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Another story
the author
"All Quiet on
Western Front



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V films

Expanding the editorial horizon must be a matter of principle rather than being tied to one specific editorial subject. Consequently, this chapter broadens the scope of investigation by taking further materials of a multimedia nature into account. After a survey of relevant aspects pertaining to visual (art-)works through the ages, such as the question of the level of abstraction and how the multi-versioning of works might be perceived in that regard, the inquiry will focus on films as an editorial interest, from early silent films to later sound films, and discuss how issues that they highlight – such as the need for a distinction between primary and circumstantial evidence or the distinction between a restoration and a reconstruction of a work – interact with existing scholarship. In terms of developing a model for editorial approaches, the main consideration will lie with layers of interpretation.

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silent films, sound films

& other matters of interest

How to go from medieval picture programmes to modern motion pictures? First of all, by understanding that they relate to each other beyond being visual works that vary in their transmission. We can see this in the trajectory of (pictorial) art as such, across the centuries, and we can see it in the theories of an eminent art historian: Erwin Panofsky himself. As one of the first (and arguably last) representatives of his discipline to take a genuinely earnest interest in film, he leveraged his academic credibility in an attempt to integrate the study of the medium into the larger canon of art history in the 1930s.¹ To this end, he gave a series of presentations on the subject at prestigious institutions, starting at Princeton University in 1934 and culminating, memorably, in a lecture at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1936 where he had become, just a few months earlier, a member of the advisory committee of its newly-founded film department; something that he remained for two decades.² Indeed, when the *Society of Cinematologists* was founded in 1959,³ Erwin Panofsky became its first honorary member.⁴

1 Cf. THOMAS Y. LEVIN, “Iconology at the Movies: Panofsky’s Film Theory,” in: *The Yale Journal of Criticism* 9/1 (1996), 27–55, here 28. On Panofsky’s relationship with film as such, see LUTZ HIEBER, “Erwin Panofsky,” in: *Handbuch Filmsoziologie*, ed. Alexander Geimer, Carsten Heinze and Rainer Winter, Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2021, 49–67, online: <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-10729-1_10>.

2 Cf. LEVIN 1996, 27f.

3 It would go on to become the *Society for Cinema Studies* and later the *Society for Cinema and Media Studies* (SCMS); cf. JACK C. ELLIS, “The Society for Cinema Studies: A Personal Recollection of the Early Days,” in: *Cinema Journal* 43/1 (2003), 105–112.

4 Cf. ROBERT GESSNER, “Erwin Panofsky (1892–1968),” in: *Film Comment* 4/4 (1968), 3. Gessner states that “the learned society of cinema was founded in 1960” but this

His early interest in the barely-yet emerged field of film studies was not just motivated by his own personal enjoyment of films or “cinophilic passion”⁵ that started in 1905 “when there was only one small and dingy cinema in the whole of Berlin.”⁶ Most scholars have argued that his interest was also influenced by the way in which he could position the visual language of film as a continuation of a certain type of iconic art from a ‘pre-modern’ past, in contrast to the abstract tendencies of modernity that were closing in on his traditional *métier*, the study of fine arts.⁷ His disregard for contemporary art was illustrated by a confrontation with the artist Barnett Newman in the early 1960s, prompted by Panofsky seeing Newman’s abstract painting *Vir Heroicus Sublimis* in a magazine⁸ and feeling compelled to correct its Latin title which had been misprinted as *Vir Heroicus Sublimus*.⁹ Newman rightfully detected a hint of condescension and a string of combative letters to the editor ensued, debating grammar, style, and the banality of such remarks in the face of the question of art, ultimately leaving Newman with the last word on the matter:

contradicts the account of Jack C. Ellis, the latter of whom I have chosen to follow due to his more detailed description of the events. According to Ellis, Panofsky was the featured speaker at the first meeting of the society in 1960, cf. ELLIS 2003, 106.

5 LEVIN 1996, 29.

6 Ibid.

7 Cf. REGINE PRANGE, “Stil und Medium: Panofsky ‘On Movies’,” in: *Erwin Panofsky: Beiträge des Symposiums Hamburg 1992*, ed. by Bruno Reudenbach, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1994, 171–190, here 172–175.

8 For the artwork in question, see BARNETT NEWMAN, *Vir Heroicus Sublimis*, 1950–1951, Museum of Modern Art, New York, 240.1969, online: <<https://www.moma.org/collection/works/79250>> (accessed 24 August 2023).

9 For more information about the dispute between Erwin Panofsky and Barnett Newman, see BEAT WYSS, *Ein Druckfehler: Panofsky versus Newman – verpasste Chancen eines Dialogs*, Köln: König, 1993 [also published as BEAT WYSS, “Ein Druckfehler,” in: *Erwin Panofsky: Beiträge des Symposiums Hamburg 1992* (Schriften des Warburg-Archivs im Kunstgeschichtlichen Seminar der Universität Hamburg; vol. 3), ed. by Bruno Reudenbach, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1994, 191–199]; REGINE PRANGE, “Ein Zeitgenosse wider Willen: Panofskys Witz und die Ikonologie der Moderne,” in: *Zeitenspiegelung: Zur Bedeutung von Traditionen in Kunst und Kunstwissenschaft. Festschrift für Konrad Hoffmann zum 60. Geburtstag am 8. Oktober 1998*, ed. by Peter K. Klein and Regine Prange, Berlin: Reimer, 1998, 331–345; and PIETRO CONTE, “The Panofsky-Newman Controversy: Iconography and Iconology Put to the Test of ‘Abstract’ Art,” in: *Aisthesis: Pratiche, Linguaggi E Saperi Dell’Estetico* 8/2 (2015), 87–97, online: <<https://doi.org/10.13128/Aisthesis-17567>>.

Dr. Panofsky's attack was unwarranted and unbecoming. Nothing that he writes now changes matters. Yet I hope that he is not convinced, for to be called *pictor sublimis* or *sublimus* by one who has consistently shown himself to be unfeeling toward any work of art since Dürer is too much. [...] It is not Dr. Panofsky's praise that is needed. What is required is his apology.¹⁰

No apology came forth.

A.

THE ABSTRACTION OF MEANING

It seems to me that we should clarify the hermeneutics of art and film – to a certain extent and within a certain scope – before we can focus on transmission variances of the latter. This scope is guarded by a concern for ‘the record’ and that which can enter into ‘the record’, if we take a scholarly edition to be a record of a kind. Moving from medieval picture programmes to modern motion pictures carries within it an assumption that should be addressed: that we may find structures of description for that which is representational (and for that only). Let us, therefore, stay with this controversy for a moment.

Erwin Panofsky's likes and dislikes are not necessarily indicative of an irrevocable epistemological truth. Too much is made, perhaps, of his stance on contemporary art and its causal relationship with his methodological inclinations. Concerning the Panofsky-Newman debate, Pietro Conte suggests, for example, that it was, at its core, about “the complex and delicate matter [...] whether or not iconology can be applied to ‘abstract’ (that is, non-figurative) art.”¹¹ Earlier, Beat Wyss had already wondered how Panofsky could not have noticed that the original

10 BARNETT NEWMAN, *Selected Writings and Interviews*, ed. by John Philip O'Neill and Mollie McNickle, Berkeley [et al.]: University of California Press, 1992, 220 [originally letter to the editor in *ARTnews* 60/5 (September 1961), 6].

11 CONTE 2015, 92. On the topic of abstraction in Newman's work, see also CLAUDE CERNUSCHI, “The Visualization of Temporality in the Abstract Paintings of Barnett Newman,” in: *The Iconology of Abstraction: Non-figurative Images and the Modern World*, ed. by Krešimir Purgar, London / New York: Routledge, 2021, 114–125.

‘offending’ magazine article evoked iconology to ascribe meaning and, in doing so, honoured his method – extended it, even.¹² The old scholar, in this reading of the situation, had mistaken allies for adversaries.¹³ And yet, if we search for such a position in his own words, we will sooner find them carefully weighed:

Within their own sphere the same is true of the visual arts – at least in so far as they are representational (although I am profoundly convinced that, properly approached, so-called ‘abstract’ or ‘non-objective’ art is also open to an interpretation focused on meaning rather than ‘form’).¹⁴

It is not entirely clear what ‘properly approached’ should entail, but the challenge remains: How can we reckon with description and, thereby, interpretation, of that which eludes unambiguous observation?

Layers of abstraction have major implications for the edition of visual material. If one were to ask what the difference between medieval picture programmes in manuscripts and modern motion pictures is, the obvious answer would be, on principle, to consider the medium, i.e. that film is a time-based medium and usually adds an audio component to the layers targeted in the ‘extraction’ of information (and its relation to other components of a work). Conversely, if one were to ask what the commonality between those different examples of (audio-)visual works

12 Cf. WYSS 1994, 197f. Wyss points out that the layout of the article by Robert Rosenblum (which contained the mislabelling of Newman’s painting in the caption of a figure, not the body of the text) even evokes Aby Warburg’s *Mnemosyne* image atlas in its contextualizing presentation of visual points of comparison, cf. *ibid.* On Warburg’s *Bilderatlas*, see – in the context of digital humanities revisits since the topic is highly relevant to structural digital art history approaches – STEFKA HRISTOVA, “Images As Data: Cultural Analytics and Aby Warburg’s *Mnemosyne*,” in: *International Journal for Digital Art History* 2 (2016), online: <<https://doi.org/10.11588/dah.2016.2.23489>>, NAJA LE FEVRE GRUNDTMANN, “Digitising Aby Warburg’s *Mnemosyne* Atlas,” in: *Theory, Culture & Society* 37/5 (2020), 3–26, online: <<https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276420906862>>, and AMANDA DU PREEZ, “Approaching Aby Warburg and Digital Art History: Thinking Through Images,” in: *The Routledge Companion to Digital Humanities and Art History*, ed. by Kathryn Brown, London / New York: Routledge, 2020, 374–385.

13 Cf. WYSS 1994, 195.

14 ERWIN PANOFSKY, “Meaning in the Visual Arts,” in: *Magazine of Art* 44/2 (1951), 45–50, here 46.

in their respective media and in their share of editorial attention is, the answer would likely involve a consideration of figurative qualities. We could follow established opinion and link Panofsky's enthusiasm for film to this very notion. In a vein not at all dissimilar to the issues raised in the Panofsky-Newman debate (or rather the discussion of that debate by others), Regine Prange has theorized that Panofsky viewed films as the only legitimate heirs to traditional folk art because films – or 'motion pictures'¹⁵ – tend to employ a certain kind of symbolism and thus remain susceptible to the iconographic method.¹⁶ This is entangled in the idea of art as a mass medium, of communication to the masses and between the masses, of the dissemination of knowledge and cultural codes that can be decoded. Panofsky addresses this quite directly:

Just so the silent movies developed a definite style of their own, adapted to the specific conditions of the medium. A hitherto unknown language was forced upon a public not yet capable of reading it [...]. For a Saxon peasant of around 800 it was not easy to understand the meaning of a picture showing a man as he pours water over the head of another man, and even later many people found it difficult to grasp the significance of two ladies standing behind the throne of an emperor. For the public of around 1910 it was no less difficult to understand the meaning of the speechless action in a moving picture, and the producers employed means of clarification similar to those we find in medieval art. One of these were printed titles or letters, striking equivalents of the medieval *tituli* and scrolls (at a still earlier date there even used to be explainers who would say, *viva voce*, 'Now he thinks his wife is dead but she isn't' or 'I don't wish to offend the ladies in the audience

15 Panofsky also referred to them as 'moving pictures' or simply 'pictures', cf. ERWIN PANOFSKY, "Style and Medium in the Motion Pictures," in: *Film: An Anthology*, ed. by Daniel Talbot, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966, 15–32, here 17 [originally a presentation in 1934, revised in 1936, 1937, and, most substantially, when it was published in *Critique* 1/3 (1947), 5–28].

16 Cf. PRANGE 1994, 180f. Wyss, in his lament of Panofsky's lack of engagement with contemporary art, mentions Panofsky's essay on film as proof that he was able to engage with contemporary *culture*, perhaps to suggest that his reaction to Newman was not for want of ability, but it is only a mention in passing and not more substantially integrated into the overall argument, cf. WYSS 1994, 196.

but I doubt that any of them would have done that much for her child').¹⁷

Such was the argument in his seminal essay on film theory, drawing parallels between medieval art and modern film in terms of how either might have been comprehended by their respective audience. Interestingly, he emphasizes the text-image relation as a type of *in situ* decoding already woven into the fabric of these works. We can see this, as per his example, most obviously in silent films with their presence of intertitles,¹⁸ where texts are used to relay dialogue and narrate aspects relevant to a character's actions and emotions (see **FIGS. 36** and **37** for a contrast in mood, setting, and meaning created and reflected by intertitles, here in the German expressionist film *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari* (1920), directed by Robert Wiene with a deep sense of unsettled, erratic tension, and F. W. Murnau's *Faust – eine deutsche Volkssage* (1926) with its amalgamated re-telling of the proto-German fantastical-medieval legend). The dependency of film on textual elements goes further than that, of course, as film scripts are a textual element, albeit one that may inform a film in its making rather than explicate it to viewers, generally speaking.¹⁹ If we disregard the specific components of film works for the moment and consider the central editorial question across the ages – namely, whether editions of visual material are, by design, neo-iconographic, and whether we subconsciously tend to contemplate editorial efforts of materials

17 PANOFSKY 1947/1966, 24f.

18 On the topic of which, see, in the context of critical editions, ANNA BOHN, "Kritische Filmedition und Kommentierung: Versuch über einen Zwischentitel aus Sergej M. Eisensteins ‚Panzerkreuzer Potemkin‘ (1925)," in: *Strategien der Filmanalyse – reloaded. Festschrift für Klaus Kanzog*, ed. by Michael Schaudig, München: diskurs film, 2010, 252–276.

19 For the literary or textual dimension of films as rooted in film scripts and as discussed in an editorial context, see KATHRIN NÜHLEN, "Filmskripte: Literarische Stoffe auf dem Weg zum Medium Film," in: *Aufführung und Edition* (editio / Beihefte; vol. 46), ed. by Thomas Betzwieser and Markus Schneider, Berlin / Boston: De Gruyter, 2019, 277–292, online: <<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110639261-022>>, and KATHRIN NÜHLEN, "Zur Problematik der Edition von Filmskripten," in: *Kritische Film- und Literaturedition: Perspektiven einer transdisziplinären Editionswissenschaft* (editio / Beihefte; vol. 51), ed. by Ursula von Keitz, Wolfgang Lukas and Rüdiger Nutt-Kofoth, Berlin / Boston: De Gruyter, 2022, 203–222, online: <<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110684605-011>>.

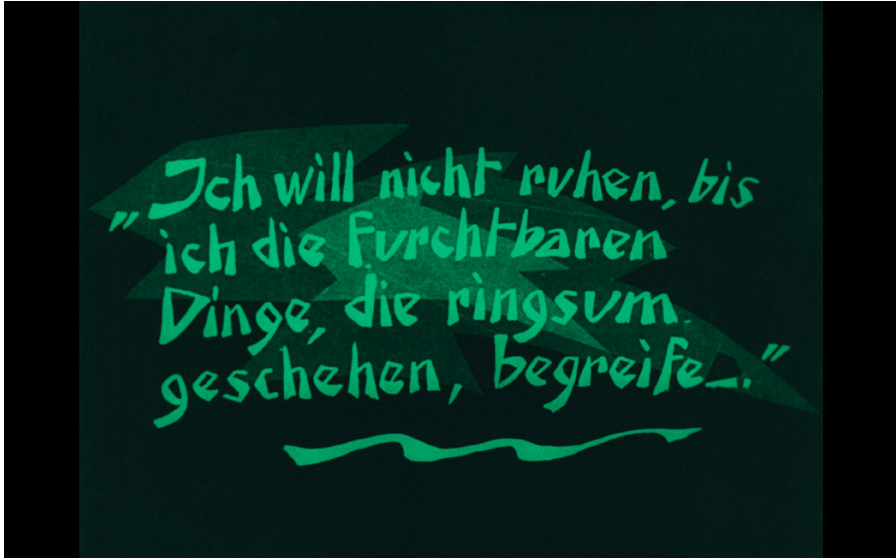


FIG. 36: Intertitle from *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari* (1920), dir. by Robert Wiene, expressing the terror of the character Francis upon learning of a murder; screen capture, BLU-RAY: Eureka (Masters of Cinema; 92), 2014, time stamp 0:29:30 [restored by the Friedrich-Wilhelm-Murnau-Stiftung].

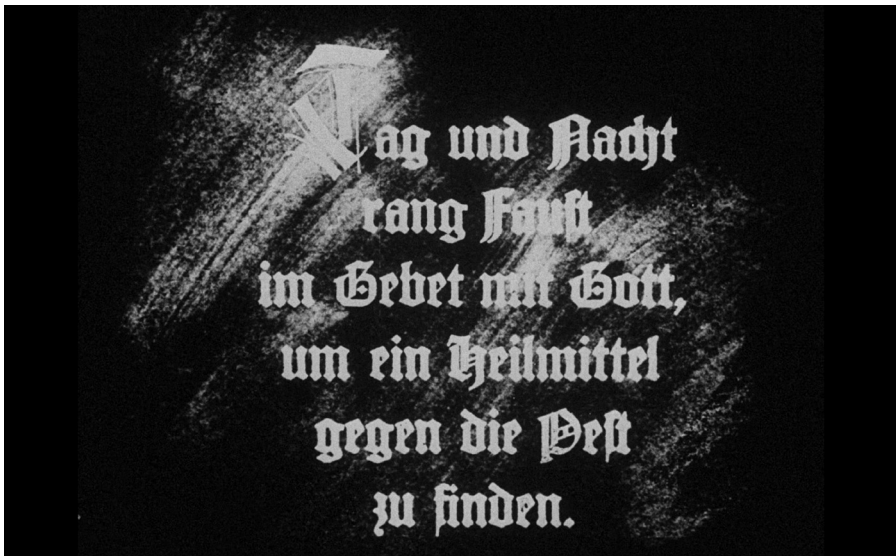


FIG. 37: Intertitle from *Faust – eine deutsche Volkssage* (1926), dir. by F. W. Murnau, narrating Faust's ordeal and prayer to find a cure for pestilence; screen capture, BLU-RAY: Eureka (Masters of Cinema; 78), 2014, time stamp 0:08:24 (domestic version) [restored by the Friedrich-Wilhelm-Murnau-Stiftung].

that may be accessed thus²⁰ –, then we will find that Panofsky may have remarked on a certain kind of ‘visual shorthand’ in the films that he was acquainted with,²¹ but we will also find that he did not subject them to a systematic analysis by means of his iconographic method and likewise never called on anyone else to do so; at least not in the written evidence of his involvement with film studies. His correspondence with noted film theorist Siegfried Kracauer does not contain any such mention either, and it is, in fact, Kracauer who, in reference to George Kubler’s *The Shape of Time* (1962), observes:

In turning against iconological study, Kubler is, as you said, not quite fair; for I do not see how a form class can be established without an inquiry into the meaning of the ‘problem’ from which the class

20 If we tie this question to an identification of symbolism, then we should note that symbolism in art is said to be subject to change over time, cf. HILDEGARD KRETSCHMER, *Lexikon der Symbole und Attribute in der Kunst*, Stuttgart: Reclam, 2018, 8. See also publications such as LENA LIEPE (Ed.), *The Locus of Meaning in Medieval Art: Iconography, Iconology, and Interpreting the Visual Imagery of the Middle Ages*, Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 2018, or, indeed, if we move away from that kind of symbolism and towards semiotic approaches, such as those by Christian Metz when it comes to film description through the establishment of *syntagma* and the like, CHRISTIAN METZ, “Le cinéma: Langue ou langage?” in: *Communications* 4 (1964), 52–90, and JENS BONNEMANN, “Christian Metz (1931–1993) – die Semiotik des Films,” in: id., *Filmtheorie: Eine Einführung*, Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 2019, 171–203, online: <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-476-04634-5_8>.

21 Cf. PANOFSKY 1947/1966, 25: “Another, less obtrusive method of explanation was the introduction of a fixed iconography which from the outset informed the spectator about the basic facts and characters, much as the two ladies behind the emperor, when carrying a sword and cross respectively, were uniquely determined as Fortitude and Faith. There arose, identifiable by standardized appearance, behavior and attributes, the well-remembered types of the Vamp and the Straight Girl (perhaps the most convincing modern equivalents of the medieval personifications of the Vices and Virtues), the Family Man, and the Villain, the latter marked by a black mustache and walking stick.” The division of characters into types or rather stereotypes was more pronounced in the silent film era, as he himself points out, but echoes of it still reverberate in the language of film today, usually referred to in terms of *tropes*, e.g. the trope of glasses marking a female character as unattractive and the removal of glasses signifying a great transformation of beauty; indeed, one fails to see the fundamental difference between such a change in *Now, Voyager* (1942) and in *The Princess Diaries* (2001) where this transformation is, if anything, framed in an even more formulaic way. For a comparison of the two films in relation to the two novels they were based on, see ELIZABETH A. FORD and DEBORAH C. MITCHELL, *The Makeover in Movies: Before and After in Hollywood Films, 1941–2002*, Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 2004, 20–29.

or sequence issues. One might even say that such (iconological) inquiries are bound to result in the establishment of formal sequences.²²

This is interesting for two reasons: Kubler had inadvertently triggered the Panofsky-Newman debate one year earlier, since it had been his review of Panofsky's *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art* (1960) which had prompted Panofsky to read the magazine that contained Newman's *Vir Heroicus Sublimis* and the rest is as told – a coincidence, but an interesting one, nonetheless.²³ More importantly, Kubler's own proposal, still thought-provoking after all this time, sought to shift the view on art to more closely resemble distinctions in linguistics: "The structural forms can be sensed independently of meaning,"²⁴ he wrote, referring to the study of their evolution. With regard to iconology, he pointed out that "the breaks and ruptures of the tradition lie beyond the iconologist's scope, like all the expressions of civilizations without abundant literary documentation."²⁵ Perhaps it might be fair to say that in his thoughts on 'serial appreciation'²⁶ – which anticipate the efforts to understand the 'sequence' of multi-versioned works akin to "establishing the text"²⁷ in literary studies – and in his thoughts on 'iconological

22 SIEGFRIED KRACAUER and ERWIN PANOFSKY, *Siegfried Kracauer / Erwin Panofsky, Briefwechsel 1941–1966. Mit einem Anhang: Siegfried Kracauer 'Under the Spell of the Living Warburg Tradition'* (Schriften des Warburg-Archivs im Kunstgeschichtlichen Seminar der Universität Hamburg; vol. 4), ed. by Volker Breidecker, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1996, 68, letter 62 [originally sent from Kracauer to Panofsky 31 March 1962]. Panofsky had recommended Kubler's book to Kracauer with the following postscript: "There has just appeared a book (perhaps not quite fair in all respects but highly intelligent and, above all, short) which you should certainly read because it deals, among others, with the problems of periodization, historicity, etc., from an entirely fresh point of view; the author is both a brilliant art historian and a well-trained anthropologist [...]. I was sent an advance copy and was extremely fascinated." (KRACAUER / PANOFSKY 1996, 67, letter 61 [originally sent from Panofsky to Kracauer 7 March 1962].)

23 Cf. WYSS 1994, 194f.

24 GEORGE KUBLER, *The Shape of Time: The Shape of Time: Remarks on the History of Things*, New Haven / London: Yale University Press, 2008, ix [originally published in 1962].

25 KUBLER 1962/2008, 24. It should be noted that his theoretical innovation was, in no small part, related to his focus on Ibero-American and Pre-Columbian art.

26 *Ibid.*, 40–42.

27 KUBLER 1962/2008, 41.

diminutions'²⁸ – which acknowledge that “the word takes precedence over the image [in iconology]”²⁹ and that “the iconologist strips the fullness of things down to those schemes that the textual apparatus will allow”³⁰ –, he unknowingly sketched ‘the problems’ of an editorial programme for picture works that never came to pass.

One aspect that we may learn from this is that the abstraction of meaning is not dependent upon levels of representation, as Panofsky himself already suspected, but rather the assignment of meaning accorded by contextual information, textual or otherwise. This may be relatively self-evident. Whether or not the detection of meaning is a prerequisite for the division of a ‘formal sequence’ (defined by Kubler as “a historical network of gradually altered repetitions of the same trait”³¹) relies on the question of boundaries. If “the boundaries of [history’s] divisions continually move,”³² drawing boundaries does not only rest on an awareness of all that came before but also all that came *with* it.

Another aspect that we should keep in mind as we extend editorial purview is the question of the nature of variation (that is to say, dissimilarity within similarity). Medieval picture programmes, in particular those that dealt in mystique and diagrammatic enigmatism like the prophecies discussed in the previous chapter, gave way to the emblematic works popular in the 16th and 17th century,³³ filled with allegorical layers of text-image relations.³⁴ Digital presentations of such emblem books have taken a textual or semiotic approach in the past, aided by the symbolic status of the depictions.³⁵ Given that these were printed books

28 Ibid., 116f.

29 KUBLER 1962/2008, 116.

30 Ibid.

31 KUBLER 1962/2008, 33.

32 Ibid., 31.

33 Cf. KAUP 2003, 175.

34 On the topic of emblem books, see SERAINA PLOTKE, “Bildbuch und Emblematic,” in: *Text – Bild – Ton: Spielarten der Intermedialität in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. by Joachim Hamm and Dorothea Klein, Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2021, 313–338.

35 Cf. PETER BOOT, *Mesotext: Digitised Emblems, Modelled Annotations and Humanities Scholarship*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009, 115–130. Boot classifies pictorial content with taxonomies and models their relation to texts in a graph-based ontology. This happens in a sign model where signs may be “vehicles (i.e. text and image

that draw attention by being impenetrable at first glance, their scholarly edition would likely focus on the annotation of the ‘decoded’ material rather than a variance in transmission. What of the opposite case? A variance in transmission where there is nothing to decode? The many versions of the portrait(s) of Francis Barber?³⁶ The studies of Vincent van Gogh that blur the line between draft, work, variant?³⁷ The variations

fragments), and signs proper” (ibid., 121). His “sign model [...] may be legitimately termed an interpretation” (ibid., 129) for the way in which it regularizes the expressions of metaphors and Boot acknowledges that the model does not so much validate the interpretation as expose it which, in turn and according to his view, “will increase our interpretations’ robustness” (ibid., 130).

36 See MICHAEL BUNDOCK, “Searching for the Invisible Man: The Images of Francis Barber,” in: *Editing Lives: Essays in Contemporary Textual and Biographical Studies in Honor of O M Brack, Jr.*, ed. by Jesse G. Swan, Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2014, 107–122. For some of these versions, see Henry Edridge, c. 1785, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 2941-1876, <<https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O136626/portrait-of-francis-barber-watercolour-edridge-henry-ra/>> (accessed 21 August 2023); in the manner of Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723–1792), Tate Britain, London, N05843, <<https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/reynolds-portrait-of-a-man-probably-francis-barber-n05843>> (accessed 21 August 2023); and in the manner of Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723–1792), Tate Britain, London, T01892, <<https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/reynolds-portrait-of-a-man-probably-francis-barber-t01892>> (accessed 21 August 2023).

37 See the example of his variations on the sorrowing old man which exists in the form of drawings, a lithograph, and a painting based on the earlier iterations. In 2021, a further study for the original pencil drawing was uncovered from a private collection, cf. [s.n.], “New Work by Van Gogh Discovered,” press release, Van Gogh Museum (16 September 2021), online: <<https://www.vangoghmuseum.nl/en/about/news-and-press/press-releases/new-work-by-van-gogh-discovered>> (accessed 22 August 2023). For the other variants, see *Worn Out*, pencil on paper, 1882, Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam, F0997 / JH0267, <<https://www.vangoghmuseum.nl/en/collection/d0378V1962>> (accessed 22 August 2023); *At Eternity’s Gate*, lithograph on paper, 1882, Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam, F1662 / JH0268, <<https://www.vangoghmuseum.nl/en/collection/p0007V1962>> (accessed 22 August 2023); and *Treurende oude man* (‘At Eternity’s Gate’), oil on canvas, 1890, Kröller-Müller Museum, Otterlo, F702 / JH1967, <<https://krollermuller.nl/en/vincent-van-gogh-sorrowing-old-man-at-eternity-s-gate>> (accessed 22 August 2023). Note that the museum comments, in the case of the oil painting, that it is “not a literal copy in colour” and that “[v]an Gogh modifies the composition” (ibid.). One could, therefore, seek to present the morphology of the work in a genetic edition. See also the references in his letters and the corresponding notes in the digital edition of his correspondence, such as LEO JANSEN, HANS LUIJTEN and NIENKE BAKKER (Eds.), *Vincent van Gogh: The Letters*, Amsterdam / The Hague: Van Gogh Museum & Huygens ING, 2009 [version: October 2021], letter 287 to Anthon van Rappard, The Hague, 24 November 1882, fn. 6, online: <<https://vangoghletters.org/vg/letters/let287/letter.html>> (accessed 22 August 2023).



FIG. 38: Details of Carl Spitzweg's variant *Der arme Poet*; from top to bottom: *Study for The Poor Poet*, oil on paper on cardboard, c. 1837, Grohmann Museum, Milwaukee, <https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/study-for-the-poor-poet-carl-spitzweg/GQQQjsKORrNd_g> (PD), *The Poor Poet*, oil on canvas, c. 1837, Grohmann Museum, Milwaukee, <<https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/the-poor-poet-carl-spitzweg/PgG8I0sLj0WS1A>> (PD), and *Der arme Poet*, oil on canvas, 1839, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen – Neue Pinakothek München, <<https://www.sammlung.pinakothek.de/de/artwork/9pL3KbKLeb>> (CC BY-SA 4.0).



FIG. 39: Demonstration of the ‘yellow milkmaid syndrome’ with details of Johannes Vermeer’s *Het Melkmeisje*, c. 1660, SK-A-2344, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; on the left is the ‘true’ version provided by the Rijksmuseum, <<http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.6417>> (PD), on the right one of the many versions with low quality and low colour fidelity (here apparently sourced from a CD-ROM publication, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Kuchenmagd_-_Jan_Vermeer_van_Delft.png> (Wikimedia Commons, PD)) that dominated online search results before the Rijksmuseum provided their own digitization for the public domain.

of a work created by Carl Spitzweg, be it *The Poor Poet* (see **FIG. 38**) or *The Bookworm*?³⁸ Would those be deemed to be of a graphical or visual variance but not of a semantic difference? (One suspects that this would be the case in the digital humanities with their focus on the identification and description of objects or otherwise delineated ‘contents’.) And, one step further, what of the variance between digitizations of the same work that differ in quality and appearance, the so-called ‘yellow milkmaid syndrome’ once also aptly titled ‘artwork with identity problems’ (see **FIG. 39**)?³⁹

Clearly, meaning (in the sense of an impression on an observer) extends beyond the layers we have hitherto concerned ourselves with. Form, style, colour, shape, perspective, material, format – in short, any conceivable analytical category cannot be exempt, and the ‘record’ of an edition must be malleable to genre, subject, medium, intent; obviously so. If we take the comparative project of the humanities to apply to structure as well as to meaning or any relation that ultimately relates back to us, contextualization becomes more than annotation, although it can be that as well. The presentation of variants in a non-explicated form is a type of contextualization onto itself. And we should note that the term *edition* might be restrictive, and that it stands to reason that digital curations of cultural heritage will further ease transitions between editions, archives, and exhibitions – focused on the collection of material, the comparison of material, the commentary of isolated material, all in different configurations of scholarship on the genesis, history (which is

38 On *Der arme Poet* (“The Poor Poet”), WWV 125–127, see SIEGFRIED WICHMANN, *Carl Spitzweg: Verzeichnis der Werke; Gemälde und Aquarelle*, Stuttgart: Belser, 2002, 146f., and on *Der Bücherwurm* (“The Bookworm”), WWV 539–541, WICHMANN 2002, 278f.

39 See HARRY VERWAYEN, MARTIJN ARNOLDUS and PETER B. KAUFMAN, “The Problem of the Yellow Milkmaid: A Business Model Perspective on Open Metadata,” *Europeana* white paper 2 (2011), [1–25], online: <<https://pro.europeana.eu/post/the-problem-of-the-yellow-milkmaid>> (accessed 22 August 2023). For examples of this phenomenon, see the blog curated by Sarah Stierch which contains the ‘artwork with identity problems’ phrase, <<https://yellowmilkmaidsyndrome.tumblr.com/>> (accessed 22 August 2023). See, furthermore, [s.n.], “The Yellow Milkmaid Syndrome: Paintings with Identity Problems,” blog post, in: *Europeana* (7 January 2015), online: <<https://pro.europeana.eu/post/the-yellow-milkmaid-syndrome-paintings-with-identity-problems>> (accessed 22 August 2023).

often but not necessarily to say transmission), expression, inspiration, influence, or import of a work.

The synopsis is the point. The embedding *in* and *of*. With picture works, this might always have to involve a multimedia synopsis, not because a work has to be multimedia in nature (although it will, often, or even always, be) but because the intermediality of *any* work that we regard beyond text or other types of notation systems informs us as to the qualities that we may not be able to describe adequately otherwise. The effect of the intertitles in **FIGS. 36** and **37** would be lost on anyone reading a transcription and while a transcription may have other purposes, even within an edition, the primary purpose of an edition is to *bring near* that which it represents; the ‘facsimile’ will do so in terms of its immediate effect on the observer but only a visual synopsis beyond the work will do so in terms of style, typography, and other features of semantic significance (such as a view on German expressionism in the case of *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari* (1920) or the historicity of the Textura typeface in the case of *Faust – eine deutsche Volkssage* (1926)). Note that this concerns the inclusion of (visual) references in an edition of a work. We will return to the notion of an *edendum* beyond work later in this chapter.

Unlike picture works, film works have been discussed in light of their scholarly edition, or at least the need for and potential of it. Natascha Drubek-Meyer, Ursula von Keitz, Klaus Kanzog, and Anna Bohn are some of the scholars who must be named for their pioneering work at the intersection of film studies and editorial theory,⁴⁰ and I would also

40 See, for a selection, ANNA BOHN, “Ästhetische Erfahrung im (Um-)Bruch: Perspektiven kritischer Filmmeditation am Beispiel von Metropolis und Panzerkreuzer Potemkin,” in: *Ästhetische Erfahrung und Edition* (editio / Beihefte; vol. 27), ed. by Rainer Falk and Gert Mattenklott, Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2007, 115–128, online: <<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110938845.115>>; NATASCHA DRUBEK-MEYER and NIKOLAI IZVOLOV, “Textkritische Editionen von Filmen auf DVD: Ein Diskussionsbeitrag,” in: *Montage AV* 16/1 (2007), 183–199; KLAUS KANZOG, “Darstellung der Filmgenese in einer kritischen Filmmeditation,” in: *editio* 24 (2010), 215–222, online: <<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110223163.0.215>>; URSULA VON KEITZ, “Historisch-kritische Filmmeditation – ein interdisziplinäres Szenario,” in: *editio* 27/1 (2014), 15–37, online: <<https://doi.org/10.1515/editio-2013-003>>. See also the seminal ANNA BOHN, *Denkmal Film* (2 vols.), Weimar [et al.]: Böhlau, 2013 [hereafter referred to as BOHN 2013a and 2013b], and the entire volume URSULA VON KEITZ, WOLFGANG LUKAS and RÜDIGER NUTT-KOFOTH (Eds.),

like to mention Franziska Heller for her consideration of fractured film transmission and experience in the digital age.⁴¹ As already indicated in **CHAPTER III**, one proposal of the field is the concept of *multimedia editions*, due to the nature of film; even so, the discourse is founded on a philological paradigm.⁴² I neither aim to challenge this nor to relitigate the challenges and desiderata of editing film works as such, something I would be ill-equipped to do. The goal hereafter will be to identify issues both common and specific to (audio-)visual material of a more recent date than examples from medieval times in order to refine our understanding of editorial concerns – concerns that must come into focus once we move beyond textual scholarship. To that end, let us return to an essential: the matter of evidence.

B.

WHEREVER BOOKS ARE BURNED

It is estimated that 80–90 % of all films that were made before 1929 and

Kritische Film- und Literaturedition: Perspektiven einer transdisziplinären Editions-wissenschaft (editio / Beihefte; vol. 51), Berlin / Boston: De Gruyter, 2022, online: <<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110684605>>.

41 See FRANZISKA HELLER, *Update! Film- und Mediengeschichte im Zeitalter der digitalen Reproduzierbarkeit*, Paderborn: Brill | Fink, 2020, online: <<https://doi.org/10.30965/9783846764602>>.

42 This philological background is widely acknowledged; cf. e.g. JÜRGEN KNEIPER and HANS-MICHAEL BOCK, “Critical DVD-Editions,” in: *Critical Editions of Film: Film Tradition, Film Transcription in the Digital Era*, ed. by Giulio Bursi and Simone Venturini, Pasion di Prato: Campanotto Editore, 2008, 67–71, here 69; BOHN 2013b, 341–350; and KEITZ 2013, 36. It is also, perhaps best, exemplified by the existence of the descriptor *Filmphilologie* (‘film philology’), see KLAUS KANZOG, *Einführung in die Filmphilologie*, München: Diskurs-Film-Verlag Schaudig und Ledig, 1997, and ANNA BOHN, “Filmphilologie,” in: *Handbuch Filmanalyse*, ed. by Malte Hagener and Volker Pantenburg, Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2020, 195–216. The philological heritage is furthermore evident, for example, in the *Hyperkino* concept which is or was centred around a hyper-textual concept of annotation rooted in philological traditions; it focused on a duality of *textus* and *apparatus* and presented a non-linear viewing experience by attaching texts, stills, photographs, etc. to time stamps of the ‘main’ film (the *textus*), cf. NATASCHA DRUBEK-MEYER and NIKOLAI IZVOLOV, “Critical Editions of Films in Digital Formats,” in: *Studies in Russian and Soviet Cinema 2/2* (2008), 205–216. This was done in the DVD format, and it is generally the case that the theory of film editions is not necessarily a theory of digital scholarly editions.

50 % of all films that were made before 1950 are lost.⁴³ Although there is reason to doubt the statistical veracity of such claims, based on a lack of comprehensive – not to mention global – studies,⁴⁴ film historians are well-familiar with the names of films that have been lost and the reasons behind this. Not only did the flammability of the nitrate film that was used at the time pose great problems when it came to the archival storage of material, as can be seen in the case of the fire that devastated a vault of 20th Century Fox in 1937 and destroyed an estimated 75 % of the films made by the production studio before 1930,⁴⁵ but the archival diligence was also lacking because films, especially silent films, were not perceived to be valuable cultural heritage and were thus prone to be discarded once the silent film era had ended.⁴⁶ (I might add that the general issue applies to music recordings as well, as was evidenced by the 2008 fire on the Universal lot that destroyed master tapes of many important musicians of the 20th century, something which went unnoticed by the public and the music industry at large until an investigative article in the *New York Times* revealed the extent of the destruction in 2019.)⁴⁷

These incidents showcase a volatile archival history that plays an important role in the transmission variance that we have to contend with; if we still have something to contend with. As Anna Bohn has convincingly argued in her comprehensive study *Denkmal Film* (2013), film heritage is a historically neglected heritage, despite its cultural impact and documentary significance – all of which underlines the need for a practice of scholarly edition, i.e. preservation and presentation in all facets, to enable research about these materials and with the help of

43 Cf. BOHN 2013a, 28. See, for more information, *ibid.*, 17–29. See also ANTHONY SLIDE, *Nitrate Won't Wait: A History of Film Preservation in the United States*, Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 1992, 5.

44 Cf. CAROLINE FRICK, *Saving Cinema: The Politics of Preservation*, Oxford [et al.]: Oxford University Press, 2011, 65.

45 Cf. AUBREY SOLOMON, *The Fox Film Corporation, 1915–1935: A History and Filmography*, Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 2011, 1.

46 Cf. BOHN 2013a, 24f. It should be noted that there are national differences in this regard; film archives in Russia, for example, are among the oldest in the world, cf. DRUBEK-MEYER / IZVOLOV 2007, 188, fn. 10.

47 Cf. JODY ROSEN, “The Day the Music Burned,” in: *New York Times* (11 June 2019), online: <<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/11/magazine/universal-fire-master-recordings.html>> (accessed 21 August 2023).

these materials.⁴⁸ The primary concern of scholarship is one of *evidence*: What do we have? What we know derives less from what we suspect than it does from what we *inspect* and when we edit a work, we edit a conception of the work that is based on that which we can glean from its material survival. In that sense, editions are never editions of a work, they are arguments for a collated interpretation of physically preserved witnesses of a work.⁴⁹

Films that were shot analogously would, at first, seem to be straightforward cases where an authorially ordained cut is preserved in an original master negative. Establishing authority is, however, rather complicated.⁵⁰ Take, for example, the popular *auteur* theory – are film works truly the creation of a single ‘author’ (commonly synonymous with the director)? One does not have to reach back to the controversy surrounding *Citizen Kane* (1941), caused by Pauline Kael’s famous essay “Raising Kane” (1971),⁵¹ to question the validity of such a view, especially when applied to the majority of film history. Was it not Panofsky who stated: “It might be said that a film, called into being by a co-operative effort in which all contributions have the same degree of permanence, is the nearest modern equivalent of a medieval cathedral”?⁵² In likening the role

48 Cf. BOHN 2013a, 61–64, and *passim*.

49 This is a very simplified definition, of course, since editions typically involve different levels of inference and have historically relied on ‘divination’ as a path into a past “behind the materially extant instantiations, [...] their lost, hence no longer material ancestry, [which] led by dint of method to such logical constructs as archetypes, if not indeed to original originals, or *urtexts*” (GABLER 2011, 8).

50 Cf. BOHN 2013b, 290–296.

51 The research behind some of Kael’s claims was ethically dubious (and included plagiarism, cf. FRANK RICH, “Roaring at the Screen With Pauline Kael,” in: *New York Times* (27 October 2011), online: <<https://www.nytimes.com/2011/10/30/books/review/roaring-at-the-screen-with-pauline-kael.html>> (accessed 25 August 2023)). Many of the accusations made against Orson Welles were disputed as insubstantial. Nevertheless, they proved influential and revealed a core issue in the discussion of film works when centred around the idea of a sole genius. For the original essay, see PAULINE KAEL, “Raising Kane–I,” in: *The New Yorker* (12 February 1971), online: <<https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/1971/02/20/raising-kane-i>> (accessed 25 August 2023), and PAULINE KAEL, “Raising Kane–II,” in: *The New Yorker* (19 February 1971), online: <<https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/1971/02/27/raising-kane-ii>> (accessed 25 August 2023).

52 PANOFSKY 1947/1966, 29.

“of the director to that of the architect in chief”⁵³ and likening the roles of others accordingly, he already accounted for a distribution of labour that more accurately describes the nuance of collaboration. This would also appear to fit more closely with approaches in film studies that prioritize historical methodology over the adulation of filmmakers.⁵⁴

Leaving the question of authoritativeness aside for the moment (which is always the question of whether there ought to be *one* version of a film according to its ‘author’), volatile archival history points us towards a much more immediate reason for versioning – one that is not addressed by simply thinking that there was a negative that is now gone.⁵⁵ Let us consider *Anders als die Andern* (‘Different from the Others’, 1919). Here we have a film that (1) is deemed to be of historical importance, (2) was believed lost for the longest time, and (3) is nowadays available in a curated edition.⁵⁶

Anders als die Andern was part of a series of controversial films directed by Richard Oswald during and after the First World War when

53 Ibid.

54 This paradigm shift is sometimes described as *New Film History*. On this topic, see THOMAS ELSAESSER, “The New Film History as Media Archaeology,” in: *Cinémas: revue d’études cinématographiques / Cinémas: Journal of Film Studies* 14/2–3 (2004), 75–117, online: <<https://doi.org/10.7202/026005ar>>; ANDREW SPICER, “Film Studies and the Turn to History,” review, in: *Journal of Contemporary History* 39/1 (2004), 147–155; and RICHARD MALTBY, DANIEL BILTEREYST and PHILIPPE MEERS (Eds.), *Explorations in New Cinema History: Approaches and Case Studies*, Malden [et al.]: Wiley Blackwell, 2011.

55 See, for a discussion of the ‘original’ in film restoration and the many ways in which this is more complicated than commonly believed, KEITZ 2013, esp. 17–20. See also ANTONIO COSTA, “O for Original,” in: *Il cinema ritrovato: Teoria e metodologia del restauro cinematografico*, ed. by Gian Luca Farinelli and Nicola Mazzanti, Bologna: Grafis, 1994, 35–40.

56 For information on the film, including the general information stated in the following paragraph, see LAUREN PILCHER, “Querying Queerness in the Film Archive, the Ephemeral *Anders als die Andern* (Different from the Others) (1919),” in: *Synoptique* 4/1 (2015), 35–60, online: <https://www.synoptique.ca/_files/ugd/811df8_3e3a7d90f7d-744b5811c246ea3772730.pdf> (accessed 25 August 2023); KAI NOWAK, *Projektionen der Moral: Filmskandale in der Weimarer Republik*, Göttingen: Wallstein, 2015, 96–140; SIEBERT SALOMON PRAWER, *Between Two Worlds: The Jewish Presence in German and Austrian Film, 1910–1933*, New York: Berghahn Books, 2007, 72–78; JAMES STEAKLEY, *Anders als die Andern: Ein Film und seine Geschichte*, Hamburg: Männerschwarm, 2007; and JAMES STEAKLEY, “Film und Zensur in der Weimarer Republik: Der Fall ‘Anders als die Andern’,” in: *Capri* 21 (1996), 2–33.



FIG. 40: Photograph of Nazis plundering Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld's institute, Berlin, 6 May 1933 (Manfred Baumgardt, Berlin); from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, <<https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/pa26351>> (PD).



FIG. 41: Photograph of the book burning by the Nazis on the Opernplatz in Berlin, 10 May 1933; many items from Hirschfeld's institute were destroyed and a broken bust of Hirschfeld himself paraded at the event; from United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, <<https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/pa26367>> (PD).

censorship restrictions were lowered for a short window of time at the dawn of the Weimar Republic.⁵⁷ With these films, the director sought to educate the public on taboo topics such as prostitution, abortion, sexually transmitted diseases, and, in the case of *Anders als die Andern*, the love between men. The goal of the film was not merely to educate but to advocate – namely, for the legalization of homosexuality. As one might imagine, this met with veritable resistance and the scandalized reaction increased as the years went by and the social climate in Germany changed. Contrary to the accidental reasons that I have cited for the loss of other films, the last remaining copies of *Anders als die Andern* were actively sought out and destroyed by the NS regime in 1933 when the *Institut für Sexualwissenschaft* was ransacked on 6 May 1933 (see **FIG. 40**) as part of the book burning that was held several days later, on 10 May 1933 (see **FIG. 41**).⁵⁸ The film had already been banned from public display in 1920 once censorship had been reinstated and Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld – who had been involved in the film’s production as the main scientific advisor – had reused some of the footage in a documentary

57 Cf. ANDREAS KILLEN, “What is an Enlightenment Film? Cinema and Sexual Hygiene in Interwar Germany,” in: *Social Science History* 39/1 (2015), 107–127, esp. 108–112, and JILL SUZANNE SMITH, “Richard Oswald and the Social Hygiene Film: Promoting Public Health or Promiscuity?” in: *The Many Faces of Weimar Cinema: Rediscovering Germany’s Filmic Legacy*, ed. by Christian Rogowski, Rochester, New York: Camden House, 2010, 13–30.

58 See RAINER HERRN, “Magnus Hirschfelds Institut für Sexualwissenschaft und die Bücherverbrennung,” in: *Verfemt und Verboten: Vorgeschichte und Folgen der Bücherverbrennungen 1933* (Wissenschaftliche Begleitbände im Rahmen der Bibliothek verbrannter Bücher; vol. 2), ed. by Julius H. Schoeps and Werner Treß, Hildesheim [et al.]: Olms, 2010, 113–168, and RALF DOSE and RAINER HERRN, “Verloren 1933: Bibliothek und Archiv des Instituts für Sexualwissenschaft in Berlin,” in: *Jüdischer Buchbesitz als Raubgut* (Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswesen und Bibliographie; special issue 88), ed. by Regine Dehnel, Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 2006, 37–51. See also the report about an exhibition about this very topic, TAMARA TISCHENDORF, “Sexualwissenschaft und die Bücherverbrennung,” in: *Deutschlandfunk* (7 May 2008), online: <https://www.deutschlandfunk.de/sexualwissenschaft-und-die-buecherverbrennung.691.de.html?dram:article_id=51607> (accessed 25 August 2023). Erich Kästner, whose books were among those being burned, attended the event and noted in his eyewitness report that the decapitated head of a bust of the director of the institute, Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld, was paraded around by the mob, cf. ERICH KÄSTNER, *Bei Durchsicht meiner Bücher: Eine Auswahl aus vier Verbänden*, Zürich: Atrium, 1946, preface. On the history of the institute, see also RAINER HERRN, *Der Liebe und dem Leid: Das Institut für Sexualwissenschaft 1919–1933*, Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2022.

called *Gesetze der Liebe* ('Laws of Love', 1927) in an effort to salvage parts of it. It was this footage, a fragment of around 40 minutes from an originally feature-length runtime, that was rediscovered in the Ukraine in the 1970s and used as the basis for a DVD release by the *Filmmuseum München* in 2006.⁵⁹ This release was part of the series *Edition Filmmuseum*⁶⁰ and contained a reconstruction of *Anders als die Andern* as well as the *Gesetze der Liebe* fragment by itself; in an updated release in 2007, historical documents concerning the reception and production of the film were added to the DVD and in a further update in 2022, a film from 1928 was added as another supplement.⁶¹

Since a portion of the film is lost, the reconstruction supplies information about the missing material *in situ* by displaying still images of the cut scenes as well as descriptions in the form of intertitles. These descriptions were taken from a booklet about the 1927 documentary and a publication by Dr. Hirschfeld from 1919 in which he details the plot of the film and provides excerpts from reviews and anonymized letters that he had received from filmgoers.⁶² While the reconstructed film does disclose information about the reconstruction and what it was generally reconstructed from, it is not immediately clear upon watching what the

59 Cf. STEAKLEY 2007, 5.

60 See also BOHN 2013b, 349f. for mention of the series in addition to similar projects.

61 The film added to the 2022 edition, *Geschlecht in Fesseln*, dir. by Wilhelm Dieterle, is related to *Anders als die Andern* in that it utilized research from Hirschfeld's institute; it should be noted, however, that it is a vastly different film with a vastly different agenda and entirely different circumstances of creation; cf. for information on the edition *Anders als die Andern* (Edition Filmmuseum; 4), ed. by the Filmmuseum München and the Goethe-Institut München, supervised by Stefan Drößler, <https://www.edition-filmmuseum.com/product_info.php/info/p4_Anders-als-die-Andern---Gesetze-der-Liebe---Geschlecht-in-Fesseln.html> (accessed 25 August 2023) [originally published in September 2006, published in an extended edition in Juli 2007, third edition in Januar 2011, fourth extended edition in January 2022]. Among the other documents, parts of a correspondence between the directors Richard Oswald and Veit Harlan from 1958 are included. Richard Oswald took issue with Veit Harlan, once a famed director under the NS regime, who had released his latest film, the homophobic *Anders als du und ich* (1957), in an obvious allusion to *Anders als die andern* (1919).

62 See MAGNUS HIRSCHFELD and HERMANN BECK, *Gesetze der Liebe: Aus der Mappe eines Sexualforschers*, Berlin: Neue Gesellschaft, 1927, as well as MAGNUS HIRSCHFELD (Ed.), *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* (vol. XIX/1,2), Leipzig: Max Spohr, 1919.

source for each specific interpolation is.⁶³ In assessing this, we should remember that there is no common standard for the scholarly edition of films just yet and that these releases target an interested audience outside of academia. It is a sign of the care and diligence by museums and archives that the release of this particular film should typify a certain kind of edition to begin with. One that we might call: *reconstructive edition*. This type of edition is not so much concerned with a variance in transmission as it is with fragmentary transmission. Textual criticism has arguably been aware of similar issues in textual transmission and dealt with them accordingly – by editing the surviving fragments and providing information about the missing parts, if such information is available through mentions, translations, or quotations elsewhere; indeed, one might even say that the entire field of Classics is founded on the distinction between direct and indirect transmission.⁶⁴ There are, however, some key differences. Most of them are related to the age of the materials: We simply know more about the circumstances of creation when it comes to works from the 20th century than we do when it comes to works from the 12th century. That is one important aspect. Another important aspect is a difference in the process of media production that goes beyond proximity or distance in time.

63 Other sources that the editors Stefan Drößler, Klaus Volkmer, and Gerhard Ullmann drew from, as per the statements in the ending credits, are contemporary advertisements from film magazines, courtesy of the Filmmuseum Berlin; a German censorship record of *Gesetze der Liebe* from 12 August 1932, courtesy of the Bundesarchiv / Filmarchiv Berlin; MAGNUS HIRSCHFELD, *Sexualpathologie: Ein Lehrbuch für Ärzte und Studierende*, Bonn: A. Marcus & E. Webers, 1918 – presumably volume 2, although this is not specified; still images from the archives of the British Film Institute in London and the Filmmuseum Berlin; STEAKLEY 1996. The detailed listing of the source material is to be commended, even if it does not satisfy the level of transparency and attribution that would be expected of a scholarly edition (something that the edition does not claim to be).

64 On the topic of *indirekte Überlieferung* ('indirect tradition') and its specific meaning in textual scholarship (pertaining to Classics), see STEPHEN HEYWORTH and NIGEL WILSON, 'Indirect tradition,' in: *Brill's New Pauly*, Antiquity vols. ed. by Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider, English Edition by Christine F. Salazar, Classical Tradition vols. ed. by Manfred Landfester, English Edition by Francis G. Gentry, online: <https://doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e524110> (accessed 26 August 2023) [first published online 2006].

Consider the case of missing scenes: Due to the mode of film production as well as the technology and crew involved, still photographers are usually employed to take film stills during production that can be used for promotional purposes; these are not frames of the finished film but separately created images.⁶⁵ Information about such scenes may also be obtained from detailed censorship records and other contemporary materials – if not even the original screenplay or different stages of screenplay⁶⁶ –, allowing for a different kind of reconstruction than the inventions one might entertain in textual criticism outside of the presence of direct or indirect textual witnesses.⁶⁷ As a side note: Censorship deserves special consideration, both as a reason for film versioning and a resource for film edition. The German context provides ample examples all on its own, but if we were to include Hollywood as one of the

65 Sometimes the term ‘film still’ is used to refer to a frame of a film rather than a separately created image, cf. DAVID CAMPANY, *Photography and Cinema*, London: Reaktion Books, 2008, 136. However, as Douglas Gomery notes, “film stills are not to be confused with frame enlargements of shots actually used in a movie” (DOUGLAS GOMERY, “The Images in Our Minds: Film Stills and Cinema History,” in: *The Princeton University Library Chronicle* 65/3 (2004), 502–520, here 502).

66 For an example of contemporary materials that may be collated, see the database *F. W. Murnaus ›Tabu‹ – Die Edition der Outtakes* by the Deutsche Kinemathek, Berlin, which includes outtakes, the shooting script, and daily reports from F. W. Murnau’s last film *Tabu: A Story of the South Seas* (1931); cf. *F. W. Murnaus ›Tabu‹ – Die Edition der Outtakes*, ed. by Bernd Eichhorn, Karin Herbst-Meßlinger, Martin Koerber, Deutsche Kinemathek – Museum für Film und Fernsehen, Österreichisches Filmmuseum, Friedrich-Wilhelm-Murnau-Stiftung, <<https://www.deutsche-kinemathek.de/de/sammlungen-archive/sammlung-digital/murnaus-tabu>> (accessed 6 January 2023). For the database, see <<https://tabu.deutsche-kinemathek.de/>> (accessed 6 January 2023).

67 An example for the reconstruction of works by authors from antiquity are the works by Plautus, such as Plautus’ *Amphitruo*, his *Rudens*, and his *Vidularia*; see ELAINE FANTHAM, “Towards a Dramatic Reconstruction of the Fourth Act of Plautus’ *Amphitruo*,” in: *Philologus* 117/1-2 (1973), 197–214; ECKARD LEFÈVRE, “Diphilos und Plautus: Der ‘*Rudens*’ und sein Original,” in: *Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse / Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literatur* 10 (1984), 5–45; and KATALIN DÉR, “*Vidularia*: Outlines of a Reconstruction,” in: *Classical Quarterly* 37/2 (1987), 432–443. In this context, it is also interesting to note the lack of digital scholarly editions of classical texts; cf. PAOLO MONELLA, “Why Are There No Comprehensively Digital Scholarly Editions of Classical Texts?” in: *Digital Philology: New Thoughts on Old Questions*, ed. by Adele Cipolla, Padova: libreriauniversitaria.it, 2018, 141–159. In the same volume, see also CAPPELLOTTO 2018. As mentioned before, Thomas Bein has discussed the idea of reconstructing the performance of medieval literature in a multimedial editorial context, cf. BEIN 2018.

most famous film industries, the Motion Picture Production Code and its effect on film history would fill entire volumes.⁶⁸ The introduction of the censorship guidelines in 1930 and enforcement in 1934 affected films for decades to come as well as retroactively. Some, like *Baby Face* (1933), were changed before their wide release,⁶⁹ others, like *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (1931) or *The Sign of the Cross* (1932), were substantially altered for their reissue once the Code had been firmly instated.⁷⁰ *Public Enemy* (1931), *Scarface* (1932) – the list could go on and on. That we should still have access to the uncensored versions of these films is often just a stroke of luck: Not only was *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (1931) edited for its re-release in 1935, all known copies were believed to have

68 The Motion Picture Production Code was established in the late 1920s and early 1930s after a string of scandals had shaken Hollywood behind the scenes, like the Roscoe Arbuckle case and the William Desmond Taylor case. Catholic organizations in particular called for the moral self-censorship of the industry and Will H. Hays, a political operative and presidential campaign manager of William H. Harding under whose administration he also served, was tasked with establishing guidelines that would improve the public image of Hollywood by restoring both the private lives of Hollywood stars as well as on-screen depictions of moral issues such as alcohol consumption, violence, and so on, to respectable levels; since directors were hesitant to follow the guidelines as they felt it inhibited them in their artistic freedom, the Motion Picture Production Code became enforced in 1934 and every Hollywood film that wanted to get a wide release had to pass through the Production Code office and gain a stamp of approval. This practice remained in effect well into the late 1950s and was only officially abolished in 1968. Some of the administration files from the Production Code office, detailing the process of censorship for a selection of 500 films, have been made available digitally by the Margaret Herrick Library, see <<http://digitalcollections.oscars.org/digital/collection/p15759coll30>> (accessed 26 August 2023). For information on the history of the Motion Picture Production Code, see THOMAS DOHERTY, *Hollywood's Censor: Joseph I. Breen and the Production Code Administration*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2009.

69 The uncensored version of the film was discovered in the Library of Congress in 2004, cf. STEPHANIE ZACHAREK, "1933: *Baby Face* is Censored," in: *A New Literary History of America*, ed. by Greil Marcus and Werner Sollors, Cambridge, Massachusetts / London: Harvard University Press, 2012, 668–672, here 669. For more detailed information on this discovery, see KENDAHL CRUVER, "Baby Face," in: *Senses of Cinema 37* (2005), online: <https://www.sensesofcinema.com/2005/cteq/baby_face/> (accessed 26 August 2023). For more information on the censorship of *Baby Face*, see LEA JACOBS, *The Wages of Sin: Censorship and the Fallen Woman Film, 1928–1942*, Berkeley [et al.]: University of California Press, 1997, 69–79.

70 On the censorship of *The Sign of the Cross*, see DAVID BLANKE, *Cecil B. DeMille, Classical Hollywood, and Modern American Mass Culture: 1910–1960*, Cham: Springer, 2018, 106f. On the 1931 adaptation of *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, see DAVID LUHRSSSEN, *Mamoulian: Life on Stage and Screen*, Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2013, 55–59.

been destroyed by MGM around 1941 when they bought the rights to remake the film; fortunately, the studio did retain a print in its own vault which eventually led to its rediscovery (missing scenes had to be recovered from other sources, however).⁷¹ And the original cut of *The Sign of the Cross* (1932) – which played a notable role in the calls for censorship – survived in a single print in the private collection of director Cecil B. DeMille and was restored in 1989 by the UCLA Film & Television Archive.⁷² Until these primary witnesses could be unearthed, the original versions of the films were considered lost. All that was known about them was based on other types of evidence: newspaper reports, censorship files and correspondence, personal recollections in the form of oral history. Many films from the time share this fate and they are mainly not disruptive to the success that can be highlighted in those other cases because they are simply part of an anonymous statistic – only that which is in some way accessible is truly discussed, unless it represents a curio in the biography of one of the involved. Are those historical documents to be forgotten?

In editorial theory, many are wont to speak of such things as *Befund* ('finding') and *witness* in order to emphasize the investigative nature of scholarly editing; as if they were detectives working on cold (sometimes very cold) cases. Would it not be fitting, then, to consider this a matter of *circumstantial evidence*? Evidence that should be actively taken into account – for film and picture works alike? Let us recall the phenomenon of interpictoriality which does include pictorial quotations such as Bertram von Minden's adoption of Alexander Minorita's *Expositio in Apocalypsim*;⁷³ a type of secondary witness that could hypothetically supplement information about lacunae in an interrelated picture programme. We should not be deterred by the spectre of 'reconstruction' as it haunts the discourse in textual scholarship. Clearly, this is one area

71 Cf. LUHRSEN 2013, 59.

72 Cf. RICHARD BARRIOS, *Screened Out: Playing Gay in Hollywood from Edison to Stonewall*, London / New York: Routledge, 2005, 83.

73 See BERTRAM VON MINDEN, *Altarpiece with 45 Scenes of the Apocalypse*, c. 1370s–1380s, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 5940-1859, <<https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O89176/altarpiece-with-45-scenes-of-altarpiece-master-bertram/>> (accessed 11 March 2023).

where film and picture works merit special regard. I wish to illustrate this by returning, briefly, to the world of medieval manuscripts.

C.

RECONSTRUCTION / RESTORATION

The immediate example that comes to mind is the *Hortus deliciarum*.⁷⁴ It cuts to the heart of the issue of reconstruction since this picture programme was transmitted in only one manuscript which in turn was destroyed in the great fire of the Strasbourg library in 1870 during the Siege of Strasbourg in the Franco-Prussian War.⁷⁵ The destruction of the library claimed many valuable items and books, including a collection of around 8000 manuscripts and incunabula,⁷⁶ and the *Hortus deliciarum* is among its most well-known losses. It had already been studied in detail for decades beforehand; Christian Moritz Engelhardt had created a partial facsimile of its miniatures in 1818, and between 1879 and 1899, Alexandre Straub († 1891) and subsequently Gustave Keller published “as many tracings of the miniatures of the manuscript as they were able to assemble”⁷⁷ – Straub and Keller were, however, largely unaware of the transcripts and sketches that the French art historian Comte Auguste de Bastard had assembled in the 1830s and 1840s with the assistance of his friend Wilhelm Stengel; this material was first used, comprehensively, for a reconstruction of the manuscript in 1979.⁷⁸

74 For an introduction to the *Hortus*, see MICHAEL CURSCHMANN, “Texte – Bilder – Strukturen: Der Hortus deliciarum und die frühmittelhochdeutsche Geistlichendichtung,” in: *Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 55/3 (1981), 379–418.

75 Cf. *ibid.*, 379. See also GERNOT U. GABEL, “Die deutsche Tradition der Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg,” in: *Bibliotheksdienst* 38/3 (2004), 319–322.

76 Cf. VOLKER WITTENAUER, *Die Bibliothekspolitik der Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg, dargestellt am Projekt der Retrokonversion des Zettelkatalogs der deutschen Zeit (1870–1918)*, Heidelberg: Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, 2005, 7.

77 JOSEPH BURNEY TRAPP, “Preface,” in: *Hortus Deliciarum* (vol. 1: Commentary), ed. by Rosalie Green [et al.], Leiden [et al.]: Brill, 1979, VII.

78 Cf. ROSALIE GREEN, “The Miniatures,” in: *Hortus Deliciarum* (vol. 1: Commentary), ed. by Rosalie Green [et al.], Leiden [et al.]: Brill, 1979, 17–36, here 18 [hereafter GREEN 1979a]. For more details on the publication history, see *ibid.* For information on the materials used for the 1979 edition, see MICHAEL EVANS, “Description of the Manuscript

The 1979 edition contains miniatures in various stages of completion; some of them coloured, some only outlined, depending on the material they were reconstructed from.⁷⁹ The edition is, furthermore, explicit about being a ‘reconstruction’ – it was released in two volumes, titled *Commentary* and *Reconstruction* respectively. Given that the *Hortus deliciarum* is a rather particular case in that there was not only an original work but a single original manuscript that was demonstrably lost,⁸⁰ and given that the pictorial part of the work has dominated its reception,⁸¹ the terminological emphasis on *recapturing* a rather specific object does not come as a surprise. In his preface to the edition, the then-director of the Warburg Institute Joseph Burney Trapp voiced his criticism of

and the Reconstruction,” in: *Hortus Deliciarum* (vol. 1 Commentary), ed. by Rosalie Green [et al.], Leiden [et al.]: Brill, 1979, 1–8. Despite claims to the contrary, it would seem that the Straub-Keller version was merely traced from Engelhardt’s reproduction rather than being based on the original manuscript, at least in the case of the miniature ‘Philosophy, the Liberal Arts, and the Poets’, cf. GREEN 1979a, 19, and ROSALIE GREEN, “Catalogue of Miniatures,” in: *Hortus Deliciarum* (vol. 1: Commentary), ed. by Rosalie Green [et al.], Leiden [et al.]: Brill, 1979, 89–228, here 104.

79 See for the edition in general ROSALIE GREEN [et al.] (Eds.), *Hortus Deliciarum* (2 vols.), Leiden [et al.]: Brill, 1979 [vol. 1: Commentary; vol. 2: Reconstruction; the latter hereafter GREEN 1979b]. For an example of a coloured miniature, see GREEN 1979b, 57 (f. 32r, plate 18). For an example of an outlined miniature, see *ibid.*, 61 (f. 34r, plate 20).

80 Even though it is a particular case, it is far from the only such case. Another example would be the *Liber scivias* (c. 1151–1152) by Hildegard von Bingen. One illuminated manuscript (Hs. 1, Hessische / Nassauische Landesbibliothek, Wiesbaden) which is assumed to have been created c. 1160–1180 survived until the 20th century before it was lost in the confusion of the Second World War; however, the miniatures had been copied by hand in between 1927 and 1933 by the Benedictine sisters of Eibingen Abbey beforehand; cf. MICHAEL EMBACH, *Die Schriften Hildegards von Bingen: Studien zu ihrer Überlieferung im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2003, 89f. See also HILDEGARD SCHÖNFELD (Ed.), *Scivias: Die Miniaturen vom Rupertsberg*, Bingen: Pennrich, 1979, and LIESELOTTE E. SAURMA, *Die Miniaturen im ‚Liber scivias‘ der Hildegard von Bingen: Die Wucht der Vision und die Ordnung der Bilder*, Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1998. For an edition, see ADELGUNDIS FÜHRKÖTTER (Ed.), *Hildegardis Scivias* (Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio mediaevalis; vol. 43), Turnhout: Brepols, 2003 [originally published in 2 vols. in 1978].

81 See, for an early example, OTTO GILLEN, *Ikongraphische Studien zum Hortus deliciarum der Herrad von Landsberg* (Kunstwissenschaftliche Studien; vol. 9), Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1931, and, for a more recent study, FELIX HEINZER, “Diagrammatische Aspekte im ‚Hortus Deliciarum‘ Herrads von Hohenburg,” in: *Diagramm und Text: Diagrammatische Strukturen und die Dynamisierung von Wissen und Erfahrung*, ed. by Eckard Conrad Lutz, Vera Jerjen and Christine Putzo, Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2014, 157–174.

previous efforts in this regard by stating that “Straub and Keller’s publication gave no true impression of the illustrations themselves or their order, and almost none of the substantial text which accompanied them, and its placing *vis-à-vis* the miniatures.”⁸² Again, we see that the *mise en page* of a picture programme and its relation to an accompanying text is deemed to be of importance and, had it been copied several times and survived in more than one manuscript,⁸³ it is likely or at least possible that there would have been variation of its layout as well as in the realization of the miniatures. Instead of speculating on a transmission variance that never came to be – or that we have no knowledge of –, it should suffice to note that this is a prime example for the need of explicitly *reconstructive editions*; meaning editions that recognize reconstruction as a guiding principle and functional purpose rather than something that occurs in any and all editions in some way or other by virtue of intervention and emendation. More than that, one might wonder what a *digital reconstructive edition* of the *Hortus deliciarum* could accomplish and, aside from the advantages purported to be inherent to digital scholarly editions, it would appear that a digital scholarly edition of the *Hortus deliciarum* would have to be an *edition of editions*; meaning that it would have to reflect prior reconstructive undertakings out of necessity and courtesy. Such an edition could collate the different ways in which scholars have made use of sketches, tracings, and transcripts that are all neither direct witnesses nor direct evidence but, depending on the respective definition, varying degrees of circumstantial evidence.

Adding the aspect of an *edition of editions* to the discourse is very reminiscent of a desideratum that Kay Hoffmann identified in his review of the 2006 study edition of the silent film *Metropolis* (1927):

Furthermore, this solution suggests that an original Ur-version of ‘Metropolis’ might be established after all. If one takes the complex history of this classic

82 TRAPP 1979, VII.

83 The Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin used to hold 27 copies of the *Hortus deliciarum* that were presumably lost during the Second World War as well; these had not been, I gather, contemporary manuscripts but rather “highly finished painted replicas” made on commission at a much later date, cf. GREEN 1979a, 19.

into account, with all its variant versions, such an approach must raise serious doubts. Unfortunately, [the editors] have elected not to include a presentation of the different restorations and editions despite being presented with a unique opportunity to do so.⁸⁴

We will refocus on the matter of film editions, among which the 2006 version of *Metropolis* ranks as one of the most serious attempts at a critical edition, in due course, but first I would like to seize on Hoffmann's mention of *restoration* since it is closely related to the topic of reconstruction.⁸⁵

The field of restoration is broad and varied, both when it comes to films and to fine arts,⁸⁶ and the predominant approaches have undergone changes throughout the years.⁸⁷ It serves little purpose to repeat such debates in a general manner here; nonetheless, it would be remiss not to point out that aspects of them are relevant to the issues at hand, given that they have already entered editorial discourse. Notably, as indicated in **CHAPTER I**, Paul Eggert has drawn parallels between the scholarly

84 KAY HOFFMANN, "Mut zur Lücke: Zur Studienfassung des Klassikers ‚Metropolis‘," in: *Zeithistorische Forschungen* 4/3 (2007), 449–455, here 454, online: <<https://doi.org/10.14765/zzf.dok-1888>>, original: "Außerdem suggeriert diese Lösung, dass es doch so etwas wie eine nachweisbare Urfassung von ‚Metropolis‘ geben könnte. Berücksichtigt man die komplexe Rezeptionsgeschichte mit den unterschiedlichsten Fassungen, dann erscheint ein solches Vorgehen gerade bei diesem Klassiker äußerst zweifelhaft. Auf eine Darstellung der unterschiedlichen Restaurierungsfassungen und Bearbeitungen, die sich in diesem Fall angeboten hätte, wurde leider verzichtet."

85 This is also true, although we will not expand on it, for the field of architecture. See, for example, HANNO-WALTER KRUFF, "Rekonstruktion als Restauration? Zum Wiederaufbau zerstörter Architektur," in: *Kunstchronik* 46 (1993), 582–589. In the context of architecture and for matters of digital reconstruction, see also the writings by Piotr Kuroczyński, such as the aforementioned KUROCZYŃSKI 2018.

86 See, for films, PAUL READ and MARK-PAUL MEYER (Eds.), *Restoration of Motion Picture Film*, Oxford [et al.]: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2000, and for art history NICHOLAS STANLEY PRICE, MANSFIELD KIRBY TALLEY and ALESSANDRA MELUCCO VACCARO (Eds.), *Historical and Philosophical Issues in the Conservation of Cultural Heritage*, Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute, 1996.

87 See, by way of example, JAMES BECK, "Reversibility, Fact or Fiction? The Dangers of Art Restoration," in: *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 18/3 (1999), 1–8, and ANDREAS BUSCHE, "Just Another Form of Ideology? Ethical and Methodological Principles in Film Restoration," in: *The Moving Image: The Journal of the Association of Moving Image Archivists* 6/2 (2006), 1–29.

edition of literature and the restoration of art-historical objects.⁸⁸ His effort to integrate different practices into a common conceptual framework was subsequently criticized by Hans Walter Gabler, who identified flaws in Eggert's argument:

The situation this points to is analogous to, and in a sense repeats what we discussed above with respect to author/authorship. Neither these terms, nor the term ›work‹ can – *pace* Eggert – be applied with identical signification and coincident implications to restoration in the fine arts, or architecture, on the one hand, and to the editing of transmissions in language on the other hand. A fundamental distinction instead must be made, one that Eggert does not consider: in restoring works of the fine arts, or architecture, there can never be any going-behind their material existence and presence, meaning also: their existence *as* presence. Editing works (of art) in language, by contrast, can never be accomplished without a preliminary, yet foundational going behind the extant textual materials.⁸⁹

That the restoration of a work of the fine arts should be bound to its physical existence makes sense when that is what is being restored, i.e. set back into a state of being that is assumed to be closer to how it was originally. We can already find complications to that assumption, however. As both Nelson Goodman and Paul Eggert make recourse to the works of Rembrandt, I will by way of example refer to one of his most famous paintings known as *De Nachtwacht* ('The Night Watch'), a title that it presumably acquired because observers mistakenly thought it portrayed a night scene due to a varnish that had darkened over time.⁹⁰ Between 2019 and 2021, the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam undertook a

88 See PAUL EGGERT, *Securing the Past: Conservation in Art, Architecture and Literature*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

89 GABLER 2011, 8.

90 A restoration was performed in 1946/47 that removed part of this darkened varnish; this decision was not without controversy, cf. P. J. J. VAN THIEL, "Beschadiging en herstel van Rembrandts Nachtwacht / The Damaging and Restoration of Rembrandt's Night Watch," in: *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 24/1-2 (1976), 4–13, here 6, and SHELTON KECK, "Some Picture Cleaning Controversies: Past and Present," in: *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation* 23/2 (1984), 73–87, here 83.

painstaking restoration, analysis, and digitization of the work, open to the public locally and virtually.⁹¹ This state-of-the-art restoration effort blurs the boundaries of the physical and the digital, and it also blurs the boundaries between a restoration and a reconstruction, since it used circumstantial evidence – a contemporary copy of the original painting by Gerrit Lundens – as well as an imitation of Rembrandt’s style based on machine learning to fill in missing edges.⁹² Clearly, there is a distinction to be made here between *conserving* that which has physically survived, *preserving* it for future generations, and *extending* it back into an imagined past. And that distinction is crucial to editorial work of any kind.

Neither Eggert nor Gabler remark on the difference between *restoring* an object and *reconstructing* its content – which may or may not be tied to its appearance but goes behind its appearance, beyond semiotic reasoning. Since Eggert does not discuss pictorial transmission variance of the kind showcased in this book, he cannot re-conceptualize scholarly editions to include a framework for the edition of (audio-)visual works and thus must instead equate the scholarly edition of texts with the restoration of pictorial works in order to claim that both are two types of the same principle of conservation. The misunderstanding at the heart of this parallelization is the one we have already rejected: that only notational (textual) works should exist in an immaterial, ideational way that transcends their material (non-unique) survival. A more fitting

91 See *Operation Night Watch* by the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, <<https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/stories/operation-night-watch>> (accessed 27 August 2023). For an initial news report, see DANIEL BOFFEY, “‘Like a Military Operation:’ Restoration of Rembrandt’s Night Watch Begins,” in: *The Guardian* (5 July 2019), online: <<https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2019/jul/05/restoration-rembrandt-night-watch-begins-rijksmuseum-amsterdam>> (accessed 27 August 2023). For a later report, see JOHN NAUGHTON, “Enjoy the Restored Night Watch, But Don’t Ignore the Machine Behind the Rembrandt,” in: *The Guardian* (3 July 2021), online: <<https://www.theguardian.com/technology/commentisfree/2021/jul/03/enjoy-the-restored-night-watch-but-dont-ignore-the-machine-behind-the-rembrandt>> (accessed 27 August 2023).

92 For an interview with Prof. Robert Erdmann and Casper van der Kruit from the Rijksmuseum about the thought process behind this, see ROBERT ERDMANN and CASPER VAN DER KRUIT, “Operation Night Watch: How Rijksmuseum Tapped AI To Restore A Rembrandt,” interview by Fei Lu, in: *Jing Culture & Crypto* (15 July 2021), online: <<https://jingculturecrypto.com/rijksmuseum-rembrandt-night-watch-ai-restoration/>> (accessed 27 August 2023).

parallel would be to say that pictorial transmission variance, genetic variance, reconstructive concerns, and, more generally speaking, pictorial works that reside outside of traditional author-work definitions are the equivalents of textual editorial concerns, and it would also be more fitting to state that the equivalent of physically restoring a piece of fine art is the physical restoration of a manuscript, an important practice that exists as well and would have no other equivalent left otherwise.

To be clear: The edition of a text, picture, film, or music work can involve the repair and restoration of their carrier materials, but if there is no need for restoration, the edition of these works can proceed *without* any restoration involved. There is a marked difference between a scholarly edition of a text and the restoration of its witnesses, just as there is a marked difference between a scholarly edition of a picture programme and the restoration of its witnesses. Since restoration is something that art and film conservation are often called upon to perform – and it should be noted that restoration is usually carried out by experts in these fields, i.e. archivists and conservators, whereas editions are the domain of scholars usually unfit to carry out any such work, another significant difference that may explain some discursive divergences –, the issue of restoration tends to overshadow other aspects involved in the preservation and presentation of such works. Are there reconstructions of picture works and film works that do not involve efforts of restoration? If there are none, it is not because there could not be. Conflating the edition of something and the restoration of something will effectively consign all the very specific editorial concerns about representing a work in a scholarly manner to a secondary concern; or, at the very least, subject it to a lack of economic viability and relevance *as part of a restoration effort*, from which it should be viewed as something separate in principle, even if it can benefit from it due to the subsequent accessibility and quality of the available material. Paul Eggert's melting of terms, as admirable as it might be in its impetus, harms rather than helps his avowed goal of “[envisaging] the work [...] as constantly involved in a negative dialectic of material medium (the documentary dimension) and meaningful experience (the textual dimension), and as being constituted

by an unrolling semiosis over time.”⁹³ Factoring a work’s communal perception and construction in its ‘afterlife’ into its appraisal is sensible, but by mapping it onto the people involved with ‘conserving’ and thus perpetually ‘constituting’ a work rather than questioning the modes of its reproduction,⁹⁴ Eggert reinforces boundaries: That of a material view on fine arts and architecture and of a non-material view on ‘text’ – of a material restoration of an object and of an immaterial restoration of a work, so long as that work is textual. Is an edition a restoration? No. It may involve a restoration, but it is a reconstruction, both of a work and its history; sometimes more, sometimes less primarily so. This distinction matters.

Manuscripts are restored. This receives little attention from both Eggert and Gabler because they are so deeply embedded in textual scholarship that the reproducibility of a text, and thus its existence independent of a given carrier material, appears self-evident, although it should be noted that without any extant carrier material, we would have no notion of its existence either. Interestingly enough, the restoration of manuscripts was of much greater interest to scholars and librarians in the 19th century who aspired to make the script on faded folios and palimpsests more readable by treating it with chemical reagents and other experimental mixtures, thereby ruining many of these manuscripts and making them more unreadable, as misfortune would have it.⁹⁵

93 EGGERT 2009, 237.

94 Cf. *ibid.*, 238.

95 For details on the chemicals used, see ROBERT FUCHS, “The History of Chemical Reinforcement of Texts in Manuscripts: What Should We Do Now?” in: *Proceedings of the Seventh International Seminar Held at the Royal Library, Copenhagen 18th-19th April 2002* (Care and Conservation of Manuscripts; vol. 7), ed. by Gillian Fellows-Jensen and Peter Springborg, Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2003, 159–170. On computational efforts to recover script, see LINDSAY MACDONALD [et al.], “Multispectral Imaging of Degraded Parchment,” in: *Computational Color Imaging: CCIW 2013* (Lecture Notes in Computer Science; vol. 7786), ed. by Shoji Tominaga, Raimondo Schettini and Alain Trémeau, Berlin / Heidelberg: Springer, 2013, 143–157, and CHRISTINE VOTH, “What Lies Beneath: The Application of Digital Technology to Uncover Writing Obscured by a Chemical Reagent,” in: *Kodikologie und Paläographie im digitalen Zeitalter 3* (Schriften des Instituts für Dokumentologie und Editorik; vol. 10), ed. by Oliver Duntze, Torsten Schaßan and Georg Vogeler, Norderstedt: Books on Demand, 2015, 47–64. For examples of the damage done to the manuscripts by the use of the chemicals, see Cod. Guelf. 76 Weiss. (Heinemann 4160), Herzog-August-Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel,

These alterations are alterations that conservators and editors have to address in fundamentally different ways; much as they would have had to on a pictorial level, had parts of the *Hortus deliciarum* manuscript survived in a damaged state; and much as they would have to in any such case, where a need for material restoration exists in parallel to a need for a collated interpretation of transmission variance, genetic variance, or variance in previous reconstruction – of an ideational nature. The alterations are obviously alterations to the material, but they are only alterations of a work witness insofar as a carrier material is identified as a work witness and they impact a work witness insofar as it occupies a certain position of completeness or fragmentation in relation to other witnesses of the same so-designated work, unless there is only one witness to begin with. An editor might therefore, where there are several witnesses, choose to ignore such a damaged witness or the damaged parts thereof in an editorial project despite acknowledging its existence and the *lack* of evidence it provides due to its state (evidence for a specific purpose; for the damage is of course evidence of a different kind, of a different history, if viewed through that lens). A conservator will, naturally, have other concerns on their mind: those to do with material conservation and restoration.

It should be emphasized that the main question echoing through this discussion is the question whether the principles of material restoration in art and architecture and ideational reconstruction in editing are related. The answer to that is that they very much are, even if that relation is not one that should be equated, for to do so would mean to silence matters of material restoration in editing, upon which editors may rely but which is distinct from their own activity, and it would also mean to silence matters of ideational reconstruction in art and architecture, wherein a transmission variance wholly independent from later attempts at conservation may exist.

7th/8th century, f. 19r, <<http://diglib.hab.de/mss/76-weiss/start.htm?image=00047>>, and Cod. 611, Burgerbibliothek, Bern, 5th–8th century, f. 134r, <<https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/bbb/0611/134r>>.

D.

MAL D'URTEXT

Having spoken of restoration and reconstruction as two distinct albeit related concepts, it has to be acknowledged that they are often conflated in film studies; or rather, that they are performed hand in hand but with an eye towards providing a film watching experience that is as complete as possible, should a film have been edited down in its release history.⁹⁶ These editions resemble what we might in editorial theory call *Leseausgaben*, editions with the purpose to be read, perused, or otherwise consumed; not editions that critically engage with their subject, their own process, or their audience on an academic level, outside of providing an introductory essay or similar features.⁹⁷ The reasons for this are manifold. Restoring and releasing films is a very costly enterprise and, as Chris Wahl put it, “[o]bviously, there is a big gap between those who are interested in working out critical editions and those who are actually publishing films on DVD.”⁹⁸ (And Blu-ray and streaming services, one might add.)

96 This is connected to a fixation on reconstructing ‘the original’ as well as to a host of other (e.g. copyright) issues, as examined in VINZENZ HEDIGER, “The Original is Always Lost: Film History, Copyright Industries and the Problem of Reconstruction,” in: *Cinephilia: Movies, Love and Memory*, ed. by Marijke de Valck and Malte Hagener, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2005, 135–150.

97 Commentary may also take the form of audio tracks by scholars that a viewer can listen to while watching a film. Such commentaries have the advantage of commenting on the film as it goes along, but they also have the disadvantage of having to go along, i.e. a very limited amount of time to address a specific scene before it changes to something else that could be commented upon. Since these commentaries are often conducted by those involved in the production of a film, they also tend to be collections of personal anecdotes in relation to the production history of said film, and if those involved with the film are no longer alive, film historians will often relate those anecdotes as found in their research, unless they are invited to speak on a different aspect. On the matter of recording scholarly commentaries, see ISSA CLUBB, “And There is a Commentary Track,” in: *The Italianist* 32 (2012), 292–295 (Issa Clubb is a producer with the Criterion Collection).

98 CHRIS WAHL, “Film Versions and Critical Editions: Publishing for the Community of Film Scholars,” in: *Critical Editions of Film: Film Tradition, Film Transcription in the Digital Era*, ed. by Giulio Bursi and Simone Venturini, Pasian di Prato: Campanotto Editore, 2008, 72–80, here 77.

Even restorations that were prompted and financed by connoisseurs of the medium, such as the 2009 restoration of the Powell-Pressburger film *The Red Shoes* (1948) that was launched by the famous director and proclaimed fan of the film Martin Scorsese himself,⁹⁹ do not necessarily satisfy scholarly needs so much as they satisfy the needs of cinephiles largely unconcerned with matters of critical edition, if not unfamiliar with the underlying philological concept altogether; understandably so.¹⁰⁰ There is a sense of a Lachmannian reach towards the pure original, unencumbered by time and decay, when Scorsese states: “But the techniques we used here are top of the line. So it looks better than new. It’s exactly like what the film-makers wanted at the time, but they couldn’t achieve it back then.”¹⁰¹

This may very well be true (and personal acquaintance with the original creators makes it more likely to divine their thoughts), but it introduces its own set of issues, reminiscent of editorial quarrels about ‘the original’ *Urtext*. In reference to Derrida’s *mal d’archive* (‘archive

99 For background on the restoration and how it came to be, see MARTIN SCORSESE, “My Friendship with Michael Powell,” interview by Steve Rose, in: *The Guardian* (14 May 2009), online: <<https://www.theguardian.com/film/2009/may/14/scorsese-michael-powell-red-shoes>> (accessed 27 August 2023).

100 Examples for this are the releases by the *Criterion Collection* for the US market which are of a high quality and geared towards cinephiles but nonetheless not fit for scholarly purposes, or at least not fit for scholarly interests insofar as an interest in critical editions is concerned; we do find Criterion releases discussed in those contexts, however, which might point to the strength of the desideratum (as well as the special position that Criterion releases occupy as commercial releases), cf. ROBERT FISCHER, “The Criterion Collection: DVD Editions for Cinephiles,” in: *Celluloid Goes Digital: Historical-Critical Editions of Films on DVD and the Internet. Proceedings of the First International Trier Conference on Film and New Media, October 2002* (Filmgeschichte International; vol. 12), ed. by Martin Loiperdinger, Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2003, 99–108. Another company to mention would be Kino Lorber but there are, of course, others besides. In the European market, Eureka Entertainment fulfils a similar role, especially with its Masters of Cinema line. The British Film Institute (BFI) will also release films, while in the German context, the Friedrich-Wilhelm-Murnau-Stiftung will also sometimes release their own restorations of films in their portfolio (it should be noted that these releases, generally speaking, do not contain much in the way of bonus features). Some film studios release their own titles from the vault, such as Warner Bros. with the Warner Archive Collection. This just to give a short impression.

101 SCORSESE 2009.

fever’),¹⁰² we could think of it as a *mal d’urtext* – a nostalgic fixation, “an irrepressible desire to return to the origin”¹⁰³ of creative intent and creation. Only, what is the original? Cases that ‘only’ require restoration may be relatively unambiguous. Other cases, where there was a theatrical release that was later destroyed, as happened to *Anders als die Andern* (1919), may be relatively unambiguous as well; there, reconstruction serves to counter a concentrated suppression of material. The films censored due to the Motion Picture Production Code, on the other hand, already tell a different story. As mentioned, *Baby Face* (1933) was censored after a limited run and before its wide release – most audiences at the time would not have seen the version that we now commonly see. This will not be relevant to the general public, but it is relevant for scholars with an interest in pre-code films. More egregious still is the case of *The Sign of the Cross* (1932): The uncensored version, released on Blu-ray in 2020¹⁰⁴ and before that date available on DVD for many years, is the only version today’s audiences are likely to encounter. And yet there is the curious fact that the film underwent extensive changes throughout its theatrical release history, being altered substantially for a reissue in 1944. Director DeMille shot a new prologue of around ten minutes, and while the main film is set in ancient Rome, the same cannot be said for the additions:

The prologue takes place in the present of 1944. An American B-17 bomber drops propaganda leaflets over the eternal city to inform Roman citizens that the Allies will be bombing only military stations. As they fly over Rome, two chaplains, a Protestant (Lloyd) and a Catholic (Costello), reminisce about ancient Rome and Nero’s persecution of tens of thousands of Christians. Parallels are drawn between Nero and Hitler. The final shot of the prologue is of four planes flying off into the distance. A short epilogue shows the American bombers heading back

102 See JACQUES DERRIDA, *Mal d’archive: une impression freudienne*, Paris: Éditions Galilée, 1995.

103 JACQUES DERRIDA, “Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression,” transl. by Eric Prenowitz, in: *Diacritics* 25/2 (1995), 9–63, here 57, online: <<https://doi.org/10.2307/465144>>.

104 See <<https://kinolorber.com/product/the-sign-of-the-cross-blu-ray>> (accessed 28 August 2023).

to North Africa--mission accomplished. [...] The NYT reported on 2 Apr 1944 that some scenes were omitted from the first version to fit the prologue, but it is unclear which scenes were cut.¹⁰⁵

Before the discovery and restoration of the 1932 version, it was this version, framed by WWII propaganda, that audiences saw on television for decades – since then, the situation has reversed, with the 1944 version having been superseded by the original. It does not appear as if there is any way to view the 1944 version anymore, at least not as a member of the public. That might be preferable from an artistic point of view (I dare say that the film is mediocre to begin with, if outrageous), but it is not preferable from a scholarly point of view. Effectively, film versions – should they still exist in an archive or another – are as accessible to the average scholar as texts in manuscripts were in the 19th century, before their collation and transcription. Here, we see the danger of conflating restoration, reconstruction, and edition. If nothing is compared or comparable, if nothing is annotated or explicated or, indeed, classified and described, if nothing is measured, counted, and related, then the commentary upon it does not a base for scholarly engagement make.

We should not, of course, forget that restoration is not a process that occurs by wave of a magic wand but that it is a very demanding technical effort, involving highly specialized experts and skill, requiring decisions, insight, and forethought. Karin Herbst-Meßlinger has detailed this for the collection of materials pertaining to F. W. Murnau's *Tabu: A Story of the South Seas* (1931), made available online.¹⁰⁶ More is the pity that such information is not provided with regular film releases. This is where the reconstruction of fragmentary transmission from multiple

105 From the entry in the catalogue of the *American Film Institute* (AFI): 'The Sign of the Cross,' in: *AFI Catalog of Feature Films*, online: <<https://catalog.afi.com/film/3859-the-signofthecross>> (accessed 28 August 2023).

106 Cf. KARIN HERBST-MESSLINGER, "Zur Entstehung von F.W. Murnaus *Tabu*: Die Edition der Outtakes. Eine transdisziplinäre Online-Publikation der Deutschen Kinemathek," in: *Kritische Film- und Literaturedition: Perspektiven einer transdisziplinären Editions-wissenschaft* (editio / Beihefte; vol. 51), ed. by Ursula von Keitz, Wolfgang Lukas and Rüdiger Nutt-Kofoth, Berlin / Boston: De Gruyter, 2022, 251–272, here 255–257, online: <<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110684605-013>>.

sources enters the equation, as it did in the case of the 2012 Pathé restoration of Raymond Bernard's *Les Misérables* (1934) epic.¹⁰⁷ Originally almost five hours long, the film was halved in 1935, re-released in 1944 in a version that was still significantly truncated, and only restored to anything resembling its original runtime in the 1970s when the director, half-blind by that point, was asked by the French Broadcasting Company to reconstruct it from memory.¹⁰⁸ Despite these efforts, there were and are some scenes missing to this day, and when Pathé undertook a new 4K digital restoration based on the original negative, they were able to reassemble some of the scenes such as Valjean's theft of the Bishop's candle sticks – from different sources, none of which are documented in supplementary material, either on the basis of scenes or shots. The same is true for the 2006 study edition of *Metropolis* (1927) that I have briefly mentioned before. It aspired to be a “prototype for critical editions”¹⁰⁹ but more than a decade later, Hoffmann's prediction rings true that the edition would “remain a solitary [...] due to the high costs of several hundred thousand euros and the varying material condition of secondary sources”¹¹⁰ – although those may not be the only reasons or even the primary reasons for the singular status of the *Metropolis* study edition. What good, one might ask, is an emendated edited text or film, if not every intervention or compilation is sourced specifically? What level of detail should it be sourced to? (And we may differentiate here between that which is documented internally and publicly.)

107 See <<https://www.pathefilms.com/dvd/lesmiserables>> (accessed 28 August 2023).

108 Cf. MICHAEL KORESKY, “Eclipse Series 4: Raymond Bernard,” in: *The Criterion Collection: On Film* (24 July 2007), online: <<https://www.criterion.com/current/posts/587-eclipse-series-4-raymond-bernard>> (accessed 28 August 2023).

109 ANNA BOHN, “Aesthetic Experience in Upheaval: Perspectives on Critical Film Editions Based on the Example of *Metropolis* and *Battleship Potemkin*,” in: *Critical Editions of Film: Film Tradition, Film Transcription in the Digital Era*, ed. by Giulio Bursi and Simone Venturini, Pasian di Prato: Campanotto Editore, 2008, 24–39, here 30; see also 27–30.

110 HOFFMANN 2007, 455, original (whole sentence): “Insgesamt ist sowohl wegen der immensen Kosten von mehreren hunderttausend Euro und unterschiedlichen Materiallagen der Sekundärquellen zu befürchten, dass diese anregende und wichtige Studienfassung nicht der erhoffte Prototyp für eine umfassende Aufarbeitung des Filmerbes werden, sondern ein Solitär bleiben wird.”

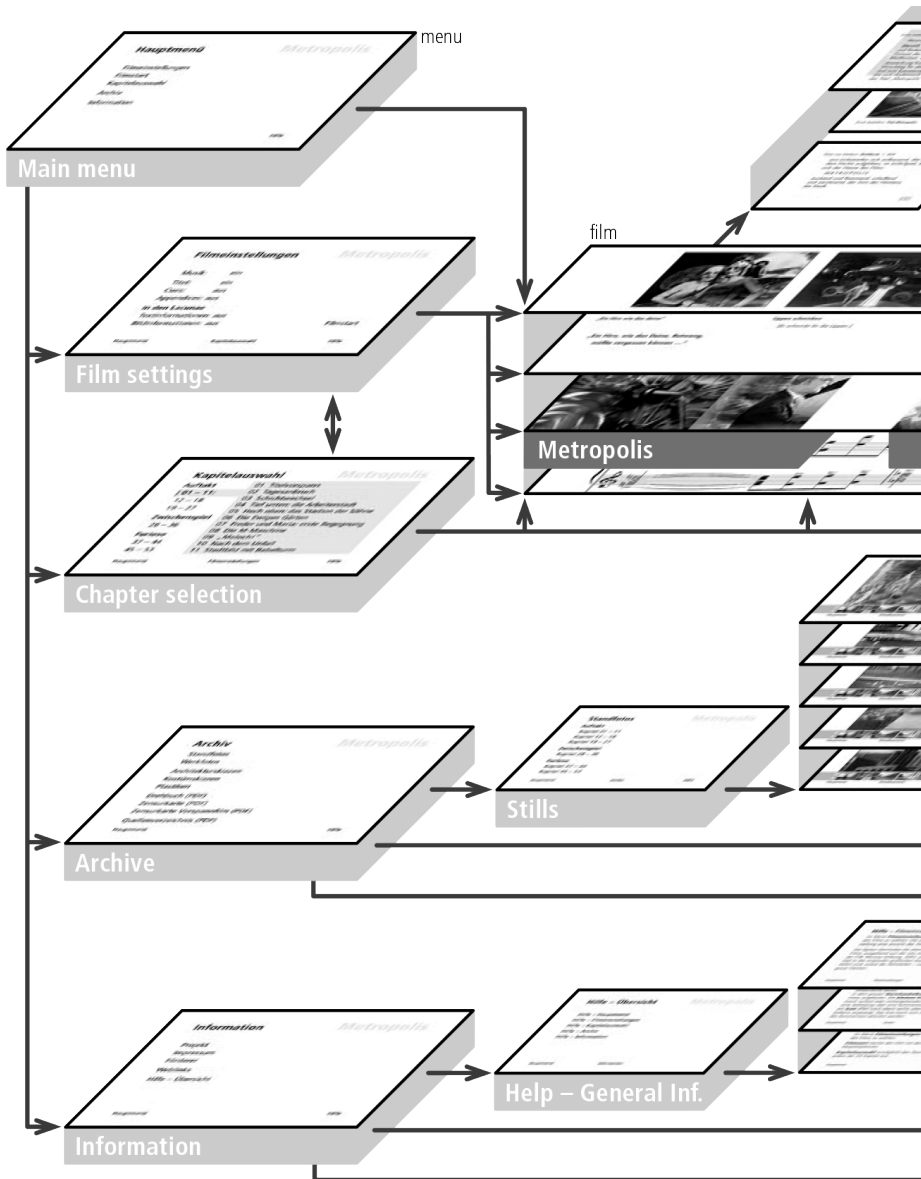


FIG. 42: Detail from the navigation model of the 2006 study edition of *Metropolis* (1927), dir. by Fritz Lang; from ANNA BOHN and ENNO PATALAS (Eds.), *DVD Metropolis Study Edition*, booklet, Berlin: Universität der Künste Berlin, Institut für zeitbasierte Medien, 2006, 18 (for the full figure, see 18–19).

The 2006 study edition of *Metropolis* is, by its own admission, situated “between a historical-critical edition and a reader’s copy”¹¹¹ (‘reader’s copy’ referring to the concept of *Leseausgabe*). It visually presents lacunae in the fragmented extant material by showing a grey screen for the duration of the missing segments and allows viewers to toggle descriptive intertitles as well as additional archival information and commentary.¹¹² This layering of information can be seen in the navigation model of the edition where the menu leads to familiar branches like film settings and chapter selection as well also to an innovative archive of text documents and a gallery of stills (see **FIG. 42**). Such an approach could still serve as an inspiration for future scholarly film editions, given how intuitive it is, but it does not provide an answer to the question how variant transmission might be addressed – which, in a traditional scholarly edition, would often be visualized in the form of a synoptic view and, in most cases, in the form of an *apparatus criticus*. As noted before, it also does not take the reconstructive history of the work into account by displaying it explicitly (meaning the idea of an ‘edition of editions’), despite being in itself a primarily reconstructive effort. Admittedly, such remarks are easy in hindsight and in theory only. Some developments cannot be foreseen. Shortly after the study edition was published, most of the film’s missing parts resurfaced in a museum in Argentina in 2008, leading to a new restoration, titled *The Complete Metropolis* and released in 2010.¹¹³ Since neither the releases before the

111 ANNA BOHN, “Edition of a Torso: Aesthetic Experience in Upheaval; Film Edition and Edition Philology,” in: *Booklet DVD Metropolis Study Edition*, ed. by Anna Bohn and Enno Patalas, Berlin: Universität der Künste Berlin, 2006, 8–11, here 9.

112 Cf. *ibid.*, 9–11. See also BJÖRN SPEIDEL, “Le tableau disparu,” in: *Booklet DVD Metropolis Study Edition*, ed. by Anna Bohn and Enno Patalas, Berlin: Universität der Künste Berlin, 2006, 12–14.

113 See, for news reports at the time, ERIK KIRSCHBAUM, “‘Metropolis’ Footage Found in Argentina,” in: *Variety* (2 July 2008), online: <<https://variety.com/2008/film/news/metropolis-footage-found-in-argentina-1117988440/>> (accessed 28 August 2023). For the perspective of the *ZEITmagazin* which was involved in the discovery, see [editors], “Fritz Lang’s ‘Metropolis’: Key Scenes Rediscovered,” in: *ZEITmagazin* (2 July 2008), online: <<https://www.zeit.de/online/2008/27/metropolis-vorab-englisch>> (accessed 28 August 2023). For more information on the discovery and restoration, see FERNANDO MARTÍN PEÑA, “Metropolis Found,” in: *Undercurrent* 6 (2010), online: <http://fipresci.hegenauer.co.uk/undercurrent/issue_0609/pena_metropolis.htm> (accessed 4 October

2006 study edition nor the releases afterwards have been scholarly editions, the 2006 study edition still occupies a valuable space in the film's reception and presentation. It also, however, calls into question whether the reconstruction of 'completeness' can be a purpose onto itself. Much as a scholarly edition of a text is not meant to be read, a scholarly edition of film should perhaps not be meant to be viewed – reading and viewing here referring to a linear experience of 'the work' rather than an intervention beckoned by the display of all the histories and evidences that have led to the construction of 'the work' as understood and (re-) configured at a given moment in time.

It might be tempting, at this point, to launch into a discussion of practical needs and possibilities, e.g. whether a mostly linear medium like a DVD or Blu-ray disc is equipped to convey conceptual models of a scholarly film edition and how a dynamic web environment might be differently or better equipped for such a task. Film studies have produced a wealth of tools that could be utilized, in particular when it comes to the annotation of film,¹¹⁴ and this could be further spun into project-specific ideas of implementation. The question is not, however, and never has been, one of tools or technologies. In the dual format release of *Faust – eine deutsche Volkssage* (1926) by Eureka from 2014 (Masters of Cinema; 78), both the domestic version and the export version are included.¹¹⁵ These versions differ in many regards that change the film

2020; not accessible anymore 28 August 2023; see the archived version in the Internet Archive), and CHRIS FUJIWARA, "A Tale of Two Cities," in: *Film Comment* 46/3 (2010), 54-55, online: <<https://www.filmcomment.com/article/a-tale-of-two-cities-metropolis-restored/>> (accessed 28 August 2023). For more information on the 2010 release of *The Complete Metropolis*, see also the accompanying exhibition in the *Deutsche Kinemathek*, TINO SCHMIDT, "The Complete Metropolis: Eine Ausstellung der deutschen Kinemathek in Berlin vom 21.01. bis 25.04.2010," in: *Zeitgeschichte-Online* (1 February 2010), online: <<https://zeitgeschichte-online.de/geschichtskultur/complete-metropolis>> (accessed 28 August 2023).

114 Some that come to mind are MemoRekall (see <<https://memorekall.com/en/>> (accessed 28 August 2023)), Celluloid (see <<https://celluloid.huma-num.fr/>> (accessed 28 August 2023)), and Advène (see <<http://www.advene.org/>> (accessed 28 August 2023)). A very useful comparison of different available tools can be found in RÉMY BESSON [et al.], "L'annotation vidéo pour la recherche. Usages et outils numériques," white paper from the consortium CANEVAS, 2023, online: <<https://hal.science/hal-04048886>>.

115 An earlier 2007 Eureka release had already contained both versions as well, cf. RICHARD BURT, *Medieval and Early Modern Film and Media*, Basingstoke [et al.]: Palgrave

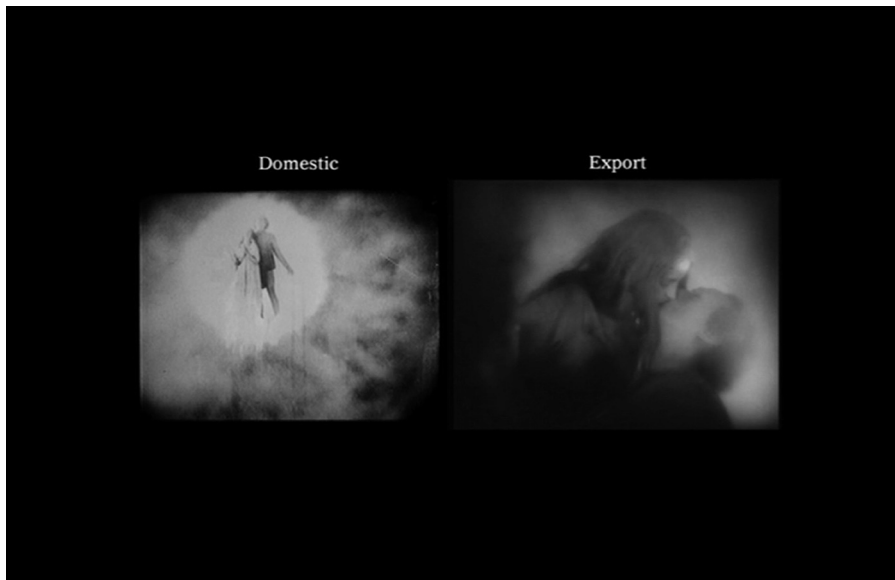


FIG. 43: Comparison of the domestic and export versions of *Faust – eine deutsche Volkssage* (1926), ed. by Bradley Richards, prod. by Nick Wrigley, written and dir. by R. Dixon Smith; screen capture, BLU-RAY: Eureka (Masters of Cinema; 78), 2014, time stamp 0:24:14 (bonus feature).

considerably and the Eureka edition addresses this by describing the differences and showing them side by side in a bonus feature (see **FIG. 43**). If the reconstructed German cut and the American cut were the only noteworthy witnesses of the work, such an edition would already cover much ground, despite not being designed to function like a scholarly edition. With this particular film, a curious case of intertitle variation complicates matters. The production studio UFA was not enamoured with the intertitles written for the film by Hans Kyser and approached Gerhart Hauptmann, Nobel laureate in literature and one of the most

Macmillan, 2008, 110. There was more than one version for international markets, cf. EDWIN GENTZLER, *Translation and Rewriting in the Age of Post-Translation Studies*, London / New York: Routledge, 2016, 99f. The export version on this release refers to the version for the US market. “Using the nitrate duplicate negatives printed by UFA in 1926 (and an array of international sources) Murnau’s favoured domestic German version of *Faust* [was] meticulously reconstructed by Luciano Berriata for Filmoteca Espanola” (<<https://eurekavideo.co.uk/movie/faust/>> (accessed 28 August 2023)) and made available in the Eureka release.

prestigious authors in Germany at the time, to write new intertitles.¹¹⁶ Hauptmann raised the fee to an astonishing 40,000 mark and delivered alternative intertitles in verse – alas, UFA judged these to be even worse and decided to revert to the Kyser text, after much publicized controversy in the newspapers, including an open letter by Kyser himself.¹¹⁷ Hauptmann’s verses may not have found their way onto the big screen, but they did find their way into a printed brochure that was handed out at the premiere, and in 2020, they finally found their way onto the small screen in an edition of the film by the *Filmmuseum München* in their aforementioned series *Edition Filmmuseum* (entry 114).¹¹⁸ Although we might call this a *reconstructive edition*, it is rather striking that the reconstructed film – by replacing Kyser’s intertitles with Hauptmann’s rejected intertitles – presents a view on the work that never quite existed before, except for a brief period where the film must have been shown thus to the studio executives.¹¹⁹ More notably still, without a scholarly edition, viewpoints are scattered, each new release by different institutions and companies adding new perspectives and points of access to a disjointed universe of information. A scholarly edition can never be the one place that gathers it all, the one edition that does it all, but it can be the hinge between the evidence that is known and the evidence that must be shown. Of a work – and beyond a work? (Is Murnau’s *Faust* with intertitles by Hauptmann still the same work as it is with intertitles by Kyser? That is the question.)

116 Cf. KLAUS KREIMEIER, *The Ufa Story: A History of Germany's Greatest Film Company, 1918–1945*, transl. by Robert and Rita Kimber, Berkeley [et al.]: University of California Press, 1999, 137.

117 Cf. *ibid.*, as well as CHRISTIANE SCHÖNFELD, *The History of German Literature on Film*, London [et al.]: Bloomsbury, 2023, 133.

118 See *Faust. Eine deutsche Volkssage* (Edition Filmmuseum; 114), ed. by the Filmmuseum München and the Goethe-Institut München, supervised by Stefan Drößler, <https://www.edition-filmmuseum.com/product_info.php/info/p196_Faust--Eine-deutsche-Volkssage.html> (accessed 28 August 2023) [first edition December 2020].

119 Stefan Drößler notes that censorship records indicate a number of changes to the film in the months leading up to its premiere and that “[i]t is not clear whether the film was ever publicly screened with Hauptmann’s titles” (<https://www.edition-filmmuseum.com/product_info.php/language/en/info/p196_Faust--Eine-deutsche-Volkssage.html> (accessed 28 August 2023)).

E. VERSIONS BEYOND WORK

In German film studies, Joseph Garncarz was one of the first, if not the first scholar to theorize about variant film versions.¹²⁰ In his dissertation, published in 1992, he differentiated between different versions of versions (*Fassungen*) and different types of variation.¹²¹ Elementary to those delineations is his emphasis on “significant variation” as the constituting element of film versions.¹²² A significant variation, in his definition, is one that occurs on purpose instead of arbitrarily through damage to the material, for example.¹²³ These purposeful changes are carried out for normative reasons that pertain to making films “legible for audiences speaking different languages, making them aesthetically, morally, politically, or religiously acceptable, or lending them authenticity.”¹²⁴ Given that this is a very intentionalistic understanding of film versioning, it should come as no surprise that the changes made to films such as *The Sound of Music* (1965) or *Casablanca* (1942) when dubbed and edited for the German market in ways that distorted their original meaning occupy a large portion of Garncarz’s study.¹²⁵

Such analysis and classification of film versions is, without doubt, of great value to an editorial film theory interested in variant transmission. However, harking back to the transmission variance in medieval picture programmes, one might ask: Does it matter *why* variation occurs rather than *that* it occurs? It matters in many contexts, but does it matter in the context of recording said variation in a structured way? The classification of variance that Ursula von Keitz and Wolfgang Lukas have

120 Cf. WAHL 2008, 75.

121 See JOSEPH GARNCARZ, *Filmfassungen: Eine Theorie signifikanter Filmvariation* (Studien zum Theater, Film und Fernsehen; vol. 16), Frankfurt am Main [et al.]: Peter Lang, 1992.

122 *Ibid.*, 10.

123 Cf. GARNCARZ 1992, 13.

124 *Ibid.*, 14, original (extended): “Mit der Variation eines Films ist beabsichtigt, ihn an eine bestimmte Norm anzupassen. Es entspricht einer Norm, daß Filme für verschieden sprachige Publika verständlich, daß sie ästhetisch, moralisch, politisch oder religiös akzeptabel oder daß sie authentisch sein sollen.”

125 Cf. GARNCARZ 1992, for example, 109–114 and 126–128.

proposed indicates that the splintered material circumstances of survival and the complex collaborative histories of production that we find with film works (as opposed to, for example, the picture works discussed in the last chapter) require a more thorough understanding of processes of creation and transmission than the description of surfaces of depiction would allow.¹²⁶ On that level, the level of both genetic variance and transmission variance, differentiated along the phases of creation (development, production, post-production, distribution) as well as the technical components and departments involved in production and transmission, the material basis for an edition emerges out of a reconstruction of dependencies and lineages. Tracing this closely from and towards archival inventories, where the evidence as such is clear, carries us away from an editorial question that may appear banal: What do we edit? A work? Work witnesses? Work versions?

To recall: With the picture programmes, it seemed sensible to demarcate them as works not through a ‘sameness of spelling’ but through a ‘sameness of context’ – e.g. by (1) being transmitted in the same medium, e.g. manuscripts, (2) being transmitted alongside a certain text or a certain configuration of text, (3) being reproduced manually with the *intent* of reproduction – ‘reproduction as is’, a certain degree of permissible alteration as well as incidental alteration notwithstanding. This definition accounts for variation that occurs between different work witnesses as opposed to variation between works sharing a common visual reference system. If we are to look at films primarily through the concept of film *versions* rather than film *witnesses*, then the sameness of context is superseded by a *contextual transformation*. This does not mean that there is no sameness of context at all anymore; film versions are still transmitted in the same medium and they still adhere to an intent of reproduction. The difference is, however, that the semantic variation takes on such a significance that it almost begs the question whether it might not have

126 Cf. URSULA VON KEITZ and WOLFGANG LUKAS, “Varianz in Literatur und Film: Ein Versuch,” in: *Kritische Film- und Literaturedition: Perspektiven einer transdisziplinären Editionswissenschaft* (editio / Beihefte; vol. 51), ed. by Ursula von Keitz, Wolfgang Lukas and Rüdiger Nutt-Kofoth, Berlin / Boston: De Gruyter, 2022, 57–86, here 84f., online: <<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110684605-005>>.

birthed a new work altogether. We saw this in the example of the reappropriated *Vaticinia de summis pontificibus*, equipped with new verses by Hans Sachs, and we see it in the example of Murnau's *Faust*, equipped with new verses by Gerhart Hauptmann.

There are several things to consider: First of all, versions of a work cannot be edited without witnesses of the versions. Consequently, all editions rely on witnesses. Second of all, semantic variation is only but one form of variation. Third of all, the traditional work paradigm must not dictate any and all editorial concerns. Without losing sight of the focus of this book which still lies with editions being demarcated by a *work* context, we might digress for a moment and anticipate what that last note could mean prospectively.

Anna Bohn has proposed the 'contextualization' of archival materials – film documents from the First World War, to be precise – in the form of multimedial editions.¹²⁷ Beyond that, films with their medium-specific versioning of a *Stoff* or *sujet* in the form of adaptations and remakes are, similar to picture programmes with their interpictureity, open to editorial approaches wherein the works themselves are treated as versions of a very specific subject matter with significant overlap in textual and visual content in addition to the variation occurring automatically by having two different actors play the same character, for example.¹²⁸ Where there is no criterion for a sameness of spelling outside of mechanically copying a material and identifying copy and original as essentially one and the same, boundaries inevitably become more elastic – viewed alternatively, they become very rigidly restricted to 'the work' in concomitance with its singular physical existence and instantiation.

In his essay on early motion pictures, Erwin Panofsky inadvertently touched on the topic when he compared the production of films to the production of theatre:

127 See BOHN 2015, 11–28.

128 On the topic of remakes and adaptations, see KATHLEEN LOOCK and CONSTANTINE VEREVIS (Eds.), *Film Remakes, Adaptations and Fan Productions: Remake/Remodel*, Basingstoke [et al.]: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, and THOMAS LEITCH (Ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Adaptation Studies*, Oxford [et al.]: Oxford University Press, 2017.

The playwright writes in the fond hope that his work will be an imperishable jewel in the treasure house of civilization and will be presented in hundreds of performances that are but transient variations on a 'work' that is constant. The script-writer, on the other hand, writes for one producer, one director and one cast. Their work achieves the same degree of permanence as does his; and should the same or a similar scenario ever be filmed by a different director and a different cast there will result an altogether different 'play.'¹²⁹

This is something worth discussing. Is there a significant difference between John Barrymore's Hamlet and Laurence Olivier's Hamlet, only because one was famed on stage and the other on film?¹³⁰ If there is, it is the difference between one being transient and the other captured for posterity. As the matter of restoration has shown, such material survival is fragile as well, but it would seem to me that the concept of *permanence* is a good reminder of Zumthor's concept of *mouvance*.¹³¹ Scholarly editions pierce the *mouvance* of a work by inscribing it in one form and they pierce the permanence of a work by showcasing its variant or fragmentary transmission. Depending on the type of edition and the type of document being edited, e.g. a corpus of letters instead of a 'work', this may not be true for all of them, but it would seem to be true for many.

What does that mean, for example, for films that are adaptations of stage plays, meaning that they were not specifically written "for one producer, one director and one cast"¹³² any more than they were written for one troupe of actors like the King's Men?¹³³ Would it not be possible to create a comparative edition of film versions of, say, *Macbeth*, ranging from Orson Welles' 1948 version to Akira Kurosawa's 1957

129 PANOFSKY 1947/1966, 28.

130 See, for information on these performers and performances, MICHAEL A. MORRISON, "John Barrymore's 'Hamlet' at the Haymarket Theatre, 1925," in: *New Theatre Quarterly* 7/27 (1991), 246–260, and PATRICK J. COOK, *Cinematic Hamlet: The Films of Olivier, Zeffirelli, Branagh, and Almereyda*, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2011, 23–64.

131 Cf. ZUMTHOR 1972, 65–75.

132 PANOFSKY 1947/1966, 28.

133 For information on the King's Men, see ANDREW GURR, *The Shakespeare Company, 1594–1642*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, and LUCY MUNRO, *Shakespeare in the Theatre: The King's Men*, London [et al.]: Bloomsbury, 2020.

蜘蛛巢城 ('Throne of Blood')?¹³⁴ Text beside films and pictorial illustrations, a history of adaptations, reconfigurations, and readings? And would it not be equally imaginable to create a comparative edition of certain stage productions in a reconstructive vein, i.e. based on circumstantial evidence that does have a permanence to it even if the performativity of the productions does not, meaning stage designs and models, photographs, annotated rehearsal scripts, costumes, newspaper clippings, and so on? This type of thinking moves editions closer to curated archives of material, but Paul Eggert has already shown that the 'archival impulse' and the 'editorial impulse' are interrelated; meaning that they occupy different spaces on the same spectrum, even if the progression from an archive to an edition is unidirectional.¹³⁵ In fact, multimedial editions that bring together that which is otherwise only related on a level of bibliographical cataloguing or scholarly analysis in prose would seem to run contrary to an 'archival impulse' that has to take the situation of rights, legalities, and logistics into account. (In that sense, these musings are entirely naïve, of course, but it is not the purpose of this chapter nor this book to be pragmatic, first and foremost. Rather, it should be the role of scholars to ask: How can we make webs of meaning visible? How can we experience that which is gone? What does it say about the times and places it came from?)

That the relationship of theatre plays and films is an especially close one is not a novel thought. We actually do find recorded (and thereby made permanent) stage plays included in releases of film adaptations. Such is the case for the Criterion release of Ernst Lubitsch's *Design for*

134 See ANTHONY DAVIES, *Filming Shakespeare's Plays: The Adaptations of Laurence Olivier, Orson Welles, Peter Brook, Akira Kurosawa*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988; JUDITH R. BUCHANAN, *Shakespeare on Film*, London / New York: Routledge, 2014, 71–89 [originally published 2005]; and TONY WILLIAMS, "Macbeth," in: *Senses of Cinema* 38 (2006), online: <<http://sensesofcinema.com/2006/cteq/macbeth-2/>> (accessed 28 August 2023).

135 Cf. EGGERT 2019. I take umbrage to the notion of a 'slider' between an edition and an archive and I wonder whether 'an archive' might not be subsumed by an edition as much as it might exist outside of any editorial concerns. For background on Paul Eggert's longstanding investment in the concept of editorial archives, see also PAUL EGGERT, "Versions and Versioning: A Critical Archive of D.H. Lawrence," in: *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literatur* 254 (2017), ed. by Jens Haustein [et al.], 82–95.

Living (1933), a film based on Noël Coward's play by the same name, adapted for the screen by scriptwriter Ben Hecht who famously quipped that he had "[left] only one line of Noël's [...] in the screenplay and defied Noël to find it. 'I shall not,' retorted Coward, 'even bother to find the film.'"¹³⁶ And yet, to what would have been his chagrin, no doubt, the Blu-ray from the Criterion Collection contains not only Lubitsch's Hollywood version but also a "British television production of the play *Design for Living* from 1964, introduced on camera by playwright Noël Coward."¹³⁷ What would be the purpose, if not to compare? And why would that not be the task of scholars, who need access to that which ought to be compared? In a scholarly edition, one might have included further materials, annotations, and modes of comparison, but the idea remains the same. Even though we are moving between two distinct works here, they are entangled because one was based on (and licensed to adapt) the other. A genetic edition of the film would necessarily have to reason with its origin. Another example for this would be DeMille's *The Sign of the Cross* (1932) where we have already seen a variance in transmission. Genetic variance, transmission variance – often, these go hand in hand. *The Sign of the Cross* (1932) was an adaptation of a stage play by that name (1895), written by Wilson Barrett, and had already been adapted into a silent film in 1914.¹³⁸ As has been observed elsewhere, the play bears a striking resemblance to Henryk Sienkiewicz's novel *Quo vadis* (1895/96) which was first published in Polish around the very same time as the stage production was first performed.¹³⁹ The

136 SHERIDAN MORLEY, "Introduction," in: Noël Coward, *Collected Plays (vol. 3): Design for Living, Cavalcade, Conversation Piece, Tonight at 8.30 (i), Still Life*, London [et al.]: Bloomsbury, 2014, vii–xvii, here x [introduction from 1998].

137 *Design for Living* (1933), dir. by Ernst Lubitsch, Criterion (Collection; 592), <<https://www.criterion.com/films/27872-design-for-living>> (accessed 29 August 2023).

138 Cf. 'The Sign of the Cross,' in: *AFI Catalog of Feature Films*, online: <<https://catalog.afi.com/film/16528-the-signofthecross>> (accessed 29 August 2023).

139 It is unclear how any plagiarism could have occurred in either direction but there is evidence that the play preceded the novel rather than the other way around, cf. PANAYIOTA MINI, "Representations of the Christian Female Virtue in Roman Film Epics: The Sign of the Cross (1932) and Quo Vadis (1951)," in: *The Reception of Ancient Virtues and Vices in Modern Popular Culture: Beauty, Bravery, Blood and Glory* (Metaforms; vol. 11), ed. by Eran Almagor and Lisa Maurice, Leiden: Brill, 2017, 231–252, here 232, fn. 6, online: <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004347724_011>.

novel was adapted into films many times, most famously in 1951,¹⁴⁰ directed by Mervyn LeRoy and starring Peter Ustinov as Emperor Nero (in DeMille's film, Nero is played by Charles Laughton). While there are some differences between the stories, they “resemble one another to such an extent that some [...] discuss the two works as if they were the same.”¹⁴¹ Are they the same? No. But they are related, and interest has treated them as such even when representation has not.

In the case of *Berlin Alexanderplatz*, where there is a novel by Alfred Döblin from 1929, an audio drama from 1930 that Döblin collaborated on (which did not air at the time but was preserved on shellac records), and a film adaptation from 1931 with a script co-written by Döblin, Rüdiger Nutt-Kofoth and Anna Bohn have spoken of a *Werkkomplex* (‘work complex’ or ‘set of work(s)’) and a *Werk-Netz* (‘work network’ or ‘net of work’) respectively to describe the shifting of multimedial boundaries.¹⁴² These words, applied to an example where the connective tissue between different versions of a work (different works of a story?) is provided by the central person of the author and the temporal closeness of creation, constitute a very gentle call for a renewal of editorial foci. It is unclear to me whether it should feel radical to think beyond this. So many examples of multimodal transmission variance come to mind, all with their own specific manifestations of a shared core element.

In 1954, the film *Carmen Jones*, directed by Otto Preminger, adapted a Broadway version (1943) of George Bizet's opera *Carmen* (1875) that changed the setting of the narrative to focus on African-American

140 See ‘Quo Vadis,’ in: *AFI Catalog of Feature Films*, online: <<https://catalog.afi.com/film/50257-quo-vadis>> (accessed 29 August 2023).

141 MINI 2017, 232.

142 Cf. RÜDIGER NUTT-KOFOTH, “Plurimedialität, Intermedialität, Transmedialität: Theoretische, methodische und praktische Implikationen einer Text-Ton-Film-Edition von Alfred Döblins Berlin-Alexanderplatz-Werkkomplex (1929–1931),” in: *Aufführung und Edition* (editio / Beihefte; vol. 46), ed. by Thomas Betzwieser and Markus Schneider, Berlin / Boston: De Gruyter, 2019, 183–194, online: <<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110639261-015>>, and ANNA BOHN, “Werk-Netze Berlin Alexanderplatz: Perspektiven der Vernetzung mit Normdaten und Identifikatoren beim Online-Zugang zu Filmen,” in: *Kritische Film- und Literaturedition: Perspektiven einer transdisziplinären Editions-wissenschaft* (editio / Beihefte; vol. 51), ed. by Ursula von Keitz, Wolfgang Lukas and Rüdiger Nutt-Kofoth, Berlin / Boston: De Gruyter, 2022, 129–164, online: <<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110684605-008>>.

military personnel during the Second World War; George Bizet's score was retained but the book and lyrics were rewritten by Oscar Hammerstein II; and to complicate matters further, Bizet's opera had itself been an adaptation of a novella (1845) by Prosper Mérimée.¹⁴³ Musical films and musical theatre might warrant special attention due to their unique modes of audio-visual storytelling.¹⁴⁴ Another matter to consider would be the combination of remake and adaptation, such as in the case of the Hollywood film *Gaslight* (1944) which was a remake of a British film of the same name from 1940 which in turn was an adaptation of a stage play from 1938.¹⁴⁵ And when the French poetic realist film *Pépé le Moko* (1937) was remade in Hollywood as *Algiers* (1938), the filmmakers not only reused parts of the soundtrack but of the footage as well; this is to not even mention the fact that the filmmakers of *Casablanca* (1942) heavily borrowed from the concept a short while later.¹⁴⁶

While such examples might seem too broadly chosen at first glance – and there are many more, particularly when we turn our attention to lesser known and researched films –, they do point in a direction that is relevant for the edition of *works* as well. Consider *Der Kurier des Zaren* (1936). This adaptation of Jules Verne's novel *Michel Strogoff* (1876) was shot simultaneously in German and in French, with Richard Eichberg directing the German version and Jacques de Baroncelli the French

143 See SUSAN McCLARY, *Georges Bizet: Carmen*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, and KIRSTEN MÖLLER, INGE STEPHAN and ALEXANDRA TACKE (Eds.), *Carmen: Ein Mythos in Literatur, Film und Kunst*, Köln [et al.]: Böhlau, 2011.

144 A different type of variance that we can see in musical films is exemplified by *Seven Brides for Seven Brothers* (1954), directed by Stanley Donen, which was shot simultaneously in two different screen formats, cf. TIM CARTER, "Lost in Translation: Rodgers and Hammerstein's *Carousel* on the Silver Screen," in: *The Oxford Handbook of Musical Theatre Screen Adaptations*, ed. by Dominic McHugh, Oxford [et al.]: Oxford University Press, 2019, 515–542, here 529. While this might not be unique to musical films, blocking scenes for two different formats becomes a greater challenge when group dance numbers have to be taken into consideration, for example.

145 See ANDREW SARRIS, "Two or Three Things I know About *Gaslight*," in: *Film Comment* 12/3 (1976), 23–25.

146 See CHRISTIAN VIVANI, "Julien Duvivier entre Paris et Hollywood: Le cheminement des images," in: *Revue française d'études américaines* 115 (2008), 121–136, and DAVID I. CROSSVOGEL, *Didn't You Used to be Depardieu? Film as Cultural Marker in France and Hollywood* (Framing Film / The History of Art and Cinema; vol. 5), New York [et al.]: Peter Lang, 2002, 23–36.

version.¹⁴⁷ Of the cast, only the main actor Adolf Wohlbrück (later known as Anton Walbrook) appeared in both versions speaking both languages; the other characters were played by German-, respectively French-speaking actors and actresses.¹⁴⁸ Yet another alternate version was shot one year later in Hollywood under the title *The Soldier and the Lady* (1937), again with Adolf Wohlbrück reprising his role. This remake allegedly reused footage from the French and German versions, shot in Bulgaria¹⁴⁹ – I say allegedly because ‘the film’ is, to my knowledge, not commercially available in all its versions and certainly not in any comparative way, shape, or form.¹⁵⁰ This is a fate shared by many if not most *multiple-language version films*, short MLV.¹⁵¹ A phenomenon

147 The German and French version are often named in conjunction. That Baroncelli directed the French version is acknowledged in DAYNA OSCHERWITZ and MARYELLEN HIGGINS, *The A to Z of French Cinema*, Lanham [et al.]: Scarecrow Press, 2009, 38. That Eichberg directed the German version is mentioned in contemporary reviews in the *Österreichische Film-Zeitung* 11 (13 March 1936), 4, and the *Neue Freie Presse* 25683 (11 March 1936), 10. Confirmation that *Der Kurier des Zaren / Michel Strogoff* was a Franco-German MLV can be found in the entry on Adolf Wohlbrück in *The Concise CineGraph: Encyclopaedia of German Cinema*, ed. by Hans-Michael Bock and Tim Bergfelder, New York / Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2009, 537f. Another entry on Adolf Wohlbrück in the *International Biography Dictionary of Central European Emigrés 1933–1945: The Arts, Sciences, and Literature* (vol. 2), ed. by Werner Schröder and Herbert A. Strauss, München [et al.]: K. G. Saur, 1983, 1201, also suggests as much. For further information on the actor, see his entry in KAY WENIGER, ‘*Es wird im Leben dir mehr genommen als gegeben...*’ *Lexikon der aus Deutschland und Österreich emigrierten Filmschaffenden 1933 bis 1945: Eine Gesamtübersicht*, Hamburg: Abacus, 2011, 661–663.

148 For a list of the German cast, see <https://www.filmportal.de/film/der-kurier-des-zaren_3647c1ca7c5a42258c3cd1e57ca05608> (accessed 29 August 2023). For a list of the French cast, see <https://www.filmportal.de/film/michel-strogoff-le-courrier-du-tzar_674c7fa584954745843060f8d3fa7ca7> (accessed 29 August 2023).

149 Some sources alternatively suggest that the scenes may have been shot in Siberia, cf. ‘The Soldier and the Lady (1937),’ in: *AFI Catalog of Feature Films*, online: <<https://catalog.afi.com/film/5918-the-soldierandthelady>> (accessed 29 August 2023).

150 For the claim that footage was reused, cf. THOMAS C. RENZI, *Jules Verne on Film: A Filmography of the Cinematic Adaptations of his Works, 1902 through 1997*, Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 1998, 126.

151 For general information on the phenomenon, see CHRIS WAHL, *Sprachversionsfilme aus Babelsberg: Die internationale Strategie der Ufa 1929–1939*, München: edition text+kritik, 2009, and the translation CHRIS WAHL, *Multiple Language Versions Made in Babelsberg: Ufa’s International Strategy, 1929–1939*, transl. by Steve Wilder, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016. See also the two dedicated issues of a journal focusing on international film studies: *Cinéma & Cie* 4 (2004), ed. by Nataša Đurovičová, and *Cinéma & Cie* 6 (2005), ed. by Hans-Michael Bock and Simone Venturini.

particular to a certain period in time, yet one that affected many films and their variant creation. Which leads us back to a more tightly controlled discussion of scope.

F. CULTURAL CONNOTATIONS

In the late 1920s and early 1930s, when sound film was still a recent development and the ‘talkies’ were not yet technically sophisticated enough to allow for the dubbing of films into other languages,¹⁵² it was common practice to shoot a film in different languages at the same time, using the same crew and sets and only exchanging those of the cast who were not fluent in the required languages or did not have enough appeal for the targeted foreign market (see **FIG. 44**, where an article from 1934 describes this phenomenon contemporarily). Even as late as 1953, director Otto Preminger used this approach to film *The Moon is Blue / Die Jungfrau auf dem Dach* although by that point, dubbing had long since become the cheaper standard.¹⁵³ Outside of the Anglo- and Eurocentric sphere, MLVs exist to this day, such as in India where they are one way to address the multi-cultural and multi-lingual landscape.¹⁵⁴

152 Although attempts existed in a Franco-German context as early as 1929, cf. KATHRIN ENGEL, *Deutsche Kulturpolitik im besetzten Paris 1940–1944: Film und Theater*, München: Oldenbourg, 2003, 59.

153 Preminger estimated that shooting the film simultaneously in German and English would only increase the cost by 10 to 15 percent, cf. CHRIS FUJIWARA, *The World and Its Double: The Life and Work of Otto Preminger*, New York: Faber & Faber, 2008, 143. He ended up liking only the American version, however, since the German version had apparently – in contrast to the earlier MLVs that were tailored to suit the cultural preferences of their respective audiences – not re-adapted the psychology of the underlying American play enough to work, cf. *ibid.*, 145.

154 See, for example, the *Macbeth* adaptation *Veeram* (2016), directed by Jayaraj, which was shot in Malayalam, Hindi, and English, cf. POONAM TRIVEDI and PAROMITA CHAKRAVARTI, “Introduction,” in: *Shakespeare and Indian Cinemas: ‘Local Habitations’*, ed. by Poonam Trivedi and Paromita Chakravarti, London / New York: Routledge, 2019, 1–20, here 5. Even though multilingual films have been made in India throughout the decades, meaning films that were simultaneously shot in several languages, a term such as ‘multilinguals’ is – similar to MLVs in Europe and Hollywood – used to refer to films made in India in the 1930s specifically as well, cf. the entry ASHISH RAJADHYAKSHA, ‘Multilinguals,’ in: *Encyclopedia of Indian Cinema*, London: British Film Institute, 1994,

„Des jungen Dessauers große Liebe“
deutsch: Irude Marlen u. Willy Fritsch
französisch: Josseline Gaëll u. Georges
Rigoud



VERSIONEN

Die Notwendigkeit, fremdsprachige Fassungen für große Filme herzustellen, entspringt der Tatsache, daß seit Erfindung und Ausnutzung des Tonfilms der Film seine eigenliche Internationalität verloren hat. Es war früher möglich, jederzeit den in Deutschland Amerika, Frankreich England usw. produzierten Film durch Titel in der jeweiligen Landessprache in allen Ländern der Welt und vor allen Völkern der Erde vorzuführen. Heute gibt es riesengroße Sprachgebiete, die für den deutschen Film vollkommen verloren sind, wenn der Film sich nicht der Sprache der betreffenden Länder bedient.

Es gibt auf der Erde drei große Sprachgruppen die die Welt beherrschen: deutsch, englisch und französisch. Will man also einen Film drehen, der in allen zivilisierten Ländern der Erde zur Auführung kommen soll, dann muß man ihn in diesen drei Sprachen herstellen. Infolge der augenblicklichen politischen Verhältnisse fällt für Deutschland fast das gesamte englischsprechende Sprachgebiet der Welt aus, und so kommt es daß zur Zeit die deutschen Großfilme nur in deutscher und französischer Sprache gedreht werden.

Bei der Produktion fremdsprachiger Fassungen ist natürlich das Ideal, Schauspielerei zu besitzen die in allen drei Sprachgruppen gleich bekannt sind und die gleichzeitig diese drei Sprachen so beherrschen, daß sie akzentlos ihre Rolle spielen können. Solche Sprachphänomene gibt es leider nur sehr wenig und es ist interessant festzustellen daß hier die Frauen an erster Stelle stehen. Lilian Harvey z. B. beherrscht vollkommen akzentlos die deutsche, englische und französische Sprache und spielt in ihren Filmen in allen drei Fassungen die weibliche Hauptrolle. Brigitte Helm finden wir in einer ganzen Reihe von Filmen als Darstellerin der weiblichen Hauptrolle sowohl in der deutschen als in der französischen

Fassung, desgleichen Käthe von Nagy, und auch Renate Müller hat einmal in einer englischen Fassung und einmal auch in einer französischen Fassung gespielt. Damit ist aber die Liste dieser Darstellerinnen erschöpft. Von den männlichen Darstellern wäre neben Hans Albers, der in der englischen Fassung von „Bomben auf Monte Carlo“ ebenfalls die männliche Hauptrolle spielt, Conrad Veidt zu erwähnen, der in England sehr beliebt ist und häufig als Star in englischen Fassungen auftritt.

Es ist interessant, wie nun die einzelnen Schauspieler, teilweise durch die Mentalität der Länder bedingt, ihre Rollen ganz verschiedenartig auffassen, obwohl die einzelnen Fassungen eines Films von dem gleichen Regisseur in-



„Flüchtlinge“
franz.: Pierre Blanchar
u. Käthe v. Nagy
deutsch: Hans Albers
u. Käthe v. Nagy





Kollegen zusieht. Das geschieht schon aus dem Gefühl heraus, nicht die individuelle Auffassung der Rolle zu verlieren. Diese individuelle Auffassung von einer einzelnen Rolle, die man bei den verschiedenen Darstellern der verschiedenen Sprachgruppen findet, geht nicht allein auf die Gestaltung sondern auch auf das Aussehen des einzelnen Darstellers über. Die Maske der Schauspieler ist absolut nicht immer die gleiche. Wir haben z. B. den typischen Fall bei Paul Kemp, dem Humoristen in den verschiedenen Kiepara-Filmen, die man hier in Deutschland gesehen hat. Sein

„Gold“
deutsch: Hans Albers u. Lien Deyers
französ.: Pierre Blanchar u. Rosine Deran



szeniert werden. Zum Vergleich kann man daran denken, wie verschieden z. B. in Deutschland ein großer Regisseur oder Schauspieler die einzelnen Personen in den Werken unserer Klassiker aufbaut.

Selbstverständlich wird stofflich bei den einzelnen Fassungen kaum etwas geändert, da die deutsche Zensur einen Film für das Ausland in einer ausländischen Fassung nur freigibt, wenn diese Fassung mit dem deutschen Film übereinstimmt. Dagegen ist aber sehr häufig die Darstellung der Persönlichkeit der einzelnen handelnden Personen grundverschieden.

Wie schon vorher gesagt ist der Regisseur in den einzelnen Fassungen immer der gleiche. Er wird nur assistiert von einem Regisseur, der der Sprache des Landes mächtig ist und ev. regieliche Änderungen vornimmt, die für das betreffende Land oder für die betreffende Sprachgruppe eine unbedingte Notwendigkeit sind. Die Fassungen werden in Deutschland stets nacheinander in den einzelnen Szenen aufgenommen. Dabei wird man niemals einen Schauspieler der einen Fassung sehen, wie er bei der Gestaltung der Rolle des fremdsprachigen



französischer Kollege ist ein in Frankreich sehr beliebter Schauspieler Lucien Baroux, der ihm im Aussehen und auch in der Darstellung absolut nicht gleicht. Er ist ein typischer französischer Komiker und verschieden von dem Komikertyp Paul Kemp. Sowohl in Frankreich als auch in Deutschland wird aber an den gleichen Stellen und in gleich herzlicher Weise über die Späße und Clownereien jedes einzelnen gelacht.

Bei der Gestaltung dramatischer Rollen haben wir genau dasselbe. Immer wieder ist die Auffassung der Darsteller einer Rolle grundverschieden, aber wenn nachher der Film vor dem Publikum des jeweiligen Landes abläuft, so findet man trotzdem die gleiche Ergriffenheit beim Publikum. Das ist der Fortschritt, den der Tonfilm vor den früheren internationalen Stummfilmen voraus hat: Man kann heute den Kinobesucher in der ganzen Welt packen, indem man den Darsteller nach der Mentalität der Sprachgebiete eine Rolle gestalten läßt, während diese Rolle früher durch die Zwischentitel nur illustriert wurde.

„Viktor und Viktoria“
deutsch: Renate Müller u. Adolf Wohlbrück
französ.: Meg Lemonnier u. Adolf Wohlbrück

FIG. 44: Article about multi-language film “Versions” from *Filmwelt* 5 (1934), 9–10 (photographer(s) and author could not be identified; image courtesy of the *Theaterwissenschaftliche Sammlung*, University of Cologne).

Of the films that were shot as multiple-language versions in earlier decades in Europe, *Der blaue Engel / The Blue Angel* (1930), directed by Josef von Sternberg, is one of the few that has seen a combined home video release.¹⁵⁵ Some editions of the film include both the English and the German version as well as a split-screen comparison of a scene set in a classroom.¹⁵⁶ Unlike the comprehensive side by side comparison of the domestic and export versions of Murnau's *Faust* (1926) on the 2014 Eureka release, however, which introduces each visual comparison with a text assessing the differences that viewers are about to see (cf. **FIG. 45**), the scene comparison of *Der blaue Engel / The Blue Angel* (1930) stands so isolated that it has been described as a “gimmick, since any kind of analysis, explanation, or contextualization are missing.”¹⁵⁷ This despite

15 [revised edition published by Ashish Rajadhyaksha and Paul Willeman, *Encyclopedia of Indian Cinema*, Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1999; that edition republished by London / New York: Routledge, 2012]. On the need for lingual diversity in Indian cinema, aside from the matter of films being shot in multiple languages at the same time, see also MARA MATTA, “Multilingualism and Indigenous Cinema in Northeast India: The Case of Kokborok Language Films,” in: *The Multilingual Screen: New Reflections on Cinema and Linguistic Difference*, ed. by Tijana Mamula and Lisa Patti, New York [et al.]: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016, 335–350.

155 Cf. WAHL 2008, 77. The German and English versions are included in the Eureka (Masters of Cinema; 49) release, 2013, <<https://eurekavideo.co.uk/movie/the-blue-angel/>> (accessed 29 August 2023), the Kino DVD release, 2001, <<https://kinolorber.com/product/the-blue-angel-dvd>> (accessed 30 August 2023), the Kino Lorber Blu-ray release, 2013 (not their single-disc Blu-ray release from 2012 which only contained the German version), <<https://kinolorber.com/product/the-blue-angel-deluxe-blu-ray-blu-ray>> (accessed 30 August 2023), and in the release by the Friedrich-Wilhelm-Murnau-Stiftung through Universum Film, 2001/2012, <<https://www.murnau-stiftung.de/movie/78>> (accessed 29 August 2023). Another example for this type of release would be the Criterion release of *Die Dreigroschenoper* (1931): In addition to the German version, it includes the French version *L'opera de quat'sous*, starring Albert Prejean and Florelle, and the release furthermore includes a scholarly presentation on the differences between the versions, cf. *The Threepenny Opera* (‘Die Dreigroschenoper’, 1931), dir. by G. W. Pabst, Criterion (Collection; 405), <<https://www.criterion.com/films/834-the-threepenny-opera>> (accessed 29 August 2023).

156 This feature is included in the 2001/2012 Universum Film release and the Kino Lorber Blu-ray release from 2013 (see previous fn.).

157 CHRIS WAHL, “Den Unterschied macht die Forschung: ein Doppelplädoyer für das kritische Edieren von Ufa-Sprachversions- und NS-Vorbehaltsfilmen,” in: *Kritische Film- und Literaturedition: Perspektiven einer transdisziplinären Editionswissenschaft* (editio / Beihefte; vol. 51), ed. by Ursula von Keitz, Wolfgang Lukas and Rüdiger Nutt-Kofoth, Berlin / Boston: De Gruyter, 2022, 293–306, here 297, online: <<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110684605-015>>, original: “Das ist im Prinzip eine sehr schöne

In the following sequence with Gretchen and her mother, the camera is generally closer and more intimate in the domestic negative, but the export version uses one close-up that is missing in the domestic cut.

FIG. 45: Textual annotation / introduction of a scene in the comparison of the domestic and export versions of *Faust – eine deutsche Volkssage* (1926), ed. by Bradley Richards, prod. by Nick Wrigley, written and dir. by R. Dixon Smith; screen capture, BLU-RAY: Eureka (Masters of Cinema; 78), 2014, time stamp 0:17:22 (bonus feature).

the fact that the versioning of this particular film is arguably less complex to comprehend and denote than that of many other MLVs. One variance can be found in the editing and shot selection and therefore the rhythm and feeling of scenes, influenced by filming a scene multiple times or with multiple cameras and then assembling it in the editing room in different ways. This is neither specific to one genre of film nor to one mode of production.

A variance of MLVs is characteristic when it resembles the variance we find in medieval picture programmes because theirs is a variance of *manual reproduction*. We may have versions of medieval works (a long and a short version, for example) and we may have witnesses of these versions – and in some cases, each witness will be so unique and there will be so few witnesses of a work to begin with that grouping them into versions will make little sense. At other times, we will have versions of

Möglichkeit, mit den Sprachversionsfilmen umzugehen, bleibt in diesem Fall allerdings Spielerei, da jegliche Art von Analyse, Erklärung oder Einordnung unterlassen wurde.“

a work that demand so much attention that an edition would only be attempted for that single version rather than the work (or *Werkkomplex*) as a whole – think of the *Elsässische Legenda aurea* mentioned in **CHAPTER I** and its manuscript witnesses, four of which were produced in the workshop of Diebold Lauber.¹⁵⁸ Length and language are two universal criteria, then, that would seem to divide a work into versions. With films, witnesses are still important, as evidenced by the archival histories touched on earlier – and there are so many we have not touched on at all, be it *Napoléon* (1927), directed by Abel Gance, or *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1930), directed by Lewis Milestone,¹⁵⁹ the latter of which is also particularly relevant for the issue of language adaptation and the acceptance or rather rejection of dubbing.¹⁶⁰ But beyond the archival, the fragmented and destroyed, the edited and lost, the means of mechanical reproduction generally de-emphasize singular witnesses in film transmission. Witnesses, versions – does it matter? Perhaps it does not, so long as we do not conflate the two. It seems clear to me that with films, our attention naturally shifts towards *versions*, and MLVs are particularly representative of that since “the often quite complicated background of their parallel existence virtually calls for a *critical* edition.”¹⁶¹ A critical

158 Once more, I want to refer to the *Diebold Lauber digital* portal by the University of Leipzig and here more specifically to its index of manuscripts, <<http://wrote.informatik.uni-leipzig.de/mediavistik/werke/>> (accessed 30 August 2023), as well as to the information on the *Elsässische Legenda aurea* provided by the *Repertorium ‘Geschichtsquellen des deutschen Mittelalters’*, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, <<https://www.geschichtsquellen.de/werk/5358>> (last updated 10 September 2019; accessed 30 August 2023).

159 On *Napoléon* and its complicated transmission and restoration history, see PAUL CUFF, *A Revolution for the Screen: Abel Gance’s Napoléon*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015, 25–29. On *All Quiet on the Western Front*, its versioning, censoring, and banning, see ANDREW KELLY, “All Quiet on the Western Front: ‘Brutal Cutting, Stupid Censors and Bigoted Politicos’ (1930–1984),” in: *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 9/2 (1989), 135–150, online: <<https://doi.org/10.1080/01439688900260121>>. See also ‘All Quiet on the Western Front,’ in: *AFI Catalog of Feature Films*, online: <<https://catalog.afi.com/film/2558-all-quietonthewesternfront>> (accessed 30 August 2023).

160 Cf. MICHAEL WEDEL, “Universal, Germany, and All Quiet on the Western Front: A Case Study in Crisis Historiography,” in: *NECSUS: European Journal of Media Studies* 1/1 (2012), 126–147, here esp. 136–142, online: <<https://doi.org/10.25969/mediarep/15044>>.

161 WAHL 2008, 77.

edition of what? The assignation of elements and relationships, of *descriptions*, cannot be enough.

Allow me to explain this in more detail by way of one example (although it will be difficult to convey this in writing). Take *Die Drei von der Tankstelle / Le chemin du paradis* ('The Three from the Filling Station' / 'The Road to Paradise', 1930), directed by Wilhelm Thiele and Max De Vaucorbeil respectively. The female lead actress Lilian Harvey played her role in both the German and the French version while the roles of the three male protagonists were recast. There is a musical number called *Hallo, du süße Frau, fahr' nicht allein* ('Hello, sweet lady, don't drive all on your own') that takes place at the petrol station and involves Lilian Harvey's character 'Lilian' and, in the German version, Oskar Karlweis' character Kurt. In the French version, his character has been exchanged for another: Rather than his counterpart Guy, played by Jacques Maury, the counterpart of Willy Fritsch's role 'Willy' – played by Henri Garat – joins her in song (see **FIGS. 46** and **47**). This is a significant change, since Willy is the main love interest whereas Kurt is not, subverting the entire subtext of the scene (as well as its placement within the story as a plot device, affecting how it ends, and what follows from it):

In the German version, Lilian's character meets 'the three friends' one after another, over the course of a day, as she stops at their petrol station. First, she meets Hans, played by Heinz Rühmann as the nerdiest of the men.¹⁶² They share an exchange half-sung to the melody of *Hallo, du süße Frau*, foreshadowing it musically, before transitioning into regular dialogue. Lilian buys two litres of oil and leaves. Hans goes home and Kurt takes over. The second encounter that follows involves the playful and comedic musical number where Oskar Karlweis acts the hapless suitor and Lilian Harvey dances with him and around him, exposing her legs as she does. There is no dialogue to lead into the scene, rather a montage of Kurt serving different customers until Lilian comes along with a song (that begins with the honking of the horn of her car).

162 His French counterpart Jean, played by René Lefèvre, is equally demarcated by wearing glasses.



FIG. 46: Every second frame of a brief sequence from *Hallo, du süße Frau* in *Die Drei von der Tankstelle* (1930), starring Lilian Harvey and Oskar Karlweis; screen capture, DVD: Friedrich-Wilhelm-Murnau-Stiftung / Universum Film [Collection *Die große Heinz Rühmann-Box*], 2018, 25 fps, time stamp 0:25:15–0:25:16.



FIG. 47: Every second frame of a brief sequence (corresponding to the exact same part, musically, in **FIG. 46**) from *Hallo, du süße Frau* in *Le chemin du paradis* (1930), starring Lilian Harvey and Henri Garat; screen capture, DVD: René Chateau Vidéo, 2016, 25 fps, time stamp 0:30:34–0:30:35 [* aspect ratio unchanged, the image appears cropped at the bottom in this release].

Thematically, both the lyrics and the choreography address the emancipation of women driving cars on their own and rejecting the men who wish to join them on their ride. This is performed with a wink – the two characters even share a brief kiss and then continue with faux shock. The scene ends with Lilian driving off while the song is still playing, waving as she disappears. Kurt realizes with some delay that Lilian has forgotten the cap of her tank and is losing petrol. (She will have to be back in the evening, this time to encounter Willy, her love interest for the remainder of the film.) Kurt, meanwhile, finishes the song with a last verse, lovingly holding the forgotten cap and singing to himself: “If in spring you don’t drive together / You’ll get lonely in the most beautiful car / Hello, sweet lady / Don’t drive all on your own / Why not invite me / I know the way to paradise.”¹⁶³ As the scene fades to black, he sits on his own, of course, all alone. The irony of it adds the crucial finishing touch.

In the French version, Lilian does meet the three friends as well but not in the same order. Guy / Kurt takes the place of Jean / Hans and services her first, talking to her in a notably different manner and framing and without the foreshadowing of the later song involved. It is at the end of this brief scene that she drives off while losing petrol and Guy notices the forgotten cap which he picks up. There is no further punchline (and no distraction from song and dance to explain the mishap either). He goes home and Jean takes over. Soon enough, Lilian arrives again. This scene plays out similarly to the first encounter in the German version, with the melody of *Hallo, du süße Frau* now being heard in the background. Lilian buys two litres of oil. One wonders how she could not have noticed the loss of petrol. As she drives off, there is no trail of petrol either, although she should still be driving without the cap. Finally, after some other scenes, she stops at the station in the evening and encounters Willy. No song has happened yet. On the surface, this plays similarly to her respective encounter with Willy in the German version,

163 The ‘you’ of the first two lines is a generic you. Original German lyrics: “Fährt man nicht im Lenz gemeinsam / Wird’s im schönsten Auto einsam / Hallo, du süße Frau / Fahr’ nicht allein / Lad’ mich doch ein / Ich kenn’ den Weg ins Paradies genau.”

except that she remarks on her loss of petrol there¹⁶⁴ rather than asking for 30 litres of petrol as she does in French. It is only when he goes to fill her tank that the missing cap catches his eye. He gets a new one, they hold a conversation. At the end of it, when he asks for her name and telephone number, Lilian huffs and gets in her car. In the German version, he says *bitte* ('please') a few times, and she seems amused. As he is pleading and she is driving away with a smile and a wave, she tells him her name and number which he writes down in a notebook, overjoyed. It might be fair to say that it did not take her much convincing. In the background, *Hallo, du süße Frau* has started playing again and Willy, in German, sings the last line: "I know the way to paradise." (And here we might understand why the French version is called *Le chemin du paradis* which is the title of the song in French – evidently focused more on the romance than 'The Three Friends from the Filling Station'.)

But wait – where is the song in the French version? Willy and Lilian have talked, he has asked for her number and name, she has huffed and gotten into her car. In the French version, this is when Willy and Lilian (rather than Kurt and Lilian) launch into the song. No montage of customers as the lead-in. A different time of day (since it is evening, it is much darker). A different outfit (Lilian is dressed in a longer, more modest dress). A different connotation (romantic rather than comedic). What are we to take from this? I am not going to speculate on the way in which this might reflect certain societal attitudes and cultural norms, socially liberal or conservative, although it seems clear that one could easily make such an argument. Even on the surface, the ending of the scene changes the point of the song. While Kurt in the German version merely dreams of paradise, left to his own devices as Lilian asserts her independence, Willy is rewarded for his prolonged perseverance in the French version as Lilian relents, not after a short scene of farewell but after an entire song of rejection. Due to the light-hearted performances in either version, it is difficult to ascertain whether the implications of

164 "There must be something wrong with my car. I just filled up this afternoon and now I don't have a drop of petrol left." (Original German: "An meinem Auto muss irgendetwas nicht in Ordnung sein. Heute Nachmittag hab' ich erst getankt und jetzt habe ich keinen Tropfen Benzin mehr.")

this are ultimately negligible or not. It does have further-reaching consequences, however, not least of all for the dynamic among the three friends. In both versions, Willy's goodbye to Lilian transitions into a scene of Hans / Jean and Kurt / Guy playing chess. An instrumental version of *Hallo, du süße Frau* continues to sound in the background. Kurt / Guy starts to whistle along to the melody. Hans / Jean asks him what he is whistling and Kurt / Guy replies: "Oh, nothing." Then Hans / Jean starts humming along to the melody. Same question and answer in reverse. So far, so similar. Except that the song never played during Lilian's encounter with Guy in the French version, not even as part of the score. What is he reminiscing about? This is a subtle difference that viewers of the French version are unlikely to notice. One could, after all, understand from the context that both men are thinking of Lilian as it has become a signature melody at that point. Nonetheless, a sense remains that there is another layer of meaning to the German version here that is missing from the French version. There are many other differences between the two versions, right down to the hat that a 'difficult' customer wears (cf. **FIG. 48**), and it would be possible to explore each in excruciating depth and detail. Perhaps that is not necessary, even in a (semi-)scholarly edition of such a work (complex). Editorial choices will always dictate a focus of attention, especially as we move from layers of *description* to layers of *interpretation*.

Chris Wahl has identified four key areas of differentiation between versions of MLVs on the basis of the film *Ich bei Tag und Du bei Nacht / À moi le jour, à toi la nuit / Early to Bed* (1932), directed by Ludwig Berger and Claude Heymann: the language-image relationship, the props, the mood or humour, and the national context.¹⁶⁵ Each of these could be expanded, but they do indicate special zones of interest that rely on a human interpreter more so than the mere observation of deviation. I have chosen to highlight this type of variance among a plethora of variances in film transmission because it returns us to a very central, general issue. Effectively, it brings to mind Roland Barthes' semiological

165 Cf. WAHL 2022, 297f.



FIG. 48: Comparison of national costuming choices, above *Die Drei von der Tankstelle* (1930), where the customer wears a hat with a gamsbart, below *Le chemin du paradis* (1930), where the customer wears a bowler. Other differences include the stiff high collar in the German version where the man also wears pince-nez glasses attached to a ribbon, as well as the demeanour of the characters – the customer in the German version loses his hat twice in the course of the scene; screen capture above, DVD: Friedrich-Wilhelm-Murnau-Stiftung / Universum Film, 2018, time stamp 0:14:32, and below, DVD: René Chateau Vidéo, 2016, time stamp 0:14:39.

concept of *dénotation* and *connotation*,¹⁶⁶ which parallels Erwin Panofsky's distinction between a pre-iconographic description of an image (the *dénotation* of its 'contents') and an iconographic or even iconological analysis of it (the *connotation* of its wider cultural implications).¹⁶⁷ In terms of editorial theory, Hans Zeller's distinction between *Befund* ('record' / 'evidence' / 'finding') and *Deutung* ('interpretation' / 'explanation') adds yet another corresponding concept.¹⁶⁸ Søren Kjørup, in his book on the humanities, notes the similarity between Panofsky's concept and the pair of *denotation* and *connotation*, referring to Umberto Eco's introduction to semiotics; in fact, he relates it to Panofsky's schema as if those layers of analysis were identical.¹⁶⁹ An in-depth discussion of these parallels has yet to take place, to the best of my knowledge, and it might suffice here to remark on a superficial familiarity. Levels of signification are difficult to distinguish and there is a question – across all editorial issues we have discussed thus far – about the feasibility of any given editorial project. How thorough is thorough enough? Are we going to miss the forest for the trees, marking up figurative minutiae versus modelling that which actually matters? Who is to decide? (The editor or editorial team, of course.) Are scholarly editions that do nothing besides 'representing' evidence adequate *Auseinandersetzungen* ('engagements') with the material? This is different from asking whether they are adequate *resources* (for one purpose or another). The answer might depend on the object of study and edition.

With film, layers of connotation go beyond the cultural contexts that may be very specific to the versioning of MLVs. Consider *La belle*

166 See ROLAND BARTHES, "Éléments de Sémiologie," in: *Communications* 4 (1964), 91–135, here 130–132 (section IV).

167 Daniel Chandler is among those who make a connection between the two concepts as well, cf. DANIEL CHANDLER, *Semiotics: The Basics*, London / New York: Routledge, 2002, 140.

168 Cf. ZELLER 1971 and DEDNER 2008.

169 Cf. KJØRUP 2001, 230f. He does the same, even more directly, in SØREN KJØRUP, *Semiotik* (UTB für Wissenschaft; vol. 3039), Paderborn: Fink, 2009, 61–63, outright stating: "Translated into semiotic terms, the pre-iconographic layer is clearly concerned with denotation and the iconographic layer with connotation." (Ibid., 63, original: "In semiotische Begriffe übersetzt geht es bei der vor-ikonographischen Ebene klar um Denotation, bei der ikonographischen um Konnotation.")

équipe (1936), directed by Julien Duvivier. The original ending of the film was deemed too pessimistic by the producers and he had to reshoot a more optimistic one, which obviously changed the tone quite significantly; legal disputes prevented a release of the original ending for many decades afterwards.¹⁷⁰ Or how about the film noir *Night and the City* (1950), directed by Jules Dassin? Its beginning and ending were significantly altered for its British release, giving it “a more romantic spin.”¹⁷¹ A new soundtrack was also composed for the British version and an essay by Christopher Husted that is included in the bonus features of the Criterion release of the film illustrates how much of a difference in ambience and suspense the differing soundtrack makes, with one chase sequence in the British version being left entirely unscored as opposed to the string accompaniment in the original American version; to name but one obvious difference in setting the scene.¹⁷² Is it possible to describe this difference?¹⁷³ One editorial choice must always involve the choices given to readers and viewers, so they may compare, analyse, and understand for themselves. Another choice must be the willingness of the editor(s) to share the knowledge they have gathered in the process

170 Cf. OLIVIER PÈRE, “La Belle Equipe de Julien Duvivier,” in: *ARTE Cinéma* (29 March 2016), online: <<https://www.arte.tv/sites/olivierpere/2016/03/29/la-belle-equipe-de-julien-duvivier/>> (accessed 1 September 2023).

171 MIKE D’ANGELO, “Criterion Offers Two Distinct Versions of One Terrific Noir: *Night and the City*,” review, in: *AV Club* (5 August 2015), online: <<https://film.avclub.com/criterion-offers-two-distinct-versions-of-one-terrific-1798184543>> (accessed 30 August 2023).

172 For information on how the scores compare, see CHRISTOPHER MARTIN, “*Night and the City*: Scores by Benjamin Frankel and Franz Waxman,” review, in: *Journal of British Cinema and Television* 4/1 (2007), 203–205. For information on the Criterion release and its special features, see *Night and the City* (1950), dir. by Jules Dassin, Criterion (Collection; 274), <<https://www.criterion.com/films/933-night-and-the-city>> (accessed 30 August 2023).

173 It is, at the very least, already done in closed captioning for the hearing-impaired, where musical cues are often denoted with the impression they are supposed to leave on the viewer; cf. JOHN KELLY, “With Closed Captioning, Music Can Help Tell a Story,” in: *The Washington Post* (24 July 2013), online: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/with-closed-captioning-music-can-help-tell-a-story/2013/07/24/18a172e2-f3d2-11e2-aa2e-4088616498b4_story.html> (accessed 30 August 2023). See also JESSICA GREEN, “Understanding the Score: Film Music Communicating to and Influencing the Audience,” in: *The Journal of Aesthetic Education* 44/4 (2010), 81–94.

of creating an edition, screening material, engaging with it in a way few others will ever do.

Reconstruction – often a necessity, always a principle involved (whether in the construction of a lost ideal or the assemblage of surviving evidence) – can chafe against layers of connotation and this should be a conscious part of the process. If we stay with the matter of scoring films with music, then we should acknowledge that it is especially relevant for silent films. In most cases, there is no extant original soundtrack or even score – *Metropolis* (1927), as scored by Gottfried Huppertz, is a notable exception and, indeed, his annotated sheet music played a crucial role in the film’s reconstruction history.¹⁷⁴ Since the music that accompanied silent films was performed live and is thus generally lost if it was improvised or if the written scores were not archived,¹⁷⁵ new releases will often feature a new soundtrack and sometimes even several between which the viewer can choose.¹⁷⁶ That this can result in divisive offerings could be seen in the case of *Variété* (1925) which was released in a restored version by the Friedrich-Wilhelm-Murnau-Stiftung in 2015 and supplemented with a soundtrack by the band *The Tiger Lillies*.¹⁷⁷ The choice proved extremely controversial.¹⁷⁸ Such an ahistorical approach would, naturally, be out of place in a scholarly edition, but it does raise the issue of a value of (re-)experience, when a *reimagination* of the music and *how it might have been* performed is the closest approximation,

174 Cf. SPEIDEL 2006, 13. For a sample of the sheet music, see the booklet of the *Metropolis* 2006 study edition, 26f.

175 See, for more on the topic in general, MARTIN MILLER MARKS, *Music and the Silent Film: Contexts and Case Studies, 1895–1924*, Oxford [et al.]: Oxford University Press, 1997.

176 See, for example, the release of *Wings* (1927), dir. by William A. Wellman, Eureka (Masters of Cinema; 77), <<https://eurekavideo.co.uk/movie/wings/>> (accessed 30 August 2023), or the release of *The Passion of Joan of Arc* (‘La Passion de Jeanne d’Arc’, 1928), dir. by Carl Theodor Dreyer, Criterion (Collection; 62), <<https://www.criterion.com/films/228-the-passion-of-joan-of-arc>> (accessed 30 August 2023).

177 See <<https://www.murnau-stiftung.de/stiftung/projekte/projekt-variete>> (accessed 28 August 2023).

178 The negative reactions that this soundtrack caused can be traced among blogs, reviews, and forum threads by silent film aficionados but might be most succinctly described by *Filmdienst* calling its reception “controversial” (cf. <<https://www.filmdienst.de/film/details/28497/variete-1925>> (accessed 28 August 2023)).

seeing as no performance would have been identical to the other in any case.¹⁷⁹

Yet another aspect of an interpretive type of variance can be seen in the film *Whiplash* (2014). Not only is it a prime example for what we would call a *Langfassung* ('long version') and a *Kurzfassung* ('short version') of a work since the feature film is the long version (106 minutes) of the short film (18 minutes) also titled *Whiplash* (2013); both directed and written by Damien Chazelle, both starring J. K. Simmons as the abusive teacher Terence Fletcher, albeit with different actors in the protagonist role.¹⁸⁰ The set design, lighting, and colour grading are major differences that viewers have remarked upon, aside from length, crediting them with hugely influencing the tone, mood, and impression of the film (see **FIG. 49**), thereby changing viewers' perception of the characters and story.¹⁸¹ A scholarly edition should likely comment on this, in addition to providing a synoptic comparison. As demonstrated in the case of *Faust* (1926), editing plays a decisive role as well (and we may ascribe the heightened need for assessments of effect to the heightened importance of the *experience* of a cultural work when it is expressed in a time-based medium, to be clear). Among the many examples we could discuss here, I want to briefly mention the convoluted histories of films from Hong Kong, such as 喋血街頭 ('Bullet in the Head', 1990), directed by John Woo. Without in-depth knowledge of the transmission and extant witnesses, and without commercial releases of all versions known to exist available, it is impossible to re-trace the different ways in which this film would have been perceived in different markets at the time (where it was subject to different levels of censorship), and it would require a scholarly

179 See, for more nuanced discussion of this topic, K. J. DONNELLY and ANN-KRISTIN WALLENGREN (Eds.), *Today's Sounds for Yesterday's Films: Making Music for Silent Cinema*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.

180 See 'Whiplash,' in: *AFI Catalog of Feature Films*, online: <<https://catalog.afi.com/film/70240-whiplash>> (accessed 1 September 2023).

181 Such audience reactions can be found, for example, under videos comparing both versions, cf. the video by the channel MOVIE LUTs, "Why do Short Films look like that?" 23 March 2023, <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a5uiGFkjaDQ>> (accessed 1 September 2023), or the comparison by the channel COZY WEATHER, "Whiplash Movie and Short Comparison (Short Audio Only)," 5 July 2015, <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AiSYjRJeLTk>> (accessed 1 September 2023).

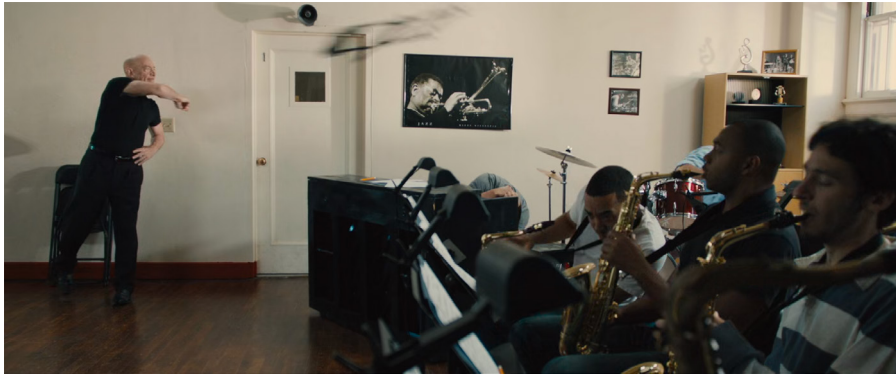


FIG. 49: Visual comparison of the short film (2013) and feature film (2014) versions of *Whiplash*, dir. by Damien Chazelle; screen capture, BLU-RAY: Sony Home Entertainment, 2020, above time stamp 0:13:37 (bonus feature, original short film), below time stamp 0:27:09 (feature film).

edition to ‘make sense’ of variant cuts that deliver significantly divergent viewing experiences.¹⁸² Since John Woo’s Ur-version is considered lost, “no ‘director’s cut’ is now in existence nor, sadly, will there ever be one.”¹⁸³

182 Cf. TONY WILLIAMS, *John Woo’s Bullet in the Head*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009, 109–111. See also comparisons of cuts such as <<https://www.movie-censorship.com/report.php?ID=761844>> (accessed 1 September 2023), <<https://www.schnittberichte.com/schnittbericht.php?ID=896487>> (accessed 1 September 2023), and <<https://www.schnittberichte.com/schnittbericht.php?ID=18649>> (accessed 1 September 2023).

183 WILLIAMS 2009, 109. Interestingly, Williams compares this to the situation of Fritz Lang’s *Metropolis* (1927), where, as noted before, the ‘original’ version was recovered in 2008 and published in restored form in 2010.

Director's cut versions of films are, generally speaking, plentiful¹⁸⁴ and while scholarly editions do not have to adhere to an authorship paradigm that prioritizes intention as the guiding principle of (re-)creation, the knowledge of intention rather than the inference of intention that we may find with editions of older works does add another dimension to editorial criteria of presentation and analysis. In the case of a film like *Queen Kelly* (1928), directed by Erich von Stroheim, we would have to contend with conflicting intentions of multiple involved parties: During the troubled production history, the director clashed with silent film star Gloria Swanson and was eventually fired before the film could be completed.¹⁸⁵ Swanson, in an attempt to recoup some of her financial investment, added an alternative ending to the film that saw a release in Europe in 1932.¹⁸⁶ After that, it was not until 1967 that Swanson's efforts to relocate the film were successful and it was shown in the United States.¹⁸⁷ In an introduction for a subsequent TV broadcast, she remarked: "In France, they ran it without my ending because I think von Stroheim preferred that and he was then alive. [...] There are going to be quite many versions I imagine, depending on how many hands have been on it."¹⁸⁸

184 One of the more famous examples of a director's cut of a film is the 1992 cut of *Blade Runner* (1982); see VARUN BEGLEY, "'Blade Runner' and the Postmodern: A Reconsideration," in: *Literature/Film Quarterly* 32/3 (2004), 186–192.

185 Cf. JULIE BUCK, 'Gloria Swanson,' in: *Women Film Pioneers Project*, ed. by Jane Gaines, Radha Vatsal and Monica Dall'Asta, New York: Columbia University Libraries, 2013, online: <<https://doi.org/10.7916/d8-q0za-ts47>>.

186 Cf. MICHAEL KOLLER, "Erich von Stroheim's Damned Queen: Queen Kelly," in: *Senses of Cinema* 78 (2007), online: <<https://www.sensesofcinema.com/2007/cteq/queen-kelly/>> (accessed 30 August 2023). In the United States, the film remained unseen until footage from it was used in Billy Wilder's film *Sunset Blvd.* (1950) in which Gloria Swanson plays a former silent star and Erich von Stroheim plays her butler who also used to be her director, cf. ED SIKOV, *On Sunset Boulevard: The Life and Times of Billy Wilder*, Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2017, 295f. For information on the casting, see *ibid.*, 286f.

187 Cf. TRICIA WELSCH, *Gloria Swanson: Ready for her Close-Up*, Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2013, 366.

188 Transcribed from a video recording, "'Queen Kelly' presented in person by Gloria Swanson Part 2," 25 March 2010, <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t1N0c5hJEjA>> (accessed 1 September 2023), time stamp 0:00:36–0:01:00. The exact air date and source is not clear. Tricia Welsch states that, after 1967, "Swanson, clutching her signature carnation, recorded a commentary to accompany Kelly's debut on public TV" (WELSCH 2013,

The dispute between director and lead actress highlights, again, that films, unlike most literary outputs, are collective undertakings. It also highlights how authorial objectives shape efforts of restoration and reconstruction. For the release of a collection of his films by Criterion, director Wong Kar Wai discussed some of the changes that were made and noted, in reference to an earlier overhaul of his film 東邪西毒 ('Ashes of Time', 1994) that he had overseen in 2008, released as *Ashes of Time Redux*:

As the saying goes: 'No man ever steps in the same river twice, for it's not the same river and he's not the same man.' Since the beginning of this process, these words have reminded me to treat these restorations as an opportunity to present new works, from a different vantage point in my career. Having arrived at the end of this process, these words still hold true. I invite the audience to join me in starting afresh, as these are not the same films, and we are no longer the same audience.¹⁸⁹

A director changing their work to the point of controversy is not exactly uncommon. The most famous example for this might be the original trilogy of *Star Wars* (1977–1983) that George Lucas substantially altered for each new home video release.¹⁹⁰ This includes the manipulation of

366). One would assume that this recording might be that commentary. The full relevant quote (time stamp 0:00:00–0:01:00) reads: "And actually, since *The Trespasser*, I have tried to finish *Queen Kelly* no less than four times and so finally, I put in a little tag – what you're going to see is an ending that I put on it because I wanted to release it to some of the theatres that yet didn't have sound equipment and let some people see it. And now of course it's in the archives, it's in all the museums now around the world, and many people see it but not with the version that you will see. In France, they ran it without my ending because I think von Stroheim preferred that and he was then alive. And in England – if you please! – they have found some of the cut-out scenes in Africa which were the censored scenes and they've put that on the end of it. So there are going to be quite many versions I imagine, depending on how many hands have been on it."

189 WONG KAR WAI, "World of Wong Kar Wai: Director's Note," blog post, in: *The Criterion Collection* (23 March 2021), online: <<https://www.criterion.com/current/posts/7325-world-of-wong-kar-wai-director-s-note>> (accessed 30 August 2023).

190 See JOHN C. LYDEN, "Whose Film is it, Anyway? Canonicity and Authority in 'Star Wars' Fandom," in: *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 80/3 (2012), 775–786. For an interesting comparison of editorial desiderata, see also TIMO TEKONIEMI, "Editorial In(ter)ventions: Comparing the Editorial Processes of the Hebrew Bible and the

elements visible within a frame and their spatial relationship, similar to the type of transmission variance we would describe with medieval picture programmes. Before we can join the conclusions of the last two chapters, one more note of interest: Where there is change, there is also regret. Steven Spielberg has said the following about the changes he made to his film *E.T. the Extra-Terrestrial* (1982) for its 20th anniversary release:

I should have never messed with the archives of my own work, and I don't recommend anyone do that. All our movies are a kind of a signpost of where we were when we made them, what the world was like and what the world was receiving when we got those stories out there. So I really regret having that out there.¹⁹¹

A scholarly edition would have to document this background information and what it might say about the alterations that were made (as well as what those alterations say about their own time, circumstances of creation, and effect on the viewer, in and of themselves).

Let us recount: A scholarly edition must regard all witnesses of a work (or otherwise delineated subject of edition). In cases of media that are transmitted in mechanically reproduced form, a scholarly edition must regard at least one witness of each version of a work (or otherwise delineated subject of edition). Whether variants are dependent upon materially distinct witnesses or otherwise distinct versions or both is, therefore, subject to change. We might call this the *primary evidence*. Furthermore, a scholarly edition must regard all other information available on the genesis, transmission, and reception of a work (or otherwise delineated subject of edition), especially in cases of fragmentary survival that necessitate degrees of reconstruction. We

Star Wars Saga," in: *Journal of Religion & Film* 22/1 (2018), article 37, [1–30], online: <<https://digitalcommons.unomaha.edu/jrf/vol22/iss1/37>> (accessed 30 August 2023).

191 ZACK SHARF, "Steven Spielberg Regrets Editing Guns Out of 'E.T.,' Says 'No Film Should Be Revised' for Today's Standards: 'That Was a Mistake,'" in: *Variety* (25 April 2023), online: <<https://variety.com/2023/film/news/steven-spielberg-regrets-editing-guns-et-censorship-1235594163/>> (accessed 1 September 2023).

might call this the *circumstantial evidence*. Although scholarly editions must take both primary and circumstantial evidence into account, their representative task lies with all that *should* be conveyed rather than all that *could* be conveyed in order to best allow for scholarly engagement and comprehension, according to editorial choices.

Description and interpretation, *Befund* and *Deutung*, are not to be conflated even though they always interact. Recalling the beginning of the schema developed in the last chapter, it is clear that those levels of description cannot suffice as ‘the record’, just as a scholarly edition of texts will rarely restrict itself to an *apparatus criticus*. Other levels of observation must also feature. If we substitute films for manuscripts, we might, for example, look at a frame instead of a page, and we might look at a sequence of frames and trace spatial relationships of identified subjects and objects across them. We might also, however, – and this is where we enter other levels of observation – consider a scene, not only in its placement within the work order that we have already accounted for in terms of the description of the witness (or version) in its ordering of content and meaning, but rather in its (narrative) function, in the way in which a divergence causes a ripple effect throughout the work (or otherwise delineated subject of edition) and influences readings (viewings, experiences, understandings). We should also consider the *means of effect*. With films, this would include categories we have broadly alluded to, the sound design, the use of colour, et cetera. This could easily be applied to picture works as well, minus any time-based aspect of technique, craft, and expression. Finally, in the most overtly iconological level of observation, we might draw on our knowledge of the contexts in which a work (or otherwise delineated subject of edition) is embedded. Interpretations are not merely subjective conclusions. They are a consequence of and a platform for comparison, and therefore within the domain of scholarly editing. I have drafted some layers to indicate areas of focus (see **FIG. 50**), albeit ones that cannot be entirely distinguished in this way.

Generally, when thinking about scholarly editions beyond text, a film by King Hu comes to my mind, 空山靈雨 (‘Raining in the Mountain’, 1979). In this *wǔxiá* drama, set during the Ming Dynasty, thieves and other corrupt individuals all vie for a valuable scroll, held by a Buddhist

OBJECT OF INTERPRETATION	EQUIPMENT FOR INTERPRETATION
I – <i>Semantic divisions</i> within the work, e.g. a scene	Knowledge of <i>narrative</i> , storytelling, references, the work
II – <i>Means of effect</i> across a work, e.g. sound, costume, colour	Knowledge of <i>craft</i> , technique, aesthetics, style, psychology, theory
III – <i>The work</i> as such and its relation to contexts	Knowledge of <i>history</i> , culture, art, society, themes, concepts

FIG. 50: Beginning of a schema for the recording of interpretation layers within the framework of a scholarly edition beyond text.

monastery. After much backstabbing, fighting, and eventually murder, the film ends with an assembly. To the shock of the attendees (in particular those who had been party to treachery), the Abbot reveals the scroll only to burn it in front of everyone. He then reaches for another case containing a scroll and says: “The Mahayana Sutra’s true value is in its meaning. It should be available to all. I’ve made scores of copies.”¹⁹² And with that, hands it over. One could take this as an endorsement of textual reproducibility. It seems to me, however, that the point is quite another, one worth restating: Technical details should never distract us from the bigger picture. That bigger picture, scholarly or otherwise, asks us to share in our knowledge. Without a grasp on all of culture, what are we to study?

¹⁹² Taken from the English subtitles on the Blu-ray release *Raining in the Mountain* [*Kong shan ling yu*] (1979), dir. by King Hu, Eureka (Masters of Cinema; 215), 2020, time stamp 1:59:27–1:59:36. See <<https://eurekavideo.co.uk/movie/raining-in-the-mountain-kong-shan-ling-yu/>> (accessed 2 September 2023).