In the Desmet collection of the Nederlands Filmmuseum, two remarkable German fiction films can be found, DES MEERES UND DER LIEBE WELLEN (1912) and AUF EINSAMER INSEL (1913). Each was shot in a well-known Dutch tourist attraction: Volendam, where Christoph Mülleneisen filmed DES MEERES UND DER LIEBE WELLEN for Dekage, and the Island of Marken, where Joseph Delmont did location work for AUF EINSAMER INSEL, an Eiko production. These two German ‘adventures’ in the Netherlands are no isolated cases, for they are part of larger trends: the emergence of artists’ colonies at sites of outstanding beauty, and the simultaneous expansion of cross-border tourism at the turn of the century. What this essay sets out to do is to evaluate this conjuncture in the context of another emergent expansion, that of the cinema, hungry ever since its beginnings for new locations and exotic places. The argument will be that artists and tourists, but also the international film industry, all ‘discovered’ the pictorial qualities of ‘unspoiled’ locations like Volendam and Marken, each institution or industry creating a discourse, and each discourse sustaining the values and status of the others, in a process that has remained typical for the triad art-tourism-cinema ever since, helping to define both European cinema and ‘Europe’ for the cinema. In the specific case of DES MEERES UND DER LIEBE WELLEN and AUF EINSAMER INSEL, one not only can recover the traces of the gaze of the tourist and that of the artist, but also observe a crucial definition of ‘Holland’ taking shape.

The Discovery of Volendam and Marken
When Mülleneisen and Delmont arrived in Volendam and Marken, these little towns had already become tourist resorts, and a specific image existed of these places and their inhabitants. The French art historian Henry Havard can be considered the discoverer of the little towns at the former Zuiderzee (nowadays the IJsselmeer). Already in 1874, he characterised the fishermen of the Zuiderzee in his travel account La Hollande pittoresque, voyage aux villes mortes du Zuiderzee:

The way they are squatting down, oriental-like, smoking their pipes taciturn, immobile and indifferently, and their gaze wandering around aimlessly, they possess rather the appearance of Turkish fatalists, instead of Dutch fishermen. Everything in their looks contributes to this illusion, certainly in the first place their wide trousers, their slippers, which they place in front of them when squatting down this way, and their caps which mostly look like turbans.¹

¹A German one in 1882, and an English one in 1885. His book gave the starting signal for making the cities around the Zuiderzee a complex symbol of the Zeitgeist, combining nostalgia for obsolete crafts and places that time forgot with a taste for the exotic, colourful and unknown, as signalled by the reference to orientalism.

In the beginning this discovery was one made by artists. As early as 1875 the Englishman George Clausen visited Volendam and Marken with Havard’s travel book in his hand, and a little later, partly due to exhibitions of work by Dutch and foreign artists, the upcoming tourist industry seized on such places. Volendam in particular became an obligatory excursion for each foreign tourist visiting the Netherlands. At the same time, in Volendam, as in other Dutch locations like Laren, Domburg and Bergen, a true artists’ colony sprang up and stayed there until the outbreak of World War I.²

²Spaander
The discovery of Volendam, however, did not happen solely on the basis of travel accounts and views of the town painted or sketched by artists. Leendert Spaander, a local entrepreneur, played an important role by providing bed and board for the first foreign artists who had come to Volendam, still lacking suitable hotel accommodation. Opening his house to visitors, which got the nickname ‘De toevlucht’ (the refuge), Spaander proved himself not only an amateur of the arts but also a shrewd business man with a good instinct for public relations. In 1881 he bought a local bar, converting it into the Hotel Spaander, which is still in existence today. In 1895 Spaander took his daughters to the opening of an exhibition of the Dutch artist Nico Jungman at an art gallery in London. For this occasion he dressed the two girls in the typical costumes of Volendam. This stunt caused a stir. He had postcards printed of Volendam and of his hotel and had them sent to all the foreign art academies. He also ran ads for his hotel with the Holland-America shipping line. At the hotel, Spaander put typically Volendam interiors at the disposal of the artists and, also for a fee, organized artist models. His own daughters would often pose for artists, and as a result, three of them married foreign painters. Spaander bought land on the back of his hotel in order to build studios for artists who might want to stay in Volendam for longer periods. The majority, however, only came on a passing visit, especially during the summer months. Unpaid accounts were occasionally settled in exchange for paintings, giving Spaander a chance to amass an enormous art collection. In turn, these paintings — along with the sights — attracted the tourists, and his hotel became crowded by guests from all continents. From Spaander’s visitors’ books one can deduct that even millionaires like Carnegie and members of the royal family stayed there. Filmmakers, too, show up in these visitors’ books.³

³Accessibility and Attraction of Volendam and Marken
For a long time, Volendam remained a remote fishermen’s town and Marken, being an island, was almost totally inaccessible. In 1873 Havard had to navigate the coast of the
From 1888 on a steam tram from the Noordhollandsche Tramwegmaatschappij travelled from Amsterdam to Edam and back. From Edam one took the old tow-boat to Volendam. In 1905 a special service was installed for the tourists, called from 1906 onwards the 'Marken-express,' which provided a roundtrip from Amsterdam via Marken and Volendam. All manner of transport was used en route. By steamboat the tourists crossed the IJ behind Central Station at Amsterdam. There, at the Tolhuis (toll-house) station, one took the steam tram to Monnickendam. At Monnickendam the motor boat of the Markerveer (Marken ferry) would be waiting. From Marken one sailed by boller (fishing boat) to Volendam, where a quick lunch was ready at Hotel Spaander. The tour continued with the tow-boat to Edam, from whence the steam tram took one back to Amsterdam, completing a day trip in the American tempo.

Due to the diminishing returns from fishing and the threat of the Afsluitdijk, the dyke being built to close the Zuiderzee off from the open sea, the villages and towns came, by the turn of the century, to resemble dead cities. Yet it was precisely this dilemma which created the anachronistic popular culture of Volendam and Marken to which artists were mainly attracted, seeing how the life there contrasted with the industrialisation and modernisation of major Dutch cities like Rotterdam and Amsterdam, and of foreign capitals. The untouched character of the Zuiderzee villages was praised. The gaudy colors of the costumes of the inhabitants and the wooden houses with their doll’s house interiors, especially in Marken crammed with decorative plates and knick-knack, spoke to the imagination of the foreigners.

Typical for this period is the determining way in which these surroundings were associated by artists, writers and tourists alike with an idealized image of humanity. The people from Volendam were thought of as pious, honest, healthy and happy, satisfied with little and mercifully ignorant of social problems such as alcoholism, which plagued big city inhabitants (in the films of Delmont and Mülleisen, the fishermen are not portrayed in such a positive light). One preferred to pass over the poverty and the poor housing of the fishermen, and the artists who worked on Volendam’s and Marken’s nostalgic image had to do some retouching of social reality, in order to associate these places credibly with a past, that of the Dutch seventeenth century painting. The trend for painting in the open air and thus the need to visit the locations and the skies of the old Dutch masters, had driven foreign artists to Amsterdam and the North Sea. But when coastal locations like Scheveningen and Katwijk became too fashionable, the gaze inevitably turned to the unspoiled places at the Zuiderzee.4

The Cinema and Couleur Locale
Because of the improved infrastructure alluded to above, it had become feasible and attractive for camera crews to reach Volendam and Marken. Already in August 1900, the Dutch production company Nögerath took pictures of a naval review on the Zuiderzee, attended

In 1906 American Bio-Tableaux, a successor to the Dutch branch of the American Mutoscope & Biograph Co., took footage of Volendam and Marken. Before long, other Dutch companies like Albers Frères and Hollandia followed. Furthermore, Dutch crews were not the only ones present at Volendam and Marken. Between 1909 and 1914 the Netherlands as a whole were a favoured subject for travel films made by foreign production companies, with French (Raleigh & Robert, Eclipse), British (Cricks & Martin, Kineto) and Italians (Pasquali en Comerio) also filming the Zuiderzee towns. As usual, it was Pathé Frères that took the lead, finding here inspiration for several documentaries: UN JOURNÉE À L’ÎLE DE MARKEN, EN HOLLANDE – LE PORT DE VOLENDAM, COIFFURES ET TYPES DE L’HOLLANDE et ENFANTS DE HOLLANDE, the last two partly shot at Volendam, and all of them released in 1910.5

These documentaries were probably shot by the French filmmaker Alfred Machin, who is known to have stayed in Volendam in September 1909. His signature has been discovered with that date in the visitor’s book of Hotel Spaander. Machin returned to Holland during the autumn of 1911, where he used the history, the culture and the landscape of the Netherlands for a series of short fiction films. At Volendam he shot, partly in an open air studio behind the Hotel Spaander, several fishermen’s dramas. The first to be released (though not the first to be shot) was HET VERVLOEKTE GELD (L’OR QUI BRÛLE, ‘The Cursed Money’), with the famous Dutch theatre actor Louis Bouwmeester in the leading part. For the other films only foreigners were employed, with actors and the crew coming partly from Belgium but mainly from France. Two painters, the Belgian Henri Cassiers and the Frenchman Augustin Hancocq, were present during the shooting. Possibly they advised Machin on the authenticity of the pictures to take, as they were both residents of Volendam and had made it their main artistic subject matter. Machin’s films added a dimension to Volendam as a film subject because he made it the setting for fiction films shot on location.6

DES MEERES UND DER LIEBE WELLEN und AUF EINSAMER INSEL
A year after Machin had shot his films at Volendam, a second film crew appeared on the doorstep of Hotel Spaander with the intention of shooting a film. In Spaander’s visitors’ books one finds that from 16 to 20 November 1912, a certain Christoph Mülleisen from Cologne was in residence in order to take pictures for DES MEERES UND DER LIEBE WELLEN, a film begun in Italy.7

According to the intertitles in the film copy, however, the story is initially set in Spain and not in Italy. The actual locations of the opening scenes on the other hand, remind one of Italy, however. The discrepancy can be explained by briefly summarizing the plot. DES MEERES UND DER LIEBE WELLEN is the story of Venila, the daughter of a Spanish captain, who falls in love with sailor Pietro. The captain illegally transports gunpowder to Scotland and conceals this fact from the insurance company. A jealous first mate sets the boat on fire and steals the insurance policy. The captain commits suicide, his daughter escapes with...
the sailor on a raft. They are washed ashore at what the intertitles indicate is the Dutch isle of Urk (but is in fact Volendam). The first mate is also washed ashore. Fishermen rescue them and put Venila in the traditional costume of Urk (in reality a typical Volendam outfit). On his deathbed, the first mate repents and hands over the policy to Venila, who is now financially able to marry Pietro. After a wedding in typical folkloristic style, the couple sets sail for Spain again, waving goodbye to the locals.

A year after the ‘expedition’ to the Netherlands by Mülleneisen, the German director Joseph Delmont came to Holland to shoot two films. These were the crime story DER GEHEIMNISVOLLE KLUB, shot at Rotterdam, Scheveningen and possibly Amsterdam, and the fishermen’s drama AUF EINSAMER INSEL, shot on Marken. Delmont was a specialist in exotic films. According to his autobiography, he had, as early as 1902, taken part in travels around the world to take pictures. For his films he always looked for authenticity, getting irritated by the way others were faking it in Africa:

In particular with regard to the festivities and dances of native tribes the most impossible fakes have been foisted on the cinema public. (...) To portray the people, the fauna and the flora of a strange country on the films one needs time, more time and still more time. No producer or cameraman ought to attempt such a film without the help of an expert, if he wants to obtain a picture of real cultural value.9

It is not known where exactly Delmont stayed at Marken. At the time, there was only one hotel on the island, Hotel De Jong, but no visitors’ book or other sources have remained. But if he did not stay on the island and went ashore each night, there is nevertheless no signature by his hand in the visitors’ book of Hotel Spaander. Possibly he stayed at another Volendam hotel, given that since 1905 a second one was managed by Frits Veldhuizen.10 Delmont must have been at Marken for quite some time, because his film was a three-acter, a feature-length film in those days. Mülleneisen’s film was also longer than the films Machin shot at Volendam, averaging less than 350 metres, the maximum length of a one-act ‘one-reeler.’ If Mülleneisen’s film (of which only the second part was set in Volendam) needed four to five days’ location work, then Delmont must have been filming at Marken for close to two weeks, since his picture is entirely set there, with many outdoor shots. The interiors were done in the studio, as was probably the case with Mülleneisen’s film. We know that Delmont used the Komet Film studio in Berlin.

AUF EINSAMER INSEL, just like DES MEERES UND DER LIEBE WELLEN, is a love triangle. The rich fisherman Pieter (Fred Sauer) is after the beautiful and equally rich Sijtje (Mia Cordes), but she only has eyes for his mate, the poor fisherman Dirk (played by Delmont himself). Her father, of course, prefers Pieter, who sabotages the boat on the high seas, leaving Dirk to drift out of control, until he reaches a desert island. Claiming an accident, Pieter pretends Dirk has perished and marries Sijtje. Dirk is saved by a foreign ship, just as he is about to kill his loyal dog for food. Years later, he returns to his village, in time to defend Sijtje and her little daughter against Pieter, now an alcoholic and a wife-abuser. In a drunken fit, Pieter sets his own boat on fire while at sea. Dirk tries to save him, but in vain, so that after the funeral, Sijtje and Dirk can be together at last.

Class Distinctions
At first sight AUF EINSAMER INSEL and DES MEERES UND DER LIEBE WELLEN have much in common. Both have a ‘good guy,’ a ‘bad guy’ and ‘the woman in the middle,’ and in both, good triumphs over evil, and evil is punished by death. The rival disappears, so the hero gets the woman. However, besides the rival, other elements function as obstacles blocking the relationship. In AUF EINSAMER INSEL, class distinctions thwart the course of love: Sijtje’s rich parents try to match her with another rich fisherman, with the hero compensating class by a doubly selfless act, defending a woman and child against a brutal husband, and trying to save the life of a man who was his deadly enemy. In DES MEERES UND DER LIEBE WELLEN the difference in rank or class is still there: the ‘bad guy’ is first mate, the ‘good guy’ is merely a hired hand. Venila’s father dies during the shipwreck and is thus spared having views about a captain’s daughter being in love with an ordinary sailor, who – as in AUF EINSAMER INSEL – defends the woman against unwanted advances and saves her, showing himself worthy by virtue of his strength and dedication.

If class distinctions can be bridged by moral heroism, differences in wealth are resolved by melodramatic solutions. Venila cannot marry her sailor for lack of money, a problem the film solves by the rival turning up with the valuable insurance policy and conveniently showing remorse before dying. In AUF EINSAMER INSEL Dirk’s years away in the United States and his fancy clothes suggest a man of means, thus removing the financial barrier. In this respect, both films are typical examples of early German cinema, where conflicts of class and social status are frequently either the dominant or subsidiary cause of melodrama.11

Authentic Setting and Deep Staging
What distinguishes the two films under discussion is the role played by the location. The Dutch version of DES MEERES UND DER LIEBE WELLEN, for instance, was called EEN SCHIPBREUK OP DE HOLLANDSCHE KUST (‘A Shipwreck on the Dutch Coast’). On the other hand, since ‘Urk’ was the name of the island in the German release version, it would indicate that no clearly identifiable location was intended. Rather, a more general image of ‘Dutchness’ prevails, with ‘couleur locale’ rather than documentary truth being the usual way the Zuiderzee culture was represented. Already in 1875 George Clausen caused a stir at the Royal Academy in London with his painting High Mass at a fishing village on the Zuiderzee, which depicts Volendam fishermen in front of the church of Monnikendam.

In AUF EINSAMER INSEL the location of Marken is nowhere mentioned in the intertitles, nor does the German trade press give a specific location.12 Nonetheless, the un-
mistakeably Dutch names of the characters must have given German audiences enough of a hint that the film was set in Holland, and in some trade papers the subtitle ‘A drama in 3 acts from modern Holland’ gave added confirmation.  

**Location**

In both films, therefore, great pains have been taken over the authenticity of locations and props, evident from the interior scenes, shot in German studios. As was the habit of passing artists as well, the two film crews probably bought souvenirs on the spot in order to dress the studio sets later, giving the interiors their rather credible look. In *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen* the first interior scene once the protagonists arrive in Holland is almost emblematic. On the back wall hang: a clock, a poker, a mirror, small paintings with genre images (among which a picture with a little girl followed by a cockerel and one with a boy followed by a goose) next to a sideboard filled with decorative plates. On the floor are two kitchen chairs with rush-bottomed seats and a chest with an imitation of the famous *L’Angelus* by Jean François Millets painted on it. The people present are in typical Volendam costumes. The man smokes a stone pipe and wears the characteristic cap. In the interior scene with the dying first mate, the two small paintings just mentioned return in the setting. Decorative plates are again visible above the alcove where the man is lying. Landscape scenes cover the wall, next to an oil lamp and a candle on a stick. The interiors are modest and reflect the limited means of the little houses of Volendam.

The interior of the living room of Sijtje’s family in *Auf einsamer Insel* is much larger, connoting a wealthy family. The room is filled to the brim with ornamental plates and is generally bulging with objects, furniture and bric-a-brac, thus conveying the superabundance and ‘horror vacui’ typical for Marken, where people cover the walls up to the ceiling with plates, paintings and prints, and place buffets and etageres against the walls to show off their knick-knacks. The Marken interiors, however, are all extremely small in size, in contrast to Delmont’s film, which wants to suggest wealth by size. Here, too, the persons wear the typical Marken costume, such as the richly embroidered jackets and the small bonnets.

The feeling for space recurs in Delmont’s film also in the exterior scenes. It can be related to his style. While Mülleneisen’s film has modest, small sets that look quite flat due to frontal staging, Delmont always seeks out diagonals in his compositions. This gives the exterior scenes the impression that Marken must have been quite a large fishermen’s town (which it was not), echoing the interiors where actors navigate space without bumping into the furniture, something which could be a problem in an authentic Marken interior. It suggests that one of the major contributions of Delmont’s style is his feeling for staging in depth, helping to demolish the barrier between the films of the teens and the spectator of today.

The tight and simple sets in *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen* are probably closer to the reality of Volendam than *Auf einsamer Insel*’s handling of space is to the reality of Marken. The former’s sets, however, give the impression of having been made cheaper and faster, and hint at a more traditional production. Delmonts’ sets and camera angles indicate a change in style and mise-en-scène that is all the more remarkable considering that *Auf einsamer Insel* was produced only one year after *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen*.

Space and perspective stand primarily in function of the film and help to create a reality on its own. But the many location shots and deep staging in the interior scenes also refer to a second reality, that of a Dutch fishermen’s island as fixed by foreign artists and the tourist industry, and bearing only a tenuous relation to life on Marken in the year 1913. *Auf einsamer Insel* and *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen* thus invite comparison with the Zuiderzee iconography from the plastic arts.
Representation of the Zuiderzee in Germany

From the 1880s onward, Holland was fashionable among German artists. They commended the Dutch light, the Dutch skies, the locations of the old Dutch masters, responding to the urge for 'plein air' painting. The village of Katwijk on the North Sea coast was not only popular with Dutch artists like Jozef Israëls, but also with German painters like Hans von Bartels, the epoch-making German impressionist, who toured the Netherlands from Katwijk and spent ten weeks in Volendam in 1893. Max Lieberman stayed at Katwijk also, but painted little of the Zuiderzee except at Edam. He preferred Amsterdam and the places by the North Sea: Zandvoort, Katwijk and Noordwijk, depicting scenes of the elegant life on the beaches of Scheveningen. Nonetheless, in tracking the iconography of 'Dutchness' in the beaches of Scheveningen. Nonetheless, in tracking the iconography of 'Dutchness' in Auf einsamer Insel, Heide Schlüpmann rightly refers to Liebermann.²⁴ Even if he never painted either Volendam or Marken, Liebermann may have inspired Delmont in more than just the use of light and spaciousness. Think of the oils and watercolors by Liebermann like the painting The Menders of Nets (1887-1889) and a gouache with the same title (1898), both showing women at work in Katwijk.²⁵ More solid evidence for a history of this iconography might be the fact that well before the German translation of Havard's travel journal appeared in 1882, the German painter Rudolf Jordan had visited the island of Marken in 1844, where he was overwhelmed by the colourful costumes: 'The costumes, the costumes, the costumes! Ah! Hurrah! Heavenly! I'll paint heads. Ah, the costumes! Ah, my good folk! They'll give me everything I need.' Jordan took costumes or accessories home in order to put them on models, who would pose for his paintings. This gave rise to some fantastical ensembles, including errors in authenticity like bonnets worn back to front.²⁶

With the rise of tourism to the Dutch North Sea resorts and villages in the 1880s, numerous German artists looked to the Zuiderzee for 'virgin territory' and moved to Volendam and Marken. They were by no means the most insignificant ones. Hans von Bartels and Carl Jacoby showed their Zuiderzee pictures at the great annual exhibitions in Brussels, London, Paris, Berlin and Vienna, winning several medals with them. Their work received positive reviews and sold well, especially to private collectors. Another famous painter was Georg Hering, a pupil of Lovis Corinth, who established himself in Volendam in 1910 and married one of Spaander's daughters, Pauline. Many of these artists worked in a style that was halfway between romantic realism and an impressionism related to the Haagse School. At the beginning of this century, this style became a cliché for lack of renewal, but continued to find a ready market until the outbreak of the World War I, thus providing a 'common knowledge' base for German audiences about these Zuiderzee villages. Delmont and Mülleneisen must have been influenced by this representation, considering how clearly certain images of their films refer to late nineteenth and early twentieth century genre painting. Even at the time, the Austrian film magazine Die Filmwoche noted:

So it was an excellent idea to leave for once our Fatherland and make a trip to Holland whose picturesque landscapes and magnificent costumes provide a col-

Both Mülleneisen and Delmont create an image of the Zuiderzee as something archetypical, underlined by neither indicating an exact location: the classical Dutch fishermen’s village, where everybody is dressed in costume and the men wear clogs, drink Dutch gin and suck on a pipe, while the women wait patiently at the harbor quay, with their sons or husbands out on the perilous high seas. A similarly archetypical image of the Netherlands could be found in the films of Alfred Machin, so much so that the Dutch popular magazine Het Leven featured an article in 1911 fiercely protesting against these foreign 'windmills and clogs films' which created the impression Holland had nothing more to offer than folkloristic types and surroundings. On the other hand, these foreign productions exercised an important influence on the young Dutch fiction film industry. When the film company Hollandia started producing fiction films from 1912 on, these were indeed mainly fishermen and millers' dramas, reproducing the same folkloristic image of the Netherlands (De levens ladder ['The Living Ladder'], 1913, Op hoop van zegen ['The Good Hope'], 1918) or was even parodied (Twee zeeuwsche meisjes in Zandvoort ['Two Girls from Zeeland at Zandvoort'], 1913).

Yet it is important not to project the overfamiliarity of the Zuiderzee iconography today on des Meeres und der Liebe Welten and auf einsamer Insel. These films are representative for a period of iconographic innovation, where places like Volendam and Marken were still exotic locations, before becoming typical, even stereotypical for the Netherlands, partly due to the very popularity of such films and their close alliance with tourism and the mass consumption of cliché or myth. With the outbreak of the war, the stream of foreign artists, filmmakers and tourists stagnated, and the Zuiderzee iconography lost favour with the cinema and the plastic arts after the war. As a reaction to the mass-tourist image, Dutch cinema made the villages at the Zuiderzee once more an 'issue' in the thirties, now focussing on the social cost of the closing of the Zuiderzee and the forced shift to agriculture, at a time of agricultural crisis. Losing much of their careless exotic and idyllic character, the villages became the settings of social dramas like Gerard Rutten's Terra Nova (1932) and Dood Water ('Dead Water,' 1934) and social documentaries like Joris Ivens' Nieuwe gronden ('New Land,' 1934). Yet internationally, the images which Mülleneisen and Delmont helped to consolidate have survived, obliging these places to 'live up' to their own myth, and thus proving the strength of the cinema in putting into circulation its own versions of reality, even in the face of reality.
investigates its affinities with the self-celebratory mode of advertisement.


7. The reference here is to Laura Mulvey’s famous essay 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema,' *Screen*, vol. 16, no.3, Autumn 1975, pp. 6-18.


10. This configuration recalls Stephen Heath’s call for a ‘history of the cinema-machine that can include its developments, adaptations, transformations, realignments, the practices it derives, holding together the instrumental and the symbolic, the technological and the ideological, the current ambiguity of the term apparatus.’ In ‘The Cinematic Apparatus: Technology as Historical and Cultural Form,’ *Questions of Cinema*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1981, p. 227.

11. For instance, when Edwin Porter stages the perils of spectatorship in *UNCLE JOSH AT THE MOVING PICTURE SHOW* (1902), he emphasizes the proximity of cinema and delusion, a psychological configuration that still dominates the American cinema in Keaton’s *SHERLOCK JR.* (1924). By contrast, the scenarios of spectatorship that take place in *WHEN THE CINEMA TAKES REVENGE* or *WHERE IS COLETTI?* imply that the cinema’s deceptions can also involve a process of learning. When Chaplin disrupts the smooth functioning of the ‘dream factory’ in his *NEW JOB* (1915) and *BEHIND THE SCREEN* (1916), the apparatus is for a moment threatened - but only to prevail in the end. By contrast, the filmmakers in *THE FILMPRIMADONNA* and *ZAPATA’S GANG* appear as committed members of the film industry but abandon their projects for real-life experiences.


**Of Artists and Tourists:**

‘Locating’ Holland in Two Early German films

1. For this article I owe gratitude to the following individuals and institutions: Jorien Jas (Zuiderzeemuseum Enkhuizen), Geoffrey Donaldson, Paul van Yperen, and the Nederlands Filmmuseum. For the relation between artists and Volendam, I refer to the exhibition catalogue by Gusta Reichwein, *Vreemde gasten. Kunstscholders in Volendam 1880-1914*, s.l.: Vereniging Vrienden van het Zuiderzeemuseum, 1986. The quote by Havard is from Henry Havard, *La Hollande pittoresque, voyage aux villes mortes au Zuyderzee*, 1874.


3. For the names from the guestbooks of Spaander, I thank Geoffrey Donaldson.

4. The determining way of describing the inhabitants of the villages at the Zuiderzee can also be found in travel guides from the turn of the century. H. Maho writes in his travel guide *D'Amsterdam à l'île de Marken*, Brussel: A. Bieleveld, 1911, pp. 158-159: ‘De ces pauvres masure de Marken, il ne sort ni vagabonds, ni femmes corrompues; nul habitant n’a jamais déserté la mer, et aucune jeune fille n’a jamais dédaigné la main d’un pêcheur.’

5. Apart from those films mentioned, Pathé shot at the same time the first travel film *FROMAGE DE HOLLANDE* (1910) at Alkmaar, not far from the Zuiderzee, and *LES PORCELAINES DE DELFT* (1909).


7. Apart from Mülleneisen the film crew consisted, according to Spaander’s guestbook, of ‘Fräulein Lissi Nebuschka’ from Dresden (the protagonist of the film), ‘Herr Fritz Stöve’ from Garmisch, ‘Herr Röttger’ from Berlin and the cameraman ‘Herr Fürkel’ also from Berlin.

8. Meant here are the intertitles from the film copy within the Desmet collection of the
Nederlands Filmmuseum, the only original copy left of the film.


10. The present manager of the hotel told me that the actual building is the one from Delmont's time and has been there since 1905. A previous building by the same owners had been there until 1903, when it burned down.

11. See, for instance, the plot of a Henny Porten film such as DES PFARRERS TÖCHTERLEIN (1912).

12. See the review in Die Lichtbildbühne, 7 November 1913.

13. For George Clausen, see Vreemde gasten, pp. 8-9; Lichtbildbühne, 7 November 1913; the subtitle is mentioned in a review in Die Filmwoche, no. 32, 19 October 1913, pp. 10-14.

14. That L’Angels should be on such a painted chest is most unlikely. However, every house at the time possessed such chests, though painted in naive, often abstract style, while Millet’s painting could be found in many interiors in those days but in the form of a print, in particular in the Catholic town of Volendam.

15. ‘The echoes of landscape painting and genre painting are hard to miss. Besides the allusions to Dutch paintings, one distinctly senses the proximity of the realist, but in its use of light impressionist tradition of [Max] Liebermann, [Wilhelm] Leibl, who rebelled against the stuffiness and clutter of ‘Grunderzeit’ aesthetics. It is as if the film wanted to show, how the cinema, in this respect, can go one better than painting.’ Heide Schlüpmann, Unheimlichkeit des Blicks: Das Drama des frühen deutschen Kinos, Basel/Frankfurt: Stroemfeld/Roter Stern, 1990, p. 171.

16. John Sillevis et al., Liebermann in Holland, Den Haag: SDU, 1980 (exhibition catalogue Haags Gemeentemuseum). According to this catalogue there is no work known of Liebermann on which Volendam or Marken are depicted.


19. See Karel Dibbets and Ed Kerkman, ‘Een zee van ruimte: Het beeld van de zee in de Nederlandse speelfilm tot 1940,’ Volkskundig Bulletin. Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse cultuurwetenschap 16/2, June 1990, pp. 157-175. The cliché of the Volendam costume as symbolic for the Dutch people can be traced to, apart from Machin’s Dutch films, also his Belgian production LA FILLE DE DELFT (1913), and one year earlier a Pathé production, LA LÉGENDE DES TULIPES D’OR (1912). Moreover, AUF EINSAMER INSEL and DES MEERES UND DER LIEBE WELLEN were not the first and the last German films to be shot on location in Volendam or Marken. In 1921 the film DER EWIGE KAMPF, starring Lotte Neumann, was made, released in Holland as ANTJE VAN VOLEN DAM. This Union production, directed by Paul Ludwig Stein, was shot in Volendam, too. See Cinema & Theater 35, 1921, p. 8.

Stylistic Expressivity in DIE LANDSTRASSE

1. This essay was helped by having access to the print of DIE LANDSTRASSE held at the Nederlands Filmmuseum, Amsterdam. My thanks to Mark-Paul Meyer and the staff of the Stichting Nederlands Filmmuseum for their kindness and hospitality during my visit.


5. Kessler also comments that DIE LANDSTRASSE has ‘quite a “modern” feel to it,’ arising from the clarity of the spatial and temporal relations in the editing. See ‘A Highway to Film Art?’, p. 446.

6. Ibid., p. 444.

7. I have seen DIE LANDSTRASSE under a number of different circumstances, but none which would allow me to make a reasonably precise measurement of individual shot lengths. Given the problems with silent-film projection speeds, my estimates here can be only approximate.


Two ‘Stylists’ of the Teens: Franz Hofer and Yevgenii Bauer

1. The future Russian/German/French/American film director Fedor Otsep advocated this idea in his unpublished book of 1913 (outline for the book survives at RGALI [Russia’s State Archive for Literature and Art], 2743/1/72.) See also G. Er. ‘Dinamika Zhivopisi i kinematograf,’ (‘The Dynamics of Painting and Cinema’), Sine-Fono, 1914, no. 20, pp. 33-34.
