. On the other, however, the wife's movement is impeded at every turn by the actions of characters reacting more or less adversely to her culottes: a *flâneur* marvels at her as a new urban spectacle; two policemen point and laugh raucously at her legs; a crowd of working-class couples – who are out together, and therefore contrast with the wife, as a lone woman on the city street – follow after her with curious expressions; and so forth. Ultimately, it all proves too much, and the downtrodden woman jumps into a taxi. Although this sequence in many respects seems to be inviting us to laugh along with the wife's detractors, whose expressive reactions – including hearty guffaws, hollers and hoots of laughter – are communicated frontally to the putative audience, this scarcely precludes the possibility of feeling empathy for the wife. For she too communicates frontally her ever greater sense of dismay, through a series of pained miens and increasingly hunched-over poses. In this way, she impresses

through her demonstration of the degree of determination, courage and selflessness required in standing up for women's rights, as she struggles on doggedly in the face of everything that conservative society can find to throw at her.

The 'restorative' denouement, typical of the suffragette grotesque and other related genres, disappoints somewhat. In the grounds of the couple's villa, we see the husband as he espies from behind a figure in a flowing skirt, whom he approaches and takes in his arms – only to discover that it is the man-servant, wearing the skirt his mistress left behind. The man-servant flees around a corner, with his enraged master in keen pursuit. Turning the same corner, the master now espies from behind a figure wearing trousers, whom he takes for the servant and promptly slams to the ground. Of course, it is actually the man's wife in her 'improvised culottes,' who remains prostrate before him and begs forgiveness. Signalling her to go inside the house – representative of the domestic realm where she 'belongs' – he turns to the camera and, with a cruel and domineering look, continues to laugh at his wife's misfortune.

Despite the mental and physical violence enacted on the wife throughout *Der improvisierte Hosenrock*, she nevertheless succeeds in blurring the boundaries between conventional notions of male and female identity, as she adopts perceived masculine attire, asserts herself in the public sphere, and causes society about her to be thrown into uproar. Through her will to change, we see that she has the power to effect change in others also: those in the streets (and the audience) have been forced to confront a new articulation of gender; while her husband is correspondingly 'feminised' as a result of his wife's masculinisation – as exhibited perhaps most clearly through his embrace of another man (albeit one dressed in a skirt).

Furthermore, while the wife gains access to the public sphere for a large portion of the running-time, the husband is tied to the domestic location throughout, in a clear reversal of traditional patterns. Even if she is not ultimately successful, then, the wife nevertheless represents a model of resistance to conventional (patriarchally defined) gender binaries through the construction of a challenging model of ‘*Doppelgänger* identity.’

The heroine of the second culottes comedy that I wish to discuss, *Sieg des Hosenrocks*, similarly subverts conventional gender binaries through her adoption of perceived ‘masculinising’ reformist attire, yet manages to hold onto the freedoms that this gains her even at the end of the film. This conclusion is made possible through three important factors not present in *Der improvisierte Hosenrock*. Firstly, the heroine of *Sieg des Hosenrocks* is merely one of numerous women shown parading the streets of Berlin in culottes, so that she appears (and is treated) less as an aberrant curiosity than as a representative of wide-ranging social change. Secondly, she is more persevering and assured than the wife in the other film (perhaps due in part to the security in numbers afforded by the presence of other like-attired women). When this new woman is laughed at by passers-by on the street, for example, her response is to dance an energetic jig incorporating frenzied shimmying and high leg-kicks, thereby showing off the freedom of movement that the new legwear offers and winning over her detractors. Thirdly – and most significantly – the woman’s fiancé, in marked contrast to the husband in *Der improvisierte Hosenrock*, is not averse to culottes in the least: indeed, this inveterate ‘leg man’ throughout articulates his strong preference for this figure-hugging legwear, since it reveals much more of the shapeliness of female limbs! Therefore, as Heide Schlüpmann indicates in her succinct description of the

film's narrative, the final triumph of reformist fashion satisfies both his fiancée's wishes for increased freedom and mobility, as well as his own fetishistic desires:

the hero is attracted, as if bewitched, by women in the trouser-like legwear – much to his fiancée's distress. In order to get the fetishist to the registry office anyway, she squeezes her corpulent frame into a trouser-suit. And with success: now his gaze is fixed on her legs, and no longer wanders to those of other women.³²⁶

This 'sexy' aspect of culottes, which is placed centre-stage throughout the film, was downplayed completely in contemporary discussions of reformist fashion. However, the fiancé would appear not to have been alone in his fetishistic fixation, for Joachim Schlör has uncovered advertisements dating from as late as 1913 (some two years after the 'culottes phenomenon') in which beer-gardens and variety-houses in the Ruhrgebiet advertised "table service by Munich ladies in culottes" as an added piquant attraction to an evening out. Schlör defines this and similar contemporary amusements as being founded on "a desire for the forbidden" that vacillates "between scopophile curiosity and a wish to extend knowledge."³²⁷ Such a description might readily be applied to *Sieg des Hosenrocks*, in which male scopophilia, in terms of the objectification of the female body, is bound up inseparably with an acceptance of the new possibilities for female gender that are promoted through the practical feminism of new women. In short, the cost to the inveterate 'leg man' of getting his pleasure is the acknowledgement and toleration of the new woman.

Again, the apparent masculinisation of the female protagonist is matched in the film by a corresponding feminisation of her male partner. Not only is he tied to his domestic apartment location for the majority of the running-time, while his fiancée 'takes on' the public sphere – as was the case in *Der improvisierte Hosenrock* also

– but she, rather than he, would seem to be the main breadwinner here: upon receiving a rent demand, the man is left quaking and gibbering, while his fiancée simply reaches into her handbag and pays the outstanding sum.

The acceptance of new women's 'Doppelgänger status,' constituted between male and female identity, has serious repercussions in matters of sexuality also, which, as I have indicated already, are especially pronounced in *Sieg des Hosenrocks*. Here, the audience is confronted not simply with a husband who briefly – and mistakenly – places his arm around the waist of a man dressed in a skirt, as in *Der improvisierte Hosenrock*, but with a male protagonist who consistently finds the sight of masculinised women more enticing than that of 'feminine' women in skirts and dresses, whom he ignores throughout. Indeed, the fiancée's final coup in securing the gaze of her husband-to-be stems from her surpassing of the perceived masculinity of culottes by adopting a trouser-suit, a garment that renders both her lower *and upper* torso 'masculine' (and, in terms of the fiancé's desires, more defined through figure-hugging tailoring). This situation is exacerbated further by the fact that *Sieg des Hosenrocks* is at once a *Hosenrolle* and a *Rockrolle*, since the corpulent fiancée is played by a man (according to Thomas Brandlmeier, Deutsche Bioscop's star-cameraman Guido Seeber).³²⁸ While this piece of casting may have been decided upon in order to endow the film with a yet more exaggerated comical illustration of new woman's masculinisation, the result is to establish a performative space in which not merely masculinised women, but same-sex relationships also, are seen to triumph in the modern metropolis. For female and 'sexual intermediate' audience members (which latter are discussed at length in the next chapter), *Sieg des Hosenrocks* could, then, have constituted – whether by intent or otherwise – a positive viewing experience that

affirmed the validity of their own perceived ‘*Doppelgänger* identities’ between the sexes.

Advertising Asta Nielsen in Trousers: *Jugend und Tollheit* (Youth and Folly, Deutsche Bioscop, 1913) and *Zapatas Bande* (‘Zapata’s Gang’, Pagu, 1914)

In a series of articles about her career that Asta Nielsen wrote for the newspaper *B. Z. am Mittag* in 1928, she recalled that:

When I decided to make my first comedy, *Jugend und Tollheit*, and to perform a *Hosenrolle* in it, protests arose from all quarters: apparently, I was doomed to ruin my good name and business alike.³²⁹

The objection even in principle to the notion of the *Hosenrolle* appears symptomatic of shifting attitudes within the Wilhelmine film industry around 1912 and 1913 which, as noted previously, have been discussed at length by Heide Schlüpmann. Under pressure from the conservative *Kinodebatte* to remove all perceived ‘objectionable’ subject matter from the screen – including active and resolutely visible female protagonists who, as we have seen before, were much vilified by cinema reformers – filmmakers and producers embarked upon the creation of *Autorenfilme* with claims to high cultural worth and a more conventional, patriarchal-theatrical distribution of male and female roles, while turning their backs (in their public pronouncements, at least) on the types of film offering sensorial hyperstimulation and depictions of modern life and lifestyles, which had hitherto been their major money-spinners at the box-office. The thought of Asta Nielsen, as an ‘actress of life’

whose popularity with female audiences was already well-known, undertaking a part that promised to show her apparently ‘fully masculinised,’ moving freely in male spheres and engaging in male activities – and thereby undermining the sanctity of masculinity – may have been simply beyond the pale for those engaged in the ‘acculturation’ of the cinema. As Schlüpmann has indicated in discussions of *Hurra! Einquartierung* (‘Hoorah! Soldiers Billeted Here’, Luna-Film, 1913) and *Ich möchte kein Mann sein* (‘I Wouldn’t Want to be a Man’, Pagu, 1918), the *Hosenrolle* comedy can be seen to transcend the suffragette grotesque – even though the two share many characteristics and are equally likely to be structured as “an emancipatory story with a conservative ending” – in that the *Hosenrolle* seldom seeks to poke fun at women, and focuses instead on revealing maleness as merely a construct, by depicting in detail the successful transformation and acceptance of its female protagonist into male society.³⁵⁰

In this section, I wish to consider Asta Nielsen’s two *Hosenrolle* comedies from the pre-First World War period, *Jugend und Tollheit* and *Zapatas Bande*, in terms of the ways in which conservative critics, in their reviews, effectively ‘wrote out’ the feminist potential of these films’ narratives and images, and focused instead on objectifying Asta Nielsen by stating how ‘gorgeous’ (*reizend*) – a term that is used excessively – she looks in the figure-hugging male clothing. At the same time, I shall seek to demonstrate that the stills and other visual materials employed to promote the films seem designed to ‘play up’ those elements of both films that challenge traditional gender (and sexual) identities most directly. Accordingly, a tension can be identified, which is absolutely synonymous with that running through *Sieg des Hosenrocks*, wherein conservative-patriarchal and modern-feminist readings of the *Hosenrolle* coexist, locked in an ambivalent battle for social and cultural supremacy.

The following summary of *Jugend und Tollheit*, which first appeared in the Danish newspaper *Politiken*, but was soon reprinted in various North German dailies, may be considered fairly typical:

Jesta Müller [...] loves a young lieutenant who is, however – in order that he might save his uncle from financial ruin – supposed to journey away to ask for the hand in marriage of a rich landowner's daughter. But Jesta follows him, disguised as a young male student, and thus puts herself into the queerest situations. She and the lieutenant must share a single bedroom. In the smoking room (*Herrenzimmer*), she must listen to risqué anecdotes. She has to take a shave and is almost forced to put on swimming-trunks and go bathing in the landowner's pool. Finally, however, she succeeds in guiding herself and her officer into the peaceful state of matrimony. Gents' togs suit Asta Nielsen exquisitely, she looks gorgeous [...].³³¹

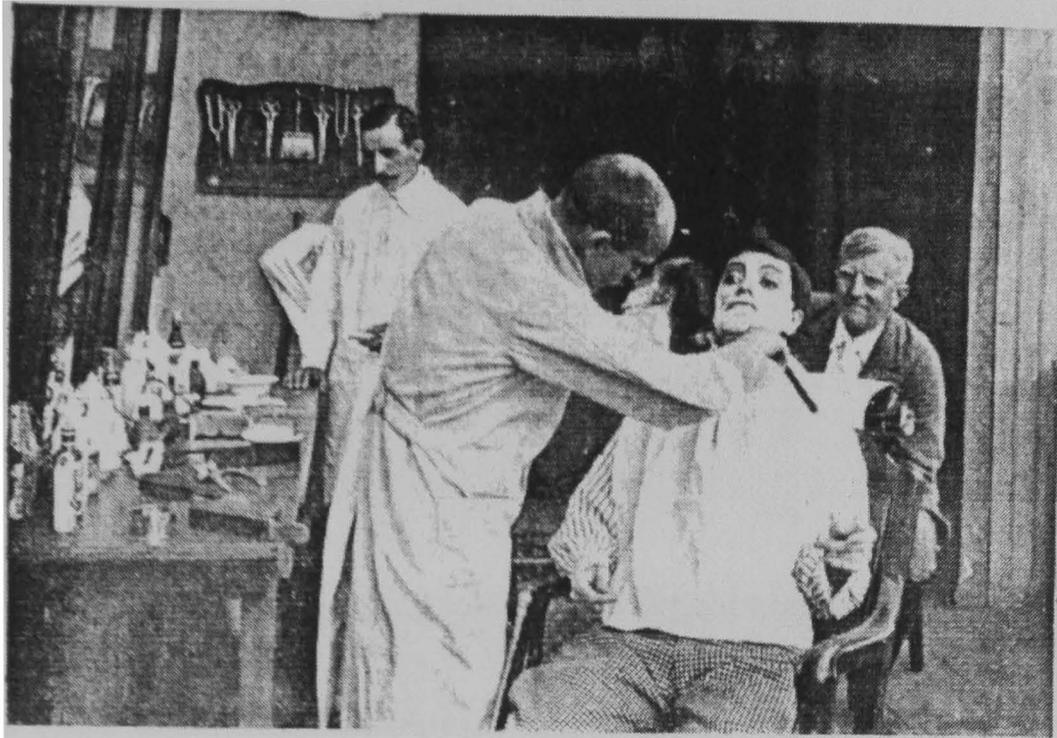
The predictable assertion with which this extract ends, that the *Hosenrolle* makes Asta appear especially sexy, might well be compared to the sudden 'restorative' conclusions of the majority of films under discussion here, in that it constitutes a *non sequitur* that seems barely able to contain the descriptions of gender binaries in disarray that have preceded it. Reviewers of other *Hosenrolle* films were less reserved, and often dedicated the entirety of their analyses to extolling the pulchritude of the *Hosenrolle* to the male eye. For example, *Maud als Dandy* ('Maud as a Dandy', *Éclipse*, 1914) remains a lost *Hosenrolle* comedy about which practically nothing is known, even though a full-page description of the film appeared in *Die Licht-Bild-Bühne*. Rather than summarise the film's content or discuss the ways in which Maud's incursions into male domains are manifested, the reviewer spends the

entire time eulogising the appearance of Éclipse's latest *vedette*, Maud Campton, in male garb, in the following vein:

she has, without a moment's notice, cast off the vast sum and abundance of her gorgeous femininity, and comes to us in – trousers. However, through this extreme act, she has succeeded only in appearing yet more gorgeous still, and we consequently find ourselves quite unable to guarantee the continued calmness of the cold-blooded German male.³³²

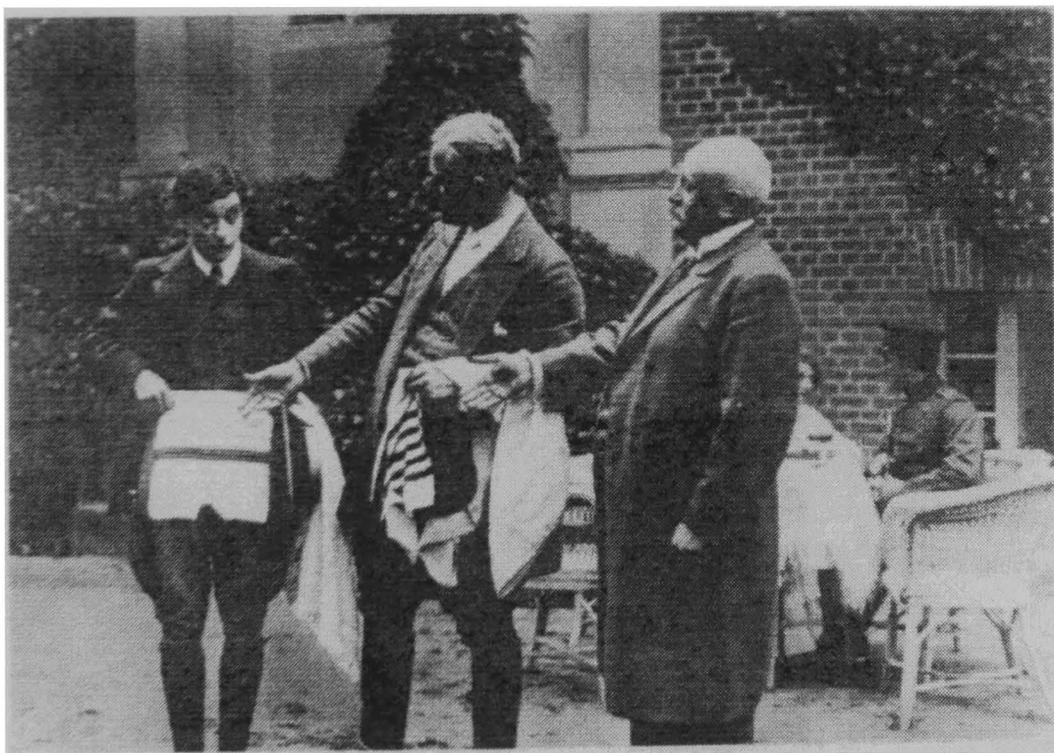
The review of *Jugend und Tollheit* at least enumerates some of the situations in which gender divisions become blurred, and mentions some of the ways in which female characters are shown to wield greater power than male ones: for instance, continued financial security – and with it, middle-class existence – for the lieutenant and his uncle is acknowledged as being contingent on the landowner's daughter, to whom the lieutenant must passively submit; and it is clearly the active efforts of Nielsen's Jesta Müller that 'save the day' and ensure the love-match that *she* desires. However, the reviewer at the same time seems to reverse the polarities of 'normality' and 'otherness' that are established in the film: for whereas he characterises Asta as odd in her attempts to engage in various male activities, the film sought to communicate – in particular through lengthy expositions of Asta's quizzical reactions – that it was these activities themselves that should be considered curious. This attitude was apparent in two souvenir postcards – featuring posed stills of the shaving and swimming-trunks scenes – that were available to buy while the film was in circulation, and which are reproduced as *Figures 28* and *29* (overleaf).

In the first postcard, shaving is shown to be more than merely a response to the peculiarities of male biology, as Asta is confronted not simply with a razor, but an



„Jugend und Tollheit“ mit Asta Nielsen in der Hauptrolle.

Figure 28 Souvenir postcard of Asta Nielsen (in barber's chair) in *Jugend und Tollheit* (*Youth and Folly*, Deutsche Bioscop, 1913). Courtesy of the Bundesarchiv-Filmarchiv.



„Jugend und Tollheit“ mit Asta Nielsen in der Hauptrolle.

Figure 29 Souvenir postcard of Asta Nielsen (left) in *Jugend und Tollheit* (*Youth and Folly*, Deutsche Bioscop, 1913). Collection of the author.

endless host of signifiers of barber-shop ritual, including tongs, brushes, numerous sizes of scissors and clippers, strops, and a counter overflowing with different aftershaves and lotions. In this way, the construction of male appearance through beauty products and procedures is at once revealed, and presented as a visual confection, in a manner usually reserved for the pages on women's fashion in contemporary magazines. In the second postcard, Asta's incredulous expression while holding up the trunks serves to imply the ridiculousness of the dinky, knickers-like outer garment, again mocking that which passes as 'normal' in the male world. The impression is enhanced by the presence of the two male characters standing to her right and signalling that there is nothing wrong with the trunks.

More significant than the above change of emphasis by the reviewer, however, is his total expurgation of the central component of *Jugend und Tollheit's* narrative that provided the basis for the film's poster and newspaper campaigns. For the reviewer's write-up offers no indication of how or why Nielsen's presence in male garb should lead the lieutenant to renege on his intention to marry the rich daughter. In the film, the plan carried out by Asta's character was, firstly, to turn the fiancée against the lieutenant – by proving herself to be a better man than he (!) and thereby winning the fiancée's affections for (her)(him)self – and secondly, to ensure that the officer learnt of this and was turned against the fiancée by her apparent fickleness. The revelation of this bizarre *ménage-à-trois* was 'played up' in one of the publicity stills displayed in the lobbies of cinemas showing *Jugend und Tollheit*, reproduced as *Figure 30* (overleaf). Here, Asta Nielsen is presented 'confusing' both male gender and female sexuality, and is located – as befits her '*Doppelgänger* identity' – between the representatives of male and female sex, at once separating the two and filling the space between them with her neoteric presence. While Asta appears as the



Figure 30 Fritz Weidemann (left) and Asta Nielsen (centre) in a publicity still for *Jugend und Tollheit* (*Youth and Folly*, Deutsche Bioscop, 1913). Courtesy of the Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek.

active protagonist and centre of attention, Fritz Weidemann, playing the lieutenant and representing traditional male identity, is reduced to the status of passive observer in the background. Meanwhile, the rich daughter, representing traditional female identity, seems weak and nondescript in her passivity, with her face turned away from the viewer and nestled on Asta's shoulder for support.

This sequence in the film – whose challenge to conventional male and female identity could scarcely be surpassed – was furthermore abstracted into one of the most audacious examples of promotional artwork for a Wilhelmine film, reproduced as *Figure 31* (overleaf). This silhouette image epitomises the ambiguity surrounding the 'Doppelgänger of gender': for while apparently constructed in terms of and



Figure 31 Newspaper insert for *Jugend und Tollheit* (*Youth and Folly*, Deutsche Bioscop, 1913). In *Die Licht-Bild-Bühne* 6.1 (1913): 9.

reproducing traditional gender binaries, it at the same time presents and celebrates the subversive potential of female incursions into perceived male spheres – constructed, then, as a wry *trompe-l'œil* that is typical of the ambiguous comic situations that permeate the film as a whole.

What all the above seems to suggest is that the visual material surrounding *Jugend und Tollheit* (and including the film itself) communicated a very different, feminist message from the written sources on the film, which re-presented it in terms of more conventional structural and behavioural patterns. If this dichotomy between the written and the visual could be shown to exist throughout Wilhelmine extra-filmic materials (which is evidently a subject for further research), then this might

indicate a very suggestive connection between new women and the visual as agents of modernity on the one hand, and between conservatives and the written word, as representatives of pre-modernity that were being actively challenged, on the other. Again writing in 1928 about her pre-1914 experiences, Asta Nielsen seems to imply that women audiences exhibited a special affinity for the visual, adopting this modern medium of immediate expression as an emancipatory form that was not burdened with the patriarchal heritage of the more contemplative written word: “the astounding speed with which they learned to think optically (*optisch zu denken*) [...] was almost unbelievable.”³³³

Such a dichotomy can certainly be identified in the case of *Zapatas Bande*, of which the following write-up was published in *Der Kinematograph* on 11th March 1914:

The substance of the plot is briefly as follows: a film company sends its troupe off to sunny Italy to shoot a drama about gypsy vagabonds in as realistic a setting as possible. At the same time, however, a genuine band of brigands – whom the police have thus far sought in vain – is running amok in the region in question. While the film actors are busy mugging for the camera, the cunning bandits seize the opportunity to purloin the troupe’s everyday clothes, which have been placed to one side, and to escape in these across the border to safety. The unfortunate thesps are now of course mistaken for the genuine robbers and expected to pay for their sins. In the nick of time, however, their country’s ambassador intervenes, rescuing them from imprisonment and hanging. [...] Asta Nielsen, in the role of the troupe’s star, is once again able to give free rein to her cheeky sense of humour and demonstrate her versatility and dexterity.³³⁴

On the one hand, the reviewer may be applauded for his clear setting out of the ‘film within a film’ structure of *Zapatas Bande*, which gives rise to all sorts of modern questions – in a specifically cinematic context – surrounding issues of ‘original’

versus 'copy.' On the other hand, it almost beggars belief that he 'neglects' to mention that *Zapatas Bande* is a *Hosenrolle* at all, with Asta Nielsen's playing of the lead male vagabond (in the film within a film) euphemised beyond recognition into praise for 'her versatility and dexterity.' Accordingly, the reviewer has shifted the focus of what he terms 'the substance of the plot' from an exploration of altering notions of gender (in which all gender identity is presented as merely performance, and the 'male original' and 'female copy' of the head vagabond are shown to be equally authentic, depending on the perception of individual characters) – to a somewhat less challenging case of mistaken identity.

Publicity stills for *Zapatas Bande* meanwhile represented quite clearly the gender context of the film's 'playing around' with originals and reproductions. In *Figure 32* (overleaf), which was contained in the souvenir programme to the film, Asta Nielsen is shown in female attire, but holding a pair of trousers against her legs while another member of the film crew brings her a striped gaberdine (an item that supposedly typified the gypsy vagabond).³³⁵ Thus, we can see Asta undergoing a female-to-male transition before our eyes, which could, at its current stage of development, 'go either way' in terms of gender – thereby implying that male and female identity alike are fluid constructs determined more by external factors (such as clothing) than by biology. The 'film within a film' structure allows for a profusion of such 'dressing up' scenes in *Zapatas Bande*, with identities changing hands each time that a performer assumes a different role.³³⁶



Figure 32 Asta Nielsen (centre, with trousers) in a publicity still from *Zapatas Bande* ('Zapata's Gang', Pagu, 1914). Courtesy of the Bundesarchiv-Filmarchiv.

Figure 33 (overleaf), which was utilised in lobby displays, conveys immediately the idea of the 'film within a film' approach simply through its inclusion of a movie-camera in shot. However, it furthermore communicates, with equal immediacy, the centrality to the film of shifts in gender relations: as in *Figure 30*, from *Jugend und Tollheit*, the masculinised Nielsen stands between (in every sense) the representatives of traditional male and female identity, and here demonstrates both her new-found power over the former and her ability to offer the latter support and protection from the threat of male/patriarchal violence. At the same time, Asta is presented, like the fiancée in *Sieg des Hosenrocks*, as the object of the male gaze, with her every action watched over and recorded by the cameraman, and her 'male' gypsy garb ensuring that her figure is shown off, in particular – due to the shortness of one half of the



Figure 33 Asta Nielsen (centre, with pistol) in a publicity still for *Zapatas Bande* ('Zapata's Gang', Pagu, 1914). Courtesy of the Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek.

trousers – her legs. As with all *Doppelgängers*, it seems therefore that Asta can fulfil two conflictual sets of desires at once – in this instance, male scopophilia and feminist empowerment – because, ultimately, despite being a coherent whole, she is simultaneously also two opposites.

The final promotional still from *Zapatas Bande* that I wish to discuss, *Figure 34* (overleaf), was also used in lobby displays, and depicts Nielsen taking advantage of her powerful vagabond identity to break into a countess' palace. This still shares many of the tantalising qualities of the silhouette image with which *Jugend und Tollheit* was advertised: are we looking simply at two women, or one new woman and one



Figure 34 Senta Eichstaedt and Asta Nielsen (left to right) in a publicity still for *Zapatas Bande* ('Zapata's Gang', Pagu, 1914). Courtesy of the Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek.

more traditional one, or perhaps at a man and a woman? An intriguing response was provided by the Berlin censor, who demanded that this scene in the film be shorn of all moments in which Nielsen's character got too close to the countess' daughter in the bed "while dressed as a man."³³⁷ As far as this officially enshrined representative of conservative values was concerned, then, Asta's female identity had shifted sufficiently on screen for her to be treated as a biological male, whose proximity to a woman in her boudoir was to be considered immoral and excised forthwith. It is likewise possible that the still fell foul of laws governing the display of posters and photographs in public, since the copy reproduced here, from the collection of the Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek, has a crease running down its centre, from having

been put on display while folded in half – seemingly in order to obscure the presence of Senta Eichstaedt in the bed entirely.³³⁸

Ultimately, then, *Zapatas Bande*, along with the other *Hosenrolle* comedies discussed here, seems representative of a society in which the fixity of conventional gender identities, roles and behaviours were being brought into question – specifically, through feminism and the new woman. The ‘*Doppelgänger*s of gender’ performing the *Hosenrolle* function as literal embodiments of the way in which the latter was perceived and constituted – as a masculinised woman whose accessing of hitherto male-dominated spheres led to the redefinition of *all* those inhabiting them. While these films may have made for as uncomfortable a viewing experience for conservatives as they did a pleasurable one for new women and feminists, what is really significant is that they existed at all – thereby, like the new woman, demanding some kind of recognition and acknowledgement simply on account of their insistent presence as a modern phenomenon and possible model for gender identity.

Chapter Five. *From a Man's Time as a Girl: Male Sexuality and the Rockrolle*

A Researcher's Experience 'between the Sexes'

As Dorinne Kondo reminds us before embarking upon her study of race and gender in fashion and theatre, *About Face*: "We write about what moves us. As positioned subjects with particular stakes in our work, this is both inevitable and necessary."³³⁹ Within this research, the personal stakes feel highest for me in this chapter, since I have frequently found myself constructed as a 'Doppelgänger of sexuality' occupying a space 'between' male and female identity.

During the writing of this chapter, one incident in particular, which took place during my final year of primary school in London, has kept resurfacing in my mind. One morning, my form tutor was absent, and it had fallen to the headmaster of the scarcely progressive institution to call the register. Outside the classroom, he, *as a joke* (and I think this is crucial in relating the anecdote to this chapter), instructed the gathered ten- and eleven-year-olds to "form three queues – girls, boys and Robert Kiss!" I remember feeling sick to my stomach, at once ridiculed and cruelly 'exposed.' This personalised variation on the British music-hall evergreen about 'having three children – one of each,' was no fun for me, and served in the first instance only to reinforce my 'pigeonholing' and 'outsider' status among my contemporaries.³⁴⁰ However, I soon learned that humour could work *for* me as well,

and appeared at the next school fancy-dress party as Joan Collins (*Dynasty*-style), wielding an atomiser of floral women's perfume and spraying all the boys in attendance. I had a wild time 'feminising' my male classmates – rendering them 'the same way' that they apparently perceived me to be – and imagining how they might explain themselves upon returning home. By embracing and exploiting the stereotype, and by making myself unabashedly visible in this way, I became empowered through my 'outsider' identity, finding that it could afford me all sorts of possibilities that 'straightforward' male and female identity seemed to preclude. While this continued to gain me enemies, it also won me new friends, some of whom were to reveal themselves as absolutely like-minded comrades.

My own youthful *Rockrolle* (in fact one of many that ensued) bears certain parallels to the discussion of Wilhelmine 'sexual intermediates' that follows. The medico-legal category of 'sexual intermediacy' – constructing its subjects as male souls trapped in female bodies – was employed by opponents (akin to my headmaster) to exclude and restrain, yet by others to foster new notions of socially valid identity and to mobilise a sense of community among those who felt referenced by the category (like the friends I made). In terms of the *Rockrolle* films featuring approximations and actual representations of sexual intermediate characters, the comedy could likewise go either way, depending – as we shall see – on the narrative context and style of performance of the actor playing the role. Accordingly, while some films simply 'made a spectacle' (in every sense) of these characters, others – in which I am obviously more interested – revelled in and celebrated the new possibilities of such '*Doppelgänger* identity.'

Medico-legal Definitions of Sexual Intermediacy

The paradigm of sexual intermediacy (*sexuelle Zwischenstufen*) gained widespread currency from the late nineteenth century, constructing its subjects as males trapped inside female bodies and females trapped inside male bodies (thereby rationalising their behaviour within the dominant heterosexual binary), and comprising gay men, lesbians, bisexuals, transvestites, hermaphrodites and all others whose sexual identity was perceived to fall outside normative heterosexual behaviour. Only an extremely limited number of medical experts at this time sought to subdivide the category of sexual intermediacy into more discrete types of sexual identity, such as homosexuality, androgyny or transvestism, and, as discussed below, the vast majority of those who felt themselves referenced by the category readily identified as ‘sexual intermediates.’

The theory that there existed “female souls trapped inside male bodies [and] male souls trapped inside female bodies” is generally acknowledged as having been propounded in print for the first time by Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, a former law student and amateur scientist who wrote on same-sex relationships and hermaphroditism from the 1860s until his death in 1895. Ulrichs identified himself as an ‘urning’ – an ostensibly neutral Greek term referring to ‘men who love men’ – and his numerous tracts, pamphlets and books were widely read, as Manfred Baumgardt and Hubert Kennedy have noted, selling in the thousands of copies as early as the 1860s. Throughout his writings, Ulrichs consistently blurred the definitional boundaries of the word ‘urning,’ however, by discussing homosexuality, hermaphroditism and transvestism without distinction, as absolutely synonymous manifestations of ‘uranian’ (the adjective from ‘urning’) behaviour.³⁴¹ Ulrichs was certainly not alone in

attributing such a broad scope to the uranian category, since, for example, the most frequent meeting places for men seeking romantic or sexual contact with other men at this time were the drag balls (conflating homosexuality and transvestism) held in the large hotels in the major cities, and known as *Urningsbälle*.³⁴² Furthermore, contemporary medical case studies evidence heterosexual transvestites who readily term themselves ‘urnings.’³⁴³

While Ulrichs’ scientific knowledge remained somewhat rudimentary, so that he generally located ‘transposed sex’ within the abstract of the soul, he did on a number of occasions contemplate whether blood transfusions from a heterosexual to an urning might ‘straighten out’ the latter.³⁴⁴ This process of ‘scientising’ sexual intermediacy was continued by a number of medical doctors – foremost among whom were early sexologists Richard von Krafft-Ebing and Magnus Hirschfeld – who acknowledged their indebtedness to Ulrichs’ writings within their own quests to establish that intermediacy was inborn.³⁴⁵

Krafft-Ebing, professor of psychiatry and neurology at the University of Vienna, asserted in his enormously influential 1886 study, *Psychopathia sexualis*, that hermaphroditism and androgyny were examples of “physical hermaphroditism” while homosexuality and transvestism were manifestations of “psychosexual hermaphroditism,” and concluded that these identities should therefore be grouped as cognate phenomena within the category of “contrary sexual instinct” (“*konträre Sexualempfindung*”). This latter, originally coined by Berlin psychiatrist Carl Westphal in 1869, was Krafft-Ebing’s preferred term for sexual intermediacy.³⁴⁶ Since Krafft-Ebing’s approach was, as John Fout puts it, to “start [...] with the hypothesis that sexual activity within the confines of monogamous heterosexual marriage, especially

for procreative purposes, was the standard for determining what defined ‘normal sexuality,’” an explanation of sexual intermediacy in terms of ‘transposed sex’ must have been appealing, because this reinscribed the practices and object choices of sexual intermediates within the normative system of heterosexuality.³⁴⁷ That is to say, although it might appear, for example, that one intermediate male had fallen in love with another and that they had entered into a same-sex relationship, ‘transposed sex’ theories asserted that both men were in fact misplaced women’s psyches quite ‘correctly’ (within the precepts of heterocentric ideology) falling in love with a man. By stating that intermediacy was inborn, fears relating to the possibility of heterosexual ‘conversion’ to intermediacy could be allayed also.

Magnus Hirschfeld was without doubt the most prolific writer and researcher in the field of sexual intermediacy from the mid-1890s to the 1930s, and he was largely responsible for the popularisation of the term ‘sexual intermediacy,’ not least through the journal of his Berlin-based emancipatory organisation, the *Wissenschaftlich-humanitäres Komitee*, which was published between 1899 and 1923 under the title *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* (‘Yearbook for Sexual Intermediates’).³⁴⁸

Hirschfeld sought to concretise the notion that intermediacy was inborn and could be located in the body in two ways. Firstly, he argued that maleness and femaleness could be found not in some abstract soul, but rather in various ductless glands and endocrines. Apparently, male intermediates were born with the glands and endocrines of females and female intermediates with those of males.³⁴⁹ Secondly, he contended that *all* intermediates exhibited external physical attributes of both the male and female sexes – and in 1903, went so far as to publish a series of photographs illustrating this point (see *Figure 35*, overleaf). Hirschfeld’s polarised

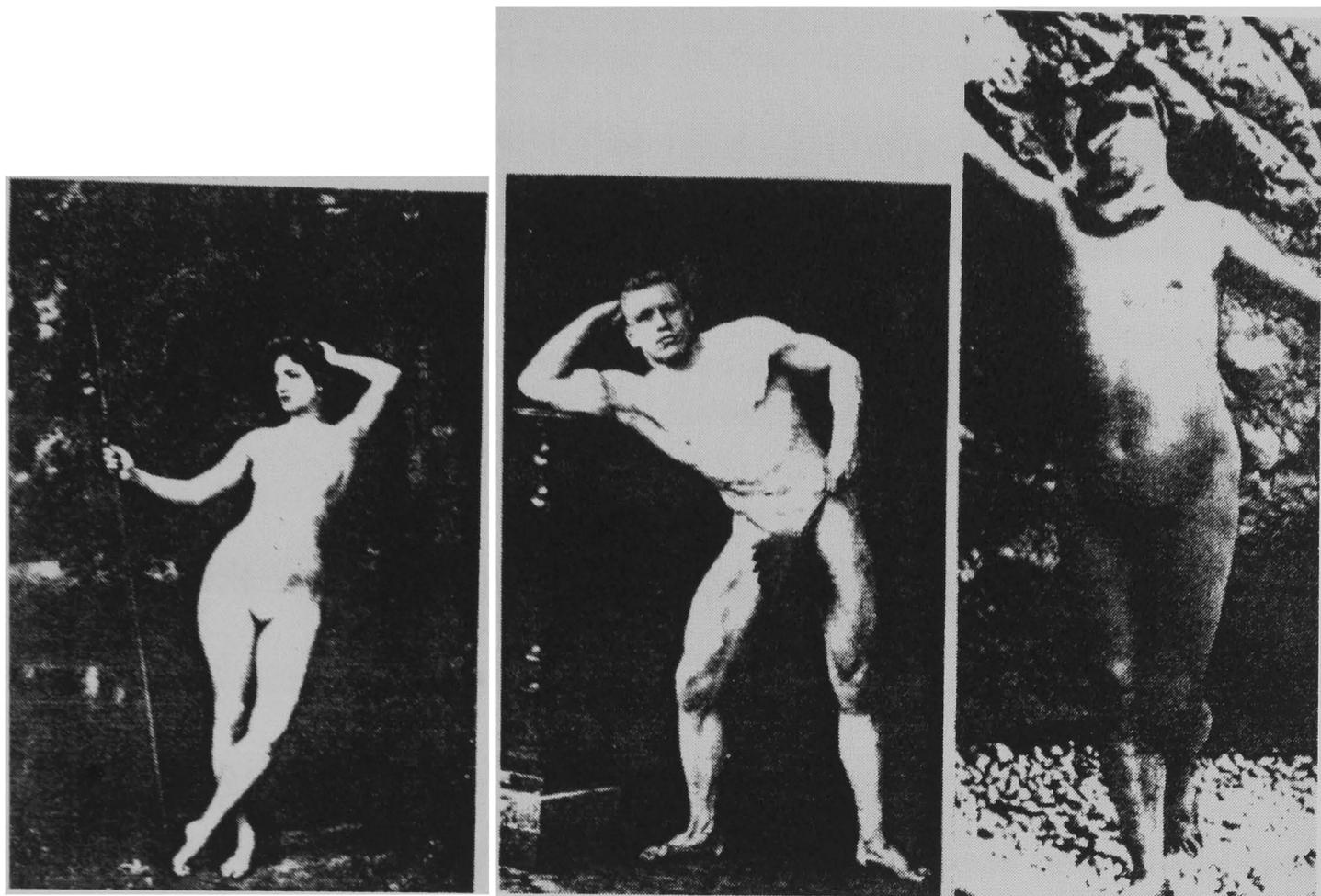


Figure 35 Magnus Hirschfeld's illustrations of 'The Female Type,' 'The Male Type,' and 'The Intermediate Type' (left to right). In "Ursachen und Wesen des Uranismus," *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* 5 (1903): 1-193.

'male' and 'female types' are constructed in terms of contemporary hypermasculine and hyperfeminine ideals (as discussed in Chapter 4) that sought to counter the perceived confusion of the sexes within modernity by reinforcing the notion of inherent biological opposition. Thus, Hirschfeld's male is a robust, muscular *Urmann* who seems to connote active assertiveness as he leans forward slightly (thereby looming towards the viewer of the photograph) with his feet squarely on the ground, while Hirschfeld's female is a fragile, rounded figure whose slight inclination backwards (casting her 'child-bearing hips' and ample bosom into focus) as well as her unstable footing appear indicative of passivity and naivety. Interestingly, the latter is a photograph not of a living person, but of a Romantic portrait – exactly the means of representing the construct of idealised femininity that was employed in numerous *Hosenrolle* and *Rockrolle* films, as discussed previously.

Of course, without the presence of two such exaggerated ‘opposites,’ the figure of the intermediate could not function as a potent interloper within the binary system of heterosexuality. Hirschfeld’s ‘intermediate type’ appears at once a conflation of these male and female ideals as well as of all those discrete sexual identities that were subsumed within the paradigm of intermediacy. Androgyny and the ‘confusion of the sexes’ alike are referenced by the figure’s simultaneous display of the rounded hips and waist of the female in the first photograph, and the chest formation and arm posture (in terms of the arms’ angle of departure from the upper torso) of the male in the second photograph. The obscured genitalia imply hermaphroditism, while transvestism is signified by the facial veil (which looks more like a head- or neckscarf) and mop of marcelled hair. At the same time, the subject seems to embody a certain notion of male homosexuality through ‘his’ posture, that may be said to indicate ‘active passivity’: like the female in the first photograph, his slight inclination backwards appears to ‘offer up’ his body to the putative viewer, while his forward-reaching arms (extending even beyond the photograph’s borders) loom powerfully towards the viewer, like the male in the second photograph.³⁵⁰

Thus, Hirschfeld’s intermediate is constructed in an analogous way to the other *Doppelgänger*s discussed within this research, as the novel product of two perceived traditional and stable opposites that exhibits attributes of both, yet is equal to neither. Like the other *Doppelgänger*s, it is reducible to a neat visual shorthand that communicates these apparently harmonised contradictory properties in an immediately striking form (which in itself marks its subject as a spectacle of modernity). This ‘*Doppelgänger* status’ of the intermediate was indeed discussed by Hirschfeld in the contemporary context in terms of “*Doppelgeschlechtlichkeit*” (“double-sex-ness”) – designating a single subject who nevertheless comprised characteristics

of both sexes – and by Albert Moll as “*Bisexualität*” (“bisexuality”), likewise signifying the presence of both sexes in one individual (and not, in the more recent sense of the term, an individual attracted to both sexes).³⁵¹

Ulrichs, Krafft-Ebing and Hirschfeld were similarly motivated in wishing to establish that intermediacy was inborn. Since 1851, male-male sexual acts had been legislated against in Prussia, and following unification in 1871, were made illegal throughout Germany. Paragraph 143 of the Prussian penal code, adopted as Paragraph 175 of the German penal code, punished with between one day and five years’ imprisonment those found guilty of “unnatural sexual acts (*widernatürliche Unzucht*) conducted between persons of the male sex, or between persons and animals.”³⁵² It was proposed in 1911 that sexual acts between women be made punishable under Paragraph 175 also, but this legislation was never passed, perhaps as John Fout suggests, because “such a posture might have given credence to the notion that women had sexual desires” and could therefore have disturbed the patriarchal order.³⁵³ Meanwhile, both male and female transvestism in public were prosecuted with varying prison sentences under Paragraph 360.11 of the German penal code, which related to “causing a disturbance of the peace or creating a public nuisance.”³⁵⁴

If, however, the sexologists could convince the judiciary that sexual intermediacy was inborn, and not therefore a criminal act, then it was hoped that these laws might be repealed. As Richard Dyer has put it:

If you could show it to be a part of nature, rather than an activity going against nature, then you could argue that society had no business trying to suppress it. Moreover, if it was part of nature it was not a sickness and therefore was not to be thought of in terms of cure.³⁵⁵

Indeed, in the contemporary context, adherents of ‘transposed sex’ theories often reduced the sexologists’ findings to a programmatic list of ‘natural laws’ regarding intermediacy, as in Elisabeth Dauthendey’s 1906 pamphlet, *Die Urningsfrage und die Frauen* (‘The Uranian Question and Women’):

1. Uranism is no one’s fault since it is due to a disorder of empirical natural laws.
2. Like all other deformities or functional disorders, it deserves compassion and not contempt.
3. It is definitely compatible with intellectual functioning.
4. It is never the result of exterior causes or functional disorders but always congenitally conditioned.³⁵⁶

Interestingly, Dauthendey’s was one of numerous tracts in which the Wilhelmine women’s and intermediates’ emancipation movements were presented as, to use Manfred Herzer’s ironic term, “natural allies.”³⁵⁷ This was of course scarcely surprising, not simply because both movements sought to free their subjects from ostracism by locating their behaviour within the ‘natural realm,’ but more particularly because both sets of subjects were conceptualised more or less identically at this time, as ‘sex *Doppelgängers*’ inhabiting a perceived new space that had opened up between the ‘traditional’ male and female sexes (with the distinction between gender and sexuality as yet unheard-of). In this regard, it is worth observing that the label “third sex” (“*drittes Geschlecht*”) was applied equally to new women and intermediates.³⁵⁸

Although the substantial activities of Ulrichs, Krafft-Ebing and especially Hirschfeld – of whose pamphlet *Was soll das Volk vom dritten Geschlecht wissen?* ('What Should the People know of the Third Sex?') some 30,000 copies were sold between 1902 and 1904 alone – did not succeed in effecting the abrogation of Paragraphs 175 and 360.11, they did act as a practical resource (if not a rallying call also) for those who felt themselves referenced by the category of sexual intermediacy.³⁵⁹ As Hirschfeld evidenced over the course of literally thousands of interviews with intermediates during this period, many gained information and practised 'self-analysis' by acquiring any of the voluminous number of medical and legal works on the subject published in Germany at this time (of which Manfred Herzer has enumerated some 998 for the years 1895 to 1913 alone), or scoured daily and weekly newspapers for reports on cases, arrests or suicides of intermediates.³⁶⁰ Numerous of these works, such as the 1907 autobiographical case-study *Aus eines Mannes Mädchenjahren* ('From a Man's Girlhood Years'), addressed an intended intermediate readership fairly directly. In his foreword to this latter, for example, the writer Rudolf Presber promised that the autobiographical record, penned by a pseudonymous 'N. O. Body,' might constitute not merely a revelation, but a potential source of solace and relief for like-minded readers:

I was the first to advise a poor creature (*Menschenkind*) fearing for its future to transcribe the details of its young life, that this might relieve much untold human suffering and afford a closer understanding of the riddles surrounding such uncomprehended tragedies of everyday existence.³⁶¹

Similarly, James Steakley has noted how the enormous press coverage afforded to the so-called 'Eulenburg Scandal,' involving a series of ten court-cases against high-ranking members of the military and aristocracy, including Prince

Philipp von Eulenburg-Hertefeld, a close friend and confidant of Kaiser Wilhelm II, and Count Kuno von Moltke, the military governor of Berlin, disseminated descriptions, cartoons and discussions surrounding intermediacy to a mass readership throughout Germany between 1907 and 1909, as these individuals were accused of appearing in women's clothing at *Urningbälle* and contravening Paragraph 175. Although bound up in various processes of seeking to control and punish, Steakley concludes on the basis of contemporary sources that:

paradoxically, these images, discourses and practices may well have incited many individuals to follow through on desires that they had heretofore ignored or suppressed; indeed, desire itself may have been generated. And for others, who had led double lives up to this point, the scandal led to a new possibility for conceptualising their secret vices and arriving at a fundamentally new identity.³⁶²

The Modernity of Sexual Intermediacy

Wilhelmine writers on sexual intermediacy portrayed it as a specifically modern, urban phenomenon. In the above quotation by Presber (and latterly, that by Steakley), for example, we can see intermediacy represented as something being revealed for the first time, with knowledge of its significance and practices disseminated via the modern press and mass book market. Krafft-Ebing assumed a rather extreme position in relating intermediacy to modern city life during these years, displaying a rhetoric that seems wholly at odds with his assertions regarding intermediacy as an inborn, natural state. He maintained that intermediacy was, rather, endemic to the modern city as a further example of the (in his accounts, somewhat

abstracted) disruptive influence exerted on individuals and society at large by modern hyperstimulation and nervousness:

It is shown by the history of Babylon, Nineveh, Rome, and also by the 'mysteries' of life in modern capitals, that large cities are the breeding places of nervousness and degenerate sensuality.³⁶³

Other writers adopted the more compatible view that intermediacy appeared concentrated in the cities because the anonymity of the urban mass population afforded opportunities for individuals to meet and to foster a sense of community that were precluded in more rural areas, where everyone knew everybody else and consequently effectively monitored and controlled one another's actions. As the prolific sexological writer Iwan Bloch argued in his enormously successful 1906 study, *Das Sexuelleben unserer Zeit in seinen Beziehungen zur modernen Kultur* (*The Sexual Life of Our Times in Relation to Modern Civilisation*), in which he, like Albert Moll and others, employed the term '*Homosexuelle*' to mean 'sexual intermediates':

Whilst in the smallest provincial towns and in the country homosexuals are for the most part thrust back into themselves, compelled to conceal their nature or at most to communicate with isolated individuals of like nature with themselves, in the larger towns from early days the homosexuals have been able to get in touch with one another.³⁶⁴

British writers Havelock Ellis and John Addington Symonds similarly expounded in their 1896 work, *Das konträre Geschlechtsgefühl* (*Sexual Inversion*), which first appeared in German:

It is true that in the solitude of the great modern cities it is possible for small homosexual coteries to form, in a certain sense, an environment of their own favourable to their abnormality.³⁶⁵

Interestingly, such conclusions were put forward in Germany not only in medical and sexological texts, but also in various guides to Berlin's underworld that appeared from the late 1800s. Sporting lurid titles such as *Die Verbrecherwelt von Berlin* ('Berlin's Criminal World', 1886) or *Das perverse Berlin* ('Perverted Berlin', 1910), these 'travelogues of depravity,' which were popular with tourists as souvenirs of 'the modern urban experience,' treated the city's inhabitants – from its criminal underclasses to immigrant communities, and from new women to sexual intermediates – as a veritable freakshow cavalcade. Adopting a high-and-mighty tone in order to express distaste at the spectacles they described, the authors of these guides at the same time offered precise details concerning locations and the kinds of activities engaged in there, thereby providing a 'how to' for the uninitiated also. Accordingly, the author of *Die Verbrecherwelt von Berlin* advised that the capital's intermediate cafés, bars and *Urningsbälle* around the Friedrichstraße and Unter den Linden served as subcultural nexuses where intermediates could "make one another's acquaintance, nurture feelings of solidarity, and falsely come to imagine that both they and their whole way of behaving have, as it were, met with official approval."³⁶⁶

Sexual Intermediate Opportunities in the Metropolis

Berlin was characterised by both popular and sexological writers (including Hirschfeld, who in 1904 dedicated a 77-page monograph to the subject) as the

intermediate capital of Germany, offering an array of opportunities for making contact, meeting up, and maintaining visibility.³⁶⁷ Social historians Wolfgang Theis and Andreas Sternweiler, drawing on a wealth of contemporary materials, have determined that cafés and bars targeting a clientele comprising homosexuals, bisexuals, transvestites, hermaphrodites and androgynes under the sexual intermediate label began to appear in the city-centre from the 1870s. Although constantly battling closure by the authorities, these public venues for meeting and socialising continued to proliferate:

The anonymous *Das perverse Berlin* describes the thirteen most important meeting-places for the year 1910. Apart from the [centrally located] *Katzenmutter*, the *Hannemann* and the *Mikado*, mention was made of bars in the north of the city-centre, in the Ackerstraße and the Kleine Frankfurter Straße, to the south, in the Brandenburgstraße, Franzstraße and Willibald-Alexis-Straße, and to the east, in the Müncheberger Straße. [...] In 1914, Hirschfeld knew of some 38 [intermediate] bars, “stretching out from the far west, across the centre, and to the east of the city, with the greatest concentration at the present time to the south-west.”³⁶⁸

The male clientele of these bars were described by the author of *Das perverse Berlin* in a manner consistent with contemporary theories of intermediacy, as embodying both sexes simultaneously, and it is for this challenging, *Doppelgänger*-like mixing of maleness and femaleness within the single subject that the author reserves his (feigned) ire:

For the most part, these ‘sisters’ or ‘aunties’ – as these types of invert refer to themselves in their own company – make precious little attempt to control the womanly bent in their nature, and derive much greater pleasure from casting aside even the last vestiges of manhood. [...] Their conversations seem all the more obscene for emanating from the

mouths of those who are, after all, men. They screech, squeal with delight, and speak with a falsetto timbre.³⁶⁹

Bookshops and kiosks stocking a selection of intermediate titles – and, as Hirschfeld notes, frequently run by intermediate storekeepers – functioned both as temples of information and meeting places. Alongside an array of sexological studies and journals, these shops also carried works of intermediate fiction, autobiographies and memoirs. Of these, the three most popular – in terms of the number of editions published and the frequency with which Hirschfeld’s interviewees refer to having read them – appear to have been *Anders als die Andern* (‘Different from the Others’, 1904), about a male-male relationship between a teacher and one of his pupils, *Weiberbeute* (‘Captured Women’, 1906), written by a certain ‘Luz Fraumann’ (‘Luz Woman-Man’) and concerning a happy marriage between an effeminate cross-dressing man and a masculine cross-dressing woman, as well as the aforementioned autobiography *Aus eines Mannes Mädchenjahren*, which detailed the exploits of a male pseudo-hermaphrodite who lived as a woman with the permission of the Prussian authorities. While *Anders als die Andern* contained positive depictions of intermediate life but ended tragically, the other two texts went so far as to offer readers a happy-ending in which their intermediate protagonists became integrated into and accepted as productive members of modern society.³⁷⁰

Theis and Sternweiler, again drawing on contemporary sources, note that crowded city streets afforded plentiful opportunities for surreptitious ‘cruising,’ with areas of the Zoologischer Garten, the Kranzlereck on Unter den Linden and the Friedrichstraße arcade enjoying a particular reputation. The recently erected round, cast-iron *pissoir* structures about the city likewise provided opportunities for

anonymous 'cottaging' experiences, with users of these facilities gaining nicknames including 'Rotundelein' ('rotunda-ists'), 'Pißtazien' ('piss-tachios') and 'Blech-konfektioneusen' ('metalwork artistes').³⁷¹ The continual passing-trade at theatres each evening would seem to have offered comparable possibilities, as Havelock Ellis observed with regard to one of his interviewees in London, in *Das konträre Geschlechtsgefühl*:

When he was about thirty years of age his reserve and his fear of treachery and extortion were at last overcome by an incident which occurred late at night at the Royal Exchange Theatre, and again in the dark recesses of the Olympic Theatre when Gustavus Brooke was performing. From that time the Adelphi Theatre, the Italian Opera, and the open parks at night became his fields of adventure.³⁷²

Theatres held a broader appeal across the intermediate community, however, than simply as darkened, crowded locations providing occasions for discreet male-male sexual activity. In Berlin, for example, the centrally located Nationaltheater and Apollo-Theater (again in the seemingly ubiquitous Friedrichstraße) were venues where all types of sexual intermediates could meet up and socialise, while being entertained by performers whose acts frequently seemed to target a specifically intermediate audience. As illustrated in greater depth below, humorous *Rockrolle* sketches and camp comedy routines were regular specialities at the Apollo, while the high cultural efforts of performers like the Russian ballet dancer Nijinsky at the Deutsches Theater in 1910 proved no less appealing.³⁷³ Indeed, it is perhaps interesting to note that *Figure 36* (overleaf), a souvenir postcard of Nijinsky in Berlin at this time, parallels Hirschfeld's 1903 photograph of the 'intermediate type' in a number of ways. Here, the 'active passivity' associated with homosexuality is demonstrated by Nijinsky as he looms assuredly towards the putative viewer of the



Figure 36 Souvenir postcard of Nijinsky in *Scheherazade* at the Deutsches Theater in Berlin, 1910. Collection of the author.

postcard, but leans over backwards to do so; transvestism is implied by his costume – particularly his shiny shoes, headwear, make-up and chunky jewellery; his smooth face and dainty hands and feet (characteristics of ‘the female’) contrast with his muscular biceps (attributes of ‘the male’) and give rise to thoughts of androgyny; and who can say what hermaphroditic possibilities might be masked by those all-obscuring puffed-out trousers?

Charley and his many Aunts on the Wilhelmine Stage

Brandon Thomas' three-act farce *Charley's Aunt* was one of the greatest commercial *coups* of European *fin-de-siècle* theatre. Enjoying a run of over four years at London's Royalty Theatre after opening there in December 1892, the play was swiftly translated and exported, becoming a success throughout Scandinavia as well as in France, Germany and elsewhere. In Berlin, it was chosen in August 1894 as the inaugural extravaganza for the reopening of the modernised Adolph Ernst-Theater, where it proceeded to enjoy almost as lengthy a run as its London counterpart.³⁷⁴ In 1911, the director of the Basel Stadttheater, Leo Melitz, could still count *Charley's Aunt* among "the most performed plays" on the contemporary German stage, and the work has subsequently come to be described – by writers ranging from Oskar Kalbus in the 1930s to Hans Scheugl in the 1970s – as the defining "apotheosis" of the *Rockrolle* genre in the German context.³⁷⁵

The plot of *Charley's Aunt* centres about two university students, Charley Wykham and Jack Chesney, who wish to spend time alone – that is to say, unchaperoned – with their girlfriends, Kitty and Anny. In order to achieve this, the two talk their friend Lord Babberley into dressing up as Charley's rich aunt from overseas, Donna Lucia d'Alvadorez, who can act as the two young women's new chaperon. Of course, the girlfriends' parents voice no objection to their daughters' being chaperoned by this apparently very proper mature woman – and rightly so, as it turns out, for the disguised Babberley asserts the need for propriety just as might any other respectable chaperon! Dismayed, Charley and Jack tell Babberley to divest himself of his disguise. However, Anny's widower father has already fallen in love with 'Donna Lucia' and opens his house to her, meaning that Babberley is forced to

maintain the disguise. At this juncture, the *real* Donna Lucia arrives, prompting even more farcical mayhem. Eventually the truth comes out and, as Melitz put it in 1911, “at the denouement, some four happily engaged couples are left on the stage”: Charley and Kitty; Jack and Anny; Donna Lucia and Jack’s father, who turns out to be one of her old flames; and the now undisguised Babberley and Donna Lucia’s young charge Ella, for whom he had developed feelings while still masquerading as Charley’s Aunt.³⁷⁶

Despite the resolute heterosexuality of both the initial motivation for Babberley’s deception and the conclusion, the emphasis of *Charley’s Aunt* lay less perhaps on its narrative appurtenances than on displaying and ‘playing around’ with its eponymous hero(ine) as (s)he vacillated between male and female identity. This was remarked upon by at least one reviewer during the play’s initial London run, in which W. S. Penley took the lead role:

The plot fades into the background. The pegs of ardent lovers’ wiles to enjoy *têtes-à-têtes* with beloveds under the wing of a fictitious chaperon, are mere wooden contrivances upon which to hang pretexts for Mr. Penley’s assumption of woman’s stays and woman’s ways, and woman’s *cl’es* [*i.e.* clothes].³⁷⁷

Reviews of the German production at the Adolph Ernst-Theater likewise focused primarily on the appearance of Guido Tielscher as the lead character, terming him “a little dark-eyed Jew, short and fat, [...] made up to look like a dignified old lady.”³⁷⁸ Some critics engaged in the debate surrounding high versus low culture indeed took exception to the play on the grounds of its ‘modern’ visual emphasis, which they considered to be at odds with the centrality of the spoken word and narrative to traditional ‘theatrical artistry.’³⁷⁹



Figure 37 Promotional still of Peter Fjelstrup as *Charley's Aunt* at Copenhagen's Kasino-Teatret, 1894. In *Københavnerviv* 14.2.1894: no pag.

Figure 37 (above), a promotional photograph for an 1894 Danish adaptation (based on the production at the Adolph Ernst-Theater) may be regarded as typical of the imagery employed within contemporary campaigns for *Charley's Aunt*, attempting to generate desire to see the play by showcasing the visuality of its 'cross-sexed' motif. In this way, it is possible to suggest, as did Hirschfeld in 1910 on the basis of responses from his interviewees (two of which are explored below), that such spectacles could be consumed (by sexual intermediates) as approximations of intermediate identity, or even as a timely theatrical 'response' to intermediacy as a signifier of urban modernity and the perceived confusion of the sexes.³⁸⁰ It seems significant that *Figure 37* depicts one of the play's 'transformation' sequences, so that the photograph's subject – whose biological maleness is underlined by the presence of his autograph, as Peter Fjelstrup, within the image – is shown, like intermediates, to be literally 'part-way between' the sexes. Transvestism is obviously represented

through his use of clothing to accomplish this transformation, while Fjelstrup's plump and glabrous appearance – typical of actors cast in the role at this time – seems to reference androgyny, by locating these approximations of feminine rounding and softness on the male body. Within the play itself, Babberley's transformation is shown to transcend clothing, as his adoption of this latter alters his mental and emotional outlook also, changing him from a calculating conspirer with men (helping them to spend time with their girlfriends to 'sow their wild seeds' and thus 'assert their masculinity') into a mild-mannered sympathiser with women (maintaining the value of chastity and propriety). At the same time, homosexual and heterosexual opposition is cast into disarray: for while the heterosexual relationship between Babberley (dressed as Charley's Aunt) and Ella is constructed initially in visually lesbian terms, so the male-male relationship between Anny's father and Babberley (still as Charley's Aunt) gives the outward appearance, paradoxically, of heterosexuality. While the latter serves to reveal heterosexuality and homosexuality alike as fluid constructs, it may also have possessed an additional *frisson* for audience members who identified as sexual intermediates, that is to say, as heterosexuals 'trapped' in the body of the 'opposite' sex, who could here witness this 'state of being' enacted (albeit in a temporary way) on the stage.

In British late nineteenth-century theatre, it is worth noting, the figure of the cross-dressed male had become relatively commonplace, not least in the form of the 'pantomime dame' from the 1850s onwards, and the original run of *Charley's Aunt* indeed fell within this context, opening for Christmas trade on 21st December 1892.³⁸¹ In Germany, however, the more or less unique forum in which to see cross-dressed men during this period had been the *Urningebälle*, and *Charley's Aunt* came to serve as the progenitrix of a sudden *Rockrolle* vogue that sprang up from the mid-

1890s, as Hirschfeld and cultural critic Arthur Moeller-Bruck commented at the time. This vogue comprised a wealth of variety acts as well as a number of playlets in which a loose narrative was constructed about the motif of the *Rockrolle*.³⁸² Significantly, as Theis and Sternweiler have again noted, many of these acts featured performers who themselves identified as intermediates, including Max Waldon, Wilhelm Bendow and Bobby Walden; were staged at theatres with a known intermediate clientele, such as the Apollo in Berlin; and, as I seek to demonstrate below, were used and enjoyed in distinct ways by intermediate spectators.³⁸³

The visual distinction between the explicitly intermediate *Rockrolle* performances and *Charley's Aunt* is striking. As Laurence Senelick has put it, “the Charley’s Aunt motif” deals in “post-menopausal matrons,” trussed up in unrevealing black mourning-dress that is not altogether unreminiscent of Queen Victoria in her winter years.³⁸⁴ However, *Plate 1* (overleaf), a 1906 souvenir postcard of Berlin-based Bobby Walden, shows off – indeed, plays up – the bird-of-paradise-like colourfulness of his act, through the choice of tinting for the lychnographic image.³⁸⁵ This immediately transports him from the realm of drab hues associated with male garb, and still exhibited by Babberley in *Charley's Aunt*, to the brightly coloured world of women’s fashion (discussed in Chapter 4). Walden’s contoured, low-cut gown, as well as his application of accessories and make-up, including lip-rouge and bright pink blusher, imply a certain attention to detail and pleasure *vis-à-vis* his feminine appearance, that further distinguish his *Rockrolle* from the rather bland ‘functionality’ of the ‘Charley’s Aunt type.’ His pose again connotes ‘active passivity,’ as he leans towards the putative viewer of the postcard, but *over his shoulder*, so as to reveal a large expanse of uncovered back, with Walden’s rounded and glabrous appearance once more referencing androgyny. Perhaps most significant of all,



Plate 1 Lychograph postcard of Bobby Walden, 1906. Collection of the author.



Figure 38 Photograph of Brunin. In Arthur Moeller-Bruck, *Das Varieté* (Berlin: Julius Bard, 1902), 219.

however, are Walden's broad smile and 'insider' gesture of whispering behind his hand – both directed towards the viewer – which effectively communicate both a sense of enjoyment and of 'being in the know,' or of 'sharing the joke.'

Figure 38 (above), showing Walden's contemporary Brunin, likewise reveals a performer in light-coloured, low-cut garb, who has made careful use of accessories, and resembles most closely some gâteau-like confection. The 'intermediacy' of Brunin's appearance is exaggerated to the point of being almost *de trop*. On the one hand, he seems antithetical to male ideals, since his limbs – the part of his anatomy that his costume shows off most clearly – are singularly devoid of musculature, not

to mention body hair. On the other, he appears equally antithetical to ideals of femaleness, due to his display of gangling, bony extremities, a flat chest, and large feet.

While we can but guess as to the structure and ‘patter’ of Walden and Brunin’s acts, many of the routines of another regular *Rockrolle* performer at the Apollo, Wilhelm Bendow – of whom we shall hear (and see) more later – were detailed in a 1925 collection of his work, *Der kleine Bendow ist vom Himmel gefallen* (‘The Little Bendow Fell from Heaven’).³⁸⁶ Redolent with camp humour, Bendow can be likened most readily, in a latter-day British context, to Kenneth Williams, articulating with an “inimitable” fluty voice – which one critic would go on to describe in 1932 as “his lightly powdered manner of speaking” – and deploying his camp catchphrase, “*Ist das nicht wundervoll?*” (“Isn’t that Marvellous?”), at every turn, while constantly dropping innuendoes and recognisable intermediate references into his act.³⁸⁷ For example, during the Wilhelmine period, he often recounted the following limerick (about a male prostitute who ends up in Berlin’s Dalldorf asylum, whither offenders of Paragraph 175 were regularly sent), whose meaning could have remained obscure to those who were not ‘in the know’:

Ich kenne wen von weitem,	[I know someone remotely,
dem nichts am Gelde lag,	Who had no worries about money,
der nie von schlechten Zeiten	Who never spoke of bad times,
und nie von Preisen sprach!	And never discussed rising prices!
Der muß’ nach Dalldorf schließlich	Eventually, he had to move to Dalldorf,
wandern,	Because he was different – from the
denn er war anders – als die andern!	others!] ³⁸⁸

Walden, Brunin and Bendow were far from alone in representing intermediacy through the theatrical *Rockrolle*. In 1901, a unique study of around thirty *Rockrolle* performers appearing on Berlin stages was undertaken by a medical doctor signing himself only 'W. S.,' and published under the title "*Vom Weibmann auf der Bühne*" ("Regarding the Woman-Man on the Stage") in Hirschfeld's *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen*. Of those performers interviewed by the doctor, "well over fifty percent" also identified as intermediates in their private life. Several reasons were suggested as to why intermediates might be so highly represented in this profession. Firstly, of course, it was one of the few jobs in which they could express and perform freely at least some elements of their sexual identity. Secondly, the notion of donning women's attire was antithetical to traditional notions of masculinity, rendering the job unappealing to male heterosexuals. Thirdly, on a purely practical level, male intermediates may well have owned women's clothing already, either for transvestite purposes or to wear at *Urningebälle*.³⁸⁹ As Ernst Günther observes in his history of German variety, performers in Germany were obliged to furnish their own costumes at this time: it was therefore less likely that a performer would purchase an entire second wardrobe than that he would make use of things he owned already.³⁹⁰

All the above indicates that many *Rockrolle* performances were targeted more or less directly at an intermediate audience, and Hirschfeld, in his 1910 study of cross-dressing among intermediates, attests several instances of his interviewees' spectatorship of *Rockrolle* acts within the expression of their identity, of which I wish to cite just two representative examples here. The first involves a respondent referred to as Herr B., who seemingly enumerates the watching of *Rockrolle* performances among the natural components in the adolescence of any intermediate: "As a student, [...] I used to read about Achilles in girls' clothing, saw my first female

impersonator, and more of that kind of thing.”³⁹¹ The second example concerns a teenager who had recently attempted to commit suicide while wearing women’s clothing and registered under a woman’s name at a cheap hotel on Berlin’s ubiquitous Friedrichstraße. Hirschfeld observes that, for this respondent, spectatorship of a *Rockrolle* constituted the catalyst for realising and beginning to articulate his own sexual identity:

A few years ago, after he had seen a man appear as a woman on the stage of one of Berlin’s variety theatres, a yearning was awakened in him, which grew stronger and stronger, that he also appear as a woman in the circus or in the speciality theatre. [...] Shortly thereafter he read in a newspaper for artists that a young woman in Hamburg, who had wanted to appear as a man, was looking for a partner to play in London who should take the female role. [...] Nothing came of the engagement because the lover of the young woman, a count, insisted that she take no male partner.³⁹²

A further end to which some intermediates employed the post-*Charley’s Aunt* vogue of the *Rockrolle*, again cited by Hirschfeld, is perhaps more unexpected and ingenious. If caught wearing women’s clothing in public and threatened with arrest under Paragraph 360.11, these intermediates asserted that they were merely dressed up in such garb, in the style of these stage-plays, ‘for a laugh.’ According to Hirschfeld, such bravura paid off, and the police were frequently wont to accept this excuse!³⁹³

Charley and his many Aunts on the Early German Screen

It is perhaps unsurprising, in view of its visuality, its established popularity and, one might argue, its very modernity, that the *Rockrolle*, with its display of the distinctive ‘*Doppelgänger* figure’ of the ‘bi-sexed’ subject, should have come to be employed repeatedly in Wilhelmine cinema. The *Rockrolle* films, like their theatrical antecedents, can be divided broadly into two main varieties: those more restrained works, akin to *Charley’s Aunt*, in which the ‘*Doppelgänger* of sexuality’ is ‘made a spectacle of’ (in every sense) without being targeted necessarily at an intermediate audience; and those vibrant works of a consciously subversive and subcultural character and appeal. I wish to commence by outlining briefly the films whose *Rockrolle* performances fall within the category of what I have referred to above as “the rather bland ‘functionality’ of the ‘Charley’s Aunt type,’” before embarking upon a closer encounter with the films of the more camp kind.

The less *outré* films can be subdivided into three major types. The first comprises titles such as *Vertauschte Rollen* (‘Reversed Roles’, Deutsche Bioscop, 1911) and *Wenn Frauen die Herrschaft führen* (*When Women Rule*, Selig, 1912), which have been discussed already in Chapter 4, and present the *Rockrolle* as a reciprocal by-product of the perceived masculinisation of the new woman as represented through the explicitly feminist *Hosenrolle*. These films, whose male-to-female transformations had little to do with glamour or pleasure, and which were more likely to show these men rebelling at their enforced new identity, would probably have been of limited interest to intermediate audiences, and might at most have been suggestive – and then only after a rather oblique fashion – of the occasional alliances forged between the women’s and intermediates’ emancipation movements at this time.

The second of these types embraces works such as *Vor Taschendieben wird gewarnt* ('Beware of Pickpockets', Éclipse, 1908) and *Mädchen oder Mann?* ('Girl or Man?', Imp, 1911), in which the *Rockerolle* is undertaken for criminal purposes. The former title, for example, concerns a male thief who dons women's clothing in order to move unsuspected among a crowd of well-to-do gentlemen and pick their pockets, while the latter centres about a man's flight from a police raid at an illegal boxing match and his adoption of a maid's uniform in order to evade arrest. These films may not have been devoid of appeal for intermediate spectators, since much of their running-time was dedicated to showcasing the visuality of their *Doppelgänger* protagonists. Indeed, this spectacle was alluded to already in the title of *Mädchen oder Mann?*, while *Vor Taschendieben wird gewarnt* was advertised with the expectation-raising tag-line, "A picture in which a lady's moustache proves to be her undoing."³⁹⁴ It is furthermore conceivable that the link between cross-dressing and criminality within these films' narratives may have been suggestive, to a greater or lesser extent for these spectators, of the practice's established criminalisation under Paragraph 360.11.

The films of the third type – by far the most common – are clearly inspired by and closely resemble *Charley's Aunt*. As one reviewer observed in a 1916 issue of *Der Kinematograph*, the virtually inflexible structure of these films, and the resolutely heterosexual narrative motivation underlying their acts of cross-dressing, consisted in a young man's "adoption of the disguise [...] out of love for a girl, in order to get closer to her."³⁹⁵ Almost without exception, this took the form of his gaining entry to the household of the woman's family after being hired by her parents to fill a stereotyped 'woman's position' involving domestic and nurturing duties. As may be gathered from the films' formulaic titles, these stereotyped professions essentially limited the protagonist to appearing as a paid companion, as in *Blasius als Gesellschafts-*

dame ('Blasius as a Lady's Companion', Deutsche Mutoskop- und Biograph-Gesellschaft, 1911) or *Lehmann als Gesellschaftsdame* ('Lehmann as a Lady's Companion', Pathé, 1913); a wet-nurse or nanny (for the girlfriend's siblings), as in *Johann als Kindermädchen* ('Johann as a Nanny', Pathé, 1907) and *Onkel Fritz als Kinderfrau* ('Uncle Fritz as a Nanny', Hunnia-Biograph, 1912); or a chambermaid or cook, as in *Polidor als Kammerzofe* (*Polidor as a Lady's Maid*, Pasquali, 1912) and *Bobby als Küchenfee* ('Bobby as a Mrs. Beeton', Alter Ego, 1913).³⁹⁶

Of course, the ostensible heterosexuality of these narratives was undercut at almost every turn by the films' visual representations, with the lengthy sequences that depicted the antics of the disguised male lover with his girlfriend appearing as female-female couplings. Furthermore – and as with *Charley's Aunt* – the cross-dressed protagonist in practically every film also ended up being wooed by one of his girlfriend's male relations, resulting in the addition to the fantastic household of a kind of male-male kiss-chase in visually heterosexual terms.

Interestingly, the possibility for such content to be interpreted as sexual intermediate imagery and iconography did not escape the Berlin censorship board, headed since 1911 by Karl Brunner. A remarkable secondary source exists, in the form of a 1958 letter written by film-director Richard Oswald, that records Brunner's virulently anti-intermediate sentiments. According to Oswald, Brunner had to be ejected from the premiere of his now legendary anti-Paragraph 175 film *Anders als die Andern* ('Different from the Others', Richard Oswald-Film, 1919) – to which only distinguished guests had been invited – after interrupting the screening by standing up and yelling, "Fancy having to look at such filth!"³⁹⁷ It consequently becomes easy to comprehend why Brunner should have been so overzealous in his censorship of

instances of apparent intermediacy in numerous *Rockerolle* films during the early 1910s. For example, *Polidor als Kammerzofe* lost nearly half of its ten minute running-time to Brunner's scissors, comprising an entire lengthy sequence in which the brother of Polidor's girlfriend attempts to philander with this new 'maid,' as well as several images of the cross-dressed Polidor together with his girlfriend.³⁹⁸ The writer Kurt Tucholsky, invited to view the workings of Brunner's office in 1913, similarly witnessed the banning of an unnamed American *Rockerolle* film – despite its heterocentric narrative – at the head-censor's behest and assertion of “its basis in perversity.”³⁹⁹

It is worth noting that the films of this type may have possessed an additional appeal for some intermediate spectators. For although the positions filled by their cross-dressed protagonists embodied stereotyped notions of 'women's work,' these same stereotypes frequently informed certain intermediates (who might today identify as transvestites or transsexuals) in their quests for femininity. Consequently, those among Hirschfeld's interviewees who wear women's attire full-time and have previously found employment as women attest comparable *curricula vitae* to these films' hero(in)es:

[Case 5] lives for a few years as the lady companion to one of his girlfriends. [... Case 8], who actually was supposed to become a priest, spends a large part of his life in women's clothing as an embroiderer, babysitter, cook, innkeeper, and maid on a farm.⁴⁰⁰

Some Camper Moments in Wilhelmine *Rockrolle* Films

The camper films may be distinguished in that they expend little time, if any, in establishing a heterosexual pretext for the *Rockrolle*, and focus instead on either the pleasure afforded to their protagonists through the donning of women's clothing, or on these protagonists' use of the *Rockrolle* to gain access not to a girlfriend, but another male. In one film, *Wo ist Coletti?* (*Where is Colletti?*, Vitascope, 1913), both bases are covered, as the euphoria of the initial fetishistic act leads onto the acquisition of a male suitor. Thus, these works transcend merely visual displays of intermediacy and, moreover, frequently contain a happy-ending in which the cross-dressed protagonist triumphs. To begin, I wish to consider briefly three surviving foreign-made titles of this type that played in Germany, before focusing on two exceptional German productions of 1913, in which intermediacy is represented unequivocally and unambiguously – *Wo ist Coletti?* and, starring our old friend Wilhelm Bendow, *Aus eines Mannes Mädchenzeit* ('From a Man's Time as a Girl', Meßter-Film).

Taking the foreign productions chronologically, the earliest goes by the outlandish title *Wie Herr Pfiffig an der Damen-Schönheitskonkurrenz den ersten Preis gewann* (*How Percy Won the Beauty Competition*, Gaumont, 1909).⁴⁰¹ Percy/Pfiffig is attracted by a newspaper advertisement for what, in the surviving original British version, is described as a “grand beauty show” at the tellingly named “Tootsie Sporting Club,” which offers a “£100 prize” (thereby establishing an ostensible financial motive for Percy's *Rockrolle*).⁴⁰² We briefly follow Percy as he visits a costumier to purchase a wig, gown and accessories (which expenditure surely seems counterproductive in view of the *Rockrolle*'s supposedly pecuniary motivation), before the film's spectacular

central sequence, heralded by an intertitle proclaiming, “The Candidates,” commences. In medium close-up, the camera pans slowly from right to left to reveal the contest’s ten entrants – at least three of whom (and not just Percy) are cross-dressed men! Each competitor is then invited to parade up and down in ‘her’ finery before the judges (and the putative audience), with the cross-dressed contestants, predictably, proving especially flamboyant and flirtatious. Of course, Percy wins, and receives not merely the £100, but a kiss from each of the judges. At this point, the film’s humour goes off at a boisterous and madcap tangent, as the disgruntled losers lay in wait to mug Percy of his/her winnings. There ensues a lengthy chase across fields, the grounds of a school, a churchyard, a pub forecourt, and through someone’s house. The film concludes, however, with an emblematic close-up showing Percy joyous and triumphant, in women’s garb *and* holding the prize-money.

As this description indicates, the film differs from the *Rockrolle* works discussed hitherto in numerous ways: its protagonist more or less jumps at the opportunity to assume women’s clothes, and clearly derives pleasure from wearing them; he puts up no struggle to avoid men’s kisses, and even courts these through coquettish behaviour; he is – in this case, literally – rewarded for undertaking the *Rockrolle* and, significantly, does not revert to male garb at the end of the film; the phenomenon is shown to be widespread, with several men entering and enjoying the competition; while the name of the club holding the contest (at least in the British version) appears to constitute an ‘insider’ joke aimed at those with ‘subcultural knowledge.’ Furthermore, the ‘*Doppelgänger* quality’ of collapsing the distinction between (and thus revealing the constructed nature of) perceived opposites by embodying both simultaneously extends beyond the single subject to all the entrants in the contest, regardless of whether they are a woman by impersonation or biology:

the fluid sweep of the camera between male and female ‘women’ in the right-to-left pan obviates the notion that there exists any contrariety between the two, while in the long-shot chase sequences, all the subjects become no longer distinguishable in terms of biological sex, appearing simply as galloping figure in dresses.

The second of the foreign productions, *Little Hans als photographischer Reporter* (‘Little Hans as a Photo-Journalist’, Pathé, 1911), presents the case of a young photo-journalist with a sports magazine who is assigned to take pictures of a celebrated wrestler. The wrestler’s dislike of journalists is well-known, and so Little Hans dresses up, as the original Pathé catalogue notes, “as a beautiful woman,” in order to get close to the wrestler by flattering him with ‘her’ attentions.⁴⁰³ The wrestler lets down his defences and permits the cross-dressed Little Hans to snap his photograph.

Here, we are presented with a character for whom the notion of undertaking a *Rockrolle* and using this to gain access to another man supposedly comes out of nowhere, as simply ‘a good idea.’ If this all-too-sudden willingness on Little Hans’ part to dress up as a woman and make sheep’s eyes at another man may invite us to wonder about his sexual identity, then his physical appearance surely serves to increase our curiosity. For his narrow wiry frame and diminutive stature (echoed in his name) seem antithetical to contemporary masculine ideals, a point that is emphasised by the on-screen contrast with the wrestler’s worked-out physique, embodying such ideals to perfection.⁴⁰⁴ Only after he dons women’s attire does Little Hans appear to have realised his physical potential, as if – in a manner consistent with theories of intermediacy – the female trapped within has found her way out. Again, a happy-ending is apparent, as Little Hans is rewarded not merely with the

(homoerotic) photograph he requires, but also, it seems, a place in the heart of the wrestling Adonis.

The third of these films bears an especially outrageous title, that could have possessed a strong intermediate appeal – *Polidor wechselt das Geschlecht* ('Polidor Changes Sex', Pasquali, 1913). Film historian Hans Scheugl offers a concise overview of this work, whose campness stems in particular from its modification of, as it were, *Charley's Aunt* into *Charley's Bride*:

A young man needs to get hold of a fiancée quickly, as his uncle is coming to visit and expects to find him married. Polidor offers his services as the 'bride-to-be' and makes such a good job of this that the uncle falls for him/her. The comedy arises when Polidor gambols about coquettishly, proffering kisses and jumping onto men's laps [...]. It is also comical when he grows jealous at a female rival and reprimands his 'fiancé' about this.⁴⁰⁵

Changing the *Aunt* into the *Bride* in this way at once removes all hetero-centred 'excuses' for undertaking the *Rockrolle* from the narrative, and raises a host of questions as to why this young man should know of no means to get a woman to play his fiancée, but be acquainted with another man who would offer, of his own volition, to take on the womanly role. Polidor furthermore seems to correspond to the intermediate type, as he manifests his femininity both inside and out, not simply adopting women's clothing, but also exhibiting 'female' pique and the desire to kiss and canoodle with men, as well as regarding himself as an equal in his 'fiancé's' affections to the biological woman who propositions the latter.

In the context of these camp films, it is also worth mentioning an article that appeared in *Die Licht-Bild-Bühne* in January 1914 under the tantalising title “*Der Mann mit den weiblichen Allüren*” (“The Man with Female Affectations”):

a remarkable female impersonator [...] has given his services to a French production company. His screen portrayals of both men and women of different types are supposed to be so impressive that the company has decided to withhold his name from the credits of its films. They are convinced that, so long as he remains incognito, he will win the hearts of all cinema-goers while in trousers, and the hearts of the stronger sex when he is a ‘lady.’⁴⁰⁶

Had any films with such an actor been made, they would surely represent the *ne plus ultra* of Wilhelmine *Rockrolle* cinema, taking the figure of the ‘*Doppelgänger* of sexuality’ to its zenith, as neither on-screen characters nor audiences could deduce whether the subject was male or female. However, the calculated vagueness of the article, as well as the fact that no remotely similar story was carried in other journals, seems rather to support the idea that this was a canard put out in an attempt to discredit French producers by insinuating that they would wilfully undermine heterosexuality. The years 1913 to 1914, after all, marked the height of the German industry’s attempts to establish itself as a major player through high cultural productions, the promotion of stars with theatrical provenance, and a shift away from sensationalism. Consequently, what we have here – whilst revealing of the currency of such sexual discourse – is most probably an early example of anti-intermediate industrial propaganda.

Wo ist Coletti? (*Where is Coletti?*, Vitascope, 1913)

Wo ist Coletti?, while nominally a detective comedy, features no conventional detective work at all, and – as noted in Chapter 3 (see p.154) – follows instead the exploits of Berlin-based private detective Coletti (Hans Junkermann) as he assumes a variety of disguises in order to demonstrate the ability of the individual to disappear within the modern metropolis. As such, the film presents a rapid succession of thoroughly modern spectacles, as Kurt Tucholsky noted in his contemporary review:

there's always fun to be had in watching the machinations of technology: an airship taking off and landing; automobiles; an omnibus being pursued – and this photographed from above; everything running, falling, fleeing.⁴⁰⁷

The exposition of modernity extends beyond the simple display of technology, and encompasses also the power of the mass media, as we witness the swift dissemination across the city, via newspaper headlines and posters, of the question, “Where is Coletti?”; the distance-swallowing capabilities of modern telecommunications, as Coletti and his cohorts keep in contact by telegraph and telephone in order to outsmart their pursuers; the collective force of the urban mass, with thronging crowds filling the streets (and the screen) in the hunt for Coletti; and, centrally, questions of original versus copy, as Coletti’s image is reproduced variously by a photographer, through mass reproduction on posters, in a cinema actuality film that is screened within the film and, symbolically, through his barber’s assumption of disguise in order to act as Coletti’s *Doppelgänger*.⁴⁰⁸ *Figure 39* (overleaf), a contemporary advertisement for the film, conveys well its configuration of a cross-section of the modern Berlin cityscape – employing an episodic structure that

Kammer-Lichtspiele am Potsdamerplatz, Ab 4. April 1913.



Figure 39 Advertisement for *Wo ist Coletti?* (*Where is Coletti?*, Vitascope, 1913). In *Die Licht-Bild-Bühne* 6.13 (1913): 32.

transports us from one disparate modern attraction to another, so as to resemble an entire early cinema programme rolled into a single feature-length film – wherein the individual is reduced to the role of staffage, as part of the faceless (in the advertisement, literally, since all are depicted in silhouette) swirling masses.⁴⁰⁹

Within this episodic exposition, a number of modern urban types constructed as ‘*Doppelgänger* figures’ are attested. The subject whose class identity is no longer fixed at birth but exists in a fluid state is referenced by the well-to-do Coletti’s transformations into a street-sweeper and a waiter and back again. The new woman is portrayed by Coletti’s girlfriend Lolotte (Madge Lessing), who accompanies him throughout his exploits in the public sphere. And most significantly, for our purposes, the presence of sexual intermediates in Berlin is represented through Coletti’s undertaking of a *Rockrolle*.

Fairly early in the film, a decorative intertitle informs us that the on-screen events are taking place, “In the Friedrichstraße.”⁴¹⁰ Since the predominantly shot-on-location action never strays far from this central hub of Berlin’s intermediate community, the appearance of this latter within the film can perhaps be anticipated.

Coletti's *Rockrolle* starts to take shape after he and Lolotte have booked into the nearby Hotel Adlon, and a series of bags and cartons from leading Berlin department stores begin to be delivered to them. Each is carefully unpacked, to reveal – item by item – an evening dress, high-heeled shoes, an ostrich-feather hat, a ringleted wig, and so forth. We then see Coletti, aided and abetted by Lolotte and with a beaming smile across his face, slowly put on the individual items, thereby constructing his female identity before our eyes. The evident relish with which he undertakes the task-in-hand appears significant in itself, as does the fact that this donning of 'disguise' is shown in full, as apparently a further modern visual spectacle, whereas Coletti's transformation into a street-sweeper had consisted merely of a few shots showing him taking clothes and accessories from his wardrobe, while the act of adopting a waiter's outfit was left simply to the imagination.

On the one hand, the way in which Coletti is able to have femininity effectively delivered to his door in this sequence seems representative of the part played by the contemporary rise of consumerism in contributing to the construction of male and female ideals through the gendered departmentalisation and establishment of norms for the appearance of every section of the body. On the other, such fetishistic prizing and enumeration of individual items of clothing is attested time and again among Hirschfeld's cross-dressing subjects, including a certain Herr G., who in a diary entry for 17th August 1909 compartmentalised his female appearance as follows:

I was dressed in the following manner: white open-worked blouse; women's knickers; brown open-worked stockings; blue garters; white lace slip; grey corset; blue woollen dress with wide, dark blue stripes and buttons; small black silk scarf; silver bracelet; white gloves; bright

blue leather handbag with women's handkerchief, etc.; white parasol; women's boots; gold-blonde wig; white straw hat with forget-me-nots and roses; and clip-on earrings.⁴¹¹

Once made up as a woman, Coletti is promptly 'rewarded' with a male suitor, since Lolotte has arranged a double-date for the evening: she and the youthful Count Edgar (Hans Stock); and Coletti and the Count's father (Max Laurence)! Lolotte's instigation of her partner's bisexual fling is intriguing, and she watches approvingly – all frontal smiles and nods – as Coletti and the elder Count's relationship blossoms, with the two squeezing close together on a love-seat, and shimmying about a dancefloor while whispering sweet nothings to one another. This is not the only example of Lolotte affording Coletti a certain sexual leeway, as she has earlier looked on without dismay as he flirted with his female secretary – while he, of course, seems wholly at ease with Lolotte's assignation with Count Edgar. It appears, consequently, that the referencing of intermediacy through the *Rockrolle* should be considered as only one component in the film's representation of 'sexual modernity,' with Coletti and Lolotte's allegiance to the reformist 'free love movement' – which, as Hubert van den Berg has noted, received a quite disparate degree of press coverage at this time as a signifier of the supposed moral turpitude of life in modern-day Berlin – insinuated also.⁴¹²

One element of *Wo ist Coletti?*'s *Rockrolle* episode during the double-date commands special attention. This involves the two couples' visit, shot on location, to the Kammerlichtspiele cinema on Potsdamerplatz (where *Wo ist Coletti?* also premiered) to see the actuality film concerning the hunt for Coletti. Of this tautologous film-within-a-film sequence, Michael Hanisch has written:



Figure 40 Madge Lessing and Hans Junkermann (in box, left to right) with other cross-dressed male cinema spectators in a frame enlargement from *Wo ist Coletti?* (*Where is Coletti?*, Vitascope, 1913). Courtesy of the Bundesarchiv-Filmarchiv.

The film's heroes [...] go to the Kammerlichtspiele on Potsdamerplatz. And spectators of [*Wo ist Coletti?*] in the Kammerlichtspiele could thus watch spectators in the Kammerlichtspiele amusing themselves over the hunt for a private detective.⁴¹³

While evidently raising the issue of original versus copy in the film once again, there is something more *outré* about the sequence, as can be seen in *Figure 40* (above): not only Coletti, but the majority of men in the audience sport women's attire! Obviously, this may be regarded as signalling that Coletti is not alone 'between the sexes,' and that intermediacy – as yet another signifier of the modern-urban – should be considered widespread in Berlin. However, bearing in mind that the film in all other respects adopts a relatively 'realistic' approach to depicting the sorts of events and practices that go on in various Berlin locales, we might wish to consider Hanisch's above remarks in a different light. Could it perhaps be that this was, more

specifically, an image of intermediate spectators being conveyed to a further audience of predominantly intermediate spectators, with the *Kammerlichtspiele* on Potsdamerplatz – just two blocks from the Friedrichstraße, after all – constituting another of the meeting-places on the contemporary intermediate ‘scene?’⁴¹⁴

***Aus eines Mannes Mädchenzeit* (‘From a Man’s Time as a Girl’, Meßter-Film, 1913)**

The treatment of intermediacy in *Aus eines Mannes Mädchenzeit* differs somewhat from that in *Wo ist Coletti?* For one thing, the film’s entire running-time is dedicated to the subject, rather than including it as only one in a lengthy concatenation of modern spectacles. For another, the film’s title already represents an unambiguous ‘insider’ reference, to N. O. Body’s autobiography *Aus eines Mannes Mädchenjahren*.⁴¹⁵ Furthermore, the work stars the established intermediate *Rockrolle* performer Wilhelm Bendow, who brings to the part a certain efficacy of expression that the other *Rockrolle* films lack, no doubt honed over the course of many years in women’s clothing on the stage.⁴¹⁶ Indeed, most of the *Rockrolle* action in the film is performed frontally, so as to resemble a variety presentation.

The film opens with an emblematic shot showing Bendow in front of a plain black background, dressed in the uniform of a female domestic cook (see *Figure 41*, overleaf). Presenting him with his powerful manly arms exposed – in counterpoint to his otherwise feminised appearance – this shot establishes immediately the spectacle of Bendow as a “pseudo-girl” (“*Pseudomädchen*”), as the reviewer in *Der Kinematograph*



Figure 41 Frame enlargement of Wilhelm Bendow in the opening emblematic shot of *Aus eines Mannes Mädchenzeit* ('From a Man's Time as a Girl', Meißter-Film, 1913). Courtesy of the Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek.

termed his character.⁴¹⁷ The black background affords the viewer no place on the screen on which to focus apart from Bendow, who returns the direct gaze of the putative spectator with a mischievous and 'knowing' look. This is all significant because it sets up the notion of there existing 'another side' to Bendow's sexual identity even prior to our being introduced to his character – in male garb – within the film's comedic narrative.

Critical appraisals of Bendow's non-cross-dressed persona are fairly consistent: Klaus Budzinski opines that it "embodied the stereotype of the effeminate, poofy loner"; while Berthold Leimbach terms it simply "spinsterish"; and Andreas Sternweiler concludes that "Bendow made effeminate wittering (*das Tölen*)

his trademark.”⁴¹⁸ Likewise here, even without the prescience afforded by the opening emblematic shot, one would scarcely think to locate Bendow’s male identity anywhere close to hypermasculine, heterosexual ideals. At home in his apartment, Bendow informs his landlady and her daughter of his sudden ‘good idea’ – similarly unconvincing in its supposed impulsiveness as that of Little Hans discussed above – to don women’s apparel in order to find gainful employment. Heide Schlüpmann describes the sequence as follows:

When the hero at first gestures to the women that he would like to dress as a woman, it also initiates a performance for the audience in front of the cinema-screen: running his hands over his chest, he moulds a curve; he manipulates the area from his hips down to his thighs; and finally, he starts to mince around the room.⁴¹⁹

Peppering his performance with limp-wristed flouncing and fey eye-rolling, Bendow comes across as a ‘*Doppelgänger* of sexuality’ well before his adoption of women’s clothes, as his male body shares screen-space and –time with his female-associated affectations and mental and emotional outlooks. His masculinity is eroded further by the fact that its principal visual signifier throughout this sequence is a comically oversized and patently false moustache that dangles precariously beneath his nose. The film’s next scene, depicting Bendow’s visit to a barber, accentuates further the insubstantiality of this supposed physical inscription of masculinity, with the hairdresser requiring just a couple of flicks of his razor to transform this piece of gender-coded paraphernalia into merely a pile of discarded hair.

It is furthermore noteworthy that the barber’s shop – as a traditional bastion of all-male grooming – assumes its own ‘*Doppelgänger* status’ in *Aus eines Mannes Mädchenzeit*, since the feminisation of Bendow’s appearance is commenced here.

Presented with a selection of women's wigs by the *chef du salon*, Bendow models one after another in the barber's mirror before finally settling upon a favourite. This quest for aesthetic satisfaction seems to reinforce the idea that Bendow's adoption of women's attire extends beyond an ostensibly 'functional' motivation.⁴²⁰

The action now returns to Bendow's apartment, where his landlady and her daughter have readied various items from their wardrobes for him to try on. This is significant in itself, since the unquestioning attitude of the two again appears to imply that they are aware already of 'the way Bendow is,' and see nothing out-of-character or preposterous about his latest 'good idea.' With the two women looking on and offering their opinions and advice throughout, Bendow slowly removes his male attire and replaces it with women's clothing, thereby effectively deconstructing both masculinity and femininity, as Schlüpmann has observed:

once the jacket is removed, so the shirt-cuffs, attached on strings, come into view – little cylinders which, along with the discarded collar and stiff dickey, retain their form even without their wearer, exposing masculinity as an arsenal of proxies. The donning of women's attire functions in a similarly comical way: the substance of clothing provides the illusion of gender, with the corset supplying the female sex-characteristic of the breast regardless of which body and which desires might hide behind it.⁴²¹

As Schlüpmann has discussed, the privileged gaze of the two women in this sequence – who communicate their feelings and reactions frontally – may also imply a female address on the film's part, with women spectators afforded the opportunity to join in the laughter at the male 'condition' and to come to regard masculinity as a social construct, just as femininity is shown to be.⁴²² At the same time, these scenes might also be considered to reference another goal articulated by numerous of Hirschfeld's

cross-dressing subjects: to be accepted as an equal in the company of other, biological women. As a young physician referred to only as Herr H. puts it:

‘[A] woman always gets along better with women.’ I even believe that I can sympathise with the female psyche better than most of my friends. I thereby have won many intimate friendships with women, and what is more, without them having had more than a Platonic charm for me.⁴²³

The remainder of the film details Bendow’s exploits as Lydia Bratwurst (‘Lydia Fried-Sausage’) – the tellingly phallic name that he adopts for his female persona – after she finds employment as cook to a bourgeois household. As we have seen already, such stereotyped, domestic ‘women’s jobs’ were frequently the quarry of male intermediates living as women. Here, Lydia becomes embroiled in the usual network of confused sexual shenanigans that confronts the protagonists in such *Rockrolle* scenarios, except that in this instance, the same-sex object choices of certain characters are not ‘explained away’ as the result of unwitting misdirection! Although Lydia firmly rejects the advances of the male butler (‘Der kleine Berisch’), this appears to be due not to his gender, but his vulgarity and lowly social and physical standing – and ‘she’ readily entertains the flirtatious behaviour of her more cultured and handsome businessman employer (Rudolf Senius).⁴²⁴ More significantly, the maid with whom Lydia engages in a visually lesbian relationship has no idea – unlike her counterparts in other *Rockrolle* works – that this latter is anything but a woman, so that their on-screen kisses are also lesbian *in intent*, at least on the maid’s part. Indeed, this maid ultimately rejects Lydia upon discovering that ‘she’ is a ‘he,’ expressing her distaste at this revelation through a series of ‘appalled’ looks.

Even the inevitable ‘restorative’ climax – the only means by which such a work might hope to get past the censor – is kept to a minimum, as a *deus ex machina* in the form of a Prussian police officer appears during the final fifteen seconds of the two-act film to drag Lydia/Bendow away. The image of the ‘collared’ protagonist fades immediately, and no punishment is shown.

Thus, *Aus eines Mannes Mädchenzeit*, along with the other *Rockrolle* films discussed here, serves to illustrate further the perceived ‘confusion of the sexes’ in Wilhelmine society, with the ostensible unchangingness of the ‘traditional’ heterosexual binary system disrupted by the neoteric category of sexual intermediacy. As with the *Doppelgänger*s in other Wilhelmine films, the ‘*Doppelgänger* of sexuality’ embodied by the performer of the *Rockrolle* at once collapses this binary system – here deconstructing masculinity and femininity both as ‘natural states’ and as oppositional poles of heterosexual identity – through its conflation of the two within the single subject, and furthermore asserts its own interstitial mode as a distinct and valid new possibility within modernity.

Chapter Six. Black and White Subjects: Ethnicity and the Comedy

Short

A recurrent theme within this research has been the ability of modern technologies to surmount long distances, resulting in the perception of a world growing smaller. As Western political thinkers and policy-makers asserted the need for European nations to embrace colonisation programmes in order to secure sufficient space for their own continued growth and development in this smaller world, so the commonly-held stereotypes of white subjects concerning oppositionally defined 'blacks' increased in potency, with the perceived sudden proximity of the colonial lands taken to indicate that hordes of black 'natives' displaying presumed savage, hypersexual and indolent behaviours would now be 'banging at Europe's doors.' In this chapter, I seek to demonstrate that such ambivalent sentiments *vis-à-vis* the modern white encounter with blackness – at once embraced as benefiting the nation's future and feared as a potential threat to the hegemony of white society and culture – may be seen to inform those *Doppelgänger* films in which white subjects suddenly turn black, or black subjects become white. These are arguably the least familiar *Doppelgänger* films of all considered within this research, a circumstance that might be attributed to the widespread absence of issues of race and ethnicity in studies of German silent cinema, which have nevertheless engaged with questions of class, gender and sexuality. Accordingly, this chapter is intended to contribute to the burgeoning body of work being undertaken by film historians including Guido Convents, Helmut Regel, Hilke Thode-Arora and Gerlinde Waz, in which the

apparently all-white screen-world of Wilhelmine and Weimar cinema is finally being challenged.⁴²⁵

Colonialism and Black Stereotypes

The idea that the recently unified German nation should expand its territorial boundaries through the acquisition of colonies in order to sustain further rapid and sweeping modernisation and to assert itself as a power of consequence in the European arena, was propounded by exponents and supporters of the new doctrine of anthropogeography, such as Friedrich Ratzel and Rudolf Kjellén. Applying Darwinian evolutionary theory to a geographical and political context, these theorists maintained that nations, like biological organisms, needed to continue to grow in order to survive, with only the very fittest – interpreted as meaning the largest – enduring in the long term. Stephen Kern has summarised the assertions put forward by Ratzel – who, following the publication of his defining 1882 work *Anthropogeographie*, became professor of geography at Leipzig University in 1886 – as follows:

the space of a state increases with the growth of culture; the growth of states follows other signs of development such as production and commerce; the growth of a state proceeds by the amalgamation of smaller units; the frontier is the peripheral organ of the state; a growing state strives to include valuable sections such as coast lines, river beds, natural resources.⁴²⁶

As colonial historians including Henri Brunschwig and Woodruff Smith have detailed at length, large portions of the globe had been divided up already by

European powers such as Britain and France, meaning that Germany came as a perceived latecomer in the colonial stakes, entering into a ‘mad dash’ for whatever potential possessions remained available in the years between the 1880s and the turn of the century. Germany’s most substantial acquisitions were located in Africa, and comprised Togo, Cameroon, German East Africa (encompassing modern-day Tanzania, Burundi, Rwanda and parts of northern Mozambique) and German Southwest Africa (now Namibia).⁴²⁷

Considerable efforts were undertaken to effect the ‘naturalisation’ of these hitherto alien regions into the national body within German public opinion, so that popular views of the colonies might be brought effectively into line with the anthropogeographical conceptualisation of these territories as simple extensions of German *Lebensraum* (‘living-space’) or *Schicksalsraum* (‘predestined space’). For example, the scaling of Mount Kilimanjaro by Dr. Hans Meyer received huge publicity in 1889, as “the accomplishment – by a German – of the first ascent of *Germany’s* highest peak [my emphasis].”⁴²⁸ On a more general level, the ‘familiarity’ of various colonial landscapes was stated repeatedly, with the mountainous Usambara region of German East Africa, for instance, consistently likened to the Bavarian Alps, both in terms of climate and – as carefully selected photographs and illustrations sought to demonstrate – appearance. The assertion of such ‘familiarity’ was perhaps aided also by the attribution of epithets from the German *Heimat* throughout the colonies: thus, the Southwest African town of Otjikango became Neu-Barmen; and, in an extreme case, one group of New Guinean islands ceded to Germany in 1885 was renamed the Bismarck Archipelago, with Lavongai island redubbed Neu-Hannover, and other islands in the group becoming Neu-Pommern and Neu-Mecklenburg.⁴²⁹

In order to legitimise the establishment of German rule in the colonies, it was also necessary for these rationalisations of imperialist expansion to account for an apparent ‘side issue’ of colonial acquisition – namely, the enslavement and subordination of indigenous populations, referred to by contemporary German Africanists as “our blacks” or “[the German’s] natives.”⁴³⁰ Here again, anthropogeography could provide a social Darwinist explanation, in terms of so-called ‘milieu theory.’ This basically maintained that temperate climates such as those of northern Europe afforded their inhabitants freedom of thought and action, so that they could become mentally, culturally and physically ‘developed,’ whereas those in tropical zones (almost without exception exemplified as black Africans) were slowed down by climatic conditions, resulting in mental and physical ‘backwardness,’ that had – like the ‘advancement’ of white Europeans – long since become inscribed as an inborn biological legacy following tens and hundreds of generations of genetic consolidation. As one exponent of milieu theory, Heinrich Driesmans, concluded in 1902:

The North cultivates those races that are cultured and capable of development, those active, powerful peoples whose purpose appears to be the reviving, refreshing, conquering and maintaining of all those cultures that have grown up in the fertile Southern lands, whose native populations – as history shows us – are unable to sustain them in the long run.⁴³¹

Accordingly, it could be presented as essentially ‘the white man’s right’ to take charge of lands inhabited by indigenous black populations, since these latter could never hope to ‘fulfil’ the cultural, developmental or economic potential of their territory. As colonial historian Helmuth Stoecker has documented, German theories in this area both built on and were bolstered by a host of comparable British and

French ‘explanations’ of ‘inborn racial difference’ that had been advanced since the 1840s to help “defend the practice of slavery and colonial subjugation”:

Alongside the pseudo-historical, irrational racialism of Gobineau, whose *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* was re-edited in German in 1898 – 1900 by Ludwig Schemann, and of H. S. Chamberlain, whose *Die Grundlage des 19. Jahrhunderts* (2 vols, 1899 – 1901) quickly became popular among the educated middle classes in Germany, we find the pseudo-biological doctrines of social Darwinism [...]. All these racist writers maintained that the ‘Negroes’ were the lowest of all peoples. Gobineau and Ratzel even saw them as ‘born slaves.’ It was asserted that black Africans are genetically incapable of engaging in higher intellectual activity.⁴³²

From here, a bevy of supposed ‘inborn black traits’ were outlined, that fell broadly within three categories: indolence (caused by the ostensibly enervating tropical milieu); violence and savagery (regarded as primitive forms of conduct evidencing arrested development); and hypersexuality and hyperreproductivity (‘proving’ a lack of social restraint and sophistication). As May Opitz and Uta Sadiqi have demonstrated, these stereotypes in fact enjoyed considerable currency in Germany already, and had been mobilised in regard of interaction between whites and blacks in previous centuries also, as a means of representing the latter as everything that white people supposedly were not, and thereby assuring whites of their own continued centrality in the world.⁴³³ Within modernity – that is to say, following increased contact between white and black people engendered by distance-swallowing communication and transportation networks, and latterly colonisation – these stereotypes were simply intensified and, in order to make them appear incontrovertibly proven, ‘scientised.’ Thus, as early as the mid-eighteenth century, we find the Swedish botanist Carl Linne (known also as Linnæus) representing ‘racial

difference' in terms of a biological taxonomy, according to which whites are of "sanguine temperament and brawny form. [...] Of gentle manners, acute in judgement, of quick invention, and governed by fixed laws"; while blacks are of "phlegmatic temperament and relaxed fibre. [...] Of crafty, indolent, and careless disposition, and governed in their actions by caprice."⁴³⁴ Likewise in the Wilhelmine period, Driesmans, for example, could posit a 'scientific' basis for the stereotype of black hyperreproductivity:

The drive to reproduce pulses through dwarfistic creatures such as rabbits in a far more pronounced way than it does through gargantuan ones, like elephants. The latter shows itself to be the least fertile of the higher animals, whereas the former is the most prolific reproducer of all. [...] It is on the basis of the corresponding correlative and polaric relationship between growth and ability to reproduce that the varying degrees of fertility of the different races of man can be explained. For all lower peoples and individuals are more fertile than those who are highly developed.⁴³⁵

Thus, these Wilhelmine doctrines and stereotypes drew a firm line between white and black – a line that was, of course, crossed continually in contemporary experience.

Where White and Black Meet (I): Behaviours and Bodies

As Homi Bhabha, Richard Dyer, Claire Pajaczkowska and Lola Young have all observed, if white people could really 'live up' to their supposed inborn traits, then white identity would be untenably dull and undesirable, demanding blank-faced

rationality, chastity, constant self-restraint and so on. Therefore, these defining ‘white behaviours’ should be regarded as illusory ideals, functioning akin to the ‘male’ and ‘female types’ discussed in the previous chapter, as a means of effecting self-empowerment through the claim to represent the inviolably superior position of ‘normality.’⁴³⁶

In the case of white German colonists, signs of slippage into the realms of ostensible ‘black behaviours’ were frequently ‘all too evident’ – particularly, as will be shown below, in the view of the Imperial authorities. Often, these ‘slippages’ were reframed as in fact articulations of white identity: thus, although the aloofness of white farm and plantation owners might resemble laziness, as they left the tilling and toiling on their land to black slaves and workers, it was maintained that this was rather a demonstration of inborn white proficiency over ‘lesser races,’ an exercising of “strict yet benevolent master[y],” as Leo Waibel put it with regard to German Southwest African farmers in the 1910s.⁴³⁷ As this last quotation indicates, violence – a form of conduct deemed to exemplify ‘black primitivism’ – was also perpetrated by white colonists against black Africans, a circumstance that has become the subject of significant focus in the writing of German colonial history, including Fritz Müller’s seminal 1962 study *Kolonien unter der Peitsche* (‘Colonies under the Whip’) and, more recently, the work of Horst Drechsler and Helmuth Stoecker. Such violence, which, as Drechsler notes, “ranged from ‘paternal chastisement’ to murder,” was rationalised in various ways. In more serious cases, diminished responsibility could be claimed on account of *Tropenkoller* (‘tropical madness’), a ‘medical condition’ that seemed to have its basis in anthropo-geographical milieu theory, and which apparently caused its white sufferers to succumb momentarily to the ‘devitalising’ influence of the African climate and environment. More usually, however, it was

alleged that such acts were merely a ‘response-in-kind’ to native violence (the ‘dealing with them in the only language they understand’ philosophy, as it were), or that it was necessary to beat natives, because this was the only means of getting these ‘naturally indolent types’ to work.⁴³⁸ The latter ‘justification’ was indeed supported in German law from 1896, with corporal punishment and laying in irons (for up to fourteen days) – both practices outlawed in the Prussian Constitution of 1848, and throughout Germany in 1871 – excepted for use on blacks in the African colonies, in cases involving “dereliction of duty,” “indolence,” or “insubordination.”⁴³⁹

Much to the chagrin of the Imperial authorities, it was however possible for such violence to transcend ‘tolerable’ limits, exposing white German colonial forces publicly as unquestionably ‘out-savaging’ black Africans – in particular, through their use of modern weapons of mass-killing. This applied especially to the genocidal exploits of troops serving under General Lothar von Trotha in German Southwest Africa from 1904, as Woodruff Smith has observed:

Trotha himself actively sought to wipe out the Herero by refusing to negotiate with them, authorizing his troops to kill Herero on sight, and issuing a notorious extermination order to shoot or exile every Herero man, woman, and child. He came close to succeeding. By 1906, of the eighty thousand Herero who had lived in Southwest Africa before the war, less than twenty thousand remained; most of these were confined in concentration camps at the coast to be used for cheap labor. Trotha’s activities were too much even for colonialist sentiment: he was recalled in 1905 after criticism in the Reichstag.⁴⁴⁰

While the above were all examples of the behaviours of whites in the colonies appearing indistinguishable from those ascribed to blacks within popular stereotypes, there also existed vociferous campaigns in Germany, whose white proponents

expressed a desire, on a certain level at least, to espouse such black-associated ‘primitivism’ within their own identity. These were the pro-settlement colonialists of, firstly, Carl Peters’ *Gesellschaft für deutsche Kolonisation* (‘Society for German Colonisation’) and, from 1887, the *Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft* (‘German Colonial Society’), which latter could by 1910 boast a membership of around forty thousand. These organisations panegyrised the retention of ‘backwardness’ in colonised lands in order to facilitate settlement by white Europeans – such as their members – who felt disillusioned with the perceived hyperstimulative and hyperdevelopmentalist modernity that was enacting constant change in and upon Europe. Advocates of this anti-modern path regarded the colonies as Edenic continua of an (imaginary) earlier period of less complicated human existence, and wished a return to such ‘primitive’ conditions. As Smith has shown, these settlement campaigns were riven by contradictory and ambivalent sentiments, with their supporters on the one hand embracing modern notions of colonialist expansion as well as an assuredness of their own superiority over autochthonic black populations, while on the other, seeking to reproduce such ‘unevolved modes of civilisation’ upon their arrival (in turn via modern transport networks!) in the colonies.⁴⁴¹

This kind of conflictual fusion of opposing sentiments characterises what I have described in this research as the ‘*Doppelgänger* condition’ borne of and representing neoteric possibilities of identity in Wilhelmine society. In this instance, the perceived sudden proximity of Africa, and increased contact between white and black people following colonisation, can be seen to have resulted in the construction of an ‘intermediate’ state of being ‘between’ white and black identity, as certain white subjects appeared to draw on or otherwise exhibit perceived ‘properties’ of both ‘races.’ The desire to incorporate black-associated behaviours into white identity was

not unique to members of the *Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft*. Magnus Hirschfeld, for example, recorded the case of a sexual intermediate lawyer in his mid-twenties, referred to as Herr M., whose fantasies involved not merely transvestism but also what might be termed ‘transcolourism’:

One odd episode has never left my mind. One afternoon when my parents were sleeping I secretly got hold of one of my mother’s dressing-gowns, put it on, blackened my face with burned cork, and looked at myself like that in the mirror; I masturbated at the same time. I was discovered and frightfully ashamed. [...] it was exactly those things that made me ashamed in public that I had a burning desire for in my fantasy. I also imagined the women I loved changing me into a Negro as black as coal [...].⁴⁴²

Herr M.’s case is interesting in that it acknowledges the constructed nature of the category of ‘race’ by demonstrating the possibility of gaining access to a new ‘racial identity’ through masquerade or performance. Furthermore, this masquerade gives vent to behaviours that are clearly present within the white subject already, but are disavowed within white identity: here, this refers particularly to sexuality, as Herr M.’s experiencing of onanistic and coital pleasure is bound up with his transfiguration into blackness. The ambivalence underpinning this identificatory dualism is manifest to Herr M., as he professes to it being precisely those activities that make him ‘ashamed’ in public for which he also experiences a ‘burning desire.’ Although there is no way of determining the degree of currency that transcolourist fantasies like this may have possessed, it is noteworthy that ‘blacking up’ represented a popular form of fancy dress at this time, donned in particular by revellers at the annual German *Karneval* festivities. For example, in the late 1890s, Hamley’s of London offered German-made “nigger wigs” and even something known as a complete “nigger set” for whites to dress up in.⁴⁴³ As with Herr M., these adoptions

of 'black appearance' coincided with white subjects' desire to 'let themselves go' – to make merry through being loud, boisterous and flamboyant – in a manner not usually associated with white identity.

The idea that new '*Doppelgänger* possibilities' were appearing 'between' black and white identity was supported also by popular fears regarding black incursions into hitherto white realms. For one thing, perceptions of a shrinking globe fuelled worries that blacks – who far outnumbered whites in the population of the world – might at any moment be able to overrun Europe, with "out there" – to use Lola Young's ironic terminology – at once seeming much closer to "over here."⁴⁴⁴ Furthermore, concern was voiced at the 'civilising' efforts of missionary and training schools in the colonies since, it was feared, these might 'raise' black people nearer to the level of whites, and cause them to revolt against subjugation. As one E. Moritz put it in 1914 with regard to black schooling in German Southwest Africa: "Reading and writing is [...] in the interests of his masters [...] not desired. This knowledge only nourishes the vanity of the coloured man and tempts him to abuse it."⁴⁴⁵

Figure 42 (overleaf), an 1852 cartoon from the satirical weekly *Der Kladderadatsch*, evinces the anxieties of white Germans concerning black incursions into white domains even in the pre-colonial period, with the point of reference here the abolition of slavery in the United States, apparently rendering blacks – like whites – free to rise in the social hierarchy on grounds of merit/capital rather than skin colour. The cartoon depicts its emancipated black characters as a fusion of 'cultured white behaviour' and 'black primitivism.' For instance, while the mother of the family is seated in a canopied alcove associated with well-to-do white residences, the crest



Schwarze Courtoisie.

Figure 42 Schwarze Courtoisie ('Black Gentry'). In Der Kladderadatsch 15 (1852): no pag.

of sharp implements, including spears, knives and hatchets arranged about a human skull which adorns the canopy constitutes a hangover of supposed black savagery, and even cannibalism. At the same time, the mother exposes her breast frontally

while suckling *'yet another'* infant, referencing stereotypes of black hypersexuality and hyperreproductivity.⁴⁴⁶ Similarly, although the master of the house is clad in an estimable uniform, and reveals himself – like contemporary whites – to have exclusive access to and control over government, wealth, history and the arts (represented especially by the documents in his paperwork archive and the portraits on the far wall), this overall impression of power and sophistication stands at odds with the fact that his lower legs are uncovered and his feet barely slipped into a pair of light *shibshib* slippers (a type of footwear associated with servants and tea-boys) – almost as though he can not cope with being clothed and yearns to return to the 'primitive' nakedness of the jungle. The two semi-naked children in the foreground are somewhat analogous to their father, as they undertake a masquerade of whiteness for *Karneval*.

One particular manifestation of 'racial intermediacy' afforded the Imperial authorities the most extreme concern: namely, the children born of so-called 'mixed marriages' in the colonies, on whose bodies the *'Doppelgänger'* condition' of being 'between the races' was seen to be inscribed permanently, and whose very existence provided evidence of desire between white and black people. As with all the types of *'Doppelgänger'* identity' discussed in this research, these children were regarded as the neoteric meeting-point of 'traditional' opposites, who at once embodied both parts of this syzygy, yet also contributed a distinct new – and challenging – possibility to the spectrum of available *Wilhelmine* identities. The reaction of the *Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft* to this perceived 'watering-down' of the white race was one of abject horror, and in 1898, in order to prevent the appearance of what it termed a "colony of half-castes," it instigated a programme to attract single white women to travel to German Southwest Africa – where the 'problem' was considered to be particularly

acute – so that they could serve as brides-to-be to white colonists. As R. V. Pierard has noted, some 953 such women were transported to the colony prior to 1914, with Bernhard Dernburg, the director of the German government’s Colonial Office, in 1909 stressing that far more were required “in order to preserve the white race and white morality.” In 1905, the colony’s governor even published a decree prohibiting marriages between whites and Africans, and in 1912, it was proclaimed that the births of all “semi-white children (*halbweiße Kinder*)” were to be registered specially.⁴⁴⁷

Despite the vitriol of governmental and colonial bodies, the sentiments surrounding the issue of so-called ‘miscegenation’ (*Rassenmischung*) within the accounts of contemporary anthropologists and racial theorists were again ones of ambivalence. As Robert Young has observed, these writers exhibited a seemingly inexhaustible fascination for this subject matter and, although couching their discussions in generally disapprobatory language, undertook their cataloguing of every conceivable (and often inconceivable) characteristic pertaining to ‘mixed race’ children with a fervid devotion. The celebrated example here is that of Johann von Tschudi, who in the mid-nineteenth century drew up a meticulous taxonomy of twenty-three distinct classes of ‘half-caste’ children resulting from different ‘interracial’ and ‘interethnic’ relationships in Peru. While terming his tabulated taxonomy a ‘schematic of mongrelity,’ purporting to show the damage wrought upon the white race when its ‘blood’ became mixed with that of members of ‘lesser races,’ von Tschudi at the same time pauses to observe which of the resultant children are “frequently very beautiful.”⁴⁴⁸

When White and Black Meet (II): Commodities and Entertainments

The Wilhelmine period witnessed a veritable hypertrophic growth of colonial and exotic representation inside Germany, as has been indicated already in Chapter 2 (see p.111f). In the day-to-day life of white Germans who might otherwise have no particular interest in or connection to the colonies, the perception that ‘out there’ had become very much ‘over here’ was therefore also subject to continual reinforcement. For instance, during the course of a shopping-trip at this time, a white consumer might be confronted with cigarettes produced by the DTK (*Deutsche Tabakgesellschaft Kamerun*, or ‘German Cameroonian Tobacco Company’), tea from the DOAG (*Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft*, or ‘German East Africa Company’), balls of wool branded as the product of the DSW (*Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Wollzüchtereigesellschaft*, or ‘German Southwest African Wool-Growing Company’), bananas or pineapples from the *Afrikanische Frucht-Kompanie* (‘African Fruit Trading-Company’), and so forth. While marketed as signifiers of white supremacy, these material spoils of Empire conversely also constituted symbols – located firmly within Germany’s European borders – of the ‘non-white’ world.⁴⁴⁹

The white encounter with blackness was attested also throughout Wilhelmine Germany’s bustling entertainments sector, in the form of exotic spectacle. ‘Exotic’ presentations must themselves be seen as riven by ambivalence, as they at once undertake the sumptuous and enticing display of what are usually the most outrageous and negative stereotypes pertaining to different ‘ethnic’ and ‘racial’ groups, with white patrons again drawn in by some kind of desire to engage with behaviours disavowed within their own identity. Exotica is furthermore the subject



Figure 43 Aboriginal ‘cannibals’ Dillaroa, Tagara and Gangora (left to right).

In *Politiken* 26.4.1897: no pag.

of ambivalence in that it constitutes the representation of ‘the primitive’ in terms of visual spectacle, an avowedly modern presentational format.

In the German case, exotic displays were provided in particular, as Stephan Oettermann and Hilke Thode-Arora have discussed at length, by itinerant black variety performers such as the Australian aborigines Dillaroa, Tagara and Gangora (see *Figure 43*, above), or by the phenomenally popular, quasi-zoological *Völkerschauen* (‘ethnic shows’) run by entrepreneurs like Carl Hagenbeck or R. A. Cunningham, which presented literally tens of black ‘natives’ of various lands (who were engaged for months or even years at a time) along with indigenous flora and fauna of these lands – more or less correctly ascribed – and set against a life-size mock-up of some

‘tropical’ location.⁴⁵⁰ As *Figure 43* shows, such performances inevitably ‘played up’ stereotypes of hypersexuality – ensuring that plenty of black skin was on display – and more especially violence, with veritable armouries of assagais, kourbashes and waddies being wielded before German audiences in these years. Lower budget shows like that of Dillaroa, Tagara and Gangora made up for what they lacked in ostentation and abundance with outlandish ballyhoo that played on the fears and feelings of white subjects regarding the perceived incursion of black behaviours into Europe. For instance, when these three performers were due to appear in Copenhagen in April 1897, following a tour of Germany, it was announced that they had *eaten* theatre-manager Carl Scheel-Vandel: the conservative broadsheet *Politiken* was ‘taken in’ completely, and responded with an indignant editorial questioning how it had become possible for such savagery to take place in ‘civilised’ Denmark.⁴⁵¹

The higher-budgeted *Völkerschauen*, meanwhile, offered visitors a ‘wraparound’ vignette of black African life as imagined by whites, that may have seemed to transport white patrons momentarily away from Europe altogether. For example, it is difficult to conceive of the following description from the programme to Hagenbeck’s 1909 Ethiopian *Völkerschau* as referring to events being staged near Hamburg:

The scene: a settlement around a waterhole on one of the routes used by the camel-caravans. Here, a caravan-column and a consignment of animals from the interior – destined for Hagenbeck’s zoo – meet. During their break for food and rest, the two groups are attacked by violent nomads. The watchman is murdered, and the livestock stolen. Alarm rings out! Between the sound of gunfire and the muffled beat of the camp’s drums, there resounds the “ululu” of frightened womenfolk and the war-cries of both the fleeing livestock-rustlers and their pursuers. [...] At the highpoint of the trouble, help approaches, led by the chief of Habr



Schaubuden-Besitzer: „. . . Dieser Menschenfresser, meine Herrschaften, würde Sie sofort verpeisen, wenn es nicht nach dem „Bürgerlichen Gesetzbuch“ verboten wäre!“

Figure 44 Der civilisirte Kannibale ('The Civilised Cannibal') – “Sideshow-owner: ‘..This man-eater, ladies and gentlemen, would devour you in an instant, were it not prohibited by the Civil Code!’” In *Die Fliegenden Blätter* 119.3042 (1903): no pag.

Awal, who had dashed off on horseback to fetch reinforcements. Now armed horsemen storm down from the mountains. A battle scene in the most dramatic style! The rustlers flee, leaving several of their number dead behind them, as well as one prisoner, whose throat is slit by the victors.⁴⁵²

Figure 44 (above), a cartoon from the satirical *Die Fliegenden Blätter*, depicts graphically a face-to-face encounter between whiteness and blackness at one of these exotic shows, and suggests how such ‘meetings’ of white and (stereotyped) black subjects might disrupt oppositional binaries of ‘racial identity’ and notions of European and African fixity. For one thing, although the white spectators are clearly

empowered through their ‘controlling gaze’ at the ‘cannibal,’ it should be noted that he gazes back just as intently, and appears in some ways just as empowered, as he ‘weighs up’ the plump (following the logic of the cartoon, ‘succulent’) white patrons and stands assuredly before them in the heart of Europe. For another, the sideshow-owner informs these patrons that the cannibal has been civilised through exposure to Germany’s Civil Code – that is to say, that he has been brought closer to white identity. Furthermore, while the cannibal has been adorned, so as to appear strange, in a haphazard assortment of perceived ‘Africanesque’ animal-skins, feathers (including a whole dead bird!), bracelets and anklets, the white spectators are shown by the cartoonist to look equally curious, with their beavies of umbrellas, walking-canes, disparate hats and caps, monocles, waxed moustaches and so on. There are further parallels of this type: the cannibal’s mien – all bulging eyes and paving-slab teeth – is ‘mirrored’ by those of the two white men in the front row; and the potential violence linked to the cannibal’s wielding of an assagai is matched by the white sideshow-owner’s dangling of a whip.⁴⁵³

Drawing on the same sample of 35,000 film titles that was used to identify *Doppelgänger* films for this research, it has also proven possible to sketch out a tentative typology of black representation in Wilhelmine cinema (see *Table 5*, overleaf). It is noteworthy in the first place that such a wide variety of types of film featuring (stereotyped) black images can be attested, indicating once again ambivalent urges on the part of white Wilhelminians to engage with violence, anarchic laziness and displays of sexuality. In regard of this latter, Paul Werner has noted, on the basis of the holdings of turn-of-the-century erotica collector Eduard Fuchs, that a profusion of photographic anthologies depicting black women in pornographic poses began to appear at this time also, sporting ethnically-marked titles such as *Liebesleben*

	Documentary and Pseudo-Documentary Films	Fiction Films
Films set in Africa	<p>1. Anthropological studies of indigenous colonial populations e.g. <i>Land und Leute in Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika</i> ('Land and People of German Southwest Africa', Deutsche Mutoskop- und Biograph-Gesellschaft, 1907); <i>Frauenleben in Westafrika</i> ('Women's Life in West Africa', Schomburgk-Film, 1913)</p>	<p>8. Narrative adventure films shot on location in the colonies and focusing on interaction between whites and black colonial subjects e.g. <i>Die weisse Göttin der Wangora</i> (<i>The White Goddess of the Wangora</i>, Schomburgk-Film, 1913); <i>Mitgiftjäger</i> ('Dowry-Hunters', Deutsche Mutoskop- und Biograph-Gesellschaft, 1914)</p>
	<p>2. Depictions of the perceived acculturation of black colonial subjects through exposure to Western modernity e.g. <i>Bau einer Eisenbahnlinie in Afrika</i> ('Construction of a Railway Line in Africa', [Raleigh & Roberts?], 1908); <i>Fortschritte der Zivilisation in Deutsch-Ost-Afrika</i> ('Advances of Civilisation in German East Africa', Pathé, 1911)</p>	<p>9. Narrative adventure films shot in European studios and stressing the 'exotic' characteristics of Africa and the Middle East, especially extremes of violence and sexuality e.g. <i>Ali Baba und die 40 Räuber</i> ('Ali Baba and the 40 Thieves', 1906); and the proliferation of lion-taming adventures between 1911 and 1913</p>
	<p>3. Depictions of initial encounters and interaction between whites and black colonial subjects e.g. <i>Eine Expedition in Deutsch-Ostafrika</i> ('An Expedition into German East Africa', Éclipse, 1911); <i>Staatssekretär Solf besucht Togo</i> ('Secretary of State Solf Visits Togo', [Schomburgk-Film?], 1913)</p>	<p>10. Pornographic films set in Middle Eastern and African harems and slave markets, in which veiled women (generally played by whites in disguise) indulge in demonstrations of black hypersexuality e.g. <i>Sklavenmarkt im Orient</i> ('Oriental Slave Market', Pathé, 1905); <i>Parade des Sultans</i> ('The Sultan's Parade', 1906); <i>Der Sklavenaufseher</i> ('The Overseer of Slaves', 1910)</p>
	<p>4. News re-enactment films reconstructing supposed acts of black-perpetrated violence e.g. the tens of Boer War films (1899 – 1902); <i>Unsere Polizeitruppe in Togo</i> ('Our Police Division in Togo', Schomburgk-Film, 1913)</p>	
	<p>5. Documentary footage recontextualised to support extreme racial stereotypes e.g. <i>Bei den Kannibalen</i> ('With the Cannibals', A. B. Film, 1914), in which intertitles alleged that the on-screen colonial subjects were all known head-hunters and man-eaters; <i>Bad eines Negerkindes</i> (<i>A Hard Wash</i>, Biograph, 1896), in which footage of a black child being scrubbed in a bath-tub ostensibly showed that however much a Negro child was washed, it could never become <i>clean</i></p>	<p>11. Trick and magic films in which blacks are depicted as demons and Satanists e.g. any number of works produced by Georges Méliès' Star-Film Company between 1897 and 1912)</p>
Films set in the West	<p>6. Actuality films presenting blacks as an attraction e.g. <i>Badende Negerknaben</i> (<i>The Frolics of Negroes while Bathing</i>, Lumière, 1898); <i>Neger Cake-Walk</i> ('Negro Cake-Walk', Meßter-Tonbild, 1904)</p>	<p>12. Comedies showing the behaviour of blacks 'over here' as risible and out-of-place e.g. <i>Ein amerikanischer Millionär in Paris</i> (<i>American in France</i>, Gaumont, 1906); <i>Sittenverbesserung eines Negers</i> ('Improving a Negro's Manners', Raleigh & Roberts, 1911)</p>
		<p>13. Narrative shorts in which blacks 'over here' demonstrate lazy, lascivious, and violent behaviours e.g. <i>Der Neger und die Polizei</i> ('Negro and the Police', Pathé, 1905); <i>Der verliebte Neger</i> ('The Enamoured Negro', Gaumont, 1906); <i>Meyers schwarze Köchin</i> ('Meyer's Black Cook', Cricks & Martin, 1910)</p>
	<p>7. Boxing films constructed as symbolic battles between black and white e.g. the slew of American-made films from 1909 and 1910; <i>Weiß über schwarz</i> ('White over Black', Carl Rudolph-Monopolfilm, 1914)</p>	<p>14. Big-budget narrative features in which blacks 'over here' play small roles as characters affiliated to criminal organisations e.g. <i>Der Mann im Keller</i> ('The Man in the Cellar', Continental-Kunstfilm, 1914)</p>
	<p>15. Comedies in which the appearance of blacks 'over here' constitutes a literal invasion e.g. <i>Ich habe einen Neger verloren</i> ('I've Lost a Negro', Itala, 1910), in which a horde of some 20 blackface Negroes run amok in a street symbolically named <i>Via Bianca</i> ('White Street'), dutifully translated as <i>Weißstraße</i> in the German release print; the skin colour transformation films discussed in this chapter</p>	

Table 5 Typology of Black Representation in Wilhelmine Cinema

der Afrikaner ('Love Life of Africans').⁴⁵⁴ The desire of white Germans for images of perceived 'black behaviours' might be gauged also on the basis of a piece of anecdotal information recorded in Oskar Meßter's company ledger from around 1911. At this time, Meßter was paying daily fees of 8 Marks to the actors in main roles in his films, 3 Marks to extras, and 15 Marks to stage luminaries such as Adele Sandrock or Albert Paulig. However, to the "*echte Neger*" ("*bona fide* Negroes") who appeared in his films, he paid the highest fees of all – 16 Marks. Acknowledged in his lifetime and in the substantial research into his career that has been undertaken recently as a highly astute businessman, it is surely unlikely that Meßter should have been willing to undertake such an outlay if he did not feel certain that the resulting images of blackness would constitute a sufficient 'draw' to his patrons.⁴⁵⁵

For our purposes, what may appear especially significant about *Table 5* is the way in which practically all the films reference and represent instances of fluidity between Europe and Africa and, consequently, between white and black. Nearly half the films – those in the shaded area – depict perceived incursions of black people and 'black behaviours' (whether exhibited by biological black people or whites in blackface make-up, the latter itself a sign of slippage) into Europe. Meanwhile, the other half of the films – those in the white area – while ostensibly addressing 'black life' in Africa, for the most part illustrate incursions of white people and 'white behaviours' into Africa. Taking as an example the fiction film *Die weisse Göttin der Wangora* (*The White Goddess of the Wangora*, Schomburgk-Film, 1913), which was shot on location in Togo, its title points already to a central focus on whiteness, and the film's plot might indeed be summed up as 'the arrival of the first white woman (Megh Gehrts) among a 'native tribe' (members of the Konkombwa) occasions her veneration as a goddess.' As *Figure 45* (overleaf) – a frame enlargement from one of



Figure 45 Megh Gehrts and Konkombwa subjects in a frame enlargement from *Die weisse Göttin der Wangora* (*The White Goddess of the Wangora*, Schomburgk-Film, 1913). In Megh Gehrts, *A Camera Actress in the Wilds of Togoland* (London: Seeley, Service & Co., 1915), 88.

the veneration scenes – shows, while numbers of black Africans may appear on the screen, they are reduced most often to an ancillary function as a kind of omnipresent black staffage, a shorthand for the tropical milieu. However, the demonstration of ‘white supremacy’ is ruptured repeatedly by instances of ‘slippage’ into blackness: Gehrts may be afforded a loftier position through her enthronement on a chair, but must otherwise sit along with and among ‘her’ black subjects; she is clothed in ‘native’ fabric and exposes far more of her upper torso than do the black women in the scene; and there is neither explicit adulation nor prostration before her on the part of black Africans – they have simply taken her into their midst. As a whole, the film can be seen to evince the dependency of white identity – as a specifically



Figure 46 Portrait by Ernst Vollbehr, of Megh Gehrts and a Konkombwa ‘warrior’ in *Die weisse Göttin der Wangora* (*The White Goddess of the Wangora*, Schomburgk-Film, 1913). In *ibid.*, 32.

modern category rendered potent through the perception of a breakdown of ‘traditional’ continental and ‘racial’ boundaries – on blackness. This is depicted graphically in *Figure 46* (above), a piece of promotional artwork for *Die weisse Göttin der Wangora*, in which Gehrts’ whiteness is emphasised as her defining attribute especially through contrast with the portrait’s ‘dark background,’ taking the form of a Konkombwa’s uncovered body. At the same time, this portrait indicates the illusoriness of ‘racial identity’ configured through skin colour, as both Gehrts and the

Konkombwa are reduced as characters to mere splashes of paint on a canvas, a shallow and superficial externality.⁴⁵⁶

Ultimately, one can of course argue that *all* the films attested in *Table 5* may have engendered further notions of black and white fluidity among white Wilhelminians, as the cinema – itself an agent of modernity – consolidated the geographically dislocatory effect of contemporary *Völkerschauen* by projecting virtual images of blackness into white German communities in urban and rural areas alike.

Darwinian *Doppelgänger* Films

Before embarking upon a discussion of those Wilhelmine *Doppelgänger* films in which white subjects turn black and *vice versa*, it is worth noting briefly the related genre of the ‘Darwinian *Doppelgänger* film.’ As we have seen, social Darwinism was employed by milieu theorists and anthropogeographers to assert the ostensibly unevolved state of the ‘black race’ as measured against whites who, it was maintained, stood at the pinnacle of human evolution. Frequently – and especially in their more populist articulations – these doctrines applied Darwin’s original evolutionary classifications directly to these two groups, presenting whites as *Homo sapiens* – ‘just’ human beings, representative of their species as a whole – while blacks were depicted as still apes, as yet undescended from the jungle. Such Darwinian analogies enjoyed wide currency and consequently, as Horst Drechsler observes, many German colonists were wont to term black Africans “baboons.” Driesmans, meanwhile, labels members of ‘lower races’ “trained apes in disguise.”⁴⁵⁷

However, the human versus ape dichotomy was far from unambiguous: indeed, as Darwin's original writings had asserted, the two were rather to be seen as different stages of the same thing. Thus, such explicit Darwinian analogies simply replicated much of the liquidity that underpinned other (often related) conceptualisations of white and black oppositionality: just as 'we' had once been 'them,' as it were, so 'they' were becoming 'us.' It is precisely the anxiety surrounding such perceptions that the Darwinian *Doppelgänger* films reference, as their simian protagonists assume human behaviours, or their white subjects are transformed into apes – which latter are frequently designed to resemble black people, or exhibit stereotyped 'black behaviours.'

The Darwinian *Doppelgänger* films can be divided into four main types. The first comprises titles like *Unser Urahne* (*Evolution of Man: An Educated Chimpanzee*, Lubin, 1901) and *Der Menschenaffe Consul Peter* (*The Human Ape or Darwin's Triumph*, Nordisk, 1909), in which trained circus-animals are presented undertaking 'human' activities of a type associated with 'cultured' white Europeans, such as playing the piano or smoking a cigar. The second type includes titles like *Balao* (*Balao, the Demon Baboon*, Éclair, 1913) and *Das Geheimnis des Affen* ('The Secret of the Ape', Literaria-Film, 1914). In these narrative works, mad scientists – whose gadget-filled laboratories and scientific method serve as shorthand for modernity – attempt to transform apes into humans, but actually end up creating an entirely new 'intermediate species,' as the reviewer of the former title described in *Die Licht-Bild-Bühne*:



Figure 47 American trade poster for *Balao* (*Balao, the Demon Baboon*, Éclair, 1913). In *The Moving Picture World* 1913: 507.

Dr. X receives from one of his colleagues an orang-utan – that most human-like type of ape – to which he is able, thanks to years of tireless experimenting, to give the appearance of a man. He names this cross (*Mittelding*) between man and ape ‘Balaoo.’⁴⁵⁸

Based on a recent French newspaper serial by Gaston Leroux, the film goes on to show the uncontrollable Balao indulging in all kinds of violent, lustful, criminal and even murderous misdeeds. As can be seen from *Figure 47* (above), an American trade poster for the film (the same imagery was utilised in the German campaign), Balao

is constructed with reference to black stereotypes, possessing a perceived ‘archetypal Negroid appearance’ that includes deep-set bulging eyes, gaping mouth, broad cranium, muscular limbs and large buttocks – and directing his sexual attentions in a clearly menacing way towards a virginal, ivory-skinned white woman (his creator’s daughter).⁴⁵⁹

The third type of Darwinian *Doppelgänger* film comprises works in which whites are transformed into apes as a sort of unintended ‘by-product’ of modernity. These generally involve new medical preparations – in particular, hair-restoring lotions – that have the side-effect of ‘regressing’ their users from white identity through a kind of ‘Negroid’ missing-link stage, and finally into apes. Representative titles here are *Das wunderbare Kopfwasser* (*A Wonderful Hair Restorer*, Pathé, 1904), *Ein schlecht angebrachtes Haarwuchsmittel* (‘An Uncalled-for Hair Restorer’, [Gaumont ?], 1907), *Das Verjüngungsmittel* (‘The Elixir of Youth’, Karl Werner, 1909) and *Das wunderbare Haarellixir* (*A Marvellous Cure*, Nordisk, 1910). The fourth type of Darwinian *Doppelgänger* film is attested by only a single example in the Wilhelmine cinema, although several such works were produced in France. *Die Anhänger des Darwinismus* (‘The Adherents of Darwinism’, Lux, 1909) presents its transformation of white subjects into apes as the conscious objective of a scientist working with monkey-gland serums who wishes to prove Darwin right – and in so doing, exposes anew the fragility of white identity within modernity.⁴⁶⁰

Transformations of Skin Colour in Wilhelmine Comedy Films

The comedies in which ‘racial fluidity’ is represented unambiguously through transformations from white to black skin colour can be split broadly into two categories. The first comprises works in which blackface make-up is adopted by whites out of desire to engage with disavowed behaviours. Numerous of these titles, such as *Weiss und schwarz* (Tontolini *White and Black*, Cines, 1910) and *Neger aus Liebe* (*Negro for Love*, Itala, 1913), are bound up in matters of sexuality, and may be considered counterparts of sorts to those *Rockrolle* narratives in which a man assumes women’s clothing in order to gain access to his female beloved. Here, blackface serves like ends, as these lusty fiancés enter the households of their sweethearts’ families as ‘Negro’ tea-boys and bootblacks. However, just as the imagery of the *Rockrolle* works disrupts heterosexuality by presenting male-female relationships in visually lesbian terms, so these skin colour transformation films reference issues of ‘miscegenation’ by re-presenting their white protagonists’ embraces as visually ‘interracial’ couplings. In other films of this type, the donning of blackface by well-behaved white youths is shown to ‘bring out’ their ‘mischievous side,’ as in *Fritzchen als Niggerboy* (‘Little Fritz as a Nigger-boy’, Gaumont, 1911) and *Cinesino als Negerboy* (‘Cinesino as a Negro Boy’, Cines, 1913).

The second general type of white-to-black skin colour transformation comedy plays on white fears of being overwhelmed by blackness, with white protagonists finding themselves rendered black without warning and, consequently, having become the object of discrimination. A prime example here would be *Der gefährliche Neger* (‘The Dangerous Negro’, Edison, 1911), in which a white house-owner, unaware that his stove-blackening activities have stained his face and hands, is

taken by the police for a 'known' black felon and almost lynched by the local white townsfolk.⁴⁶¹ Within its comedic framework, the film seems to impart a warning that vigilance is required at all times on the part of whites, to ensure that blackness does not 'sneak up' unexpectedly.

Films in which the skin colour transformation is from black to white are far less common, perhaps because these works require their intended racist white audience to identify in the first instance with a black character. One astonishing example of this type, *Moritz als Neger* (*The White Nigger*, S.C.A.G.L., 1910), circumvents this problem somewhat by ensuring that the blackface make-up of its protagonist appears utterly unconvincing – resembling an uneven application of gloss paint – and thus makes it clear from the beginning that he is 'really' white. In the film, Moritz's advances towards the eldest daughter of a middle-class white family have been rejected out-of-hand, and so he seeks the advice of a quack chemist, who provides him with a transformative potion: taking a draught, Moritz's complexion lightens; taking a second, he becomes white. Returning for the hand of his beloved, he is dismayed to discover her now toasting her engagement to another! The vengeful Moritz laces the daughter's champagne with the transformative potion, and she promptly turns black. Her new intended calls off the engagement on the spot, and so the family offers her instead to Moritz – but he too refuses to have anything to do with her now.⁴⁶² While making no attempt to renegotiate the 'racial hierarchy' wherein whites are adjudged superior to black people, the film nevertheless depicts graphically the perceived fluidity of 'racial identity' within modernity, with this latter symbolised by the quack scientist and his potion. Black and white, it appears, are now fully interchangeable categories, with black characters like Moritz able to rise to a position of sovereignty through the adoption of whiteness, and heretofore

empowered whites, like the daughter, consigned to the societal scrap-heap as a result of their 'besmirchment' by blackness.

A perhaps yet more striking display of such 'racial transiency' is contained in (and indeed constitutes the sole *raison d'être* of) the first of three extant – and quite distinct – skin colour transformation comedies that are considered in the remainder of this chapter. Entitled *Schwarz und weiß, oder, Der Narren-Omnibus* (*Off to Bedlam*, Star-Film, 1902), this barely one-minute-long trick film confronts the spectator with a dizzying volley of rapid transitions between black and white and vice versa. Following this, I discuss *Wirkung der schwarzen Milch* ('The Effects of Black Milk', Pathé, 1906), which features a *quid pro quo* transformation from white to black, but relates this also – depending on whether one watches the French or German version – to proletarianism or Jewishness, as social categories that are supposedly allied to blackness already. Finally, I look at *Luny als Chinese* ('Luny as a Chinaman', Luna-Film, 1914), the only one of the skin colour transformation comedies attested that is not constructed about white and black, but white and 'yellow' identity. Although racial theorists like Driesmans insisted that humanity could be divided, by colour, into four races – white, black, red and yellow – the latter two categories lacked the structured oppositionality of white and black and were consequently represented on the Wilhelmine screen, as will be shown, far less frequently.⁴⁶³ In this film, the white Luny's adoption of yellowface make-up is bound up – as in many of the white-to-black comedies – with sexual desire. Here, however, the protagonist is not rewarded through a re-engagement with disavowed behaviours, but instead cast into a veritable nightmare world of *fin-de-siècle* stereotypes about China, comprising beheadings, evil mysticism, and the eating of worms and giant frogs.

Schwarz und weiß, oder, Der Narren-Omnibus (Off to Bedlam, Star-Film, 1902)

The films of Georges Méliès, although seldom considered in the German context, would appear to have been a staple of Wilhelmine cinema's earliest years, with Herbert Birett's survey of local press advertising columns and company records having uncovered over eighty Méliès works in release in Germany prior to 1914, and nearly all before 1906.⁴⁶⁴ As a narrativeless, sixty-seconds-long screen explosion of unpredictable visual shocks and sensations, *Schwarz und weiß, oder, Der Narren-Omnibus* may be considered typical of the resolutely modern and uniquely cinematic trick-film output of Méliès' Star-Film company. In his 1901 sales catalogue, Méliès himself describes the film's action as follows:

Drawn by a bizarre mechanical horse, an omnibus arrives, carrying four Negroes aloft the top deck. The horse bucks, sending them flying, and they land on the ground having turned white. They slap one another on the face and become black again. They hit one another once more, and find they're white again. They then merge into one enormous Negro. He refuses to pay for his seat aboard the omnibus. The conductor sets the giant on fire, and the Negro explodes in a thousand pieces.⁴⁶⁵

As in *Moritz als Neger*, we are confronted with images of 'racial identity' in a no longer controllable state of flux, with the agency for instigating change reduced here to a slap on the cheek, and the absence of narrative motivation making it appear that such change 'simply happens' (and seemingly, to lots of people). The first half of the film's German release title points to the 'racial *Doppelgänger* condition' exhibited by the omnibus passengers – who are at once "*black and white*" – and this meeting and merging of 'the races' results, as can be seen in *Figure 48* (overleaf), in the effective



Figure 48 Promotional still for *Schwarz und weiß, oder, Der Narren-Omnibus* (*Off to Bedlam*, Star-Film, 1902). Collection of the author.

transformation of the modern urban street, esteemed as a symbol of white culture and *fin-de-siècle* progress, into a site of knockabout violence, buffoonery, and – when the passengers refuse to pay their fare – wanton (anti-capitalist) criminality.

While Méliès' 'Negroes' are thus shown to stand at odds with modernity, as they bring 'primitive black behaviours' to the Western street, their arrival in this location is at the same time established as, conversely, the product of modernity, since they are conveyed thither by means of a hyperadvanced – indeed, science fictional – mechanical horse. As Phil Hardy has observed with relation to this film, the omnibus drawn by mechanical horse was a stock device in the pulp pamphlets that were popular especially with young male readers in Europe and America during these years, standing for the next, soon-to-be-achieved fantastic advance of modern

technology.⁴⁶⁶ Here, this device is mobilised as a shorthand for modernity within a kind of “surreal” (as Thomas Cripps has termed it) translation to the screen of white Europeans’ ambivalent sentiments *vis-à-vis* the modern encounter with blackness: sentiments which threaten to collapse within tautologous self-contradiction at any moment.⁴⁶⁷ For while ‘primitive’ blacks, within such a *Weltanschauung*, become ‘modernity’s passengers’ (in the film, literally) through exposure to the ‘educating’ and ‘elevating’ influences of white-associated modernity, these same newly enabled (although subordinated) subjects in turn engender fear in ostensibly naturally superior whites on account of the belief that they might advance upon Europe/whiteness in the form of a threatening mass – in the film, metaphorised into what Méliès calls ‘one enormous Negro’ – which attempts to undermine and overwhelm the white world (that had supposedly facilitated its appearance in the first place) through, once more, its manifestation of ‘primitive black behaviours’ (!).⁴⁶⁸ The structure of Méliès’ film as a haphazard ‘to-and-fro-ing’ between white and black appearance within an abstracted modern setting seems to communicate graphically such an unsettled and constantly-at-odds-with-itself world-view.

A further contradictory element within the film is revealed in *Figure 48*, in that the protagonists are configured not simply as both black and white at once, but also as *neither black nor white*, with the black ‘state of being’ depicted in terms of a strange and unrealistic type of blackface comprising an inexpressive mask with circular bulging white eyes and tufty grey hair, while the white ‘state of being’ is represented by whiteface clowns wearing all-white pierrot costumes. Firstly, this allies these figures to all the other *Doppelgängers* within this research, embodying both two oppositional categories as well as one distinct, new and liberating identity. Secondly (and relatedly), this can be regarded also as a graphic representation of how all

identity constructed merely in terms of the visual and external must ultimately be revealed as illusory.

A final aspect of the film that demands consideration is its titular reference to madness: in the German, those aboard the bus are termed ‘*Narren*’ (‘fools’); in the contemporary British title, they are *Off to Bedlam*; in the American version *Off to Bloomingdale Asylum*; and the original French title is *L’omnibus des toqués ou les échappés de Charenton* (‘The Loonies’ Omnibus or, Escapees from Charenton [Mental Prison]).⁴⁶⁹ Accordingly, it would seem to be suggested that the film’s spontaneous transformations should be viewed as the deluded wanderings of an unbalanced mind – or perhaps of these four black men aboard the omnibus, who constitute the ‘fools’ or ‘escapees’: after all, mechanical horses and the ability to alter skin colour do not exist in ‘reality,’ merely in (ostensibly disturbed) fantasy. Maybe the strange diegetic landscape of this work is intended even to represent the ‘megalomaniacal’ presumed utopia of contemporary black people, extending their own type of control over whiteness (and by association, modernity and Europe) through anarchic and chaos-inducing behaviours? Thus, the film can be seen to exploit the cinematic potential to ‘realise’ in virtual form the otherwise unrealisable, representing the stereotyped imaginary as actually occurring before one’s eyes.

***Wirkung der schwarzen Milch* (‘The Effects of Black Milk’, Pathé, 1906)**

“A child breast-fed by a black wet-nurse becomes black also,” was Hamburg school inspector C. H. Dannmeyer’s succinct overview of Pathé’s one-joke short

Wirkung der schwarzen Milch in his 1907 report concerning ‘living pictures’ to which children could gain access in cinemas at this time. The context of Dannmeyer’s review seems significant, in that the absence of any objection to this film on his part – he dubs it merely “entertaining” – can be considered indicative of the unquestioning acceptance of racist stereotypes during this period, and also, of the perception of black nakedness as ‘ethnographic’ (representing black people’s ‘unculturedness’) rather than ‘pornographic’ (requiring the wilful transgression of cultural and moral standards), since the scenes in the middle of the film – which it is impossible to imagine that Dannmeyer would deem appropriate for children if they featured a white woman – comprise several medium close-ups of the black wet-nurse (played by a biological black woman) uncovering her breasts frontally.⁴⁷⁰

The film, of which a print is preserved in the collection of the Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek, presents its subject matter with a visual panache that serves to underline the white/black contrast of the plot. This is the case especially in the final two shots of this two-and-a-half-minutes-long comedy sketch, in which the transformation is exposed. The penultimate shot is filmed from a static camera-position on a sun-drenched garden exterior, and depicts the white parents’ return, following an absence of six months, to collect their son, who has been tended exclusively by the black wet-nurse. She is seated in the foreground, with a bundle of wriggling, white swaddling on her lap. In the far distance behind her, the parents appear, and make their way gradually towards the foreground of the shot, while gesturing their excitement frontally with beaming smiles and rolling eyes: this advance through the garden endures for several seconds, generating anticipation among spectators also. With a single flick of her wrist, the wet-nurse casts back the top layer of swaddling – which appears spotlessly white and has been rendered

positively luminescent by the bright sunlight shining onto it – to reveal simultaneously to audience and parents alike the black baby within, which elicits frontal expressions of mortification on the part of the white characters. Once again, a black protagonist is shown to possess the ability to ‘disrupt’ the presumed ‘natural white order,’ obliterating this child’s hitherto assumed destiny of enjoying the privileges of white identity. Interestingly, the newly black child starts to run after its swiftly fleeing parents before the shot fades, implying that once (symbolic or biological) ‘miscegenation’ has been effected, it ‘clings’ and can not be undone. The film’s final shot is an emblematic medium close-up of the forsaken child, whose tears cascade down his cheeks and, in so doing, wash away areas of his blackface make-up, exposing his new-found and clearly uncertain status as ‘racial *Doppelgänger*’ in a striking visual way.

On the one hand, it is easy to comprehend how this light-hearted ‘playing around’ with contemporary white anxieties – featuring an altogether implausible revelation and ultimately making no attempt to renegotiate the idea that white identity is still ‘better’ than black identity – could be considered comical by its intended white European spectators. On the other, however, I find myself wondering whether its focus on a clearly vulnerable subject, a child, might not also engender certain feelings of ‘bad taste,’ particularly since the supposed detrimental effects of allowing white children to be raised by wet-nurses of ‘other races’ constituted an emotive issue in the contemporary press. For instance, in an 1877 article in *Die Gartenlaube* concerning Germans who lived and worked in China and Japan, a certain Dr. Wernich exclaimed:

[Of huge significance] is the influence that Japanese and Chinese wet-nurses and nannies can exert over children entrusted to their care. In the least serious cases, the child will learn only a few words of his mother tongue, alongside a great deal of Japanese. During the first two years of his life, the child might often gain proficiency solely in the latter, since he is surrounded, for the most part of the day and night, by only this alien idiom.⁴⁷¹

The film tempers any such concerns, however, by establishing its white protagonists as perhaps ‘not so white’ after all. For example, among the résumés of new releases – intended also as guidelines for cinema recitators concerning the ‘correct’ presentation of films to an audience – in the Pathé catalogue for France dated November-December 1906, we find the following outline of, to employ its original French title, *Les effets du lait noir*.

Charbonia is a down-to-earth coalman whose wife has just rendered him a father. Quick – the little one needs a wet-nurse! After a few hesitations, Charbonia chooses a stunning Negress who, thanks to her corpulent figure, seems to him to be the only one who could satisfy his nipper’s enormous appetite. Six months pass. Charbonia and his wife go to visit their little son in the wet-nurse’s care. But how dreadful! They find themselves in the presence of a child that has grown well, but is – black: black like his wet-nurse; black like Charbonia when he hasn’t washed!⁴⁷²

Thus, hierarchies of ‘race’ and class are conflated, and members of the proletariat, like Charbonia and his wife, are presented as ‘natural counterparts’ to blacks. As Charbonia’s symbolic name (the French for coal is *charbon*) implies, his working-class profession has ‘blackened’ him already, and so the final transformation of his progeny constitutes ‘merely’ a manifest representation of the equivalency of modern society’s structured ‘undesirables.’ Such confluences of ‘race’ and class were relatively commonplace in popular Wilhelmine discussions surrounding ‘primitive peoples,’

and thus, for example, we find the aforementioned Megh Gehrts, in her account of shooting *Die weisse Göttin der Wangora* and other films in Togo, concluding her descriptions of each new 'savage' practice that she encounters with a comment along the lines of, "I have often heard somewhat similar sentiments expressed amongst our working classes in Europe."⁴⁷³ In one extreme instance, involving her meeting of the Fulani people of Northern Togo, Gehrts' 'reasoning' indeed brings her to a remarkably similar conclusion to the producers of the French version of *Wirkung der schwarzen Milch*:

Tolstoy was right when he wrote that cleanliness is the hallmark of the classes the world over. The lower down, the dirtier! Most of these people, for instance, are simply filthy, possessing not even the most rudimentary notions of cleanliness.⁴⁷⁴

In the German release of *Wirkung der schwarzen Milch*, a different yet comparable approach is taken: the white father is referred to throughout, in intertitles and inserts, by the archetypal Jewish epithet 'Cohn.'⁴⁷⁵ As Sander Gilman observes in his study *On Blackness without Black*, black people were present in Wilhelmine Germany in only very limited numbers and, consequently, stereotypes surrounding blackness tended to be mobilised only in the specific context of the colonies or other inter- and extra-national frameworks.⁴⁷⁶ When looking for an ostensible ethnic 'canker' within the body of the German nation, on whom to pin responsibility for disavowed behaviours as well as blame for perceived negative outgrowths of modernity *within Germany*, the Jews were configured as 'white' Germans' usual scapegoat. During the period, Jews were at one time or another held accountable for urban criminality, sex outside marriage, the nervousness promoted by hyper-

stimulation, the breakdown of ‘traditional’ social categories, and so forth, as satirised by cabaret performer Leo Wulff in a 1901 sketch:

A Jewish burglar along with a Jewish shoplifter were arrested in Jerusalem Street. At the police station, these Jews had the nerve to be able to prove that neither they nor any of their relations – not even their grandparents – were of Jewish descent!⁴⁷⁷

As Nachum Gidal has documented, anti-Semitism in Germany can be traced back to the early Middle Ages, when it was mobilised as a means of Christian self-definition over Judaism, and anti-Jewish sentiments retained currency throughout the centuries following this, with equal rights for Jews becoming enshrined in law for the first time in only a few German states after 1848, and across the nation in 1872. The rise of some Jews to prominent positions in industry, government and elsewhere following this bestowal of equality was regarded with frequent suspicion by other Germans, who perceived this as a further excrescence of modernity, to which other modern ‘ill-effects’ could easily be related.⁴⁷⁸ From here, racial theorists such as the ubiquitous Driesmans attempted to ‘scientise’ Jewish difference, declaring that Jews were biologically divergent also, having apparently “branched off” from the ‘Xanthochroic’ (the usual contemporary ‘scientific’ term for ‘Aryan’) peoples during “the period before the start of the third ice age”: consequently, it could be argued that Jewish difference had its roots even in pre-Jewish times (!).⁴⁷⁹ Accordingly, it was maintained that although Jews might appear to be able to assimilate, or ‘pass for white,’ this biological ‘taint’ would in fact mark their difference forever:

No person can get away from the racial identity with which he is born, which shapes him even before he leaves the womb, and which he must carry about eternally, no matter where life might lead him. Nobody can escape himself: to do so, he would need to be a second.

Peter Schlemihl, able to sell his body as Schlemihl sold his shadow, and in this way be in a position to detach himself from those very factors that determine and bring meaning to his life.⁴⁸⁰

In the denouement to the German release of *Wirkung der schwarzen Milch*, then, the Cohn baby's transformation to blackness could be regarded as not a transformation at all, but rather as evidence that, ultimately, 'the taint will out.'⁴⁸¹

***Luny als Chinese* ('Luny as a Chinaman', Luna-Film, 1914)**

While standing in the foyer of a theatre one day, the youthful Luny (Gerhard Dammann) spies a Chinese woman, with whom he falls instantly in love, and whom he sends a love-letter begging for a covert rendezvous. Disgusted at his proposition, the Chinese woman casts the note to the ground. Meanwhile, Luny awaits her reply – unaware that the note has been picked up in the interim by a friend of his *fiancée* and passed on to her, a stern-looking and straight-laced Wilhelmine lady, who plots a terrible revenge. She sends a reply, which purports to hail from Luny's "beloved Sun of the East," and gives an address and time at which he is to meet her – but only on the condition that he appears as a Chinaman, since her other countrymen who reside with her would *decapitate* any white man who sought to enter. Luny swiftly sets about acquiring a kimono [*sic*] and bamboo hat, dons yellowface make-up, and spends some time practising his 'squint' – while, unbeknown to him, his *fiancée* does the same, along with a group of burly white sailors she has recruited, with whom she also redecorates her house in *faux* Oriental style.

The appointed hour arrives. First, the ‘Chinese servants’ (actually the sailors) welcome Luny by wagging their bottoms in his face. Then, a great feast is served, comprising “baby tree frog in cricket sauce, elephant eggs, rats’ tails in aspic, baked worms, and a shark’s tail fricassee.” Already unsettled by the first dish – a man-sized frog which had hopped about the room – Luny looks sick to the stomach as he tries to ‘force down’ a dish of worms. Finally, the ‘Chinese woman’ (Luny’s *fiancée*) appears and escorts Luny to a sideroom, where an engraving of a dragon comes to life and starts to attack him. The woman gives the now quivering Luny a drink, which he ‘knocks back’ – only to fall unconscious, since it had been drugged. He reawakens to discover himself in a passionate embrace with the Chinese woman – except that she is now played by one of the sailors, ‘dragged up’ to resemble her. The other ‘Chinese servants’ storm in, and declare that the woman’s honour has been offended by such lecherous behaviour – and the only fitting punishment is death! The ‘servants’ pin Luny down, and are about to behead him with a sword, when they suddenly fall about with laughter, revealing their ‘true’ identities and that of the ‘Chinese woman’ by removing their costumes and make-up. Luny falls at his *fiancée*’s feet and begs forgiveness.⁴⁸²

Luny als Chinese stands out from the other skin colour transformation comedies not only on account of its thematisation of ‘yellow’ rather than black ‘otherness,’ but also because it is the only work that contains a *bona fide* instance of ‘interracial desire,’ with the white Luny’s amorous attentions focused squarely on a Chinese woman. This helps to explain why the fulfilment of desire is obviated within the narrative, and leads instead to Luny’s chastisement at the hands of his white contemporaries. For Luny’s behaviour threatens to turn racial stereotypes on their head, as he exhibits disavowed lecherous philandering and conniving promiscuity,

while the object of his passions epitomises in every respect but her skin colour the proscribed white ideals of chastity and propriety.

The enactment of ‘restorative’ punishment by Luny’s white contemporaries is, however, highly ambiguous, since it also takes the form of a foray into ostensibly ‘non-white conduct,’ which ultimately affords its perpetrators the very engagement with disavowed behaviours that Luny is actively denied. The relish with which these characters undertake the yellowface masquerade and the pleasure they derive from it are made evident especially through their laughter and ‘knowing’ smiles directed towards the putative audience. The use of sailors in this context seems significant and ironic as well, since these staunchly chauvinistic types – who are indeed introduced amid the German cultural icon of frothing tankards in a *Bierkeller* – are also those who stand for the consolidation of intercontinental links and the perception of global shrinkage within modernity: here, they at once ‘stand up’ for the ‘white race,’ while taking the opportunity to ‘show off’ their alleged knowledge of ‘Chinese ways,’ stemming from their own contact with the ‘yellow race’ during their trips overseas. Thus, they are the ambivalent agents of modernity, bound and determined both by ‘progress’ and ‘primitivism,’ parochialism and cosmopolitanism.

As noted above, the white/yellow juxtaposition lacked the structured oppositionality of white/black, since the ‘yellow race’ was considered to be located below whiteness but, as the aforementioned Dr. Wernich put it, “actually quite high up in the hierarchy of coloured peoples.”⁴⁸³ In the Wilhelmine context, blackness also possessed greater significance as a consequence of regular and substantial German contact with so-called ‘black colonies’ in Africa, whereas only a single territory – the tiny port of Kiaochow – was held by Germany on the Far Eastern mainland, and this

only from 1901. Despite its apparent strategic naval significance, Kiaochow raised little interest or excitement even among fervently pro-colonial writers, such as Heinrich Schmitthenner, who in 1914 declared despondently that “[t]he whole bay, a little larger than Lake Constance, is German waters. [...] Our entire possession amounts to about 552km², indeed a small area.”⁴⁸⁴ *Table 6* (overleaf) constitutes a tentative typology of ‘yellow’ representation in Wilhelmine cinema, drawn from the same sample of 35,000 titles employed elsewhere in this research.⁴⁸⁵ The relative paucity of different types of film is striking, with two categories evidenced by only a single title (out of such a broad sample!), and little indication of perceived ‘racial interpenetration,’ as characterised the typology of black representation discussed above. Nevertheless, *Table 6* attests three recurrent negative stereotypes pertaining to the ‘yellow race’ – those of criminality/cunning, violence (particularly beheading) and perceived ‘aberrant’ articulations of sexuality.

The latter two stereotypes are both represented in *Luny als Chinese*. As Helmuth Stoecker has observed, the notion that ‘Chinamen’ were wont to practise decapitation gained currency in Germany following the 1900 Boxer Rebellion in Southern China, during which several Christian missionaries – including a number of German nationals – had indeed been beheaded. Within the framework of the ongoing dash for colonies among European nations at this time, these events were purposely ‘played up,’ so as to create a mood of outrage in German ‘public opinion,’ and were thence used to ‘force China’s hand’ in ceding Kiaochow to Germany for a period of ninety-nine years, in emulation of the much-envied agreement regarding Hong Kong that had been reached previously with the British. Voluminous newspaper coverage and tens of films in which the beheadings were re-enacted by whites in yellowface make-up appeared, and Wilhelm II ensured that the memory of

	Documentary and Pseudo-Documentary Films	Fiction Films
Films set in the Far East	1. Anthropological studies of indigenous populations e.g. the series of 31 films shot in Japan by Lumière (1897-99); <i>Japanesisches Teehaus</i> ('Japanese Tea-House', Pathé, 1903); <i>Fabrikation von Manilahüten auf den Philippinen</i> ('The Manufacture of Manila Hats in the Philippines', Imperium, 1911)	9. Narrative adventure films shot in European studios and stressing the 'exotic' characteristics of the Far East e.g. <i>Harakiri</i> (Eiko-Film, 1913); <i>Die japanische Maske</i> ('The Japanese Mask', Deutsche Mutoskop- und Biograph-Gesellschaft, 1913); <i>Mimosa-San (Butterfly)</i> , Meßter-Film, 1913)
	4. News re-enactment films reconstructing supposed acts of yellow-perpetrated violence e.g. the tens of depictions of beheadings and massacres during the Boxer Rebellion (1900)	3. Narrative shorts depicting initial encounters and interaction between whites and members of 'the yellow race' e.g. the sole identifiable film representing this category is the quasi-Darwinian mixed metaphor <i>Der treue Gorilla (The Devoted Ape)</i> , Cricks & Martin, 1910), in which the child of a white family in China is abducted by a Chinaman, but returned safely to them by a gorilla
		10. Pornographic films in which 'Far Eastern sexuality' is presented in terms of perceived 'aberrant' practices e.g. <i>Madame Butterfly</i> ([Eros-Film ?], 1912), which features male-male fellatio, lesbianism, and a heterosexual <i>ménage-à-trois</i>
		11. Trick and magic films featuring yellowface wizards and conjurers e.g. a small number of works produced by Georges Méliès' Star-Film Company between 1897 and 1912
Films set in the West		13. Narrative shorts in which members of the 'yellow race' demonstrate violent and criminal behaviours 'over here' e.g. <i>Die Geliebte des Chinesen</i> ('The Chinaman's Beloved', Vitascope, 1911); <i>Die gelbe Rasse</i> ('The Yellow Race', Continental-Kunstfilm, 1912)
		14. Big-budget narrative features in which members of the 'yellow race' play small roles as characters affiliated to criminal organisations 'over here' e.g. <i>Ein seltsamer Fall (Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde)</i> , Vitascope, 1914)
		15. Comedies in which the appearance of members of the 'yellow race' 'over here' constitutes a literal invasion e.g. the sole identifiable film representing this category is <i>Luna als Chinese</i> (Luna-Film, 1914)

Table 6 Typology of 'Yellow' Representation in Wilhelmine Cinema

these events remained fresh throughout the period, by referring to the Chinese from this point onwards – even in official papers and speeches – as “the yellow peril.”⁴⁸⁶

The belief that (male) representatives of the 'yellow race' engaged in 'aberrant' sexual practices, meanwhile, appears to have stemmed at least in part from the equation of their perceived petite, smooth and delicate features with the new

social category of 'sexual intermediates.' This subject was considered at length by British sexologist Edward Carpenter (whose works often appeared in a German edition prior to an English-language one), who cited the following remarks by a white European businessman in Japan in 1913: "Northerners and Anglo-Saxons in particular, have always at the back of their minds a notion that there is something effeminate about the [Japanese] sense of [male] beauty."⁴⁸⁷ Thus, it may be considered unsurprising that *Luny als Chinese* should contain a male-male kiss between Luny as a 'Chinaman' and a dress-wearing man-servant: although it should be pointed out, once again, that this is actually a kiss between two white men, temporarily freed from the constraints of white identity by the yellowface masquerade.

Finally, then, although it can be seen that the category of yellowness did not possess the same potency that was ascribed to blackness at this time, it could still – on occasion – be mobilised to represent 'racial flux' and the perceived challenge to white identity by a shrinking globe. Here again, as across the skin colour transformation genre, we find all white characters reconstituted within modernity as unstable yet resolutely present 'racial *Doppelgängers*,' locked in an ambivalent and insoluble struggle between their 'oppositional sides.'

Chapter Seven. Between Entertainment and High Culture: The Strange Case of the *Autorenfilm* and the *Doppelgänger*

“Eyes here, eyes here!”⁴⁸⁸

Following the lengthy journey through uncommon territory that has preceded, we find ourselves confronted anew with those seemingly over-familiar ‘old friends,’ *Der Andere* and *Der Student von Prag*, on whose reputation the entire renown of Wilhelmine cinema as a ‘*Doppelgänger* cinema’ has been based. Now, however, we are forced – akin to those encountering Hoffmann’s Dr. Coppelius – to regard them ‘with new eyes.’

No longer can these films be seen as the ‘be-all and end-all’ of Wilhelmine *Doppelgänger* cinema. Instead, they require consideration as simply a further manifestation of this phenomenon, whose subsequent privileging has resulted from their contemporary status as *Autorenfilms*, as works that sought to quell the criticisms of members of the educated bourgeoisie (*Bildungsbürgertum*) engaged in the *Kinodebatte*, who maintained that cinema constituted an unworthy mass entertainment (see p.xxxf, xxxf). Mobilising the discourses of ‘art,’ ‘literature,’ ‘architecture,’ ‘nationally specific *Kultur*’ and so forth, the *Autorenfilms* were consciously promoted and presented as – to quote the programme to *Der Student von Prag* – “a union of high culture and cinema.”⁴⁸⁹ Consequently, they were afforded consideration by contemporary cultural critics and, therewith, entrance into the annals of *written* history, helping to lay the

foundations for their subsequent estimation as the ‘first German films of worth.’ As the reviewer of *Der Andere* in *Die Licht-Bild-Bühne* noted following its premiere in January 1913:

It is [...] interesting to observe that the organs of the daily press – without exception – desisted from dismissing the film after their usual contemptuous fashion, wherein a few meaningless lines assert the thanklessness of the reporter’s duties, and instead permitted this literary and dramatically significant work to be discussed within their art critics’ columns.⁴⁹⁰

It is easy to comprehend how latter-day writers could come therefore to regard *Der Andere* and *Der Student von Prag* as ‘the beginning of things,’ since an abundant cornucopia of primary sources exists, in which these works are discussed as the first ‘attempts of substance’ (whether deemed successful or otherwise) in German film, whereas for the eighteen years prior to this – as witnessed throughout the preceding chapters – one can locate only scant details of individual titles in the trade press, or must set oneself about scouring all kinds of more or less likely nooks and crannies in the hope of uncovering occasional scraps of information. Of course, what this signifies above all is that *Der Andere* and *Der Student von Prag* are ‘firsts’ only in the sense of being the earliest examples of cinema to be esteemed as ‘respectable’ and ‘culturally worthy’ by a broad section of the Wilhelmine *Bildungsbürgertum*.

In this chapter, I seek to demonstrate that modernity was central in determining these films and their content, and that the *Autorenfilm* itself was engendered as a kind of ‘*Doppelgänger* of culture’ in response to what Stephen Kern has described as modernity’s collapse of “the conventions that held the older hierarchical system together and its components apart.”⁴⁹¹ For as members of the *Bildungsbürgertum* came to perceive that their status as *Kulturträger* (‘definers of national

culture’) was being ‘eroded’ through the incursions of cinema into the theatre-associated realms of feature-length and dramatic production – especially in the period after around 1909 – so they sought to effect a compromise with the new mass entertainment industry that might secure them a continued defining position within modern culture: hence, the neoteric, *Doppelgänger*-like fusion of art and entertainment in and as the *Autorenfilm*.

Like all manifestations of ‘*Doppelgänger* condition,’ the *Autorenfilm* is characterised by instability and contradiction, as it melds hitherto oppositional ‘high’ and ‘low,’ ‘traditional’ and ‘modern’ cultural practices into a distinct new whole that was at once welcomed by some representatives of the *Bildungsbürgertum* as an ‘elevation’ of cinema, and vilified by others, who regarded it instead as a ‘dilution’ of *Kultur*. As researchers including Helmut Diederichs and Miriam Hansen have remarked, however, the one thing that this new fusion could not be – as with all the other resolutely manifest ‘*Doppelgänger* conditions’ discussed in this research – was ignored, with the *Autorenfilm* constituting “a real cinema fad” of 1913 and 1914.⁴⁹²

This last remark points to another schism within the *Autorenfilm*, this time involving “the commercialization of culture,” which has been outlined in detail by Robin Lenman, John Osborne and Eda Sagarra as a further distinguishing process within Wilhelmine modernity.⁴⁹³ For while members of the educated bourgeoisie may have engaged with the *Autorenfilm* on a cultural level, these works’ producers and distributors (who were generally members of the *nouveaux riches*) tended to rejoice instead – as will be seen below, quite openly – in the new commercial opportunities that these presented, as new audiences were drawn to the cinemas and, more particularly, old ones could be charged more on account of the ‘quality’ debates

within which these films were couched. Once again, then, a 'traditional' cultural practice was effectively renegotiated through exposure to a modern (capitalist) world-view, producing distinct new possibilities.

From here, I suggest finally that the turbulent socio-cultural backdrop against which the *Autorenfilm* was engendered can be seen to have become thematised through these works' *Doppelgänger* protagonists – as exemplified especially by Hallers in *Der Andere* and Balduin in *Der Student von Prag* – who vacillate not only between polarised upper and lower class identities and high and low cultural settings, but also appear to reference further shifts of identity as outlined in previous chapters, involving issues of gender, sexuality and ethnicity.

Redefining High Culture within Modernity

The ascent of visual culture within modernity, which has been a central theme of this research, met with an often alarmed response on the part of representatives of the *Bildungsbürgertum*, who considered that one of the defining characteristics of their identity – the ability to determine 'culture' – was being rapidly undermined, as critic Hermann Häfker outlined emoted in his 1913 study *Kino und Kunst*:

the cry taken up by thousands of voices for 'aesthetic culture' and 'art in everything' has arisen from the singular need of a time that differs from all those experienced hitherto. Formerly, the arts resided in solitary splendour within their temples of exalted worth: music, painting, sculpture, writing, architecture. The shining light of their beauty carried but seldom

and sparsely into everyday life, its commodities and intellectual expressions. Scholars competed to realise the highest beauty and genuine style, ‘taste’ was defined by churches, rulers, empires. [...] That time is now past, never to be regained. The visual and vivid, the spoken word and sound, colours and graphics, now rain down in copious measure upon the nerves of modern humanity.⁴⁹⁴

This new, unsanctioned culture, being produced in particular by the bourgeoisie’s own perceived ‘cuckoo in the nest,’ the *nouveaux riches* (who were likewise regarded as a detrimental outgrowth of modernity), seemed to contravene the ostensible ‘requirements’ of high culture on almost every level: it was not the unique creation of a single artist, but rather, as Häfker put it, engendered by “automatic-chemical-mechanical reproduction”; it did not demand extended contemplation, but instead ‘titillated’ the audience with hyperstimulative attractions; it ‘failed’ to reference established artistic lineages, conceptualised in German as *Kulturerbe* (‘cultural heritage’), according to which individual works should situate themselves within a given tradition; it was born of pecuniary rather than ‘morally enlightening’ interests; and – in the opinion of many, worst of all – it was not nationally specific, with a single film-programme, for instance, perhaps presenting works from France, Germany, America, Italy and elsewhere alongside one another as creations of equal worth.⁴⁹⁵ As David Gross has summed up:

Whereas, so the argument went, Germany had once, in some unspecified preindustrial age, possessed true *Kultur* – which was described as soulful, creative, organic, and *Volk*-based – it had now, by the end of the nineteenth century, dissipated into a mere *Zivilisation* – that is, something vapid, materialistic, rationalistic, superficial, and rootless. What had once been genuine culture had been transformed into its opposite because modern life was bereft of spirituality and depth, owing, as some said, to the loss of ‘German national feelings’ or ‘German self-consciousness.’⁴⁹⁶

As discussed previously, such perceptions gave life to vociferous debates on so-called *Schundliteratur* ('trashy literature') and *Schundfilms* ('trashy films') on the part of the *Bildungsbürgertum*, many of whom expressed the wish simply to see these 'worthless' forms extirpated. Others, however, noted – akin to Häfker in the above quotation – that the metaphorical genie was now irrevocably dislodged from the bottle, and so the only path forward might be to strike compromises with the new media. For example, Erich Schlaikjer advised fellow participants in the *Kinodebatte* in August 1912: "Our banners shouldn't read 'Away with cinema,' but rather: 'Give us cinema. It belongs in our hands.'" ⁴⁹⁷ Similarly, it was argued in the theatrical journal *Die Schaubühne* that noted dramatists ought to be engaged to write film scripts, since:

there is no doubt that dramatists are better equipped to produce film dramas than the proletariat of literature which has heretofore pasted together the same. ⁴⁹⁸

It is interesting that the proponent of this course of action conceptualises the originators of film drama hitherto as proletarian, rather than representatives of a bourgeois counter-culture, thereby reinforcing the perceived oppositionality of the cinema to high culture through an analogy to class identity that effectively casts attention away from the contemporaneous redefinition of bourgeois identity within Wilhelmine modernity as well.

The belief that 'taking charge' of the cinema had become a matter of exigency was inflamed especially, as Heinz-B. Heller has noted, from 1906 – 1907 by the "increasing length and changing content" of certain films, which could all too easily be interpreted as affronts to or 'bastardisations' of high cultural practices:

It seems evident that products like the 1907 version of *Die Räuber* ('The Robbers') by the Internationale Kinematographen- und Lichteffect-Gesellschaft – condensing Schiller's original into just 225 metres [approximately eleven minutes at 18fps] that could then be offered up for sale at 270 Marks – were scarcely calculated to break down the *Bildungsbürgertum's* reservations *vis-à-vis* film.⁴⁹⁹

In the section of this chapter that follows, certain of these pre-*Autorenfilm* 'quality' productions – including in particular the so-called *Kunstfilms* ('art films') that appeared from around 1909 – are considered specifically with regard to their perceived incompatible bringing together of 'high' and 'low' culture that so unsettled the *Bildungsbürgertum*.

Ultimately, it might be argued that both 'high cultural adaptations made by low cultural practitioners' and 'low cultural engagement on the part of representatives of high culture' can be esteemed equally as the type of neoteric fusions of structured opposites that are characteristic of modernity. However, for advocates of the *Autorenfilm*, the distinction was of course crucial, with the latter constituting a means for the *Bildungsbürgertum* to retain power in the socio-cultural arena, as Jean Mitry commented in his 1965 study, *Esthétique et psychologie du cinéma*:

the emergence of cinema threatened neither art nor literature, but rather a certain conception of art, an experience ('*acquis*'), a ritual ('*rituel*'). That is to say, it threatened to undermine [...] the foundations of a 'bourgeois' aesthetic.⁵⁰⁰

In order to transfer this bourgeois aesthetic to cinema, exponents of the *Autorenfilm* drew on a host of high cultural practices, including literature, theatre, painting, architecture and classical music, as well as one form of modernity that was more

acceptable to the sensibilities of the *Bildungsbürgertum* – science (conceptualised as a legitimate intellectual pursuit). As shall be seen later in this chapter, the differing combinations of high cultural signification could yield quite distinct results, with the basis of *Der Andere* in theatre and science engendering a very different creation to *Der Student von Prag*, which combined literature, theatre, landscape painting, architecture and a specially commissioned ‘Wagneresque’ score.

Once the first *Autorenfilme* had been produced, their supporters maintained that the ‘lowly’ cinema had been successfully ‘ennobled.’ Thus, for example, the reviewer of *Der Student von Prag* in the nationalistic *Deutsche Nachrichten* insisted that “the scurrilous sensational works of movie-houses can now be amputated,” while Ludwig Sternaux eulogised rather more grandly in *Die tägliche Rundschau*:

[*Der Student von Prag*] is a literary work that fervently endeavours to transcend the shortcomings of film, to soften its sharp edges, and to replace the repulsive interruptions of ludicrous exposition with a readily comprehensible plot.⁵⁰¹

However, the dualistic construction of the *Autorenfilm* could be recognised easily, in that other conservative representatives of the *Bildungsbürgertum* focused not on its high cultural, but rather its continuing low cultural ‘side,’ regarding the entire project as a ‘watering down’ of *Kultur* and those willing to participate in it as having ‘dirtied their hands.’ These conservative attacks frequently presented the exponents of the *Autorenfilm* as having ‘sold out’ to modern commercial culture, grabbing their thirty pieces of silver as they helped to endorse a counter-cultural product with an ‘undeserved’ label of quality. Such was the argument of Erich Oesterheld’s “*Wie die deutschen Dramatiker Barbaren wurden?*” (“How the German Dramatists became

Barbarians”), which headline leapt out from the front-page of *Die Aktion* on 26th February 1913. Oesterheld speaks both of “the materialism of the modern age” and an Americanised “money-maker nature” (“*money-maker-Natur*”) to which the recent ‘serving up’ of works that he describes as being designed ‘*ad captandum vulgus*’ (‘to captivate the emotions of the rabble’) should apparently be attributed.⁵⁰²

Some responses were more ambiguous, such as that by my Wilhelmine namesake Ferdinand Kiss, in a subsequent issue of *Die Aktion*. Here, Kiss succeeded in venting his spleen simultaneously at Vitascope’s recent two-part adaptation of Friedrich Holländer’s *Der Eid des Stephan Huller* (‘The Oath of Stephan Huller’) starring Viggo Larsen and Wanda Treumann, as well as the Italian-made historical epic *Quo Vadis* (Cines, 1913) and, most particularly, Hanns Heinz Ewers, one of the most outspoken of the pro-*Autorenfilm* literati, who was not only inaugurating movie-palaces at this time, but had also just furnished the script to *Der Student von Prag*.

Fate has ordained filming and films everyone alike. From Sophocles to Holländer. One could swear the *Oath of Stephan Huller*, that the adaptation to the screen of highly polished aphorisms is but a question of demand. [...] At Nollendorfplatz in Berlin, a new cinema has been let loose upon humanity. The opening film: *Quo Vadis*, or the persecution of Berliners by Nero in *anno* 1913. [...] And to outdo all that has gone before – within the film, and in general – one reaches to a desperate medium. What flickers up yonder? Is it Nielsen? Perhaps Lindner? Or even Nauke? It’s Ewers [...], “the cinema’s most fervent advocate, who consecrated the newly opened movie-house by means of a dithyrambic speech.” In all other respects, it’s downhill too. Fate has ordained filming and Ewers. [...] How will it all end? We want to experience Nauke and see only the flickering Ewers instead.⁵⁰³

What I find significant about Kiss’ contribution is less its expected vituperation towards Ewers and the *Autorenfilm* on account of their part in the ostensible dilution

and commercialisation of culture than his evident familiarity with the existing ‘lower class’ cinema, as he refers readily to Asta Nielsen, Max Lindner and even the popular series of comedy shorts featuring the character Nauke. Moreover, he expects his conservative readership – *Die Aktion* was described on its title-page as ‘A Weekly Journal of Politics, Literature and Art’ – to be *au fait* with these also, implying that the division between culture and entertainment may already have been overstepped by the *Bildungsbürgertum* through cinema attendance. Furthermore, Kiss expresses a desire to keep on seeing these supposedly unworthy entertainments – which he regards as at least ‘suited’ to modern mass-reproduced presentation – and his objections appear levelled solely at the ‘hymenal’ *Autorenfilm*’s attempts to unify art and entertainment within a single body. Thus, Kiss’ argument is not anti-modern *per se*, but asserts instead that modernity and tradition should coexist rather than coalesce. Again, then, it is the Wilhelmine ‘*Doppelgänger* condition’ that proves to be at once the site of uncertainty and object of unsettling fascination.

A similarly ambivalent response was articulated by Kurt Tucholsky, who penned a ballad (to be sung to the tune of *Come into the Garden, Maud*) on the occasion of the premiere of *Der Andere* starring Albert Bassermann, in which he marvelled at the very conflation of art and culture within this new work:

Wat sagste nu, o Publikum?	[What d’ya say now, oh audience?
Ick schreite ins Reale!	I step into reality!
Dahinten lief die Spule rum	At the rear, the film-reel spun
Minütlich tausend Male.	A thousand times a minute.
Für Geld bekommen Sie nicht nur	For your brass you don’t just get
Amusement – nein auch Kultur..	Entertainment – but culture too..
Und alle kommen her [...]	And all flock here [...]

Auch die Dramatiker..

Even tha dramatists..

O-ho!

Oho!

Ick bin dea Kintopp-Willem!

I am tha movie-Will'um!

Und komm grad aus dem Fillem!

Jus' comin' from the fil-um!

Denn schließlich ist es keine Schand,

'Cos ultimately it ain't no shame,

Zu tanzen auf der Leinwand!

To dance upon the cinema-screen!

Der Kintopp zieht uns alle an –

The movies draw us all on board –

Selbst Bassermann, selbst Bassermann.

Even Bassermann, even Bassermann.]⁵⁰⁴

Tucholsky's ascription of a pronounced Berlin accent within his ballad to the apparently respectable thespian who is appearing in film literalises the notion of '*Autorenfilm* as *Doppelgänger*' by configuring its perceived construction 'between' high and low culture in terms of a human subject, who is thereupon forced to attempt to assert his refinement and sophistication via a working-class vernacular.

The concerns of conservative participants in the *Kinodebatte* that the *Autorenfilm* represented a new manifestation of cultural commercialisation could scarcely be countered, as trade advertisements and general press reviews of these works stressed in equal measure their cultural and commercial value. For example, the trade advertisements for *Der Andere* in *Die Licht-Bild-Bühne* pointed out to exhibitors that “[t]he press discussions have made publicity for it throughout Germany already, and the public is burning to see the film.”⁵⁰⁵ The reviewer of *Der Andere*'s premiere in the same publication observed likewise that its production company, Vitascope, could “feel satisfied not only morally, but commercially as well, for cinema-owners all want a ‘Bassermann’ now,” before going on to assess the work as “a smash that will fill the coffers at the box-office and draw the best and most-

moneyed clientele (*zahlungsfähigstes Publikum*) into cinemas.”⁵⁰⁶ The reviewer of *Der Student von Prag* in the mainstream broadsheet *Zeit am Montag* was equally direct:

Hanns Heinz Ewers has created a work of film that is significantly more beautiful than the ubiquitous Sherlock Holmes, and which shall consequently prove a much greater commercial success.⁵⁰⁷

It is pointless to attempt to separate out the cultural and commercial properties and potentials of the *Autorenfilm*, for as these quotations show, the two are inextricably interwoven. As Denis Gifford has concluded with no little irony, the adoption of claims to high culture within early cinema (and not only then) almost without exception enabled producers and exhibitors “to have it both ways” through representing ‘quality’ as at once evidence of ‘good taste’ and a signifier of ‘a presentation for which it was worth buying a ticket,’ a phenomenon that he traces back at least as far as Georges Méliès’ *Le diable au couvent* (*The Sign of the Cross*, Star-Film, 1899).⁵⁰⁸

Ultimately, then, the *Autorenfilm* may be related, on a certain level at least, to the figure of the master-detective in the Wilhelmine detective genre, and also to the pro-settlement colonialists of the *Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft* discussed in the previous chapter. For while representing an attempt to ‘escape’ modernity through a return to pre-modern values, this same attempt inevitably brings a further new engagement with modernity, as the detective embraces the values of the educated bourgeoisie only to find himself configured as a *nouveau riche* ‘interloper’ between high and low class identity, the pro-white colonialist becomes located at the vanguard of the

encounter with blackness, and the *Autorenfilm* becomes regarded as a more or less stable fusion of art and entertainment.

‘Quality’ Productions prior to the *Autorenfilm*

Before proceeding to look at some examples of *Autorenfilms* which both feature and are constructed as ‘*Doppelgängers* of culture,’ it may be useful to consider some of the ‘quality’ productions in Wilhelmine cinema prior to 1913 and 1914 which simultaneously incurred the ire of members of the *Bildungsbürgertum*, indeed helping to ignite the *Kinodebatte*, and drew in paying customers with promises of ‘a thing worth seeing,’ thereby effectively ‘having it both ways’ by representing at once an unworthy modern and estimable traditional spectacle, depending on one’s point of view.

The earliest extant example of a German film production that was promoted with claims of ‘quality’ would seem to be *Akt-Skulpturen* (‘Nude Sculptures’, Meßters Projection, 1903). Touted as “a study-film for artists,” the work reproduced six celebrated sculptures – *The Night*, *Paradise Lost*, *The Penitent*, *Rape of the Sabeian Woman*, *Ariadne* and *The First Kiss* – by means of “two famous Berlin nude models” posed aloft a revolving turntable.⁵⁰⁹ Frankly pornographic (why it should need to enter general circulation if designed for reference by students of art is anybody’s guess!) and including full-frontal male and female nudity, *Akt-Skulpturen* inaugurated a tradition wherein cinema productions employed assertions of high cultural aims to present subject matter that would otherwise be dismissed out of hand as

objectionable. As shall be seen below, both *Der Student von Prag* and, falling just outside the period under discussion, *Der Golem* (*The Golem*, Deutsche Bioscop, 1915), would later be made subject to special dispensation by the Berlin and Munich censors on account of their 'artistic' status.

After this, we might consider the provocatively titled *Ein Volksgericht im Mittelalter oder die Zeit des Schreckens und des Grauens* ('A People's Court in the Middle Ages or, the Time of Fear and Horror', Internationale Kinematographen- und Lichteffekt-Gesellschaft, 1907), produced by the same company that would go on, later in the same year, to make the abovementioned condensed version of Schiller's *Die Räuber*. *Ein Volksgericht* was explicitly a work of commercial culture – the "idea" for the production was furnished by a certain Dr. A. Möller, described as "a theatre critic from Graz," who was the winner of a competition run by the production company, and had been awarded the top prize of 100 Marks for his contribution.⁵¹⁰ This appears significant in itself, and seems to point to an active attempt on the part of the Internationale Kinematographen- und Lichteffekt-Gesellschaft to garner a reputation as a producer of outstanding works that were distinct from (following the logic of 'quality' debates, 'better than') those of other companies. At the same time, the trade advertisement for the film in *Der Kinematograph* lays bare its dualistic character, focusing at once on the stimulating and sensationalistic properties of its five tableaux (it should be noted also that it is not a narrative work) and the supposed cultural value of these as re-enactments of historical practices:

A prestige work of the first degree – a film of cultural and historical worth! With a trueness to life that is seldom seen, but without in any way appearing brutal; in a truly artistic manner, the terrors of the middle ages are brought to life before your eyes.⁵¹¹

From around the end of 1908, a more concerted effort to engage with high culture can be identified, in the form of the *Kunstfilm* ('art film'), which was a German response to the French *films d'art* movement. Helmut Diederichs offers a useful overview of the arrival of this phenomenon in Germany:

in 1908 [...] Heinrich Bolten-Baeckers [...] founded the Society for the Utilization of Literary Ideas for Cinematographic Purposes (*Gesellschaft zur Verwertung schriftstellerischer Ideen für kinematographische Zwecke*) in Berlin. Bolten-Baeckers remembered (in 1924): "As Co-Director of the Residenz Theatre, my business connections to the Société des Auteurs in Paris brought me in contact [...] with Charles Pathé, the French authors, Gougenheim and Decourcelle, and the banker, Merzbach, who in France had founded the [*Société Cinématographique des Auteurs et des Gens de Lettres*]. We intended to found a similar organization in Germany." Bolten-Baeckers sent a circular to 120 dramatists and novelists from Berlin, inviting them to a meeting: "The French society had instructed me to propagandize the society among the most famous German writers, in order to inaugurate a German branch." The meeting, which took place on 12th October 1908, heard representatives of the S.C.A.G.L. speak, as well as Bolten-Baeckers and Charles Pathé, who noted: "how high the royalties were for the 600 French writers belonging to the Society [...]." After the lectures to a mostly sympathetic audience, given the promise of a rosy financial future, five selected films were shown, including the *Film d'art* production, *L'assassinat du duc de Guise* [...]. Charles Pathé must, however, have quickly realized that he could live without German authors [...]. The whole thing may have just been a publicity stunt for him, given the arrival a short time later of the first French *Film d'art* films. In any case, Pathé soon decided "against participating in the planned, major undertaking," and thereby removed any financial support.⁵¹²

While perhaps yielding few actual German productions, this much discussed (in particular within the recently founded trade press) encounter indisputably acted as a kind of 'calling card' to the German literati on the part of the cinema industry,

prompting these representatives of the *Bildungsbürgertum* to contemplate seriously the potential significance of this modern commercial counter-culture. As Alexander Schwarz has observed, it also helped to disseminate “discourses of the film-script” in Germany and, as one contemporary commentator pointed out, the showings of the French *films d’art* – which entered general circulation in Germany from December 1908 – established, through their historical re-enactments of the revolutionary and pre-revolutionary periods and their use of theatrical staging, notions of “the cinema as stage” (“*die kinematographische Bühne*”).⁵¹³ It is from this point onwards that the *Kinodebatte* starts to take shape in a substantial way, and that members of the *Bildungsbürgertum* begin to divide up into those who are wholly opposed to the new culture, and those who are willing to tolerate compromises with it.

Despite the collapse of Bolten-Baeckers’ links with the S.C.A.G.L., he nevertheless pursued the creation of so-called ‘*Kunstfilms*’ for the Duskes production company. The first of these, *Don Juan heiratet* (‘Don Juan Marries’, Duskes, 1909), was released in April 1909, and was a lightweight comedy about a doddering pensioner’s efforts to confound his bride-to-be on their wedding day. On the one hand, the film conformed to already prevalent cinematic norms by positioning itself within the popular genre of knockabout comedy, and comprising a variety of sight gags, including the groom’s attempt to hang himself from a rope tied to nothing at all, and the dismantling of a bed inside a police station cell by the soon-to-be-weds, while dressed in full ceremonial regalia.⁵¹⁴ On the other, the film offered a more involved plot than usual (running about thirteen minutes at 18fps), on account of a tightly written script; multi-layered sets decorated with endless *objets d’art*, signifying a more ‘respectable’ milieu; and the presence of ‘legitimate’ performers Josef Giampetro and Klara Kollendt in the lead roles.

From here, the '*Kunstfilm*' label became adopted by nearly all German production companies to designate 'quality' works that straddled high and low cultural practices. Many of these, like *In Nacht und Eis* ('Night-time and Ice', Continental-Kunstfilm), a swiftly produced re-enactment of the Titanic disaster comprising reconstructed newsreel images of passengers boarding the doomed ship at Southampton, or the two-part *Schwarzes Blut* ('Black Blood', Kunst-Film-Verlag, all 1912), focusing on the temptations of the modern metropolis, were comparable fusions of 'low cultural' genres and subject matter with theatrical staging and patina.⁵¹⁵ Still others, however, were adaptations of existing high cultural works – such as *Medea* ('Medea', Meßter-Film, 1911), shot at the open-air theatre in Hertenstein, or *Das Kloster von Sendomir* ('The Monastery of Sendomir', Deutsche Mutoskop- und Biograph-Gesellschaft, 1912), based on Grillparzer's original – and it is easy to imagine that these were precisely the types of title alluded to within the *Kinodebatte* as 'bastardisations' of art, theatre and literature.

This is not by any means to suggest that the application of the 'quality' label via the '*Kunstfilm*' constituted merely a cynical appropriation of high culture on the part of *nouveau riche* producers, and many such as Bolten-Baeckers clearly believed in the 'ennobling potential' of these productions. The very evaluation of these works by representatives of the *Bildungsbürgertum* as 'incursions' into the realms of art must likewise be seen to imply a certain degree of success in achieving these goals. Furthermore, several production companies were indeed able to engage 'legitimate' dramatists during these pre-*Autorenfilm* years, even though little, if anything, was made of this publicly. As Jürgen Kasten has observed:

These were not prominent literary figures such as Arthur Schnitzler, Gerhart Hauptmann or Hugo von Hofmannsthal, but belletrists, journalists and those authors who were not often published or performed, and who approached film in a professional manner and changed the thematic and dramaturgical nature of the medium. Authors like Walter Schmidhässler, Walter Turszinsky and Heinrich Lautensack not only came up with scripts, they also joined film companies, around 1911/12, as permanent employees.⁵¹⁶

Corinna Müller has made the startling revelation that Paul Lindau, the ‘author’ of *Der Andere*, had also worked on at least one *Kunstfilm*, as early as 1910 – and at Vitascope, the production company of his 1913 triumph! Entitled *Vater und Sohn* (‘Father and Son’) and starring, as the trade advertisements stressed, “Alwin Neuss from the Neues Theater, Carl Wilhelm from the Lustspielhaus, and Leopoldine Strakosch from the Deutsches Theater,” this was a single-acter, awareness of whose existence would in 1913 have ‘rubbished’ the assertions of the *Autorenfilm* movement that Lindau was furnishing the first script by an established dramatist, and Albert Bassermann the first performance by a stage luminary within the German cinema.⁵¹⁷ Knowing about this previous engagement today reveals anew the *Kinodebatte* as symptomatic of processes of fragmentation within the *Bildungsbürgertum*, some of whose members were already embracing modern, commercial, cinematic culture, and whose efforts were in turn being construed as, ironically, the very acts of ‘cultural barbarism’ that ostensibly threatened the defining role of the *Bildungsbürgertum*.

It is worth mentioning one final type of ‘quality’ production in the Wilhelmine cinema, that appeared in Germany more or less concurrently with the *Autorenfilm*, in early 1913 – the Italian historical epic. Works like the aforementioned *Quo Vadis* (Cines, 1913) made use of landscapes and historical re-enactments, constituting a distinctly nationalistic-patriotic form of early film.⁵¹⁸ As shall be seen

below, certain of the *Autorenfilme*, such as *Der Student von Prag*, made comparable use of ‘Germanic landscapes’ and reconstructions of ‘Kultur-rich’ pre-industrial settings in order to assert their ‘nationally specific character,’ and it seems likely that a direct lineage can be asserted here – since we know, after all, that Ewers had indeed officiated at the premiere of *Quo Vadis* in Berlin. If it is correct that such direct inspiration took place, then this surely indicates a further ‘slippage’ of the supposedly ‘organic, natural’ German identity associated with *Kultur* – by implicating it not merely as being constructed through opposition to other national identities, but more specifically, as having ‘borrowed’ the means of its articulation and signification from the Italian film industry.

The *Autorenfilm* as *Doppelgänger*

In this section, I offer a few examples of instances in which *Autorenfilme* featuring a *Doppelgänger* can themselves be seen, on several levels, to have exhibited a characteristic Wilhelmine ‘*Doppelgänger* condition’ through their unions of ‘high’ and ‘low’ cultural practice and signification. Following this, I undertake more extended analyses of the celebrated *Der Andere* and *Der Student von Prag* in order to illuminate some ways in which the dualistic screen-lives of these works’ protagonists may be regarded as thematisations of the social and cultural conditions within which the *Autorenfilm* was conceived.

To begin, it is useful to reiterate just what was considered to distinguish the *Autorenfilm* from previous Wilhelmine ‘quality’ productions. Most importantly – as its

appellation made clear – it was ‘authored,’ and could thus claim to represent a unique artistic creation. This was significant, because it shifted focus away from the hitherto usual practice of regarding production companies – such as Meßter-Film, Vitascope, and so on – as the creators of specific titles (including even *Kunstfilms*), and thus distanced the *Autorenfilm* from commercial, mass- and mechanically reproduced means of production. It is noteworthy also that the idea of the film director as *auteur* was not yet attempted (leading Michael Wedel recently to dub Max Mack, the director of *Der Andere*, “[t]he invisible author” of Wilhelmine cinema), since this would have connected the ‘unique creation’ to somebody perceived as ‘merely’ a technician and employee of the production company, rather than an ostensibly independent artist.⁵¹⁹ Of course, in maintaining these works’ ‘uniqueness,’ it was necessary to disavow that they were indeed mechanically reproduced, being viewed by mass audiences (of all classes), and still constituted commodities that belonged to and were exploited by production companies. Likewise, in order to accept the much heralded participation of theatre luminaries in these works as truly ‘one-off’ performances, it would be necessary also to reassess the distinction between ‘reality’ and ‘virtuality’: for example, did it ‘really’ amount to a direct engagement with Albert Bassermann if he was constructed as a reproduced image on the screen? Furthermore, as I seek to demonstrate below, the sanctioned mobilisation of literature, theatre, painting, science and so forth in these films was held constantly in check by enduring perceived ‘low cultural’ characteristics of the cinema. Thus it is that I suggest the consideration of the *Autorenfilm* as a conflictual ‘*Doppelgänger* body’ whose unity is held in place, apparently paradoxically, only by the struggle for dominance between structured yet subsumed opposites.

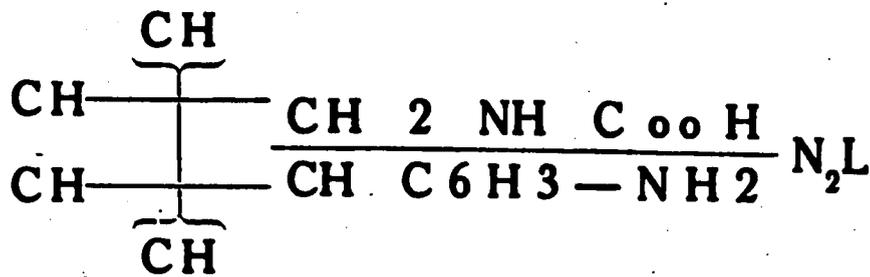


Figure 49 The ‘Doppelgänger formula’ from *Ein seltsamer Fall* (Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, Vitascope, 1914). In G—r, *Sein eigener Mörder: Phantastisches Filmschauspiel* (Berlin: Max Gottlieb, 1914), 2. Courtesy of the Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek.

The dualistic properties of high culture in Wilhelmine cinema were attested in a perhaps especially vivid way in the Robert Louis Stevenson adaptation *Ein seltsamer Fall* (Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, Vitascope, 1914), in which the formula reproduced above as Figure 49 was presented as a ‘scientific rationale’ that could account for Jekyll’s on-screen transformations.⁵²⁰ Thus, the film’s high cultural cachet, stemming from its basis in literature (and theatre, as *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* had been a stage-play since the 1890s), was bolstered through the narrative’s ‘scientisation.’ Of course, the formula would be ‘meaningless’ in actual scientific practice, since it constitutes little more than a cacophony of decorative symmetrical repetitions. This is precisely the point, however: in this way, the visuality of cinema becomes underpinned by high cultural legitimation, while high cultural intellectual practice is redefined through the same encounter, resulting in a distinct hybrid form that might be termed ‘visual science’ or ‘scientised visuality,’ a new articulation of science as reconstituted through cinematic appropriation. Such a perception was actively encouraged in the programme to *Ein seltsamer Fall*:

Where on Earth might the scholar live who could read and interpret this formula! — Which scientist could fathom its meaning, which psychiatrist unravel its consequences?! — Whoever wishes to solve the problems of life, to decipher the secrets of hidden forces, and to get to the bottom of science's greatest mysteries — he should mount that Pegasus of the moderns, the bridled movie-steed (*Flimmerross*), and allow himself to be carried off to the realm of fantasy, to the world of boundless possibilities.⁵²¹

In a sense, then, the film's makers were inviting educated bourgeois spectators to themselves embrace the 'Doppelgänger condition,' by permitting their high cultural perceptions and sensibilities to be renegotiated through engagement with cinema, thereby establishing themselves 'between' high and low cultural practice as well.

Ein seltsamer Fall is of interest also on account of its narrative, wherein the 'respectable' Jekyll likewise vacillates between upper and lower class spheres, as represented in particular by his laboratory and a public house. As the production stills reproduced as *Figures 50* and *51* (overleaf) show, the audience is confronted both with the spectacle of Jekyll's appearance as Hyde within the laboratory — a literal invasion of this intellectual adytum on the part of a violent, quasi-simian ('unevolved') 'type' sporting dishevelled, proletarian-associated garb — as well as the sight of this same subject, torn between upper and lower class identity, expressing his sexual desire unabashedly in the public house. In this way, the figure of Jekyll/Hyde may be regarded as a thematisation of the *Bildungsbürgertum's* own struggle to reach a compromise 'between' high and low culture within modernity, as articulated clearly in the *Autorenfilm* debate.

Of course, it is noteworthy that *Ein seltsamer Fall* contains such blatant displays of sexuality as depicted in *Figure 51*, with the character played by Hanni

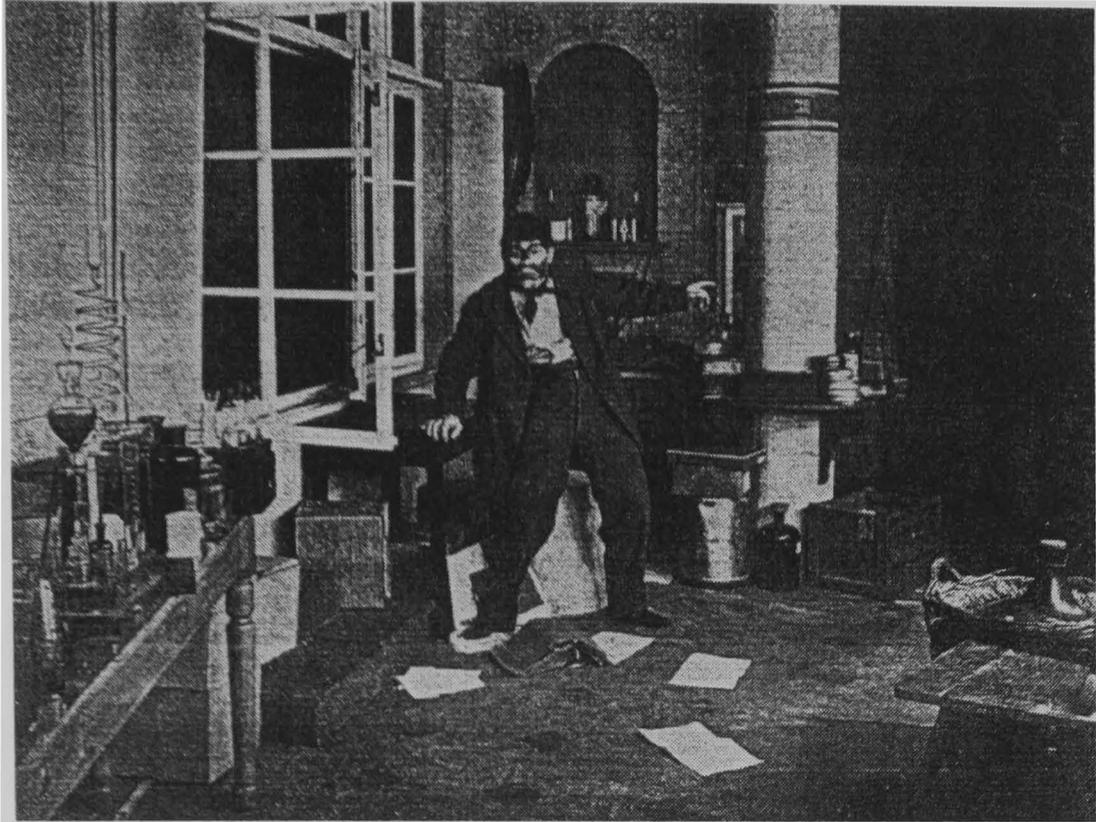


Figure 50 Alwin Neuss in a production still from *Ein seltsamer Fall (Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde)*, Vitascope, 1914). In *ibid.*, 7. Courtesy of the Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek.



Figure 51 Hanni Weisse and Alwin Neuss (left to right) in a production still from *Ein seltsamer Fall (Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde)*, Vitascope, 1914). In *ibid.*, 10. Courtesy of the Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek.

Weisse indeed identified in the film's programme quite unambiguously as "the prostitute" ("*die Dirne*").⁵²² For these are the types of spectacle that were, within the *Kinodebatte*, regarded as typifying *Schundfilms*, and condemned as being what made these latter so contemptible. The reappearance of similarly sexual and violent displays in the *Autorenfilm* seems to 'muddy the waters' once again between high and low culture and their respective representatives, with these sanctioned works appearing to afford educated bourgeois spectators (as well as those of other classes) the opportunity to engage with behaviours that were disavowed within their own identity (thereby fulfilling a comparable function to the black stereotypes discussed in Chapter 6), while all the time projecting these into oppositionally defined spheres. The disavowal here is not complete, however, since Hyde remains clearly a part of Jekyll (and they are both played by Alwin Neuss), just as these erotic and otherwise titillating scenes remain a part of the *Autorenfilm*.

The notion that the 'high cultural' label could legitimise otherwise objectionable subject matter had, as noted previously, been exploited in the German cinema as early as 1903 and 1907, in *Akt-Skulpturen* and *Ein Volksgericht im Mittelalter oder die Zeit des Schreckens und des Grauens*, with their ostensibly 'culturally worthy' depictions of, respectively, sexuality and violence. Following the gradual introduction of compulsory censorship from around 1908, however, even claims of 'quality' could not always rescue a film from substantial excisions or an outright ban. A useful example here would be Continental-Kunstfilm's 1912 production *Zweimal gelebt* ('A Second Life', scripted by Heinrich Lautensack). The film comprises numerous examples of such lyrical composition as can be seen in *Figure 52* (overleaf), wherein Eva Speyer is posed decoratively amid a dramatic landscape, while wearing a dress whose central division by a body-length row of buttons symbolises her own dualistic



Figure 52 Eva Speyer in a frame enlargement from *Zweimal gelebt* ('A Second Life', Continental-Kunstfilm, 1912). Courtesy of the Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek.

struggle between re-embracing her past (represented by the verdant land on the right of the screen) or sacrificing herself to the insurmountable horrors of the present (casting herself into the waters on the left of the screen), which two options have been encoded throughout the film's final scenes in terms of left/right opposition. The Berlin censor remained unconvinced, and banned this *Kunstfilm* outright, commenting: "The film shows a woman suffering nervous shock, disease, crisis, death, being laid out as a corpse, awakening from catalepsy, losing her memory, regaining her memory, and undertaking a death-leap into water."⁵²³

The 'sanctioned' cultural value of the *Autorenfilm*, however, would seem to have effected special consideration on the part of the censor – allowing these films to show things that would not be permitted of, for example, a *Kunstfilm*. For instance, the Munich censor-board made special dispensation with regard to *Der Student von Prag*, overruling its own guidelines to allow the gambling scene to be shown, as well

as Balduin's bodily contact with the countess whom he rescues from drowning, and furthermore proclaiming, with regard to the film's denouement that, on this occasion, "the corpse lying on the ground *can* be shown."⁵²⁴ By late 1914, when Deutsche Bioscop started advertising *Der Golem* – containing amongst other things, the spectacle of a man being dashed from a rooftop – such special dispensation was indeed 'played up,' evaluating sanctioned high cultural works, and by association the *Bildungsbürgertum* as, ironically, the site of illicit and vivid enactments of violence and sexuality: "*Der Golem* – in consideration of the extraordinary and unique material, as well as the artistic individuality of a Paul Wegener: *passed without cuts!*"⁵²⁵

Thus, the distinction between the 'worthy' *Autorenfilm* and the 'unworthy' *Kunstfilm* still associated with a degenerate *Schundkino* ('trashy cinema') – a distinction maintained so rigidly within the contemporary context – collapses anew, as those participants in the *Kinodebatte* who saw in the *Autorenfilm* only a continuation of 'low cultural' cinema practices, indeed suggested at the time. The distinction becomes more tenuous still when one discovers that one 1913 *Autorenfilm* release, *Das Bildnis des Dorian Gray* ('The Picture of Dorian Gray'), was in actuality the rerelease of a 1910 Danish *Kunstfilm* produced by the Regia Kunstfilms Co.⁵²⁶ Likewise, the abovementioned *Ein seltsamer Fall* starring Alwin Neuss was a remake of a further 1910 Danish *Kunstfilm* that had also been released in Germany as *Ein seltsamer Fall* (*Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, Nordisk) – and had also starred Alwin Neuss! This seems to reduce the 'proof' of high cultural value to merely a transferable label, with the identity of members of the *Bildungsbürgertum* exposed as neither stable nor certain within modernity, and in many respects, indistinguishable from that of these films' *nouveau riche* producers, with whom they were now collaborating: for both identities

appear equally to be determined through their unsteady vacillation between high and low spheres.

I would like finally, within this section, to illustrate briefly how supposedly ‘unique’ *Autorenfilm* works swiftly came to be marketed as generic products also, whose ‘*Autorenfilm* label’ constituted a branding device within commercial culture. It should be noted that this would appear always to have been the intention of both Deutsche Bioscop and Hanns Heinz Ewers at the time of their collaboration on *Der Student von Prag*. For some four weeks prior to the release of this latter, a full-page advertisement had appeared in *Die Licht-Bild-Bühne*, advising exhibitors to “watch out for our *Hanns Heinz Ewers series!*” comprising *Der Student von Prag*, *Evinrude, die Geschichte eines Abenteurers* (‘Evinrude, the Story of an Adventurer’), *Der Verführte* (‘The Seduced’), *Die ideale Gattin* (‘The Ideal Wife’), *Die Launen einer Weltdame* (‘The Whims of a Lady of the World’) and *Ein Sommernachtstraum in unserer Zeit* (‘A Midsummer Night’s Dream Today’), all of which indeed went on to be released between August 1913 and June 1914.⁵²⁷ As Reinhold Keiner discusses in his *Hanns Heinz Ewers und der phantastische Film*, further collaborations ensued until the end of 1914.⁵²⁸ One of these latter works, *Der Prinzenraub* (‘The Prince’s Abduction’, Deutsche Bioscop, 1914), was promoted in such a way as to ‘cash in’ on those elements of *Der Student von Prag* that had proven most popular, marketing the new film as, then, essentially ‘another *Der Student von Prag*.’ This meant not only that Hanns Heinz Ewers’ name was stressed in advertising materials, as well as the fact that this work’s narrative concerned a *Doppelgänger* also, but furthermore that the promotional stills for the film, for display in cinema lobbies and entranceways, likewise bore a pronounced resemblance to some of the more celebrated scenes in *Der Student von Prag*, as can be seen from *Figures 53 to 56* on the following two pages.

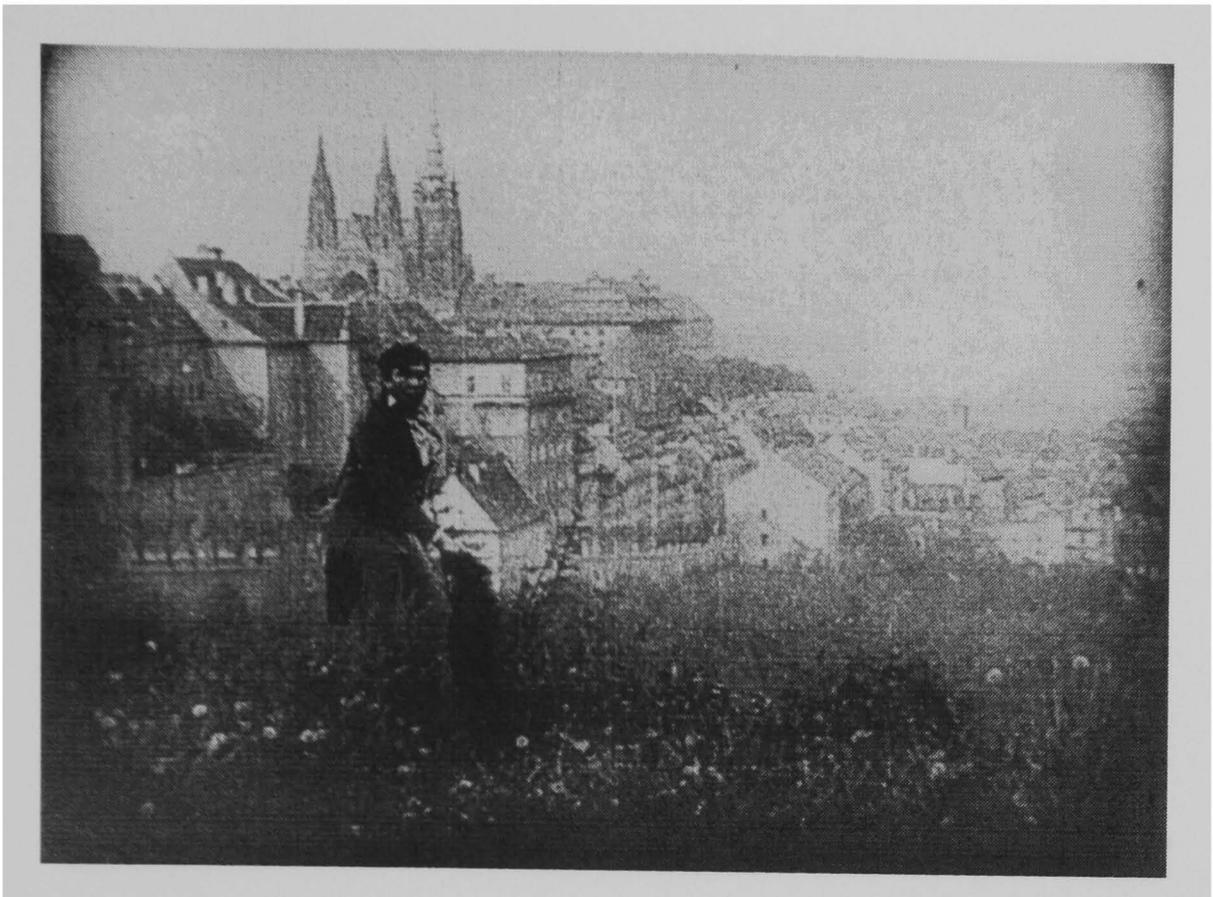


Figure 53 Paul Wegener in a frame enlargement from *Der Student von Prag* (*The Student of Prague*, Deutsche Bioscop, 1913). Courtesy of the Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek.



Figure 54 [Hugo Flink ?] in a promotional still for *Der Prinzenraub* ('The Prince's Abduction', Deutsche Bioscop, 1914). Courtesy of the Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek.



Figure 55 'Rembrandt lighting' in a frame enlargement from *Der Student von Prag* (*The Student of Prague*, Deutsche Bioscop, 1913). Courtesy of the Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek.



Figure 56 'Rembrandt lighting' in a promotional still for *Der Prinzenraub* ('The Prince's Abduction', Deutsche Bioscop, 1914). Courtesy of the Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek.

The poetico-mystical scenes shot against pre-industrial landscapes had garnered praise almost universally in the press, described by Joseph Lux in *Bild und Film*, for example, as “beautiful and cinematic (*kinogemäß*)”: what is important here is that these were not simply repeated in *Der Prinzenraub*, but more especially, that an image of this type (*Figure 54*) was chosen specifically to promote this new film.⁵²⁹ Likewise, *Figure 56*, showing the repetition of *Der Student von Prag*’s so-called ‘Rembrandt lighting,’ which had been described as “enthraling” by Walter Eckart in *Die Ähre*, for example, promised cinema-goers ‘more of the same.’⁵³⁰ Deutsche Bioscop was not alone in this regard, as *Figures 57* and *58* (overleaf) indicate. Here, Vitascope’s *Ein seltsamer Fall* (which, as noted previously, was already a remake of a *Kunstfilm*) re-enacted – and was promoted through – certain ‘key scenes’ from the same company’s *Der Andere*, even employing the same actress, Hanni Weisse, in a virtually identical role. Thus, these films’ ‘*Doppelgänger* status’ again seems apparent, as high cultural uniqueness and the ‘production line’ system and use of generic branding devices are combined in a distinct and novel kind of cinematic output.

***Der Andere* (‘The Other’, Vitascope, 1913)**

To begin, it may be useful to outline the ‘plot’ of *Der Andere* in some detail. Dr. Hallers (Albert Bassermann), a Berlin lawyer, attends a dinner party held by his neighbours, the court advisor Arnoldy (Emerich Hanus) and his sister Agnes (Rely Ridon), with whom Hallers is in love. Together with medical advisor Dr. Feldermann (Otto Collot), the three consider a quotation from psychological researcher



Figure 57 Albert Bassermann and Hanni Weisse (left to right) in a production still from *Der Andere* ('The Other', Vitascope, 1913). Courtesy of the Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek.



Figure 58 Alwin Neuss and Hanni Weisse (left to right) in a production still from *Ein seltsamer Fall* (*Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, Vitascope, 1914). In G—r, *op. cit.*, 12. Courtesy of the Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek.

Hippolyte Taine's study *On Intelligence*, which Hallers finds impossible to take seriously:

Following a fall, a serious illness or overexertion, a person can develop a split personality: in other words, a diseased self can be present alongside a healthy one. Neither of these selves is aware of the other's existence, and, while in a kind of dazed state, the diseased self can commit acts of which the healthy self has not the slightest knowledge.⁵³¹

During the six months following the party, three seemingly unrelated incidents occur. First, Arnoldy and Agnes sack their housemaid Amalie (Hanni Weisse) after she steals Agnes' watch. They refuse outright to listen to her assertions that she had been feeling exceptionally drowsy when she took the timepiece and did not know what she was doing. Second, Hallers and his friend, Detective Superintendent Weigert (C. Lengling), visit a dingy local inn, '*Zur lahmen Ente*,' where they are mocked in their fine suits by the subproletarian regulars. Third, Hallers falls from his horse while riding one morning. Six months after this accident, Hallers feels stressed due to putting in excessive hours of work on judicial papers with his secretary Kleinchen (Paul Passarge). At the end of one particular day, Hallers sits alone at his desk and rereads the quotation from Taine before falling asleep exhausted. A while later, he awakens in a dazed state, wearing a scowl and limping: this is Hallers' diseased other self, of whose existence Taine has warned! Hallers squeezes into Kleinchen's jacket, which is far too small for him, and goes out into the night.

We next see Hallers, as 'the other,' visiting the inn '*Zur lahmen Ente*,' where he has become a regular over the past few nights. He sits at a table and attended by Amalie, who took on work as a barmaid following her dismissal. Feeling sympathy for the scowling misfit – whom she eventually comes to recognise – she sews up a

tear in his jacket and hands him her *carte-de-visite*. He then turns to a gang of criminals headed by one Dickert (Leon Resemann) and plans a break-in with them – at his own house! While Dickert ransacks Hallers’ study, the latter calmly takes off Kleinchen’s jacket, sits down at his desk, and falls asleep again. Dickert grows anxious and tries to make a break through the window – only to be caught by the police who had trailed the pair from the inn. Superintendent Weigert is simultaneously amazed that his friend Hallers could sleep through the entire incident, and bemused as to where Dickert’s accomplice has gone. When Dickert suggests that Hallers himself was the accomplice, the latter is deeply affronted, and so Dickert is dragged to the cells. After this, Kleinchen arrives for work, only to discover that his jacket has been repaired – and contains a photograph of a young woman he does not know. Both he and Hallers are unable to comprehend what might have occurred, until Amalie arrives on the scene and tells Hallers of their meeting at the inn. Hallers faints and Dr. Feldermann is sent for. The doctor explains to Hallers that he had fallen into the state described by Taine, and slowly helps him to recall the events of the previous night. Finally, remembering all, Hallers breaks down in a state of nervous exhaustion, and Feldermann instructs him: “Quiet, solitude and a break away from the city are the best medicine for you.” Several months later, Hallers returns home cured, and is even able to go riding again. The film ends with his proposal to Agnes.

Three aspects of *Der Andere* seem to stand out in particular when comparing the film to other works of Wilhelmine cinema. First, the resolutely educated bourgeois identity of its protagonists (the programme even terms Hallers “a custodian of bourgeois order by profession”), which was no doubt intended as a further marker of ‘high cultural’ status, and perhaps also to encourage empathy on

the part of intended audiences from the same class.⁵³² Second, the theatrical investment of the entire piece – all scenes are acted out in real time, all dialogue is enunciated by the performers (even though they can not be heard), and each actor's first appearance is heralded, *in medias res*, by an intertitle proclaiming his or her theatrical provenance: “Dr. Hallers – played by Albert Bassermann of Berlin's Deutsches Theater,” “Dickert – played by theatre director Leon Resemann,” and so forth. Third, and arguably most striking, is the almost total absence of signifiers of modernity within the film. For despite being set in the present, Hallers and the other members of the *Bildungsbürgertum* seem to inhabit a city of empty streets, where the only means of transportation is the horse, and people dwell in enormous villas that sport expansive gardens, but neither telephone nor electric lighting. We seem, then, to be lost in a sort of educated bourgeois utopia of a pre-modern age, wherein dinner parties, the discussion of books in the smoking-room, and horse-riding constitute the main *raison d'être* of existence. In this way, both diegetic world and the film itself appear alike, as Paul Lindau undertakes the encounter with what he termed in the film's programme, “the last epoch-making invention in the field of exhibition” as a kind of project to divorce the medium completely from its hitherto attested ‘unworthy’ modern characteristics.⁵³³ Thus, the idea of condensing time and space is rejected, as scenes play out in inordinately lengthy takes shot from a static camera position; special effects are nowhere in evidence, leaving Bassermann to grimace his way through the transformation into ‘the other’; and, most disarmingly, all potentially stimulating visual material is assiduously avoided – for example, Hallers' fall from a horse is reduced to an intertitle that reads, “He falls from his horse.”

These traits were much remarked upon by contemporary critics, who squared responsibility firmly as Bassermann and Lindau's doors. For example, W. Warstat

wrote of “Bassermann’s exaggerated mimes and facial contortions [...] that appeared wholly unaesthetic and unartistic,” while Siegfried Jacobsohn complained in *Die Schaubühne*:

Only an artistically wanting and utterly uncritical fellow such as [Lindau ...] would prolong a play in the cinema to just as long as it runs on the stage, as if one were somehow unable to go to the theatre for this.⁵³⁴

Consequently, *Der Andere* may be seen to epitomise the *Autorenfilm* project, as it paradoxically strives to be resolutely anti-modern through an archetypal modern medium, and somehow ends up displaying most clearly only its own ‘*Doppelgänger* status,’ arising from its construction ‘between’ these two opposites.

This had not been the case, interestingly, in Lindau’s original stage version of *Der Andere* from 1893, which appears altogether more modern than its filmic adaptation of some twenty years later, despite this latter being released into a Germany that now knew the automobile, the aeroplane, women politicians and, of course, the cinema. In the play, Dr. Feldermann attributes Hallers’ breakdown and the manifestation of his split personality unequivocally to modern nervousness:

Real devastation is brought about by the depopulation of the countryside and the unrelenting growth of the cities, as we all become ever further removed from nature in the most terrifying manner. The Red Indians can still hear even the quietest sounds across great distances. But whoever wishes simply to make himself heard above the deafening racket of our metropolitan culture; above the clatter and honking horns of carriages; above the hammering and thudding of machines; and above the screeches and whistles of locomotives – finds himself forced to bang on a tomtom or an enormous gong. Just compare the compositions of Gluck and Mozart with those of Richard Wagner and Mascagni! We

struggle to read by a degree of illumination that our grandparents found dazzling – the electric light is scarcely bright enough for our spoilt eyes. And on top of this, there is the excessively rapid tempo of our whole existence. Everything is one feverish rush. Every day, thousands upon thousands of telegrams are sent and telephone calls placed from town to town – all the time, we must operate at full tilt with continual pressure from all sides. This unstoppable pursuit of success and a quick profit. And see how one licentious pleasure is forever followed by a yet more stimulating one. Is it any wonder that our generation has become nervous, and that the attention of science is drawn each day to new manifestations of nervous disease?⁵³⁵

The reduction of these signifiers of modernity in the film to mere enigmatic stumps presents Hallers' collapse as simply the result of being, as Uli Jung and Walter Schatzber have ironically put it, "overworked and underfucked," while Federmann's final advice to Hallers – taken almost *verbatim* from the play – to seek "quiet, solitude and a break away from the city," appears at the very least tangential.⁵³⁶

The enigmatic stumps of modernity in the film are of course abstracted into the inn 'Zur lahmen Ente,' Hallers' disapproving first visit to which (as his 'healthy' self) is depicted in *Figure 59* (overleaf). In this locale, we still find no evidence of telephones, electric lighting or other modern technologies, but rather a host of the *Bildungsbürgertum's* modern *bêtes noires*: the urban proletariat; open displays of female sexuality and self-determination (the latter represented especially through Amalie's employment as a barmaid); urban criminality; popular entertainment (in the form of the couple dancing); consumerism, as represented by the vibrant posters and pasted-up prices on the walls; and, in the film's only acknowledgement of its existence, mechanical reproduction – for this is where Amalie presents the 'other' Hallers with a photographic *carte-de-visite*.



Figure 59 The inn ‘Zur lahmen Ente’ in a promotional still for *Der Andere* (‘The Other’, Vitascope, 1913). Courtesy of the Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek.

Hallers’ ‘problem’ in the film, meanwhile, is that these perceived ‘undesirable’ elements keep impinging, uninvited, upon his own life and identity: in essence, then, an intrusion akin to that of unsanctioned visual culture – blamed on these same *bêtes noires* – into the *Bildungsbürgertum*’s sacred realm of *Kultur*. *Figure 60* (overleaf), a promotional still for the film, depicts this ‘problem’ graphically: for although excluded from the party guests’ erudite discussion of Taine, the lower class, working woman Amalie (at this point in the film, still a maid) just ‘squeezes’ into the frame, her yawning mouth agape as she manifests the same split personality-inducing tiredness that will later affect Hallers.⁵³⁷ It seems surely significant that the representation of Amalie falling victim to this ‘*Doppelgänger* condition’ takes up scarcely five minutes of the film’s running time – once again, she is almost pushed



Figure 60 Rely Ridon, Emerich Hanus, Albert Bassermann, Otto Collot and Hanni Weisse (left to right) in a promotional still for *Der Andere* ('The Other', Vitascope, 1913). Courtesy of the Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek.

out of the frame – and is presented as something more or less inevitable among the working classes, connecting them 'naturally' with criminality.

When Hallers begins to manifest this dualistic state, however, it becomes the focus of the subsequent hour of screen-time, presented as a veritable 'case study' in depth. As *Figure 61* (overleaf) indicates, the horror of Hallers' transformation is located equally in his shift from well-groomed and serene to unkempt, scowling appearance and attire, as in the fact that this transformation takes place within a single location – the bourgeois villa with its numerous signifiers of high culture, such as the statue, Hallers' solid antique furniture, and the various paintings about the



Figure 61 Albert Bassermann in three production stills from *Der Andere* ('The Other', Vitascope, 1913). Courtesy of the Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek.

walls. Taken as a translation to the screen of the cultural conditions within which the *Autorenfilm* was engendered, the 'other' Hallers seems to embody the *nouveaux riches*' 'unfitting' appropriation of high culture, which 'purloins' many of the *Bildungsbürgertum*'s practices and identificatory attributes, but is perceived to 'distort' these through its own lower class associations.

Ultimately, the film reaches an apparently satisfying denouement – for contemporary educated bourgeois spectators – by 'curing' Hallers and leaving him free to pursue what Jung and Schatzber describe as "the bourgeois ideals of marriage and family."⁵³⁸ This is underpinned by the foregrounding of a scientific – intellectualised – explanation in the film, that has been 'set up' right from the opening discussion of Taine's *On Intelligence* at the dinner party. Again, this had not been the case in Lindau's original play, in which Taine's work was mentioned only once, along with some more medical texts, in a brief speech by Feldermann some way into the piece.⁵³⁹ However, the resolution is not quite so unambiguous, as the resolution of Hallers' dualism is reliant also on the input of the working-class Amalie.

Thus, Hallers' stability is secured only through reference to the film's representatives of high *and* low culture and class identity: a compromise that, like the *Autorenfilm* in the eyes of certain members of the *Bildungsbürgertum*, constituted the only way to maintain oneself as a representative of the educated bourgeoisie within modernity.

***Der Student von Prag* (The Student of Prague, Deutsche Bioscop, 1913)**

Der Student von Prag would seem to have been, if not a direct response, then a reaction to *Der Andere* and some of its criticised 'unfilmic' shortcomings. As Helmut Diederichs has determined, Ewers – who was an ardent cinema-goer, and would surely have seen *Der Andere* – appears to have begun work on his script around February 1913, the month following *Der Andere's* release. Within his draft manuscript, Ewers refers to the *Doppelgänger* of his narrative consistently as 'the other' ('*der Andere*'), and this usage is retained even in an intertitle in the completed film: "*Die Tat, die er nicht begehen wollte, beging der Andere*" ("That deed he wished not to commit was carried out by 'the other'").⁵⁴⁰ Furthermore, the film's programme contains what appears to be a snipe at Bassermann's endless silent enunciations in real time in *Der Andere*, asserting that its theatrical star, Paul "Wegener is a master not only of the spoken word, but also of mime."⁵⁴¹

Der Student von Prag is distinct from *Der Andere* in that it is not simply a theatrical adaptation of an existing work that references only theatre and science in order to assert its high cultural status, but is instead written specifically for the screen (a fact of which much was made in contemporary discussions of the film) and goes



Figure 62 Paul Wegener (foreground, right) and Lyda Salmonova (background, right) in a frame enlargement from *Der Student von Prag* (*The Student of Prague*, Deutsche Bioscop, 1913). Courtesy of the Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek.

to considerable lengths to communicate its narrative in visual terms. This results in a work that is, conversely, both more and less modern than *Der Andere*, as split-screen and jump-cut effects share screen-time with techniques and motifs borrowed from painting (such as the so-called ‘Rembrandt lighting’ – an analogy coined by Ewers in his original manuscript – seen earlier in this chapter), and the *Kulturerbe* of nineteenth century Romantic literature, which is also referenced copiously.⁵⁴² The celebrated use of depth in the film’s compositions (see for example *Figure 62*, above), which has been discussed at length by Diederichs and Leon Hunt, may likewise be viewed as a neoteric fusion of the ‘traditional’ and the modern: while clearly representing the Prague of the 1820s, the multi-layered perspective of these compositions also results

in a frequent ‘crowding’ of the screen, with the identificatory and social boundaries between resolutely visible women (such as Lyduschka, in *Figure 62*, who is also a gypsy), members of the aristocracy, representatives of the *Bildungsbürgertum* like Balduin, and those in a Jewish cemetery effectively collapsed as they are locked within a single plane of vision, in a fashion that is altogether more evocative of the perceived breakdown of distinct, stable identity within Wilhelmine modernity.⁵⁴³ Of course, Elsaesser’s “Social Mobility and the Fantastic,” discussed at length in Chapter 1 (see p.27f), similarly identifies Balduin as less a character of the early nineteenth century than a veiled representation of the Wilhelmine educated bourgeoisie, disenfranchised through their lack of finances, and wealth of now apparently redundant *Kultur*. In this context, it becomes quite comprehensible that Ludwig Sternaux, in his contemporary review in *Die tägliche Rundschau*, should comment that this depiction of the 1820s has “rendered cinema up-to-date.”⁵⁴⁴

At this stage, it may be useful to refamiliarise ourselves briefly with the ‘plot’ of *Der Student von Prag*. Prague’s foremost fencer, the student Balduin (Paul Wegener), is dejected and penniless, and informs a mysterious figure in black named Scapinelli (John Gottowt), who is well known in student circles, that he desires money or a rich heiress. No sooner has Balduin said this that he rescues a countess, Margit (Grete Berger) from drowning and falls in love with her – but impecunious as he is, he realises it would be pointless to try to woo her. At this juncture, Scapinelli offers Balduin a pact to exchange any object from within his lowly digs for 100,000 gold florins, which Scapinelli produces magically from a purse. The student eagerly signs, only for Scapinelli to take Balduin’s *reflection* away with him. Hereafter, Balduin ascends swiftly into upper class circles and begins wooing Margit, although she is engaged already to a cousin she does not love, the Baron Waldis-Schwarzenberg

(Fritz Weidemann). Balduin and Margit enjoy little happiness, for each time they meet they are broken up by Balduin's perambulating other self. Furthermore, the gypsy Lyduschka (Lyda Salmonova), who had loved Balduin when he was poor, and who still follows him continually, informs Baron Waldis-Schwarzenberg of his fiancée's affair, prompting him to challenge Balduin to a duel by sword. Although Balduin would clearly be the winner, he promises Margit's father (Lothar Körner) that he will spare the Baron's life. However, his other self slays the Baron instead, causing Margit to break off all contact. In vain, Balduin seeks solace in drink and gambling, only to be confronted at the gaming table by his other self. There follows a lengthy pursuit through Prague, but nowhere can Balduin outrun his other self. In desperation, he shoots 'the other,' only to discover that he has shot himself. Scapinelli gleefully tears up his contract while dancing over Balduin's corpse, and, forevermore, Balduin's *Doppelgänger* will sit watch over his grave.⁵⁴⁵

If we wish to read this again as a translation to the screen of the cultural conditions in which the *Autorenfilm* was conceived, then it is fairly easy to argue that Scapinelli can be seen as the (foreign-named) representative of commercial culture, whose offer of riches to the 'hard up' member of the *Bildungsbürgertum* brings both ascent into well-to-do circles, but also a kind of identificatory dualism, as the artist/student is split between 'worthy' and 'unworthy' practices, here literalised through physical inscription. Whereas the initial, 'original self' may have been poor, this is shown to be ultimately more solid and enduring – because 'true to itself' – while the 'new self' that engages with commerce enjoys pleasures that are intense, but short-lived. Again, this *Doppelgänger* narrative is marked constantly by ambivalence, with the 'better, original self' ironically constructed as the portent of horror within the film, and the ostensibly less worthy 'new self' the victim of these assaults.

More particularly, however, I wish to suggest that Balduin's dualism could have been read as an evocation of another distinct manifestation of 'Doppelgänger identity' within Wilhelmine society: that of sexual intermediacy. Such an assertion can be supported by two pieces of compelling evidence. The first of these is Otto Rank's aforementioned 1914 psychoanalytic reading of the film. Just as the 'sanctioned' high cultural status of the *Autorenfilm* facilitated a response on the part of 'legitimate' critics, so apparently it opened up the possibility for scientists to engage with fiction film in print also.⁵⁴⁶ The essence of Rank's argument is that Balduin's 'problems' stem from a narcissistic fixation which is evinced from the very beginning of the film, through his declared wish for a rich heiress to solve his financial worries – amounting to the commodification of another to serve egotistical ends. Furthermore, Balduin is depicting showing off to himself by fencing in front of a mirror prior to signing Scapinelli's contract, musing that, "My adversary is my mirror image," in other words, as Rank notes, that he is without equal apart from himself. This narcissistic fixation thereafter takes on concrete form as Balduin's *Doppelgänger* which, as Rank observes, throughout comes between Balduin and Margit:

his interventions become more terrifying in proportion as the demonstrations of their love become more fervent. At Balduin's avowal of love on the terrace, his mirror-image appears, so to speak, as a silent figure of warning; at the meeting of the lovers at night in the cemetery, he interrupts their growing intimacy by preventing their first kiss; and finally, in the decisive meeting of reconciliation, which is sealed by an embrace and a kiss, he forcefully separates the lovers forever.⁵⁴⁷

As Andrew Webber notes, Rank (and other contemporary psychoanalysts) considered narcissistic resistance to be bound up with sexual intermediacy (especially

homosexuality), wherein the desire for a self of the ‘opposite sex’ to that which one ‘felt’ oneself to be, effectively ‘prevented’ heterosexual coupling.⁵⁴⁸

At this point, it is useful to present my second piece of evidence: Ewers’ contemporary *œuvre* and his established subcultural appeal. In his review of Ewers’ most celebrated novel from this period, *Alraune* (1911), horror writer Leonard Wolf has recently summed up what Wilhelmine critics described only euphemistically: “[i]ncest in one barely disguised form or another is the book’s primary theme and homosexual hunger is a close second.”⁵⁴⁹ As early as 1903, Ewers had penned a two-part article on the exploits of German industrialist Friedrich Alfred Krupp on Capri, focusing in particular on his *Tante/Bube* (butch uncle/effeminate nephew) relationships with ‘selected youths’ shipped over from Germany.⁵⁵⁰ A 1907 *Freundschaftsnovelle* (‘friendship novella’) – a euphemistic genre-heading under which *Anders als die Andern* also fell – likewise concerned a *Tante/Bube* pairing.⁵⁵¹ Meanwhile, a 1904 collection of stories by Ewers bore the cryptic ‘insider’ title *C33* – an allusion to Oscar Wilde’s cell-number. One work in this anthology, “*John Hamilton Llewellyns Ende*” (“The End of John Hamilton Llewellyn”) was indeed adapted as an *Autorenfilm* in 1914, entitled *Die Eisbraut* (‘The Ice Bride’, Deutsche Bioscop), although this would fail to make it past the censor. Bernd Kortländer outlines the work’s content, concerning the unavailability of woman to the male protagonist:

The love of the artist Llewellyn goes out to a female corpse, that has been sealed within a slab of ice for 20,000 years, and which – as the artist gradually descends into madness – slowly flows away between his fingers.⁵⁵²

Other works were equally direct, and one of these, significantly, addressed the very notion of being constructed as a *Doppelgänger* in terms of sexual intermediate identity. Appearing in the 1908 anthology *Die Besessenen* ('The Possessed'), the story was entitled "*Der Tod des Barons Jesus Maria von Friedel*" ('The Death of Baron Jesus Maria von Friedel'), and carried the intertitle "*Das andere Ich*" ('The Other Self'). A 1988 synopsis reads as follows:

The tale concerns a personality split into male and female components. The two components alternate in taking possession of the protagonist and ultimately end up irreconcilably at odds.

The Baron shoots himself.⁵⁵³

Furthermore, Ewers wrote the introduction to a new German translation of Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray* in 1912, in which he discussed the 'parallels' between Dorian Gray's and Wilde's 'dualism.'⁵⁵⁴ From here, connections between Ewers and intermediate-themed works and the intermediate scene increase exponentially, and draw us back to *Der Student von Prag*. The German translator of the 1912 edition of *The Picture of Dorian Gray* was Johannes Gaulke, who had written on 'intermediate impressions' of Wilde's works since at least as early as 1899, including in the *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen*. This same Gaulke was employed at Deutsche Bioscop when Hanns Heinz Ewers was at the company, and prepare the programme to *Der Student von Prag*.⁵⁵⁵ As Casper Tybjerg has documented recently, Stellan Rye – the uncredited director of *Der Student von Prag* – had himself been at the centre of two public scandals in Denmark in 1906 and 1911, and had fled to Germany following his imprisonment for alleged gross indecency in order to begin a new life in Berlin.⁵⁵⁶

Consequently, it becomes hard to imagine that certain members of the audience of *Der Student von Prag* might not have been sexual intermediates familiar with Ewers' works. Indeed, the always euphemistically described elements of his canon were alluded to also in the film's programme (*Die Besessenen* was indeed mentioned by name) as "having at first met with hefty criticism due to their peculiarity and the boldness of their expression and presentation."⁵⁵⁷ If we return now to the film, it is quite easy to see it as a veritable treasure chest of allusions and metaphors waiting to be 'unpacked' by those 'in the know,' or psychoanalysts like Rank. We know from the opening scene, in which Balduin remains aloof in the face of Lyduschka's sensuous advances (as he does throughout), that he has no feelings of erotic desire towards sexually active women. Instead, he enters into a kind of *Tante/Bube* relationship with an older man, Scapinelli, who assists him in locating a suitably 'unsexual' female partner, played in cold and reserved manner by Grete Berger. However, despite the fact that he has entered into a singularly frigid and sterile heterosexual relationship (symbolised by the romantic tryst in a cemetery), it remains that Balduin has nevertheless had to repress a central part of himself – by giving up his reflection – in order to do this. Whenever the relationship threatens to become sexual, this repressed sexuality manifests itself and demands to be acknowledged, quite literally turning Balduin away from the woman he can not conceivably love. Ultimately, Balduin's inability to come to terms with his sexuality results in overwhelming repression and thence to the familiar Ewers conclusion of suicide.

This all seems significant in considering *Der Student von Prag*, like all the other *Autorenfilme* discussed here, as essentially about perceived 'modern conditions' rather than simply re-enactments of pre-industrial times with no connection to the present. In this vein, I should like to present, finally, *Figure 63* (overleaf) – two pictures



Figure 63 (Left) photograph of Hanns Heinz Ewers as Balduin during the original release of *Der Student von Prag* (*The Student of Prague*, Deutsche Bioscop, 1913). Courtesy of the Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek. (Right) Portrait, by Ina Ewers-Wunderwald, of Hanns Heinz Ewers as Frank Braun from *Alraune* (and other novels), 1910. In Albert Soergel, *Dichtung und Dichter der Zeit* (Leipzig: A. Voigtländers Verlag, 1911), 818.

showing Hanns Heinz Ewers masquerading as the ebullient students of his early 1910s narratives. In both instances, Ewers too has clearly made the connection between the narrative long-past and the experiential present, interposing himself as the *Doppelgänger* connecting the Wilhelmine modern-day with the ‘traditional’ sites of Romantic fiction, and thus revealing his own instability as a representative of the *Bildungsbürgertum*, whose identity seems to have been reduced within modernity to a sliding, uncertain and superficial masquerade.

Chapter Eight. Conclusion

This research has presented a quite distinct early German ‘*Doppelgänger* cinema,’ determined at once by contemporary practice as well as the concerns of the ‘new film theory.’ Looking back towards the pre-1914 German cinema had long meant, on the basis of Kracauer and Eisner’s teleologies, just two things: *Der Andere* and *Der Student von Prag*; or indeed, one thing: the *Doppelgänger*. Following the tradition of work and rediscovery in early German film that has ensued since the 1990 Pordenone Festival, which has started to redefine these years in terms of audiences, viewing practices and genres, rather than two ‘great films,’ the status of the *Doppelgänger*, and of this pre-1914 screen as a ‘*Doppelgänger* cinema’ had become uncertain: was it still possible to venerate this motif, which – due to the conditioning of the past decades, it was all too easy for us to spot in certain of the films that were resurfacing; or should it be simply dismissed, as the *post hoc* generalisation of a relatively rare emblematic across an entire national cinema? In trying to address both these questions, I hope that this research has helped to validate both positions to a certain extent.

My engagement with the ‘new film theory’ led me to question what German national cinema for this period should comprise: only German-made films, or all films in circulation in Germany during the Wilhelmine years? Since I was interested above all in trying to find out what these films – and what the *Doppelgänger* – may have signified for contemporary Wilhelminians, I decided upon the latter, since the ‘national cinema’ determined in terms of national production again represented the

assertion of an 'art cinema' or vehemently nationalist ethos over a project that was interested ultimately in whether popular films featured *Doppelgängers* too, and how spectators could have read and responded to these. As the latter remark makes clear, it was necessary also to infer a contemporary audience, pointing me towards the referencing of extra-filmic sources that further characterises the 'new film theory.'

Approaching the *Doppelgänger* as something that, if it possessed significance during the Wilhelmine period, Wilhelminians should certainly have been aware of, I searched through a broad sample of 35,000 films that could be attested for these years with just one parameter for selection: had they been referred to as featuring a *Doppelgänger* in any contemporary source that could be located? Some 203 films were thus identified, a figure that can be considered revealing about both the Wilhelmine cinema and 'cinemas of motifs' in general.

For it is clear from this figure that the *Doppelgänger* was not *all*-defining in the Wilhelmine cinema: plenty of other things, about which our ideas remain quite sketchy, must have been going on on early German screens as well. Nevertheless, the *Doppelgänger* remains a motif that must have possessed some contemporary currency, for it to be as recurrent as it was. This indicates that the 'cinema of motifs' construction may be a useful *tool* for accessing *one aspect* of cinema-going practice in a certain place or period, but should never be allowed to take on the monolithic dimensions it had gained in the history of Wilhelmine cinema. For example, this tool has allowed me to consider the effects of modernity on identity in Wilhelmine Germany – but this was no more the 'be-all and end-all' of life in this place and time than were these the only movies in circulation. Indeed, it would be a monstrously navel-gazing type who spent the entirety of his or her existence contemplating only

their own identity, and it has certainly not been the intention of this research to give the impression that this was the sole concern about which life centred in Germany between 1895 and 1914.

The quite disparate character of many of the films discussed should indicate a breaking away from monolithic constructions also: although they might all be about what I have termed a '*Doppelgänger* condition,' this should scarcely be taken to imply that sexual intermediates, new women and members of the *Bildungsbürgertum* were all alike, any more than are the *Rockrolle*, *Hosenrolle* and *Autorenfilms* discussed. Thus, I have attempted to demonstrate that the 'cinema of motifs' should attempt to reference a wide variety of symptomatically related but distinct categories.

Ultimately, then, this research should be seen to propound the same modern course that it describes: laying bare a Wilhelmine cinema whose identity as a '*Doppelgänger* cinema' may no longer be stable, but which, in exposing its fragmentation reveals new beauties and treasures. This is surely the project also of the entire post-Brighton body of work.

Notes

- ¹ See especially Herbert Birett, *Lichtspiele: Der Kino in Deutschland bis 1914* (München: Q-Verlag, 1994), 1f.
- ² See “doppelgänger, doppel-, -gänger,” *The Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989, 2nd ed.), vol. 4, 961; and Gerald Heard, *Doppelgängers* (London: Science Fiction Book Club, 1965).
- ³ Werner Sudendorf, “Der Film der Weimarer Republik,” Unpublished paper (Manchester: Festival of Expressionism, 1992), 1.
- ⁴ Siegfried Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler: A Psychological History of the German Film* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947), 8.
- ⁵ Lotte H. Eisner, *The Haunted Screen* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1969).
- ⁶ Sudendorf, *loc. cit.*
- ⁷ Kracauer, *op. cit.*, 28.
- ⁸ Lotte H. Eisner, “Le cinéma allemand avant Caligari,” in *Vingt ans de cinéma allemand*, ed. Jean-Loup Passet (Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou, 1978), 20. See also Eisner, *op. cit.* (*Haunted*), 39f; and Kracauer, *op. cit.*, 28-34. Note that Kracauer likewise contextualises two art films released *during* World War One, *Der Golem* (*The Golem*, Deutsche Bioscop, 1915) and *Homunculus* (Deutsche Bioscop, 1916).
- ⁹ See especially Paolo Cherchi Usai and Lorenzo Codelli, “Before and After *Caligari*,” in *Before Caligari: German Cinema, 1895 – 1920*, ed. *idem* (Pordenone: Biblioteca dell’ Immagine, 1990), 12-29; and Thomas Elsaesser, “Wilhelminisches Kino: Stil und Industrie,” *KINtop: Jahrbuch zur Erforschung des frühen Films* 1 (1993): 10-27.
- ¹⁰ Thomas Brandlmeier, “Early German Film Comedy, 1895 – 1917,” in *A Second Life: German Cinema’s First Decades*, ed. Thomas Elsaesser and Michael Wedel (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996), 110.
- ¹¹ Thomas Elsaesser, “Early German Cinema: A Second Life?” in *ibid.*, 10-11.
- ¹² Brandlmeier, *loc. cit.*
- ¹³ For example, as Oskar Kalbus puts it in his 1935 overview history, on which Kracauer would later draw heavily, *Der Student von Prag* was supposedly “the first advance towards art in film [...], which conquered world markets in one fell swoop.” Oskar Kalbus, *Vom Werden deutscher Filmkunst – I. Teil:*

Der stumme Film (Altona-Bahrenfeld: Cigaretten-Bilderdienst, 1935), 17; and cf. Helmut H. Diederichs, *Der Student von Prag: Einführung und Protokoll* (Stuttgart: Focus, 1985), 5.

¹⁴ Leon Hunt, "The Student of Prague," in *Early Cinema: Space – Frame – Narrative*, ed. Thomas Elsaesser and Adam Barker (London: British Film Institute, 1990), 389-401, esp. 398-400; and quoting Denis Gifford, *A Pictorial History of Horror Movies* (Feltham: Hamlyn, 1973), 46. Note that a similar conclusion had been reached also by Frederick Ott, who in 1986 wrote: "So extraordinary is *The Student of Prague* as a work of cinematic art that one must consider the possibility that the eighteen-year tradition of the German silent film which preceded its release was a great deal richer than has heretofore been thought." Frederick W. Ott, *The Great German Films* (Secaucus: Citadel Press, 1986), 16.

¹⁵ Andrew Tudor, *Image and Influence: Studies in the Sociology of Film* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1974), 155.

¹⁶ Robert Allen and Douglas Gomery, *Film History: Theory and Practice* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1985), 164. 'Post hoc ergo propter hoc' translates as 'after the event therefore before the event.'

¹⁷ Kracauer, *op. cit.*, 65.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 29; and cf. Bernd Kortländer, "Vom Studenten von Prag zu Horst Wessel: Hanns Heinz Ewers und der Film," in *Düsseldorf kinematographisch: Beiträge zur Filmgeschichte*, ed. Ute Wiegand (Düsseldorf: Triltsch, 1982), 137-148.

¹⁹ Cherchi Usai and Codelli, *op. cit.* ("Before and After"), 16.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Elsaesser, *loc. cit.* ("Early German Cinema").

²² *Idem.*, "Social Mobility and the Fantastic German Silent Cinema," in *Fantasy and the Cinema*, ed. James Donald (London: British Film Institute, 1989), 22-38, quotations on 37.

²³ Heide Schlüpmann, *Unheimlichkeit des Blicks: Das Drama des frühen deutschen Kinos* (Frankfurt-am-Main: Stroemfeld/Roter Stern, 1990), 22.

²⁴ Emilie Altenloh, *Zur Soziologie des Kino: Die Kino-Unternehmung und die sozialen Schichten ihrer Besucher* (Jena: Eugen Diederichs, 1914), 2-4, 58f.

²⁵ Schlüpmann, *loc. cit.* Schlüpmann also offers a concise overview of her research in *idem.*, "Ein feministischer Blick: Dunkler Kontinent der frühen Jahre," in *Geschichte des deutschen Films*, ed.

Wolfgang Jacobsen, Anton Kaes and Hans H. Prinzler (Stuttgart/Weimar: J. B. Metzler, 1993), 465-478.

²⁶ Elsaesser, *op. cit.* ("Early German Cinema"), 14.

²⁷ Deniz Göktürk, *Künstler, Cowboys, Ingenieure...: Kultur- und mediengeschichtliche Studien zu deutschen Amerika-Texten 1912 – 1920* (München: Wilhelm Fink, 1998).

²⁸ William Uricchio and Roberta E. Pearson, *Reframing Culture: The Case of the Vitagraph Quality Films* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 7.

²⁹ Allen and Gomery, *op. cit.*, 38; and *cf.* Elsaesser, *op. cit.* ("Early German Cinema"), 13.

³⁰ Lola Young, *Fear of the Dark: 'Race,' Gender and Sexuality in the Cinema* (London/New York: Routledge, 1996), 3f, and see also Veijo Hietala, *Situating the Subject in Film Theory: Meaning and Spectatorship in Cinema* (Turku: Turun Yliopisto, 1990), esp. 71f.

³¹ Jean Paul Richter, "Siebenkäs," in *Werke* (München: Carl Hanser, 1959), vol. 2, 42. In some editions, the wording (although not the meaning) differs slightly: "So heissen Leute, die sich selbst sehen." For examples of theorists citing this footnote as the *terminus a quo* that defines the *Doppelgänger*, see Clifford Hallam, "The Double as Incomplete Self: Toward a Definition of *Doppelgänger*," in *Fearful Symmetry: Doubles and Doubling in Literature and Film*, ed. Eugene J. Crook (Tallahassee: University Presses of Florida, 1981), 5-6; Wilhelmine Krauss, *Das Doppelgängermotiv in der Romantik* (Berlin: Emil Ebering, 1930); and Andrew J. Webber, *The 'Doppelgänger': Double Visions in German Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 58f.

³² Robert Rogers, *A Psychoanalytic Study of the Double in Literature* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1970), 29; and Ralph Tymms, *Doubles in Literary Psychology* (Cambridge: Bowes & Bowes, 1949), 16.

³³ *Ibid.*, 16, 78; and see for example Webber, *op. cit.*, 6f.

³⁴ Note also that English-German dictionaries, in my experience without exception, give the German translation of 'double' as '*Doppelgänger*.'

³⁵ Martin Loiperdinger, "The Kaiser's Cinema: An Archeology of Attitudes and Audiences," in Elsaesser and Wedel, *op. cit.*, 41.

³⁶ Andrew Higson, "The Concept of National Cinema," *Screen* 30.4 (1989): 36.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 37.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 38-46, quotation on 41.

³⁹ Göktürk, *op. cit.*, 38f, 167-174.

⁴⁰ Gunnar Iversen, "Norway," in *Nordic National Cinemas*, ed. Tytti Soila, Astrid Söderbergh-Widding and Gunnar Iversen (London/New York: Routledge, 1998), 103.

⁴¹ Kracauer, *op. cit.*, 35; and cf. David A. Welch, "Cinema and Society in Imperial Germany 1905 – 1918," *German History* 8.1 (1990): 28-45; Wolfgang Mühl-Benninghaus, "Newsreel Images of the Military and War, 1914 – 1918," in Elsaesser and Wedel, *op. cit.*, 175-184; and Rainer Rother, "Learning from the Enemy: German Film Propaganda in World War I," in *ibid.*, 185-191.

⁴² Indeed, Denis Gifford cites the outbreak of the First World War explicitly as the *terminus ad quem* of this cinema, observing that "[t]he German nightmare would begin, in reality, in the Summer of 1914." Gifford, *loc. cit.* Note also that Leon Hunt misinterprets this remark as referring to the release of *Der Golem* (which would not take place until January 1915). Hunt, *op. cit.*, 399.

⁴³ Gerhard Lamprecht, *Deutsche Stummfilme 1913 – 1914* (Berlin: Deutsche Kinemathek, 1969). Naturally, this is not to imply that *every* film produced from this point on focused on the theme of war, as many accounts of this period might lead one to believe.

⁴⁴ While it is always dangerous to cite absolute 'firsts,' the Skladanowskys' claim to having undertaken the first public display in Germany of projected images from celluloid films (whether or not this was on perceived 'non-standard' equipment) has not been contested.

⁴⁵ Herbert Birett, *Das Filmangebot in Deutschland 1895 – 1911* (München: Winterberg, 1991).

⁴⁶ For an overview of the trade press in Germany at this time, and for details of circulation figures, see especially Sabine Hake, *The Cinema's Third Machine: Writing on Film in Germany, 1907 – 1933* (Lincoln/London: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 6f.

⁴⁷ Herbert Birett, *Verzeichnis in Deutschland gelaufener Filme: Entscheidungen der Filmzensur 1911 – 1920* (München/New York/London/Paris: K. G. Saur, 1980).

⁴⁸ This figure is very much in line with Birett's findings, which place the number of films whose release can be established through documentary evidence at substantially more than the 31,726 titles he has already enumerated in print (=16,986 in his survey of the years to 1911 + 81 additional Méliès films from this period not included in the original survey + 14,659 titles for the years 1912, 1913 and 1914). See *idem*, *op. cit.* (*Filmangebot*); and Frank Kessler and Sabine Lenk, "The French Connection: Franco-German Film Relations Before World War I," in Elsaesser and Wedel, *op. cit.*, 63. At the time of this writing, Birett has announced plans to release a much-expanded index of films released in

Germany, now covering the period from 1895 through to 1920, in the form of a CD-Rom scheduled for late 2000/early 2001.

⁴⁹ Kracauer, *op. cit.*, 8.

⁵⁰ Cherchi Usai and Codelli, *op. cit.* ("Before and After"), 26.

⁵¹ See Paolo Cherchi Usai, *Burning Passions: An Introduction to the Study of Silent Cinema* (London: British Film Institute, 1994), 17-22; and Penelope Houston, *Keepers of the Frame: The Film Archives* (London: British Film Institute, 1994), 15-17, 165-174.

⁵² Kessler and Lenk, *loc. cit.*

⁵³ Elsaesser, *op. cit.* ("Early German Cinema"), 23.

⁵⁴ Statistics cited in *ibid.*

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*; and Kessler and Lenk, *loc. cit.*

⁵⁶ Marguerite Engberg, *Registrant over danske Film 1896 – 1914* (København: Institut for Filmvidenskab, 1977), vol. 1, 266, 313.

⁵⁷ It should be noted that the total number of titles in *Tables 2 and 3* is greater than 203: this is on account of some titles being counted more than once due to featuring more than one thematic type of *Doppelgänger*.

⁵⁸ Jackie Stacey, *Star Gazing: Hollywood Cinema and Female Spectatorship* (London/New York: Routledge, 1994), 38; and Ian Breakwell and Paul Hammond, ed., *Seeing in the Dark: A Compendium of Cinemagoing* (London: Serpent's Tail, 1990), 8.

⁵⁹ Dorothy Hobson, *Crossroads: The Drama of a Soap Opera* (London: Methuen, 1982), 136.

⁶⁰ David Morley, *Television, Audiences, and Cultural Studies* (London/New York: Routledge, 1992), 21.

⁶¹ Celeste M. Condit, "The Rhetorical Limits of Polysemy," in *Television: The Critical View*, ed. Horace Newcomb (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992, 5th ed.), 430.

⁶² Morley, *op. cit.*, 87.

⁶³ For a detailed discussion of the approaches to reception theory described here, see Virginia Nightingale, *Studying Audiences: The Shock of the Real* (London/New York: Routledge, 1996).

⁶⁴ Schlüpmann, *op. cit.* (*Unheimlichkeit*), 108-112.

⁶⁵ Kracauer, *op. cit.*, 30.

⁶⁶ Webber, *op. cit.*, 1; and see also Tymms, *op. cit.*

⁶⁷ Note that in many English-language translations of *Der Sandmann*, the names of the characters Olympia and Nathanael are rendered as 'Olympia' and 'Nathaniel.'

⁶⁸ Webber, *op. cit.*, 9, and see also 64f, 186, 271f.

⁶⁹ Robert J. C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (London/New York: Routledge, 1995), 161.

⁷⁰ Dieter Wuckel and Bruce Cassiday, *The Illustrated History of Science Fiction* (Leipzig: Edition Leipzig, 1989), 31; and see also Webber, *op. cit.*, 136f.

⁷¹ See especially *ibid.*, 1-3; and Tymms, *op. cit.*, 42f. For an overview of the advancement of 'modern consciousness,' see Hugh J. Silverman, "Introduction," in *Questioning Foundations: Truth/Subjectivity/Culture*, ed. *idem* (New York/London: Routledge, 1993), 1-6.

⁷² Webber, *op. cit.*, 3; and see also Tymms, *op. cit.*, 69f.

⁷³ Webber, *op. cit.*, 80.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 17; and see also Tymms, *op. cit.*, 53.

⁷⁶ Hallam, *op. cit.*, 13.

⁷⁷ Sigmund Freud, "The 'Uncanny,'" in *The Penguin Freud Library Volume 14: Art and Literature*, ed. Albert Dickson (London: Penguin, 1990), 336-376; and *cf.* Tymms, *op. cit.*; Webber, *op. cit.*; Krauss, *op. cit.*; Rogers, *op. cit.*; and Carl F. Keppler, *The Literature of the Second Self* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1972).

⁷⁸ Jean Laplanche and Jean-Bertrand Pontalis, *The Language of Psychoanalysis* (London: Karnac Books, 1988), 352.

⁷⁹ Freud, *op. cit.*, 372.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ David Lloyd, "Race under Representation," *Oxford Literary Review* 13 (1991): 76.

⁸² Freud, *op. cit.*, 353.

⁸³ Krauss, *op. cit.*

⁸⁴ Freud, *op. cit.*, 340f, 347f, 356f; and see E. Jentsch, "Zur Psychologie des Unheimlichen," *Psychiatrisch-neurologische Wochenschrift* 8 (1906): 195; and Otto Rank, "Der Doppelgänger," *Imago: Zeitschrift für Anwendung der Psychoanalyse auf die Geisteswissenschaften* 3 (1914): 97-164.

⁸⁵ *Idem*, *The Double: A Psychoanalytic Study* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1971), 6. In this connection, it should be pointed out also that Freud, referring to his work on “*Das Unheimliche*” in a letter of 12.5.1919, notes he has “dug an old paper out of a drawer and is rewriting it.” Therefore, the first draft of “*Das Unheimliche*” may have been written substantially earlier than the essay’s eventual publication date of 1919 – and probably not long after the appearance of Rank’s study, which Freud professed to admire greatly. Thus, “*Das Unheimliche*” may itself have been informed by those psychoanalytic discourses surrounding the *Doppelgänger* that were circulating during the very period under discussion within this research. Freud, *op. cit.*, 336, 356; and see also Hallam, *op. cit.*, 14.

⁸⁶ Webber, *op. cit.*, 49-52, 196; and *cf. idem*, “Otto Rank and the *Doppelgänger*,” in *Psychoanalysis in its Cultural Context*, ed. Edward Timms and Ritchie Robertson (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992), 81-94; and Tymms, *op. cit.*, 95. See also Emil Lucka, “Verdoppelung des Ich,” *Preußische Jahrbücher* 115 (1904): 54-83; and Otto Rank, “Ein Beitrag zum Narzissismus,” *Jahrbuch für psychoanalytische und psychopathologische Forschungen* 3 (1911): 401-426.

⁸⁷ Tymms, *loc. cit.*

⁸⁸ Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), 5.

⁸⁹ Webber, *op. cit.* (*Double Visions*), 210.

⁹⁰ Andrew Gibson, *Towards a Postmodern Theory of Narrative* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), 139.

⁹¹ Tymms, *op. cit.*, 16; and *cf. Keppler, op. cit.*, 15f, and Rogers, *op. cit.*, 15f.

⁹² Kracauer, *op. cit.*, 30, 34.

⁹³ Eisner, *op. cit.* (*Haunted*), 113.

⁹⁴ Webber, *op. cit.* (*Double Visions*), 3, 21; and *cf. Les Daniels, Living in Fear: A History of Horror in the Mass Media* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1975), 104.

⁹⁵ Julius E. Hitzig, “Vorrede zu ‘Peter Schlemihl,’” in *Peter Schlemihls wundersame Geschichte*, Adelbert von Chamisso (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1993), 9-15; and Daniels, *op. cit.*, 56.

⁹⁶ Frederick Palmer, *Photoplay Plot Encyclopedia* (Hollywood: Palmer Photoplay Corporation, 1922, 2nd revised ed.), 58-59.

⁹⁷ Rank, *op. cit.* (*Double*), 4; and see Webber, *op. cit.* (*Double Visions*), 232f.

⁹⁸ Thomas Elsaesser, "Early Cinema: From Linear History to Mass Media Archaeology," in *idem* and Barker, *op. cit.*, 1-6, quotation on 3.

⁹⁹ The discourses supporting modern capitalist industry and surrounding the notion of 'new products as advances' are explored in depth in William Leiss, Stephen Kline and Sut Jhally, *Social Communication in Advertising: Persons, Products and Images of Well-Being* (London/New York: Routledge, 1997, 2nd ed.), esp. 49f.

¹⁰⁰ The use of this type of dismissive evaluative terminology is so widespread that only a few examples can be offered here. See for example Léon Barsacq, *Caligari's Cabinet and Other Grand Illusions: A History of Film Design* (New York/Scarborough (Ontario): Plume, 1978), 5-14; Kevin Brownlow, *The Parade's Gone By...: A Vivid, Affectionate Portrait of the Golden Days of Hollywood* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1968), 5f; Terry Ramsaye, *A Million and One Nights* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1926); David Robinson, *World Cinema 1895 – 1980* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1981), 26f; Paul Rotha and Richard Griffith, *The Film Till Now: A Survey of World Cinema* (London: Spring Books, 1967, 6th ed.), 87; and F. Maurice Speed, *Movie Cavalcade: The Story of the Cinema – its Stars, Studios and Producers* (London: Raven, 1944, library ed.), 21, 39.

¹⁰¹ Robinson, *op. cit.*, 33; Kevin Brownlow, *Hollywood: The Pioneers* (London: Book Club Associates, 1979), 47; and Speed, *op. cit.*, 45.

¹⁰² Histories of early cinema comprising these three stages are legion. Representative examples include Liam O'Leary, *The Silent Cinema* (London: Dutton Vista, 1965), 6f; Robinson, *op. cit.*, 1f; E. W. Robson and M. M. Robson, *The Film Answers Back: An Historical Appreciation of the Cinema* (London: Bodley Head, 1939), 20f; Rotha and Griffith, *op. cit.*, 67f; Speed, *op. cit.*, 7f; D. A. Spencer and H. D. Waley, *The Cinema To-day* (London/New York/Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1946), 11f; and Edward Wagenknecht, *The Movies in the Age of Innocence* (New York: Ballantine, 1971), 4f.

¹⁰³ Richard Koszarski, *Hollywood Directors 1914 – 1940* (London/Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), xvii.

¹⁰⁴ Speed, *op. cit.*, 17.

¹⁰⁵ See for example Will Irwin, *The House That Shadows Built* (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1928), 79-80; O'Leary, *op. cit.*, 9-13; Robinson, *op. cit.*, 1-20; Speed, *op. cit.*, 7-21; and Spencer and Waley, *op. cit.*, 11-23.

¹⁰⁶ Wagenknecht, *op. cit.*, 31.

- ¹⁰⁷ David Levy, "Re-Constituted Newsreels, Re-enactments and the American Narrative Film," in *Cinema 1900 – 1906: An Analytical Study by the National Film Archive (London) and the International Federation of Film Archives*, comp. Roger Holman (Brussels: FIAF, 1982), 245.
- ¹⁰⁸ See for example Peter Hoff, "Von der Reportage der Wirklichkeit zur Fiktion: Theaterkonvention versus Filmsprache," in *Fischer Filmgeschichte Band 1: Von den Anfängen bis zum etablierten Medium 1895 – 1924*, ed. Werner Faulstich and Helmut Korte (Frankfurt-am-Main: Fischer, 1994), 117-123; Irwin, *op. cit.*, 102-104, 109; Robinson, *op. cit.*, 37-41; Rotha and Griffith, *op. cit.*, 91; and Gilbert Seldes, *Movies for the Millions: An Account of Motion Pictures, Principally in America* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1937), 21.
- ¹⁰⁹ See especially the overview of Ramsaye's account in *ibid.*, 22.
- ¹¹⁰ Iris Barry, *D. W. Griffith – American Film Master* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1940); and see for example Hoff, *op. cit.*, 122-125; Vlada Petric, "David Wark Griffith," in *Cinema: A Critical Dictionary – The Major Film-Makers*, ed. Richard Roud (Norwich: Nationwide Book Services, 1980), vol. 1, 449-462; Robinson, *op. cit.*, 53-66; Rotha and Griffith, *op. cit.*, 72; and Speed, *op. cit.*, 41-47.
- ¹¹¹ Allen and Gomery, *op. cit.*, 7; and Linda Schulte-Sasse, *Entertaining the Third Reich: Illusions of Wholeness in Nazi Cinema* (Durham/London: Duke University Press, 1996), 30.
- ¹¹² Seldes, *loc. cit.*
- ¹¹³ See for example O'Leary, *op. cit.*, 6; and Wagenknecht, *op. cit.*, 9.
- ¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 58f.
- ¹¹⁵ William K. Everson, *A Pictorial History of the Western Film* (New York: Citadel, 1971), 15.
- ¹¹⁶ Robinson, *op. cit.*, 28; and see Wagenknecht, *op. cit.*, 66.
- ¹¹⁷ Georges Sadoul, *Georges Méliès* (Paris: Seghers, 1970, 3rd ed.), 193-198, quotation on 195, citing a review in *L'ami du peuple du soir* 20.12.1929.
- ¹¹⁸ On Méliès as a pioneer of the horror and science fictions genres, see for example Carlos Clarens, *Horror Movies: An Illustrated Survey* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1968), 16-22; Rolf Giesen, *Sagenhafte Welten: Der phantastische Film* (München: Heyne, 1990), 11-17; Gifford, *op. cit.*, 14-24; Phil Hardy, ed., *The Aurum Film Encyclopedia: Science Fiction* (London: Aurum, 1991, revised updated ed.), 16-46; and *idem*, ed., *The Aurum Film Encyclopedia: Horror* (London: Aurum, 1993, revised updated ed.), 16. Regarding *The Great Train Robbery* as 'the first western,' see for example Alastair Cooke, "The Critic in Film History," in *Footnotes to the Film*, ed. Charles Davy (London: Lovat Dickson/Readers' Union, 1938), 240; Everson, *op. cit.*, 14-17; and Peter Nowotny, "Die Anfänge des amerikanischen Spielfilms"

als Western: Von *Der große Eisenbahnraub* (1903) bis *Des roten Mannes Sicht* (1909) und folgende,” in Faulstich and Korte, *op. cit.*, 168-181. On Japanese *jidai-geki* films as *kaidan eiga*, see for example Riccardo Esposito, Max della Mora and Massimo Monteleone, *Fant'Asia: il cinema fantastico dell'estremo oriente* (Bologna: Granata Press, 1994); and Pete Tombs, *Mondo Macabro: Weird and Wonderful Cinema around the World* (London: Titan, 1997), 149-151.

¹¹⁹ Kracauer, *op. cit.*, 15, 28; and *cf.* Eisner, *loc. cit.* (“Le cinéma allemand”).

¹²⁰ Kracauer, *op. cit.*, 16.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 24.

¹²² Stephen Herbert and Luke McKernan, ed., *Who's Who of Victorian Cinema* (London: British Film Institute, 1996), 132.

¹²³ See for example Michael Althen, “Ein Jahrmarktskind: ‘Das Wintergartenprogramm’ (1895) der Brüder Skladanowsky,” in *Deutsche Augenblicke: Eine Bilderfolge zu einer Typologie des Films*, ed. Peter Buchka (München: Schriftenreihe des Filmmuseums im Münchner Stadtmuseum, 1995), 8; Michael Hanisch, *Auf den Spuren der Filmgeschichte: Berliner Schauplätze* (Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1991), 14f; and Robinson, *op. cit.*, 19-20.

¹²⁴ See for example Roger Manvell and Heinrich Fraenkel, *The German Cinema* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1971), 1-3, 5f; and Guido Seeber, *Arbeits-Gerät und Arbeits-Stätten des Kameramannes: Geschichte der Aufnahmetechnik und des Aufnahmeapparates – Die moderne Apparatur des Kameramannes – Lampen und Ateliers einst und jetzt* (Berlin: Verlag der Licht-Bild-Bühne, 1927), 54.

¹²⁵ Kracauer, *op. cit.*, 15-16; and *cf.* Ian Christie, *The Last Machine: Early Cinema and the Birth of the Modern World* (London: British Film Institute, 1994), 57.

¹²⁶ Kracauer, *op. cit.*, 16-17, quotations on 17.

¹²⁷ *Der Andere* (1913) was indeed one of the films referred to specifically as a “typical advocacy of subversive Jewish intellectualism, which views the criminal not as vermin, but as a medical case” in the Reichsfilmkammer’s list of banned titles. See Uli Jung and Walter Schatzber, “Zur Genese eines Filmstoffs: *Der Andere* von Max Mack (1912) und Robert Wiene (1930),” *Filmwärts* 28 (1993): 40. The point made here regarding the National Socialists’ exaltation of the Skladanowskys and Meßter is raised also in Henri Langlois, “German Cinema: Its Origins and its Masters of the 20s,” in Roud, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, 420; and *cf.* Norbert Jochum, ed., *Das wandernde Bild: Der Filmpionier Guido Seeber* (Berlin:

Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek/Elefanten Press, 1979), 23f, and Manfred Lichtenstein, "The Brothers Skladanowsky," in Cherchi Usai and Codelli, *op. cit.* (*Before Caligari*), 316.

¹²⁸ Kalbus, *op. cit.*, 11. Interestingly, Max Kullmann observes (in a footnote) in 1935 that a selection of the Skladanowskys' "repertoire is currently being shown in all the larger cities," indicating that these were included by the Nazis in a touring cultural show. Max Kullmann, *Die Entwicklung des deutschen Lichtspieltheaters* (Kallmünz: Michael Laßleben, 1935), 34 n.3; and see Lichtenstein, *loc. cit.*

¹²⁹ See especially Martin Koerber, "Oskar Messter – Stationen einer Karriere," in *Oskar Messter: Filmpionier der Kaiserzeit*, ed. Frank Kessler, Sabine Lenk and Martin Loiperdinger (Basel/Frankfurt-am-Main: Stroemfeld Roter Stern, 1994), 83f; and *cf.* Kracauer, *op. cit.*, 16; and Oskar Meßter, *Mein Weg mit dem Film* (Berlin: Max Hesses Verlag, 1936).

¹³⁰ See Eileen Bowser, "Preparation for Brighton – The American Contribution," in Holman, *op. cit.*, 3-29.

¹³¹ Cited in Levy, *loc. cit.*

¹³² See Hoff, *op. cit.*, 126, 129; and also Barry Anthony, "William Frederick ('Buffalo Bill') (1846-1917)," in Herbert and McKernan, *op. cit.*, 35.

¹³³ Noël Burch, "Porter, or Ambivalence," in Holman, *op. cit.*, 102.

¹³⁴ Robert Allen, *Vaudeville and Film, 1895 – 1915: A Study in Media Interaction* (New York: Arno Press, 1980).

¹³⁵ Tom Gunning, "The Cinema of Attractions: Early Film, its Spectator and the Avant-Garde," in Elsaesser and Barker, *op. cit.*, 56-62.

¹³⁶ Eileen Bowser, *The Transformation of Cinema, 1907 – 1915* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1990); and *cf.* Benjamin R. Brewster and Lea Jacobs, *Theatre to Film: Stage Pictorialisation and the Early Feature Film* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

¹³⁷ Barry Salt, *Film Style and Technology: History and Analysis* (London: Starword, 1983), esp. 46f; and *cf. idem*, "Early German Film: The Stylistics in Comparative Context," in Elsaesser and Wedel, *op. cit.*, 225-236.

¹³⁸ Noël Burch, "A Primitive Mode of Representation?," in Elsaesser and Barker, *op. cit.*, 220-227.

¹³⁹ Corinna Müller, *Frühe deutsche Kinematographie: Formale, wirtschaftliche und kulturelle Entwicklungen* (Stuttgart/Weimar: J. B. Metzler, 1994), 12.

¹⁴⁰ Arthur Mellini [attrib.], "Grundregeln für Programm-Zusammenstellungen," *Die Licht-Bild-Bühne* 116 (5.10.1910), cited in *ibid.*

¹⁴¹ See especially *ibid.*, 105-190; and *cf. idem*, "Emergence of the Feature Film in Germany between 1910 and 1911," in Cherchi Usai and Codelli, *op. cit. (Before Caligari)*, 94-113; Karen Pehla, "Joe May und seine Detektive: Der Serienfilm als Kinoerlebnis," in *Joe May: Regisseur und Produzent*, ed. Hans-Michael Bock and Claudia Lenssen (München: edition text+kritik, 1991), 61-72; and Corinna Müller, "Der Weg zum Star: Versuch einer Rekonstruktion," in *Henny Porten: Der erste deutsche Filmstar 1890-1960*, ed. Helga Belach (Berlin: Haude & Spener, 1986), 32-39.

¹⁴² Richard Abel, *The Ciné Goes to Town: French Cinema 1896 – 1914* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1994); and Riccardo Redi, *La Cines: storia di una casa di produzione italiana* (Roma: CNC Edizioni, 1991); and see also Marguerite Engberg, "Zwischen Kopenhagen und Berlin: Ein Überblick," in *Schwarzer Traum und weiße Sklavin: Deutsch-dänische Filmbeziehungen 1910 – 1930*, ed. Manfred Behn (München: edition text+kritik, 1994), 7-14; Kessler and Lenk, *op. cit.*, 62-71; and Kristin Thompson, *Exporting Entertainment: America in the World Film Market 1907 – 1934* (London: British Film Institute, 1985).

¹⁴³ Loiperdinger, *op. cit.*, 41-42. See especially Anton Kaes, ed., *Kino-Debatte: Literatur und Film 1909 – 1929* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1978); and Jörg Schweinitz, *Prolog vor dem Film: Nachdenken über ein neues Medium 1909 – 1914* (Leipzig: Reclam, 1992); and *cf.* Siegbert Prawer, "A New Muse Climbs Parnassus: German Debates about Literature and the Cinema 1909 – 1929," *German Life and Letters* 32.3 (April 1979): 196-205.

¹⁴⁴ See Miriam Hansen, "Early Silent Cinema: Whose Public Sphere?," *New German Critique* 29 (Spring/Summer 1983): 147-184; Loiperdinger, *op. cit.*, 41-50; Müller, *op. cit. (Kinematographie)*, 191-226; Schlüpmann, *op. cit. (Unheimlichkeit)*, esp. 247-251; and *idem*, "Cinema as Anti-Theater: Actresses and Female Audiences in Wilhelmine Germany," in *Silent Film*, ed. Richard Abel (London: Athlone, 1996), 125-141. Of course, as has been noted by many researchers, it was under the weight of the *Kinodebatte* that compulsory censorship for films began to be introduced in most areas of Germany between 1908 and 1912 also, representing a further means for the educated bourgeoisie to attempt to 'rein in' the early cinema. See for example Herbert Birett, "The Origins of Official Film Censorship in Germany," in Cherchi Usai and Codelli, *op. cit. (Before Caligari)*, 50-57; and Gary D. Stark, "Cinema, Society, and

the State: Policing the Film Industry in Imperial Germany,” in *Essays on Culture and Society in Modern Germany*, ed. *idem* and Bede Karl Lackner (Arlington: University of Texas Press, 1982), 122-166.

¹⁴⁵ Leo Charney and Vanessa R. Schwartz, ed., *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life* (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 1.

¹⁴⁶ Tom Gunning, “Tracing the Individual Body: Photography, Detectives, and Early Cinema,” in *ibid.*, 16; and see especially Marshall Berman, *All That is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (London: Verso, 1983); and Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880 – 1918* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1983).

¹⁴⁷ Gunning, *op. cit.* (“Tracing”), 15.

¹⁴⁸ Cited in Walter Benjamin, “Das Passagenwerk,” in *Gesammelte Schriften V*, ed. Rolf Tiedemann (Frankfurt-am-Main: Suhrkamp, 1982), vol. 1, 267. For discussions of French modernity of this type, see for example Berman, *op. cit.*, 131-171; and Thomas Kuchenbuch, *Die Welt um 1900: Unterhaltungs- und Technikultur* (Stuttgart/Weimar: J. B. Metzler, 1992), 129-213. ‘Hausmannisation’ is named after Georges Eugène Haussmann, the prefect of the Seine from 1853 to 1870, to whom responsibility for the redevelopment of Paris was attributed.

¹⁴⁹ See for example Ulrich Ott, ed., *Literatur im Industriezeitalter: Eine Ausstellung des Deutschen Literaturarchivs im Schillernationalmuseum* (Marbach am Neckar: Deutsche Schillergesellschaft, 1987), vol. 1, 440f; and Ben Singer, “Modernity, Hyperstimulus, and the Rise of Popular Sensationalism,” in Charney and Schwartz, *op. cit.*, 72-99.

¹⁵⁰ Statistics from Robin Lenman, John Osborne and Eda Sagarra, “Imperial Germany: Towards the Commercialization of Culture,” in *German Cultural Studies: An Introduction*, ed. Rob Burns (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 11; Kern, *op. cit.*, 220; Hans-Christian Täubrich, “Die Technik der Großstadt,” in *Berlin, Berlin: Die Ausstellung zur Geschichte der Stadt*, ed. Gottfried Korff and Reinhard Rürup (Berlin: Nicolai, 1987), 186; and Gesine Asmus, “Das dunkle Berlin,” in *ibid.*, 304.

¹⁵¹ Carole Elizabeth Adams, *Women Clerks in Wilhelmine Germany* (Cambridge/New York/New Rochelle/Melbourne/Sydney: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 7f.

¹⁵² Hans J. Dominik, “Technik,” in *Türmer-Jahrbuch 1907*, ed. Jeannot Emil von Grotthuss (Stuttgart: Greiner und Pfeiffer, 1906), 234; and see also Kern, *op. cit.*, 113-114; and Friedrich Ludwig Vocke, *Die Entwicklung des Nachrichtenschnellverkehrs und das Strassenwesen* (Heidelberg: Rößler & Herbert, 1917), 92.

¹⁵³ Kern, *op. cit.*, 107f, 278f; and cf. also H. Heske, "Der Traum von Afrika: Zur politischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte der Kolonialgeographie," *Ökozeit* 3 (1987): 204-222.

¹⁵⁴ See especially Georg Simmel, "The Metropolis and Mental Life," in *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, ed. Kurt Wolff (New York: Free Press, 1950), 409-424; Friedrich Naumann, "Die Kunst im Zeitalter der Maschine," in *Friedrich Naumann: Werke*, ed. Heinz Ladendorf (Köln/Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1964), vol. 6, 186-201; Kirsten Belgum, *Popularizing the Nation: Audience, Representation, and the Production of Identity in 'Die Gartenlaube,' 1853 – 1900* (Lincoln/London: University of Nebraska Press, 1998); and David Frisby, *Fragments of Modernity: Theories of Modernity in the Work of Simmel, Kracauer and Benjamin* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1986).

¹⁵⁵ Singer, *op. cit.*, 72-73.

¹⁵⁶ Marie-Louise von Plessen, "Lebensmittelversorgung und Massenkonsum," in Korff and Rürup, *op. cit.*, 214-215.

¹⁵⁷ Singer, *op. cit.*, 72; and see for example Berman, *op. cit.*, 161f.

¹⁵⁸ Cited in Charney and Schwartz, *op. cit.*, 3; and see also Robert Bocock, "Consumption and Lifestyles," in *Social and Cultural Forms of Modernity*, ed. *idem* and Kenneth Thompson (Cambridge/Oxford: Polity Press/Blackwell/The Open University, 1992), 125f.

¹⁵⁹ Willy Helpach, *Nervosität und Kultur* (Berlin: Johannes Rade, 1902), 12; and see also Kern, *op. cit.*, 124f; and Leo Charney, "In a Moment: Film and the Philosophy of Modernity," in *idem* and Schwartz, *op. cit.*, 279-285.

¹⁶⁰ Berman, *op. cit.*, esp. 89f.

¹⁶¹ Walter Benjamin cited in Gunning, *op. cit.* ("Tracing"), 20; and see for example Jeffrey Weeks, "The Body and Sexuality," in Bocock and Thompson, *op. cit.*, 242f.

¹⁶² Naumann, *op. cit.*, 194; and see for example Berman, *op. cit.*, 239f, 287-348; Kern, *op. cit.*, 100f, 156f; and especially Liliane Brion-Guerry, ed., *L'année 1913: les formes esthétiques de l'œuvre d'art à la veille de la première guerre mondiale* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1971), 2 vols.

¹⁶³ Charney and Schwartz, *op. cit.*, 3.

¹⁶⁴ B. Mercator, "Ohne Anregung," in von Grotthuss, *op. cit.*, 83.

¹⁶⁵ Dr. Clausen, "Landwirtschaft," in *ibid.*, 268; and Dominik, *op. cit.*, 236.

¹⁶⁶ In the contemporary context, Arthur Moeller-Bruck poses the following series of rhetorical questions indicating the ambivalence associated with modernity: "Do we Europeans, we American

types with the Grecian heartbeat and contemporaries of the most enormous and ever more sweeping cultural triumphs have a future? or have we none? Will it all end with us, and could the great machine tomorrow perhaps be standing still? or are we only at the start, and is all this just the beginning of a yet greater era than the world has ever seen? Are all these discoveries and inventions merely speeding us unstoppably towards death and ruinous destruction in the delusion of pseudo-development? [...] or are we growing through them into a new humankind whose muscles are flexed in wondrous unity, and following whose appearance neither the ancient Greeks nor renaissance man – but modern humanity – will be called the ideal measure of all things?” Arthur Moeller-Bruck, *Das Varieté* (Berlin: Julius Bard, 1902), 10.

¹⁶⁷ See especially Kenneth D. Barker, *The Controversy over German Industrialization, 1890 – 1902* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970); and Peter Paret, *The Berlin Secession: Modernism and its Enemies in Imperial Germany* (Cambridge (Massachusetts)/London: Belknap, 1980).

¹⁶⁸ Lenman, Osborne and Sagarra, *op. cit.*, 39-40; and cf. Shulamit Volkov, *The Rise of Popular Antimodernism in Germany: The Urban Master Artisans, 1873 – 1896* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978).

¹⁶⁹ Lenman, Osborne and Sagarra, *op. cit.*, 40.

¹⁷⁰ Belgum, *op. cit.*, 142-182, quotation on 165; and cf. Woodruff D. Smith, *The German Colonial Empire* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978).

¹⁷¹ Dieter Barth, *Zeitschrift für Alle – Blätter fürs Volk – Das Familienblatt im 19. Jahrhundert: Ein sozialhistorischer Beitrag zur Massenpresse in Deutschland* (Münster: Institut für Publizistik, 1974); Belgum, *op. cit.*; Ronald A. Fullerton, “Creating a Mass Book Market in Germany: The Story of the ‘Colporteur Novel,’ 1870 – 1890,” *Journal of Social History* 10 (1976 – 1977): 265-283; *idem*, “Towards a Commercial Popular Culture in Germany: The Development of Pamphlet Fiction, 1871 – 1914,” *Journal of Social History* 12 (1978 – 1979): 489-511; Ernst Günther, *Geschichte des Varietés* (Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1981); Wolfgang Jansen, *Das Varieté: Die glanzvolle Geschichte einer unterhaltenden Kunst* (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1990); Lisa Kosok and Mathilde Jamin, ed., *Viel Vergnügen: Öffentliche Lustbarkeiten im Ruhrgebiet der Jahrhundertwende* (Essen: Ruhrlandmuseum, 1992); and Rudolf Schenda, *Volk ohne Buch: Studien zur Sozialgeschichte der populären Lesestoffe 1770 – 1910* (Frankfurt-am-Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 1970).

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 444-445; and see Belgum, *op. cit.*, 1-27; and Lenman, Osborne and Sagarra, *op. cit.*, 22-23.

¹⁷³ Fullerton, *op. cit.* (“Towards”), 500; and see especially Ott, *op. cit. (Literatur)*, vol. 1, 250-270; and also Régis Messac, *Le Detective Novel et l'influence de la pensée scientifique* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1975), 585f.

¹⁷⁴ “Karl Gutzkows Briefe an Hermann Costenoble,” *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 13 (1973): 229, cited in Ott, *op. cit. (Literatur)*, vol. 1, 270.

¹⁷⁵ Belgum, *op. cit.*, 117; and cf. Sylvie Aubenas, “The Photograph in Print: Multiplication and Stability of the Image,” in *A New History of Photography*, ed. Jean-Michel Frizot (Köln: Könemann, 1998), 224-231.

¹⁷⁶ Vanessa R. Schwartz, “Cinematic Spectatorship before the Apparatus: The Public Taste for Reality in *fin-de-siècle* Paris,” in Charney and *idem*, *op. cit.*, 298; and see Belgum, *op. cit.*, esp. 55-182.

¹⁷⁷ See especially Ernst Schultze, *Fort mit der Schundliteratur: Ein Mahnwort in einer bitterernsten Kulturfrage* (Halle: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1911); and *idem*, *Die Schundliteratur: Ihr Wesen – ihre Folgen – ihre Bekämpfung* (Halle: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1911).

¹⁷⁸ Cited in Ott, *op. cit. (Literatur)*, vol. 1, 258-259; and see especially “Die Bekämpfung der Schundliteratur durch das Gesetz,” *Die Hochwacht* 4.6 (1914): 133-136.

¹⁷⁹ See Ott, *op. cit. (Literatur)*, vol. 1, 259f.

¹⁸⁰ Kosok and Jamin, *op. cit.*

¹⁸¹ Signor Saltarino [= Hermann Waldemar Otto], *Artisten-Lexicon* (Düsseldorf: Ed. Lintz, 1895, 2nd revised ed.), 235-257, 304, 315.

¹⁸² Orissa is the name of the state in Eastern India whence Radica and Doodica supposedly hailed. It was known in Britain at this time especially as a result of the commercial activities of the British East India Company, which operated there. The popular term ‘Siamese twins’ was coined in the 1830s to advertise the freakshow performers Chang and Eng, who hailed from Siam. It is employed here as more appropriate to the variety context than the equivalent medical terminology. According to this latter, Radica and Doodica, like Chang and Eng before them, could be identified as xiphopages (twins conjoined at the side or chest). See especially Jack Hunter, “Autository, or ‘Double’ Monsters,” in *Inside Teradome: An Illustrated History of Freak Film* (London/San Francisco: Creation, 1998, new revised ed.), 52-63.

¹⁸³ See Friedrich von Zglinicki, *Der Weg des Films: Die Geschichte der Kinematographie und ihrer Vorläufer* (Berlin: Rembrandt, 1956), 72-75.

¹⁸⁴ Stephan Oettermann, "Fremde – Der. Die. Das. 'Völkerschauen' und ihre Vorläufer," in Kosok and Jamin, *op. cit.*, 80-101, quotation on 94; and Hilke Thode-Arora, "Herbeigeholte Ferne: Völkerschauen als Vorläufer exotisierender Abenteuerfilme," in *Triviale Tropen: Exotische Reise- und Abenteuerfilme aus Deutschland 1919 – 1939*, ed. Jörg Schöning (München: edition text+kritik, 1997), 18-33. The subject of 'exotic' spectacle is explored further in Chapter 6.

¹⁸⁵ Oettermann, *op. cit.*, 202; Axel Breidahl and Axel Kjerulf, *Københavnsliv gennem et halvt Aarhundrede* (København: Alfred G. Hassings Forlag, 1938), vol. 1, 279; and see for example Kuchenbuch, *op. cit.*, 64-75; and Milbourne Christopher, *Panorama of Magic* (New York: Dover, 1962), 99f.

¹⁸⁶ See the advertisement from the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* 1.11.1895, repr. in Hanisch, *op. cit.*, 27, and 29.

¹⁸⁷ Brief details of these and all other 'non-Doppelgänger' film releases in Wilhelmine Germany cited in this work can be found in *Filmography B*, located in Volume 2.

¹⁸⁸ Walther Conradt, *Kirche und Kinematograph: Eine Frage* (Berlin: Hermann Walther, 1910), 7; and see especially Kern, *op. cit.*, 117f; and Kuchenbuch, *op. cit.*, 59f, 199f.

¹⁸⁹ See especially Ernst Schultze, *Der Kinematograph als Bildungsmittel: Eine kulturpolitische Untersuchung* (Halle: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1911); and Albert Hellwig, *Schundfilme: Ihr Wesen – ihre Gefahren – und ihre Bekämpfung* (Halle: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1911).

¹⁹⁰ "Der Student von Prag," *Das kleine Journal* 23.8.1913, repr. in Diederichs, *op. cit.*, 22; and see especially Heinz-B. Heller, *Literarische Intelligenz und Film: Zu Veränderungen der ästhetischen Theorie und Praxis unter dem Eindruck des Films 1910 – 1930* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1985), 19f, 99f, and Schweinitz, *op. cit.*, 55-64, 145-152.

¹⁹¹ Oliver Wendell Holmes Snr., "The Stereoscope and the Stereograph," cited in Gunning, *op. cit.* ("Tracing"), 17-18.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 20; and cf. Peter Wollen, *Signs and Meaning in the Cinema* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1969), 120-126. As Gunning notes, the semiotic terms 'index' and 'icon' in this context are drawn from the work of philosopher C. S. Peirce.

¹⁹³ Note that the title 'Hofphotograph' ('court-photographer') employed by Grundner is not quite as imposing as it may sound, and was essentially a generic label of quality used by literally hundreds of Berlin photographers who happened to have taken a picture at any time of any member (no matter how distant!) of the Kaiser's family or the royal families of any other German state. The subject of the

photograph, Herr Schroeder, is an uncle of Max Schroeder, a Berlin accountant who would, in the years directly after 1900, become romantically involved with the stage actress Maria Baatz. It is preserved in the family album of Max Schroeder held in the author's collection.

¹⁹⁴ J. Landau, "Mechanisierte Unsterblichkeit," in *Der deutsche Kaiser im Film*, ed. Paul Klebinder (Berlin: Paul Klebinder, 1912), 18-22. This text was itself an early popular work on film, which sold in vast numbers as a so-called 'Christmas book': see "Kaiser Delighted by Moving Pictures," *The New York Times* 15.12.1912, repr. in *The New York Times Encyclopedia of Film, 1896 – 1928*, ed. Gene Brown (New York: Times Books, 1984), no pag.

¹⁹⁵ *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* 14.7 (12.2.1905): 1, repr. in *Facsimile: Querschnitt durch die Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung*, ed. Friedrich Luft (Bern/München: Scherz, n. d. [ca. 1967]), 63; and Jürgen Kinter, *Arbeiterbewegung und Film (1895 – 1933)* (Hamburg: Medienpädagogik-Zentrum, 1985), 167-169; and cf. for example Eugène Atget, "Photography and History," in Frizot, *op. cit.*, 398-409. Adolf von Menzel (1815 – 1905) was the Breslau-born painter and engraver renowned for his illustrations of the works of Goethe and Friedrich the Great.

¹⁹⁶ Cited in Bernd Poch, "Viel Geld mit wenig Mühe: Wanderkino in Ostfriesland," in *Lichtbilder, Lichtspiele: Anfänge der Fotografie und des Kinos in Ostfriesland*, ed. Detlef Hoffmann and Jens Thiele (Marburg: Jonas, 1989), 318.

¹⁹⁷ I. M. Pacatus [=Maxim Gorky], review of the Lumière programme at the Nizhiny Novgorod fair, *Nizhgorodski Listok* 4.7.1896, cited in Simon Popple, "The Diffuse Beam: Cinema and Change," in *Cinema: The Beginnings and the Future*, ed. Christopher Williams (London: University of Westminster Press, 1996), 97. On contemporary reviewers' perceptions of early film as something magical or quasi-supernatural, see also Erik Barnouw, *The Magician and the Cinema* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1981); and Ine van Dooren, "Travelling Times," in *Hove Pioneers and the Arrival of Cinema*, ed. Frank Gray (Brighton: University of Brighton Press, 1996), 12-15.

¹⁹⁸ "Die lebende Photographie," *Der Filder-Bote* 27.6.1896, repr. in Ilse Göttges-Braun, ed., *Allerlei von den Fildern in Berichten und Inseraten um die Jahrhundertwende aus der weithin bekannten und allseits beliebten 'Allgemeine Filder-Zeitung' und dem 'Filder-Bote'* (Stuttgart: Wegra, 1981), 44.

¹⁹⁹ "Snapshots," *The Photographic Chronicle* 1.8.1901: 61, cited in Popple, *op. cit.*, 100-101. On the 1899 Krefeld local actualities, see Hellmut Rademacher and René Grohnert, ed., *Kunst! Kommerz! Visionen! Deutsche Plakate 1888 – 1933* (Heidelberg: Edition Braus, 1992), 58; and on those in Wilhelmshaven in

1913, see Bernd Poch, ““Die Damen werden recht herzlich gebeten, die Hüte abzulegen!” Frühes Kino in Ostfriesland,” in Hoffmann and Thiele, *op. cit.*, 351.

²⁰⁰ Popple, *op. cit.*, 101.

²⁰¹ Berthold Viertel, “Der Besuch des Deutschen Kaisers in Wien,” *März* 4.4 (1910): 173-174, cited in *Hätte ich das Kino! Die Schriftsteller und der Stummfilm*, ed. Bernhard Zeller (München: Kösel, 1976), 24.

²⁰² Jansen, *op. cit.*, 105-118.

²⁰³ See for example the advertisements and reviews of *Die Zwillinge* (1911), *Die Zwillingbrüder* (1911) and *Die Zwillingbrüder* (1912) in *Der deutsche Lichtbildtheater-Besitzer* 6, 9, 45 and 51 (1911): no pag. Unfortunately, none of the eleven *Doppelgänger* films identified featuring identical twins portrayed as opposites is known to have survived, although seven stills from the latter *Die Zwillingbrüder* are preserved in the collection of Det danske Filmmuseum in Copenhagen.

²⁰⁴ *New York Dramatic Mirror* 24.1.1912: 33, 38, cited in Bowser, *op. cit.* (*Transformation*), 105-118.

²⁰⁵ Advertisement for *Schwesterseelen* (under the title *Die Zwillingsschwestern*) in *Die Licht-Bild-Bühne* 7.2 (1914): 63.

²⁰⁶ See for example Saltarino, *op. cit.*, 23-24; and Kosok and Jamin, *op. cit.*, 29f. Note that Josefa’s name was sometimes spelled ‘Josepha,’ and that the twins’ surname was often rendered simply as ‘Blazek,’ or as ‘Blaczek.’ Unlike the xiphopages Radica and Doodica or Chang and Eng, Rosa and Josefa were pygopages (conjoined at the pelvis). See Hunter, *loc. cit.*

²⁰⁷ Birett, *op. cit.* (*Verzeichnis*), 164, 174, 543.

²⁰⁸ This account is based primarily on the censor-card for *Eine Amme wird gesucht* dated 21.11.1911 and preserved in the collection of the Bundesarchiv-Filmarchiv.

²⁰⁹ Saltarino, *op. cit.*, 25. It is possible that *Eine Amme wird gesucht* may have been the cinema adaptation of the Blažeks’ stage-act at this time, since Lisa Kosok has located a 1912 advert from Bochum (in the Ruhrgebiet) announcing that the sisters will be appearing “for eight days only [...] along with their son Franzl.” It is unclear whether the Blažeks had a biological son, or if the child was part of the act only. See Lisa Kosok, “Singspielhallen, Spezialitätentheater und Varietés,” in *idem* and Jamin, *op. cit.*, 175.

²¹⁰ Christie, *op. cit.*, 99-100; and cf. Emmanuelle Toulet, *Pioniere des Kinos* (Meckenbeuren: Ravensburger Buchverlag, 1995), 74-75; and Hunter, *op. cit.*, 53. Aged fourteen at the time of the operation (undertaken as a result of Doodica’s succumbing to tuberculosis), Doodica died on the operating table, while Radica lived on in extreme poor health for a further two years.

²¹¹ *Der Kinematograph* 258 (1911): no pag.

²¹² Altenloh, *op. cit.*, 85, 76. Note that Altenloh's repeated stressing of terms such as 'youth' and 'primitive,' along with her contrasting of this grouping with 'adults' might be taken as an implication that under-14s fell into this category also. Altenloh may have felt unable to acknowledge this openly, however, since detective films were almost without exception passed by the censor with an 'adults only' certificate, which at this time meant that admission was forbidden, specifically, to *under-14s*.

²¹³ Sebastian Hesse, "Geile Geisin und nordischer Galan: Der Detektivfilm der Nordisk," in Behn, *op. cit.*, 48; and Württembergische Erste Kammer, "Entwurf eines Gesetzes," Stenographic notes in the collection of the Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart, file E 151C/II, Nr. 270c, cited in translation in Stark, *op. cit.*, 132-133.

²¹⁴ Hesse, *op. cit.*, 49.

²¹⁵ Hansen, *op. cit.*, 148.

²¹⁶ Conradt, *op. cit.*, 17.

²¹⁷ Kinter, *op. cit.*, 112.

²¹⁸ Cited in *ibid.*, 113.

²¹⁹ Victor Noack, *Der Kino: Etwas über sein Wesen und seine Bedeutung* (Gautzsch bei Leipzig: Felix Dietrich, 1913), 29-31, 15-16; and on the chauvinism of early German political films, see also Loiperdinger, *op. cit.*, 41-50.

²²⁰ Abel, *op. cit.* (*The Ciné*), 145.

²²¹ P. Max Grempe, "Gegen die Frauenverblödung im Kino," *Die Gleichheit* 23.5 (1912 – 1913), repr. in Schweinitz, *op. cit.*, 120.

²²² Robert Gaupp, "Die Gefahren des Kino," *Süddeutsche Monatshefte* 9.9 (1911 – 1912), repr. in *ibid.*, 67-68.

²²³ Württembergische Erste Kammer, *op. cit.*, 133.

²²⁴ Schultze, *op. cit.* (*Der Kinematograph*), 75; and see also Hellwig, *op. cit.*, esp. 47f; and Heinrich Stümcke, "Kinematograph und Theater," *Bühne und Welt* 14.15 (May 1912), repr. in Schweinitz, *op. cit.*, 239-240.

²²⁵ Vincent McHale and Eric Johnson, "Urbanization, Industrialization and Crime in Imperial Germany," *Social Science History* 1 (1976): 45-78, and 2 (1977): 210-247; and see also Marie-Louise von Plessen, "Kommunale Selbstverwaltung und Polizei," in Korff and Rurüp, *op. cit.*, 171-185; and Stark,

loc. cit. In this context, it is also worth remembering the presence of the safe-breaking criminal in the modernity-centred sketch ‘*Das elektrische Berlin*’ reproduced as *Figure 5* on p.100.

²²⁶ Abel, *op. cit.* (*The Cine*), esp. 38f, 107f and 354f; and Gunning, *op. cit.* (“Tracing”), esp. 24f.

²²⁷ With the outbreak of World War I, all references to the London setting of the Stuart Webbs series were obscured, so that the films seemed to play in a kind of ‘anyville,’ a nameless representation of the modern metropolis in general.

²²⁸ See Dolores L. Augustine, “Arriving in the Upper Class: The Wealthy Business Elite of Wilhelmine Germany,” in *The German Bourgeoisie*, ed. David Blackbourn and Richard J. Evans (London/New York: Routledge, 1991), 46-86; and Charles McClelland, “The Wise Man’s Burden: The Role of Academicians in Imperial German Culture,” in Stark and Lackner, *op. cit.*, 47-69; and *cf.* also Klaus Vondung, ed., *Das wilhelminische Bildungsbürgertum: Zur Sozialgeschichte seiner Ideen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1976).

²²⁹ Augustine, *op. cit.*, 51-52. In this regard, Ute Frevert suggests the term “labour aristocracy,” rather than “propertied bourgeoisie,” as a possibly more fitting description of this class’ position in Wilhelmine society. Ute Frevert, *Women in German History: From Bourgeois Emancipation to Sexual Liberation* (New York/Oxford/Munich: Berg, 1989), 89.

²³⁰ McClelland, *op. cit.*, 53.

²³¹ See especially Richard J. Evans, ed., *The German Working Class 1888 – 1933* (London: Croom Helm, 1982).

²³² Advertisement for *Der Doppelgänger* in *Die Licht-Bild-Bühne* 6.3 (1913): 43. *Der Amerikaner* was the comedy remake of the detective film *Die verräterische Zigarette* (1910), which latter is discussed in depth later in this chapter. Both films were produced by Nordisk under the Danish-language title *Dobbeltgængerne*.

²³³ This image originates from a heavily damaged source and has been subjected to optical enhancement by means of digital retrieval and restoration software in an attempt to render it as clear as possible here.

²³⁴ Koerber, *op. cit.*, esp. 28f; and Hans-Michael Bock, “Ein Instinkt- und Zahlenmensch: Joe May als Produzent und Regisseur in Deutschland,” in *idem* and Lenssen, *op. cit.*, esp. 125f.

²³⁵ Andrew Webber reaches a comparable conclusion regarding the difficulty of discussing the *Doppelgänger* without descending into tautology. See Webber, *op. cit.* (*Double Visions*), 27.

²³⁶ Gaupp, *op. cit.*, 67.

²³⁷ Rosmarie Beier, "Das arbeitende Berlin," in Korff and Rürup, *op. cit.*, 334.

²³⁸ The heroic-cum-deiform construction of the *nouveau riche* detective in contemporary *literature* is identified, for example, in Siegfried Kracauer, "Der Detektiv-Roman: Ein philosophischer Traktat," in *Schriften I* (Frankfurt-am-Main: Suhrkamp, 1971), esp. 166f.; Messac, *op. cit.*, esp. 1f, 581f, and Peter Nusser, *Der Kriminalroman* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1980).

²³⁹ Elsaesser, *op. cit.* ("Early German Cinema"), 26.

²⁴⁰ Schlüpmann, *op. cit.* (*Unheimlichkeit*), 115.

²⁴¹ Schultze, *loc. cit.*

²⁴² Tilo Knops, "Cinema from the Writing Desk: Detective Films in Imperial Germany," in Elsaesser and Wedel, *op. cit.*, 141, 140; and *cf.* especially Hesse, *op. cit.*, 41-54; and *idem*, "Ernst Reicher alias Stuart Webbs: King of the German Film Detectives," in Elsaesser and Wedel, *op. cit.*, esp. 145f.

²⁴³ The description of *Der Geisterspuk im Hause des Professors* is based on that contained in the original programme for the film: Continental-Kunstfilm, *Der Geisterspuk im Hause des Professors* (Berlin: Arthur Lehmann, 1914), preserved in the album of documents from the estate of Ernst Reicher, Nachlaß Nr. 4.3-90, 22, in the collection of the Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek. The description of *Das Panzergewölbe* is based on the review in *8-Uhr-Abendblatt* 29.6.1914: no pag.

²⁴⁴ Schlüpmann, *op. cit.* (*Unheimlichkeit*), esp. 136f; and *cf.* Hesse, *op. cit.* ("Ernst Reicher"), 145.

²⁴⁵ Continental-Kunstfilm, *op. cit.*, 3.

²⁴⁶ See especially Sabine Hake, "Self-Referentiality in Early German Cinema," in Elsaesser and Wedel, *op. cit.*, 242-243.

²⁴⁷ On the use of lighting to augment the good/bad dichotomy of the criminal and the detective, see the discussions of *Die verräterische Zigarette* and *Der Mann im Keller* later in this chapter.

²⁴⁸ Of course, there is no reason why audience members had to identify with just one of the characters and could not have identified with elements of both as part of the fantasy of social mobility – for example, coveting the social milieu of the detective while desiring the improvement in circumstances achieved by the criminals.

²⁴⁹ *Collins German-English English-German Dictionary* (London/Glasgow: Collins, 1980), German-English section, 406.

²⁵⁰ Friedrich Naumann, “Der Hauptmann von Köpenick,” *Hilfe* 12.44 (1906), repr. in Ladendorf, *op. cit.*, vol. 5, 376-379, quotation on 379.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 377.

²⁵² Cited in Irmgard Wilharm, “Hannoversche Kinoanfänge oder “Die Photographie in vollster Lebenstätigkeit,”” in *Lichtspielträume: Kino in Hannover 1896 – 1991*, ed. Rolf Aurich, Susanne Fuhrmann and Pamela Müller (Hannover: SOAK, 1991), 17. The letter-writer has taken several liberties to have his joke. For one thing, the police detectives were fully aware of the Captain’s identity and had already arrested Voigt. For another, the biblical verses have not only been decontextualised but also significantly abridged and otherwise altered. *The New English Bible: New Testament* (Oxford/Cambridge: Oxford and Cambridge University Presses, 1970, 2nd ed.), 14, renders [Matthew ch.8, v.5-10]: “When [Jesus] had entered Capernaum, a centurion [*Hauptmann* in German editions] came up to ask his help. “Sir,” he said, “a boy of mine lies at home paralysed and racked with pain.” Jesus said, “I will come and cure him.” But the centurion replied, “Sir, who am I to have you under my roof? You need only say the word and the boy will be cured. I know, for I am myself under orders, with soldiers under me. I say to one, “Go,” and he goes; to another, “Come here,” and he comes; and to my servant, “Do this,” and he does it.” Jesus heard him with astonishment, and said to the people who were following him, “I tell you this: nowhere, even in Israel, have I found such faith.”” – and see for comparison *Die Bibel, oder die ganze Heilige Schrift des alten und neuen Testaments, nach der deutschen Übersetzung Dr. Martin Luthers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1876), New Testament, 8.

²⁵³ Such procedures were themselves of course indicative of the increased value placed upon the visual within modern life. For a striking example of ‘before and after’ shots employed in a report on nose jobs, see “Fortschritte in der künstlichen Nasenformung,” *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* 16.6.1907, repr. in Luft, *op. cit.*, 67.

²⁵⁴ Naumann, *op. cit.* (“Hauptmann”), 376.

²⁵⁵ A surviving film of Voigt’s release from Berlin’s Tegel prison on 16.8.1908, *Der Hauptmann begnadigt* (“The Captain Pardoned”, Duskes, 1908), which opens with a signed testimony by Voigt that “the following pictures are authentic recordings of my own person,” enhances this downtrodden image, presenting an altogether sympathetic portrait. Still wearing *that* suit and hat (which had presumably just been returned to him by the prison authorities), shuffling unsteadily with a cane towards the camera and looking more gaunt than ever, Voigt carries his worldly possessions beside him in a small

box. Rather unsettlingly, however, he also rambles to himself (in the manner of a jabbering child) throughout the film, and rolls his eyes wildly from side to side, indicating that he may have been suffering psychological difficulties.

²⁵⁶ Asmus, *op. cit.*, 304-319.

²⁵⁷ Naumann, *op. cit.* (“Hauptmann”), 378.

²⁵⁸ Paul Hofmann, “Auf der Suche nach den Anfängen der Kinematographie im rheinisch-westfälischen Industriegebiet,” in Kosok and Jamin, *op. cit.*, 225. Indeed, the damage to the surviving print in the collection of the Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek – which includes tears, splices, perforation rips and substantial vertical scoring – is indicative of considerable over-projection rather than, as is far more usual in the case of early films, poor storage or nitrate disintegration.

²⁵⁹ Sales statistics based on Marguerite Engberg, *Danske Stumfilm* (København: Rhodos, 1977), vol. 1, 511-512. The 1915 Munich re-release took place under the alternative title *Der Doppelgänger*, see Birett, *op. cit.* (*Verzeichnis*), 544. With regard to the film’s similarity to Nordisk’s Sherlock Holmes series, it is worth noting that Otto Lagoni, who plays the detective here, also played Holmes in the contemporaneous *Sherlock Holmes und die Bauernfänger* (*The Confidence Trick*, Nordisk, 1911). To all appearances, Lagoni even wears the identical checked flat-cap in both films. See especially Robert Pohle Jr. and Douglas C. Hart, *Sherlock Holmes on the Screen* (New York: A. S. Barnes, 1977), 36-37.

²⁶⁰ Ron Mottram, on the basis of the Danish-language print of the film in the collection of Det danske Filmmuseum, maintains that “[n]o shots of the train are included.” If this is correct, then the extant Danish print may be less complete than the German one in the collection of the Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek, in which both criminals are shown boarding the train, along with the detective and his boy-servant running along the platform after the moving locomotive. See Ron Mottram, *The Danish Cinema before Dreyer* (Metuchen/London: Scarecrow Press, 1988), 130.

²⁶¹ Unfortunately, it has proven impossible to procure a frame enlargement of this significant image, and so I have resorted to including my own hand-drawn sketch here. A frame enlargement from a comparable sequence in a Georges Méliès film (although with the addition of telegraph wires in the central part of the frame) can be found in Toulet, *op. cit.*, 121.

²⁶² The trisected split-screen as a means for depicting speaker, listener and the distance between the two parties is attested as early as 1909, in a number of Georges Méliès’ Star-Film productions. However, this is the first Nordisk production known to have utilised the technique, although the

company would go on to employ it again in several of its later 1910 productions. *Ibid.*, 120-121; and Mottram, *loc. cit.*

²⁶³ On the legal restrictions applied in Germany to film-posters and advertising stills, see especially “Reklameplakate an Schaubuden und kinematographische Vorführungen, welche das sittliche Gefühl des Abscheus vor einem begangenen Verbrechen schwer verletzen, können polizeilich verboten werden,” *Entscheidungen des Oberverwaltungsgerichtes* 52 (1909): 286-290; and “Gegen den Plakatunfug der Kinematographentheater,” *Die Hochwacht* 2.3 (1911): 73. Convictions could be brought most often under Paragraph 184a of the Criminal Code (a law introduced in June 1900), which concerned the dissemination of “writings, illustrations and depictions that, without being sexually obscene, grossly offend the sense of dignity.” Hermann Schmitt, ed., *Strafgesetzbuch für das Deutsche Reich* (München: C. H. Bock, 1907, 9th ed.), 84.

²⁶⁴ It is difficult to establish the exact number of Stuart Webbs films that were produced, since their enumeration became ever more haphazard as the series went on, changing hands between four different production and distribution companies. However, a correctly enumerated list of the first twenty-seven adventures (i.e. those produced between 1914 and mid-1919) is contained in the programme for episode 27, *Die geheimnisvollen Briefe* (“The Mysterious Letters”, Stuart Webbs-Film-Co., 1919), an example of which is preserved in the album of documents from the estate of Ernst Reicher, Nachlaß Nr.4.3-90/22, in the collection of the Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek. On the 1919 reissue of the 1914 titles, see Hans-Michael Bock, “Filmografie,” in *idem* and Lenssen, *op. cit.*, 154-155.

²⁶⁵ See especially Heide Schlüpmann, “Wahrheit und Lüge im Zeitalter der technischen Reproduzierbarkeit: Detektiv und Heroine bei Joe May,” in *ibid.*, 46-49; Knops, *op. cit.*, 132, 137-139; and Hesse, *op. cit.* (“Ernst Reicher”), 145-147.

²⁶⁶ Quotations from *Die Licht-Bild-Bühne* 7.12 (1914): 15, cited in English in *ibid.*, 147. According to its original on-screen opening-title, *Der Mann im Keller* comprises five acts, although contemporary censor records (on which all subsequent filmographic entries have been based) maintain that it contains only four.

²⁶⁷ Knops, *op. cit.*, 141.

²⁶⁸ Bock, *loc. cit.* (“Filmografie”).

²⁶⁹ Knops, *op. cit.*, 137-138.

²⁷⁰ The symbolic, rather than documentary/‘realist’ motivation behind these images of Egypt as colonial spectacle may be gauged through their relocation of several monuments located in Alexandria to Cairo, in the same way that Berlin elsewhere stands in for the London of the narrative, functioning more generally as modern metropolitan spectacle.

²⁷¹ In this regard, it is worth citing the reviewer of *Der Mann im Keller* in *Der Kinematograph*, who terms the film “a sensation- and surprise-filled picture-book.” *Der Kinematograph* 378 (15.3.1914): no pag.

²⁷² Schlüpmann, *op. cit.* (“Wahrheit und Lüge”), 47.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁴ Magnus Hirschfeld, *Transvestites: The Erotic Drive to Cross Dress* (New York: Prometheus, 1991), 214.

²⁷⁵ Cf. esp. Bernice L. Hausman, *Changing Sex: Transsexualism, Technology, and the Idea of Gender* (Durham/London: Duke University Press, 1995); Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge (Massachusetts): Harvard University Press, 1990); and Robert Stoller, *Sex and Gender: On the Development of Masculinity and Femininity* (New York: Science House, 1968).

²⁷⁶ For examples of the ‘sexual intermediacy movement’ being reconceptualised as the ‘early gay movement,’ see especially Hubert Kennedy, *Ulrichs: The Life and Works of Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, Pioneer of the Modern Gay Movement* (Boston: Alyson, 1988); and Andreas Sternweiler and Hans Gerhard Hannesen, ed., *Goodbye to Berlin? 100 Jahre Schwulenbewegung* (Berlin: rosa Winkel, 1997), 27-80. A detailed definition and discussion of sexual intermediacy is contained in Chapter 5.

²⁷⁷ Cited in English translation in Frevert, *op. cit.*, 5-6.

²⁷⁸ See Adams, *op. cit.*, esp. 1f, 12f, statistics on 17; Kathleen Canning, “Gender and the Politics of Class Formation: Rethinking German Labor History,” *American Historical Review* 97.3 (1992): 749f, and Sabine Richebächer, *Uns fehlt nur eine Kleinigkeit: Deutsche proletarische Frauenbewegung 1890 – 1914* (Frankfurt-am-Main: Fischer, 1982), esp. 25-29.

²⁷⁹ Adams, *op. cit.*, 1.

²⁸⁰ “Emancipirte Frauen,” *Die Fliegenden Blätter* 1846: 102, repr. in *Facsimile: Querschnitt durch die Fliegenden Blätter*, ed. Eva Zahn (Bern/München: Scherz, n. d. [ca. 1966]), 53.

²⁸¹ See for example Frevert, *op. cit.*, 73-82; and Belgum, *op. cit.*, 122f.

²⁸² Figures from A. Bensheimer, “Die Organisation des Bundes Deutscher Frauenvereine,” *Jahrbuch der Frauenbewegung* 1913: 12-73, 83-87, cited in Frevert, *op. cit.*, 113, 329-331.

²⁸³ Dates and figures from *ibid.*, 168-169; Adams, *op. cit.*, 28-29, 63; and Lillian Faderman, *Surpassing the Love of Men: Romantic Friendships and Love between Women from the Renaissance to the Present* (London: The Women's Press, 1985), 180. Note that some German women enrolled at the University of Zürich in Switzerland during the decades prior to the acceptance of female students at German institutions, since it had opened its doors to women in 1867. However, the degrees awarded were still not recognised by the German authorities upon these women's return to their homeland.

²⁸⁴ Frevert, *op. cit.*, 83.

²⁸⁵ August Bebel, *Die Frau und der Sozialismus* (Stuttgart: Dietz, 1913, 50th ed.), 9. Note that earlier editions of Bebel's work bore the title *Die Frau in Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft*. On Bebel as "women's Marx," see especially Richebächer, *op. cit.*, 145f. It is noteworthy that Bebel's *Die Frau und der Sozialismus* made its way, along with Marx's *Kapital*, onto the list of ten "most important books of the century" in an 1899 poll of around 10,000 readers of the *Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung*. See "Die Bilanz des Jahrhunderts," *Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung* 12.3.1899: no pag., repr. in Luft, *op. cit.*, 49.

²⁸⁶ Frevert, *loc. cit.* In this regard, Bebel opined that: "The activities of the bourgeois women's associations to elevate the level of women's work and to gain women admission into high-ranking professions are aimed primarily at creating a better life for higher class women. [...] In this way, the bourgeois women are simply imitating the example of the bourgeois male-world." Bebel, *op. cit.*, 171-172.

²⁸⁷ Frevert, *op. cit.*, 112f.

²⁸⁸ Bebel, *op. cit.*, 9.

²⁸⁹ Cf. especially Canning, *op. cit.*, 761f.

²⁹⁰ Julius Bab, *Die Frau als Schauspielerin: Ein Essay* (Berlin: Oesterheld, 1915), 21.

²⁹¹ Bebel, *op. cit.*, 252, and see esp. 257-263.

²⁹² *Ibid.*, 149.

²⁹³ "Bons garçons," repr. in Karin Helm, ed., *Rosinen aus der 'Gartenlaube': Kurioses aus alten Zeitschriften* (München: Albert Langen/Georg Müller, 1960), 81.

²⁹⁴ Cited in English translation in Frevert, *op. cit.*, 123.

²⁹⁵ See esp. *ibid.*, 94f; and Canning, *op. cit.*, 744f.

²⁹⁶ See esp. John C. Fout, "Sexual Politics in Wilhelmine Germany: The Male Gender Crisis, Moral Purity, and Homophobia," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 2.3 (1992): 388-421; and, in a non-German

context, George Chauncey Jr., *Gay New York: The Making of the Gay Male World, 1890 – 1940* (London: Flamingo, 1995), 111-127. On the new ‘hypermasculine ideal,’ see also Lisa Kosok, “‘Herrlich gebaute Menschen’ für die ‘Freunde körperlicher Kraftleistung’: Athleten und Ringkämpfer,” in *idem* and Jamin, *op. cit.*, 198-201.

²⁹⁷ Bab, *op. cit.*, 14-15.

²⁹⁸ Sara Maitland, *Vesta Tilley* (London: Virago, 1986), 7.

²⁹⁹ Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, 211. Note how this ‘urban legend’ typically projects the ‘ignorant’ attitude that clothing is a primary sex characteristic onto members of an unnamed rural community, drawing on dichotomies of modern urban sophistication versus rural backwardness.

³⁰⁰ See for example Canning, *op. cit.*, 756f; and Frevert, *op. cit.*, 113f.

³⁰¹ Belgum, *op. cit.*, 123.

³⁰² Dr. Bock, “Gesundheitsregeln: Die weibliche Kleidung,” *Die Gartenlaube* 1855: 213-214, repr. in *Facsimile: Querschnitt durch die Gartenlaube*, ed. Heinz Klüter (Bern/Stuttgart/Wien: Scherz, 1963), 30-31.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁵ See for example *ibid.*; E. Heinrich Kisch, “Die Hygiene der jungen Mädchen,” *Die Gartenlaube* 1906: 315-319, repr. in Klüter, *op. cit.*, 162-164; and “Korsett und Bleichsucht,” in Helm, *op. cit.*, 62.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁷ “Die Wellen der Emanzipationssucht,” in *ibid.*, 76.

³⁰⁸ See for example Helm, *op. cit.*, 39. *Shalwar* is actually a Persian-origin type of unisex trousers, whereas *shinityan* are pyjama-like cloth trousers worn beneath a *galabia* robe by Muslim women – most commonly in Levantine nations and those of the Arabian Peninsula – as a counterpart to male *sarawil*.

³⁰⁹ Hanisch, *op. cit.*, 89.

³¹⁰ Schlüpmann, *op. cit.* (*Unheimlichkeit*), 16. Of course, a similar argument had initially been advanced by Miriam Hansen – who likewise drew heavily on Emilie Altenloh’s empirical findings – during the early 1980s. See Hansen, *op. cit.*, esp. 178f.

³¹¹ Nanny Lutze, “Die mondaine Frau im Lichtspielhause,” in Klebinder, *op. cit.*, 36, 38. ‘Worldly women’ is Lutze’s term for women she regards as modern and socially upstanding.

³¹² Cf. in particular Schlüpmann, *op. cit.* (*Unheimlichkeit*), 9f; and *idem*, *op. cit.* (“Anti-Theater”). On Bab and Turszinsky’s exceptional praise of female corporeality, see esp. Bab, *op. cit.*, esp. 44f; and Walter

Turszinsky, "Asta Nielsen," *Berliner Börsen-Courier* 85 (20.2.1913), 1. Beilage: 5, repr. in Schweinitz, *op. cit.*, 350-356.

³¹³ "Kopenhagen protestiert gegen Asta Nielsen," *Die Licht-Bild-Bühne* 5.48 (1912): 42.

³¹⁴ "Die 'moderne' Frauenbewegung in England," *ibid.* 5.50 (1912): 44.

³¹⁵ Brandlmeier, *op. cit.*, 105; and, in the context of early British cinema, cf. Popple, *op. cit.*, 104.

³¹⁶ "Wenn Frauen studieren," *Die Licht-Bild-Bühne* 7.14 (1914): 50.

³¹⁷ This account is based on the write-up in *ibid.*

³¹⁸ Advertising slogan for *Die Frau als Kutscher*, repr. in Birett, *op. cit.* (*Filmangebot*), entry 4423.

³¹⁹ Malwine Rennert, "Asta Nielsen im Kinodrama *Die Suffragette*," *Bild und Film* 6 (1913 – 1914), repr. in *Asta Nielsen: Ihr Leben in Fotodokumenten, Selbstzeugnissen und zeitgenössischen Betrachtungen*, ed. Renate Seydel and Allan Hagedorff (Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1981), 91; and cf. the description in the contemporary film-programme, repr. in Helga Belach, Gero Gandert, Eva Orbanz and Peter Schulz, ed., *Asta Nielsen 1881 – 1972: Herausgegeben zur Asta Nielsen-Ausstellung vom 23.6. – 8.7.1973 in Berlin* (Berlin: Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek, 1973), 64-67.

³²⁰ The cuts to *Die Suffragette* included: "Act II – Scene in which the suffragettes break shop-windows and forcibly resist arrest. Act III (Final sequence at the suffragettes' meeting) – The police storm the meeting-room, and are encircled and attacked by the suffragettes. [...] Act IV – Following the intertitle, "Nelly carries out her plan": all those scenes detailing Nelly's preparations for carrying out a criminal attack. The threat [to Lord Ascue]: "In case you withdraw your parliamentary bill, then we will..." Act V – The explosion [of Lord Ascue's carriage]." Birett, *op. cit.* (*Verzeichnis*), 512.

³²¹ Advertising slogan for *Vertauschte Rollen* in *Der Kinematograph* 254 (8.11.1911): no pag.

³²² George Speaight, *Bawdy Songs of the Early Music Hall* (London/Sydney: Pan, 1977).

³²³ The topicality of the culottes comedies may help to account for the survival of such a relatively high number of these films. For whereas films about feminism could be redistributed endlessly throughout the period under discussion – so that the films were played and replayed until they were fit only to be discarded – the subject of culottes would have been more or less 'dead' by Christmas of 1911, so that these films were not subjected to heavy use in reissue, and instead had the opportunity to languish – safe from the threat of being played to ribbons – on distributor's shelves.

³²⁴ Dorinne Kondo, *About Face: Performing Race in Fashion and Theater* (New York/London: Routledge, 1997), 142, 131.

³²⁵ This account of *Der improvisierte Hosenrock* is based on the copy in the collection of the Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek.

³²⁶ Schlüpmann, *op. cit.* (*Unheimlichkeit*), 54.

³²⁷ *Essener General-Anzeiger* 15.03.1913, cited in Joachim Schlör, “Die Lust am Verbotenen: Zwischen Schaulust und Erkenntnisinteresse,” in Kosok and Jamin, *op. cit.*, 66.

³²⁸ Brandlmeier, *op. cit.*, 109. The performer playing the fiancée employed the *nom-de-plume* Lene Voss, and Brandlmeier does not provide a source for his attribution of this pseudonym to Guido Seeber. Having noted this uncertainty, I must however acknowledge that the heavily made-up performer does bear a marked resemblance to Seeber in photographs from this time.

³²⁹ Asta Nielsen in 1928, quoted in Seydel and Hagedorff, *op. cit.*, 85.

³³⁰ Heide Schlüpmann, ““Ich möchte kein Mann sein”: Ernst Lubitsch, Sigmund Freud und die frühe deutsche Komödie,” *KINtop: Jahrbuch zur Erforschung des Frühen Films* 1 (1993): 75, and *cf.* esp. 88f; and *idem*, “The Sinister Gaze: Three Films by Franz Hofer from 1913,” in Cherchi Usai and Codelli, *op. cit.* (*Before Caligari*), 454. It should be noted that the name ‘Lene Voss’ occurs in the credits of further contemporary productions.

³³¹ Review of *Jugend und Tollheit* in *Politiken* 5.2.1913, repr. in Seydel and Hagedorff, *op. cit.*, 84.

³³² “*Maud als Dandy*,” *Die Licht-Bild-Bühne* 7.5 (1914): 48.

³³³ Asta Nielsen in 1928, quoted in Seydel and Hagedorff, *op. cit.*, 85. This of course ties in with Heide Schlüpmann’s previously discussed arguments concerning Wilhelmine cinema as an emancipatory vehicle for contemporary women.

³³⁴ “*Zapatas Bande*,” *Der Kinematograph* 11.3.1914, repr. in *ibid.*, 113.

³³⁵ V. E., *Zapatas Bande* (Berlin: Max Gottlieb, 1914). A copy of this souvenir programme is preserved in the documents collection of the Bundesarchiv-Filmarchiv (Berlin), Dokumentationsmappe #6833.

³³⁶ Of course, the shifts in identity in *Zapatas Bande* do not implicate only gender, but class and ethnicity as well. The most obvious example of this occurs when the low-class gypsies, by adopting the actors’ attire, become accepted immediately as both respectable and white – and are consequently afforded permission to cross the border without question. Conversely, the members of the acting troupe – now stuck in gypsy attire – are made outcasts by the townsfolk (who had only hours earlier given them a warm welcome) and consequently resort to fowl-rustling and breaking into a countess’ palace to steal food in order to survive. Thus, the criminality and low-class lifestyle attributed to the

gypsies, as well as the respectability and whiteness of the actors, are depicted as fluid characteristics determined by external factors rather than some mythical in-born and all-defining 'nature.'

³³⁷ Birett, *op. cit.* (*Verzeichnis*), 144.

³³⁸ On the partial and total obscuring of cinema posters and lobby photographs under the law, *cf.* for example "Gegen den Plakatunfug," *loc. cit.*; and Dr. Illiger, "Kinoplakatzensur," *Deutsche Gemeindezeitung* 52.47 (1913): 525-527.

³³⁹ Kondo, *op. cit.*, xi.

³⁴⁰ The 'one of each' joke is probably of Victorian vintage, drawing on the same turn-of-the-century discourses of 'sexual intermediacy' that are discussed in this chapter. A 1915 recording by George Robey – a performer who, significantly, often appeared on stage in women's attire – offers a far more pleasing (because clearly ironic and self-determined) variation on the theme: "Now a star fell the day I was born / I was one of a party of triplets / The nurse nearly fainted the first time I smiled / The doctor said, "Hmm, an *extraordinary* child!" / My father, on hearing the verdict, arrived in a terrible state / "Ah, doctor," he said, "Don't keep me in suspense, but let me at once know my fate." / The doctor said, "Sir, there are three! The first is a girl strong and fat. / The next is a 'he' – a fine babe you'll agree." / Then he pointed at me – and that's that!" George Robey, "And That's That" (© 19.5.1915), rereleased on *The Golden Years of Music Hall sung by the Original Artists* (Wotton-under-Edge: Saydisc Records, 1990), CD-SDL380.

³⁴¹ Manfred Baumgardt, "Berlin, ein Zentrum der entstehenden Sexualwissenschaft und die Vorläufer der Homosexuellen-Bewegung," in *Eldorado: Homosexuelle Frauen und Männer in Berlin 1850 – 1950. Geschichte, Alltag und Kultur*, ed. Michael Bollé (Berlin: Frölich & Kaufmann, 1984), 13-16, quotation on 14; and Kennedy, *op. cit.* For a good example of Ulrichs' blurring of the definitional boundaries of the term 'urning,' see especially Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, *Prometheus* (Leipzig: Spohr, 1898, 2nd ed.), 68f.

³⁴² On the popularity of *Urningsbälle*, in particular in Berlin, see especially Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, 368-371; and Wolfgang Theis and Andreas Sternweiler, "Alltag im Kaiserreich und in der Weimarer Republik," in Bollé, *op. cit.*, 60-61.

³⁴³ *Cf.* especially Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, 64f; and W. S., "Vom Weibmann auf der Bühne," *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* 3 (1901): 313-325.

³⁴⁴ See esp. Kennedy, *op. cit.*, 77.

³⁴⁵ Cf. especially Baumgardt, *op. cit.*, 14f; and Gert Hekma, “‘A Female Soul in a Male Body’: Sexual Inversion as Gender Inversion in Nineteenth-Century Sexology,” in *Third Sex, Third Gender: Beyond Sexual Dimorphism in Culture and History*, ed. Gilbert Herdt (New York: Zone, 1994), 213f.

³⁴⁶ On Krafft-Ebing’s terminology, see especially Manfred Herzer, “Das Jahr 1869,” in Bollé, *op. cit.*, 11; and Albert Moll, *Berühmte Homosexuelle* (Wiesbaden: J. F. Bergmann, 1910), 4. Note that Moll employs ‘Homosexuelle’ throughout the latter work as a synonym for ‘sexual intermediates,’ and that his study actually focuses mainly on transvestism and hermaphroditism, rather than homosexuality. For contemporary condensations of Krafft-Ebing’s arguments regarding ‘contrary sexual feeling,’ cf. especially Richard von Krafft-Ebing, “Zur Erklärung der konträren Sexualempfindung,” *Jahrbücher für Psychiatrie und Neurologie* 13.1 (1894): 1-16; and also Norbert Grabowsky, *Die mannweibliche Natur des Menschen mit Berücksichtigung des psychosexuellen Hermaphroditismus* (Leipzig: Spohr, 1899, 3rd ed.).

³⁴⁷ Fout, *op. cit.*, 392.

³⁴⁸ See especially Manfred Herzer, “Das wissenschaftlich-humanitäre Komitee,” in Sternweiler and Hannesen, *op. cit.*, 37f. Note that the *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* was replaced briefly at the beginning of World War One by the *Vierteljahrberichte des wissenschaftlich-humanitären Komitees während der Kriegszeit*.

³⁴⁹ See especially the discussion in Hausman, *op. cit.*, 113f.

³⁵⁰ As Richard Dyer has noted, although Hirschfeld and his *Wissenschaftlich-humanitäres Komitee* “officially abandoned this kind of literalism” around 1910, the so-called “theory of intermediates” that replaced it constructed subjects in an absolutely analogous way. This latter continued to locate intermediates between hypermasculine and hyperfeminine ideals, and differed substantially only in that it conceded the existence of *different gradations of intermediacy*, only some of which were inscribed through external physical attributes. See Richard Dyer, *Now You See It: Studies on Lesbian and Gay Film* (London/New York: Routledge, 1990), 18; and Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, 215-236.

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 214; and Moll, *loc. cit.* Matt Cook notes that largely analogous categories and terminology were employed within contemporaneous English-language sexology, which drew heavily on the work of German theorists. Cf. Matt Cook, “The Inverted City: Sexology in English, 1885 – 1914,” Unpublished paper (University of Warwick: Humanities Research Centre Interdisciplinary Research Seminar, 17.2.1999).

³⁵² Schmitt, *op. cit.*, 79; and on the length of prison sentences given, *cf.* Baumgardt, *op. cit.*, 15; and James D. Steakley, “Iconography of a Scandal; Political Cartoons and the Eulenburg Affair in Wilhelmine Germany,” in *Hidden from History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past*, ed. Martin Bauml-Duberman, Martha Vicinus and George Chauncey Jr. (New York: Nal Books, 1989), 240. Note that provision was made also for those convicted to lose their civil rights. Furthermore, although the section of Paragraph 175 relating to male-male sex was originally to be enforced only in cases of anal intercourse (“*coitus per anum*”), its use was soon extended to cover non-consensual oral sex between males (in 1890), consensual oral sex between males (in 1901), and eventually any “sex-like acts” (“*beischlafähnliche Akte*”) between males, in other words, all male-male sexual activity (in 1903). See “Kann sich nach §175 St.G.B.’s auch derjenige strafbar machen, welcher den Geschlechtsteil eines Schlafenden in seinen Mund einführt,” *Entscheidungen des Reichsgerichts in Strafsachen* 20 (1890): 225-226; “Liegt darin, daß ein Mann das männliche Glied eines Anderen in den Mund nimmt und daran saugt, eine beischlafähnliche Handlung, die auf seiner Seite den objektiven Thatbestand des §175 St.G.B.’s erfüllt?,” *ibid.* 34 (1901): 245-249; and “Was ist unter einem beischlafähnlichen Akte zu verstehen?,” *ibid.* 36 (1903): 32-33.

³⁵³ Fout, *op. cit.*, 394; and *cf.* “Was heißt widernatürliche Unzucht beim weiblichen Geschlecht?,” *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft* 1911: 269-276.

³⁵⁴ Schmitt, *op. cit.*, 157-158; and *cf.* Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, 265-278. According to the German legal terminology of the period, a public nuisance was “constituted by a gross and improper act which directly aggravates or endangers the public at large, and specifically, to such an extent that this aggravation or endangerment poses a threat to public order.” Schmitt, *op. cit.*, 159.

³⁵⁵ Dyer, *loc. cit.*

³⁵⁶ Elisabeth Dauthendey, *Die Urningsfrage und die Frauen* (Leipzig: no imprint, 1906), cited in English translation in Faderman, *op. cit.*, 316.

³⁵⁷ Herzer, *op. cit.* (“Komitee”), 51; and *cf.* especially Edwin Bab, *Frauenbewegung und Freundesliebe* (Berlin: Verlag Adolf Brand – Der Eigene, n. d. [1904]).

³⁵⁸ For examples of sexual intermediates and new women alike being referred to as a ‘third sex,’ see, respectively, Magnus Hirschfeld, *Berlins drittes Geschlecht* (Berlin/Leipzig: Seemann, 1904); and Ernst von Wolzogen, *Das dritte Geschlecht* (Berlin: Kruger, n. d. [ca. 1900]).

³⁵⁹ Sales figure in Magnus Hirschfeld, *Die Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes* (Berlin: Louis Marcus, 1914), 974.

³⁶⁰ See for example *ibid.*, 1018f; and *idem*, *op. cit.* (*Transvestites*), 33, 57-58, 127, 384. A listing of all 998 medico-legal titles identified for the years 1895 to 1913 is located in Manfred Herzer, *Bibliographie zur Homosexualität: Verzeichnis des deutschsprachigen nichtbelletristischen Schrifttums zur weiblichen und männlichen Homosexualität aus den Jahren 1466 bis 1975 in chronologischer Reihenfolge* (Berlin: Verlag rosa Winkel, 1982), 32-94. We must place our trust in Hirschfeld's assertion that his published cases from this time are representative of the thousands of interviews he conducted, since the entire holdings of his research institute – comprising records of over 10,000 interviews, as well as around 20,000 volumes and 35,000 pictures and photographs relating to intermediacy – were destroyed when the Nazis stormed the building in May 1933. See Vern L. Bullough, "Introduction," in Hirschfeld, *op. cit.* (*Transvestites*), 11.

³⁶¹ Rudolf Presber, "Vorwort," in N. O. Body, *Aus eines Mannes Mädchenjahren* (Berlin: Gustav Rieckes Buchhandlung, 1907, 4th ed.), 7.

³⁶² Steakley, *op. cit.*, 233-263, quote on 256-257.

³⁶³ Richard von Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia sexualis: with especial Reference to Contrary Sexual Instinct* (London: Davis, 1892 [1886]), 7. Cited by Cook, *loc. cit.*

³⁶⁴ Iwan Bloch, *The Sexual Life of Our Times in Relation to Modern Civilisation* (London: Rebman, 1908), 514. Cited by Cook, *loc. cit.* Originally as Iwan Bloch, *Das Sexuelleben unserer Zeit in seinen Beziehungen zur modernen Kultur* (Berlin: Louis Marcus, 1906). Between 1906 and 1909, the latter ran to nine editions in Germany, selling some 60,000 copies. See Herzer, *op. cit.* (*Bibliographie*), 62.

³⁶⁵ Havelock Ellis, *Sexual Inversion* (London: Wilson and Macmillan, 1897), 25. Cited by Cook, *loc. cit.* Originally as Havelock Ellis and John Addington Symonds, *Das konträre Geschlechtsgefühl* (Leipzig: Wigand, 1896). Note that Symonds' (who had died in 1893) name was removed from the English-language edition, which, unlike its German-language translation, received only the scantest distribution, with the executor of Symonds' estate buying up nearly all copies in an attempt to spare Symonds' reputation from any disapprobatory posthumous reassessment. See Phyllis Grosskurth, ed., *John Addington Symonds: The Memoirs* (London: Hutchinson, 1984), 21.

³⁶⁶ O. Z., *Die Verbrecherwelt von Berlin* (Berlin: no imprint, 1886), 175-176; and cf. Anonym, *Das perverse Berlin* (Berlin: no imprint, 1910), esp. 93f.

³⁶⁷ Cf. Hirschfeld, *op. cit.* (*Berlins*).

³⁶⁸ Theis and Sternweiler, *op. cit.*, 58-60, quote on 59-60; and citing Anonym, *op. cit.*, 115; and Hirschfeld, *op. cit.* (*Homosexualität*), 682.

³⁶⁹ Anonym, *op. cit.*, 135, cited in Theis and Sternweiler, *loc. cit.* It is uncertain exactly when German intermediates began using the nickname 'aunties' (*Tanten*). However, the origin may have been the play *Charley's Aunt*, which, as *Charleys Tante*, enjoyed enormous success in Germany during the late 1890s. A discussion of this work's possible appeal for intermediates is undertaken later in this chapter.

³⁷⁰ Bill Forster, *Anders als die Andern* (Berlin: Hugo Schildberger, n. d. [1904]); Luz Fraumann, *Weiberbeute: ein merkwürdiger Roman* (Budapest: M. W. Schneider, 1906); and Body, *op. cit.*; and see esp. Hirschfeld, *op. cit.* (*Transvestites*), 24, 27f, 47, 63, 78, 132-139; and *idem, op. cit.* (*Homosexualität*), 1018f. To be precise, the pseudo-hermaphrodite subject of *Aus eines Mannes Mädchenjahren* was born with *hypospadias peniscrotalis*, that is to say, with the opening of the urethra located on the underside of the penis, rendering the organ sexually dysfunctional. The novels *Anders als die Andern* and *Aus eines Mannes Mädchenjahren* provided the basis for the two *Aufklärungsfilme* ('enlightenment films') of the same name released during the brief period when censorship was abolished at the beginning of the Weimar Republic, in 1919-20. See esp. Dyer, *op. cit.*, 8, 10f, Kracauer, *op. cit.* (*From Caligari*), 44-47; and Paul Werner, *Die Skandalchronik des deutschen Films von 1900 bis 1945* (Frankfurt-am-Main: Fischer, 1990), 95f. According to Werner, *Anders als die Andern* was also the title of a "popular uranian anthem (*Urningsen-Schlager*)" in the early years of the century.

³⁷¹ Theis and Sternweiler, *op. cit.*, 48-51; and *cf.* esp. Hirschfeld, *op. cit.* (*Homosexualität*), 698f.

³⁷² Ellis, *op. cit.*, 64. Cited by Cook, *loc. cit.*

³⁷³ Theis and Sternweiler, *op. cit.*, 57, 60; and drawing on Hirschfeld, *op. cit.* (*Homosexualität*), 688; and F. Hugländer, "Aus dem homosexuellen Leben Alt-Berlins," *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* 14 (1914): 53f.

³⁷⁴ This account is based on "Charley's Aunt: A three-act comedy by Brandon Thomas, first performed at the Royalty Theatre on Wednesday evening, December 21st, 1892," *The Theatre* 21.2 (February 1893): 97-98; "At the Play in Germany," *ibid.* 24.3 (September 1894): 141; E. J. Goodman and H. Hamilton Fyfe, "Charley's Aunt on the Continent," *ibid.* 25.6 (June 1895): 338-344; and "Echoes from the Green Room," *ibid.* 28.6 (December 1896): 354.

- ³⁷⁵ Leo Melitz, *Führer durch das Schauspiel der Gegenwart* (Berlin: Globus, 1911), 17-18; Kalbus, *op. cit.*, 121; and Hans Scheugl, *Sexualität und Neurose im Film: Die Kinomythen von Griffith bis Warhol* (München: Carl Hanser, 1974), 254.
- ³⁷⁶ Based on the summary in Melitz, *loc. cit.*, quote on 18.
- ³⁷⁷ *The Theatre* 21.2 (February 1893): 97.
- ³⁷⁸ Goodman and Fyfe, *op. cit.*, 339.
- ³⁷⁹ A Looker-On, "The Dearth of Dramatists," *The Theatre* 29.4 (April 1897): 209. A similar sentiment is implied in the original review of the play, whose author states that "[h]igh art is never in the question, it is a kind of Bank Holiday art at best." *Ibid.* 21.2 (February 1893): *loc. cit.*
- ³⁸⁰ Cf. Hirschfeld, *op. cit.* (*Transvestites*), esp. 359f.
- ³⁸¹ *The Theatre*, *loc. cit.*; and on the rise of 'the dame' in late nineteenth-century pantomime, cf. for example Lady De Frece [=Vesta Tilley], *Recollections of Vesta Tilley* (London: Hutchinson, 1934), esp. 66f; and J. Hickory Wood, *Dan Leno* (London: Methuen, 1905), esp. 133f.
- ³⁸² Cf. especially Hirschfeld, *loc. cit.*; and Moeller-Bruck, *op. cit.*, 217f.
- ³⁸³ Cf. Theis and Sternweiler, *loc. cit.*; and *idem*, "Leben in der Unterdrückung," in *idem* and Hannesen, *op. cit.*, 72f.
- ³⁸⁴ Laurence Senelick, "Boys and Girls Together: Subcultural Origins of Glamour Drag and Male Impersonation on the Nineteenth-Century Stage," in *Crossing the Stage: Controversies on Cross-Dressing*, ed. Lesley Ferris (London/New York: Routledge, 1993), 81.
- ³⁸⁵ Lychnography was one of numerous patented German processes for the mechanised production of (tinted) photographic images at this time.
- ³⁸⁶ Cf. Wilhelm Bendow and Marcellus Schiffer, *Der kleine Bendow ist vom Himmel gefallen: Enthüllungen in Wort und Bild vom unentwickelten Knaben bis zum überreifen Manne* (Berlin: Efra-Verlag, n. d. [1925]).
- ³⁸⁷ Erich Plümer, ed., *Wilhelm Bendow – Schauspieler und Kabarettist: Eine Dokumentation zu seinem 100. Geburtstag* (Einbeck: Gebrüder Börner, 1984), 3, 19. Unlike Walden and Brunin, Bendow retained his popularity throughout the Weimar period, and even – amazingly, and despite being incarcerated for two years in a concentration camp – well into the Nazi period, when he was still able to appear as the 'Man in the Moon' in the Third Reich film extravaganza *Münchhausen* (Ufa, 1943). Bendow's camp voice and persona are recorded on numerous 78's and in several sound film appearances. See also

“Wilhelm Bendow,” in *Tondokumente der Kleinkunst und ihre Interpreten 1898 – 1945*, ed. Berthold Leimbach (Göttingen: Hubert, 1991), no pag.

³⁸⁸ Bendow and Schiffer, *op. cit.*, 86; and cf. S. Damm and N. Emmerich, “Die Irrenanstalt Dalldorf-Wittenau bis 1933,” in *Totgeschwiegen 1933 – 1945: Zur Geschichte der Wittenauer Heilstätten, seit 1957 Karl-Bonhoeffer Nervenklīnik*, ed. Götz Aly (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1989, 2nd revised ed.), no pag.

³⁸⁹ W. S., *loc. cit.*

³⁹⁰ Günther, *op. cit.*, 142.

³⁹¹ Hirschfeld, *op. cit.* (*Transvestites*), 26.

³⁹² *Ibid.*, 316-317, quote on 317.

³⁹³ Cf. *ibid.*, 377f.

³⁹⁴ On *Vor Taschendieben wird gewarnt*, see *Der Kinematograph* 20 (29.4.1908): no pag.; and on *Mädchen oder Mann?*, see *Der deutsche Lichtbildtheater-Besitzer* 15 (1911): no pag.

³⁹⁵ “Neuheiten auf dem Berliner Filmmarkte,” *Der Kinematograph* 517 (1916): no pag.

³⁹⁶ To wit, other titles identified include a second *Johann als Kindermädchen* (‘Johann as a Nanny’, Gaumont), *Moritz als Amme* (‘Moritz as a Wet-Nurse’, S.C.A.G.L.) and *Müller als Gesellschaftsdame* (*Foolshead as Lady Companion [sic]*, Itala, all 1911). This adoption of traditionally ‘female’ occupations by male protagonists surely references the apparent ‘confusion of the sexes’ resulting from new women’s perceived masculinisation at this time also.

³⁹⁷ Letter from Richard Oswald to Veit Harlan, 17.2.1958, cited in Helga Belach and Wolfgang Jacobsen, ed., *Richard Oswald: Regisseur und Produzent* (München: edition text+kritik, 1990), 25. On Brunner’s reputation as an extreme conservative, cf. also the satirical “Brunner’s Doppelgänger in Amerika” [*sic*], *Die Licht-Bild-Bühne* 7.16 (1914): 28, 30; and Walter Panofsky, “Die Geburt des Films: Ein Stück Kulturgeschichte,” [1940] in Jochum, *op. cit.*, 51.

³⁹⁸ See Birett, *op. cit.* (*Verzeichnis*), 117. *Polidor als Kammerzofe* measured 106 metres in the version passed by the Berlin censor, which was just over half the length recorded when it played elsewhere in Europe. In Britain, as *Polidor as a Lady’s Maid*, it came in at 570 feet (approximately 174 metres); in France, as *Polidor domestique dans la bonne société*, it was 198 metres; and in Spain, as *Polidor camarero*, it ran to 200 metres. Aldo Bernardini, *Archivio del cinema italiano: il cinema muto, 1905 – 1931* (Roma: Edizioni ANICA, 1991), 397.

³⁹⁹ Kurt Tucholsky, "Verbotene Films," *Die Schaubühne* 9.40 (2.10.1913): 952, repr. in Schweinitz, *op. cit.*, 218.

⁴⁰⁰ Hirschfeld, *op. cit.* (*Transvestites*), 126.

⁴⁰¹ 'Percy' seems to have been a stock name in British comedy at this time for characters manifesting some kind of perceived sexual 'flaw' or 'shortcoming.' In this regard, it is surely noteworthy that the sobriquet was not substituted simply with a standard Teutonic given-name in the film's German-language release title, but with the comic epithet 'Herr Pfiffig' (≈ 'Mr. Slyboots'). Cf. for example Sheila Steafel, "Percy" [ca. 1890], *Victoria Plums: Peculiarly Poignant Songs of Pain and Pleasure* (London: Redial/PolyGram, 1998), CD 557 209-2; and Vesta Victoria, "Look What Percy's Picked Up in the Park" (© 14.8.1912), rereleased on *The Golden Years of Music Hall*, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁰² This description is based on the copy held in the collection of the National Film and Television Archive (London). 'Tootsie' (and its shortened form 'toots') is a slang term of apparently uncertain etymology, referring to a female sweetheart. Its usage as an ironic form of address among British and American gay and transvestite males has been attested throughout the twentieth century.

⁴⁰³ Repr. in Henri Bousquet, *Catalogue Pathé des années 1896 à 1914 – 1910, 1911* (Paris: Édition Henri Bousquet, 1994), 474.

⁴⁰⁴ In the original French version, the wrestler indeed goes by the symbolic appellation Athlétos. *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁵ Scheugl, *op. cit.*, 252.

⁴⁰⁶ "Der Mann mit den weiblichen Allüren," *Die Licht-Bild-Bühne* 7.4 (1914): 47.

⁴⁰⁷ Peter Panter [=Kurt Tucholsky], "Coletti," *Die Schaubühne* 9.16 (17.4.1913): 450-451, repr. in Schweinitz, *op. cit.*, 358-359.

⁴⁰⁸ Cf. especially Hake, *loc. cit.* ("Self-Referentiality"). Interestingly, the producers of *Wo ist Coletti?* effectively blurred the boundaries between the film's depictions of modernity and the actual experience of modernity in Berlin within trade advertisements, by asserting that the film, following its premiere at the Kammerlichtspiele on Potsdamerplatz, had demonstrated *in real life* the power of the mass media to disseminate ideas and information swiftly to a broad public: "Berlin now has its trademark, its catchword of the moment, as everywhere about us the phrase rings out, "Where is Coletti?" [...] The in-words, folk melodies and catchwords of yesteryear were born on the stage or among the people. Today, they make their way into public life from the cinema-screen, and when they

catch on, take hold in an all-pervading way, so that they might scarcely ever be purged from the language.” “*Wo ist Coletti?*,” *Die Licht-Bild-Bühne* 6.14 (1913): 24.

⁴⁰⁹ The programme-like structure of *Wo ist Coletti?* has been noted also in Knops, *op. cit.*, 135.

⁴¹⁰ A frame enlargement of this decorative intertitle is reproduced in *ibid.*, 136.

⁴¹¹ Hirschfeld, *op. cit.* (*Transvestites*), 299-300, and see also 66-68, 127f, 166-167.

⁴¹² Cf. especially Hubert van den Berg, “‘Free Love’ in Imperial Germany: Anarchism and Patriarchy, 1870 – 1918,” *Anarchist Studies* 4.1 (March 1996): 3-26. In this regard, it should be stressed also that Coletti and Lolotte are not, of course, married, so that their shared nights and breakfasts at Lolotte’s apartment (and this is not to mention their numerous on-screen deep kisses) may have been seen to render the setting a veritable agapemone.

⁴¹³ Hanisch, *op. cit.*, 183.

⁴¹⁴ On the relative position of Potsdamerplatz to the Friedrichstraße, cf. for example the contemporary street-plan reproduced in the frontispiece of *ibid.*

⁴¹⁵ The title-card of the extant print in the collection of the Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek actually bears the legend ‘*Aus eines Mannes Mädchenjahren,*’ so as to be identical to N. O. Body’s book (and by extension, the 1920 film adaptation of the latter starring Erika Glässner). As Heide Schlüpmann notes, this title appears to have been appended to the copy of the 1913 film at a later date, and is not employed in the only known review of the work from the Wilhelmine period. Schlüpmann, *op. cit.* (*Unheimlichkeit*), 317.

⁴¹⁶ The earliest known photograph of Bendow performing a *Rockrolle* shows him at about age seventeen – dating, therefore, from around 1901. This indicates that he may already have accumulated something over a decade of relevant stage experience prior to his appearance in *Aus eines Mannes Mädchenzeit*. See Bendow and Schiffer, *op. cit.*, 12.

⁴¹⁷ “Neuheiten,” *loc. cit.*

⁴¹⁸ Klaus Budzinski, *Das Kabarett: Zeitkritik – gesprochen, gesungen, gespielt – von der Jahrhundertwende bis heute* (Düsseldorf: ECON, 1985), 23; Leimbach, *loc. cit.*; and Andreas Sternweiler, “Schwules Selbstbewußtsein,” in *idem* and Hannesen, *op. cit.*, 123.

⁴¹⁹ Schlüpmann, *op. cit.* (*Unheimlichkeit*), 58.

⁴²⁰ I scarcely believe it to have been standard practice for Wilhelmine barbers to carry a selection of women’s wigs, and consequently assume that this sequence in *Aus eines Mannes Mädchenzeit* may be

intended to represent a visit to an intermediate hairdressing establishment. Still-current stereotypes pertaining to male hairdressers' sexuality are noted in a 1908 sexological study by Xavier Mayne, in which he asserts that the profession attracts high numbers of what he refers to as "the intersexes" – both in the United States, where he undertook his research, and in Europe – due to the close male-male physical contact that the cutting of hair affords. In this regard, it might also be remarked that Coletti's close relationship with his barber Anton (Heinrich Peer) is a recurrent theme in *Wo ist Coletti?* Cf. Xavier Mayne, *The Intersexes: A History of Simisexualism as a Problem in Social Life* (New York: Arno Press, 1975 [1908]), 408.

⁴²¹ Schlüpmann, *loc. cit.* (*Unheimlichkeit*).

⁴²² *Ibid.*, 55f, which also includes a comprehensive cross-section of frame enlargements from these scenes.

⁴²³ Hirschfeld, *op. cit.* (*Transvestites*), 61, and see also 26, 41f, 83f.

⁴²⁴ Interestingly, the actor playing the butler in *Aus eines Mannes Mädchenzeit*, 'der kleine Berisch,' becomes involved in another male-male encounter in an earlier Meßter-Film production, the trick-film *Das verzauberte Café* (*Haunted Café*, 1911). Here, he appears as a waiter who is about to kiss one of the café's female patrons on the lips – only for her to be transformed, by means of a jump-cut, into a young man, who receives the lusty embrace instead!

⁴²⁵ Cf. especially Guido Convents, "Film and German Colonial Propaganda for the Black African Territories to 1918," in Cherchi Usai and Codelli, *op. cit.* (*Before Caligari*), 58-76; Helmut Regel, "Der Schwarze und sein 'Bwana': Das Afrika-Bild im deutschen Film," in Schöning, *op. cit.*, 62-67; Thode-Arora, *loc. cit.*; and Gerlinde Waz, "Auf der Suche nach dem letzten Paradies: Der Afrikaforscher und Regisseur Hans Schomburgk," in Schöning, *op. cit.*, 95-106; as well as my own "Black Subjects/White Spectators: Colonial Images and Audience Pleasure in Early German Cinema (1895 – 1914)," Unpublished paper (University of Warwick: Popular European Cinema Conference 3 – *The Spectacular*, 24-26.3.2000).

⁴²⁶ Kern, *op. cit.*, 224-237, quotation on 224. Anthropogeography of course provided the basis for the subsequent doctrine of geopolitics, as expounded by figures such as Karl Haushofer, professor of geography at Munich University in the 1920s, and adopted by the Nazis in terms of policies of world domination. Cf. for example George L. Mosse, *Toward the Final Solution: A History of European Racism* (London/Melbourne/Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1978).

⁴²⁷ Cf. for example Henri Brunschwig, *L'expansion allemande d'outre-mer du XV^e siècle à nos jours* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1957), 81f; and Smith, *op. cit.*, esp. 3-19. The German colonies outside Africa comprised the Pacific territories of German Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago (now both parts of Papua New Guinea), German Samoa, the Marshall, Caroline and Mariana Islands, and Kiaochow (on China's Shandong Peninsula).

⁴²⁸ Hans Meyer, "Hans Meyers Kilimandscharobesteigerung 1889" [ca. 1900], repr. in *Deutsche kolonisieren: Berichte berühmter Kolonial-Deutschen*, ed. Kurt Kietz (Breslau: Ferdinand Hirt, n. d. [1934]), 77-80, quotation on 77.

⁴²⁹ On the 'Alpine qualities' of the Usambara mountains, cf. especially Hubert Henoch, "Deutsche Arbeit in Afrika" [ca. 1914], in *ibid.*, 96-98; and on the specific name-changes cited, cf. Horst Drechsler, "South West Africa, 1885 – 1907," in *German Imperialism in Africa: From the Beginnings Until the Second World War*, ed. Helmuth Stoecker (London: C. Hurst & Co., 1986), 49; and "Bismarck Archipelago," in *Everyman's Encyclopædia*, ed. E. F. Bozman (London: Readers' Union/J. M. Dent & Sons, 1961, 4th ed.), vol. 2, 276.

⁴³⁰ H. Klose, "In einem Jägerdorfe der Ewe-Neger" [ca. 1907], repr. in Kietz, *op. cit.*, 66; and Leo Waibel, "Der Farmer" [1918], repr. in *ibid.*, 33.

⁴³¹ Heinrich Driesmans, *Rasse und Milieu* (Berlin: Johannes Råde, 1902), 12.

⁴³² Helmuth Stoecker, "The German Empire in Africa before 1914: General Questions," in *idem, op. cit.*, 210. Comte Joseph Arthur de Gobineau's *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* was originally published in French in three volumes between 1853 and 1855, while Houston Stewart Chamberlain's *Die Grundlagen des 19. Jahrhunderts* in fact appeared in German substantially prior to its 1910 publication in English, as *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*.

⁴³³ Cf. especially May Opitz, "Rassismus, Sexismus und vorkoloniales Afrikabild in Deutschland," in *Farbe bekennen: Afro-deutsche Frauen auf den Spuren ihrer Geschichte*, ed. Katharina Oguntoye, May Opitz and Dagmar Schultz (Frankfurt-am-Main: Fischer, 1992), 17-28; and Uta Sadjji, *Der Negermythos am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland – eine Analyse der Rezeption von Reiseliteratur über Schwarzafrika* (Frankfurt-am-Main: Lang, 1979); and also Young, *op. cit. (Fear)*, esp. 45f. As Richard Dyer has put it, "white people create the dominant images of the world and don't quite see that they thus construct the world in their own image; white people set standards of humanity by which they are bound to succeed and others bound to fail." Richard Dyer, *White* (London/New York: Routledge, 1997), 9.

⁴³⁴ Cited in Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain* (London: Pluto Press, 1984), 166.

⁴³⁵ Driesmans, *op. cit.*, 124-125. For wide-ranging overviews of such scientific postulation, cf. especially Sander L. Gilman, *Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race and Madness* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 76f; and Benoit Massin, "From Virchow to Fischer: Physical Anthropology and 'Modern Race Theories' in Wilhelmine Germany," in *'Volksgeist' as Method and Ethic: Essays on Boasian Ethnography and the German Anthropological Tradition*, ed. George W. Stocking Jr. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996), 79-154.

⁴³⁶ Cf. for example Homi K. Bhabha, "Culture's In-Between," in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, ed. Stuart Hall and Paul Duguay (London/Thousand Oaks/New Delhi: Sage, 1996), 53-60, esp. 55-56; Dyer, *op. cit.* (*White*), esp. 1-40; Claire Pajaczkowska and Lola Young, "Racism, Representation, Psychoanalysis," in *'Race,' Culture and Difference*, ed. James Donald and Ali Ratansi (London/Thousand Oaks/New Delhi: Sage, 1992), esp. 202f, and Young, *op. cit.* (*Fear*), esp. 181f. Those researchers who draw on psychoanalysis have generally conceptualised the ascription of 'undesirable' white behaviours to blacks in terms of processes of repression and projection.

⁴³⁷ Waibel, *loc. cit.*

⁴³⁸ Drechsler, *op. cit.*, 52-62, quotation on 52; and cf. Helmuth Stoecker, "Cameroon, 1885 – 1906," in *idem, op. cit.* (*German Imperialism*), 63f; *idem*, "German East Africa, 1885 – 1906," in *ibid.*, 105f, and Fritz Ferdinand Müller, *Kolonien unter der Peitsche* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1962).

⁴³⁹ "Decree of the Imperial Chancellor concerning the Application of the Criminal Law etc. to the Native Populations in the Protectorates of German East Africa, Cameroon and Togo" [22.4.1896], cited in English translation in Stoecker, *op. cit.* ("General Questions"), 207. This legislation was extended to cover German Southwest Africa on 8.11.1896.

⁴⁴⁰ Smith, *op. cit.*, 64-65. As is well-known, von Trotha's activities provided the foundation for the future instigation of *apartheid* policies in the region. Smith notes that von Trotha's activities were not, however, confined to German Southwest Africa during the colonial period: "von Trotha [...] made a very successful career outside of Germany – first as commander of the *Schutztruppe* in East Africa in a series of small, brutal campaigns to extend German authority and then as general commanding a German force sent to China to help quell the Boxer Rebellion. Encouraged by the Kaiser to behave ruthlessly in China, Trotha did exactly that, leaving behind fierce hatred for Germany and setting an

example for German colonial warfare that was much remarked in other countries.” Cf. also Drechsler, *op. cit.*, 62.

⁴⁴¹ Smith, *op. cit.*, 18f, 23f, membership statistic on 42.

⁴⁴² Hirschfeld, *op. cit.* (*Transvestites*), 74.

⁴⁴³ Advertisement for Hamley’s in *Work: The Illustrated Weekly Journal for Mechanics* 16.505 (19.11.1898): 318; and cf. for example “Wenn Prinz Karneval läutet,” *Die Gartenlaube* 1922: 104-105, repr. in Klüter, *op. cit.*, 196-197.

⁴⁴⁴ Young, *op. cit.* (*Fear*), 21; and cf. especially May Opitz, “Die Deutschen in den Kolonien,” in Oguntoye, Opitz and Schultz, *op. cit.*, 29-44.

⁴⁴⁵ E. Moritz, *Das Schulwesen in Deutsch-Südwestafrika* (Berlin: no imprint, 1914), 211, cited in English translation in Stoecker, *op. cit.* (“General Questions”), 226. As Stoecker observes, the fervently nationalistic geographer Siegfried Passarge had warned of the consequences of educating West Africans as early as 1895: “Firstly, one would have gone to great pains to educate dangerous rivals, and secondly, the blacks would seek to throw the whites out as fast as possible. [...] Strict rearing [should make Africans] well aware of their inferiority to the white man.” Cited in English translation in *ibid.*, 217. It should of course be pointed out that such anxieties regarding black Africans’ potential to grow ‘nearer’ to whites through education stood absolutely at odds with the ‘biology as destiny’ rhetoric of contemporaneous milieu theory.

⁴⁴⁶ The largeness of the suckling infant seems noteworthy also, presumably referencing contemporary myths about blacks’ hyperreproductive powers and hyperfertile properties causing them to give birth to ‘big babies.’

⁴⁴⁷ All quotations cited in English translation in *ibid.*, 211; and cf. R. V. Pierard, “The Transportation of White Women to German South-West Africa, 1898 – 1914,” *Race: A Journal of Race and Group Relations* 12 (1971): 317-322; and also Helmut Bley, *South West Africa under German Rule, 1894 – 1914* (London: Heinemann, 1971), esp. 212-219. It should be noted that some percentage of these children were undoubtedly the product of rape by white male colonists. Cf. especially Opitz, *op. cit.* (“Die Deutschen”), 37; and Stoecker, *op. cit.* (“Cameroon”), 77.

⁴⁴⁸ Young, *op. cit.* (*Colonial*), 175-181, quotation on 176.

⁴⁴⁹ As Woodruff Smith notes, although such colonial goods were afforded a privileged position in the German domestic marketplace, they actually accounted for scarcely 1.2% of all German trade even in

1914, during which year colonial commercial productivity reached its all-time height for Germany. Smith, *op. cit.*, 220.

⁴⁵⁰ Cf. especially Thode-Arora, *loc. cit.*; and Oettermann, *op. cit.*, 80-101.

⁴⁵¹ See especially “Scheel-Vandel ædt af Kannibaler – hele Byen ryster af Rædsel!” [1897], in Bredahl and Kjerulf, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, 334-335.

⁴⁵² Johannes Flemming, *Völkerschau Aethiopien* (Hamburg: Carl Hagenbecks Tierpark Stellingen, 1909), 3, cited in Thode-Arora, *op. cit.*, 19, which also includes several contemporary illustrations and photographs of such *Völkerschau* displays. Friedrich Naumann makes it clear that a similar effect was generated at World Fairs and Exhibitions during this period (which were of course considered more ‘culturally worthy’): “Here, ladies and gentlemen, you will find Spain, Athens, Constantinople, Suez, Ceylon, China, Japan, Moscow, Sydney, New York, and who knows where else? Individual parts of the undertaking are absolutely exquisite, such as the view over a Turkish cemetery on the Bosphorus and the crumbling splendour of a South East Asian temple. That’s a geography lesson with all the trimmings of modernity!” Friedrich Naumann, “Pariser Briefe” [1900], in Ladendorf, *op. cit.*, vol. 6, 396.

⁴⁵³ Stephan Oettermann, who reproduces this same cartoon, also cites an 1868 report on a *Völkerschau*, written by Heinrich Lehmann, who similarly expresses the view that the encounter between white and black subjects disrupts notions of oppositionality: “they opened their lips, dutifully pursed in the Negro way, and from out of the hole between them it resounded, “tschuppi, tshuppi.” Members of the audience scarcely had time to exchange searching looks as to the meaning of this hideously African expression, when the show’s manager [...] informed us that this was a request for cigars [...]. They smoke cigars, that makes them closer to us, everyone clearly thought – and it was quite literally so, for the barbarous fellows descended from the stage and came among the rows of the audience to harvest cigars.” Oettermann, *op. cit.*, 91.

⁴⁵⁴ Werner, *op. cit.*, 28.

⁴⁵⁵ Meßter, *op. cit.*, 118; and on Meßter’s astute business practices, cf. esp. Rainer Karlsch, “Die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung der Messter-Firmen,” in Kessler, Lenk and Loiperdinger, *op. cit.*, 149-165.

⁴⁵⁶ A remarkable overview of the film’s shooting and content can be found in Megh Gehrts, *A Camera Actress in the Wilds of Togoland: The Adventures, Observations & Experiences of a Cinematograph Actress in West African Forests whilst Collecting Films Native Life and when Posing as the White Woman in Anglo-African*

Cinematograph Dramas (London: Seeley, Service & Co., 1915), 29-39. Note that this and the other films featuring Gehrts were actually German productions, and were accorded the status of 'Anglo-African' dramas throughout this source on account of its publication in London following the outbreak of the World War. Cf. also Waz, *op. cit.*, 102-103, who reproduces an identically constructed poster to *Eine Weisse unter Kannibalen* ('A White Woman among Cannibals', Schomburgk-Film, 1921), a Weimar remake of *Die weiße Göttin der Wangora* by the same director and production-company, that also incorporated footage from the earlier version.

⁴⁵⁷ Drechsler, *loc. cit.*; and Driesmans, *op. cit.*, 154; and cf. also Dyer, *op. cit. (White)*, 52-53.

⁴⁵⁸ "Balao," *Die Licht-Bild-Bühne* 6.9 (1913): 56. Note that the German version of the film differed substantially from its French original and English-language versions. For the German release, the names of all the characters apart from Balao were altered ('Dr. X' was 'Dr. Coriolis' in the other versions), the plot was modified so as to render Balao less sympathetic, and Balao even changed species – here he was an orang-utan, whereas elsewhere he had been a baboon. Compare the lengthy review in the above issue of *Die Licht-Bild-Bühne* with the overviews of the non-German versions in Abel, *op. cit. (The Cine)*, 365; Gifford, *op. cit.*, 27; and Hardy, *op. cit. (Horror)*, 18.

⁴⁵⁹ Leroux's newspaper serial originally appeared over seventy-one daily instalments in *Le matin* between 9.10.1911 and 18.12.1911, and was first published in a single volume in France the following year. Cf. Francis Lacassin, ed., *Gaston Leroux – Œuvres: préface, chronologie, bibliographie, filmographie, téléfilmographie et choix de documents* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1984), 1011. The German advertising campaign incorporated a photographic still representing the same scene in the film as the American trade poster. Unfortunately, only very poor quality microfiche copies of the pertinent issue of *Die Licht-Bild-Bühne* could be located, cf. "Balao: Drama in zwei Akten," *Die Licht-Bild-Bühne* 6.8 (1913): 9.

⁴⁶⁰ Further French productions of this type, for which a German release could not be attested, include *The Doctor's Experiment* (aka *Reversing Darwin's Theory*, original French title unknown, Gaumont) and *L'homme-singe* (*The Monkey Man*, Pathé, both 1908), and *An Apish Trick* (original French title unknown, Pathé, 1909). Cf. Hardy, *op. cit. (Science Fiction)*, 31-32, 34.

⁴⁶¹ This description of *Der gefährliche Neger* is based on the account in *Der deutsche Lichtbildtheater-Besitzer* 46 (1911): no pag. Since the protagonist's blackness is a consequence of his not having washed, the film seems also to reference stereotypes equating black people with dirtiness. Concerning such stereotypes, cf. esp. Opitz, *op. cit. ("Die Deutschen")*, 42f.

⁴⁶² Cf. especially the overview of the extant copy in the collection of the Cinémathèque Française, in Bousquet, *op. cit.*, 334.

⁴⁶³ See Driesmans, *op. cit.*, 2f. Note that members of the ‘red race’ – defined as the indigenous populations of North and South America – were frequently recast as blacks within popular accounts and *Völkerschau* displays, cf. for example Oettermann, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁶⁴ Herbert Birett, “Méliès-Filme in Deutschland 1895 – 1914,” Unpublished checklist (München, 1995).

⁴⁶⁵ Repr. in Georges Sadoul, *Lumière et Méliès* (Paris: Lherminier, 1985), 258-259. Note that a somewhat inaccurate English translation of this 1901 description is given in Peter Noble, *The Negro in Films* (London: Skelton Robinson, n. d. [1949]), 27-28.

⁴⁶⁶ Hardy, *op. cit.* (*Science Fiction*), 22.

⁴⁶⁷ Thomas Cripps, *Slow Fade to Black: The Negro in American Film, 1900 – 1942* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 14.

⁴⁶⁸ On modernity as a white-associated phenomenon from which black people have been actively and passively excluded on account of their ostensible ‘primitive,’ ‘disruptive,’ and ‘menacing’ influences, cf. for example Homi K. Bhabha, “‘Race,’ Time and the Revision of Modernity,” *Oxford Literary Review* 13 (1991): 193-219; and Paul Gilroy, “Whose Millennium is this? Blackness: pre-modern, post-modern, anti-modern,” in *Small Acts: Thoughts on the Politics of Black Cultures* (London/New York: Serpent’s Tail, 1993), 153-165. It occurs to me that the tautologous and contradictory ‘logic’ underpinning *Schwarz und weiß, oder, Der Narren-Omnibus* within a ‘racialised’ framework is somewhat analogous to the politically equally dubious ‘reasoning’ that distinguishes Thea von Harbou’s notorious script to *Metropolis* (Ufa, 1927). In *Metropolis*, the demand for workers to operate the machines that sustain the vast modern city creates a subordinated underclass whose eventual emancipation (facilitated, with the same irony, by the film’s own hyperadvanced, science fictional device – a robot created for the city’s leading industrialist) leads the representatives of this class to destroy those very machines on which they are shown to rely, and through which their consolidation as a modern class with its own sense of identity has been effected.

⁴⁶⁹ Hardy, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁷⁰ C. H. Dannmeyer, *Bericht der Kommission für ‘lebende Photographien’* (Hamburg: Gesellschaft der Freunde des vaterländischen Schul- und Erziehungswesens, 1907), 14, 9.

- ⁴⁷¹ A. Wernich, "Ehen zwischen Europäerinnen und Japanern," *Die Gartenlaube* 1877: 435, repr. in Klüter, *op. cit.*, 96.
- ⁴⁷² Repr. in Henri Bousquet and Riccardo Redi, *Pathé frères – i filmi della produzione Pathé (1896 – 1914)* (Firenze: Quaderni di cinema, 1992), 151-152.
- ⁴⁷³ Gehrts, *op. cit.*, 175-176.
- ⁴⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 171.
- ⁴⁷⁵ This epithet seems also to be a play on 'der Coon' ('coon'), applied in German (and English) at this time especially with reference to 'blacked up' singers.
- ⁴⁷⁶ Sander L. Gilman, *On Blackness without Black: Essays on the Image of the Black in Germany* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1982).
- ⁴⁷⁷ Leo Wulff, *'Na also!' sprach Zarathustra und anderes: Humoristisches und Parodistisches* (Berlin: Harmonie, n. d. [1902], 2nd ed.), 27; and *cf.* for example Steakley, *op. cit.*, 241f, on the attribution to the Jews of blame for the appearance of sexual intermediacy.
- ⁴⁷⁸ Nachum T. Gidal, *Die Juden in Deutschland von der Römerzeit bis zur Weimarer Republik* (Köln: Könnemann, 1997, 2nd ed.), esp. 17f, and see also Peter Gay, *Freud, Jews and other Germans* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978).
- ⁴⁷⁹ Driesmans, *op. cit.*, 19-20.
- ⁴⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 228-229. Ironically, of course, being a 'second Peter Schlemihl' is precisely what most of the films discussed in this chapter are about.
- ⁴⁸¹ Although the most notorious cinematic illustration of this belief would of course be produced under National Socialism, in the 1940 propaganda film *Der ewige Jude* (*The Eternal Jew*), it is attested also during what Sebastian Hesse has described as a "clearly anti-Semitic interlude" in the previously discussed 1914 detective film, *Der Mann im Keller*. Here, in order to demonstrate his ability to 'blend in' with the lower-class clientele in a backstreet café, the master-detective Stuart Webbs, dressed in a smart suit and with his hair slicked back in a short back and sides, transforms himself on the spot into a hook-nosed *schnorrer*, bedizened in a dusty caftan and with ringleted hair. This episode seems particularly disturbing, since both Ernst Reicher, playing Webbs, and the film's director, Joe May, identified as 'assimilated' German Jews. Hesse, *op. cit.* ("Ernst Reicher"), 146; and on the Reicher family's assimilated German Jewish identity, *cf.* especially Arnold Zweig, *Juden auf der deutschen Bühne* (Berlin: Welt-Verlag, 1928), 170-173.

⁴⁸² This description of *Luny als Chinese* is based on the copy in the collection of the Nederlands Filmmuseum.

⁴⁸³ Wernich, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁸⁴ Heinrich Schmitthenner, "Kiatschau" [1914], repr. in Kietz, *op. cit.*, 121. Note that numerous spellings of this colony's name were employed during the period, including Kiaochow, Kiaochau, Kiatschou and Kiatschau.

⁴⁸⁵ The numbers of the categories in *Table 6* correspond to those employed in *Table 5*, concerning black representation.

⁴⁸⁶ Stoecker, *op. cit.* ("General Questions), 210-211. On the Boxer Rebellion films produced in Europe and America, in which the beheadings were re-enacted, *cf.* for example F. Freeseemann, "Das Kino und Ich" [1937], repr. in Aurich, Fuhrmann and Müller, *op. cit.*, 23; Charles Musser, *The Emergence of Cinema: The American Screen to 1907* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1990), 264, 287; and Martin Sopocy, "James A. Williamson: American View," in Holman, *op. cit.*, 301f.

⁴⁸⁷ "Letter from Japan," *The Manchester Guardian* 12.9.1913, cited in Edward Carpenter, *Intermediate Types among Primitive Folk: A Study in Social Evolution* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1919, 2nd ed.), 142. The central arguments of this work had been expounded originally in *idem*, "Über die Beziehung zwischen Homosexualität und Prophetentum und die Bedeutung der sexuellen Zwischenstufen in früheren Kulturepochen," *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* 11 (1910 – 1911): 289-316, 385-396. On the 'small and gangling' physique of the 'yellow race,' *cf.* also Wernich, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁸⁸ E. T. A. Hoffmann, "Der Sandmann" [1817], in *Fantasie- und Nachtstücke* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1967), 336.

⁴⁸⁹ F. P., "Der Student von Prag," in *Der Student von Prag: Filmprogrammheft*, J. G. [=Johannes Gaulke] (Berlin: Deutsche Bioscop Ges.m.b.H., 1913), 3.

⁴⁹⁰ "Albert Bassermann im Film," *Die Licht-Bild-Bühne* 6.4 (1913): 26.

⁴⁹¹ Kern, *op. cit.*, 201.

⁴⁹² *Cf.* for example Helmut H. Diederichs, "The Origins of the *Autorenfilm*," in Cherchi Usai and Codelli, *op. cit.* (*Before Caligari*), 380-401, quotation on 380; and Hansen, *op. cit.*, esp. 165f.

⁴⁹³ *Cf.* esp. Lenman, Osborne and Sagarra, *op. cit.*; and Robin Lenman, *Die Kunst, die Macht und das Geld: Zur Kulturgeschichte des kaiserlichen Deutschlands 1871 – 1918* (Frankfurt-am-Main: Campus, 1994).

⁴⁹⁴ Hermann Häfker, *Kino und Kunst* (München-Gladbach: Volksvereins-Verlag, 1913), 5.

⁴⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 6; and cf. esp. David L. Gross, “*Kultur* and its Discontents: The Origins of a ‘Critique of Everyday Life’ in Germany, 1880 – 1925,” in Stark and Lackner, *op. cit.*, esp. 72f; and Hansen, *op. cit.*, esp. 170f.

⁴⁹⁶ Gross, *op. cit.*, 73.

⁴⁹⁷ Erich Schlaikjer, “Das Kino und die Schriftsteller,” *Der neue Weg* 33 (17.8.1912): 1019, cited in English translation in Diederichs, *op. cit.* (“Origins”), 384.

⁴⁹⁸ W. Fred, “Filmpolitik und Filmzensur,” *Die Schaubühne* 47 (21.11.1912): 547, cited in English translation in *ibid.*

⁴⁹⁹ Heller, *op. cit.*, 39, 42.

⁵⁰⁰ Gregory A. Waller, *The Stage/Screen Debate: A Study in Popular Aesthetics* (New York/London: Garland, 1983), 55, and citing Jean Mitry, *Esthétique et psychologie du cinéma* (Paris: Éditions universitaires, 1965), vol. 2. As mentioned previously, Schlüpmann has noted that the aesthetic of the *Bildungsbürgertum* constituted a patriarchal reaction against the appearance of ‘new women’ on the cinema-screen also, recasting male protagonists centre-stage and reducing female roles to those of dutiful wife, maid-servant, and so forth. See esp. Schlüpmann, *op. cit.* (*Unheimlichkeit*), esp. 108f. The patriarchal polemic of the *Autorenfilm* movement might be adjudged also from the fact that, while Albert Bassermann’s lead role in *Der Andere* was promoted throughout the press, that of his wife Else Bassermann, likewise appearing in film for the first time, went completely undiscussed – even though the work, *Gerda Gerovius* (‘Gerda Gerovius’, Meister-Film, 1913), was also an adaptation of a high cultural piece and premiered during the same week as *Der Andere*. Cf. Lamprecht, *op. cit.*, 223.

⁵⁰¹ “*Der Student von Prag*,” *Deutsche Nachrichten* 26.8.1913, repr. in *Die Licht-Bild-Bühne* 6.35 (1913): 69; and Ludwig Sternaux, “*Der Student von Prag*,” *Die tägliche Rundschau* 23.8.1913: no pag.

⁵⁰² Erich Oesterheld, “Wie die deutschen Dramatiker Barbaren wurden,” *Die Aktion* 26.2.1913: 261-265, quotations on 262-264.

⁵⁰³ Ferdinand Kiss, “Hanns Heinz in allen Gassen,” *ibid.* 16.4.1913: 423-424.

⁵⁰⁴ Ignaz [=Kurt Tucholsky], “Kino,” *Die Schaubühne* 6.2.1913: 181.

⁵⁰⁵ Advertisement for *Der Andere* in *Die Licht-Bild-Bühne* 6.12 (1913): 45. An earlier trade advertisement for the film read: “If you value the improvement of your theatre’s reputation and wish to contribute to the imposing project of ‘art in cinema,’ then spare neither effort nor expense, and be sure to rent this film.” *Ibid.* 6.6 (1913): 20.

⁵⁰⁶ “Albert Bassermann im Film,” *op. cit.*, 26, 31.

⁵⁰⁷ “*Der Student von Prag*,” *Zeit am Montag* 25.8.1913, repr. in *ibid.* 6.35 (1913): 70.

⁵⁰⁸ Gifford, *op. cit.*, 16, 19.

⁵⁰⁹ Gerhard Lamprecht, *Deutsche Stummfilme 1903 – 1912* (Berlin: Deutsche Kinemathek, 1969), 2.

⁵¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁵¹¹ Advertisement for *Ein Volksgericht im Mittelalter oder die Zeit des Schreckens und des Grauens* in *Der Kinematograph* 6.1.1907, cited in *ibid.*

⁵¹² Diederichs, *op. cit.* (“Origins”), 380-381, and citing Heinrich Bolten-Baeckers, “Erinnerungen an die Anfänge der deutschen Filmindustrie,” *Die Licht-Bild-Bühne* Sondernummer “30 Jahre Film” (1924): 11; “Aus der Praxis: Dramatische Films,” *Der Kinematograph* 88 (2.9.1908): no pag.; Ludwig Brauner, “Deutsche Dramatiker als Kinematographendichter: Originaler Bericht über die Versammlung der Gesellschaft zur Verwertung schriftstellerischer Ideen für kinematographische Zwecke,” *ibid.* 95 (21.10.1908): no pag.; and *idem*, “Die ersten deutschen Kunstfilms,” *ibid.* 122 (28.4.1909): no pag.

⁵¹³ Alexander Schwarz, *Der geschriebene Film: Drehbücher des deutschen und russischen Stummfilms* (München: diskurs Film, 1994), 53-55, quotation on 53; and H. W., “Kinematographische Bühne: Die Ermordung des Herzogs von Guise,” *Photographische Rundschau* 1909: 49-50. For an overview of the French *film d'art* movement, cf. especially Franz-Josef Albersmeier, “Bürgerliche Kultur und Kino: *Die Ermordung des Herzogs von Guise* (*L'assassinat du duc de Guise*, 1908),” in Faulstich and Korte, *op. cit.*, 135-149.

⁵¹⁴ This description is based on a copy of *Don Juan heiratet* that was viewed on video-tape at the Nederlands Filmmuseum.

⁵¹⁵ In France, the productions of the *Société Cinématographique des Auteurs et des Gens de Lettres* (or S.C.A.G.L.) likewise came increasingly to be based in popular cinema genres. *Moritz als Neger*, discussed in Chapter 6, represents an example of this.

⁵¹⁶ Jürgen Kasten, “From Peripetia to Plot Point: Heinrich Lautensack and *Zweimal gelebt* (1912),” in Elsaesser and Wedel, *op. cit.*, 213-214.

⁵¹⁷ Müller, *op. cit.* (*Kinematographie*), 219, 345 n.226, and citing *Der Kinematograph* 166 (2.3.1910): no pag.; and *Erste Internationale Filmzeitung* 14 (8.4.1911): no pag.

⁵¹⁸ On the Italian historical epics, cf. especially Irmbert Schenk, “Die Anfänge des italienischen Monumentalfilms: Von *Die Eroberung Roms* (*La presa di Roma*, 1905) bis *Cabiria* (1914),” in Faulstich and Korte, *op. cit.*, esp. 154f; and also Vinicio Marinucci, “Tendencies of the Italian Cinema: From

‘Silent’ to ‘Sound’ Cinema,” *Unitalia Film: Italian Films Magazine for the Foreign Markets (English Edition)* 8.19 (June 1957): 46f. Note that Gerry Turvey has recently documented a comparable tendency in the output of the British and Colonial Kinematograph Company towards national-patriotic spectacle in terms of historical epic at this same time. Cf. Gerry Turvey, “B&C’s *The Battle of Waterloo*, 1913: The First British Epic,” Unpublished paper (University of Warwick: Popular European Cinema Conference 3 – The Spectacular, 24-26.3.2000).

⁵¹⁹ Michael Wedel, “Max Mack: The Invisible Author,” in Elsaesser and *idem*, *op. cit.*, 205-212. Note likewise that the opening credits to *Der Student von Prag* maintain – along with all primary sources on the film – that it was “directed by the author (*vom Verfasser inszeniert*),” and that, as Helmut Diederichs has observed, Hanns Heinz Ewers did not acknowledge Stellan Rye as having been the actual director in writing until 1930. Cf. Diederichs, *op. cit.* (*Der Student*), 13-14, and citing Hanns Heinz Ewers, “Zum Geleit,” in *Der Student von Prag: Eine Idee von Hanns Heinz Ewers* (Berlin: Dom-Verlag, 1930), 12-19.

⁵²⁰ Regina Hoffmann of the Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek is to thank for the discovery, in the course of this research, that *Ein seltsamer Fall* (Vitascope, 1914) had been swiftly withdrawn in December 1914 and reissued about a week later under the heretofore unattested alternative title *Sein eigener Mörder* (‘His Own Murderer’). From here, it was possible to uncover a sixteen-page programme for the film under the latter title in the Stiftung’s documentation collection, which includes a scene-by-scene dissection of the work as well as numerous stills. Hence, it is possible to discuss this hitherto obscure title here in some detail. The reason for the sudden withdrawal and rerelease of *Ein seltsamer Fall* would seem to be bound up in a copyright dispute, since the film’s *Sein eigener Mörder* release altered the names of Jekyll and Hyde to Fred Siles and Frank Allan. In this regard, it is worth remembering that, in F. W. Murnau’s 1920 adaptation, *Der Januskopf* (*Love’s Mockery*, Decla Bioscop/Lipow-Film), the names of Jekyll and Hyde were also modified, to Mr. O’Connor and Dr. Warren. Cf. esp. Hardy, *op. cit.* (*Horror*), 27-28.

⁵²¹ G—r, *Sein eigener Mörder: Phantastisches Filmschauspiel* (Berlin: Max Gottlieb, 1914), 2.

⁵²² *Ibid.*, 9.

⁵²³ Cited in Lamprecht, *op. cit.* (1903 – 1912), 436. The film is considered in detail in Kasten, *op. cit.*, 214-218; and cf. also the lengthy contemporary outline in *Die Licht-Bild-Bühne* 5.24 (1912): 36.

⁵²⁴ Diederichs, *op. cit.* (*Der Student*), 22, and citing Birett, *op. cit.* (*Verzeichnis*), 511.

⁵²⁵ Advertisement for *Der Golem* in *Die Licht-Bild-Bühne* 7.90 (1914): 5.

⁵²⁶ Cf. the extensive advertising in *Die Licht-Bild-Bühne* 6.13 (1913): 37-37a, 38. This 'Autorenfilm release' was declaimed in the subsequent issue of the same journal by a disgruntled Nordisk: "A feature-film with the title *Das Bildnis des Dorian Gray* is being advertised heavily on the German market. In order to assert the worth of this production, it is emphasised that two of our world-renowned performers feature among the cast. Consequently, we find ourselves obliged to point out that *this film was shot using primitive means a number of years ago, and we turned down the offer to acquire it on the grounds of its sadly lacking execution.*" *Ibid.* 6.14 (1913): 19.

⁵²⁷ Advertisement in *ibid.* 6.31 (1913): 40. A month earlier still, *Der Student von Prag*, *Evinrude*, *die Geschichte eines Abenteurers*, *Der Verführte* and *Eine ideale Gattin* had already been announced as completed works "by Hanns Heinz Ewers." *Ibid.* 6.27 (1913): 48.

⁵²⁸ Cf. Reinhold Keiner, *Hanns Heinz Ewers und der phantastische Film* (Heidelberg: Olms, 1987).

⁵²⁹ Joseph August Lux, "Das Kinodrama," *Bild und Film* 3.6 (1913 – 1914): 122, repr. in Schweinitz, *op. cit.*, 324. Cf. also the reviews reprinted in *Die Licht-Bild-Bühne* 6.35 (1913): 67-70.

⁵³⁰ Walther Eckart, "Das Kinodrama," *Die Ähre* 2 (12.10.1913): 2; and cf. again *ibid.*

⁵³¹ This description of *Der Andere* follows the copy in the collection of the Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek.

⁵³² **** [=Max Mack?], "Der Andere: Ein Begleitwort," in *Der Andere: Ein Film-Drama von Dr. Paul Lindau*, Vitascope (Braunschweig: Albert Limbagh, 1913), 4.

⁵³³ Paul Lindau, "Filmdramatik," in *ibid.*, 8.

⁵³⁴ W. Warstat, "Aus dem Kampfe um die Kinoreform," *Die Grenzboten* 3 (1914): 127-132, cited in Birett, *op. cit.* (*Lichtspiele*), xlvii; and Siegfried Jacobsohn, "Stucken und Bassermann," *Die Schaubühne* 5 (30.1.1913): 318.

⁵³⁵ Paul Lindau, *Der Andere: Schauspiel in vier Aufzügen* (Leipzig: Reclam, 1906), 23-24.

⁵³⁶ Jung and Schatzber, *op. cit.*, 39; and *ibid.*, 86. The precise text of Federmann's advice in this latter reads: "Above all take a break away from the city: quiet and solitude are the best medicine for you."

⁵³⁷ This promotional still represents a condensation of two different scenes in the film.

⁵³⁸ Jung and Schatzber, *loc. cit.*

⁵³⁹ Cf. Lindau, *op. cit.* (*Der Andere*), 26. It should be noted that the close-up insert of Taine's assertions in the film, although clearly marked 'page 113,' are actually a fabrication, constituting an extremely simplified distillation of the argument to be found in Hippolyte Taine, *On Intelligence* (New York: no

imprint, 1875), vol. 1, 90-99. Nevertheless, this element was expounded at length in the film's programme, as a further marker of 'high cultural' worth: "In his youth, Taine wrote about Titus Livius, before turning his agile mind to a study of nineteenth century philosophers, followed by his work on English literature, which was marked by an intense thoroughness. Napoleon III personally made sure that Taine became professor of art history. His lectures in this are appeared over a number of volumes, and were translated into German also. [...] Taine himself described his study *De l'intelligence* as his most important work. In this, he considered [...] human brain function in terms of chemical processes [...]" ****, *op. cit.*, 3.

⁵⁴⁰ Diederichs, *op. cit.* (*Der Student*), 16, 74, 89-98.

⁵⁴¹ J. G., *op. cit.*, 4.

⁵⁴² Of the card-playing scene, Ewers writes in his manuscript: "All are seated about a table; overhead lighting. (Like an old picture by Rembrandt, so that only the heads can be discerned clearly)." Repr. in Diederichs, *op. cit.* (*Der Student*), 96. Regarding the literary *Kulturerbe* of *Der Student von Prag*, Ludwig Sternaux expounded in his contemporary review in *Die tägliche Rundschau*: "This *Student von Prag* is of course a dramatised impression, and very literary. *Very* literary. Its illustrious progenitors number Goethe, Chamisso, Hoffmann and Oscar Wilde. Goethe provides his Mephisto [...], Chamisso his Schlemihl, Hoffmann his Dr. Mirakel, and Wilde his Dorian Gray. Their blood courses – tastefully, eerily – through the veins of this fantastic drama." Sternaux, *loc. cit.*

⁵⁴³ Cf. Diederichs, *op. cit.* (*Der Student*), 34-39; and Hunt, *op. cit.*, 389-401.

⁵⁴⁴ Sternaux, *loc. cit.*

⁵⁴⁵ A contemporary 1000-word outline of the plot of *Der Student von Prag*, which has been of particular value in establishing that extant prints of the film correspond to the original, is contained in Rank, *op. cit.* ("Der Doppelgänger"), 97f, repr. in Diederichs, *op. cit.* (*Der Student*), 8f.

⁵⁴⁶ The programme to *Der Student von Prag* seems actually to court a psychoanalytic reading: "Ewers makes those forces of the soul which slumber within the subconscious, those mysterious moods and premonitions that both govern and torture a person, into the very object of his presentation," F. P., *loc. cit.*

⁵⁴⁷ Rank, *op. cit.* (*Double*), 6-7.

⁵⁴⁸ Webber, *op. cit.* ("Otto Rank"), 91; and cf. especially Rank, *loc. cit.* ("Ein Beitrag").

- ⁵⁴⁹ Leonard Wolf, *Horror: A Connoisseur's Guide to Literature and Film* (New York/London: Facts on File, 1989), 11.
- ⁵⁵⁰ Hanns Heinz Ewers, "Die Insel der Entgleisten," *Der arme Teufel* 2.22-23, 2.24 (1903): 6-7, 6-7. For a more recent – although highly sensationalised – outline of Krupp's exploits on Capri, cf. William Manchester, *The Arms of Krupp* (London: Michael Joseph, 1969), 247-277. The *Tante/Bube* concept has been discussed by Dyer, *op. cit.* (*Now*), 19f.
- ⁵⁵¹ Hanns Heinz Ewers, *Armer Junge! Freundschaftsnovelle* (Berlin: no imprint, n. d. [ca. 1907]).
- ⁵⁵² Kortländer, *op. cit.*, 143; and cf. Hanns Heinz Ewers, *C33* (Berlin: no imprint, n. d. [1904]).
- ⁵⁵³ Kultusminister des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen und Filmarchiv der Landeshauptstadt Düsseldorf, ed., *'Der Student von Prag': Programm – Premiere der restaurierten und rekonstruierten Fassung des Films* (Düsseldorf: Kultusminister des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen/Filmarchiv der Landeshauptstadt Düsseldorf, n. d. [1988]), 8.
- ⁵⁵⁴ Oscar Wilde, *Das Bildnis des Dorian Gray: Deutsch von Johannes Gaulke mit einer Einleitung von Hanns Heinz Ewers* (Berlin/Wien: Ullstein, 1912).
- ⁵⁵⁵ Diederichs, *op. cit.* (*Der Student*), 24; and cf. for example Johannes Gaulke, "Das homosexuelle Problem," *Magazin für Literatur des In- und Auslandes* 68.41 (1899): no pag.; *idem*, "Oskar Wilde's *Dorian Gray*" [*sic*], *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* 3 (1901): 275-291; and *idem*, "Einleitung," in *Das Sonnettenproblem des Herrn W. H., Oscar Wilde* (Leipzig: Spohr, 1902), 3-11.
- ⁵⁵⁶ Casper Tybjerg, "The Faces of Stellan Rye," in Elsaesser and Wedel, *op. cit.*, 151-159.
- ⁵⁵⁷ F. P., *loc. cit.*

The *Doppelgänger*
in Wilhelmine Cinema (1895 – 1914):
Modernity, Audiences and Identity
in Turn-of-the-Century Germany

Volume Two
(of two volumes)

Robert James Kiss

Thesis Submitted for the Qualification of
Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

The University of Warwick
Department of German Studies

June 2000

Table of Contents (Volume Two)

TABLE OF CONTENTS (VOLUME TWO).....	429
FILMOGRAPHY A: WILHELMINE <i>DOPPELGÄNGER</i> FILMS	430
FILMOGRAPHY B: FURTHER WILHELMINE FILMS CITED	476
BIBLIOGRAPHY	496

Filmography A: Wilhelmine *Doppelgänger* Films

This listing of the 203 *Doppelgänger* films identified as released in Germany between 1895 and 1914 serves as the basis for this research project. The format of the entries is tailored to the concerns of this research, including categories such as the German release date, and the type of *Doppelgänger* evidenced in each film.

Each entry comprises a maximum of twelve fields of information, as outlined in the key overleaf. Only those fields that could be filled using available sources are entered for individual films: irrelevant or unfillable fields are omitted. As is usual with early films, in many instances only very incomplete details could be provided.

Key to Filmographic Entries

- [1] *German release title* [2] *aka = alternative German title(s)* ([3] *Engl. = English-language title* (when in italics = release title; when in inverted commas = my translation of the German title); [4] *orig. = original-language title(s)* (where not [1] or [3]))
- [5] year of production, [6] *rel* = month and/or year of German release, [7] *lgth* = length of German release print in metres of 35mm film (with approximate running time at 18fps), [8] *prod* = production company ([9] nation of origin)
- [10] *dir* = director, [11] *lp* = leading players (*n.b.* these details were seldom recorded outside of high cultural productions)
- [12] *descr* = description of type of *Doppelgänger* film (according to the typologies outlined in Chapter 1)

N.B. Copies are known to survive only of those films entered in **bold type**.

Abenteuer eines Paares künstlicher Glieder aka *Abenteuer eines künstlichen Gliedes* (Engl. 'Adventures of a Pair of Artificial Limbs')

rel 1908, *lgth* 68m (3m 18s), *prod* Vitagraph (USA)

descr Trick film featuring a *Doppelgänger* of authenticity (human/mechanical reproduction)

Der Affe als Radfahrer (Engl. 'An Ape as a Cyclist')

rel 1903, *lgth* 22.9m (1m 8s), *prod* Lubin (USA)

descr Performance film featuring a *Doppelgänger* of species (simian/human)

Der Affe auf dem Maskenball (Engl. 'The Ape at the Masked Ball')

rel March 1909, *lgth* 70m (3m 24s), *prod* Pathé (France)

descr Comedy short featuring a *Doppelgänger* of species (simian/human)

***Der Affe August* (Engl. *The Monkey "August"*; orig. *Le singe August* aka *Le singe »August«* aka *Le singe Auguste*)**

1904, *rel* 1905, *lgth* 75m (3m 38s), *prod* Pathé (France)

***descr* Performance film featuring a *Doppelgänger* of species (simian/human)**

Der Affe und sein Stellvertreter (Engl. 'The Ape and his Deputy')

rel 1914, *prod* Danebrog

descr Comedy drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of species (human/simian)

Affendiner (Engl. *Monkey-Dinner*, orig. *Abediner*)

1908, *rel* 1908, *lgth* 60m (2m 54s), *prod* Nordisk (Denmark)

descr Performance film featuring a *Doppelgänger* of species (simian/human)

Der Amerikaner (Engl. *A Yankee Catch*; orig. *Dobbeltgænger* aka *Amerikaneren*)

1912, *rel* 1913, *lgth* 290m (14m 12s), *prod* Nordisk (Denmark)

lp Alma Hinding, Carl Alstrup, Oscar Stribolt, Fräulein Skondrup, Ph. Frederiksen,

V. Moller

descr Comedy drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of ethnicity (Old World/New World)

Eine Amme wird gesucht (Engl. 'Wanted: A Wet-nurse')

1911, *rel* January 1912, *lgth* 170m (8m 15s), *prod* Bolten-Baeckers-Film (Germany)

dir Heinrich Bolten-Baeckers, *lp* Rosa and Josefa Blažek

descr Comedy drama featuring biological Siamese twins as spectacle

***Der Andere* (Engl. 'The Other')**

1912, *rel* January 1913, *lgth* 1766m (1h 26m 46s) [rounded up to 2000m in some advertisements], *prod* Vitascope (Germany)

***dir* Max Mack, *lp* Albert Bassermann, Hanni Weisse, Léon Resemann, Emerich Hanus, Rely Ridon, Otto Collot, Paul Passarge, C. Lengling**

***descr* Art film drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (high/low)**

Der 'andere' Student von Prag aka *Der andere 'Student von Prag'* (Engl. 'The 'Other' Student of Prague')

1914, *rel* April 1914, *lgth* ca. 340m (16m 37s), *prod* Deutsche Bioscop (Germany)

dir Emil Albes, *lp* Hugo Flink, Emil Albes

descr Art film comedy drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (high/low)

Der angebliche Ehemann (Engl. 'The Alleged Husband'; orig. *Je veux voir ta femme*)

1910, *rel* April 1910, *lgth* 150m (7m 16s), *prod* Pathé (France)

descr Comedy short featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)

Die Anhänger des Darwinismus (Engl. 'The Adherents of Darwinism')

rel 1909, *lgth* 120m (5m 50s), *prod* Lux (France)

descr Comedy short featuring a *Doppelgänger* of species (human/simian)

Augustin gegen Augustin (Engl. 'Augustin versus Augustin'; orig. *Augustin contre Augustin*)

rel December 1912, *prod* Gaumont (France)

descr Mistaken identity comedy featuring lookalikes played by the same actor as opposites

Aus eines Mannes Mädchenzeit aka Aus eines Mannes Mädchenjahren (Engl. 'From a Man's Time as a Girl')

1912, *rel* 1913, *lgth* 453.3m (22m 17s), *prod* Meßter-Film (Germany)

dir [Siegfried Dessauer ?], *lp* Wilhelm Bendow, Manny Ziener, Rudolf Senius,

'Der kleine Berisch', Olga Engl, Siegfried Dessauer

descr *Rockrolle* comedy featuring a *Doppelgänger* of sexuality (male/female)

Balao aka *Balao: Die Tragödie eines Menschen-Affen* (Engl. *Balao, the Demon Baboon* aka *Balao or the Demon Ape*; orig. *Balao ou des pas au plafond*)

1913, rel 1913, lgth 652m (32m 1s), prod Éclair (France)

dir Victorin Jasset, lp Lucien Bataille, Camille Bardou, Henri Gugot [billed in some sources as Henri Gouget]

descr Art film drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of species (simian/human)

Der Baron (Engl./orig. *The Baron*)

1911, rel August 1911, prod American Biograph (USA)

lp Joseph Graybill, Del Henderson, Grace Henderson, Mabel Normand

descr Detective film featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)

Der Bauer und der Tod (Engl. *The Haunted Man*)

1908, rel 1908, lgth 175m (8m 29s), prod Duskes (Germany)

descr Chase film featuring a *Doppelgänger* of mortality (alive/dead)

Der beharrliche Liebhaber (Engl. 'The Persistent Lover'; orig. *Moderne Galathée* aka *Galathée*)

1911, rel May 1911, lgth 215m (11m 34s), prod S.C.A.G.L. (France)

dir Georges Denda, lp Charles Dechamps, Clara Faurens, Émile Milo, Paul Franck, Gabrielle Lange, Cécile Barré

descr Art film drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of authenticity (human/mechanical reproduction)

Die beiden Doppelgänger (Engl. 'The Two Doppelgängers')

rel 1912, *lgth* 297.1m (14m 37s), *prod* Ambrosio (Italy)

descr Mistaken identity comedy featuring lookalikes played by the same actor as opposites

Die beiden Schwestern oder Teddy's Verhältnis [sic] aka Teddy's Verhältnis [sic] (Engl. 'Both Sisters or Teddy's Relationship')

1914, rel 1914, *lgth* ca. 750m (36m 46s), *prod* Urbach (Germany)

descr Mistaken identity comedy drama featuring identical twins played by the same actor as opposites

Das Bildnis des Dorian Gray aka Das Bild des Dorian Gray aka Das Bildnis des Dorrian Gray [sic] aka Dorian Gray's Bildnis [sic] aka Dorian Gray's Bildniss [sic] (Engl. 'The Picture of Dorian Gray'; orig. *Dorian Grays Portræt*)

1910, rel 1913, *lgth* 475m (23m 18s), *prod* Regia Kunstfilms Co. (Denmark)

dir Axel Strøm, *lp* Clara Wieth, Adam Poulsen, Valdemar Psilander, Axel Strøm, Henrik Malberg

descr Art film drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (high/low)

Blasius als Gesellschaftsdame (Engl. 'Blasius as a Lady's Companion')

1911, rel August 1911, *lgth* 180m (8m 42s), *prod* Deutsche Mutoskop- und Biograph-Gesellschaft (Germany)

descr *Rockrolle* comedy featuring a *Doppelgänger* of sexuality (male/female)

Bobby als Küchenfee (Engl. 'Bobby as a Mrs. Beeton')

1913, *rel* 1913, *prod* Alter Ego (Germany)

descr *Rockrolle* comedy featuring a *Doppelgänger* of sexuality (male/female)

Bobby bei den Frauenrechtlerinnen (Engl. 'Bobby with the Feminists')

1911, *rel* 1911, *prod* Grünspan (Germany)

descr *Rockrolle* comedy featuring a *Doppelgänger* of gender (male/female)

Bolton und die Zwillingsschwester (Engl. 'Bolton and the Twin Sister')

rel 1913, *prod* Vitagraph (USA)

descr Mistaken identity comedy featuring identical twins played by the same actor as opposites

Bubi und der lebende Mannequin (Engl. 'Bubi and the Living Window-Dummy')

rel November 1913, *prod* Gaumont (France)

descr Comedy short featuring a *Doppelgänger* of authenticity (human/mechanical reproduction)

Bundrika, die Negerköchin (Engl. 'Bundrika, the Negro Cook')

1910, *rel* October 1910, *lgth* 169m (8m 12s), *prod* Meßter-Film (Germany)

dir Oskar Meßter, *lp* Maria Grimm-Einödshofer, Anna Müller-Lincke

descr Comedy short featuring a *Doppelgänger* of ethnicity (white/black)

Cinesino als Negerboy (Engl. 'Cinesino as a Negro Boy'; orig. [*Cinessino in Africa*?])

rel 1913, *prod* Cines (Italy)

descr Comedy short featuring a *Doppelgänger* of ethnicity (white/black)

Desdemona (Engl. *Desdemona*; orig. *Desdemona* aka *For Aabent Tæppe*)

1911, rel February 1912, lgth 548m (26m 50s), prod Nordisk (Denmark)

dir August Blom, lp Valdemar Psilander, Thyra Reimann, Nicolai Breckling,

Henry Knudsen, Svend Bille, Julie Henriksen

descr Art film drama featuring a dual role (two enemies played as starkly differentiated characters)

Der Detektiv in Frauenkleidern (Engl. 'The Detective in Women's Clothing')

rel 1912, prod American Biograph (USA)

descr Detective film featuring a *Doppelgänger* of sexuality (male/female)

Der Doppelgänger (Engl. 'The *Doppelgänger*')

rel 1908, lgth 100m (4m 51s), prod Éclipse (France)

descr Mistaken identity comedy featuring lookalikes played by the same actor as opposites

Der Doppelgänger aka *Aus dem Tagebuch eines Weltdetektivs* (Engl. 'The *Doppelgänger*')

1909, rel July 1909, lgth 188m (9m 6s), prod Karl Werner (Germany)

descr Detective film featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)

Der Doppelgänger (Engl. 'The *Doppelgänger*')

1911, rel June 1911, lgth 180m (8m 43s), prod Paulus & Unger (Germany)

descr Mistaken identity comedy featuring identical twins played by the same actor as opposites

Der Doppelgänger (Engl. 'The *Doppelgänger*')

rel October 1911, *lgth* 336m (16m 26s), *prod* Éclipse (France)

descr Detective film featuring a *Doppelgänger* of authenticity (human/mechanical reproduction)

Der Doppelgänger (Engl. 'The *Doppelgänger*')

1912, *rel* 1912, *prod* Cricks & Martin (Great Britain)

descr Drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)

Der Doppelgänger (Engl./orig. *My Double and How He Undid Me*)

1912, *rel* 1912, *prod* Edison (USA)

descr Mistaken identity comedy featuring lookalikes played by the same actor as opposites

Der Doppelgänger (Engl. 'The *Doppelgänger*')

rel 1913, *lgth* 1 act, *prod* Éclair (France)

descr Mistaken identity comedy featuring a *Doppelgänger* of mortality (alive/dead)

Der Doppelgänger (Engl. 'The *Doppelgänger*')

rel January 1913, *prod* Ambrosio (Italy)

descr Mistaken identity comedy featuring lookalikes played by the same actor as opposites

Der Doppelgänger (Engl. 'The *Doppelgänger*')

1913, *rel* February 1913, *lgth* 3 acts, *prod* Karl Werner (Germany)

dir Rudolf del Zopp [some contemporary sources attribute this to the film's star, Oskar Fuchs], *lp* Oskar Fuchs, Senta Eichstaedt, Mary Scheller

descr Detective film featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)

Der Doppelgänger (Engl./orig. *A Stolen Identity*)

1913, *rel* 1914, *lgth* 2 acts, *prod* Powers (USA)

dir Edwin August, *lp* Edwin August

descr Drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)

Der Doppelgänger (Engl. 'The *Doppelgänger*')

rel 1914, *lgth* 2 acts, *prod* Dania

descr Drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)

Doppelgänger (Engl. 'Doppelgängers')

rel 1914, *lgth* 2 acts, *prod* Edison (USA)

descr Drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)

Der Doppelgänger des Gouverneurs (Engl./orig. *The Plot Against the Governor*)

1913, *rel* 1914, *lgth* 2 acts, *prod* Thanhouser (USA)

lp James Cruze

descr Adventure drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)

Der Doppelgänger des Ministers (Engl. 'The Minister's *Doppelgänger*'; orig. *Sosie du ministre*)

rel 1909, *lgth* 164m (7m 58s), *prod* Gaumont (France)

descr Comedy short featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)

Die Doppelgängerin (Engl. 'The Female *Doppelgänger*')

rel 1914, *lgth* 3 acts, *prod* Pathé (France)

descr Adventure drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)

Die Doppelgängerin der Kammerzofe (Engl. 'The Chambermaid's *Doppelgänger*')

rel January 1912, *lgth* 1 act, *prod* Kalem (USA)

descr Detective film featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)

Doppelleben (Engl. 'Double Life')

rel 1913, *prod* Bison 101 (USA)

descr Drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)

Ein Doppelleben (Engl. 'A Double Life')

rel 1914, *prod* Kalem (USA)

descr Drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)

Die Doppelnatur (Engl. 'The Double Nature')

rel 1914, *lgth* 3 acts, *prod* Fortuna (Italy)

descr Drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)

Die entzückende Stimme (Engl. 'The Enchanting Voice')

rel 1911, *prod* Oppenheimer (USA)

descr Comedy short featuring a *Doppelgänger* of authenticity (human/mechanical reproduction)

Ein Fall für Sherlock Holmes (Engl./orig. *A Case for Sherlock Holmes*)

1911, *rel* 1911, *lgth* 125m (6m 4s), *prod* Cricks & Martin (Great Britain)

dir A. E. Coleby

descr Detective film featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)

Die falsche Amme (Engl. 'The Fake Wet-Nurse')

rel 1914, *prod* American Kinema (USA)

descr Drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)

Der falsche Generaldirektor (Engl. *The False Superintendent*, orig. *Den falske Generaldirektor aka Generaldirektøren*)

1908, *rel* January 1909, *lgth* 165m (8m 3s), *prod* Nordisk (Denmark)

dir Viggo Larsen, *lp* Poul Gregaard

descr Drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)

Der falsche Graf (Engl. 'The Fake Count')

rel 1912, *lgth* 1 act, *prod* Edison (USA)

descr Detective film featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)

Der falsche Graf (Engl. 'The Fake Count')

rel June 1912, *prod* Lubin (USA)

descr Detective film featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)

Der falsche Graf (Engl. 'The Fake Count')

rel 1914, *lgth* 1 act, *prod* Fortuna (Italy)

descr Detective film featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)

Der falsche Graf bei Fräulein Vögel (Engl. 'The Fake Count visits Miss Birds') [possibly a retitling of *Der falsche Graf* (*rel* June 1912) ?]

rel 1913, *lgth* 1 act, *prod* Lubin (USA)

descr Detective film featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)

Der falsche Polizist (Engl./orig. *What a Uniform Will Do*)

1909, *rel* 1912, *lgth* ca. 182.9m (9m 0s), *prod* Vitagraph (USA)

descr Drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)

Die falschen Neger (Engl. 'The Fake Negroes'; orig. *Domestiques bon teint*)

1911, *rel* November 1911, *lgth* 155m (7m 30s), *prod* Nizza (Italy, for the French market)

descr Comedy short featuring a *Doppelgänger* of ethnicity (white/black)

Der fatale Irrtum aka *Fataler Irrtum* (Engl. 'The Fatal Mistake'; orig. *Le mannequin est sans pitié*)

rel 1907, *lgth* 140m (6m 47s), *prod* Gaumont (France)

descr Comedy short featuring a *Doppelgänger* of authenticity (human/mechanical reproduction)

***Frankenstein* (Engl./orig. *Frankenstein*)**

1910, rel May 1910, *lgth* 295m (14m 30s), *prod* Edison (USA)

dir J. Searle Dawley, *lp* Charles Ogle, Augustus Phillips, Mary Fuller

descr Drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of authenticity (human/Promethean creation)

***Fritzchen als Niggerboy* aka *Fritzchen, der Niggerboy* (Engl. 'Little Fritz as a Nigger-boy'; orig. *Bébé nègre*)**

1911, rel January 1911, *lgth* 145m (7m 2s), *prod* Gaumont (France)

dir Louis Feuillade, *lp* Fritz Abélard

descr Comedy short featuring a *Doppelgänger* of ethnicity (white/black)

Der gefährliche Neger (Engl. 'The Dangerous Negro')

rel December 1911, *lgth* 172m (8m 21s), *prod* Edison (USA)

descr Drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of ethnicity (white/black)

Das Geheimnis des Affen (Engl. 'The Secret of the Ape')

1914, rel July 1914, *lgth* 3 acts, *prod* Literaria-Film (Germany)

dir Georg Jacoby

descr Art film drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of species (simian/human)

Das Gespenst des Anderen (Engl. 'The Ghost of the Other'; orig. *Le spectre de l'autre*)

1910, *rel* September 1910, *lgth* 270m (13m 14s), *prod* S.C.A.G.L. (France)

lp Herr Krauss, Henri Etiévant, Herr Mévisto, Jeanne Grumbach

descr Art film drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of mortality (alive/dead)

Gottlieb Wurm in schändlichem Verdacht (Engl. 'Gottlieb Wurm under Shameful Suspicion')

rel January 1911, *lgth* 107m (5m 12s), *prod* Aquila (Italy)

descr Comedy short featuring a *Doppelgänger* of authenticity (human/mechanical reproduction)

Die Hand des Schicksals (Engl. *The Hand of Justice* aka *The Hand of Fate*)

1912, *rel* 1912, *lgth* 1 act, *prod* Bolten-Baeckers-Film (Germany)

dir Heinrich Bolten-Baeckers

descr Detective film featuring *Doppelgängers* of class (low/high) and sexuality (male/female)

Der Hauptmann von Köpenick (Engl. 'The Captain of Köpenick')

1906, *rel* 1906, *lgth* 218m (10m 43s), *prod* Buderus (Germany)

dir Carl Buderus, Carl Sonnemann, *lp* Carl Sonnemann, Karl Hasselmann, Adolf Peck, Georg Bock, Fritz Keil, Harry Heimers, Emil Wernicke, Ernst Lewecke, Herr Ortmann

descr Re-enacted actuality film featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)

Der Hauptmann von Köpenick (Engl. 'The Captain of Köpenick')

1906, *rel* 1906, *prod* Duskes (Germany)

dir Heinrich Bolten-Baeckers, *lp* Ernst Baumann

descr Re-enacted actuality film featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)

Der Hauptmann von Köpenick (Engl. 'The Captain of Köpenick')

1906, *rel* 1906, *prod* Internationale Kinematographen- und Lichteffekt-Gesellschaft (Germany)

dir Herr Schaub, *lp* ensemble of the Berliner Luisentheater

descr Re-enacted actuality film featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)

Heiratskandidat wider Willen (Engl. 'A Husband-to-be Against his Will')

rel 1910, *lgth* 153m (7m 25s), *prod* Lux (France)

descr Comedy short featuring *Doppelgängers* of class (low/high and high/low)

Herr Schulze und sein Doppelgänger (Engl. 'Herr Schulze and his *Doppelgänger*')

rel December 1911, *lgth* 196m (9m 30s), *prod* Éclipse (France)

descr Mistaken identity comedy featuring lookalikes played by the same actor as opposites

Hoheit Inkognito (Engl. *His Highness the Prince*; orig. *Inkognito* aka *Hans Højhed* aka *Prins for en Dag*)

1913, *rel* 1913, *lgth* 765m (37m 30s), *prod* Nordisk (Denmark)

dir E. Schnedler-Sørensen, *lp* Herr Mølbach, Carl Alstrup, Lauritz Olsen, Oscar Stribolt, Olga Svendsen, Zanny Petersen

descr Art film drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (high/low)

Hurra! Einquartierung aka *Hurrah! Einquartierung* (Engl. 'Hoorah! Soldiers Billeted Here')

1913, *rel* 1913, *lgth* 550m (26m 56s), *prod* Luna-Film (Germany)

dir Franz Hofer, *lp* Manny Ziener, Franz Schwaiger, Dorrit Weixler, Rudolf del Zopp, Karl Harbacher

descr *Hosenrolle* comedy drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of gender (female/male)

Der improvisierte Hosenrock (Engl. 'The Improvised Culottes')

rel 1911, *prod* Éclipse (France)

descr *Hosenrolle* comedy featuring a *Doppelgänger* of gender (female/male)

Johann als Kindermädchen (Engl. 'Johann as a Nanny')

rel 1907, *lgth* 105m (5m 5s), *prod* Pathé (France)

descr *Rockrolle* comedy featuring a *Doppelgänger* of sexuality (male/female)

Johann als Kindermädchen (Engl. 'Johann as a Nanny')

rel 1911, *prod* Gaumont (France)

descr *Rockrolle* comedy featuring a *Doppelgänger* of sexuality (male/female)

Johann als Neger (Engl. 'Johann as a Negro')

rel 1913, *prod* Nizza (Italy)

descr Comedy short featuring a *Doppelgänger* of ethnicity (white/black)

Joly aka *Jolly, der Wunderaffe* (Engl. 'Joly')

1913, *rel* May 1913, *lgth* 610m (30m 0s), *prod* Deutsche Bioscop (Germany)

dir Emil Albes, *lp* Emil Albes, Ludwig Colani

descr Drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of species (simian/human)

Jugend und Tollheit (Engl. *Youth and Folly*)

1912, *rel* January 1913, *lgth* 1200m (59m 0s), *prod* Deutsche Bioscop (Germany)

dir Urban Gad, *lp* Asta Nielsen, Hanns Mierendorff, Fritz Weidemann

descr *Hosenrolle* drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of gender (female/male)

Julius und sein Doppelgänger (Engl. 'Julius and his *Doppelgänger*')

rel 1914, *prod* Cines (Italy)

descr Mistaken identity comedy featuring lookalikes played by the same actor as opposites

Kinomann bekommt Zwillinge (Engl. 'Cinema-Owner has Twins')

1913, *rel* March 1913, *prod* Vitascope (Germany)

dir Axel Breidahl, *lp* Axel Breidahl

descr Comedy short featuring identical twins played by different actors as opposites

Kleminski als Modepuppe (Engl. 'Kleminski as a Lady Model')

rel June 1910, *lgth* 173m (8m 24s), *prod* Gaumont (France)

descr *Rockrolle* comedy featuring a *Doppelgänger* of sexuality (male/female)

Komtesse und Diener (Engl. 'Countess and Servant')

1911, *rel* August 1911, *lgth* 750m (36m 46s), *prod* Vitascope (Germany)

dir Walter Schmidhässler, *lp* Wanda Treumann, W. Halter, Erna Nitter, O.

Lehnhardt, Ernst Becker, Paul Schwaiger, Walter Schmidhässler

descr Art film drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (high/low)

***Die lebende Puppe* (Engl./orig. *The Doll Maker's Daughter*)**

1906, *rel* 1906, *lgth* 200m (9m 50s), *prod* Hepworth (Great Britain)

***dir* Lewin Fitzhamon, *lp* Dolly Lupone**

***dir* Comedy drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of authenticity (human/
mechanical reproduction)**

Lehmann als Gesellschaftsdame (Engl. 'Lehmann as a Lady's Companion')

rel 1913, *prod* Pathé (France)

descr *Rockerolle* comedy featuring a *Doppelgänger* of sexuality (male/female)

Leiden eines Doppelgängers (Engl. 'Sorrows of a *Doppelgänger*')

1914, *rel* 1914, *prod* Vitascope (Germany)

dir Henri Etiévant, *lp* Henri Etiévant, Andreas von Horn

descr Mistaken identity drama featuring lookalikes played by the same actor as
opposites

Little Hans als photographischer Reporter (Engl. 'Little Hans as a Photo-Journalist'; orig. *Little Moritz, reporter photographe*)

1911, *rel* November 1911, *lgth* 185m (9m 4s), *prod* Pathé (France)

lp Maurice Schwartz

descr *Rockrolle* comedy featuring a *Doppelgänger* of sexuality (male/female)

Lolas Hosenrolle (Engl. 'Lola in Men's Clothing')

1914, *rel* March 1914, *lgth* 2 acts, *prod* Neue Filmgesellschaft (Germany)

dir L. A. Winkel, *lp* Martin Ems

descr *Hosenrolle* comedy drama featuring *Doppelgängers* of gender (female/male and male/female)

Luny als Chinese (Engl. 'Luny as a Chinaman')

1914, *rel* January 1914, *lgth* 1 act, *prod* Luna-Film (Germany)

dir Gerhard Dammann, *lp* Gerhard Dammann

descr Comedy featuring a *Doppelgänger* of ethnicity (white/Oriental)

Madame Incognito (Engl. 'Madame Incognito')

1913, *rel* 1913, *prod* Literarischer Lichtspielverlag (Austro-Hungary)

descr Art film drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (high/low)

Mädchen als junge Männer (Engl. 'Girls as Young Men')

rel April 1911, *lgth* 310m (16m 11s), *prod* Essanay (USA)

descr *Hosenrolle* drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of gender (female/male)

Mädchen oder Mann? (Engl. 'Girl or Man?')

rel April 1911, *lgth* 225m (11m 3s), *prod* Imp (USA)

descr Rockrolle comedy featuring a *Doppelgänger* of sexuality (male/female)

Der Mann im Keller (Engl. 'The Man in the Cellar')

1914, rel March/April 1914, *lgth* 1412m (1h 9m 26s), *prod* Continental-Kunstfilm (Germany)

dir Joe May, *lp* Ernst Reicher, Max Landa, Olga Engl, Alice Hechy, Eduard Rothauser, Josef Schelepa

descr Detective art film featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)

Der Mann mit den Masken (Engl. 'The Man of Masks'; orig. *L'homme aux trentesix têtes*)

1905, rel 1906, *lgth* 40m (1m 56s), *prod* Pathé (France)

dir Segundo de Chomon

descr Trick film featuring a *Doppelgänger* of authenticity (human/mechanical reproduction)

Der Mann mit den sieben Gesichtern (Engl. 'The Man of Seven Faces')

1913, rel May 1913, *lgth* 3 acts, *prod* Deutsche Mutoskop- und Biograph-Gesellschaft (Germany)

dir Joseph Delmont

descr Adventure drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)

Der Mann mit den vielen Gesichtern (Engl./orig. *Rigollo, the Man of Many Faces*)

1910, rel June 1910, lgth 100m (4m 51s), prod Urban Trading Co. (Great Britain)

lp Rigollo

descr Performance film featuring a multiple role (numerous starkly differentiated characters played by a quick-change artist)

Der Mann mit den vierzig Gesichtern (Engl. 'The Man of Forty Faces')

rel 1914, lgth 1 act, prod Edison (USA)

descr Performance film featuring a multiple role (numerous starkly differentiated characters played by a quick-change artist)

Der Mann mit den zwei Gesichtern (Engl. 'The Man with Two Faces')

1914, rel 1914, lgth 3 acts, prod Gottschalk (Germany)

descr Drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)

Der Mann mit den zwei Leben (Engl. 'The Man with Two Lives')

rel 1914, lgth 3 acts, prod Clarendon (Great Britain)

descr Drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)

Martha mit dem Hosenrock (Engl. 'Martha with the Culottes')

1911, rel 1911, lgth 110m (5m 21s), prod Österreichisch-Ungarische Kino-Industrie (Austro-Hungary)

descr *Hosenrolle* comedy featuring a *Doppelgänger* of gender (female/male)

Maud als Dandy (Engl. 'Maud as a Dandy')

1914, *rel* March 1914, *prod* Éclipse (France)

lp Maud Campton

descr *Hosenrolle* comedy featuring a *Doppelgänger* of gender (female/male)

Menschen und Masken aka *Menschen und Masken – 1. Teil* (Engl. 'People and Masks')

1913, *rel* June 1913, *lgth* 932m (45m 44s), *prod* Vitascope (Germany)

dir Harry Piel, *lp* Ludwig Trautmann, Hedda Vernon, Hubert Moest, Max Auzinger

descr Adventure drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)

Menschen und Masken – 2. Teil (Engl. 'People and Masks – Part 2')

1913, *rel* October 1913, *lgth* 3 acts, *prod* Vitascope (Germany)

dir Harry Piel, *lp* Ludwig Trautmann, Hedda Vernon

descr Adventure drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)

***Der Menschenaffe Consul Peter* aka *Der Menschenaffe* aka *Konsul Peter II, der Menschenaffe* (Engl. *The Human Ape or Darwin's Triumph*; orig. *Menneskeaben eller Darwins Triumph*)**

1909, *rel* July 1909, *lgth* 167m (8m 9s), *prod* Nordisk (Denmark)

descr Performance film featuring a *Doppelgänger* of species (simian/human)

Meyers Doppelgänger (Engl./orig. *Mistaken Identity*)

1910, *rel* July 1910, *lgth* 99m (4m 49s), *prod* Cricks & Martin (Great Britain)

dir [Dave Aylott ?]

descr Mistaken identity comedy featuring lookalikes played by the same actor as opposites

Der moderne Doktor Jekyll (Engl./orig. *A Modern Dr. Jekyll*)

1909, *rel* March 1910, *lgth* 155m (7m 30s), *prod* Selig (USA)

descr Comedy drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (high/low)

Moritz als Amme (Engl. 'Moritz as a Wet-Nurse'; orig. *La nourrice sèche*)

1910, *rel* February 1911, *lgth* 165m (8m 3s), *prod* S.C.A.G.L. (France)

dir Georges Monca, *lp* Prince [also billed in France as Charles Petitedemange, and in Germany as Moritz Prince], Émile Milo, Suzanne Goldstein, Gabrielle Chalon

descr *Rockrolle* comedy featuring a *Doppelgänger* of sexuality (male/female)

Moritz als Neger (Engl. *The White Nigger* aka *How Jack Won a Wife*; orig.

Le nègre blanc aka *Rigadin nègre*)

1910, *rel* October 1910, *lgth* 165m (8m 3s), *prod* S.C.A.G.L. (France)

dir Georges Monca, *lp* Prince [also billed in France as Charles Petitedemange, and in Germany as Moritz Prince], Georges Tréville, Nancy Vallier, Marie Charlotte Descorval, Madame de Tremerone

descr Comedy short featuring *Doppelgängers* of ethnicity (black/white and white/black)

Moritz und sein Doppelgänger (Engl. 'Moritz and his *Doppelgänger*'; orig. *Rigadin a un sosie*)

1910, rel November 1910, *lgth* 145m (7m 2s), *prod* S.C.A.G.L. (France)

dir Georges Monca, *lp* Prince [also billed in France as Charles Petitedemange, and in Germany as Moritz Prince], Émile Matrat, Juliette Clarens, Sarah Morin, Léontine Massart

descr Mistaken identity comedy featuring lookalikes played by the same actor as opposites

Moritz und seine Söhne (Engl. 'Moritz and his Sons'; orig. *Rigadin et ses fils*)

1910, rel January 1911, *lgth* 220m (10m 49s), *prod* S.C.A.G.L. (France)

dir Georges Monca, *lp* Prince [also billed in France as Charles Petitedemange, and in Germany as Moritz Prince], Monsieur Benoît, Paul Landrin, Madame MacLean, Madame Besnard

descr Comedy short featuring a multiple role (three members of a family played by the same actor as starkly differentiated characters)

Müller als Gesellschaftsdame (Engl. *Foolshead as Lady Companion* [*sic*] aka *Foolshead, Lady of Company*; orig. *Cretinetti dama di compagnia*)

1911, rel 1911, *lgth* 160m (7m 45s), *prod* Itala (Italy)

lp André Deed

descr *Rockrolle* comedy featuring a *Doppelgänger* of sexuality (male/female)

Das Museumsmysterium aka *Der Nachtwandler* (Engl. *The Mystery of the Museum or, The Somnambulist*; orig. *Museumsmysteriet eller Søvnngæengeren*)

1909, *rel* May 1910, *lgth* 249m (12m 13s), *prod* Nordisk (Denmark)

dir [August Blom ?], *lp* August Blom, Vilhelm Møller, Gudrun Kjerulf, Aage Brandt

descr Art film drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (high/low)

Neger aus Liebe (Engl. *Negro for Love*; orig. *Negro per amore*)

1913, *rel* 1913, *prod* Itala (Italy)

descr Comedy short featuring a *Doppelgänger* of ethnicity (white/black)

Nick Winter, die Diebin und die Hypnotiseurin (Engl. *Nick Winter and the Somnambulist Thief*; orig. *Nick Winter, la voleuse et la somnambule*)

1911, *rel* August 1911, *lgth* 210m (10m 20s), *prod* Pathé (France)

lp Georges Vinter [also billed in some sources as Georges Pinvert]

descr Detective film featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (high/low)

Nick Winter gegen seine Doppelgänger [*sic*] aka *Nick Winter gegen seinen Doppelgänger* (Engl. *Nick Winter's Double*; orig. *Nick Winter contre Nick Winter*)

1911, *rel* November 1911, *lgth* 245m (12m 1s), *prod* Pathé (France)

dir Gérard Bourgeois, *lp* Georges Vinter [also billed in some sources as Georges Pinvert], Jacques Vandenne

descr Detective film featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)

Ein noch nie dagewesenes Duell (Engl. 'A Never-before-seen Duel')

rel 1909, *lgth* 70m (3m 24s), *prod* Pathé (France)

descr Comedy short featuring a *Doppelgänger* of authenticity (human/mechanical reproduction)

Onkel Fritz als Kinderfrau (Engl. 'Uncle Fritz as a Nanny')

rel 1912, *lgth* 1 act, *prod* Hunnia-Biograph ([Austro-Hungary ?])

descr *Rockrolle* comedy featuring a *Doppelgänger* of sexuality (male/female)

Das Opfer ihres Ebenbildes (Engl. 'The Victim of her Spitting Image')

rel 1914, *lgth* 3 acts, *prod* Viktor

descr Mistaken identity drama featuring lookalikes played by the same actor as opposites

Die Papierspur (Engl. 'The Paper Clue')

1912, *rel* January 1913, *lgth* 697m (34m 16s), *prod* Deutsche Bioscop (Germany)

dir Emil Albes, *lp* Carl Beckersachs, Hedda Vernon, Rudi Bach, Emil Albes, Fred Immler, Ludwig Colani, Arthur Ullmann

descr Detective film featuring a dual role (detective and criminal played by the same actor as starkly differentiated characters)

Polidor als Kammerzofe (Engl. *Polidor as a Lady's Maid*; orig. *Polidor cameriere nella buona società*)

1912, *rel* 1912, *lgth* 107m (5m 12s), *prod* Pasquali (Italy)

lp Ferdinand Guillaume

descr *Rockrolle* comedy featuring a *Doppelgänger* of sexuality (male/female)

Polidor als Tänzerin (Engl. 'Polidor as a Woman Dancer'; orig. *Polidor ballerina*)

1913, *rel* 1913, *lgth* 188m (9m 13s), *prod* Pasquali (Italy)

lp Ferdinand Guillaume

descr *Rockrolle* comedy featuring a *Doppelgänger* of sexuality (male/female)

Polidor wechselt das Geschlecht (Engl. 'Polidor Changes Sex'; orig. *Polidor cambio sesso*)

ca. 1912, *rel* 1913, *prod* Pasquali (Italy)

lp Ferdinand Guillaume

descr *Rockrolle* comedy featuring a *Doppelgänger* of sexuality (male/female)

Polidor wechselt die Hautfarbe (Engl. 'Polidor Changes Skin-Colour')

rel December 1912, *prod* Pasquali (Italy)

lp Ferdinand Guillaume

descr Comedy short featuring a *Doppelgänger* of ethnicity (white/black)

Der Prinzenraub (Engl. 'The Prince's Abduction')

1914, *rel* 1914, *lgth* 987m (48m 30s), *prod* Deutsche Bioscop (Germany)

dir Stellan Rye, *lp* Hugo Flink, Carl Ebert, Alvine Davis, Stefanie Hantzsch, Erich

Briese, Olly Klein

descr Art film drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)

Die Pseudodame (Engl. 'The Pseudo-Lady')

rel 1913, *prod* Crystal (USA)

descr Drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)

Die Rache des Zwillings (Engl. 'The Twin's Revenge')

rel April 1912, *lgth* 1 act, *prod* Edison (USA)

descr Drama featuring identical twins played by the same actor as opposites

Ein schlecht angebrachtes Haarwuchsmittel aka Wie ein Affe entsteht (Engl. 'An Uncalled-for Hair Restorer'; orig. *La vérité sur l'homme-singe*)

1906, rel 1907, *lgth* 164m (7m 57s), *prod* [Gaumont ?] (France)

descr Trick film featuring a *Doppelgänger* of species (human/simian)

Der schöne Don Juan (Engl. 'The Handsome Don Juan')

rel 1910, *lgth* 124m (6m 2s), *prod* Lux (France)

descr Drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of ethnicity (white/Gypsy)

Schreckliche Folgen des Hosenrockes aka Die schrecklichen Folgen des Hosenrockes (Engl. 'Terrible Consequences of Culottes')

1911, rel June 1911, *lgth* 114m (5m 33s), *prod* Meßter-Film (Germany)

descr *Hosenrolle* comedy featuring a *Doppelgänger* of gender (female/male)

Der Schuster von Köpenick (Engl. 'The Cobbler of Köpenick')

1906, rel 1906, *lgth* 85m (4m 13s), *prod* Pathé (France)

descr Re-enacted actuality film featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)

Schwarz und weiß, oder, Der Narren-Omnibus (Engl. *Off to Bedlam* aka *Off to Bloomingdale Asylum*; orig. *L'omnibus des toqués ou les échappés de Charenton*)

1901, rel 1902, *lgth* ca. 20m (59s), *prod* Star-Film (France)

dir Georges Méliès

descr Comedy trick film featuring a *Doppelgänger* of ethnicity (black/white)

Die schwarze Gefahr (Engl. 'The Black Peril'; orig. *Le péril noir*)

1910, rel May 1910, *lgth* 120m (5m 50s), *prod* Pathé (France)

descr Comedy short featuring a *Doppelgänger* of ethnicity (white/black)

Die schwarze Kugel, oder, Die geheimnisvollen Schwestern aka *Die schwarze Kugel* (Engl. 'The Black Bullet or, The Mysterious Sisters')

1913, rel October 1913, *lgth* 3 acts, *prod* Luna-Film (Germany)

dir Franz Hofer, *lp* Manny Ziener, Mia Cordes, Paul Meffert, Ernst Pittschau, Leon Rains

descr Adventure drama featuring identical twins played by different actors as spectacle

Die schwarze Maske (Engl. 'The Black Mask'; orig. *Den sorte maske*)

1906, rel 1907, *lgth* 240m (11m 46s), *prod* Nordisk (Denmark)

dir Viggo Larsen, *lp* [Robert Strom Petersen ?]

descr Adventure drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (high/low)

Schwesterseelen aka *Die Zwillingsschwestern* (Engl. 'Sisters' Souls')

rel January 1914, *lgth* 3 acts, *prod* Cines (Italy)

hp Madame Hesperia

descr Art film drama featuring identical twins played by the same actor as opposites

Schwiegermama im Hosenrock (Engl. 'Step-Mother in Culottes')

rel May 1911, *lgth* 130m (6m 18s), *prod* Lux (France)

descr *Hosenrolle* comedy featuring a *Doppelgänger* of gender (female/male)

Sein anderes Ich (Engl. 'His other Self')

rel 1913, *lgth* 1 act, *prod* Selig (USA)

descr Mistaken identity drama featuring lookalikes played by the same actor as opposites

Sein Doppelgänger aka *Sein Doppelpgänger* [*sic*] (Engl. 'His *Doppelgänger*')

1914, rel 1914

descr Mistaken identity comedy featuring lookalikes played by the same actor as opposites

Sein Schatten (Engl. 'His Shadow')

rel 1913, *lgth* 2 acts, *prod* S.C.A.G.L. (France)

descr Art film drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)

Sein zweites Gesicht (Engl. 'His Second Face')

rel 1914, *lgth* 1 act, *prod* Rex (USA)

descr Drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)

Ein seltsamer Fall aka *Jackel & Hyde* [sic] (Engl. *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* aka *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* or, *A Strange Case* aka *Jekyll and Hyde*; orig. *Den skæbnesvangre Opfindelse* aka *Dr. Jekyll og Mr. Hyde*)

1910, *rel* September 1910, *lgth* 460m (22m 34s), *prod* Nordisk (Denmark)

dir August Blom, *lp* Alwin Neuss, Emilie Sannom, Holger Pedersen, Ella Lacour, Victor Fabian, Rigmor Jerichau, Julie Henriksen

descr Art film drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (high/low)

Ein seltsamer Fall aka *Sein eigener Mörder* (Engl. *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*)

1914, *rel* December 1914, *lgth* 910m (44m 41s), *prod* Vitascope (Germany)

dir Max Mack, *lp* Alwin Neuss, Hanni Weisse, Lotte Neumann

descr Art film drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (high/low)

Die siamesischen Zwillinge (Engl. 'The Siamese Twins')

1913, *rel* April 1913, *prod* Deutsche Bioscop (Germany)

dir Emil Albes

descr Comedy drama featuring Siamese twins as spectacle

Sieg des Hosenrocks aka *Der Sieg des Hosenrocks* (Engl. 'The Culottes' Triumph')

1911, *rel* September 1911, *lgth* 160m (7m 45s), *prod* Deutsche Bioscop (Germany)

dir Emil Albes, *lp* Max Obal, Lene Voss [= Guido Seeber?]

descr *Hosenrolle* comedy featuring a *Doppelgänger* of gender (female/male)

Der Soldat als Mädchen für Alles (Engl. 'The Soldier as Maid-of-all-Work')

rel June 1909, *lgth* 120m (5m 50s), *prod* Lux (France)

descr *Rockrolle* comedy featuring a *Doppelgänger* of sexuality (male/female)

Ein Sonnabendnachmittags-Verbrechen (Engl. 'A Saturday Evening Crime')

rel 1909, *lgth* 168m (8m 12s), *prod* Théâtrograph (France)

dir Maurice de Féraudy, *lp* Monsieur Liesse, Monsieur Morgand, Madame Sorel,

Madame E. Noris, Madame Villion

descr Comedy short featuring a *Doppelgänger* of authenticity (human/mechanical reproduction)

Der Staubmantel (Engl. 'The Dust Coat')

rel June 1911, *lgth* 155m (7m 31s), *prod* Pathé (France)

descr Mistaken identity comedy featuring lookalikes played by different actors as opposites

***Die Stimme seiner Schwiegermutter* (Engl. 'His Stepmother's Voice'; orig. *Le pendu*)**

***rel* 1907, *lgth* 88m (4m 22s), *prod* Gaumont (France)**

***descr* Comedy short featuring a *Doppelgänger* of authenticity (human/mechanical reproduction)**

Die Strassenräuber (Engl. 'The Muggers')

rel 1906, *lgth* 93m (4m 31s), *prod* Gaumont (France)

descr *Rockrolle* drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of sexuality (male/female)

Struwels Eroberung (Engl. 'Dunderhead's Conquest')

rel October 1911, *lgth* 145m (7m 2s), *prod* Pathé (France)

descr Rockrolle comedy featuring a *Doppelgänger* of sexuality (male/female)

Der Student von Prag (Engl. *The Student of Prague* aka *A Bargain with Satan*)

1913, rel August 1913, *lgth* 1538m (1h 15m 31s), *prod* Deutsche Bioscop (Germany)

dir Stellan Rye [attributed in contemporary sources to the scriptwriter, Hanns Heinz Ewers], *lp* Paul Wegener, Grete Berger, Lyda Salmonowa, John Gottowt, Fritz Weidemann, Lothar Körner

descr Art film drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)

Stürmische Hochzeitsnacht (Engl. 'Stormy Wedding Night')

rel June 1909, *prod* Cines (Italy)

descr Mistaken identity comedy featuring two sets of lookalikes played by the same actors as opposites

Die Tat des Doppelgängers (Engl. 'The *Doppelgänger*'s Deed')

rel June 1910, *lgth* 303m (14m 50s), *prod* Edison (USA)

descr Detective film featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)

Teddy Holzbock und der Hosenrock (Engl. 'Teddy Holzbock and the Culottes'; orig. *Pik Nik veste la jupe-culotte*)

1911, rel July 1911, *lgth* 113m (5m 30s), *prod* Aquila (Italy)

descr Rockrolle comedy featuring a *Doppelgänger* of gender (male/female)

Die Töchter im Hosenrock aka *Meine Töchter im Hosenrock* (Engl. 'Daughters in Culottes'; orig. *Mes filles portent la jupe-culotte*)

1911, rel April 1911, lgth 130m (6m 18s), prod Pathé (France)

descr *Hosenrolle* comedy featuring *Doppelgänger* of gender (female/male and male/female)

Tonto als Messenger-Girl (Engl. 'Tonto as a Messenger Girl')

rel 1914, lgth 167.4m (8m 10s), prod Phoebus

descr *Rockrolle* comedy featuring a *Doppelgänger* of sexuality (male/female)

Tontolini als Ballettänzerin (Engl. *Tontolini as Ballet Girl [sic]* aka *Tontolini as a Ballet Dancer*; orig. *Tontolini ballerina*)

1910, rel July 1910, lgth 159m (7m 43s), prod Cines (Italy)

descr *Rockrolle* comedy featuring a *Doppelgänger* of sexuality (male/female)

***Der Traum des Detektivs* (Engl. 'The Detective's Dream')**

rel May 1910, lgth 180m (8m 43s), prod Pathé (France)

descr **Detective film featuring a *Doppelgänger* of authenticity (human/supernatural copy)**

Eine unangenehme Störung beim Bade (Engl. 'An Unpleasant Disturbance while Bathing')

rel January 1912, lgth 305m (14m 55s), prod Edison (USA)

descr *Rockrolle* comedy featuring a *Doppelgänger* of sexuality (male/female)

Unser Urabne aka Jim, der wohlgezogene Chimpanse (Engl./orig. *Evolution of Man: An Educated Chimpanzee*)

1901, *rel* November 1901, *lgth* 19.9m (59s), *prod* Lubin (USA)

descr Performance film featuring a *Doppelgänger* of species (simian/human)

Unter des Perücke (Engl. 'Beneath the Wig')

rel 1913, *prod* Gaumont (France)

descr Drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)

Die Unzertrennlichen (Engl. 'The Inseparable Ones')

rel January 1911, *lgth* 191m (9m 16s), *prod* Gaumont (France)

descr Drama featuring Siamese twins as spectacle

***Das Verbrechen eines Nachtwandlers* (Engl./orig. *The Somnambulist's Crime*)**

1908, *rel* 1909, *lgth* 195m (9m 31s), *prod* Cricks & Martin (Great Britain)

***dir* A. E. Coleby**

***descr* Drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (high/low)**

Die Verhaftung des Räuberhauptmannes von Köpenick (Engl. 'The Arrest of the Robber-Captain of Köpenick') [possibly an abridged version of the same company's *Der Hauptmann von Köpenick* (1906) ?]

1906, *rel* 1906, *lgth* 120m (5m 50s), *prod* Buderus (Germany)

descr Re-enacted actuality film featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)

Das Verjüngungsmittel (Engl. 'The Elixir of Youth')

1909, *rel* July 1909, *lgth* 120m (5m 50s), *prod* Karl Werner (Germany)

descr Comedy short featuring a *Doppelgänger* of species (human/simian)

Verliebt in ein Reklamebild (Engl./orig. *In Love with a Picture Girl*)

1909, *rel* January 1910, *lgth* 118m (5m 44s), *prod* Clarendon (Great Britain)

dir Percy Stow

descr Chase film featuring a *Doppelgänger* of authenticity (human/mechanical reproduction)

Der verliebte Neger (Engl. 'The Enamoured Negro'; orig. *Le nègre amoureux*)

rel 1906, *lgth* 58m (2m 49s), *prod* Gaumont (France)

descr Comedy short featuring a *Doppelgänger* of ethnicity (black/white)

***Die verräterische Zigarette* aka *Der Doppelgänger* (Engl. *The Double* aka *The Count's Double*; orig. *Dobbeltgængereren*)**

1910, *rel* November 1910, *lgth* 217m (10m 40s) [some sources state 317m, but this figure probably originates from a typographical error], *prod* Nordisk (Denmark)

***Ip* Aage Hertel, Otto Lagoni**

***descr* Detective film featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)**

Vertauschte Rollen (Engl. 'Reversed Roles')

1911, *rel* 1911, *prod* Deutsche Bioscop (Germany)

descr *Hosenrolle* drama featuring *Doppelgängers* of gender (female/male and male/female)

Der Verwandlungskünstler (Engl. 'The Quick-Change Artist')

rel 1903, *lgth* 35m (1m 43s), *prod* Pathé (France)

descr Performance film featuring a multiple role (numerous starkly differentiated characters played by a quick-change artist)

Der Verwandlungskünstler (Engl. 'The Quick-Change Artist')

rel 1907, *lgth* 35m (1m 43s), *prod* Carlo Rossi (Italy)

descr Performance film featuring a multiple role (numerous starkly differentiated characters played by a quick-change artist)

Der Verwandlungskünstler Fregoli (Engl. 'The Quick-Change Artist Fregoli')

rel March 1911, *lgth* 75m (3m 38s), *prod* Pathé (France)

lp Leopoldo Fregoli

descr Performance film featuring a multiple role (numerous starkly differentiated characters played by a quick-change artist)

Der Verwandlungskünstler Hopsinwasser (Engl. 'The Quick-Change Artist Hopinthewater')

rel June 1910, *lgth* 84m (4m 4s), *prod* Gaumont (France)

descr Trick film featuring a multiple role (numerous starkly differentiated characters played by a quick-change artist)

Verwandlungstänzerin Miss Graham (Engl. 'Quick-Change Dancer Miss Graham')

1909, *rel* 1909, *lgth* 64m (3m 6s), *prod* Deutsche Mutoskop- und Biograph-Gesellschaft (Germany)

lp Miss Graham

descr Performance film (with sound) featuring a multiple role (numerous starkly differentiated characters played by a quick-change artist)

Von einem Affen gebissen (Engl. 'Bitten by an Ape'; orig. *Mordus par un singe*)

1911, *rel* November 1911, *lgth* 125m (6m 4s), *prod* Comica (Italy, for the French market)

descr Comedy short featuring a *Doppelgänger* of species (human/simian)

Vor Taschendieben wird gewarnt (Engl. 'Beware of Pickpockets')

rel 1908, *lgth* 134m (6m 30s), *prod* Éclipse (France)

descr *Rockrolle* comedy featuring a *Doppelgänger* of sexuality (male/female)

Weiss und schwarz (Engl. *Tontolini White and Black*; orig. *Tontolini bianco e nero*)

1910, *rel* 1910, *lgth* 124m (6m 2s), *prod* Cines (Italy)

descr Comedy short featuring a *Doppelgänger* of ethnicity (white/black)

Wenn die Frauen erst Schutzleute werden können (Engl./orig. *If Women were Policemen*)

1908, *rel* January 1911, *lgth* 115m (5m 35s), *prod* [British and Colonial ?] (Great Britain)

dir Percy Stow

descr *Hosenrolle* comedy featuring a *Doppelgänger* of gender (female/male)

Wenn Frauen die Herrschaft führen (Engl./orig. *When Women Rule*)

1912, *rel* 1912, *lgth* 1 act, *prod* Selig (USA)

lp Harry Lonsdale, Myrtle Stedman

descr *Hosenrolle* comedy featuring *Doppelgängers* of gender (female/male and male/female)

Wenn Frauen die Hosen an haben (Engl. 'When Women Wear the Trousers')

rel 1908, *lgth* 185m (9m 4s), *prod* Hepworth (Great Britain)

descr *Hosenrolle* comedy featuring a *Doppelgänger* of gender (female/male)

Wer niemals einen Rausch gehabt (Engl. 'Who's Never Been Drunk...')

rel 1906, *lgth* 120m (5m 50s), *prod* Pathé (France)

descr Mistaken identity comedy featuring a *Doppelgänger* of authenticity (human/mechanical reproduction)

Wie aus Kokl Asta Pilsen wurde aka *Wie aus Cocl Asta Pilsen wurde* (Engl. 'How Twaddle-Head Became Asta Pilsen')

1913, *rel* 1913, *lgth* 270m (13m 14s), *prod* Sascha-Film (Austro-Hungary)

lp Rudolf Walter

descr *Rockrolle* comedy featuring a *Doppelgänger* of sexuality (male/female)

Wie Herr Pfiffig an der Damen-Schönheitskonkurrenz den ersten Preis gewann (Engl./orig. *How Percy Won the Beauty Competition*)

1909, *rel* 1909, *prod* Gaumont (Great Britain)

descr *Rockrolle* comedy featuring a *Doppelgänger* of sexuality (male/female)

Der wilde Neffe (Engl. 'The Wild Nephew'; orig. *Un neveu un peu sauvage*)

1911, *rel* November 1911, *lgth* 140m (6m 47s), *prod* Nizza (Italy, for the French market)

descr Comedy short featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (high/low)

***Wirkung der schwarzen Milch* aka *Die Wirkungen der schwarzen Milch* aka *Wirkung der Milch* (Engl. 'The Effects of Black Milk'; orig. *Les effets du lait noir*)**

1906, *rel* 1906, *lgth* 55m (2m 40s), *prod* Pathé (France)

descr Comedy short featuring a *Doppelgänger* of ethnicity (white/black)

Die Wirkungen des Hosenrockes (Engl. 'The Effects of Culottes'; orig. *Effetti della jupe-culotte* aka *Jupe-culotte*)

1911, *rel* June 1911, *lgth* 160m (7m 45s), *prod* Ambrosio (Italy)

descr *Hosenrolle* comedy featuring a *Doppelgänger* of gender (female/male)

***Wo ist Coletti?* aka *Wo ist Colletti?* (Engl. *Where is Colletti?*)**

1913, *rel* April 1913, *lgth* 1677m (1h 22m 24s), *prod* Vitascope (Germany)

dir Max Mack, *lp* Hans Junkermann, Madge Lessing [frequently erroneously billed in Germany as Magda Lessing or Mätsch Lessing], Heinrich Peer, Anna Müller-Lincke, Max Laurence, Hans Stock, Axel Breidahl

descr Detective art film comedy featuring *Doppelgängers* of class (high/low) and sexuality (male/female)

Das wunderbare Haarelixir aka *Das wunderbare Haarelexir* [sic] (Engl. *A Marvellous Cure*;
orig. *Den vidunderlige Haarelexir*)

1909, rel February 1910, lgth 129m (6m 17s), prod Nordisk (Denmark)

lp Petrine Sonne

descr Trick film featuring a *Doppelgänger* of species (human/simian)

Das wunderbare Kopfwasser aka *Das wunderbare Haarwasser* (Engl. *A
Wonderful Hair Restorer* aka *The Miracle Lotion* aka *The Miracle Notion*;
orig. *Lotion miraculeuse* aka *La lotion miraculeuse*)

1903, rel February 1904, lgth 40m (1m 56s), prod Pathé (France)

descr Trick film featuring a *Doppelgänger* of species (human/simian)

Zapatas Bande (Engl. 'Zapata's Gang')

1914, rel February 1914, lgth 752m (36m 52s), prod Pagu (Germany)

dir Urban Gad, lp Asta Nielsen, Fred Immler, Senta Eichstaedt, Adele Reuter-
Eichberg, Mary Scheller, Hans Lanser-Ludolff, Carl Dibbern, Max Agerty,
Ernst Körner, Erich Harden

descr *Hosenrolle* drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of gender (female/male)

Zweimal gelebt aka *Doppelt gelebt* (Engl. 'A Second Life' aka 'Twice Lived')

1912, rel June 1912, lgth 2 acts, prod Continental-Kunstfilm (Germany)

dir Max Mack, lp Eva Speyer, Anton Ernst Rückert

descr Art film drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of mortality (alive/dead)

Das zweite Gesicht (Engl. 'The Second Face')

rel March 1913, *lgth* 3 acts, *prod* Pasquali (Italy)

lp Novelli Vidali

descr Drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)

Das zweite Gesicht (Engl. 'The Second Face')

rel 1914, *lgth* 3 acts, *prod* Milano (Italy)

descr Drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)

Das zweite Ich (Engl. 'The Second Self')

rel 1913, *prod* Gaumont (France)

descr Drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)

Das zweite 'Ich' (Engl. 'The Second 'Self')

1913, *rel* June 1913, *prod* Komet (Germany)

descr Mistaken identity comedy featuring lookalikes played by the same actor as opposites

Das zweite Ich (Engl. 'The Second Self')

1914, *rel* 1914, *lgth* 1 act, *prod* Uranus-Film-Gesellschaft (Germany)

descr Drama featuring a *Doppelgänger* of class (low/high)

Die Zwillinge (Engl. 'The Twins')

1911, *rel* November 1911, *lgth* 325m (15m 54s), *prod* Vitascope (Germany)

descr Drama featuring identical twins played by the same actor as opposites

Zwillinge im Theater aka *Rosalie und Lottchen im Theater* (Engl. 'Twins at the Theatre')

rel ca. 1911 [some secondary sources give 1905], *lgth* 100m (4m 51s), *prod*

Comica (Italy, for the French market)

lp Sarah Duhamel

descr Comedy short featuring identical twins played by different actors as spectacle

Die Zwillingsbrüder (Engl. 'The Twin Brothers')

1911, *rel* March 1911, *lgth* 270m (13m 14s), *prod* Deutsche Bioscop (Germany)

descr Drama featuring identical twins played by the same actor as opposites

Die Zwillingsbrüder (Engl. *The Twins*; orig. *Tvillingebrødrene*)

1911, *rel* January 1912, *lgth* 135m (6m 34s), *prod* Nordisk (Denmark)

dir William Augustinus, *lp* William Bewer, Carl Fischer, Julie Henriksen, Frederik Buch, Elna From

descr Drama featuring identical twins played by the same actor as opposites

Die Zwillingsbrüder (Engl./orig. *The Twin Brothers*)

1913, *rel* 1913, *prod* Edison (USA)

lp Augustus Phillips

descr Drama featuring identical twins played by the same actor as opposites

Die Zwillingschwestern (Engl. 'The Twin Sisters')

rel 1912, *lgth* 1 act, *prod* Thanhouser (USA)

descr Drama featuring identical twins played by the same actor as opposites

Filmography B: Further Wilhelmine Films Cited

This filmography contains details of all Wilhelmine releases referred to within this dissertation that do not feature a *Doppelgänger*. The format is identical to that of Filmography A (see the “Key to Filmographic Entries” on p.431), except that the twelfth field (*descr* = description of type of *Doppelgänger* film) has been omitted as inapplicable here.

Akt-Skulpturen (Engl. ‘Nude Sculptures’)

1903, *rel* 1903, *lgth* 35m (1m 43s), *prod* Meßters Projection (Germany)

lp ‘Zwei in Berlin berühmte Akt-Modelle’ (‘Two celebrated Berlin nude models’)

Der Alexanderplatz in Berlin aka *Berlin – Alexanderplatz* (Engl. ‘The Alexanderplatz in Berlin’)

1896, *rel* 1896, *lgth* 20m [=35mm transfer from dual-reel 54mm original] (59s),

prod Skladanowsky (Germany)

dir Max Skladanowsky

Ali Baba und die 40 Räuber (Engl. ‘Ali Baba and the 40 Thieves’)

rel 1906, *prod* Gaumont (France)

Amerika—Europa im Luftschiff (Engl. 'America—Europe by Airship')

1913, *rel* November 1913, *lgth* 1127m (55m 11s), *prod* Eiko (Germany)

dir Alfred Lind, *lp* Gussy Holl, Hermann Seldeneck, Hans Hubert Dietzsch, Max Laurence

Ein amerikanischer Millionär in Paris (Engl. *American in France*)

rel 1906, *lgth* 210m (10m 20s), *prod* Gaumont (France)

Ankunft einer Trambahn in Saigon (Engl. 'Arrival of a Tram in Saigon')

rel 1902, *lgth* 15m (44s), *prod* Pathé (France)

Ankunft eines Eisenbahnzuges aka Ankunft eines Zuges (Engl. *The Arrival of a Train at La Ciotat Station*; orig. *Arrivée d'un train à La Ciotat*)

1895, *rel* May 1896, *lgth* 17.1m (51s), *prod* Lumière (France)

dir Louis Lumière, *lp* Madame Lumière

Ankunft eines Zuges vor- und rückwärts (Engl. 'Arrival of a Train For- and Backwards')

1901, *rel* January 1902, *lgth* 40m (1m 56s), *prod* Pathé (France)

Die Arbeiter verlassen die Fabrik aka Arbeiter verlassen die Fabrik Lumières (Engl. *Employees Leaving the Lumière Factory aka Workers Leaving the Lumière Factory*; orig. *La sortie des usines aka La sortie des ateliers de l'usine Lumière à Monplaisir aka Sortie d'usine*)

1895, *rel* May 1896, *lgth* 17.1m (51s), *prod* Lumière (France)

dir Louis Lumière

Bad eines Negerkindes (Engl./orig. *A Hard Wash*)

1896, *rel* 1896, *prod* Biograph (USA)

Badende Negerknaben (Engl. *The Frolics of Negroes while Bathing*, orig. *Baignades de nègres*)

1897, *rel* February 1898, *prod* Lumière (France)

Bau einer Eisenbahnlinie in Afrika aka *Schienenlegung in Inner-Afrika* aka *Wilde beim*

Eisenbahnbau in Afrika (Engl. 'Construction of a Railway Line in Africa')

rel 1908, *lgth* 185m (9m 4s), *prod* [Raleigh & Roberts ?] (France)

Der Bau eines Automobils (Engl. 'Construction of an Automobile')

1908, *rel* 1908, *lgth* 100m (4m 51s), *prod* Allgemeine Kinotheater-Gesellschaft
(Germany)

Bei den Kannibalen (Engl. 'With the Cannibals')

rel 1914, *prod* A. B. Film (Great Britain)

Brooklyn, das amerikanische Kiel aka *Brooklin* [*sic*] (Engl. 'Brooklyn, the American Kiel')

rel May 1910, *lgth* 145m (7m 2s), *prod* [?] (Great Britain)

Bubi, der kleine Detektiv (Engl. 'Bubi, the Little Detective')

rel August 1914, *prod* Gaumont (France)

Demonstration der Sozialisten in Budapest am 10.10.1907 (Engl. 'Socialist Demonstration
in Budapest on 10.10.1907')

1907, *rel* October 1907, *prod* Projektograph (Austro-Hungary)

Der Diebstahl im Grand-Hotel (Engl. 'Theft at the Grand-Hotel')

rel August 1911, *lgth* 253m (12m 24s), *prod* Lux (France)

***Don Juan heiratet* aka *Der Herzenknicker* (Engl. 'Don Juan Marries')**

1909, *rel* April 1909, *lgth* 281m (13m 5s), *prod* Duskes (Germany)

***dir* Heinrich Bolten-Baeckers, *lp* Josef Giampetro, Klara Kollendt**

Das Drama auf dem Wolkenkratzer (Engl. 'Drama aloft a Skyscraper')

rel 1907, *lgth* 186.9m (9m 12s), *prod* Edison (USA)

Das Drama im D-Zug aka *Das Drama im D-Zuge* (Engl. 'Drama in the Fast-Train')

rel September 1911, *lgth* 250m (12m 0s), *prod* Éclair (France)

Durch drahtlose Telegraphie gerettet (Engl. 'Saved by Wireless Telegraphy')

1911, *rel* May 1912, *lgth* 319m (15m 38s), *prod* Star-Film (France)

Der Eid des Stephan Huller – 1. Teil (Engl. 'The Oath of Stephan Huller – Part 1')

1912, *rel* May 1912, *lgth* 833m (40m 56s), *prod* Vitascope (Germany)

dir Viggo Larsen, *lp* Viggo Larsen, Wanda Treumann, Fritz Schroeter

Der Eid des Stephan Huller – 2. Teil (Engl. 'The Oath of Stephan Huller – Part 2')

1912, *rel* September 1912, *prod* Vitascope (Germany)

dir Viggo Larsen, *lp* Viggo Larsen, Wanda Treumann, Fritz Schroeter

Die Eisbraut (Engl. 'The Ice Bride')

1913, *rel* November 1913, *lgth* 1198m (58m 50s), *prod* Deutsche Bioscop (Germany)

dir Stellan Rye, *lp* Theodor Loos, Hans Mierendorff, Max Laurence

Der elektrische Apparat als Retter (Engl. 'The Electrical Apparatus as Saviour')

1910, *rel* January 1911, *lgth* 140m (6m 47s), *prod* Meißter-Film (Germany)

Die Entstehung des Berliner Lokal-Anzeigers (Engl. 'The Production of the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*')
Anzeiger)

1910, *rel* April 1910, *lgth* 155m (7m 30s), *prod* Deutsche Mutoskop- und Biograph-Gesellschaft (Germany)

Die Entwicklung des Embryos in einem Hühnerei (Engl. 'Development of the Embryo in a Chicken Egg')

1911, *rel* November 1911, *lgth* 145m (7m 2s), *prod* Kineto Film (Great Britain)

Er will auch Detektiv werden (Engl. 'He Wants to be a Detective Too')

rel 1912, *prod* Hepworth (Great Britain)

Die Ermordung des Herzogs von Guise (Engl. *The Assassination of the Duc de Guise*; orig. *L'Assassinat du duc de Guise* aka *La Mort du duc de Guise*)

1908, *rel* May 1909, *lgth* 340m (16m 37s), *prod* S.C.A.G.L. (France)

dir Charles Le Bargy, André Calmette, *lp* Charles Le Bargy, Albert Lambert, Berthe Bovy, Raphael Duflos

Erinrude, die Geschichte eines Abenteurers (Engl. 'Evinrude, the Story of an Adventurer')
1913, *rel* February 1914, *lgth* 1540m (1h 15m 37s), *prod* Deutsche Bioscop (Germany)
lp Paul Wegener, Grete Berger, Lyda Salmonova, Jean Ducret, Victor Colani, Hanns
Heinz Ewers, Hans Mierendorff

Eine Expedition in Deutsch-Ostafrika (Engl. 'An Expedition into German East Africa')
rel 1911, *prod* Éclipse (France)

Fabrikation von Manilahüten auf den Philippinen (Engl. 'The Manufacture of
Manila Hats in the Philippines')
1911, *rel* September 1911, *lgth* 150m (7m 16s), *prod* Imperium ([Great Britain
?])

Die Falschmünzer (Engl. 'The Counterfeiters')
rel 1914, *prod* Frontier (USA)

Fortschritte der Zivilisation in Deutsch-Ost-Afrika (Engl. 'Advances of
Civilisation in German East Africa')
1911, *rel* November 1911, *lgth* 110m (5m 21s), *prod* Pathé (France)

Die Frau als Kutscher (Engl. 'Woman Driver')
rel 1907, *lgth* 108m (5m 14s), *prod* Éclipse (France)

Frau Rechtsanwalts erster Erfolg (Engl. 'A Lady Barrister's First Win')
1911, *rel* October 1911, *lgth* 166m (8m 3s), *prod* Meßter-Film (Germany)
dir Adolf Gärtner, *lp* Alma Rubner, Bobby Goldfluss

Frauen-Emanzipation (Engl./orig. *Sweet Suffragettes*)

1906, *rel* October 1906, *lgth* 48.8m (2m 23s), *prod* Cricks & Sharp (Great Britain)

dir Tom Green

Frauenleben in Westafrika (Engl. 'Women's Life in West Africa')

1913, *rel* 1913, *prod* Schomburgk-Film (Germany)

dir Hans Schomburgk

Frauenpolitik (Engl. 'Women's Politics')

rel December 1913, *prod* Vitagraph (USA)

Fräulein Chef (Engl. 'Fräulein Boss')

1912, *rel* December 1912, *lgth* 750m (36m 46s), *prod* Duskes (Germany)

dir Fritz Bernhardt, *lp* Dorrit Weixler, Rudolf del Zopp

***Das Geheimnis von Chateau Richmond* (Engl. 'The Mystery of Chateau Richmond')**

1913, *rel* April 1913, *lgth* 4 acts, *prod* Karl Werner (Germany)

***dir* Willy Zeyn, *lp* Senta Eichstaedt, Fred Selva-Goebel**

Die geheimnisvolle Villa (Engl. 'The Mysterious Villa')

1914, *rel* March 1914, *lgth* 1322m (1h 4m 56s), *prod* Continental-Kunstfilm (Germany)

dir Joe May, *lp* Ernst Reicher, Sabine Impekoven, Julius Falkenstein

Ein geheimnisvolles Telefongespräch (Engl. 'A Mysterious Telephone Conversation')

rel February 1912, *prod* Cines (Italy)

Der Geisterspuk im Hause des Professors aka *Der Spuk im Hause des Professors* (Engl. *Trapped by Camera*)

1914, *rel* May 1914, *lgth* 1058m (51m 58s), *prod* Continental-Kunstfilm (Germany)

dir Joe May, *lp* Ernst Reicher, Wilhelm Diegelmann

Die gelbe Rasse (Engl. 'The Yellow Race')

1912, *rel* June 1912, *lgth* 903m (44m 20s), *prod* Continental-Kunstfilm (Germany)

dir Max Mack, *lp* Anton Ernst Rückert, Eva Speyer, Siegwart Gruder

Die Geliebte des Chinesen (Engl. 'The Chinaman's Beloved')

1911, *rel* May 1911, *lgth* 375m (18m 19s), *prod* Vitascope (Germany)

dir Viggo Larsen, *lp* Viggo Larsen, Wanda Treumann, Hugo Flink, Paul Bildt

Gerda Gerovius (Engl. 'Gerda Gerovius')

1912, *rel* January 1913, *lgth* 2 acts, *prod* Meßter-Film (Germany)

dir Hans Oberländer, *lp* Else Bassermann

Die gestohlene "Mona Lisa" (Engl. *The Stolen Picture*; orig. *Mona Lisa*)

1911, *rel* 1911, *lgth* 250m (12m 15s), *prod* Nordisk (Denmark)

dir Edward Schnedler-Sørensen, *lp* Einar Zangenberg, Carl Alstrup, Julie Henriksen, Zanny Petersen, Frederik Buch, Maja Bjerre-Lind, Svend Bille, Edith Pio

Der große Zugüberfall aka Der große Eisenbahnraub (Engl./orig. *The Great Train Robbery*)

1903, *rel* September 1904, *lgth* 170m (8m 15s), *prod* Edison (USA)

dir Edwin S. Porter, *lp* George Barnes, Frank Hanaway, Max Aronson, Mary Murray

Harakiri (Engl. 'Harakiri')

1913, *rel* November 1913, *prod* Eiko-Film (Germany)

dir Harry Piel, *lp* Ludwig Trautmann

Der Hauptmann begnadigt aka Der Hauptmann von Köpenick aka Der Hauptmann von Coepenick (Engl. 'The Captain Pardoned')

1908, *rel* August 1908, *prod* Duskes (Germany)

lp Wilhelm Voigt

Herr Riri ist nervenkrank (Engl. 'Mr. Riri has a Nervous Disease'; orig. *Riri nevristenico*)

1911, *rel* December 1911, *lgth* 187m (9m 10s), *prod* Savoia (Italy)

Ich habe einen Neger verloren aka Verlorener Neger (Engl. 'I've Lost a Negro')

1910, *rel* 1910, *lgth* 133m (6m 27s), *prod* Itala (Italy)

Die ideale Gattin (Engl. 'The Ideal Wife')

1913, *rel* 1914, *lgth* 2 acts, *prod* Deutsche Bioscop (Germany)

lp Paul Biensfeldt, Lyda Salmonova, Grete Berger, Ernst Lubitsch

In Nacht und Eis aka *Titanic* (Engl. 'Night-time and Ice')

1912, *rel* August 1912, *lgth* 946m (46m 25s), *prod* Continental-Kunstfilm
(Germany)

dir Mime Misu, *lp* Anton Ernst Rückert, Otto Rippert, Waldemar Hecker,
Mime Misu

Indiskretion des Kinematographen (Engl. 'The Cinematograph's Indiscretion')

rel 1908, *lgth* 120m (5m 50s), *prod* Théophile Pathé (France)

Die japanische Maske (Engl. 'The Japanese Mask')

rel 1913, *prod* Deutsche Mutoskop- und Biograph-Gesellschaft (Germany)

lp Werner Frank [=early stage-name of Werner Hollmann]

Japanesisches Theehaus aka *Japanesinen Thee trinkend* (Engl. 'Japanese Tea-House')

rel 1903, *lgth* 15m (44s), *prod* Pathé (France)

Karlchens Traum als Sherlock-Holmes [*sic*] (Engl. 'Little Karl's Dream of Being Sherlock-Holmes')

1914, *rel* 1914, *prod* Lloyd-Film ([Germany ?])

Katastrophe des Zeppelinschen Luftschiffes (Engl. 'Zeppelin Catastrophe')

1910, *rel* 1910, *lgth* 44m (2m 8s), *prod* Duskes (Germany)

Der Kinematograph als Verräter (Engl./orig. *The Tell-Tale Kinematograph*)

1908, *rel* 1908, *lgth* 122m (5m 56s), *prod* Hepworth (Great Britain)

dir Lewin Fitzhamon

Das Kloster von Sendomir (Engl. 'The Monastery of Sendomir')

1912, *rel* October 1912, *lgth* 2 acts, *prod* Deutsche Mutoskop- und Biograph-Gesellschaft (Germany)

lp Friedrich Fehér

Königin Elisabeth (Engl. *Queen Elizabeth* aka *Queen Beth*; orig. *La reine Elisabeth*)

1912, *rel* 1913, *lgth* 1097.3m (53m 57s), *prod* S.C.A.G.L. (France)

dir Louis Mercanton, Henri Desfontaines, *lp* Sarah Bernhardt, Lou Tellegen, Mlle Romain, Monsieur Maxudian

Land und Leute in Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika (Engl. 'Land and People of German Southwest Africa')

rel 1907, *lgth* 150m (7m 16s), *prod* Deutsche Mutoskop- und Biograph-Gesellschaft (Germany)

Die Launen einer Weltdame aka *Königin der Laune* (Engl. 'The Whims of a Lady of the World')

rel June 1914, *lgth* 811m (39m 53s), *prod* Deutsche Bioscop (Germany)

dir Max Obal, *lp* Tilla Durieux, Ernst Hofmann, Jean Ducret, Emil Albes

Lebende Bilder in Krefeld (Engl. 'Living Pictures in Krefeld')

1899, *rel* November 1899, *prod* Mohrbutter (Germany)

dir Alfred Mohrbutter, *lp* 'Krefelder Damen und Herren' ['The Ladies and Gentlemen of Krefeld']

Madame Butterfly (Engl. *Madame Butterfly*, orig. *Le songe de Butterfly*)

1912, *rel* 1912, *lgth* 1 act, *prod* [Eros-Film ?] (France; attributed to Hong Kong in contemporary sources)

Medea (Engl. 'Medea')

1910, *rel* January 1911, *lgth* 224m (11m 1s), *prod* Meßter-Film (Germany)

lp Performers from the Hertenstein open-air theatre

Meine Frau verdient sich ihr Brot selber (Engl. 'My Wife Earns her own Bread')

rel January 1910, *lgth* 129m (6m 16s), *prod* Lux (France)

Ein Meisterstück von Sherlock Holmes (Engl. *The Stolen Legacy* aka *Sherlock Holmes – The One Million Bond*; orig. *Sherlock Holmes Mesterstykke* aka *Den Millionobligation* aka *Millionobligationen* aka *Milliontestamentet*)

rel 1911, *lgth* 310m (15m 11s), *prod* Nordisk (Denmark)

dir [Forrest Holger-Madsen ?], *lp* Alwin Neuss, Einar Zangenberg, Alfi Zangenberg

Meyers schwarze Köchin (Engl. 'Meyer's Black Cook')

rel June 1910, *lgth* 130m (6m 18s), *prod* Cricks & Martin (Great Britain)

Mimosa-San aka *Butterfly* (Engl. *Butterfly*)

1912, *rel* April 1913, *lgth* 3 acts, *prod* Meßter-Film (Germany)

dir Curt A. Stark, *lp* Madame Saharet

Mitgiftjäger (Engl. 'Dowry-Hunters')

1914, *rel* August 1914, *prod* Deutsche Mutoskop- und Biograph-Gesellschaft
(Germany)

Die moderne Suffragette (Engl. 'The Modern Suffragette'; orig. *Den moderna Suffragetten*
aka *Lilly som Suffragett* aka *Moderna Suffragetter* aka *De moderna Suffragetterna* aka
Suffragetten)

1913, *rel* 1914, *lgth* 464m (22m 42s), *prod* Svenska Biograf (Sweden)

dir Mauritz Stiller, *lp* Lili Ziedner, Richard Lund, Stina Berg, Doris Nelson, Eric
Lindholm, Thyra Leijman-Uppström, William Larsson, Jenny Tschernichin-Larsson,
Georg Grönroos

Mona Lisa (Engl. 'Mona Lisa')

1912, *rel* 1912, *lgth* 1 act, *prod* Continental-Kunstfilm (Germany)

dir Charles Decroix

Ein Mustere exemplar aus dem nervösen Zeitalter (Engl. 'A Fine Specimen of the Nervous
Age')

rel 1909, *lgth* 108m (5m 14s), *prod* Gaumont (France)

Neger Cake-Walk (Engl. 'Negro Cake-Walk')

rel 1904, *prod* Meißter-Tonbild (Germany)

Der Neger und die Polizei (Engl. 'Negro and the Police'; orig. *Negro et policeman*)

1905, *rel* 1905, *lgth* 35m (1m 43s), *prod* Pathé (France)

Nick Winter und der Diebstahl der Mona Lisa (Engl. *Nick Winter and the Theft of the Mona Lisa*; orig. *Nick Winter et le vol de "La Jocande"*)

1911, rel October 1911, lgth 170m (8m 15s), prod Pathé (France)

lp Georges Vinter [billed in some sources as Georges Pinvert]

Nick Winter und die Affäre des Celebrić-Hotels (Engl. 'Nick Winter and the Celebrić-Hotel Affair'; orig. *Nick Winter et l'affaire du Célébrić Hotel*)

1911, rel July 1911, lgth 180m (8m 43s), prod Pathé (France)

lp Georges Vinter [billed in some sources as Georges Pinvert]

Nick Winter und die entführte Tochter (Engl. 'Nick Winter and the Kidnapped Daughter'; orig. *Nick Winter et le rapt de Mlle Verner*)

1911, rel August 1911, lgth ca. 220m (10m 49s), prod Pathé (France)

lp Georges Vinter [billed in some sources as Georges Pinvert]

Nieder mit den Männern (Engl. 'Down with Men')

rel 1912, prod Kalem (USA)

Das Panzergewölbe (Engl. 'The Armoured Vault')

1914, rel June 1914, lgth 1103m (54m 10s), prod Stuart Webbs-Film-Co. (Germany)

dir Joe May, lp Ernst Reicher, Hermann Picha, Fritz Richard, Arthur Ullmann

Parade des Sultans (Engl. 'The Sultan's Parade')

rel 1906, prod [?] (France)

Quo Vadis (Engl./orig. *Quo Vadis* aka *Quo vadis?*)

1912, *rel* April 1913, *lgth* 2250m (1h 40m 35s), *prod* Cines (Italy)

dir Enrico Guazzoni, *lp* Amleto Novelli, Gustavo Serena

[*Radica & Doodica*]

1902, *rel* 1902, *prod* Doyen (France)

dir Eugène-Louis Doyen, Monsieur Parnaland, *lp* Eugène-Louis Doyen,

Radica and Doodica [also known as The Orissa Twins]

Die Räuber (Engl. 'The Robbers')

1907, *rel* February 1907, *lgth* 225m (11m 3s), *prod* Internationale Kinematographen-
und Lichteffekt-Gesellschaft (Germany)

dir 'Kunstmaler Beyer' ('Artistic Painter Beyer')

Reise um die Welt des Detektivs aka *Reise um die Welt eines Polizisten*
(Engl. *Detective's Tour of the World*; orig. *Le tour du monde d'un policier*)

1906, *rel* 1907, *lgth* 350m (17m 6s), *prod* Pathé (France)

Schwarzes Blut – 1. Teil (Engl. 'Black Blood – Part 1')

1912, *rel* May 1912, *lgth* 840m (41m 16s), *prod* Kunst-Film-Verlag (Germany)

dir Harry Piel, *lp* Eva Speyer, Ernst A. Becker

Schwarzes Blut – 2. Teil aka *Dämonen der Tiefe* (Engl. 'Black Blood – Part 2')

1912, *rel* June 1912, *lgth* 2 acts, *prod* Kunst-Film-Verlag (Germany)

dir Harry Piel, *lp* Eva Speyer, Ernst A. Becker

Sherlock Holmes im Kampfe mit Falschmünzern (Engl. 'Sherlock Holmes Battles Counterfeiters')

rel April 1912, prod Hepworth (Great Britain)

Sherlock Holmes und die Bauernfänger (Engl. *The Confidence Trick* aka *Sherlock Holmes Captured*; orig. *Sherlock Holmes i Bondefangerklor* aka *Den stjaalne Tegnebog*)

1910, rel January 1911, lgth 266m (13m 2s), prod Nordisk (Denmark)

dir [Forrest Holger-Madsen ?], lp Otto Lagoni, Axel Boelsen, Ellen Kornbech, [Alwin Neuss ?]

Sittenverbesserung eines Negers (Engl. 'Improving a Negro's Manners')

rel 1911, lgth 70m (3m 24s), prod Raleigh & Roberts (France)

Der Sklavenaufseher (Engl. 'The Overseer of Slaves')

rel March 1910, lgth 170m (8m 15s), prod [?] (Great Britain)

Sklavenmarkt im Orient (Engl. 'Oriental Slave Market')

rel 1905, lgth 20m (59s), prod Pathé (France)

Ein Sommernachtstraum in unsere Zeit aka *Ein Sommernachtstraum* (Engl. 'A Midsummer Night's Dream Today')

1913, rel March 1914, lgth 1395m (1h 8m 31s), prod Deutsche Bioscop (Germany)

dir Stellan Rye, lp Carl Clewing, Grete Berger, Jean Ducret, Anni Mewes, Grete Reinwald, Hanni Reinwald, Otto Reinwald, Ida Winter

Sozialismus und Nihilismus aka Vom Sozialismus zum Nihilismus (Engl.

Socialism and Nihilism; orig. Le nihiliste)

1906, rel 1906, lgth 170m (8m 15s), prod Pathé (France)

*Staatssekretär Solf besucht Togo aka Staatssekretär Dr. Solf besucht im
Oktober 1913 Togo* (Engl. 'Secretary of State Solf Visits Togo')

1913, rel 1913, lgth 101m (4m 54s), prod [Schomburgk-Film ?] (Germany)

lp Wilhelm Solf

Straßengewimmel in London (Engl. 'Thronging Streets in London')

1896, rel 1897, lgth 23m (1m 8s), prod Talbot (Great Britain)

Die Suffragette (Engl. 'The Suffragette')

1913, rel September 1913, lgth 1878m (1h 32m 17s), prod Pagu (Germany)

dir Urban Gad, lp Asta Nielsen, Max Landa, Adele Reuter-Eichberg, Herr Schroot,

Mary Scheller, Fred Immler, Charly Berger

Die Trauer um Mona Lisa (Engl. 'Mourning the Mona Lisa')

rel December 1911, lgth 169m (8m 13s), prod Éclair (France)

Der treue Gorilla (Engl./orig. *The Devoted Ape*)

1910, rel January 1910, lgth 173m (8m 24s), prod Cricks & Martin (Great Britain)

dir Dave Aylott, lp Jack Miller, Johnny Butt

Unsere Polizeitruppe in Togo (Engl. 'Our Police Division in Togo')

1913, *rel* 1913, *prod* Schomburgk-Film (Germany)

dir Hans Schomburgk

Vater und Sohn (Engl. 'Father and Son')

1910, *rel* March 1910, *lgth* 320m (15m 40s), *prod* Vitascope (Germany)

lp Alwin Neuss, Carl Wilhelm, Leopoldine Strakosch

Der Verführte (Engl. 'The Seduced')

1913, *rel* September 1913, *lgth* 982m (48m 9s), *prod* Deutsche Bioscop (Germany)

dir Max Obal, *lp* Paul Wegener, Grete Berger, Lyda Salmonova

Der verräterische Film (Engl. 'The Tell-Tale Film')

rel 1913, *lgth* 2 acts, *prod* Gaumont (France)

Das verzauberte Café (Engl. *Haunted Café*)

1911, *rel* 1911, *lgth* 1 act, *prod* Meßter-Film (Germany)

lp 'Der kleine Berisch'

Ein Volksgericht im Mittelalter oder die Zeit des Schreckens und des Grauens (Engl. 'A People's Court in the Middle Ages or, the Time of Fear and Horror')

1906, *rel* January 1907, *lgth* 175m (8m 29s), *prod* Internationale Kinematographen- und Lichteffect-Gesellschaft (Germany)

Vom Auto überfahren (Engl. 'Run Down by a Motor-Car'; orig. *Le bon écraseur*)

1906, *rel* 1906, *lgth* 41m (1m 59s), *prod* Gaumont (France)

Von der Knospe zur Blume (Engl. 'From Bud to Bloom')

1911, *rel* May 1911, *lgth* 85m (4m 13s), *prod* Kinetograph Film (Great Britain)

Das Weiber-Regiment aka *Die Suffragette* oder, *Das Weiber-Regiment* (Engl. *Votes for Women*; orig. *Kvinderegimentet Stemmeretskvinden*)

1914, *rel* 1914, *lgth* 698m (34m 19s), *prod* Nordisk (Denmark)

dir Eduard Schnedler-Sørensen, *lp* Oscar Stribolt, Amanda Lund, Lauritz Olsen, Frederik Buch, Carl Alstrup, A. Texiere, Susanne Felumb-Friis, I. Jensen, K. Christensen, C. Willumsen, I. Bruun-Berhtelsen, H. Syndergaard

Weiß über schwarz (Engl. 'White over Black')

1914, *rel* February 1914, *lgth* ca. 459m (22m 30s), *prod* Carl Rudolph-Monopolfilm (Germany)

lp Fred Marcussen, Jack Johnson

Die weisse Göttin der Wangora (Engl. *The White Goddess of the Wangora*)

1913, *rel* 1913, *prod* Schomburgk-Film (Germany)

dir Hans Schomburgk, *lp* Megh Gehrts, Hans Schomburgk

Wenn Frauen studieren (Engl. 'When Women Study')

1914, *rel* 1914, *prod* Mortier-Film (Germany)

lp Otto Foytow

Wer ist der Mann im Hause (Engl. 'Who is the Man of the House?')

rel April 1912, *prod* Imp (USA)

Wilhelmshaven-Journal (Lokale Aufnahmen) (Engl. 'Wilhelmshaven Journal (Local Shots)')

1913, *rel* 1913, *prod* Wilhelmshavener Kinematographen-Bilder (Germany)

Das Wintergarten-Programm (Engl. 'The Wintergarten Programme')

1895, *rel* November 1895, *lgth* 199.1m (9m 48s) [=35mm transfer from dual-reel 54mm original, comprising 9 short films], *prod* Skladanowsky (Germany)

dir Max Skladanowsky, *lp* The Ploetz-Larella Child Dancers [some sources erroneously give 'Ploetz-Lorello'], The Brothers Milton, Mlle. Ancion, Paul Petras, Mr. Delaware and his Boxing Kangaroo, The Grunato Family Acrobats, The Brothers Tschepanoff, Herr Greiner [some sources give Grainer], Eugen Sandow, Max and Emil Skladanowsky

Bibliography

The entries in this bibliography are cited in accordance with MLA (Modern Language Association) style as outlined in Lester, James D. and James D. Lester, Jr. *The Essential Guide to Writing Research Papers*. New York: Longman, 1999. 132-150. Contemporary Wilhelmine sources were referred to primarily at the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, the Deutsche Film- und Fernsehakademie-Bibliothek, the Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek and the Bundesarchiv-Filmarchiv, all located in Berlin.

1. Manuscript Collections

Ernst Reicher-Nachlaß [Documents from the estate of Ernst Reicher] Nachlaß Nr. 4.3-90/22. Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek, Berlin.

Joe May-Nachlaß [Documents from the estate of Joe May] Nachlaß Nr. 4.3-84/16. Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek, Berlin.

Schriftgut-Sammlung zu den Filmtiteln 'Der Andere' (1913), 'Der Mann im Keller' (1914), 'Sein eigener Mörder' (1914), 'Ein seltsamer Fall' (1914), 'Der Student von Prag' (1913) und 'Wo ist Coletti?' (1913) [Clippings files relating to the individual film titles cited]. Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek, Berlin.

Schriftgut-Sammlung zu den Filmtiteln 'Eine Amme wird gesucht' (1912), 'Der Andere' (1913), 'Jugend und Tollheit' (1912), 'Der Mann im Keller' (1914), 'Die schwarze Kugel oder, Die geheimnisvollen Schwestern' (1913), 'Der Student von Prag' (1913), 'Wo ist Coletti?' (1913) und

'Zapatas Bande' (1914) [*Clippings files relating to the individual film titles cited*]. Bundesarchiv-Filmarchiv, Berlin.

2. Contemporary Periodicals

The trade journals and periodicals cited were referred to in their entirety for the years in question.

Die Aktion. Berlin: Franz Pfemfert, 1911 – 1914.

Der deutsche Lichtbildtheater-Besitzer. Berlin/Düsseldorf: Deutsche Filmleiher-Vereinigung, 1910 – 1914.

Die Fackel. Wien: Karl Kraus, 1911 – 1914.

Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen. Leipzig: Max Spohr, 1899 – 1914.

Der Kinematograph. Düsseldorf: Ed. Lintz, 1908 – 1914.

Kinematoscope-Zeitung: Allgemeines Anzeige- und Unterhaltungsblatt für Herne und Umgegend. Herne: Wilhelm Teves, 1909.

Die Licht-Bild-Bühne. Berlin: Verlag der Licht-Bild-Bühne, 1911 – 1914.

The Play Pictorial. London: B. W. Findon, 1908 – 1914.

Das Reichs-Arbeitsblatt. Berlin: Carl Heymann, 1902 – 1914.

Die Schaubühne. Berlin: Erich Reiß, 1908 – 1913.

Statistisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Berlin. Berlin: P. Stankiewicz, 1902 – 1916.

Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich. Berlin: Puttkammer und Mühlbrecht, 1902 – 1914.

The Theatre. London: Eglington & Co., 1892 – 1897.

Work: The Illustrated Weekly Journal for Mechanics. London/Paris/New York/Sydney: Cassell and Co., 1895 – 1899.

3. Compact Disc Recordings

The Golden Years of Music Hall sung by the Original Artists. Wotton-under-Edge: Saydisc Records, 1990. CD-SDL380.

Laughter on the Home Front: The Songs and Comedy that kept a Nation going during the Great War. Wadhurst: Flapper, 1994. PAST CD 7047.

Robey, George, Harry Champion and Florrie Forde. *The Old Bull & Bush: Three Great Music Hall Artistes heard in some of the Immortal Songs which kept them Popular Favourites from Victorian Times until the Middle of our own Century.* Wadhurst: Pearl, 1992. GEMM CD 9913.

Steafel, Sheila. *Victoria Plums: Peculiarly Poignant Songs of Pain and Pleasure.* London: Redial/PolyGram, 1998. CD 557 209-2.

4. Books and Articles

Abel, Richard. *French Film Theory and Criticism: A History/Anthology, 1907 – 1939.* Vol. 1. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988.

---. *The Ciné Goes to Town: French Cinema, 1896 – 1914.* Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1994.

---, ed. *Silent Film.* London: Athlone Press, 1996.

- . *The Red Rooster Scare: Making Cinema American, 1900 – 1910*. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1999.
- Abrams, Lynn. *Workers' Culture in Imperial Germany: Leisure and Recreation in the Rheinland and Westphalia*. London: Routledge, 1992.
- Ackroyd, Peter. *Dressing Up: Transvestism and Drag – The History of an Obsession*. London: Thames and London, 1979.
- Adams, Carole Elizabeth. *Women Clerks in Wilhelmine Germany*. Cambridge/New York/New Rochelle/Melbourne/Sydney: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Adler, A. "Über männliche Einstellung bei weiblichen Neurotikern." *Zentralblatt für Psychoanalyse* 1 (1911): 174-178.
- Adrian, Werner. *Freaks: Cinema of the Bizarre*. London: Lorrimer, 1976.
- Åhlander, Lars, Hg. [ed.]. *Svensk filmografi 1897 – 1919*. Stockholm: Svenska filminstitutet, 1986.
- Ahlemann, Jutta. *Ich bleibe die große Adele': Die Sandrock*. Düsseldorf: Droste, 1988.
- Allen, Robert. *Vaudeville and Film, 1895 – 1915: A Study in Media Interaction*. New York: Arno Press, 1980.
- and Douglas Gomery. *Film History: Theory and Practice*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1985.
- Allister, Ray. *Friese-Greene: Close-up of an Inventor*. London: Marsland, 1948.
- Altenloh, Emilie. *Zur Soziologie des Kino: Die Kino-Unternehmung und die sozialen Schichten ihrer Besucher*. Jena: Eugen Diederichs, 1914.
- Annan, David. *Catastrophe: The End of the Cinema?* London: Lorrimer, 1975.
- . *Cinema of Mystery and Fantasy*. London: Lorrimer, 1984.
- Anonym [=nom de guerre]. *Das perverse Berlin*. Berlin: no imprint, 1910.
- Anthony, Barry. *The Kinora: Motion Pictures for the Home, 1896 – 1914*. London: The Projection Box, 1996.

- Appignanesi, Lisa. *The Cabaret*. London: Studio Vista, 1975.
- Aubel, Hermann and Marianne Aubel. *Der künstlerische Tanz unserer Zeit*. Königstein/Leipzig: Karl Robert Langewiesche Verlag, 1930.
- Augustine, Dolores L. *Patricians and Parvenus: Wealth and High Society in Wilhelmine Germany*. Oxford/Providence: Berg, 1994.
- Aumont, Jacques. *L'Image*. Paris: Nathan, 1990.
- Aurich, Rolf, Susanne Fuhrmann and Pamela Müller, Hg. [ed.]. *Lichtspielträume: Kino in Hannover 1896 – 1991*. Hannover: SOAK, 1991.
- Austin, Bruce A., ed. *Current Research in Film: Audiences, Economics and Law*. 2 vols. Norwood (New Jersey): Ablex, 1985 – 1986.
- . *Immediate Seating: A Look at Movie Audiences*. Belmont (California): Wadsworth, 1989.
- Aylesworth, Thomas G. *Monster and Horror Movies*. London: Bison, 1986.
- Bab, Edwin. *Frauenbewegung und Freundesliebe*. Berlin: Verlag Adolf Brand – Der Eigene, n. d. [1904].
- Bab, Julius. *Die Frau als Schauspielerin: Ein Essay*. Berlin: Oesterheld, 1915.
- . *Albert Bassermann: Weg und Werk eines deutschen Schauspielers um die Wende des 20. Jahrhunderts*. Leipzig: Erich Weibezahl, 1929.
- . and Willi Handl. *Deutsche Schauspieler: Portraits aus Berlin und Wien*. Berlin: Oesterheld, 1908.
- . *Wien und Berlin: Vergleichendes zur Kulturgeschichte der beiden Hauptstädte Mitteleuropas*. Berlin: Oesterheld, 1918.
- Babbitt, Irving. *The New Laokoön: An Essay on the Confusion of the Arts*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1910.
- Baker, Roger. *Drag: A History of Female Impersonation on the Stage*. London: Triton, 1968.

- Balio, Tino, ed. *The American Film Industry*. Revised ed. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985.
- Banton, Michael. *The Idea of Race*. London: Tavistock, 1977.
- Barber, Dulan. *The Horrific World of Monsters*. London: Marshall Cavendish, 1974.
- Barker, Kenneth D. *The Controversy over German Industrialization, 1890 – 1902*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970.
- Barnouw, Erik. *The Magician and the Cinema*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1981.
- Barry, Iris. *D. W. Griffith – American Film Master*. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1940.
- Barsacq, Léon. *Caligari's Cabinet and Other Grand Illusions: A History of Film Design*. Transl. Michael Bullock. New York/Scarborough (Ontario): Plume, 1978.
- Barth, Dieter. *Zeitschrift für Alle – Blätter fürs Volk – Das Familienblatt im 19. Jahrhundert: Ein sozialhistorischer Beitrag zur Massenpresse in Deutschland*. Münster: Institut für Publizistik, 1974.
- Beard, George M. *American Nervousness: Its Causes and Consequences*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1881.
- Bebel, August. *Die Frau und der Sozialismus*. 50. Auflage [50th ed.]. Stuttgart: Dietz, 1913.
- Behn, Manfred, Hg. [ed.]. *Schwarzer Traum und weiße Sklavin: Deutsch-dänische Filmbeziehungen 1910 – 1930*. München: edition text+kritik, 1994.
- “Die Bekämpfung der Schundliteratur durch das Gesetz.” *Die Hochwacht* 4.6 (1914): 133-136.
- Belach, Helga, Hg. [ed.]. *Henny Porten: Der erste deutsche Filmstar 1890 – 1960*. Berlin: Haude & Spener, 1986.

- , Gero Gandert, Eva Orbanz and Peter Schulz, Hg. [ed.]. *Asta Nielsen 1881 – 1972: Herausgegeben zur Asta Nielsen-Ausstellung vom 23.6. – 8.7.1973 in Berlin*. Berlin: Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek, 1973.
- and Wolfgang Jacobsen, Hg. [ed.]. *Richard Oswald: Regisseur und Produzent*. München: edition text+kritik, 1990.
- Belgum, Kirsten. *Popularizing the Nation: Audience, Representation, and the Production of Identity in 'Die Gartenlaube,' 1853 – 1900*. Lincoln/London: University of Nebraska Press, 1998.
- Bellour, Raymond. "Ideal Hadaly." *Camera Obscura* 15 (Fall 1986): 110-136.
- Bendow, Wilhelm and Marcellus Schiffer. *Der kleine Bendow ist vom Himmel gefallen: Enthüllungen in Wort und Bild vom unentwickelten Knaben bis zum überreifen Manne*. Berlin: Efra-Verlag, n. d. [1925].
- Benjamin, Walter. "Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit." *Gesammelte Schriften I*. Hg. [ed.] Rolf Tiedemann and Hermann Schweppenhäuser. Frankfurt-am-Main: Suhrkamp, 1974. Vol. 2: 471-509.
- . "Das Passagenwerk." *Gesammelte Schriften V*. Hg. [ed.] Rolf Tiedemann. 2 vols. Frankfurt-am-Main: Suhrkamp, 1982.
- Benshoff, Harry M. *Monsters in the Closet: Homosexuality and the Horror Film*. Manchester/New York: Manchester University Press, 1997.
- Berg-Ganschow, Uta and Wolfgang Jacobsen, Hg. [ed.]. *...Film...Stadt... Kino...Berlin....* Berlin: Argon, 1987.
- Berger, John. *Ways of Seeing*. Harmondsworth: BBC/Penguin, 1972.
- Bergsten, Bebe. *The Great Dane and the Great Northern Film Company*. Los Angeles: Locare Research Group, 1973.
- Berman, Marshall. *All That is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity*. London: Verso, 1983.

- Bernardini, Aldo. *Archivio del cinema italiano: il cinema muto, 1905 – 1931*. Roma: Edizioni ANICA, 1991.
- Bernhardt, Sarah. “Pourquoi j’ai joué des rôles d’hommes.” *L’art du théâtre – La voix – le geste – la pronociation*. Paris: Nilsson, 1923. 138-146.
- Berthold, Margot, Hg. [ed.]. *Max Reinhardts Theater im Film: Materialien*. München: Münchner Filmzentrum, 1983.
- Beyer, Rudolf, Hg. [ed.]. *Strafgesetzbuch für das Deutsche Reich*. 41. Auflage [41st ed.]. Leipzig: Reclam, 1932.
- Bhabha, Homi K. “The Other Question – the Stereotype and Colonial Discourse.” *Screen* 24.6 (1983): 18-36.
- . “‘Race,’ Time and the Revision of Modernity.” *Oxford Literary Review* 13 (1991): 193-219.
- Die Bibel, oder die ganze Heilige Schrift des alten und neuen Testaments, nach der deutschen Übersetzung Dr. Martin Luthers*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1876.
- Bierbaum, Otto Julius. *Das höllische Automobil*. Wien/Leipzig: Wiener Verlag, 1905.
- Birett, Herbert. *Verzeichnis in Deutschland gelaufener Filme: Entscheidungen der Filmzensur 1911 – 1920*. München/New York/ London/Paris: K. G. Saur, 1980.
- . *Das Filmangebot in Deutschland 1895 – 1911*. München: Winterberg, 1991.
- . *Lichtspiele: Der Kino in Deutschland bis 1914*. München: Q-Verlag, 1994.
- . *Méliès-Filme in Deutschland 1895 – 1914*. Unpublished checklist. München, 1995.
- . *Filmartikel in Nicht-Film-Zeitschriften bis 1914*. Unpublished bibliography. München, February 1996.
- “Bismarck Archipelago.” *Everyman’s Encyclopedia*. Ed. E. F. Bozman. 4th ed. London: Readers’ Union/J. M. Dent & Sons, 1961. Vol. 2: 276.
- Blackbourn, David and Richard J. Evans, ed. *The German Bourgeoisie*. London/New York: Routledge, 1991.

- Bley, Helmut. *South West Africa under German Rule, 1894 – 1914*. Transl. Hugh Ridley. London: Heinemann, 1971.
- Bloch, Iwan. *Das Sexualleben unserer Zeit in seinen Beziehungen zur modernen Kultur*. Berlin: Louis Marcus, 1906.
- . *The Sexual Life of Our Times in Relation to Modern Civilisation*. London: Rebman, 1908 [1906].
- Bloom, Clive, ed. *Twentieth-Century Suspense: The Thriller Comes of Age*. London: Macmillan, 1990.
- Blüher, Hans. *Der bürgerliche und der geistige Antifeminismus*. Berlin: Hans Blüher, 1918.
- Boahen, A. Adu, ed. *General History of Africa, Volume VII: Africa under Colonial Domination, 1880 – 1935*. Abridged ed. Paris: UNESCO, 1990.
- Bock, Hans-Michael and Claudia Lenssen, Hg. [ed.]. *Joe May: Regisseur und Produzent*. München: edition text+kritik, 1991.
- Bocock, Robert and Kenneth Thompson, ed. *Social and Cultural Forms of Modernity*. Cambridge/Oxford: Polity Press/Blackwell/The Open University, 1992.
- Body, N. O. [=pseudonym]. *Aus eines Mannes Mädchenjahren*. 4. Auflage [4th ed.]. Berlin: Gustav Rieckes Buchhandlung, n. d. [1907].
- Bogle, Donald. *Toms, Coons, Mulattoes, Mammies & Bucks: An Interpretative History of Blacks in American Films*. Toronto/New York/London: Bantam, 1974.
- Bolin, Anne. "Transcending and Transgendering: Male-to-Female Transsexuals, Dichotomy and Diversity." *Third Sex, Third Gender: Beyond Sexual Dimorphism in Culture and History*. Ed. Gilbert Herdt. New York: Zone Books, 1996. 447-485.
- Bollé, Michael, Hg. [ed.]. *Eldorado: Homosexuelle Frauen und Männer in Berlin 1850 – 1950. Geschichte, Alltag und Kultur*. Berlin: Frölich & Kaufmann, 1984.
- Bongie, Chris. *Exotic Memories: Literature, Colonialism, and the 'fin de siècle.'* Stanford (California): Stanford University Press, 1991.

- Bordwell, David and Kristin Thompson. *Film Art: An Introduction*. 4th ed. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1993.
- Bottomore, Stephen. *I Want to See this Annie Mattygraph: A Cartoon History of the Coming of the Movies*. Pordenone: Le Giornate del Cinema Muto, 1995.
- Bourgeron, Jean-Pierre, ed. *Nude 1900*. New York: Morgan & Morgan, 1980.
- Bousquet, Henri. *Catalogue Pathé des années 1896 à 1914 – 1907, 1908, 1909*. Paris: Édition Henri Bousquet, 1993.
- . *Catalogue Pathé des années 1896 à 1914 – 1910, 1911*. Paris: Édition Henri Bousquet, 1994.
- . *Catalogue Pathé des années 1896 à 1914 – 1912, 1913, 1914*. Paris: Édition Henri Bousquet, 1995.
- and Riccardo Redi. *Pathé frères – i filmi della produzione Pathé (1896 – 1914)*. Firenze: Quaderni di cinema, 1992.
- Bowser, Eileen. *Biograph Bulletins, 1908 – 1912*. New York: Octagon, 1973.
- . *The Transformation of Cinema, 1907 – 1915*. [=History of the American Cinema, Vol. 2]. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1990.
- Boyd, James, ed. *Adelbert von Chamisso: Peter Schlemihls wundersame Geschichte*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1956.
- Brand, Adolf. *Die Bedeutung der Freundesliebe für Führer und Völker: Ein Flugblatt für männliche Kultur*. Berlin: Verlag Adolf Brand – Der Eigene, n. d. [ca. 1920].
- Breakwell, Ian and Paul Hammond, ed. *Seeing in the Dark: A Compendium of Cinemagoing*. London: Serpent's Tail, 1990.
- Breidahl, Axel and Axel Kjerulf, Hg. [ed.]. *Københavnsliv gennem et halvt Aarhundrede*. 2 vols. København: Alfred G. Hassings Forlag, 1938.
- Brennicke, Ilona and Joe Hembus. *Klassiker des deutschen Stummfilms 1910 – 1930*. München: Goldmann, 1983.

- Brethfeld, M. "Edison's Kinetoskop." *Neue Blätter aus Süd-Deutschland für Erziehung und Unterricht* 21 (1895): 15-16.
- Bretschneider, Jürgen, Hg. [ed.]. *Ewald André Dupont: Autor und Regisseur*. München: edition text+kritik, 1992.
- Brewster, Benjamin R. and Lea Jacobs. *Theatre to Film: Stage Pictorialisation and the Early Feature Film*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Brion-Guerry, Liliane, ed. *L'année 1913: les formes esthétiques de l'œuvre d'art à la veille de la première guerre mondiale*. 2 vols. Paris: Klincksieck, 1971.
- British Film Institute. *Silent Witnesses: Russian Films, 1908 – 1919*. Pordenone: Edizioni Biblioteca dell'Immagine, 1989.
- Brown, Gene, ed. *The New York Times Encyclopedia of Film, 1896 – 1928*. New York: Times Books, 1984.
- Brownlow, Kevin. *The Parade's Gone By...: A Vivid, Affectionate Portrait of the Golden Days of Hollywood*. London: Secker & Warburg, 1968.
- . *Hollywood: The Pioneers*. London: Book Club Associates, 1979.
- Brunel, Adrian. *Nice Work: The Story of Thirty Years in British Film Production*. London: Forbes Robertson, 1949.
- Brunner, Karl. *Der Kinematograph von heute – eine Volksgefahr*. Berlin: Verlag des vaterländischen Schriften-Verbandes, 1913.
- . *Vergiftete Geistesnahrung: Eine ernste Mahnung an Jugendliche, Eltern und Erzieher*. Leipzig: Verlag des vaterländischen Schriften-Verbandes, 1914.
- Bruno, Giuliana. *Streetwalking on a Ruined Map: Cultural Theory and the City Films of Elvira Notari*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992.
- Brunschwig, Henri. *L'expansion allemande outre-mer du XV^e siècle à nos jours*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1957.
- Buache, Freddy. *Le cinéma allemand, 1918 – 1933*. Renens (Switzerland): Hatier, 1984.

- Bucher, Peter. *Findbücher zu Beständen des Bundesarchivs Band 8: Wochenschauen und Dokumentarfilme 1895 – 1950*. Koblenz: Bundesarchiv, 1984.
- Buchka, Peter. *Deutsche Augenblicke: Eine Bilderfolge zu einer Typologie des Films*. München: Schriftenreihe des Filmmuseums im Münchner Stadtmuseum, 1995.
- Buchloh, Paul G. and Jens P. Becker. *Der Detektiv-Roman: Studien zur Geschichte und Form der englischen und amerikanischen Detektivliteratur*. 4. Auflage [4th ed.]. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990.
- Buci-Glucksmann, Christine. *Walter Benjamin und die Utopie des Weiblichen*. Transl. Horst Arenz, Rolf Löper and Renate Petzinger. Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 1984.
- Buck-Morss, Susan. "The Flâneur, the Sandwichman and the Whore: The Politics of Loitering." *New German Critique* 39 (Fall 1986): 99-140.
- . *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989.
- Budzinski, Klaus. *Das Kabarett: Zeitkritik – gesprochen, gesungen, gespielt – von der Jahrhundertwende bis heute*. Düsseldorf: ECON, 1985.
- Burch, Noël. *Life to Those Shadows*. Transl. Ben Brewster. London: British Film Institute, 1990.
- Burt, Ramsay. *The Male Dancer: Bodies, Spectacle, Sexualities*. London/New York: Routledge, 1995.
- . *Alien Bodies: Representations of Modernity, 'Race' and Nation in Early Modern Dance*. London/New York: Routledge, 1998.
- Busch, Paula. *Das Spiel meines Lebens: Erinnerungen*. Berlin: Das Neue Berlin, 1992.
- Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge, 1990.
- Byrjalsen, Inger. *Asta Nielsen – Filmens dronning*. København: Nordisk, 1994.

- Cameron, James R., ed. *Cameron's Encyclopedia: Sound Motion Pictures*. Coral Gables (Florida): Cameron Publishing, 1948.
- Canning, Kathleen. "Gender and the Politics of Class Formation: Rethinking German Labor History." *American Historical Review* 97.3 (1992): 736-768.
- Carpenter, Edward. *Die homogene Liebe und deren Bedeutung in der freien Gesellschaft*. Leipzig: Spohr, 1895.
- . *Das Mittelgeschlecht: Eine Reihe von Abhandlungen über ein zeitgemäßes Problem*. München: Reinhardt, 1907.
- . *Intermediate Types among Primitive Folk: A Study in Social Evolution*. 2nd ed. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1919.
- Carrick, Edward [=Edward Craig]. *Designing for Moving Pictures*. London/New York: Studio Publications, n. d. [1939]
- Carter, Nicholas [=pseudonym]. *Nick Carter, Detective: The Adventures of Fiction's Most Celebrated Detective*. New York: Macmillan, 1963.
- Casebier, Allan. *Film Appreciation*. New York/Chicago/San Francisco: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976.
- Ceram, C. W. [=Kurt Wilhelm Marek]. *Archæology of the Cinema*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1965.
- Chambers, Iain. *Migrancy, Culture, Identity*. London/New York: Routledge, 1994.
- Chamisso, Adelbert von. *Peter Schlemihls wundersame Geschichte*. Stuttgart: Reclam, 1993 [1813].
- Charney, Leo and Vanessa R. Schwartz, ed. *Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life*. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1995.
- Chauncey Jr., George. *Gay New York: The Making of the Gay Male World, 1890 – 1940*. London: Flamingo, 1995.
- Chéradame, André. *La colonisation et les colonies allemandes*. Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1905.

- Cherchi Usai, Paolo. *Burning Passions: An Introduction to the Study of Silent Cinema*. London: British Film Institute, 1994.
- and Lorenzo Codelli, ed. *Before Caligari: German Cinema, 1895 – 1920*. Pordenone: Biblioteca dell'Immagine, 1990.
- Christie, Ian. *The Last Machine: Early Cinema and the Birth of the Modern World*. London: British Film Institute, 1994.
- Christopher, Milbourne. *Panorama of Magic*. New York: Dover, 1962.
- Clarens, Carlos. *Horror Movies: An Illustrated Survey*. London: Secker & Warburg, 1968.
- Clarke, John S. *Circus Parade*. London: B. T. Batsford, 1936.
- Coates, Paul. *The Gorgon's Gaze: German Cinema, Expressionism, and the Image of Horror*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Cohen, John. *Golem und Roboter: Über künstliche Menschen*. Transl. Helga Wingert-Uhde. Frankfurt-am-Main: Umschau, 1968.
- Collins German-English English-German Dictionary*. London/Glasgow: Collins, 1980.
- Conan Doyle, [Sir] Arthur. *The Original Illustrated 'Strand' Sherlock Holmes: The Complete Facsimile Edition*. Ware (Hertfordshire): Wordsworth, 1989.
- Condit, Celeste. "The Rhetorical Limits of Polysemy." *Television: The Critical View*. Ed. Horace Newcomb. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992. 426-447.
- Conradt, Walther. *Kirche und Kinematograph: Eine Frage*. Berlin: Hermann Walther, 1910.
- Continental-Kunstfilm. *Der Geisterspuk im Hause des Professors*. [=Stuart Webbs-Filmprogramm 3]. Berlin: Arthur Lehmann, 1914.
- Cook, Matt. *The Inverted City: Sexology in English, 1885 – 1914*. Unpublished paper. University of Warwick: Humanities Research Centre Interdisciplinary Research Seminar, 17.2.1999.

- Cook, Olive. *Movement in Two Dimensions: A Study of the Animated and Projected Pictures which Preceded the Invention of Cinematography*. London: Hutchinson, 1963.
- Core, Philip. *Camp: The Lie that Tells the Truth*. London: Plexus, 1984.
- Cornevin, Robert. "The Germans in Africa before 1918." *Colonialism in Africa, 1870 – 1960: Volume 1 – The History and Politics of Colonialism, 1870 – 1914*. Ed. L. H. Gann and Peter Duignan. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969. 383-419.
- Costa, Antonio, a cura di [ed.]. *La meccanica del visibile: il cinema delle origini in Europa*. Firenze: La casa Usher, 1983.
- Cripps, Thomas. *Slow Fade to Black: The Negro in American Film, 1900 – 1942*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Crook, Eugene J., ed. *Fearful Symmetry: Doubles and Doubling in Literature and Film*. Tallahassee: University Presses of Florida, 1981.
- Crossley, Ceri. *Musset: Lorenzaccio*. London: Grant & Cutler, 1983.
- Curtis, S. "The Taste of a Nation: Training the Senses and Sensibility of Cinema Audiences in Imperial Germany." *Film History* 6.4 (Winter 1994): 445-469.
- Dadoun, Roger. "'Metropolis': Mother-City – 'Mittler' – Hitler." *Camera Obscura* 15 (Fall 1986): 137-163.
- Dahlke, Günther and Günter Karl, Hg. [ed.]. *Deutsche Spielfilme von den Anfängen bis 1933: Ein Filmführer*. Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1988.
- Daisne, Johan. *Wat is magisch-realisme*. 4th ed. Gent: Marnixpocket, 1973 [1958].
- Dall'Asta, Monica, Guglielmo Pescatore and Leonardo Quaresima, a cura di [ed.]. *Il colore nel cinema muto*. Udine: Giornate internazionali di studio e documentazione sul cinema, 1995.
- Damm, S. and N. Emmerich. "Die Irrenanstalt Dalldorf-Wittenau bis 1933." *Totgeschwiegen 1933 – 1945: Zur Geschichte der Wittenauer Heilstätten, seit 1957 Karl-Bonhoeffer*

- Nervenlinik*. Ed. Götz Aly. 2. erweiterte Auflage [2nd, revised ed.]. Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1989. No pag.
- Daniels, Les. *Living in Fear: A History of Horror in the Mass Media*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975.
- Dannmeyer, C. H. *Bericht der Kommission für 'lebende Photographien.'* Hamburg: Gesellschaft der Freunde des vaterländischen Schul- und Erziehungswesens, 1907.
- d'Avenel, Georges. *Le mécanisme de la vie moderne*. 3^{ème} éd. [3rd ed.]. Paris: A. Colin, 1902.
- Davies, David Stuart. *Holmes of the Movies: The Screen Career of Sherlock Holmes*. London: New English Library, 1976.
- Davis, Richard, ed. *The Encyclopedia of Horror*. Twickenham: Hamlyn, 1981.
- Davis, Tracy C. *Actresses as Working Women: Their Social Identity in Victorian Culture*. London/New York: Routledge, 1991.
- Davy, Charles, ed. *Footnotes to the Film*. London: Lovat Dickson/Readers' Union, 1938.
- De Frece, [Lady] [=Vesta Tilley]. *Recollections of Vesta Tilley*. London: Hutchinson, 1934.
- De l'Isle-Adam, Villiers. "L'Ève future." *Œuvres complètes*. Paris: Gallimard, 1986 [1886]: 765-821.
- Del Fabbro, René "Italienische Industriearbeiter im wilhelminischen Deutschland (1890 – 1914)." *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 76.2 (Sommer 1989): 202-228.
- Delmont, Joseph. *Wilde Tiere im Film: Erlebnisse aus meinen Filmaufnahmen in aller Welt von Joseph Delmont, langjährigem Großtierfänger und Tierfilm-Regisseur*. 9. Auflage [9th ed.]. Stuttgart: Dieck, 1925.

- Demeyere, G. *Transvestism and its Wider Context: A Working Bibliography*. Wijnegem (Belgium): G. Demeyere, 1992.
- Depken, Friedrich. *Sherlock Holmes, Raffles und ihre Vorbilder: Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklungsgeschichte und Technik der Kriminalerzählung*. Heidelberg: Anglistische Forschungen, 1914.
- Dessoir, Max. *Das Doppel-Ich*. Leipzig: Gesellschaft für Experimental-Psychologie zu Berlin, 1890.
- Deutscher Kinematheksverbund. "Die 100 wichtigsten deutschen Filme: Ein Projekt zu '100 Jahre Kino.'" *Fischer Film Almanach 1995*. Hg. [ed.] Horst Schäfer and Walter Schobert. Frankfurt-am-Main: Fischer, 1995. 471-479.
- Diaz, P. *Asta Nielsen: Eine Biographie unserer populären Künstlerin*. Berlin: Verlag der Licht-Bild-Bühne, n. d. [ca. 1921].
- Diederichs, Helmut H. "Die Anfänge der deutschen Filmkritik 1909 bis 1915 unter besonderen Berücksichtigung der Zeitschrift *Bild und Film*." Diss. Ph.D. Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität zu Frankfurt-am-Main, 1983.
- . *Der Student von Prag: Einführung und Protokoll*. Stuttgart: Focus, 1985.
- . "Vom boxenden Känguruh zum Fall Skladanowsky: Ein Buch und zwei Kurzfilme über den deutschen Filmpionier." *epd-Film* Juli 1996: 10-11.
- Digby, Tom, ed. *Men Doing Feminism*. New York/London: Routledge, 1998.
- Dill Jr., Marshall. *Germany: A Modern History*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1961.
- Doane, Mary Ann. *Femmes Fatales: Feminism, Film Theory, Psychoanalysis*. New York/London: Routledge, 1991.
- Donald, James and Ali Ratansi, ed. *'Race,' Culture and Difference*. London/Thousand Oaks/New Delhi: Sage, 1992.

- “doppelgänger, dopple-, -gänger.” *The Oxford English Dictionary*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989. Vol. 4: 961.
- Driesmans, Heinrich. *Rasse und Milieu*. Berlin: Johannes Råde, 1902.
- Drinka, George. *The Birth of Neurosis: Myth, Malady and the Victorians*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1984.
- Dukes, Jack R. and Joachim Remak, ed. *Another Germany: A Reconsideration of the Imperial Era*. Boulder/London: Westview, 1988.
- Dyer, Richard. *Only Entertainment*. London/New York: Routledge, 1988.
- . *Now You See It: Studies on Lesbian and Gay Film*. London/New York: Routledge, 1990.
- . *The Matter of Images: Essays on Representations*. New York/London: Routledge, 1993.
- . *White*. London/New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Eagle Russett, Cynthia. *Sexual Science: The Victorian Construction of Womanhood*. Cambridge (Massachusetts): Harvard University Press, 1989.
- “Edison’s Kinetoscop.” *Deutsche Verkehrsblätter* März 1895: 24-26.
- “Das Edison’sche Kinetoskop.” *Dinglers Polytechnisches Journal* 294.3 (1894): 72.
- Edmonds, I. G. *Big U: Universal in the Silent Days*. South Brunswick/New York: A. S. Barnes, 1977.
- Edwards, Gregory J. *The Book of the International Film Poster*. London: Tiger, 1988.
- Ehrenstein, Albert. “Die Filmlöwen sind los.” *Der Sturm* 3.142-143 (1913): 247-248.
- Eisner, Lotte H. *The Haunted Screen*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1969.
- . *Die dämonische Leinwand*. Erweiterte Neuauflage [revised ed.]. Frankfurt-am-Main: Kommunales Kino, 1975.
- Ellis, [Henry] Havelock. *Mann und Weib: Anthropologische und psychologische Untersuchungen der sekundären Geschlechtsunterschiede*. Transl. Hans Kurella. Leipzig: Wigand, 1895.

- . *Verbrecher und Verbrechen*. Transl. Hans Kurella. Leipzig: Wigand, 1895.
- . *Sexual Inversion*. London: Wilson and Macmillan, 1897.
- . *Das Geschlechtsgefühl*. Transl. Hans Kurella. Würzburg: Stuber, 1903.
- . *Geschlechtstrieb und Schamgefühl*. Transl. Hans Kurella. 3. Auflage [3rd ed.]. Würzburg: Stuber, 1907.
- . *Die krankhaften Geschlechts-Empfindungen auf dissoziativer Grundlage*. Transl. Hans Kurella. Würzburg: Stuber, 1907.
- . *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*. Transl. Hans Kurella. Würzburg: Kabitzsch, 1910.
- . *Die Welt der Träume*. Transl. Hans Kurella. Würzburg: Kabitzsch, 1911.
- . *Rassenhygiene und Volksgesundheit*. Würzburg: Kabitzsch, 1912.
- and John Addington Symonds. *Das konträre Geschlechtsgefühl*. Leipzig: Wigand, 1896.
- Ellmann, Richard. *Oscar Wilde*. London: Penguin, 1988.
- Elsaesser, Thomas. "Social Mobility and the Fantastic German Silent Cinema." *Fantasy and the Cinema*. Ed. James Donald. London: British Film Institute, 1989. 22-38.
- . "Wilhelminisches Kino: Stil und Industrie." *KINtop: Jahrbuch zur Erforschung des frühen Films* 1 (1993): 10-27.
- and Adam Barker, ed. *Early Cinema: Space – Frame – Narrative*. London: British Film Institute, 1990.
- and Michael Wedel, ed. *A Second Life: German Cinema's First Decades*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996.
- Engberg, Marguerite. *Dansk stumfilm*. 2 vols. København: Rhodos, 1977.
- . *Registrant over danske film 1896 – 1914*. 4 vols. København: Institut for Filmvidenskab, 1977.

- . "Studenten fra Prag og den Gadefulde Stellan Rye." *Sekvens Filmvidenskabelig Erbog* 1982: 161-185
- Esposito, Riccardo, Max della Mora and Massimo Monteleone. *Fant'Asia: il cinema fantastico dell'estremo oriente*. Bologna: Granata Press, 1994.
- Essoe, Gabe. *Tarzan of the Movies: A Pictorial History of more than Fifty Years of Edgar Rice Burroughs' Legendary Hero*. Secaucus (New Jersey): Citadel, 1968.
- Evans, Richard J. *The Feminist Movement in Germany 1894 – 1933*. London: Sage, 1976.
- , ed. *Society and Politics in Wilhelmine Germany*. London: Croom Helm, 1978.
- , ed. *The German Working Class 1888 – 1933*. London: Croom Helm, 1982.
- Everson, William K. *A Pictorial History of the Western Film*. New York: Citadel, 1971.
- Ewers, Hanns Heinz. "Die Insel der Entgleisten." *Der arme Teufel* 2.22-23, 2.24 (1903): 6-7, 6-7.
- . *Die Macht der Liebe oder, Die traurigen Folgen einer guten Erziehung*. Berlin: Harmonie, n. d. [1902].
- . *C33*. Berlin: no imprint [published privately], n. d. [1904].
- . *Das Cabaret*. Berlin/Leipzig: Schuster & Loeffler, n. d. [1905].
- . *Edgar Allan Poe*. Berlin: Schuster & Loeffler, 1905.
- . *Armer Junge! Freundschaftsnovelle*. Berlin: no imprint [published privately], n. d. [ca. 1907].
- . *Das Grauen*. 54. Auflage [54th ed.]. München: Georg Müller, 1907.
- . *Der Zauberlehrling oder, Die Teufelsjäger*. 40. Auflage [40th ed.]. München: Georg Müller, 1909.
- . *Alraune: Die Geschichte eines lebenden Wesens*. 3. Auflage [3rd ed.]. München: Georg Müller, 1911.
- . *Indien und ich....* 7. Ausgabe [7th ed.]. München: Georg Müller, 1911.
- , Hg. [ed.]. *Musik im Bild*. München/Leipzig: Georg Müller, 1913.

- . *Das Wundermädchen von Berlin: Drama in 4 Akten*. München: Georg Müller, 1913.
- . *Die Besessenen: Seltsame Geschichten*. 20. Auflage [20th ed.]. München/Berlin: Georg Müller, 1917.
- . *Moganni Nameh: Gesammelte Gedichte*. 2. Ausgabe [2nd ed.]. München: Georg Müller, 1918.
- . *Der Student von Prag: Eine Idee von Hanns Heinz Ewers*. Berlin: Dom-Verlag, 1930.
- Faderman, Lillian. *Surpassing the Love of Men: Romantic Friendship and Love between Women from the Renaissance to the Present*. London: The Women's Press, 1985.
- “Die falsche Asta Nielsen.” *Berliner Börsen-Courier* 23. August 1913 (Abend): no pag.
- Farson, Daniel. *The Hamlyn Book of Horror*. Feltham: Hamlyn, 1979.
- Faulstich, Werner and Helmut Korte, Hg. [ed.]. *Fischer Filmgeschichte Band 1: Von den Anfängen bis zum etablierten Medium 1895 – 1924*. Frankfurt-am-Main: Fischer, 1994.
- Felke, Naldo. “Die Gefahr der Modernität.” *Die Umschau* 17.43 (1913): 889.
- Fell, John L. *Film Before Griffith*. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1983.
- Ferri, Enrico. *Les criminels dans l'art et la littérature*. Transl. Eugène Laurent. Paris: F. Alcan, 1897.
- Ferris, Lesley, ed. *Crossing the Stage: Controversies on Cross-Dressing*. London/New York: Routledge, 1993.
- Fiedler, Leonhard M. *Max Reinhardt*. Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1975.
- “Films und Kino: Eine moderne Kunstindustrie.” *Berliner Morgenpost* 26. März 1911: no pag.
- Fleming, Michael and Roger Manvell. *Images of Madness: The Portrayal of Insanity in the Feature Film*. New Jersey/London: Associated University Presses, 1985.
- Fønss, Olaf. *Filmserindringen gennem 20 Aar*. København: Nutids Forlag, 1930.
- . *Krig, sult og film*. København: Alf. Nielsens Forlag, 1932.

- Forch, Carl. *Der Kinematograph und das sich bewegende Bild: Geschichte und technische Entwicklung der Kinematographie bis zur Gegenwart*. Wien/Leipzig: A. Hartleben, 1913.
- Forster, Bill [=pseudonym]. *Anders als die Andern*. Berlin: Hugo Schildberger, n. d. [1904].
- Förster, Paul. "Schund und Schmutz in Schrift und Bild." *Allgemeiner Beobachter* 1.7-8 (1912): 98-100, 114-116.
- Fout, John C., ed. *German Women in the Nineteenth Century: A Social History*. New York/London: Holmes & Meier, 1984.
- . "Sexual Politics in Wilhelmine Germany: The Male Gender Crisis, Moral Purity, and Homophobia." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 2.3 (1992): 388-421.
- Fowler, James, ed. *Images of Show Business from the Theatre Museum, V & A*. London: Methuen, 1982.
- Fraenkel, Heinrich. *Unsterblicher Film: Die große Chronik von der Laterna Magica bis zum Tonfilm*. München: Kindler, 1956.
- Frank, Alan. *The Movie Treasury: Horror Movies*. London: Octopus, 1974.
- . *The Movie Treasury: Monsters and Vampires*. London: Cathay, 1976.
- . *Horror Films*. Feltham: Hamlyn, 1977.
- Frankenberg, Ruth. *White Women, Race Matters: The Social Construction of Whiteness*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993.
- Franklin, James C. "Metamorphosis of a Metaphor: The Shadow in Early German Cinema." *German Quarterly* 53 (1980): 176-188.
- Fraumann, Luz [=pseudonym]. *Weiberbeute: Ein merkwürdiger Roman*. Budapest: M. W. Schneider, 1906.
- Frederiksen, Elke, Hg. [ed.]. *Die Frauenfrage in Deutschland 1865 – 1915: Texte und Dokumente*. Stuttgart: Reclam, 1981.

- Freitel, [Gerichtsassessor]. "Ist ein Film eine Abbildung im Sinne des §184StGB?" *Preussisches Verwaltungsblatt* 34 (1913): 15.
- Freud, Sigmund. "The 'Uncanny.'" *The Penguin Freud Library Volume 14: Art and Literature*. Ed. Albert Dickson. London: Penguin, 1990. 336-376.
- Freund, Michael. *Deutsche Geschichte*. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1960.
- Frevert, Ute. *Women in German History: From Bourgeois Emancipation to Sexual Liberation*. Transl. Stuart McKinnon-Evans. New York/Oxford/Munich: Berg, 1989.
- Friedberg, Anne. *Window Shopping: Cinema and the Postmodern*. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1994.
- Friedman, Régine Mihal. *L'image et son juif*. Paris: Payot, 1983.
- Friedmann, Fritz. *Verbrechen und Krankheit im Roman und auf der Bühne*. Berlin: Fritz Friedmann, 1889.
- Frisby, David. *Fragments of Modernity: Theories of Modernity in the Work of Simmel, Kracauer and Benjamin*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1986.
- Fritz, Walter. *Die österreichischen Spielfilme der Stummfilmzeit (1907 – 1930)*. Wien: Österreichische Gesellschaft für Filmwissenschaft, 1967.
- . *Dokumentarfilme aus Österreich 1909 – 1914*. Wien: Österreichische Gesellschaft für Filmwissenschaft, 1980.
- Frizot, Jean-Michel, ed. *A New History of Photography*. Köln: Könemann, 1998.
- Frodon, Jean-Michel. *Le cinéma vers son deuxième siècle*. Paris: Éditions Le Monde, 1995.
- Frye, Marilyn. *The Politics of Reality*. New York: The Crossing Press, 1983.
- Fryer, Peter. *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain*. London: Pluto Press, 1984.
- Fullerton, Ronald A. "Creating a Mass Book Market in Germany: The Story of the 'Colporteur Novel,' 1870 – 1890." *Journal of Social History* 10 (1976 – 1977): 265-283.

- . "Towards a Commercial Popular Culture in Germany: The Development of Pamphlet Fiction, 1871 – 1914." *Journal of Social History* 12 (1978 – 1979): 489-511.
- G---r. *Sein eigener Mörder: Phantastisches Filmschauspiel*. Berlin: Max Gottlieb, 1914.
- Gad, Urban. *Der Film: Seine Mittel – seine Ziele*. Berlin: Schuster & Loeffler, 1920.
- Gastinel, Pierre. *Le romantisme d'Alfred de Musset*. Paris: Hachette, 1931.
- Gaudreault, André, ed. *Cinema 1900 – 1906: Filmography*. Brussels: FIAF, 1982.
- Gaulke, Johannes. *Grundriß der Kulturgeschichte*. Leipzig: Schnurpfeil, 1898.
- . "Das homosexuelle Problem." *Magazin für Literatur des In- und Auslandes* 68.41 (1899): no pag.
- . *Die Homosexuellen in der Weltliteratur*. Berlin: no imprint, 1903.
- . *Die ästhetische Kultur des Kapitalismus*. Berlin: Freier literarischer Verlag, 1909.
- . *Im Zwischendeck: Ein Kulturbild aus dem Auswanderer-Leben*. Berlin: Kultur- und Menschheitsdokumente, 1909.
- , Hg. [ed.]. *Sexuelle Jugenderziehung: Briefe an eine Großmutter von Leo Berg*. Berlin: Kultur- und Menschheitsdokumente, 1909.
- [attributed, signed only 'J. G.']. *Der Student von Prag: Filmprogrammheft*. Berlin: Deutsche Bioscop Ges.m.b.H., 1913.
- Gaupp, Robert. *Psychologie des Kindes*. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1908.
- and Konrad Lange. *Der Kinematograph als Volksunterhaltungsmittel*. München: Flugschriften des Dürer-Bundes, 1912.
- Gay, Peter. *Freud, Jews and other Germans*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978.
- "Gegen den Plakatunfug der Kinematographentheater." *Die Hochwacht* 2.3 (1911): 73.
- Gehrts, M[egh]. *A Camera Actress in the Wilds of Togoland: The Adventures, Observations & Experiences of a Cinematograph Actress in West African Forests whilst Collecting Films Depicting Native Life and when Posing as the White Woman in Anglo-African Cinematograph Dramas*. London: Seeley, Service & Co., 1915.

- Genée, Rudolph, Max Grube, Robert Hessen, Paul Lindau, Victor Ottmann, Ernst von Possart, Gotthilf Weisstein and Eugen Zabel, Hg. [ed.]. *Spemanns goldenes Buch des Theaters: Eine Hauskunde für Jedermann*. Berlin/Stuttgart: W. Spemann, 1902.
- Gerbod, Paul. "La sociabilité étudiante depuis 1870." *Réflexions historiques* 7.2-3 (1980): 507-517.
- Gerling, Reinhold. *Die verkehrte Geschlechtsempfindung und das dritte Geschlecht*. Berlin: Möller, 1900.
- Gerz, Raimund. "Die Zeitschrift KINtop." *epd-Film* Februar 1996: 9-10.
- Gewerbemuseum Basel. *Hundert Jahre Lichtbild: 9. April bis 8. Mai 1927*. Basel: G. Böhm, 1927.
- Gibson, Andrew. *Towards a Postmodern Theory of Narrative*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996.
- Gidal, Nachum T. *Die Juden in Deutschland von der Römerzeit bis zur Weimarer Republik*. 2. Ausgabe [2nd ed.]. Köln: Könemann, 1997.
- Giesen, Rolf, Hg. [ed.]. *Special Effects: Die Tricks im Film vom Spiegeleffekt bis zur Computeranimation*. Ebersberg: Edition 8½, 1985.
- . *Sagenhafte Welten: Der phantastische Film*. München: Heyne, 1990.
- Gifford, Denis. *Movie Monsters*. London: Studio Vista, 1969.
- . *A Pictorial History of Horror Movies*. Feltham: Hamlyn, 1973.
- . *The British Film Catalogue, 1895 – 1985: A Reference Guide*. Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1986.
- . *Books and Plays in Films, 1896 – 1915: Literary, Theatrical and Artistic Sources of the First Twenty Years of Motion Pictures*. London: Mansell, 1991.
- Gilbert, O. P. *Men in Women's Guise: Some Historical Instances of Female Impersonation*. London: Bodley Head, 1926.
- . *Women in Men's Guise*. London: John Lane, 1932.

- Gili, Jean A., Michèle Lagny, Michel Marie and Vincent Pinel. *Les vingt premières années du cinéma français*. Paris: Association française de recherche sur l'histoire du cinéma, 1995.
- Gilman, Sander L. *On Blackness without Black: Essays on the Image of the Black in Germany*. Boston: G. K. Hall, 1982.
- . *Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race and Madness*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985.
- Gilroy, Paul. "Whose Millennium is this? Blackness: pre-modern, post-modern, anti-modern." *Small Acts: Thoughts on the Politics of Black Cultures*. London/New York: Serpent's Tail, 1993. 153-165.
- Göktürk, Deniz. *Künstler, Cowboys, Ingenieure...: Kultur- und mediengeschichtliche Studien zu deutschen Amerika-Texten 1912 – 1920*. München: Wilhelm Fink, 1998.
- Gößwald, Udo, Hg. [ed.]. *Nahaufnahme Neukölln: Kinos, Kameras, Kopiermaschinen*. Berlin: Argon, 1989.
- Göttges-Braun, Ilse, Hg. [ed.]. *Allerlei von den Fildern in Berichten und Inseraten um die Jahrhundertwende aus der weithin bekannten und allseits beliebten 'Allgemeine Filder-Zeitung' und dem Filder-Bote.* Stuttgart: Wegra, 1981.
- Götze, O. "Kino und Schundliteratur." *Die Hochwacht* 2.4 (1912): 109-110.
- Grabowsky, Norbert. *Die mannweibliche Natur des Menschen mit Berücksichtigung des psychosexuellen Hermaphroditismus*. 3. Auflage [3rd ed.]. Leipzig: Spohr, 1899.
- Grant, Barry Keith, ed. *Planks of Reason: Essays on the Horror Film*. Metuchen (New Jersey)/London: Scarecrow Press, 1984.
- Grant, Marcus. *Horror: A Modern Myth*. London: Heinemann, 1974.
- Gray, Frank, ed. *Hove Pioneers and the Arrival of Cinema*. Brighton: University of Brighton Press, 1996.

- Grosskurth, Phyllis, ed. *John Addington Symonds: The Memoirs*. London: Hutchinson, 1984.
- Grotthuss, Jeannot Emil von, Hg. [ed.]. *Türmer-Jahrbuch 1907*. Stuttgart: Greiner und Pfeiffer, 1906.
- Gruša, Jiri. *Franz Kafka of Prague*. Transl. Eric Mosbacher. London: Secker & Warburg, 1983.
- Guibert, Pierre, ed. *Les premiers ans du cinéma français*. Perpignan: Institut Jean Vigo, 1985.
- Gunning, Tom. *D. W. Griffith and the Origins of American Narrative Film: The Early Years at Biograph*. Urbana/Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1991.
- Günther, Ernst. *Geschichte des Varietés*. Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1981.
- Güttinger, Fritz. *Der Stummfilm im Zitat der Zeit*. Frankfurt-am-Main: Deutsches Filmmuseum, 1984.
- Haack, Käte. *In Berlin und anderswo*. München: Moewig, 1981.
- Häfer, Hermann. *Kino und Kunst*. Mönchen-Gladbach: Volksvereins-Verlag, 1913.
- . *Kino und Erdkunde*. Mönchen-Gladbach: Volksvereins-Verlag, 1914.
- Hahn, Ronald M. and Volker Jansen. *Lexikon des Horror-Films*. Bergisch Gladbach: Bastei Lübbe, 1989.
- Haining, Peter, ed. *The Ghouls: 18 Classic Stories that Inspired Great Horror Films*. London: Chancellor, 1994 [1971].
- Hake, Sabine. *Passions and Deceptions: The Early Films of Ernst Lubitsch*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992.
- . *The Cinema's Third Machine: Writing on Film in Germany, 1907 – 1933*. Lincoln (Nebraska)/London: University of Nebraska Press, 1993.
- Hall, Stuart and Paul Duguay, ed. *Questions of Cultural Identity*. London/Thousand Oaks/New Delhi: Sage, 1996.

- Hammond, Paul. *Marvellous Méliès*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975.
- , ed. *The Shadow and its Shadow: Surrealist Writings on Cinema*. London: British Film Institute, 1978.
- Hanisch, Michael. *Auf den Spuren der Filmgeschichte: Berliner Schauplätze*. Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1991.
- Hansen, Miriam. "Early Silent Cinema: Whose Public Sphere?" *New German Critique* 29 (Spring/Summer 1983): 147-184.
- . *Babel and Babylon: Spectatorship in American Silent Film*. Cambridge (Massachusetts): Harvard University Press, 1991.
- Hardy, Phil, ed. *The Aurum Film Encyclopedia: Science Fiction*. 2nd ed. London: Aurum, 1991.
- . *The Aurum Film Encyclopedia: Horror*. 2nd ed. London: Aurum, 1993.
- Harrington, John, ed. *Film And/As Literature*. Englewood Cliffs (New Jersey): Prentice-Hall, 1977.
- Hartenstein, Liesel, Hg. [ed.]. *Facsimile: Querschnitt durch den Kladderadatsch*. München/Bern/Wien: Scherz, 1965.
- Hausman, Bernice L. *Changing Sex: Transsexualism, Technology, and the Idea of Gender*. Durham/London: Duke University Press, 1995.
- Haxthausen, Charles W. and Heidrun Suhr, ed. *Berlin: Culture and Metropolis*. Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1991.
- Heard, Gerald. *Doppelgangers*. London: Science Fiction Book Club, 1965.
- Hekma, Gert. "'A Female Soul in a Male Body': Sexual Inversion as Gender Inversion in Nineteenth-Century Sexology." *Third Sex, Third Gender: Beyond Sexual Dimorphism in Culture and History*. Ed. Gilbert Herdt. New York: Zone, 1994. 213-239.

Heller, Heinz-B. *Literarische Intelligenz und Film: Zu Veränderungen der ästhetischen Theorie und Praxis unter dem Eindruck des Films 1910 – 1930 in Deutschland*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1985.

Hellwig, Albert. *Schundfilms: Ihr Wesen – ihre Gefahren – und ihre Bekämpfung*. Halle: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1911.

---. "Die Beziehungen zwischen Schundliteratur, Schundfilms und Verbrechen." *Archiv für Kriminalanthropologie und Kriminalistik* 51.1 (1913): 1-32.

---. "Die Anwendbarkeit des Paragraphen 184,41 StGB auf Vorführungen unzüchtiger kinematographischer Films." *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Strafrechts-Wissenschaft* 35.4 (1914): 469-481.

Helm, Karin, Hg. [ed.]. *Rosinen aus der 'Gartenlaube': Kurioses aus alten Zeitschriften*. München: Albert Langen/Georg Müller, 1960.

Helpach, Willy. *Nervosität und Kultur*. Berlin: Johannes Råde, 1902.

Hendricks, Gordon. *Origins of the American Film*. New York: Arno Press, 1972.

Henkel, Franz. *Der Kampf um Südwestafrika*. Berlin: Schalke, 1908.

Henningsen, Wiltrud. *Die Entstehung des Kinos in Münster*. Münster: Wiltrud Henningsen, 1990.

Herbert, Stephen and Luke McKernan, ed. *Who's Who of Victorian Cinema*. London: British Film Institute, 1996.

Hertogs, Daan and Nico De Klerk, ed. *'Disorderly Order': Colour in Silent Film – The 1995 Amsterdam Workshop*. Amsterdam: Stichting Nederlands Filmmuseum, 1996.

Herzer, Manfred. *Bibliographie zur Homosexualität: Verzeichnis des deutschsprachigen nichtbelletristischen Schrifttums zur weiblichen und männlichen Homosexualität aus den Jahren 1466 bis 1975 in chronologischer Reihenfolge*. Berlin: Verlag rosa Winkel, 1982.

"Herzog Adolf Friedrich zu Mecklenburg über seine Afrikadurchquerung." *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* 25 (1908): 873-875.

- Heske, H. "Der Traum von Afrika: Zur politischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte der Kolonialgeographie." *Ökozeit* 3 (1987): 204-222.
- Hickethier, Knut and Michael Schwelling, Hg. [ed.]. *Mythos Berlin: Zur Wahrnehmungsgeschichte einer industriellen Metropole*. Berlin: Verlag Ästhetik und Kommunikation, 1987.
- Hietala, Veijo. *Situating the Subject in Film Theory: Meaning and Spectatorship in Cinema*. Turku: Turun Yliopisto, 1990.
- Higashi, Sumiko. "Dialogue: Manhattan's Nickelodeons." *Cinema Journal* 35.3 (Spring 1996): 72-74.
- Higson, Andrew. "The Concept of National Cinema." *Screen* 30.4 (1989): 36-46.
- Hirschfeld, Magnus. *Berlins drittes Geschlecht*. Berlin/Leipzig: Seemann, 1904.
- . *Geschlechts-Umwandlungen (Irrtümer aus der Geschlechtsbestimmung): Sechs Fälle aus der forensischen Praxis*. Berlin: Adler-Verlag, 1912.
- . *Die Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes*. Berlin: Louis Marcus, 1914.
- . *Transvestites: The Erotic Drive to Cross Dress*. Transl. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash. New York: Prometheus, 1991 [1910].
- and Max Tilke. *Der erotische Verkleidungstrieb: Illustrierter Teil zu 'Die Transvestiten.'* Berlin: Pulvermacher, 1912.
- Hobson, Dorothy. *Crossroads: The Drama of a Soap Opera*. London: Methuen, 1982.
- Hochreiter, Walter. *Vom Musentempel zum Lernort: Zur Sozialgeschichte deutscher Museen 1800 – 1914*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1994.
- Hodsdon, Barrett. *The Dawn of Cinema 1894 – 1915*. Sydney: Museum of Contemporary Art, 1996.
- Hodson, Matthew. "Something Wilde." *Gay Times* October 1994: 10-12.
- Hofer, Franz. *Der Spring übers Feuer: Komödie in 3 Akten*. Berlin: Felix Bloch Erben, 1939.

- Hoffmann, Detlef and Jens Thiele, Hg. [ed.]. *Lichtbilder, Lichtspiele: Anfänge der Fotografie und des Kinos in Ostfriesland*. Marburg: Jonas, 1989.
- Hoffmann, E. T. A. *Fantasie- und Nachtstücke*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1967 [1816 – 1817].
- Hoffmann, [Professor]. *Modern Magic: A Practical Treatise on the Art of Conjuring*. 12th ed. London: Routledge, 1914 [1898].
- Hogan, David J. *Dark Romance: Sexuality in the Horror Film*. Jefferson (North Carolina)/London: McFarland, 1986.
- Holberg, Gustaf. *Henny Porten: Eine Biographie unserer beliebten Filmkünstlerin*. Berlin: Verlag der Licht-Bild-Bühne, n. d. [ca. 1921].
- Holborn, Hajo. *A History of Modern Germany, 1840 – 1945*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969.
- Holland, Clive. *How to Take and Fake Photographs*. 2nd ed. London: C. Arthur Pearson, n. d. [1903].
- Holledge, Julie. *Innocent Flowers: Women in the Edwardian Theatre*. London: Virago, 1981.
- Holman, Roger, compiler. *Cinema 1900 – 1906: An Analytical Study by the National Film Archive (London) and the International Federation of Film Archives*. Brussels: FIAF, 1982.
- Holtmont, Alfred. *Die Hosenrolle: Variationen über das Thema 'Das Weib als Mann.'* München: Meyer & Jessen, 1925.
- Houston, Penelope. *Keepers of the Frame: The Film Archives*. London: British Film Institute, 1994.
- Hoyer, Niels, Hg. [ed.]. *Lili Elbe – Ein Mensch wechselt sein Geschlecht: Eine Lebensbeichte aus hinterlassenen Papieren*. Dresden: Carl Reissner, 1932.
- , ed. *Man into Woman: An Authentic Record of a Change of Sex*. Transl. H. J. Stenning. London: Beacon Library, 1933.

- Hübner, H. "Der Kinematograph in der Ausrüstung des Reisenden." *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* 21 (1904): 113-114.
- Hunter, Jack. *Inside Teradome: An Illustrated History of Freak Film*. New revised ed. London/San Francisco: Creation, 1998.
- Hutchinson, Tom and Roy Pickard. *Horrors: A History of Horror Movies*. Secaucus (New Jersey): Chartwell, 1984.
- Huyssen, Andreas. *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism*. Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1986.
- Illiger, [Dr.]. "Kinoplakatzensur." *Deutsche Gemeindezeitung* 52.47 (1913): 525-527.
- Irwin, Will. *The House that Shadows Built*. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1928.
- Jacobsen, Wolfgang, Anton Kaes and Hans H. Prinzler, Hg. [ed.]. *Geschichte des deutschen Films*. Stuttgart/Weimar: J. B. Metzler, 1993.
- James, Liz, ed. *Women, Men and Eunuchs: Gender in Byzantium*. London/New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Jancovich, Mark. *Batsford Cultural Studies: Horror*. London: B. T. Batsford, 1992.
- Jansen, Wolfgang. *Das Varieté: Die glanzvolle Geschichte einer unterhaltenden Kunst*. Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1990.
- Jason, Alexander. *Der Film in Ziffern und Zahlen (1895 – 1925)*. Berlin: Deutsches Druck- und Verlagshaus, 1925.
- Jellinek, Camilla. *Petition deutscher Frauen betr. das Verbot weibl. Bedienung in Gast- und Schankwirtschaften: Definitive Fassung – zugleich Kritik der gegnerischen Argumente*. Gautzsch bei Leipzig: Felix Dietrich, 1913.
- Jentsch, E. "Zur Psychologie des Unheimlichen." *Psychiatrisch-neurologische Wochenschrift* 8 (1906): 195.
- Jochum, Norbert, Hg. [ed.]. *Das wandernde Bild: Der Filmpionier Guido Seeber*. Berlin: Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek/Elefanten Press, 1979.

- Johannsen, G. Kurt and H. H. Kraft. *Germany's Colonial Problem*. London: Thornton Butterworth, 1937.
- John, Michael. "The Peculiarities of the German State: Bourgeois Law and Society in the Imperial Era." *Past and Present* 119 (1988): 105-131.
- Johnston, [Sir] Harry H. *A History of the Colonization of Africa by Alien Races*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1899.
- Jones, Stephen. *The Illustrated Dinosaur Movie Guide*. London: Titan, 1993.
- . *The Illustrated Vampire Movie Guide*. London: Titan, 1993.
- . *The Illustrated Frankenstein Movie Guide*. London: Titan, 1994.
- Jowett, Garth S. and James M. Linton. *Movies as Mass Communication*. Beverly Hills/London: Sage, 1980.
- Jung, Uli and Walter Schatzber. "Zur Genese eines Filmstoffs: *Der Andere* von Max Mack (1912) und Robert Wiene (1930)." *Filmwärts* 28 (1993): 26, 39-41.
- Kaes, Anton, Hg. [ed.]. *Kino-Debatte: Literatur und Film 1909 – 1929*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1978.
- Kalbus, Oskar. *Vom Werden deutscher Filmkunst – I. Teil: Der stumme Film*. Altona-Bahrenfeld: Cigaretten-Bilderdienst, 1935.
- "Kann sich nach §175 St.G.B.'s auch derjenige strafbar machen, welcher den Geschlechtsteil eines Schlafenden in seinen Mund einführt?" *Entscheidungen des Reichsgerichts in Strafsachen* 20 (1890): 225-226.
- Kaul, Walter and Robert G. Scheuer, Hg. [ed.]. *Richard Oswald*. Berlin: Deutsche Kinemathek, 1970.
- Keil, Charlie. "Reframing *The Italian*: Questions of Audience Address in Early Cinema." *Journal of Film and Video* 42.1 (Spring 1990): 36-48.
- Keiner, Reinhold. *Hanns Heinz Ewers und der phantastische Film*. Heidelberg: Olms, 1987.

- Kendrick, Walter. *The Thrill of Fear: 250 Years of Scary Entertainment*. New York: Grove, 1991.
- Kennedy, Hubert. *Ulrichs: The Life and Works of Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, Pioneer of the Modern Gay Movement*. Boston: Alyson, 1988.
- Keppler, Carl F. *The Literature of the Second Self*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1972.
- Kern, Stephen. *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880 – 1918*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1983.
- Kessler, Frank and Sabine Lenk. “Gallischer Hahn und deutscher Adler: Filmkontakte vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg.” *Hallo? Berlin? Ici Paris! Deutsche-französische Filmbeziehungen 1918 – 1939*. Hg. [ed.] Sibylle M. Sturm and Arthur Wohlgemuth. München: edition text+kritik, 1996: 16-32.
- and Martin Loiperdinger. *Oskar Meßner: Filmpionier der Kaiserzeit* [=KINtop-Schriften 2]. Basel/Frankfurt-am-Main: Stroemfeld/Roter Stern, 1994.
- Kietz, Kurt, Hg. [ed.]. *Deutsche kolonisieren: Berichte berühmter Kolonial-Deutschen*. Breslau: Ferdinand Hirt, n. d. [1934].
- “Kinematographenbilder in natürlichen Farben.” *Photographische Korrespondenz* 562 (1907): 357.
- Kinkel, Walter. *Die Stellung der Kunst zur Kultur: Vortrag geh. in Berlin am 3. Februar 1907 in der Gesellschaft für Philosophie*. Berlin: Otto Günther, 1907.
- “Kinoschauspieler – gewerbliche Angestellte.” *Berliner Börsen-Courier* 23. August 1913 (Abend): no pag.
- Kinter, Jürgen. *Arbeiterbewegung und Film (1895 – 1933)*. Hamburg: Medienpädagogik-Zentrum, 1985.
- Kirby, Lynne. “Male Hysteria and Early Cinema.” *Camera Obscura* 17 (May 1988): 112-132.

- Kisch, John and Edward Mapp. *A Separate Cinema: Fifty Years of Black Cast Posters*. New York: The Noonday Press, 1992.
- Kiss, Robert J. *Black Spectacle/White Spectators: Colonial Images and Audience Pleasure in Early German Cinema (1895 – 1914)*. Unpublished paper. University of Warwick: Popular European Cinema Conference 3 – *The Spectacular*, 24-26.3.2000.
- Klebinder, Paul, Hg. [ed.]. *Der deutsche Kaiser im Film*. Berlin: Paul Klebinder, 1912.
- . *Kronprinzens im Film*. Berlin: Paul Klebinder, 1913.
- Klüter, Heinz, Hg. [ed.]. *Facsimile: Querschnitt durch die Gartenlaube*. Bern/Stuttgart/Wien: Scherz, 1963.
- Knospe, Paul. *Der Kinematograph im Dienste der Schule unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des erdkundlichen Unterrichts*. Halle: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1913.
- Koch, Gertrud and Heide Schlüpmann, Hg. [ed.]. *Horror* [=Frauen und Film 49]. Basel/Frankfurt-am-Main: Stroemfeld/Roter Stern, 1990.
- Kondo, Dorinne. *About Face: Performing Race in Fashion and Theater*. New York/London: Routledge, 1997.
- Korff, Gottfried and Reinhard Rürup, Hg. [ed.]. *Berlin, Berlin: Die Ausstellung zur Geschichte der Stadt*. Berlin: Nicolai, 1987.
- Korte, Helmut, Hg. [ed.]. *Film und Realität in der Weimarer Republik*. München/Wien: Hansen, 1978.
- Kortländer, Bernd. "Vom Studenten von Prag zu Horst Wessel: Hanns Heinz Ewers und der Film." *Düsseldorf kinematographisch*. Hg. [ed.] Ute Wiegand. Düsseldorf: Triltsch, 1982. 137-148.
- Kosok, Lisa and Mathilde Jamin, Hg. [ed.]. *Viel Vergnügen: Öffentliche Lustbarkeiten im Ruhrgebiet der Jahrhundertwende*. Essen: Ruhrlandmuseum, 1992.
- Koster, Simon. *Duitsche Filmkunst*. Rotterdam: W. L. en J. Brusse, 1931.

- Koszarski, Richard. *Hollywood Directors, 1914 – 1940*. London/Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1976.
- . *An Evening's Entertainment: The Age of the Silent Feature Picture, 1915 – 1928* [=History of the American Cinema vol. 3]. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1990.
- Kracauer, Siegfried. *From Caligari to Hitler: A Psychological History of the German Film*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947.
- . "Der Detektiv-Roman: Ein philosophischer Traktat." *Schriften I*. Frankfurt-am-Main: Suhrkamp, 1971 [1922 – 1925]: 103-204.
- Krafft-Ebing, Richard von. *Psychopathia sexualis: with Especial Reference to Contrary Sexual Instinct*. London: Davis, 1892 [1886].
- . "Zur Erklärung der konträren Sexualempfindung." *Jahrbücher für Psychiatrie und Neurologie* 13.1 (1894): 1-16.
- Kramer, Fritz. *Verkehrte Welten: Zur imaginären Ethnologie des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Frankfurt-am-Main: Syndikat, 1977.
- Krauss, Wilhelmine. *Das Doppelgängermotiv in der Romantik*. Berlin: Emil Ebering, 1930.
- Kriegk, Otto. *Der deutsche Film im Spiegel der Ufa: 25 Jahre Kampf und Vollendung*. Berlin: Ufa-Buchverlag, 1943.
- Kristl, Wilhelm Lukas, Hg. [ed.]. *Heinrich Lautensack: Das verstörte Fest – Gesammelte Werke*. München: Carl Hanser, 1966.
- Krüger-Welf, Hans. *Hanns Heinz Ewers: Die Geschichte seiner Entwicklung*. Leipzig/Tübingen: Rainer Wunderlich, 1922.
- Kuchenbuch, Thomas. *Die Welt um 1900: Unterhaltungs- und Technikkultur*. Stuttgart/Weimar: J. B. Metzler, 1992.
- Kuhn, Annette. *Cinema, Censorship and Sexuality, 1909 – 1925*. London/New York: Routledge, 1988.

- Kühn, Volker. *Das Kabarett der frühen Jahre: Ein freches Musenkind macht erste Schritte*. Weinheim: Quadriga, 1988.
- Kullmann, Max. *Die Entwicklung des deutschen Lichtspieltheaters*. Kallmünz: Michael Laßleben, 1935.
- Kultusminister des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen and Filmarchiv der Landeshauptstadt Düsseldorf, Hg. [ed.]. *Der Student von Prag': Programm – Premiere der restaurierten und rekonstruierten Fassung des Films*. Düsseldorf: Kultusminister des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen/Filmarchiv der Landeshauptstadt Düsseldorf, n. d. [1988].
- Küpper, Heinz. *Illustriertes Lexikon der deutschen Umgangssprache*. 8 vols. Stuttgart: Ernst Klett, 1984.
- Kurella, Hans. *Wohnungsort und Wohnungsjammer: Ihr Einfluß auf die Sittlichkeit, ihr Ursprung aus dem Bodenwucher und ihre Bekämpfung durch demokratische Städteverwaltung*. Frankfurt-am-Main: Hüben, 1900.
- L., M. "Der Student von Prag." *Camera: Filmtheater des staatlichen Filmarchivs der DDR* 4 (1961): 3.
- Lacassin, Francis, ed. *Gaston Leroux – Œuvres: préface, chronologie, bibliographie, filmographie, télé-filmographie et choix de documents*. Paris: Robert Laffont, 1984.
- Laclos, Michel. *Le fantastique au cinéma*. Paris: Jean-Jacques Pauvert, 1958.
- Ladendorf, Heinz, Hg. [ed.]. *Friedrich Naumann: Werke*. 6 vols. Köln/Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1964.
- Lahue, Kalton C., ed. *Motion Picture Pioneer: The Selig Polyscope Company*. Cranbury (New Jersey): A. S. Barnes, 1973.
- Lamprecht, Gerhard. *Deutsche Stummfilme 1903 – 1912*. Berlin: Deutsche Kinemathek, 1969.
- . *Deutsche Stummfilme 1913 – 1914*. Berlin: Deutsche Kinemathek, 1969.
- . *Deutsche Stummfilme 1915 – 1916*. Berlin: Deutsche Kinemathek, 1969.

- Langsted, Adolf. *Asta Nielsen*. København: Nyt Nordisk Forlag, n. d. [ca. 1918].
- Laplanche, Jean and Jean-Bertrand Pontalis. *The Language of Psychoanalysis*. London: Karnac Books, 1988.
- Laqueuer, Thomas. *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud*. Cambridge (Massachusetts): Harvard University Press, 1990.
- Lassacher, Martina and Verena Teißl, Hg. [ed.]. *Horrorbilder*. Innsbruck: Otto Preminger-Institut, 1992.
- Lauritzen, Einar and Gunnar Lundquist. *American Film-Index, 1908 – 1915*. Stockholm: Film-Index, 1976.
- Lautensack, Heinrich. *Cabaret: Schwank und Satire*. Berlin: Harmonie, 1906.
- Le Roy, George. *Music Hall Stars of the Nineties*. London: British Technical General Press, 1952.
- “Lebende Photographien.” *Vossische Zeitung* 27. September 1896: no pag.
- Ledig, Elfriede, Hg. [ed.]. *Der Stummfilm: Konstruktion und Rekonstruktion*. München: Münchner Beiträge zur Filmphilologie, 1988.
- Lehmann, H. “Vorträge: Vorführung von Lumières Kinematograph.” *Photographische Korrespondenz* 427 (1896): 196-197.
- Leimbach, Berthold, Hg. [ed.]. *Tondokumente der Kleinkunst und ihre Interpreten 1898 – 1945*. Göttingen: Hubert, 1991.
- Leiss, William, Stephen Kline and Sut Jhally. *Social Communication in Advertising: Persons, Products & Images of Well-Being*. 2nd ed. London/New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Lemke, Hermann. *Die Kinematographie der Gegenwart, Vergangenheit und Zukunft: Eine kulturgeschichtliche und industrielle Studie*. Leipzig: Edmund Demme, n. d. [1910].
- Lenman, Robin. *Die Kunst, die Macht und das Geld: Zur Kulturgeschichte des kaiserlichen Deutschlands 1871 – 1918*. Frankfurt-am-Main: Campus, 1994.

- , John Osborne and Eda Sagarra. "Imperial Germany: Towards the Commercialization of Culture." *German Cultural Studies: An Introduction*. Ed. Rob Burns. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995: 9-52.
- Lenne, Gerard. *Der erotische Film*. Transl. Bernhard Weidner. 5. Auflage [5th ed.]. München: Heyne, 1990.
- Leroux, Gaston. *Balao*. Paris: Presses de la Renaissance, 1977 [1911].
- Leslie, Peter. *A Hard Act to Follow: A Music Hall Review*. New York/London: Paddington, 1978.
- Lessing, Gotthold. *Laocoön: An Essay upon the Limits of Painting and Poetry*. Transl. Ellen Frothingham. New York: The Noonday Press, 1957 [1766].
- Leutwein, Paul, Hg. [ed.]. *Dreißig Jahre deutscher Kolonialpolitik*. Berlin: Gersbach und Sohn, 1914.
- Levesque, Paul. "Jahrhundertwende, fin de siècle, Wilhelminian Era: Re-examining German Literary Culture, 1871 – 1918." *German Studies Review* 13.1 (1990): 9-25.
- Lhs. "Vom Geist der Zeit: Mörderische Jugend." *Die Hochwacht* 4.5 (1914): 122.
- "Liegt darin, daß ein Mann das männliche Glied eines Anderen in den Mund nimmt und daran saugt, eine beischlafähnliche Handlung, die auf seiner Seite den objektiven Thatbestand des §175 St.G.B.'s erfüllt?" *Entscheidungen des Reichsgerichts in Strafsachen* 34 (1901): 245-249.
- Liesegang, F. P. *Die Projections-Kunst für Schulen, Familien und öffentliche Vorstellungen; nebst einer Anleitung zum Malen auf Glas und Beschreibung optischer, magnetischer, chemischer und elektrischer Versuche*. 10. Auflage [10th ed.]. Düsseldorf: Ed. Liesegang, 1896.
- Lindau, Paul. *Alfred de Musset*. Berlin: Hofmann, 1877.
- . *Aus der Hauptstadt: Berliner Plaudereien*. 5. Auflage [5th ed.]. Dresden/Leipzig: F. W. Steffens Verlag, 1884.

- . *Altes und Neues aus der Neuer Welt: Eine Reise durch die Vereinigten Staaten und Mexico*. 2 vols. Berlin: C. Duncker, 1893.
- . *Der -Andere: Schauspiel in vier Aufzügen*. Leipzig: Reclam, 1906 [1893].
- . *Nur Erinnerungen: Band 1*. 3. Auflage [3rd ed.]. Stuttgart/Berlin: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung, 1917.
- . *Nur Erinnerungen: Band 2*. 4. Auflage [4th ed.]. Stuttgart/Berlin: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung, 1918.
- Lloyd, David. "Race Under Representation." *Oxford Literary Review* 13 (1991): 62-94.
- Loiperdinger, Martin and Deac Rossell. "Pioneers of German Cinema: Oskar Messter." *National Film Theatre Programme Notes* 18.9.1996.
- London, Rose. *Cinema of Mystery*. London: Lorrimer, 1975.
- Lorm, J. "Das Theater der Illusionen." *Die Woche (Berlin)* 14.52 (1912): 2204-2209.
- Low, Rachael and Roger Manvell. *The History of the British Film, 1896 – 1906*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1948.
- Lucka, Emil. "Verdoppelungen des Ich." *Preussische Jahrbücher* 115 (1904): 54-83.
- Luft, Friedrich, Hg. [ed.]. *Facsimile: Querschnitt durch die Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung*. Bern/München: Scherz, n. d. [ca. 1967].
- Lukács, Georg. *Deutsche Literatur im Zeitalter des Imperialismus*. Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag, 1945.
- Lynar, Ingrid [Gräfin], Hg. [ed.]. *Facsimile: Querschnitt durch die Frankfurter Zeitung*. München/Bern: Scherz, n. d. [ca. 1967].
- M., J. B. T. *The Story of the Jubilee Singers; with their Songs*. 6th ed. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1875.
- Mack, Max, Hg. [ed.]. *Die zappelnde Leinwand*. Berlin: Eysler, 1916.
- . *Wie komme ich zum Film?* Berlin: Reinhold Kühn, 1919.

- . *With a Sigh and a Smile: A Showman Looks Back*. London: Alliance Press, n. d. [1943].
- Mackenzie, Compton. "A Year I Remember: 1900." *B. B. C. Features*. Ed. Laurence Gilliam. London: Evans Brothers/B. B. C., 1950. 15-26.
- Magnus, Erwin. *Asta Nielsen und die Sprechbühne*. Berlin: Carl Sabo, n. d. [ca. 1928].
- Maitland, Sara. *Vesta Tilley*. London: Virago, 1986.
- Malthête-Méliès, Madeleine. *Méliès l'enchanteur*. Paris: Copie-Self, 1985.
- Manchel, Frank. *When Pictures Began to Move*. Englewood Cliffs (New Jersey): Prentice Hall, 1969.
- Manchester, William. *The Arms of Krupp: 1587 – 1968*. London: Michael Joseph, 1969.
- Manvell, Roger and Heinrich Fraenkel. *The German Cinema*. London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1971.
- Marinucci, Vinicio. "Tendencies of the Italian Cinema: From 'Silent' to 'Sound' Cinema." *Unitalia Film: Italian Films Magazine for the Foreign Markets (English Edition)* 8.19 (June 1957): 41-62.
- Massin, Benoit. "From Virchow to Fischer: Physical Anthropology and 'Modern Race Theories' in Wilhelmine Germany." *'Volksgeist' as Method and Ethic: Essays on Boasian Ethnography and the German Anthropological Tradition*. Ed. George W. Stocking Jr. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996. 79-154.
- Mast, Gerald, Cohen Marshall and Leo Braudy, ed. *Film Theory and Criticism: Introductory Readings*. 4th ed. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- May, Lary. *Screening Out the Past: The Birth of Mass Culture and the Motion Picture Industry*. 2nd ed. Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, 1983.
- Mayne, Xavier. *The Intersexes: A History of Simisexualism as a Problem in Social Life*. New York: Arno Press, 1975 [1908].

- McCarty, John. *Movie Psychos and Madmen: Film Psychopaths from Jekyll and Hyde to Hannibal Lecter*. Secaucus (New Jersey): Citadel, 1993.
- McCormick, Richard W. "From *Caligari* to Dietrich: Sexual, Social, and Cinematic Discourses in Weimar Film." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 18.3 (1993): 640-668.
- McHale, Vincent and Eric Johnson. "Urbanization, Industrialization and Crime in Imperial Germany." *Social Science History* 1 (1976): 45-78, and 2 (1977): 210-247.
- McKnight, Jim. *Straight Science? Homosexuality, Evolution and Adaption*. London/New York: Routledge, 1997.
- McLean Jr., Albert F. *American Vaudeville as Ritual*. Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1965.
- Melitz, Leo. *Führer durch das Schauspiel der Gegenwart*. Berlin: Globus, 1911.
- Messac, Régis. *Le Detective Novel et l'influence de la pensée scientifique*. Geneva: Slatkine, 1975 [1929].
- Meßter, Oskar. *Mein Weg mit dem Film*. Berlin: Max Hesses Verlag, 1936.
- . *Zu den Lebens-Erinnerungen von Oskar Meßter aus der Entwicklung des deutschen Filmschaffens: Ergänzungen und Berichtigungen zu 'Mein Weg mit dem Film.'* Berlin: Max Hesses Verlag, 1939.
- . *Special-Catalog No. 32 über Projections- und Aufnahme-Apparate für lebende Photographie, Films, Graphophons, Nebelbilder-Apparate, Scheinwerfer etc. der Fabrik für optisch-mechanische Präcisions-Instrumente von Ed. Meßter*. Berlin: Roter Stern, 1995 [1898].
- Meyer, Hans, Siegfried Mauermann and Walther Kiaulehn. *Der richtige Berliner in Wörtern und Redensarten*. 10. Auflage [10th ed.]. München: Biederstein, 1965.
- Meyer, Karl Julius. "Zur Geschichte der Schundliteratur." *Die Hochwacht* 3.8 (1913): 169-177.

- Miller, Blair. *American Silent Film Comedies: An Illustrated Encyclopedia of Persons, Studios and Terminology*. Jefferson (North Carolina)/London: McFarland, 1995.
- Modleski, Tania, ed. *Studies in Entertainment: Critical Approaches to Mass Culture*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986.
- Moeller-Bruck, Arthur. *Das Varieté*. Berlin: Julius Bard, 1902.
- Moll, Albert. *Berühmte Homosexuelle*. Wiesbaden: J. F. Bergmann, 1910.
- Möller, Kai, Hg. [ed.]. *Paul Wegener: Sein Leben und seine Rollen*. Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1954.
- Morley, David. *Television, Audiences and Cultural Studies*. London/New York: Routledge, 1992.
- Mosse, George L. [=George Lachmann]. *Toward the Final Solution: A History of European Racism*. London/Melbourne/Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1978.
- Mottram, Ron. *The Danish Cinema before Dreyer*. Metuchen (New Jersey)/London: Scarecrow Press, 1988.
- Müller, Corinna. *Frühe deutsche Kinematographie: Formale, wirtschaftliche und kulturelle Entwicklungen*. Stuttgart/Weimar: J. B. Metzler, 1994.
- Müller, David. *Leitfaden zur Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*. 17. Auflage [17th ed.]. Berlin: Franz Dahlen, 1918.
- Müller, Fritz Ferdinand. *Kolonien unter der Peitsche*. Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1962.
- Müller, Josef. *Das sexuelle Leben der alten Kulturvölker*. Arigsburg: Lampart, 1901.
- Müller, Walter, Angelika Willms and Johann Handl, Hg. [ed.]. *Strukturwandel der Frauenarbeit 1880 – 1980*. Frankfurt-am-Main: Campus, 1983.
- Muneles, Otto, ed. *Prague Ghetto in the Renaissance Period*. Prague: State Jewish Museum, 1965.
- Mungenast, E. M. *Asta Nielsen*. Stuttgart: Walter Hädecke, 1928.

- Munitic, Ranko. *Fantastika na ekranu (1895 – 1930)* [*Fantasy on the Screen (1895 – 1930)*]. Beograd: Jugoslovenska Kinoteka, 1971.
- Musée du cinéma. *Fantastique et réalisme dans le cinéma allemand, 1912 – 1933*. Bruxelles: Musée du cinéma, 1969.
- Musser, Charles. *The Emergence of Cinema: The American Screen to 1907* [=History of the American Cinema vol. 1]. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1990.
- Musset, Alfred de. *Œuvres complètes*. Paris: Éditions du seuil, 1963.
- Neeffe, M., Hg. [ed.]. *Statistisches Jahrbuch deutscher Städte – 20. Jahrgang*. Breslau: Korn, 1914.
- Nesteby, James R. *Black Images in American Films, 1896 – 1954*. Lanham/New York/London: University Presses of America, 1982.
- “Neuheiten auf dem Berliner Filmmarkte.” [=review of *Aus eines Mannes Mädchenzeit*]. *Der Kinematograph* 517 (1916): no pag.
- The New English Bible: New Testament*. 2nd ed. Oxford/Cambridge: Oxford and Cambridge University Presses, 1970.
- Newton, Esther. *Mother Camp: Female Impersonators in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972.
- Nickel, Ernst H. “Die Lehrerin als Filmzensorin.” *Deutsche Kino-Wacht* 3 (1914): 5.
- Nielsen, Asta. *Den tiende Muse*. 2 vols. København [Copenhagen]: Nordisk, 1946.
- . *Die schweigende Muse*. Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1977.
- . *Die schweigende Muse: Das leidenschaftlich bewegte Leben des großen Stummfilmstars*. München: Heyne, 1979.
- Nightingale, Virginia. *Studying Audiences: The Shock of the Real*. London/New York: Routledge, 1996.
- Nijinsky, Romola. *Nijinsky*. 1st cheap ed. London: Victor Gollancz, 1936.

- Noa, Manfred. *Paul Wegener*. Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1964.
- Noack, Victor. *Der Kino: Etwas über sein Wesen und seine Bedeutung*. Gautzsch bei Leipzig: Felix Dietrich, 1913.
- Noble, Peter. *The Negro in Films*. London: Skelton Robinson, n. d. [1949].
- Nohain, Jean and C. F. Caradec. *Le Petomane, 1857 – 1945: A Tribute to the Unique Act which Shook and Shattered the Moulin Rouge*. Transl. Warren Tute. London: Souvenir Press, 1967.
- North, Joseph H. *The Early Development of the Motion Picture, 1887 – 1909*. New York: Arno Press, 1973.
- Nussbaum, Manfred. *Togo: Eine Musterkolonie?* Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1962.
- Nusser, Peter. *Der Kriminalroman*. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1980.
- Oguntoye, Katharina, May Opitz and Dagmar Schultz, Hg. [ed.]. *Farbe bekennen: Afro-deutsche Frauen auf den Spuren ihrer Geschichte*. Frankfurt-am-Main: Fischer, 1992.
- O’Laoghaire, Liam [=Liam O’Leary]. *Invitation to the Film*. 2nd ed. Tralee: Kerryman, 1946.
- O’Leary, Liam. *The Silent Cinema*. London: Dutton Vista, 1965.
- Osborne, Charles. *The Opera House Album: A Collection of Turn-of-the-Century Postcards*. London: Robson, 1979.
- Ott, Frederick W. *The Great German Films*. Secaucus (New Jersey): Citadel, 1986.
- Ott, Ulrich, Hg. [ed.]. *Literatur im Industriezeitalter: Eine Ausstellung des Deutschen Literaturarchivs im Schillernationalmuseum*. 2 vols. Marbach am Neckar: Deutsche Schillergesellschaft, 1987.
- Otto, Rainer and Walter Rösler. *Kabarettgeschichte: Abriß des deutschsprachigen Kabarett*. Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1981.
- Paech, Anne. “Kafka geht ins Kino.” *epd-Film* Oktober 1996: 14-15.
- Pagu. *Zapatas Bande: Filmprogramm*. Berlin: Max Gottlieb, 1914.

- Palmer, Frederick. *Photoplay Plot Encyclopedia*. 2nd revised ed. Hollywood: Palmer Photoplay Corporation, 1922.
- Palmier, Jean-Michel. *L'expressionisme comme révolte*. 2 vols. Paris: Payot, 1978.
- Panofsky, Walter. *Die Geburt des Films*. 2. verbesserte Auflage [2nd revised ed.]. Würzburg: Triltsch, 1944.
- “Das Panzergewölbe.” *8-Uhr-Abendblatt* 29.6.1914: no pag.
- Paret, Peter. *The Berlin Secession: Modernism and its Enemies in Imperial Germany*. Cambridge (Massachusetts)/London: Belknap, 1980.
- Parkhurst Ferguson, Priscilla. “The *Flâneur*: Urbanization and its Discontents.” *Home and its Dislocations in Nineteenth-Century France*. Ed. Suzanne Nash. New York: State University of New York Press, 1993. 45-61.
- Pascal, Roy. *From Naturalism to Expressionism: German Literature and Society from 1880 – 1918*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973.
- Passek, Jean-Loup. *Vingt ans de cinéma allemand*. Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou, 1978.
- Pate, Janet. *The Black Book of Villains*. Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1975.
- Peacock, John. *Men's Fashion: The Complete Sourcebook*. London: Thames & Hudson, 1996.
- Peiss, Kathy. *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986.
- Pemberton, T. Edgar. *The Criterion Theatre, 1875 – 1903*. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1903.
- Pennycook, Alastair. *English and the Discourses of Colonialism*. London/New York: Routledge, 1998.

- Penzler, Otto, Chris Steinbrunner and Marvin Lachmann, ed. *Detectionary: A Biographical Dictionary of Leading Characters in Mystery Fiction*. New York: Overlook Press, 1977.
- Perlmann, Emil. *Der Kulturwert des Kinematographen*. Düsseldorf: Ed. Lintz, 1909.
- Petro, Patrice. *Joyless Streets: Women and Melodramatic Representation in Weimar Cinema*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989.
- Pfeiffer, Herbert. *Paul Wegener*. 2. Ausgabe [2nd ed.]. Berlin: Rembrandt, 1957.
- Pierard, R. V. "The Transportation of White Women to German South-West Africa, 1898 – 1914." *Race: A Journal of Race and Group Relations* 12 (1971): 317-322.
- Pinthus, Kurt, Hg. [ed.]. *Das Kinobuch*. Frankfurt-am-Main; Fischer, 1983 [1914].
- Plümer, Erich, Hg. [ed.]. *Wilhelm Bendow – Schauspieler und Kabarettist: Eine Dokumentation zu seinem 100. Geburtstag*. Einbeck: Gebrüder Börner, 1984.
- Poe, Edgar Allan. *The Works of Edgar Allan Poe*. 4 vols. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1884.
- Pohle Jr., Robert and Douglas C. Hart. *Sherlock Holmes on the Screen: The Motion Picture Adventures of the World's Most Popular Detective*. New York: A. S. Barnes, 1977.
- Porten, Henny. *Wie ich wurde: Selbstbiographie*. 3. Auflage [3rd ed.]. Berlin: Volkskraft-Verlag, n. d. [1919].
- . *Vom 'Kintopp' zum Tonfilm: Ein Stück miterlebter Filmgeschichte*. Dresden: Carl Reißner, 1932.
- Praver, Siegbert. "A New Muse Climbs Parnassus: German Debates about Literature and the Cinema, 1909 – 1929." *German Life and Letters* 32.3 (April 1979): 196-205.
- Prels, Max. *Kino*. 2. Auflage [2nd ed.]. Bielefeld/Leipzig: Velhagen & Klasing, 1926.
- Quataert, Jean H. *Reluctant Feminists in German Social Democracy, 1885-1917*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979.

- Rabinovitz, Lauren. "Temptations of Pleasure: Nickelodeons, Amusement Parks, and the Sights of Female Sexuality." *Camera Obscura* 23 (May 1990): 70-90.
- Rademacher, Hellmut and René Grohnert, Hg. [ed.]. *Kunst! Kommerz! Visionen! Deutsche Plakate 1888 – 1933*. Heidelberg: Edition Braus, 1992.
- Ramsaye, Terry. *A Million and One Nights*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1926.
- Rank, Otto. "Ein Beitrag zum Narzissismus." *Jahrbuch der psychoanalytische und psychopathologische Forschungen* 3 (1911): 401-426.
- . "Der Doppelgänger." *Imago: Zeitschrift für Anwendung der Psychoanalyse auf die Geisteswissenschaften* 3 (1914): 97-164.
- . *The Double: A Psychoanalytic Study by Otto Rank*. Transl. Harry J. Tucker, Jr. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1971 [1914].
- Redi, Riccardo. *La Cines: storia di una casa di produzione italiana*. Roma: CNC Edizioni, 1991.
- Regel, Helmut and Heinz Steinberg. *Der deutsche Stummfilm: Dokumentation zu dem Seminar im WS 1963/64*. Köln: Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Filmfragen an der Universität zu Köln, 1964.
- Reid, Mark A. *Redefining Black Film*. Berkeley/Los Angeles/Oxford: University of California Press, 1993.
- "Reklameplakate an Schaubuden und kinematographische Vorführungen, welche das sittliche Gefühl des Abscheus vor einem begangenen Verbrechen schwer verletzen, können polizeilich verboten werden." *Entscheidungen des Oberverwaltungsgerichtes* 52 (1909): 286-290.
- Renk, Herta-Elisabeth. *Ernst Lubitsch*. Reinbek-bei-Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1992.
- Rhode, Eric. *A History of the Cinema: From its Origins to 1970*. London: Allen Lane, 1976.
- Richard, Lionel. *Lexikon des Expressionismus*. Paris: Aimery Somogy, n.d. [1978].

- Richebächer, Sabine. *Uns fehlt nur eine Kleinigkeit: Deutsche proletarische Frauenbewegung 1890 – 1914*. Frankfurt-am-Main: Fischer, 1982.
- Richter, Jean Paul. "Siebenkäs." *Werke: Band 2*. München: Carl Hanser, 1959. 7-565.
- Ringer, Fritz. *The Decline of the German Mandarins: The German Academic Community, 1890 – 1933*. Cambridge (Massachusetts): Harvard University Press, 1969.
- Robertson, James C. *The Hidden Cinema: British Film Censorship in Action, 1913 – 1975*. Paperback ed. London/New York: Routledge, 1993.
- Robinson, David. *World Cinema, 1895 – 1980*. London: Eyre Methuen, 1981.
- Robson, E. W. and M. M. Robson. *The Film Answers Back: An Historical Appreciation of the Cinema*. London: Bodley Head, 1939.
- Rogers, Robert. *A Psychoanalytic Study of the Double in Literature*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1970.
- Rohleder, H. *Geschlechtstrieb und Geschlechtsleben des Menschen*. 2 vols. Frankfurt-am-Main: Fischer, 1907.
- Rohrbach, Paul. *Der deutsche Gedanke in der Welt*. Königstein/Leipzig: Karl Robert Langewiesche Verlag, 1915 [1912].
- Rosenstone, Robert A. *Visions of the Past: The Challenge of Film to Our Idea of History*. Cambridge (Massachusetts)/London: Harvard University Press, 1995.
- Ross, Philippe. *Les visages de l'horreur*. Paris: Edilig, 1985.
- Rossell, Deac. *Ottomar Anschütz and his Electrical Wonder*. London: The Projection Box, 1997.
- Rotha, Paul and Richard Griffith. *The Film Till Now: A Survey of World Cinema*. Revised, enlarged ed. London: Spring Books, 1967.
- Roud, Richard, ed. *Cinema: A Critical Dictionary – The Major Film-Makers*. 2 vols. Norwich: Nationwide Book Services, 1980.

- Sadji, Uta. *Der Negermythos am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland – eine Analyse der Rezeption von Reiseliteratur über Schwarzafrika*. Frankfurt-am-Main: Lang, 1979.
- Sadoul, Georges. *Histoire générale du cinéma*. Vols. 1-3. Paris: Denoël, 1946 – 1951.
- . *Georges Méliès*. 3ème ed. [3rd ed.]. Paris: Seghers, 1970.
- . *Lumière et Méliès*. Paris: Lherminier, 1985.
- Salt, Barry. "From Caligari to Who?" *Sight and Sound* 48.2 (1979): 119-123.
- . *Film Style and Technology: History and Analysis*. London: Starword, 1983.
- Saltarino, [Signor] [=Hermann Waldemar Otto]. *Artisten-Lexicon*. 2. verbesserte Auflage [2nd, revised ed.]. Düsseldorf: Ed. Lintz, 1895.
- and Martin Behrend. *Fabrendes Volk: Novellen und Skizzen aus dem Zirkusleben*. Mülheim a. d. Ruhr: Julius Bagel, 1898.
- Sandner, Gerhard. "In Search of Identity: German Nationalism and Geography, 1871 – 1910." *Geography and National Identity*. Ed. David Hooson. Oxford: Blackwell, 1994. 71-91.
- Saunders, Thomas J. *Hollywood in Berlin: American Cinema and Weimar Germany*. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1994.
- Sawyer, Corinne Holt. "Men in Skirts and Women in Trousers, from Achilles to Victoria Grant: One Explanation of a Comedic Paradox." *Journal of Popular Culture* 21.2 (Fall 1987): 1-16.
- Schaper, Petra. *Kinos in Lübeck: Die Geschichte der Lübecker Lichtspieltheater und ihrer unmittelbaren Vorläufer 1896 bis heute*. Lübeck: Graphische Werkstätten, 1987.
- Schatz, Thomas. *Hollywood Genres: Formulas, Filmmaking, and the Studio System*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981.
- Scheffler, Karl. *Die Frau und die Kunst*. Berlin: J. Bard, 1908.
- Schenda, Rudolf. *Volk ohne Buch: Studien zur Sozialgeschichte der populären Lesestoffe 1770 – 1910*. Frankfurt-am-Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 1970.

- Scheugl, Hans. *Sexualität und Neurose im Film: Die Kinomythen von Griffith bis Warhol*. München: Carl Hanser, 1974.
- Schimmelpfennig, Arthur. *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Kriminalromans: Ein Wegweiser durch die Kriminalliteratur der Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*. Dresden/Leipzig: no imprint, n. d. [1908].
- Schivelbusch, Wolfgang. *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the Nineteenth Century*. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1986 [1977].
- Schliepmann, Hans. *Lichtspieltheater: Eine Sammlung ausgeführter Kinohäuser in Groß-Berlin*. Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth, 1914.
- Schlüpmann, Heide. "The First German Art Film: Rye's *The Student of Prague* (1913)." *German Film & Literature: Adaptations and Transformations*. Ed. Eric Rentschler. New York/London: Methuen, 1986. 9-24.
- . *Unheimlichkeit des Blicks: Das Drama des frühen deutschen Kinos*. Frankfurt-am-Main: Stroemfeld/Roter Stern, 1990.
- . "'Ich möchte kein Mann sein': Ernst Lubitsch, Sigmund Freud und die frühe deutsche Komödie." *KINtop: Jahrbuch zur Erforschung des frühen Films* 1 (1993): 75-92.
- Schmidt, O. "Die Gefahren der Kinematographen für unsere Kinder." *Schrödels Praxis der Volksschule* 18.1 (1908): 16-21.
- Schmidt, Palle. *Skræk og gys i filmen – en kavalkade i tekst og billeder*. København: Chr. Erichsens Forlag, 1972.
- Schmidt, Walter. "The Nation in German History." *The National Question in Europe in Historical Context*. Ed. Mikuláš Teich and Roy Porter. Cambridge/New York/Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1993. 148-180.
- Schmidt-Linsenhoff, Viktoria, Kurt Wettengl and Almut Junker. *Plakate 1880 – 1914*. Frankfurt-am-Main: Schriften des Historischen Museums, 1986.

- Schmitt, Hermann, Hg. [ed.]. *Strafgesetzbuch für das Deutsche Reich*. 9. Auflage [9th ed.]. München: C. H. Beck, 1907.
- Schoenthan, Franz von and Paul von Schoenthan. *Der Raub der Sabinerinnen: Schwank in 4 Akten*. Berlin: E. Bloch, 1921.
- Schöning, Jörg, Hg. [ed.]. *Triviale Tropen: Exotische Reise- und Abenteuerfilme aus Deutschland 1919 – 1939*. München: edition text+ kritik, 1997.
- Schulte, Michael and Peter Syr, Hg. [ed.]. *Karl Valentins Filme: Alle 29 Filme, 12 Fragmente, 344 Bilder, Texte, Filmographie*. München/Zürich: R. Piper, 1978.
- Schulte-Sasse, Jochen. "Toward a 'Culture' for the Masses: The Socio-Psychological Function of Popular Literature in Germany and the U. S., 1880 – 1920." *New German Critique* 29 (Spring/Summer 1983): 85-105.
- Schulte-Sasse, Linda. "Courtier, Vampire, or Vermin? Jew Süß's Contradictory Effort to Render the 'Jew' Other." *Perspectives on German Cinema*. Ed. Terri Ginsberg and Kirsten Moanna Thompson. London/Mexico City/New Delhi/Singapore/Sydney/Toronto: G. K. Hall & Co., 1996. 184-220.
- . *Entertaining the Third Reich: Illusions of Wholeness in Nazi Cinema*. Durham/London: Duke University Press, 1996.
- Schultze, Ernst. *Fort mit der Schundliteratur: Ein Mahnwort in einer bitterernsten Kulturfrage*. Halle: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1911.
- . *Der Kinematograph als Bildungsmittel: Eine kulturpolitische Untersuchung*. Halle: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1911.
- . *Die Schundliteratur: Ihr Wesen – ihre Folgen – ihre Bekämpfung*. Halle: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1911.
- Schulz, Berndt. *Monster machen mobil: Die Schrecken der Kinoleinwand*. Bergisch Gladbach: Bastei Lübbe, 1988.

- Schütze, Woldemar. *Schwarz gegen weiß: Die Eingeborenenfrage als Kernpunkt unserer Kolonialpolitik in Afrika*. Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke, 1908.
- Schwarz, Alexander. *Der geschriebene Film: Drehbücher des deutschen und russischen Stummfilms*. München: diskurs Film, 1994.
- Schweinitz, Jörg, Hg. [ed.]. *Prolog vor dem Film: Nachdenken über ein neues Medium 1909 – 1914*. Leipzig: Reclam, 1992.
- Seeber, Guido. *Arbeits-Gerät und Arbeits-Stätten des Kameramannes: Geschichte der Aufnahmetechnik und des Aufnahmeapparates – Die moderne Apparatur des Kameramannes – Lampen und Ateliers einst und jetzt*. Berlin: Verlag der Licht-Bild-Bühne, 1927.
- Segel, Harold B. *Turn-of-the-Century Cabaret: Paris, Barcelona, Berlin, Munich, Vienna, Cracow, Moscow, St. Petersburg, Zurich*. New York/Guildford: Columbia University Press, 1987.
- Seidler, Walther, Hg. [ed.]. *Stummfilmmusik gestern und heute*. Berlin: Volker Spiess, 1979.
- Seim, Roland and Josef Spiegel, Hg. [ed.]. *'Ab 18': zensiert, diskutiert, unterschlagen*. Verbesserte Neuauflage [revised ed.]. Münster: Kulturbüro Münster, 1994.
- Seitz, Gabriele. *Film als Rezeptionsform von Literatur*. München: Tuduv, 1979.
- Seldes, Gilbert. *Movies for the Millions: An Account of Motion Pictures, Principally in America*. London: B. T. Batsford, 1937.
- Senelick, Laurence, ed. *Cabaret Performance, Volume I: Europe, 1890 – 1920*. New York: PAJ Publications, 1989.
- Sennewald, Michael. *Hanns Heinz Ewers: Phantastik und Jugendstil*. Maischain am Glan: Hain, 1973.
- Seydel, Renate and Allan Hagedorff, Hg. [ed.]. *Asta Nielsen: Ihr Leben in Fotodokumenten, Selbstzeugnissen und zeitgenössischen Betrachtungen*. Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1981.

- Shelley, Mary W. *Frankenstein oder der moderne Prometheus*. Transl. Heinz Widtmann. Leipzig: Altmann, 1912.
- Showalter, Elaine. *Sexual Anarchy: Gender and Culture at the 'Fin-de-siècle.'* London: Bloomsbury, 1991.
- Siemens, Werner von. *Lebenserinnerungen*. Neuausgabe [new ed.]. Leipzig: Baustein-Verlag, 1924.
- Sighele, Scipio. *Littérature et criminalité*. Transl. Erick Adler. Paris: V. Giard & E. Brière, 1908.
- Silverman, Hugh J., ed. *Questioning Foundations: Truth/Subjectivity/Culture*. New York/London: Routledge, 1993.
- Simmel, Georg. "The Metropolis and Mental Life." *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*. Ed. Kurt Wolff. Transl. H. H. Gerth. New York: Free Press, 1950 [1903]. 409-424.
- Singer, Ben. "Manhattan Nickelodeons: New Data on Audiences and Exhibitors." *Cinema Journal* 34.3 (Spring 1995): 5-35.
- Skal, David J. *The Monster Show: A Cultural History of Horror*. London: Plexus, 1994.
- Slide, Anthony. *Early American Cinema*. New York/London: A. S. Barnes/Zwemmer, 1970.
- , ed. *The Picture Dancing on a Screen: Poetry of the Cinema*. New York: Vestal, 1988.
- Smith, Woodruff D. *The German Colonial Empire*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978.
- Smith-Rosenberg, Carroll. "Discourses of Sexuality and Subjectivity: The New Woman, 1870 – 1936." *Hidden from History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past*. Ed. Martin Bauml-Duberman, Martha Vicinus and George Chauncey, Jr. New York: Nal Books, 1989. 264-280.
- Soergel, Albert. *Dichtung und Dichter der Zeit: Eine Schilderung der deutschen Literatur der letzten Jahrzehnte*. Leipzig: A. Voigtländers Verlag, 1911.

- Soila, Tytti, Astrid Söderbergh-Widding and Gunnar Iversen, ed. *Nordic National Cinemas*. London/New York: Routledge, 1998.
- Sollors, Werner, ed. *The Invention of Ethnicity*. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- “La sortie de l’usine.” *Allgemeine Photographenzeitung* 3 (April 1896): 16-21.
- Speaight, George. *Bawdy Songs of the Early Music Hall*. London/Sydney: Pan, 1977.
- Speed, F. Maurice. *Movie Cavalcade: The Story of the Cinema – its Stars, Studios and Producers*. Library ed. London: Raven, 1944.
- Spencer, D. A. and H. D. Waley. *The Cinema To-day*. London/New York/Toronto: Oxford University Press, n. d. [1940].
- Spyer, Patricia, ed. *Border Fetishisms: Material Objects in Unstable Spaces*. New York/London: Routledge, 1998.
- Stacey, Jackie. *Star Gazing: Hollywood Cinema and Female Spectatorship*. London/New York: Routledge, 1994.
- Staller, Natasha. “Méliès’ ‘Fantastic’ Cinema and the Origins of Cubism.” *Art History* 12.2 (1989): 202-232.
- Stallybrass, Peter and Allon White. *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986.
- Stark, Gary D. and Bede Karl Lackner, ed. *Essays on Culture and Society in Modern Germany*. Arlington (Texas): University of Texas Press, 1982.
- Steakley, James D. *The Homosexual Emancipation Movement in Germany*. New York: Arno Press, 1975.
- . “Iconography of a Scandal; Political Cartoons and the Eulenburg Affair in Wilhelmine Germany.” *Hidden from History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past*. Ed. Martin Bauml-Duberman, Martha Vicinus and George Chauncey, Jr. New York: Nal Books, 1989. 233-263.

- Sternweiler, Andreas and Hans Gerhard Hannesen, Hg. [ed.]. *Goodbye to Berlin? 100 Jahre Schwulenbewegung*. Berlin: Verlag rosa Winkel, 1997.
- Stevenson, Robert Louis. *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, and an Island Voyage*. Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1886.
- . "Deacon Brodie, or the Double Life." *The Works of Robert Louis Stevenson*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1912 [1879]. Vol. 15: 1-89.
- . *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*. London: Penguin Popular Classics, 1994 [1886].
- Stoecker, Helmuth, ed. *German Imperialism in Africa: From the Beginnings until the Second World War*. Transl. Bernd Zöllner. London: C. Hurst & Co., 1986.
- Stoker, Bram. *Dracula*. Transl. Heinz Widtmann. Leipzig: Altmann, 1908 [1897].
- Stoller, Robert. *Sex and Gender: On the Development of Masculinity and Femininity*. New York: Science House, 1968.
- Straayer, Chris. "Redressing the 'Natural': The Temporary Transvestite Film." *Film Genre Reader II*. Ed. Barry Keith Grant. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995. 402-427.
- "Straßenkinos und Schuljugend." *Badische Landeszeitung* 5. Mai 1909: no pag.
- Stresau, Norbert. *Der Horror-Film: Von Dracula zum Zombie-Schocker*. München: Heyne, 1987.
- Strobl, Karl Hans. "Der Kinematograph." *Die Hilfe* 17.9 (1911): 137-138.
- . *Die knöchernde Hand und anderes*. München: Georg Müller, 1911.
- Stuart, Charles Douglas and A. J. Park. *The Variety Stage: A History of the Music Halls from the Earliest Period to the Present Time*. London: Unwin, 1895.
- Stubenvoll, Hans, Hg. [ed.]. *Laterna Magica – Vergnügen, Belehrung, Unterhaltung: Der Projektionskünstler Paul Hoffmann (1829 – 1888)*. Frankfurt-am-Main: Schriften des Historischen Museums, 1981.

- Sudendorf, Werner. *Der Film der Weimarer Republik*. Unpublished paper. Manchester: Festival of Expressionism, March 1992.
- Taine, Hippolyte. *On Intelligence*. 2 vols. New York: no imprint, 1875.
- Tashiro, Charles. "When History Films (Try to) Become Paintings." *Cinema Journal* 35.3 (Spring 1996): 19-33.
- Taube, Max. *Der Schutz der unehelichen Kinder*. Leipzig: Keil, 1893.
- Tetzlaff, Rainer. *Koloniale Entwicklung und Ausbeutung: Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte Deutsch-Afrikas 1885 – 1914*. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1970.
- Thomas, Sari, ed. *Film/Culture: Explorations of Cinema in its Social Context*. Metuchen (New Jersey): Scarecrow, 1982.
- Thompson, Alastair. "Honours Uneven: Decorations, the State and Bourgeois Society in Imperial Germany." *Past and Present* 144 (1994): 171-204.
- Thompson, Kristin. *Exporting Entertainment: America in the World Film Market, 1907 – 1934*. London: British Film Institute, 1985.
- Tich, Mary and Richard Findlater. *Little Tich: Giant of the Music Hall*. London: Elm Tree, 1979.
- Titterton, W. R. *From Theatre to Music Hall*. London: Stephen Swift, 1912.
- Tombs, Pete. *Mondo Macabro: Weird and Wonderful Cinema around the World*. London: Titan, 1997.
- Toulet, Emmanuelle. *Pioniere des Kinos*. Transl. Anne-Beatrice Meidow. Meckenbeuren: Ravensburger Buchverlag, 1995 [1988].
- Toulmin, Vanessa. *Randall Williams – King of Showmen: From Ghost Show to Bioscope*. London: The Projection Box, 1998.
- Townsend, Mary E. *The Rise and Fall of Germany's Colonial Empire, 1884 – 1918*. New York: Macmillan, 1930.

- Traub, Hans. *Als man anfing zu filmen: Die Erfindung der Kinematographie und ihrer Vorläufer*. Berlin: Ufa-Buchverlag, 1940.
- and Hanns Wilhelm Lavies. *Das deutsche Filmschrifttum: Bibliographie der Bücher und Zeitschriften über das Filmwesen 1896 – 1939*. Leipzig: Ufa-Verlag, 1940.
- Trommler, Frank. "Working-Class Culture and Modern Mass Culture before World War I." *New German Critique* 29 (Spring/Summer 1983): 57-70.
- Tudor, Andrew. *Image and Influence: Studies in the Sociology of Film*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1974.
- Turner, Graeme. *Film as Social Practice*. London/New York: Routledge, 1988.
- Turvey, Gerry. *B&C's 'The Battle of Waterloo,' 1913: The First British Epic*. Unpublished paper. University of Warwick: Popular European Cinema Conference 3 – The Spectacular, 24-26.3.2000.
- Tyler, Carole-Anne. "Boys Will be Girls: The Politics of Gay Drag." *Inside/Out: Lesbian Theories, Gay Theories*. Ed. Diana Fuss. New York/London: Routledge, 1991. 32-70.
- Tyler, Parker. *Screening the Sexes: Homosexuality in the Movies*. New York/Chicago/San Francisco: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1972.
- Tymms, Ralph. *Doubles in Literary Psychology*. Cambridge: Bowes & Bowes, 1949.
- Ullmann, Kurt. *Wege zu einer Filmkunst*. Berlin: Richard Falk, 1913.
- Ulrichs, Karl Heinrich. *Prometheus*. 2. Auflage [2nd ed.]. Leipzig: Spohr, 1898.
- Underwood, Peter. *Danny La Rue: Life's a Drag!* London: Star, 1975.
- Urgiss, Julius. "Die deutsche Film-Kunst." [=interview with Max Mack]. *Der Kinematograph* 515 (8.11.1916): no pag.
- Uricchio, William and Roberta E. Pearson. *Reframing Culture: The Case of the Vitagraph Quality Films*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.

- Van den Berg, Hubert. "'Free Love' in Imperial Germany: Anarchism and Patriarchy, 1870 – 1918." *Anarchist Studies* 4.1 (March 1996): 3-26.
- Van Keeken, Nadja. *Kinokultur in der Provinz: Am Beispiel von Bad Hersfeld*. Frankfurt-am-Main/Berlin/Bern/New York: Peter Lang, 1993.
- Vardac, A. Nicholas. *Stage to Screen: Theatrical Method from Garrick to Griffith*. New York: Benjamin Blom, 1968 [1949].
- Variety. *Variety Film Reviews, 1907 – 1920*. New York/London: Garland, 1983.
- Vitascope. *Der Andere: Ein Film-Drama von Dr. Paul Lindau*. Braunschweig: Albert Limbach, 1913.
- Vocke, Friedrich Ludwig. *Die Entwicklung des Nachrichtenschnellverkehrs und das Strassenwesen*. Heidelberg: Röbner & Herbert, 1917.
- Vogelsang, Konrad. "Die Praxis der Stummfilmmusik." *epd-Film* Februar 1996: 6-8.
- Volkov, Shulamit. *The Rise of Popular Antimodernism in Germany: The Urban Master Artisans, 1873 – 1896*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978.
- Vondung, Klaus, Hg. [ed.]. *Das wilhelminische Bildungsbürgertum: Zur Sozialgeschichte seiner Ideen*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1976.
- W., H. "Kinematographische Bühne: Die Ermordung des Herzogs von Guise." *Photographische Rundschau* 1909: 49-50.
- Wachler, Ernst. "Der Student von Prag." *Bühne und Welt* 16.13 (April 1914): 186-187.
- Wagenknecht, Edward. *The Movies in the Age of Innocence*. New York: Ballantine, 1971 [1962].
- Walker, Alexander. *The Shattered Silents: How the Talkies Came to Stay*. London: Elm Tree, 1978.
- Waller, Gregory A. *The Stage/Screen Debate: A Study in Popular Aesthetics*. New York/London: Garland, 1983.
- Warstat, Dieter H. *Frühes Kino der Kleinstadt*. Berlin: Volker Spiess, 1982.

“Was heißt widernatürliche Unzucht beim weiblichen Geschlecht?” *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft* 1911: 269-276.

“Was ist unter einem beischlafähnlichem Akte zu verstehen?” *Entscheidungen des Reichsgerichts in Strafsachen* 36 (1903): 32-33.

Webber, Andrew. “Otto Rank and the *Doppelgänger*.” *Psychoanalysis in its Cultural Context*. Ed. Edward Timms and Ritchie Robertson. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992. 81-94.

---. *The ‘Doppelgänger’: Double Visions in German Literature*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996.

Wedel, Michael. *Max Mack: Showman im Glashaus*. [=Kinemathek 88]. Berlin: Freunde der Deutschen Kinemathek, 1996.

Wegner, Hart L. “Literary Influences on the Earliest Expressionist Film: *Der Student von Prag*.” *Philological Papers* 26 (August 1980): 1-6.

Weiss, Andrea. *Vampires and Violets: Lesbians in the Cinema*. London: Jonathan Cape, 1992.

Welch, David A. “Cinema and Society in Imperial Germany, 1905 – 1918.” *German History* 8.1 (1990): 28-45.

Wellershoff, Dieter. *Double, Alter ego und Schatten-Ich*. Graz: Droschl, 1991.

Wells, H. G. *The Island of Doctor Moreau*. London: Heinemann, 1896.

Welsh Arts Council. *Selling Dreams: British and American Film Posters, 1890 – 1976*. Cardiff: Welsh Arts Council, 1976.

Welter, Ernst Günther. *Bibliographie Freundschaftseros*. Frankfurt-am-Main: dipa-Verlag, 1964.

Werner, Paul. *Die Skandalchronik des deutschen Films von 1900 bis 1945*. Frankfurt-am-Main: Fischer, 1990.

Wetzel, Kraft. “Liebe, Tod und Technik: Utopie und NS-Ideologie im Phantastischen Kino des Dritten Reiches.” *Liebe, Tod und Technik: Kino des*

- Phantastischen 1933 – 1945*. Hg. [ed.] Kraft Wetzell and Peter Hagemann. Berlin: Volker Spiess, 1977. 7-41.
- Wilde, Oscar. *Das Sonnettenproblem des Herrn W. H.* Leipzig: Spohr, 1902.
- . *The Picture of Dorian Gray*. Wien: Stern, 1908.
- . *Das Bildnis des Dorian Gray. Deutsch von Johannes Gaulke mit einer Einleitung von Hanns Heinz Ewers*. Berlin/Wien: Ullstein, 1912.
- . *The Works of Oscar Wilde*. Leicester: Galley Press, 1987.
- Williams, Christopher, ed. *Cinema: The Beginnings and the Future*. London: University of Westminster Press, 1996.
- Winkler, Heinrich August. "Nationalism and Nation-State in Germany." *The National Question in Europe in Historical Context*. Ed. Mikuláš Teich and Roy Porter. Cambridge/New York/Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1993. 181-195.
- Winter, Gordon. *A Country Camera, 1844 – 1914*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973.
- . *The Golden Years, 1903 – 1913*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977.
- "Der Wintergarten." *Vossische Zeitung* 22.8.1897: no pag.
- Wolf, Leonard. *Horror: A Connoisseur's Guide to Literature and Film*. New York/Oxford: Facts on File, 1989.
- Wollen, Peter. *Signs and Meaning in the Cinema*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1969.
- Wollenberg, Hans H. *Fifty Years of German Film*. London: Falcon, 1948.
- Wolzogen, Ernst von. *Das dritte Geschlecht*. Berlin: Kruger, n. d. [ca. 1900].
- Wood, J. Hickory. *Dan Leno*. London: Methuen, 1905.
- Worth, Sol and John Adair. *Through Navajo Eyes: An Exploration in Film Communication and Anthropology*. Bloomington/London: Indiana University Press, n. d. [1973].
- Wright, Gene. *Horrorshow: Horror in Film, Television, Radio and Theatre*. New York: Facts on File, 1986.

- Wuckel, Dieter and Bruce Cassiday. *The Illustrated History of Science Fiction*. Leipzig: Edition Leipzig, 1989.
- Wuessing, Fritz. *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes vom Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts bis zur Gegenwart*. 4. Auflage [4th ed.]. Berlin: E. Laub'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1928.
- Wulff, Leo. *'Na also!' sprach Zarathustra und anderes: Humoristisches und Parodistisches*. 2. Auflage [2nd ed.]. Berlin: Harmonie, n. d. [1902].
- Wykes, Alan. *H. G. Wells in the Cinema*. London: Jupiter, 1977.
- Young, Lola. *Fear of the Dark: 'Race,' Gender and Sexuality in the Cinema*. London/New York: Routledge, 1996.
- Young, Robert, ed. *Untying the Text: A Post-Structuralist Reader*. London/New York: Routledge/Kegan Paul, 1981.
- . *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race*. London/New York: Routledge, 1995.
- Youngblood, Denise J. "Early Cinema in Russia and America." *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 16.2 (1996): 275-277.
- Z., O. *Die Verbrecherwelt von Berlin*. Berlin: no imprint, 1886.
- Zahn, Eva, Hg. [ed.]. *Facsimile: Querschnitt durch die Fliegenden Blätter*. Bern/München: Scherz, n. d. [ca. 1966].
- Zangwill, Israel. *Tragödien des Ghetto*. Transl. Hanns Heinz Ewers. Berlin: Cronbach, 1907.
- . *Träumer des Ghetto*. Transl. Hanns Heinz Ewers and Israel Zangwill. Berlin: Cronbach, 1908.
- Zeller, Bernhard, Hg. [ed.]. *Hätte ich das Kino! Die Schriftsteller und der Stummfilm*. München: Kösel, 1976.
- Zglinicki, Friedrich von. *Der Weg des Films: Die Geschichte der Kinematographie und ihrer Vorläufer*. Berlin: Rembrandt, 1956.

Zimmermann, Alfred. *Geschichte der deutschen Kolonialpolitik*. Berlin: E. G. Mittler und Sohn, 1914.

Ziolkowski, Theodore. *German Romanticism and its Institutions*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990.

Zischler, Hanns. *Kafka geht ins Kino*. Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1996.

Zweig, Arnold. *Juden auf der deutschen Bühne*. Berlin: Welt-Verlag, 1928.